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Thursday, August 12, 1999

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Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Sean Maloney (Chron File (Aug 99))
OA/Box Number: 14866

FOLDER TITLE:

Thursday, August 12, 1999

2016-0970-F
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RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

To W. Beth Cahill

Fyl-
and with him
a nice letter

BC

8-12-99



8/12/99

After you have seen,
we will send to
Burkhardt for reply -

Carol

copied
Cahill
Podesta
Burkhardt
(for reply)

TO: PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

FROM:
COMMISSIONER ROBERT A. WATSON
NATIONAL COMMANDER
THE SALVATION

**The Salvation Army USA
White House Agency Liaison
Requests for Assistance
1996 - 1998**

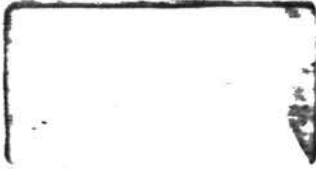


CATEGORY	1996	1997	1998	3 YEAR TOTAL
Food	61	74	64	199
Medicine	57	112	143	312
Utilities	45	87	82	214
Financial Aid	42	100	107	249
Disaster	2	5	5	12
Phone Bills	8	14	16	38
Rent	28	36	45	109
Clothing	11	27	34	72
Christmas	21	45	38	104
Miscellaneous	58	99	108	265
Total	333	599	642	1,574

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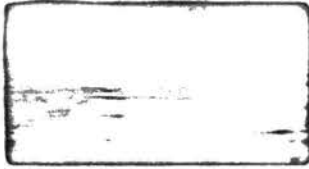


OUR MISSION

The Salvation Army, an international movement, is an evangelical part of the universal Christian Church.

Its message is based on the Bible. Its ministry is motivated by the love of God.

Its mission is to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and to meet human needs in His name without discrimination.





DISASTER SERVICES

in The United States
of America

*...a Century of Timely and Practical Services
Responding to Disasters and Civil Disorders...*

DOCTRINES

HISTORY & STRUCTURE

MISSION STATEMENT



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an international movement,
is an evangelical part of the universal
Christian Church.**

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WHAT IS
THE
SALVATION
ARMY ?



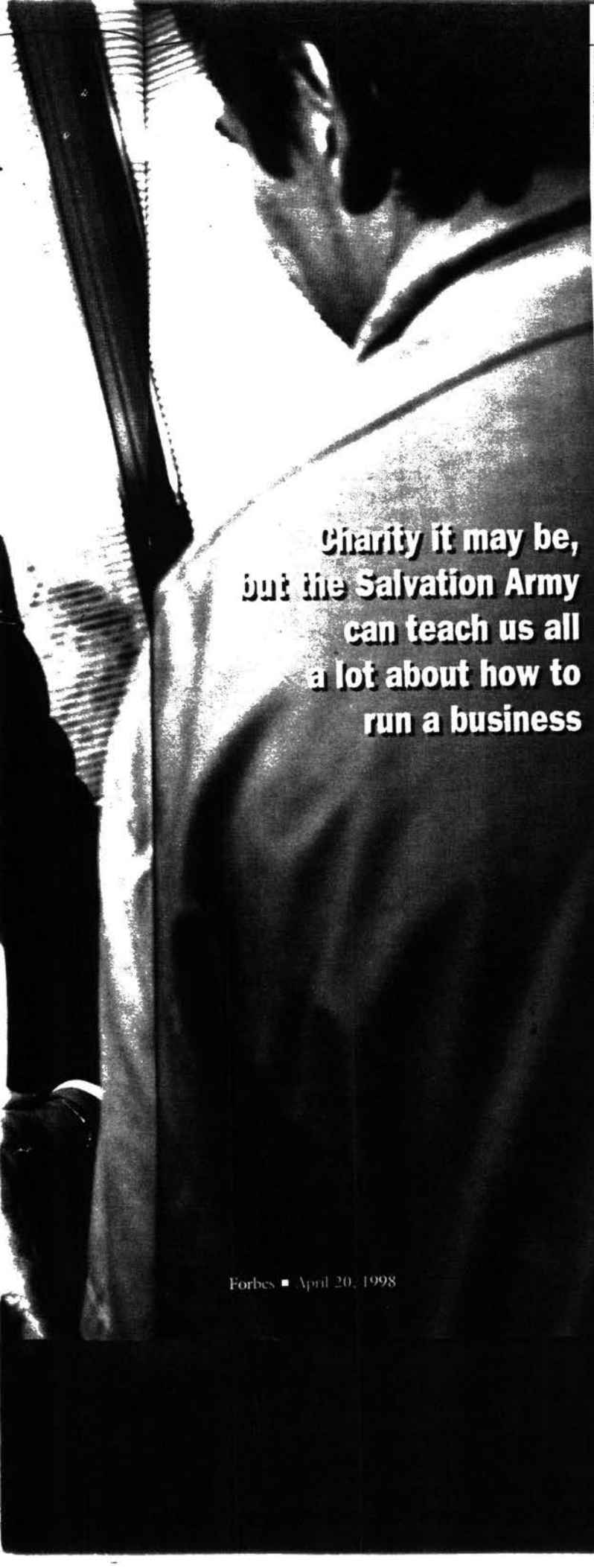
N A T I O N A L A N N U A L R E P O R T 1 9 9 8



What if...

U N I T E D S T A T E S O F A M E R I C A

FOLIO



**Charity it may be,
but the Salvation Army
can teach us all
a lot about how to
run a business**

Forbes ■ April 20, 1998

Booth led boldly with his big bass drum. . . .
The saints smiled gravely and they said: "He's come." . . .
Walking lepers followed, rank on rank . . .
Drabs from the alleyways and drug fiends pale—
Minds still passion-ridden, soul powers frail. . . .
Unwashed legions with the ways of death. . . .
Jesus came from out the courthouse door,
Stretched his hands above the passing poor.
Booth saw not, but led his queer ones there. . . .
Then, in an instant all that blear review
Marched on spotless, clad in raiment new.
The lame were straightened, withered limbs uncurled
And blind eyes opened on a new, sweet world. . . .
Christ came gently with a robe and crown
For Booth the soldier, while the throng knelt down.
He saw King Jesus. They were face to face,
And he knelt aweping in that holy place.
Are you washed in the blood of the Lamb?
—from "General William Booth Enters into Heaven"
by Vachel Lindsay (American poet, 1879–1931)

Can you top this for cost-efficient management?

By Susan Lee and Ashlea Ebeling

THEY MET AT MUSIC CAMP in Upland, Pa. as teenage cornet players. They married in 1957 and became business partners. Today they head an organization with 1996 revenues of \$2 billion, an outpost in every state of the union and 500,000 worker bees.

This is a switch on the usual FORBES success story. No stock options go with the job, and the pay is just about minimum wage. There is, however, tremendous job satisfaction for Commissioners Robert and Alice Watson, 63 and 61, respectively. Together they head the Salvation Army in the U.S. "It's a wonderfully exciting adventure," Robert Watson says, "and a spiritual calling from God."

To Peter Drucker, perhaps the shrewdest observer of the American business scene, the Watsons' "adventure" is more than that. It is part of a movement from which business management can learn a great deal. Drucker writes: "In its productivity, in the scope of its work and in its contribution to American society, the nonprofit sector has grown tremendously in the last two decades. The Salvation Army is an example."*

*Peter Drucker on the Profession of Management, by Peter F. Drucker (Harvard Business School Press, 1998).

We assume our readers monitor their investments carefully.
We suspect they are distressingly casual when they invest in charity.

Peter Drucker's Picks

By Robert Lenzner and Ashlea Ebeling

THERE ARE more than 600,000 charitable organizations in the U.S.—all clamoring for your money. Universities, hospitals, museums, symphony orchestras, church groups, medical research, food for the hungry.

Americans do respond. They gave away \$120 billion in 1996.

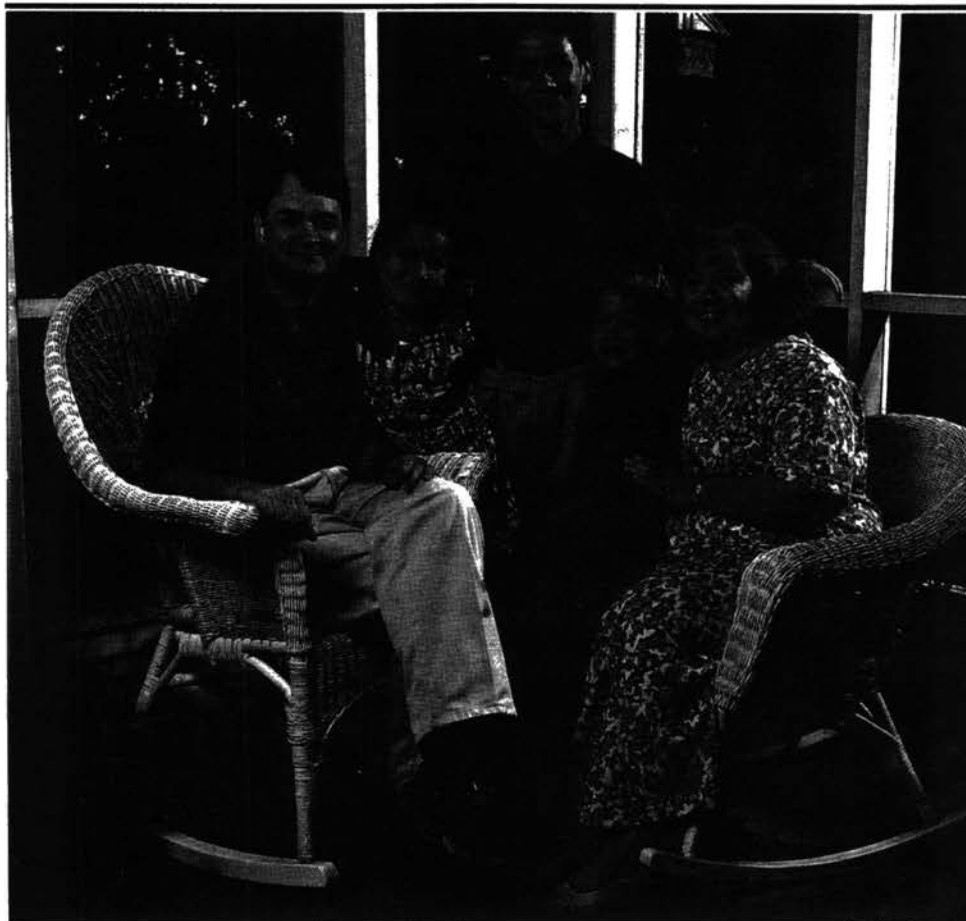
Was it wisely given? We turned to Peter Drucker for an answer. Best known as a management expert, Drucker has been working with the

nonprofit sector for decades. He knows the good ones and the not-so-solid ones.

Drucker calls the nonprofits the “social sector” of the American economy. He is a fervent believer in the importance of this sector at a time when social wants and needs are many and most government programs are costly, self-defeating failures. That these nonprofits be well managed is, in Drucker's view, as

important as that the private sector be well managed.

Drucker calls the Salvation Army “by far the most effective organization in the U.S. No one even comes close to it in respect to clarity of mission, ability to innovate, measurable results, dedication and putting money to maximum use.” Those are his principal criteria: clarity of mission, innovative ability, clear definition of results and willingness to measure



BLACK/TOBY

Innovative
foster care

The 1996

**Drucker Award
went to Lutheran
Social Services
of Illinois' Second
Family Program.
After their HIV-
infected mother
died, Joanna, 8,
and George, 13,
were adopted by
the Sehy
family.**



8/12/99

After you seen,
we will send
original booklet
to Reed & dispatch
copies -

copied
Reed
Podesta

To Bruce
Fly -
BL

FOURTH INTERIM REPORT
RESPONSE TO WELFARE REFORM
BY THE SALVATION ARMY
APRIL 1999

8-12-99

COMMISSIONER ROBERT A. WATSON
NATIONAL COMMANDER





To Bruce
Fly -
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copied
Reed
Podesta

FOURTH INTERIM REPORT
RESPONSE TO WELFARE REFORM
BY THE SALVATION ARMY
APRIL 1999

THE INTERIM REPORT
8-12-99

COMMISSIONER ROBERT A. WATSON
NATIONAL COMMANDER



INTRODUCTION

This Fourth Interim Report is presented to inform all interested in what The Salvation Army continues to do in response to welfare reform and the Welfare Reform Bill (Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996, signed on August 22, 1996). Based on our history, our purposes and current practice, The Salvation Army can be expected to deliver quality services based on the values that drive us and to work for desired change through coalitions and individual consultation efforts.

This being an interim report, progress is reported along with restatement of our philosophy and values. Therefore, if this is the first of the reports you are reading, the material will bring you up to date and obviate review of the preceding reports.

Since 1993, Salvation Army social services administrators and practitioners have met periodically to share information on the reform discussions in Congress and on design models developing at the state level. Our personnel have designed new strategies to:

- ◆ Cope with the basic needs of those beset or terminated by new welfare laws;
- ◆ Develop program models and expand support for families working toward greater self-reliance; and
- ◆ Implement local mentoring support, particularly to single-parent families.

The Salvation Army is committed to cooperating with reform efforts toward total success for all involved. Our personnel continue to be active in making contact with federal and state legislators and officials to offer assistance and to advocate for ideas that will sustain success. Our ultimate goal is the reduction of poverty and, therefore, to encourage government entities to offer enough support and transitional services to move people from indigence to independence. We continue as advocates and servants of the poor.

REFINING DESIGNS

National Welfare Reform became a reality with the passage of the "Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996" (Public Law 104-193). This bill has had far-reaching implications for a number of programs. It eliminated the open-ended federal entitlement program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), and created a new program called Temporary Assistance to Needy Families (TANF). Under TANF, federal support is provided to states in the form of block grants to offer time-limited cash assistance. The key to TANF is the requirement of recipients to work. PL 104-103 also created striking changes in child care, food stamps, supplemental security income for children, benefits for immigrants and child support enforcement programs.

Unlike the old welfare system which essentially distributed federal benefits indefinitely to those who qualified, the new 1996 law gave states an annual \$16.4 billion block grant and broad latitude to design their own programs. To move welfare mothers to work, it provided \$13.9 billion in annual child care funds through fiscal 2002. Participants were required to work after two years. By fiscal 2002, 50% of recipients are to be in-jobs. The amount of federal funding distributed to states is determined by a set formula. States have been able to concentrate on designing programs that fit local needs and have more discretion on how to use federal funding. Many states began operating experimental programs under waiver before passage of the new law. Nearly all participating states have now met the work requirements for single-parent families.

Many of the results to date are optimistic, but analysts caution against reading too much into the numbers. The extent to which the caseload decline is due to a soaring economy is still a question. Experts also ask whether states have "diverted" needy recipients from welfare by making them endure long waiting periods or by simply giving them one-time cash payments.

Good things happened as a result of legislators monitoring the initial impact of the new law. Food stamps were restored to many. A \$3 billion grant program was created to help move people from welfare to work. The minimum wage was raised and the Earned Income Tax Credit was expanded. A \$500 per child tax credit for working families was created. New child support measures were put in place. The Children's Health Insurance Program (CHIP) is the largest expansion in health care in 30 years. A \$20 billion expansion of child care was approved. Implementation of it, mentioned by President Clinton in his State of the Union address, promises much needed support for working parents as well as those needing to stay in the home. Since January 1998, ten states have raised their TANF benefit levels.

Sharp declines in the welfare rolls, a 50% reduction over six years, and a booming economy offering many new jobs (1.9 million jobs last year alone – unemployment this spring is at 4.2%, a 29-year low) has brought us mixed blessings:

- ◆ The sharp declines in welfare rolls has allowed states to reap windfall surpluses.
- ◆ Nineteen states, however, have spent every penny to which they were entitled. (What is the adequacy of reform programming in states in both categories?)
- ◆ The economy has allowed many people access to minimum wage jobs. People cannot sustain themselves, however, at the poverty level with less than \$9-12 per hour.
- ◆ The number of people using food stamps declined so rapidly (nearly 28 million in 1994 to less than 19 million at year-end) that the USDA is studying the phenomenon vis-à-vis the rise in demand on private charities, food banks and meal programs.
- ◆ Congress is exploring reneging on their 1996 deal with the states to pay them \$16.4 billion a year to assume the full responsibility for welfare. Citing large surpluses in some states, they want to use \$350 million of the welfare block grants to offset the cost of providing disaster relief to Central America.

Despite the many success stories and the creation of programs to bring them about, advocates for the poor share the opinion that the focus on caseload has masked the hard fact that many moving off welfare into minimum wage jobs are still in poverty. And the question remains, "What has happened to the people who have moved off welfare?" Quite a number of reports based on research are telling a similar story, i.e., success is not synonymous with reduction in welfare rolls and the former recipients obtaining work.

"Welfare Recipients Who Find Jobs: What Do We Know About Their Employment & Earnings?" by Sharon Parrott, Senior Policy Analyst for the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, says:

- ◆ The jobs held by parents who have left welfare or parents combining work and assistance often fail to provide basic benefits, such as paid sick days, vacation leave, and health benefits.
- ◆ Employed former recipients and recipients combining work and welfare typically are paid less than \$8 per hour and a substantial portion earn less than \$6 per hour.
- ◆ Those who find jobs tend to work a substantial number of hours – typically more than 30 hours per week during week-days in which they are employed.
- ◆ Despite this relatively high number of weekly work hours, recipients who find jobs typically earn between \$2,000 and \$2,700 per quarter (or between \$8,000 and \$10,800 annually), a total well below the poverty line.
- ◆ In addition to low wages, most recipients who find jobs do not receive paid vacation or sick leave from their employer-sponsored health insurance.

"**Snapshots of America's Families**", a national survey of family well-being, highlights the challenges families face. From the summary:

- ◆ Food problems: Nearly half of lower-income families reported worrying about or having difficulty affording food, compared to 1 out of 7 higher-income families.
- ◆ Housing affordability: Nearly 3 in 10 lower-income families reported being unable to pay the mortgage, rent or utility bills at some point in the prior year.
- ◆ Health care and coverage: Despite high rates of public coverage, 21% of low-income children were uninsured. Nationwide, among low-income families, 8% of children were in poor or fair health and 10% had no usual source of care.

Washington Post staff writers, Barbara Vobejda and Judith Havemann, recently reported that:

"In a growing number of states, nearly half of those who remain on the welfare rolls are children whose parents do not qualify for public assistance and in many cases do not even live in the same home.

Known as 'child-only' cases, they represent a variety of families, but the largest group is children being raised by grandparents or other relatives because their parents are in jail, are on drugs or have lost custody as a result of abuse or neglect.

[Are these children] likely to become a permanent welfare stratum, destined to remain in place even as a tide of new reforms washes many others off the rolls?"

Emergency Food and Shelter National Board Program Survey – Surveys were sent to both boards and Local Recipient Organizations (LRO) in October 1998 with the Emergency Food and Shelter National Board's quarterly newsletter, *New Approaches*.

From the responses being compiled, the information thus far indicates that need is increasing and resources available cannot meet the increased need. Initial responses show: 86.5% of local boards and 82.1% of LROs reported the top 4 reasons for increase in demand to be:

- ◆ Lack of a living wage
- ◆ Changes in the income-related safety net
- ◆ Lack of affordable housing
- ◆ Changes in the food-related safety net

Both local boards (88.5%) and LROs (79.9%) reported changes in their client population since 1995:

- ◆ More people who are working, but still poor
- ◆ More unemployed people, (in addition to clients served in the past)
- ◆ More adults over 65
- ◆ More families with children

The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities adds its concern, stating that the weakening of safety net programs is a result of welfare reform. Census figures reveal that on average the depth of poverty increased by \$200 annually. In addition to the alleged weakening of these vital safety net programs, it is pointed out that in at least 40 states, families have lost welfare eligibility before their earnings bring them to the poverty line.

Discouraging people from applying for food stamps and Medicaid has further complicated the "fall-out" phenomenon.

A new **Associated Press 50-state survey** shows that, although some families have lost their benefits because of time restrictions, liberal extension and exemptions have meant that time regulations have had only a small effect on the welfare rolls in the 13 states where the clock has run out.

In contrast, while the power to punish is being used quite differently from state to state, in some states half of the people leaving welfare were dropped for failing to follow rules.

The survey found that:

- ◆ In **Kentucky**, 58% of the people who leave welfare are removed for not following rules.
- ◆ Tens of thousands of welfare beneficiaries in **California** and **Illinois** are dropped each month as punishment. In total, half of those leaving welfare in those two populous states are doing so because they did not follow the rules.
- ◆ In **Florida**, more than 15,000 families left welfare during a typical month last year. About 3,600 reported finding work but nearly 4,200 left because they were punished. The state does not know what happened to almost 7,500 others.
- ◆ In **Iowa**, 47% of those who left welfare did so because they did not comply with requirements such as going to job interviews or providing paper work.
- ◆ In **Nebraska**, about 1,000 cases were closed each month, including about 100 who did not participate in work.
- ◆ In **Arizona**, 60% are taken off welfare because they do not appear for a welfare interview.

- ◆ In **Texas**, 57% of those who left welfare last year were removed because they did not keep appointments or failed to provide required information.
- ◆ In **New Hampshire**, two-thirds of the caseload drop went unexplained. About 28% of people found work.
- ◆ And, **Minnesota, Maine and North Dakota** simply reduce payments if welfare recipients do not follow the rules.

The Associated Press also found, however, that many of those states are giving extensions to people who try to play by the rules and exempting many others altogether because they face tough problems.

The **National Coalition for Homeless** reported that:

- ◆ Current TANF benefits are below the poverty level in every state and, in most states, they are below 75% of the poverty level. (1998 poverty level is \$13,000 for an adult trying to raise two children – *Federal Register*, Volume 63, #36, pp. 9235.)
- ◆ In 49 states and 357 metropolitan areas, the entire maximum TANF grant level does not fully cover the Fair Market Rent for a two-bedroom apartment.
- ◆ In 10 states, the maximum TANF benefit is less than 50% of rental costs.

Salvation Army research reveals that licensed child care centers in the Northeast, for example, are experiencing waiting lists of up to two years. Reform efforts are forcing people to place their children in unlicensed, unregulated settings in the interest of compliance with work requirements. We are also seeing clients who are experiencing tough transportation situations, making it difficult to comply with required interviews, classes or getting to jobs.

The report that billions of dollars are piling up in some states would seem to suggest that money is not an impeding factor in the "real" success of welfare reform. It is our perspective that the long-term goal of reducing poverty is getting insufficient attention. The current situation exists alongside unprecedented levels of employment, low inflation, low interest rates, consumer confidence and good incomes for many as well as a number of government-backed measures to increase availability of child care, address transportation needs and extend supportive transitional services.

In sum, only a continuing partnership commitment between the public, private and voluntary sectors will evolve successful and sustainable welfare reform. Our government is currently spending \$360 billion on low-income benefits programs. Private businesses and organizations by the thousands have agreed to be a part of the great reform. Charitable organizations have committed themselves to increasing their efforts to assist people. Churches, who were previously uninvolved, have in significant numbers joined in. Civic and service clubs and organizations have risen to

new levels of involvement in support of existing efforts. The Salvation Army remains firm in its commitment to work in support of the purposes of the new welfare law and to continue to support innovations in its programming to broaden emergency services, and to shape rehabilitative and supportive services according to the need.

Again, we call upon our congressional leaders who signed into law the welfare reform measure to exercise care by: (1) not expecting the pace to move more rapidly than the new system can accommodate; the short-term success of markedly declining caseloads is not synonymous with sustaining success; and (2) protecting viable programs that support the very reforms for which all are working. We call upon states to use the surpluses to sustain progress in welfare reform. We must not frustrate the process nor render the new system ineffectual by assuming reform has now happened. Welfare Reform must be seen as a *process* and not an *event*.

Local, regional and national coalitions of businesses, charitable agencies and advocacy groups will certainly continue to monitor public and private research efforts. Information devised can serve our partnered commitment to make necessary adjustments in laws, procedures, program formats and services. In January, the W.K. Kellogg Foundation released a national poll indicating that "the public overwhelmingly favors providing a set of work supports so families can move from welfare to permanent jobs. In addition, the poll shows clear support for the government playing a role in providing these forms of assistance for low-income families. There is strong public support for children, working families, and people with disabilities to receive government help with health insurance. Respondents also back supports for skills training, help with rent and transportation assistance."

Continually, we keep in mind that our goal goes beyond getting people off welfare. It is to assist people moving from *indigence* to *independence*. We must stay connected to the issue and to each other, remaining patient for lasting results.

THE SALVATION ARMY'S POSITION

ON WELFARE REFORM

The assistance of our personnel will always be based on social standards set by our high value of humankind.

We affirm that government exists to serve the needs of its citizens; therefore, it is our expectation that societal attitudes and governmental policies should:

- ◆ Empower individuals to realize their dreams through honest effort, deliberate pursuit and productive work.
- ◆ Assist individuals to obtain and maintain a dignified quality of life when their own efforts or abilities fall short of achieving a basic level of living.

To achieve our expectation for government welfare programs, we believe that:

- ◆ All government welfare programs should provide a continuum of services through which individuals are able to meet basic needs, including education and health care for children.
- ◆ Programs and activities designed to assist individuals should assume appropriate interactive responsibility and accountability. A comprehensive continuum can best be achieved when governmental entities foster and maintain cooperative, collaborative efforts among their various departments and with non-governmental social and charitable community agencies.
- ◆ Also, we realize and support the fact that non-governmental social and charitable community agencies are obliged to participate in cooperative networking partnerships that result in the comprehensive deployment of accessible services.
- ◆ As written in the Constitution, states should be encouraged to exercise their sovereign authority for the benefit of their citizens. From this level, unique and tailored responses to regional, local and social conditions can be crafted.
- ◆ We believe the federal government should play an important role in assuring regional consistency and uniformity by establishing general, guiding principles.
- ◆ Every able individual has a right and an obligation to engage in meaningful employment. Minimally, compensation for full-time employment should allow persons to meet physical needs, acquire adequate and safe housing and live at or above the poverty level with some benefits to protect against disruption of individual goals toward self-sufficiency. If jobs offering this modicum of lifestyle remain unavailable to a large segment of the population, innovative and comprehensive empowerment techniques cannot stem the tide of hopelessness and

poverty. (Certainly individuals who are not capable of self-maintenance are morally entitled to protection, care and services.)

- ◆ Government policy should seek to support, strengthen and maintain the family as a first priority. The family is the primary vehicle through which cultural and spiritual values, mores and attitudes are communicated and instilled. We see the healthy family as a catalyst for solving societal problems (e.g., poverty, violence, racial prejudice, substance abuse, unwanted pregnancy, divorce, child neglect, etc.)
- ◆ Children need physical and emotional care. The family is charged with this responsibility. Absent parents are no less obligated to the emotional and physical well-being of their children than are custodial parents. Therefore, every effort should be exerted to assure that non-custodial parents fulfill their obligation of support to the children. When this is not possible or does not occur, the well-being of the children and the custodial parent should not be sacrificed.
- ◆ When individual efforts do not enable people to maintain a basic standard of living, support services for further education/training or alternate means should be available. Client participation in this process is imperative.

ON SOCIAL SERVICES DELIVERY PRINCIPLES

Salvation Army social programs are developed and operated under the following principles:

- ◆ Programming must lift up and facilitate change at the personal level whenever matters of character or conduct are at the root of individual or family dysfunction;
- ◆ Effective intervention must include strategies that alter social circumstances and outside forces as they contribute to suffering;
- ◆ The scale of the intervention must, by design, be commensurate with the human outcomes and life changes sought;
- ◆ Our efforts must be sustained over time, sufficient to support long-term growth;
- ◆ Our efforts must be specific, measurable, realistic, feasible and motivating, yet practical in every sense;
- ◆ Our intervention must not unintentionally injure those it is intended to benefit.
- ◆ While assisting one individual or population, our intervention must not negatively impact the well-being of others.

We believe that God raised up The Salvation Army and inspired its unique capability to meet temporal and spiritual needs. We continue to affirm service without discrimination. Implementation of the foregoing guiding principles not only enables us to provide our best service but appropriately respond to God's great gift to the world, our Lord, Jesus Christ.

ON THE CHURCH'S ROLE

We assert the role of the church and its message of redemption in our strategy for social services. Because all people are the objects of Christ's passion, The Salvation Army's expanse of ministry exists. Our comprehensive programming is based on the value that, because of the death and resurrection of Christ, all people can experience redemption, rehabilitation, and restoration. Comprehensive ministry then includes creating opportunities for all who come within our influence to know of Christ's love and of our ultimate concern for their spiritual, as well as their social needs. Appropriate referral of client individuals and families to the fellowship and nurture of a community congregation is part of our strategy to restore esteem and develop value orientation. The Salvation Army participates with other churches to provide an atmosphere of inclusion of all people.

ON COLLABORATION/PARTNERSHIPS

The Salvation Army is one of several organizations capable of providing qualitative and effective life-changing intervention in response to identified individual and community needs. However, no governmental unit, social services agency, church, school or other independent entity can, by itself, solve the many and complex social ills expressed in individual need and suffering.

Just as the fabric of individual and familial life is interdependent, so, too, must be the work of the multiple and various organizations, local and national, dedicated to alleviating and bettering the human condition. Our tradition requires that when system change is necessary, our role to advocate for that change, in cooperation with others, is vital to the responsibility we accept for our existence. Then, and perhaps only then, we can best, as a collective of resources, achieve a truly integrated, seamless community response.

ON CONTRACT FUNDING

The Salvation Army is committed to serve needy people without discrimination, but we object to efforts to dictate what our values must be as a requirement to receiving funds to serve those who are desperately in need. A few states and local governments are using aggressive strategies to advance a particular agenda by inappropriately using federal funds as a tool to force faith-based groups and other program contractors into acceptance. We reaffirm that we will not accept funds from any source whose restrictions would compromise our mission and principles. Serving hurting people should not be politicized!

ON CHARITIES' LIMITATIONS

Like others of our peer charitable organizations, we have the infrastructure to do more than we do now. But we are already working extremely hard to raise dollars necessary

to meet our current service needs. Big increases may not be viable based on the judgments of many leaders of charities. Therefore, we cannot substitute for governments' roles in maintaining a safety net for people who are victims of unavoidable shifts in employment opportunities and the market economy. To do more, we must depend on dollars equal to expected services.

ON EMERGENCY ASSISTANCE

The Salvation Army has increased service directed toward families moving from welfare to work and greater self-reliance. The Territorial Progress Reports that follow will give information on some of the creative programs that have been developed. They work in cooperation with various state and local organized efforts to place welfare recipients in work situations and/or in upward mobility oriented programming.

The Salvation Army shares an abiding concern with other non-governmental providers of services, particularly as it relates to what has been termed "the fallout effect." "Fallout" refers to the need for the basic services of food, shelter, clothing and emergency assistance. Demand for these services on the local level increased markedly following the inception of the new law. Demand is still at a high level.

Today, a truly national picture is hard to paint, since there are many variables due to the differences in the way individual states or counties put their reform programs together. In some counties we have seen a 300% increase in the demand for emergency help. In other counties the demand has been static. Within counties, one of our centers that serves meals on a daily basis will sustain, over months, a 60-70% increase in guests, while our family service office will experience small increased requests for food and other necessities.

Are we witnessing calm before the tempest hits? Serious sanctions and termination of benefits have not begun to take place on a larger scale. There is success at the moment, reflected in the placing of the most job-ready persons on welfare into the work force, and in the diminution of the number of people now applying for welfare in the light of the changing benefits. What will happen as "caps" are enforced? The burden of important emergency help cannot shift permanently to charities.

Our experience as a member agency of the Emergency Food and Shelter Program National Board is that the working poor, a segment of our society which is on the increase, will particularly be in need of cash assistance for prescription medicine, utilities, transportation, rent, food and other necessary items for which there will be few resources. We have been advocating for an increase in the Emergency Food and Shelter Program to help absorb the increase in demand. After 15 years, the funding level is back to its original \$100 million. The purchasing power of this money, distributed to 2,500 local boards in the 50 states and protectorates, has, therefore, been eroded to only \$68 million.

We have already established in this interim report that providing adequate services to the working poor requires a long-term commitment – because it is often necessary to assist someone in rebuilding their support system within the community as well as their economic base and self-esteem. Often they have been caught in a culture of poverty and dependency for years or generations. Learning new life skills and self-advocacy will take time. These efforts must be fully shared and emergency help will be an integral part.

TERRITORIAL PROGRESS REPORTS

CENTRAL TERRITORY

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Illinois
Indiana
Iowa
Kansas

Michigan
Minnesota
Missouri
Nebraska

North Dakota
South Dakota
Wisconsin

SUMMARY OF IMPACT

Since the passage of the Personal Responsibility and Work Reconciliation Act of 1996, social services caseloads in the Central Territory have generally increased in number and severity of need. Various factors could bring about more dramatic changes, including a downturn in the current strong economy and the future challenge of difficult-to-place individuals in the workforce following the initial placement of the most "job-ready" persons. We continue to review the Army's appropriate role in welfare-to-work initiatives as we position our strengths to deal with what is still believed will be increasing demands for its service.

As program innovations are explored at the level of the local community, the county, and even the state level, policy makers and social planners have frequently turned to The Salvation Army for special affiliations. We are well positioned to expand the scope and impact of our caring ministries for the future.

In Michigan and Indiana, welfare reform has been fairly thoughtful and well organized. Family Independence Agency TANF caseloads have declined markedly, though it is unclear how many of these households are yet earning a living wage, i.e., how sustainable will these transitions be. While The Salvation Army in Michigan continues to move individuals and families toward self sufficiency as much as is practical, feasible and humane – through requirement of client compliance with case plans and follow-through with specific personal responsibilities, careful screening out of inappropriate and/or duplicative requests, active interagency coordination with other assistance providers and an increased emphasis on underlying causal factors (at both the individual and policy levels) – it also has seen an increase in requests from 2 client populations:

1. **The working poor:** The working poor usually request material assistance in the form of food and/or utility assistance, to make ends meet until their incomes increase.
2. **Long-term welfare clients:** The multiple-problem welfare client who has few if any skills for the workplace and has been welfare dependent

for many years continues to come to the Army for help. Our ministrations are often only temporary and superficial, and while staff may identify underlying factors, there has been little change in our ability to render needed treatment, education and training or other in-depth assistance for these individuals because of time and funding limitations, nor have we been successful in obtaining these services from other community agencies.

Both states, however, have now allocated additional funds for both innovative and traditional support services which help TANF beneficiaries move from welfare to work. These new pools of funding, particularly that which is available through the Michigan Family Independence Agency as of the beginning of 1999, are greater than they have been in the past 30 years.

In **Nebraska**, local community stakeholders have been charged by the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS) with the task of developing a local Network Management Organization (NMO). Key staff from local organizations have been active on the service delivery and resource development committees.

The concept of the local community network as the primary conduit of state HHS funds, contractor for services and manager of service delivery was driven by the desire to partner with local communities who best knew the local needs and to empower those communities to provide needed HHS services. Each community would be granted \$40,000 to develop their NMO if they incorporated (a new 501c3). **Omaha** did so. However, because the new governor replaced the HHS director who had been driving this plan, some ambiguity exists about its future.

In **Iowa**, regional groups have been formed with a similar purpose. They are at various stages of development. In 1997, the **Iowa** Director of Human Services shared information regarding local/regional groups and urged participation. These groups appear to be advisory and coordinative versus conduits for funding.

STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT

In both **Michigan** and **Indiana** there is a compelling case to be made for the provision of more employment-related services. The Army in this region does not have a great deal of expertise or recent experience in this kind of service, having focused instead on an entitlement-oriented approach to individual and family material assistance and basic safety net, last-resort types of services.

It may be better for the Army to remain in the generic support service business. Indeed welfare reform dynamics are calling for more child day care services, material assistance to the working poor, medical and dental services, transportation assistance, behavioral health services and corrections initiatives. There are, however, a number of job-related services which could be further developed, ranging from in-

house training programs at our residential Adult Rehabilitation Centers to economic development programs, such as micro-loan services for low-income persons who are trying to start businesses. An Army unit can develop these services on its own, or it can play a role through affiliation with other providers who are themselves operating employment-related projects.

Additional innovation can be realized in the areas of mentoring, transportation, and health care. As low-income and indigent individuals and families move into the workforce, there is significant need for personal mentoring and support services, delivered by cadres of trained volunteers, especially during the first 12-24 months of employment. The Army is well suited to develop such services.

In light of the size of the Army's vehicle fleet, it is not inconceivable that creative programming could develop a local transportation service. The need is extreme, especially in rural and suburban areas, and in those communities where low-income families tend to live in the city's center while most job creation is in outlying areas. Another need is for affordable, used automobiles for welfare-to-work clients, a program concept that certainly could be developed, perhaps along the lines of the 1998 CLOTHING-WORx program (see page 21).

EXAMPLES OF STATE/ARMY OR SPECIAL ARMY INITIATIVES

Substance abuse treatment services in **Michigan** through The Salvation Army Turning Point Programs in the west and the Harbor Light Center in the southeast, have remained viable during several years of brutal winnowing of the wider treatment field as a result of changes in healthcare funding methods. The population here, like the prison population, has grown steadily younger, more multi-addicted, and possessing of fewer family and/or employment supports. As employers screen drug users and alcoholics out of the workforce, these individuals often fall into the public sector safety net, then come to the Army not only for emergency assistance but often for behavioral health treatment, since our programs usually offer the only option available to them for obtaining needed treatment.

The Salvation Army in **Michigan** and **Indiana** has explored a number of health care reform initiatives, which relate to welfare reform. One shining example is a new Medicaid managed care pilot project which hopes to demonstrate how behavioral health services can most effectively and efficiently be delivered to the poor. The **Michigan Behavioral Health Network**, with a current catchment area of 50 Michigan counties and growing, believes that public sector health care can be best delivered through private non-profit, mission-oriented service providers, in affiliation with regional governmental funding/licensing entities, and that it can outperform most if not all commercial managed care plans. In fact, several commercial plans around the nation, and one in Michigan, have begun pulling out of the public sector arena, finding the clientele more needy and the financial return more meager than they first thought. These departures may open the way for innovative programs.

In **Michigan**, The Salvation Army and the state welfare department, called the Family Independence Agency, created an innovative public/private service project called the **Emergency Shelter Partnership**. This joint effort, operational since November 1991, provides short-term emergency shelter through approximately 130 shelter-provider organizations around the state. The project also provides housing through local motels in areas where there is not an existing shelter.

Also in **Michigan**, the statewide utility fund project known as **Peoplecare** – a partnership between the Army and one of the state's major utilities, Consumers Energy. Pre-dating welfare reform by a decade, it has risen in stature during the past several years as a means of preventing homelessness [through utility arrearage assistance]. It has also become an important aid to working families who have still not reached sustained financial independence and need this kind of assistance (somewhat in the fashion that emergency food assistance supplements and supports these same families). In the western part of **Michigan** and the **Upper Peninsula**, a much smaller project, The Michigan Gas Company Voluntary Contribution Program, offers similar assistance services.

CLOTHING-WORx, a new welfare-to-work program was released for implementation throughout the 11 central states in March 1998. CLOTHING WORx provides clothing to former welfare recipients in addition to corps-related services and referrals. In **Illinois**, the first Intra-State Steering Committee on CLOTHING-WORx took place in October 1998. The goal of this initiative is full implementation of the CLOTHING-WORx program throughout **Illinois** in collaboration with the Illinois Department of Human Services (DHS). On October 1, 1998, representatives of The Salvation Army joined Secretary Peters of the Illinois Department of Human Services for a press conference announcing the unique partnership.

A **Mentoring project** is providing a formal mechanism which involves Salvation Army congregations and other churches in sponsoring individuals moving from welfare dependency to self-sufficiency. There are several excellent models, including the developing "Bridge Builders Project" developed with the Women's Ministries Department.

PROJECTS UNDER EXPLORATION

Child Day Care

We seek to expand affordable, quality, licensed child care in our buildings, or emergency and job-site child day care. Home-based satellite child care projects, with The Salvation Army providing recruitment, development and training services would help to meet a significant need for those moving from welfare dependency to self-sufficiency.

Hot-Line for Troubled Children

We are exploring a telephone information/referral hot-line specially designed for families moving from welfare dependency to self sufficiency. They will also assist parents

with the inevitable challenges of parenting troubled children.

Subsidized Employment

We are exploring employment opportunities within The Salvation Army through a more formalized recruitment, assessment, training and supportive services initiative. Initial emphasis will be on support staff functions such as clerical, food service, housekeeping, thrift stores, warehousing, etc. This might include community service placements.

IMPLICATIONS FOR ACTION

As responsibility for welfare-related services is transferred from the federal government to states and counties, The Salvation Army's visibility and connectedness at state and local levels will be increasingly vital to our ability to impact policy, program design and implementation.

It is further the opinion of report contributors that the Army must "tell its story," to the general public and to governmental units, as well to the collateral provider community and to major funders. Even in tiny communities where Army services are not sophisticated or well developed, our traditional emphasis on the whole person, including the spiritual component, is increasingly becoming accepted again. Enlightened policy makers understand that substantive life changes require holistic change on the individual level.

Another organizational strategy for winning public favor and new opportunities to serve involves the issue of measuring client outcomes. It is the changed life, as clearly measured in behavioral terms, that will establish the Army as a preferred provider of funders. We can tell the public how many persons we served, but we have difficulty showing that any of these persons changed for the better as a result of our ministrations. The whole subject of organizational excellence and quality of care is increasingly important to the public and to those entities that would ask us to work with the poor.

EASTERN TERRITORY

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Connecticut	New Hampshire	Pennsylvania
Delaware	New Jersey	*Puerto Rico &
Maine	New York	Virgin Islands
Massachusetts	Ohio	Rhode Island

* Protectorates

SUMMARY OF IMPACT

The Eastern Territory's family services offices are seeing a dramatic increase in multiple-need individuals and families. At our shelters, the family merely in need of housing is rare. More normal are severe, often intractable, health, mental health, addiction, violence, criminal, employment and educational problems. In-house case management, which focuses on a person's or family's strength, skills and genuine interests, is critical but difficult due to daytime unavailability of individuals and families. Alternate scheduling is being explored for this important intervention process.

STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT

Most divisional social services secretaries in the Eastern Territory conduct divisional social services seminars in an effort to bring officer, professional and direct service staff together to discuss the impact of welfare reform in their area. This also provides an opportunity to share innovative program models and share information. The divisional headquarters, also, have been active in researching grant opportunities to subsidize Salvation Army programs that foster welfare-to-work goods and specialized programs aimed at abstinence and adolescent pregnancy prevention.

EXAMPLES OF STATE/ARMY INITIATIVES – Update

Empire State (Upstate New York)

Our welfare-to-work programs in this area have just begun. **Buffalo's** Salvation Army funded pilot project, "New Beginnings," placed 39 participants in jobs in its first year, teaching us many valuable lessons. While lower than hoped, **Buffalo's** 22.5% placement rate is comparable to others serving multi-problem populations. Multiple and increasing presenting problems portend similar or even declining future job placement rates in TANF's years 3, 4, 5 and thereafter. Our new **Rochester** HUD-funded welfare-to-work initiative commenced in January.

Most new jobs in **New York State** are in **New York City**, not upstate, where our jobless rates, both urban and rural, are among the nation's highest, even in a boom year. The possibilities under consideration for **Upstate New York** to assist in the transformation from welfare to workfare are:

1. Training for units in strength and interest-based assessments and interventions
2. Volunteer mentoring to supplement professional case management
3. Weekly support groups for newly placed workers
4. Weekly small groups based on interests and Christian support groups
5. Training participation (especially AA, NA and Al-Anon)

Greater New York Area (New York City and its suburbs)

The Salvation Army of Greater New York was awarded a 3-year contract with the City of New York Human Resources Administration to administer a citywide Work Experience Program (WEP). The WEP program is contractually obligated to provide 300 work assignments throughout the five boroughs in the following areas: office services, maintenance services and human/community services. The program is also obligated to help a minimum of 75 participants obtain full-time permanent employment per contract year.

The Salvation Army of Greater New York utilizes its existing programs and activities as valuable resources for the WEP program. This is the key element that differentiates the program from most WEP programs. This allows for the adoption of a comprehensive approach when dispensing services to program participants. During the first two months of the program, they have successfully placed more than 50 participants in work experience jobs at numerous Salvation Army locations throughout the City of New York. The WEP program has recently sponsored a job fair where many city employers met and interviewed program participants for positions with their companies.

Southern New England

The Salvation Army of Greater Hartford Community Services Department (CSD) created Job Readiness Seminars which provide participants with the tools they need to find and keep a job. The free one-day seminars provide a critical link for participants seeking employment in the business community. The staff provides liaison services between the employer and the prospective employees. The majority of participants are single adults and single mothers who are transitioning from welfare to work. A fuller Job Readiness Program, based upon the Job Readiness Seminars, is being developed.

Massachusetts

The Massachusetts Salvation Army Family Services Bureau vocational caseworker continues to work with individuals looking for employment. In collaboration with a

Boston employment agency, it will be hosting a series of workshops for people re-entering the workforce. The unit in **Fall River** has received government funding to provide vocational support for homeless individuals in that community.

Eastern Pennsylvania and Delaware

CROSSROADS is a continuum of connected supportive social services targeted toward individuals transitioning from welfare to work. Funding comes from a contract between The Salvation Army and the State of **Delaware**. There are 5 components to the program: Crossroads Basics (Strengthening Young Parent Families), Crossroads Links (Stay in School/Return to School Services for ABC Teens), Crossroads Links II (Academic Remediation), Crossroads (Keep a Job), and CrossroadsCareer (Hard to Place).

S.A.F.E – The Salvation Army's Focus on Employment Program is a welfare initiative funded from The Community Solutions of The Department of Public Welfare in Pennsylvania. A unique aspect of this project is that organizations funded through The Community Solutions program must have a corporate sponsor. The corporate sponsor of The Salvation Army is the ARAMARK Company, a nationwide food service company.

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Maryland
Mississippi
North Carolina
Oklahoma
South Carolina
Tennessee

Texas
Virginia
West Virginia
Washington, DC

SUMMARY OF IMPACT

Since the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act was signed by President Clinton in August 1996, many Salvation Army locations have been faced with an increasing demand on the services they provide. In some of our states, time limits have expired or are fast approaching, which will drop from the rolls many families who have been serviced by public assistance. The Salvation Army has found basically two scenarios:

1. There has been a **lack of initiative** in some families to move beyond a welfare status; and
2. In other cases, families find that **understanding the system** and complying with the rules governing benefits is difficult.

The Salvation Army is continuing to experience a significant demand for basic human services, such as food, medicines, rent, utilities, and other types of emergency assistance. However, the Army's social services offices across the Southern part of the United States are moving to help service recipients become self supporting and to provide the support that will enable them to move beyond the roadblocks of their lives.

STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT

The Salvation Army has been involved in the development of programs and initiatives to help welfare recipients move toward gainful employment. Many of these programs are coordinated with other agencies in collaborative efforts to help families budget their finances, provide education, develop training and make job placements.

The Salvation Army desires to stand with families as they move beyond the entitlement mentality and move toward self-sufficiency, continuing a history of innovative approaches, reforming welfare one family at a time.

EXAMPLES OF STATE/ARMY INITIATIVES – Update

Mississippi

Because of welfare reform, The Salvation Army in **Tupelo**, has started a nutritionally balanced noon meal for hungry people. Local merchants are providing the food served at the "Lunch Line" and are serving 35-50+ a day, providing nourishment for entire families. The media plays an important role in **Tupelo** by helping to restock the food pantry. "**Need Knows No Season**" is being recognized by the media and the general population. They are developing an innovative day program to help working adults with literacy and life skills such as parenting and money management.

Florida

In **Orlando**, the Self-Sufficiency Center is furnishing new programs to help people get to work. An employment counselor, assigned to The Salvation Army, helps clients obtain employment. Consumer Credit classes are provided to help with budgeting and money management. **Sarasota** continues to expand its feeding program and food pantry resources due to an increase of former welfare recipients who are unable to buy food. **Hernando County** entered a Community Service/Work Experience Program (CSWEP) agreement with Pasco-Hernando WAGES Coalition. The Salvation Army provides a work site for the clients in non-paid, six-month job training programs. Clients gain experience without losing their financial aid. In the **Brooksville** office, the first client trainee working as a clerical and social service aid was hired as a part-time employee after her CSWEP training was completed, removing her from the welfare roll.

In **Jacksonville**, the Child Development Center is meeting the needs of disadvantaged families and children. The Center provides quality childcare services to young children of homeless families at no cost, and to low-income families' children that receive Title XX funding at a minimum cost.

Tennessee

The Salvation Army Foster Grandparent Program in **Clarksville** continues to use the services of the "Granny" to watch and care for the shelter children while their parents are seeking employment or attending to doctor appointments. **Clarksville** presently has two part-time "Grannys" working daily at the shelter and helping in the feeding program.

Virginia

In **Charlottesville, Washington, DC, and Suffolk**, the Department of Human Services refers TANF (Temporary Assistance for Needy Families) recipients to The Salvation Army, to perform community service work as required by TANF, to qualify for assistance and food stamps allotment. In the second half of 1998, "Project Breakthrough," a family support program, was able to secure a micro loan for one

client, enabling her to start her own business. In **Lynchburg**, The Salvation Army Child Care provides affordable child care to low-income families and welfare family recipients. The **Tidewater** Social Services office continues to serve the TANF population, since they have decreased many of their food allotments, and the non-custodial parents' population, mainly homeless men, either in an emergency or transitional housing program who are made liable for child support.

North Carolina

In Statesville, The Salvation Army corps continues to work with the Work First Program. Besides Statesville, 6 other North Carolina units – Charlotte, Fayetteville, Gastonia, Goldsboro, Hickory and Wilmington – are also involved with the Work First Program. Clients are placed at a Salvation Army work site to obtain job skills while they are looking for a job.

The Salvation Army in Durham initiated the Life Sufficiency Program. This is a nonresidential program in which clients receive computer training, job counseling and other supportive services while they transition from welfare to self-sufficiency. Fayetteville received Crisis Intervention Program funds through the Department of Social Services (DSS) to give assistance utilities. Salisbury received federal, state and county Emergency Assistance Funds through DSS to provide assistance with rent and utilities. Shelby also received TANF Block Grant funds from DSS to provide emergency assistance with rent and utilities.

South Carolina

The Family Independence Act is South Carolina's legislative response to welfare reform. The State Assembly conducted a 2-year review which surveyed family independence workers from across the state. This review identified the biggest barrier to self-sufficiency, a recipient's self-image and self-worth. The Salvation Army in South Carolina has developed a contractual relationship with the state to receive referrals and develop programs to address these barriers to employment.

Oklahoma

The Salvation Army in Tulsa was awarded a contract from the Oklahoma Department of Human Services (ODHS) to provide comprehensive case management services for 200 families receiving TANF benefits. The goal of the Oklahoma TANF program is work while building healthy and self-sufficient families, fostered through employment focused activities such as: job search and training, placement opportunities, mentoring, skills development, literacy, child care, transportation, etc.

In July 1998, The Salvation Army began receiving cases, and as of March 1999, it had 188 families in its caseload. Of these families, 75% of the adult head of households is either employed or in the final stages of job readiness training. The project leads participants to obtain and maintain full employment in Oklahoma, Tulsa and Pontotoc Counties on a pilot basis for two years.

Full employment is defined as 35-40 hours per week, permanent status, with or without health benefits, a wage of no less than \$6.50 per hour, and remaining employed for at least 1 year. Reimbursement to The Salvation Army is based on "payment points" which are all closely linked to the movement of clients into the job market.

Texas

Galveston offers one-on-one literacy tutoring, basic education, money management, computer training, assessment and job referral. Up to the present time volunteers have used donated computer equipment. While most of the clients are single men, there are plans to expand the program to include family members from the homeless shelter.

The Salvation Army in **Sherman** provides rent deposit to its clients, helping them to move into public housing until they are able to obtain a permanent and stable job. It is also networking with the Texas Workforce Commission and other agencies to expand the education/job resources.

SUMMARY

The Salvation Army is still striving to help those who remain within the benefit rolls. We are seeing much greater collaboration and networking among agencies, churches and individuals who are working together to help others achieve a more self-supporting way of living. Welfare recipients who have been depending on public assistance for many years are obtaining education, training, seeking additional skills and finally becoming employed.

WESTERN TERRITORY

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Wyoming
*Guam

* Protectorate

The four regional reports that follow express the perspective and concerns of Salvation Army personnel in the Mountain States, Pacific Northwest, the Southwest and California. Common themes among them are: an increasing need for food and other assistance; relatively static resources of The Salvation Army and other groups; increasing personnel effort (both time and levels of assistance); securing housing and other necessities on the limited incomes; and obtaining employment despite the contrasts between urban and rural areas in terms of the availability of employment.

SUMMARY OF IMPACT Colorado, Wyoming, Utah

The good news is the bad news. We are in a boom economy (except for **Casper, WY**, where further energy-related jobs have been lost), but we cannot afford the boom. The strong economy has helped 40-50% of our former welfare recipients leave the rolls, but it has also put these same people in jeopardy. Welfare reform has not occurred in a vacuum, and all the factors compound each other.

Most of the new jobs are "service" jobs paying somewhat more than minimum wage. Even fast food jobs often pay \$6.00 - \$6.50 per hour, some with a "signing bonus." But the average cost of "low cost" two-bedroom housing in **Denver** has risen from \$450 to \$650 per month. This means that an hourly wage of \$15.34 is required to afford cheap housing. A newspaper columnist recently wrote of a single mother who was not eligible for any benefits due to \$1,400 per month income, but her housing costs were \$1,000 per month. In fast growing **Douglas County**, Colorado (Castle Rock), cheap housing is now \$1,300 per month. This shortage of affordable housing is compounded by the conversion of rental units to condos, which has further depleted the limited supply of low-cost housing. Even in our larger cities there is very little cheap, substandard housing because most has been torn down for offices, parking lots and condos.

Welfare reform varies among states and counties. In **Arapahoe County**, south of Denver, recipients are told they must have a job in 30 days (not two years). One County

Commissioner suggested that people who did not like their county's rules could move. They want to help those who are working to help themselves. **El Paso County** (Colorado Springs) has found that the majority of new recipient enrollments are new to the area. These people come for jobs first and housing possibilities second but are often disappointed on both counts.

Emergency public assistance is minimal, at best, in this region. General assistance is optional to the counties in Colorado, and what is done is most often limited to about 4 days. When staff complained that the welfare department did not issue emergency checks often enough under the "presumption of need," state and county officials did not even know that such a federal provision existed. We have elected officials who believe the government should not be in the welfare business at all.

The 40-50% drop in enrollment has put many people outside the public benefits safety net. We have seen a significant increase in requests for food, rent and utility assistance from those no longer in the system and those sanctioned by reduced checks due to the new rules. Missed appointments, for whatever reason, are now costly. We have been unable to meet the increased demand due to our own fiscal restraints that preceded welfare reform. We have simply had to say "no" more often because of very limited funds. In spite of our reputation we cannot actually do more with less. Although we may do more with less than the government, we cannot provide more assistance with less income.

Public welfare departments have large surpluses due to the reduction in welfare rolls. These funds are available for welfare-to-work training or job placement programs, but they are NOT available for funding food, rent and utility assistance requests. We are caught between the increased demand for assistance and limited resources.

Welfare reform has brought more unresolvable requests, usually for high rents or large utility bills. The only reason we do not have more families and individuals coming into our shelters and transitional housing programs is that they are limited by space. We cannot increase capacity at this time. Total unduplicated numbers served has decreased because clients end up staying longer. Neither our clients nor The Salvation Army can afford the high housing costs to help our families move into or maintain their own housing.

STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT

For the past two years, this division has been in a survival mode, struggling to maintain the level of service while minimizing costs. With the close of 1998, we have been able to eliminate most deficits and can begin to consider program expansion:

- ◆ There is consideration for a mentoring program for welfare mothers entering the workplace in both **Denver** and **Grand Junction**.
- ◆ Women's Ministries have held programs on office fashion on a budget.

- ◆ Some corps with thrift stores have made special efforts to provide clothing needed for new jobs. Some provide supplemental food on a weekly basis because in-kind food is available when the cash needed for other expenses is not.
- ◆ **Colorado Springs** has a new HUD Supportive Housing Program called FRESHSTART which will provide transitional housing and case management services for 10-12 families.

SUMMARY OF IMPACT

Washington, Oregon, Idaho

The welfare reform impact in the Pacific Northwest has paradoxical regional issues. Both **Washington** and **Oregon** are rated in the top 10 of the states and protectorates in responding to welfare reform and have relatively generous time limits and support services. Idaho, however, is rated 51st. The first indication from a statistical view of the welfare rolls is that there is success. For example, 17% of Washington's welfare rolls reduced in the first year. However, it is not seen in the provider community that this is an accurate portrayal of a complex issue.

The paradoxes in the Northwest relate to *geography, economics and resource accessibility*. For example, the bulk of the population of Washington is located in the **Puget Sound** region with a 2.3% unemployment rate. The balance is located in communities that are largely rural, with populations under 50,000 and economies formerly dependent on fishing, lumbering and agriculture. The increase in employment resources comes from high tech jobs and related services. Microsoft alone employs 12,000 temporary workers.

There is urban sprawl, increase in housing costs, increase in transportation nightmares, and divergent skill requirements. People moving from welfare are much less likely to be able to access the higher paid, higher skilled jobs. A study project done through the University of Washington's Northwest Policy Center, released in January of 1999, found that the new estimate of wages needed to support a family of 3 in Washington was now \$16.86 per hour. The average wage of a full-time worker moving from welfare to work is \$7 per hour.

The same report documents that 1 in every 5 families moving from welfare to work goes without food 1 day, 1 in 3 has no health insurance, and 1 in 5 have lost housing due to increased rent. In some areas we find the number of working families using the food pantry almost equal to the number of users on government assistance. Food pantries are covering essential shortfalls of food that regularly impact health, ability to learn, ability to perform on the job, and growth and development of children.

Rent and home ownership costs are increasing monthly. Affordable housing is moving further from the urban center and business community. Transportation and accessibility is an issue as housing can take 50% of the salary, and child care (if available) can eat up the balance. Child care resources are not well established in the

areas now rapidly moving from farmland to bedroom communities, and are insufficient in the Seattle area. Mass transit is limited to buses, and there are grueling travel distances to circumnavigate beautiful lakes and mountains.

One story illustrates the challenges. A single mother, a former TANF client, obtained part-time employment in the south end of the county. She also lived in the south county. It took 4 hours each day to take her two boys to child care, catch the bus and navigate the transfers to cross the plateau and hills that split the south county. The job was 4 hours each day at \$6 hour. She is now a tired, working, poor mother, paying almost full-time child care to get a part-time job. She probably will not last at this, and will be seen as having "failed."

In rural communities, there are not economic bases to sustain the requirements to work. Unemployment can soar to 19% depending on the season. Many of the workers formerly in agriculture lack the competitive language or technical skills to move into the more sophisticated and technologically based "growth industries." Some companies are offering a small number of welfare-to-work positions, but find that the support services are not in place, including state subsidies for the position.

While the efforts to provide impetus for employment and independence have value, the weak link is that the children remain "dependent" for about 18 years, not 5 or 3 or 2 years. The support systems for society to raise children are weak or non-existent. It is not going well. Children come home to empty houses or to care for younger siblings. Child care workers are underpaid and state requirements are minimal, which appears to devalue children. Schools and businesses are still not, in reality, family supportive. Schools are only sporadically offering services for before or after school on site. A working parent has tremendous challenges coordinating school days off, hours and special activities. This is even harder if the parent is alone.

If the clients who have needed government assistance are evaluated by their apparent ability to succeed, it would appear that welfare reform successes relate to the "top third," non-profit strategies look at the "middle third," and there is a whole group of "bottom third" that are the cast-offs. Part of The Salvation Army's role has traditionally been with this group. If funding resources and public empathy continues to sour towards those who do not succeed, our mission and passion will be tested when the reality of lifetime limits is seen.

STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT

Shift workers and part-time workers are also impacted by day care schedules. One non-profit agency in **Seattle** recently took over a hospital-run day care, and is attempting to provide infant and evening shift hours. This is an expensive proposal, and the Army has this program possibility on a "what if" list. The Salvation Army in **Spokane** recently opened infant care and has a continual waiting list. Several Salvation Army units are currently exploring after school options including licensed or

drop-in programs, homework centers and supports for educational achievement.

The Salvation Army is linking with other non-profits in attempting to provide some work placement sites through clerical or thrift store related positions, but this is still embryonic. The current response is to establish ourselves in the supportive role through two strategies that strengthen the employability and job retention capacity of the individual. Currently, the Employment Advancement and Retention Network program (EARN) is working with clients in existing housing support services that the Army provides in **Seattle**. The goal is to expand countywide (and we have now been approached by the county); the goal is then to expand to support rural communities.

An effort is being made to link our youth interventions to the Search Institute Developmental Asset model, so that we are deliberately and intentionally providing for the future of our communities, supporting parents and caring for youth.

Re-focusing on community strengths and coordinating the assets already existing in our neighborhood is part of our vision. Continued advocacy and documentation of trends is essential. In a time of apparently diminishing resources and increasing accountability, we must direct our resources and think about the impact on the outcomes. Understanding the strategy as primary, secondary or tertiary will be part of the evaluation. Will the community best be served by prevention or treatment? The Salvation Army has expertise in a wide spectrum, but needs to evaluate strengths and resource allocations more deliberately. If we continue to be engaged in the community and to listen to the people who come through the door, we will continue to be viable into the future.

SUMMARY OF IMPACT

West Texas, New Mexico, Arizona, Southern California

If the 43-county **Texas Border Region** were a state or protectorate, it would rank first in poverty rate, first in birth rate and first in percent of the population that speaks Spanish at home. It would also rank lowest in per-capita income, lowest in homes with telephones and lowest in registered motor vehicles per capita.¹

By every economic indicator, the **Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California** border regions have been growing rapidly since at least the early 1980s. But this growth has not always meant prosperity. The influx of immigrants from Mexico and Central America has created a large unskilled workforce, at a time when NAFTA treaties have prompted the relocation of U.S. assembly plants and clothing manufacturers to maquiladoras in the bordering Mexican states, where employment costs are far lower than in the United States. In **Ciudad Juarez**, across the border from **El Paso**, maquila employment rose from 19,775 in 1975 to 190,847 by 1997², with accelerated

¹ John Sharp, Texas Comptroller of Public Accounts; "State of the Border," from U.S. Bureau of Census and U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics data. Austin, TX, 1998

² "Maquila Scorecard," *Twin Plant Magazine* (November 1997), p.45

growth over the past 2 years.

Prior to the implementation of the new welfare law, the Personal Responsibility Act of 1996, personal income for many border residents was largely composed of transfer payments - mainly federal Social Security payments, unemployment insurance, state welfare payments and other government aid. This remains essentially the same, except that now a fairly large portion of the non-citizen legal resident aliens are either temporarily or permanently denied these benefits because of bars in the new welfare reform laws.

There are approximately 10.3 million legal non-citizen residents in the United States, with over 900,000 of those living in the **Texas Border** communities.³ Current legal immigrants who are not U.S. citizens will lose their welfare benefits. New immigrants will not be eligible for benefits for their first 5 years in the United States, and then only if they become citizens.⁴

Therefore, the problem facing The Salvation Army's social services ministries in these border regions is threefold:

- ◆ Increased unemployment due to jobs lost to the relocation of manufacturing plants to Mexico (NAFTA).
- ◆ Reduction or restriction of benefits, such as Food Stamps and Social Security Disability/Supplemental Income to needy families (Welfare Reform).
- ◆ A decrease in community funding support, as a result of the loss of major manufacturing sites and a decrease in the local economy (NAFTA).

The laudable goals of Welfare Reform, with initiatives such as "Welfare to Work" and programs to promote a decrease in teen pregnancy, are overshadowed in our border communities by the imperative to meet the needs of our unemployed and welfare ineligible residents. When a tired and ill mother, with four small children in-tow, arrives hungry and homeless at our door, questions of federal eligibility seem irrelevant and we can do no less than attempt to meet their needs. We strongly feel that the "threshold of service" should be based on need and not government defined eligibility.

Welfare Reform to those of us serving others under the banner of The Salvation Army,

³ U.S. Dept. of Justice, INS, "Legal Permanent Residents...." November 20, 1998

⁴ Brenda Louis, MSNBC, "The End to Welfare as You Know It,"
www.msnbc.com/specials/welfare/67453.2/17/99

here on our country's Southern Frontier, simply means that we must provide services to more people from a decreasing resource base. We clearly must become more innovative, as well as be above average stewards of the funds and materials entrusted to us.

SUMMARY OF IMPACT

California

The State of **California**, has the largest TANF caseloads of any state in the country. The 58 counties of California, each with its own variation of the state TANF plan, represent all of the tensions reported elsewhere, aggravated in major metropolitan areas by the sheer numbers impacted. For example, a Salvation Army shelter director in the **Los Angeles** area reports that on July 1, 1998, no less than 48,457 General Relief recipients in **Los Angeles County** lost benefits. As has been our experience with other cut-off dates in other communities, our shelter did not experience the dramatic increase in caseload they had anticipated. Whether, as this director believes, this experience suggests that people will find other ways to attend to their own needs, or whether, as has proven to be the case with TANF families in Arizona, the need will only slowly show itself over the months following the cut-off date remains to be fully realized.

STRATEGY DEVELOPMENT

The Salvation Army's most visible response to welfare reform in California has been the inauguration of 3 pilot, "welfare-to-work" programs, funded by a grant from the Irvine Foundation of San Francisco. Serving **Monterey, Orange and San Diego Counties**, the programs began receiving referrals in the fall of 1998. Each site is implementing an approach to work placement that emphasizes "career development" over simply finding what have been characterized as "survival" jobs. In this approach it is hoped to address the problems of inadequate compensation from entry-level jobs, as well as the discouragement of those forced to take jobs that appear to be going nowhere.

Two sites are focusing on persons with multiple barriers to employment; the third, in Orange County, has worked with individuals already in job placements provided through the county, and focuses on job retention and upgrading.

The numbers served have to date been relatively small. Again, the anticipated rush of referrals has not materialized, although referrals are growing now at a slow but steady rate. There is anecdotal evidence of success of this approach; a research team engaged by the Irvine Foundation will undertake a full evaluation.

The Salvation Army

USA

1998

Individuals Assisted

Family Casework Services	10,241,324
Thanksgiving/Christmas	6,445,395
Summer Day Camp	49,254
League of Mercy Visitation	5,349,821
Disaster	3,196,692
Missing Persons Inquiries	12,422
Correctional Services	404,518
Job Referrals	38,085
Resident Camps	107,651
Boys & Girls Clubs-Community Centers	117,564
Children Residential Care	2,010
Child Day Care	37,970
Service to the Aging	38,323
Adult Residential Care	9,816
Clinics & Hospitals	188,760
Adult Rehabilitation Centers	54,562
Harbor Light – Addictions Treatment	56,446
Group Homes – Temporary Housing	622,877
TOTAL	26,973,490



International Mission Statement

The Salvation Army, an international movement, is an evangelical part of the universal Christian church.

Its message is based on the Bible. Its ministry is motivated by love of God. Its mission is to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and to meet human needs in His name without discrimination.

Comments or Questions:

LT. Colonel Paul E. Bollwahn CSWM, ACSW

The Salvation Army National Headquarters, Social Services Department

P.O. Box 269 • Alexandria, VA 22313 • 703-684-5500

**HAROLD
IVES**

P.O. Box 1984
STUTTGART, AR 72160

8-11-99

Bo
we need to go over
answers - put everything
together, ~~the~~ perspective
Bo

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20501

David B -
Sent this
originally
through you
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HAND-DELIVERED

OK to
Bill B.
for
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General Offices HAROLD IVES TRUCK

8-11-99

After you have seen,
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Burkhardt for reply.

8-11-99

1-870-673-4480

Carol.

Carol
Lindsey
Podesta
Burkhardt (for
reply)

August 7, 1999

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20501

Hand-Delivered

RE: Truck Driver Shortage in the United States

Dear Bill:

I want to personally thank you for the tremendous job you have done as the President of the United States. Your policies have turned the United States from a economic stagnant country into a commercially thriving land of opportunity. The trucking industry is delivering more freight than ever, but this economic boost has been a two-sided sword for us in the trucking industry.

Background

The opportunity to move freight commercially has risen, but at the same time there has become a driver shortage within the United States because of all of the other job opportunities that have been presented to these eligible employees. The U.S. Department of Labor, the American Trucking Association, as well as, Vice President Al Gore, confirmed the nationwide driver shortage in an article in our country's leading trucking publication, *Transport Topics*. The article, "U. S., ATA to Train Drivers", published on November 2, 1998, stated "The Department of Labor will provide \$1.2 million to launch an innovative program, which is designed to help alleviate the growing shortage of drivers that is stunting the trucking industry's growth". This article also quotes Ms. Susan M. Coughlin, Director of the ATA Foundation, "The driver shortage has been identified by our members as their single largest concern in the employment area. Without a new supply of drivers, the trucking industry will have difficulty meeting the freight demand of the U.S. economy." In the article Vice President Al Gore stated, "Truckers haul 82 percent of the freight demands of the U.S. economy. Another 40,000 drivers will be needed". The funding and program listed above was specifically for displaced workers in Ohio and Tennessee; however, there is no doubt of the acknowledgment by these organizations, as well as, our Vice President

of the driver shortage. Harold Ives Trucking Company is currently losing approximately \$50,000 per day, which is directly contributed to the lack of drivers, within the United States. Our company has extensively recruited U.S. workers, to fill these positions without success. In 1998 Harold Ives Trucking Company processed 3,559 applications for experienced and non-experienced drivers; of these we employed 965. Thus far in 1999 we have processed 2,870 applications and have employed 304. Harold Ives Trucking Company is trying to alleviate these truck driver shortages both in the short and long term.

Solution No. 1

Harold Ives Truck Driving School is currently seeking approval for attendance by non-immigrant students under Section 101 of the Immigration Act. To secure this approval the trucking school must file an I-17 Petition. This not only will improve our situation but will allow training for worldwide trucking. We have completed the petition and it has been in the INS office at Memphis, Tennessee for four months. I would like to ask you to inquire about and emphasize the importance of this petition to encourage the Memphis office to review the petition posthaste. For example, we have a number of New Zealand citizens who are wanting to attend the truck driving school. We have been patiently waiting for this petition to be reviewed and approved. Any help with the review process would be most helpful. The training that Harold Ives Truck Driving School provides is only available here in the United States and foreign truck drivers are wanting to come train here, so that they may take this training back to their respective countries and utilize the training; therefore, this training opportunity would be a benefit to foreign policy.

Solution No. 2

Also in the works is a Petition for H-2B Non-Immigrant Temporary Worker Visa's which are currently in the certification process at the Employment Security Department in Arkansas. We have filed an ETA 750, which is the first step in the process of securing H-2B Visas, with the Employment Security Department. This process has been slow and tedious. After over four months of document gathering the Alien Labor Certification Officer has finally stated that we have complied with the requirements and he will do a final review of our application and then forward the petition to the Department of Labor in Dallas, Texas. Once they review the petition and approve it, we will be able to request temporary Visa's through the INS. Once again, we need approval of these matters. Harold Ives Trucking Company has an extreme shortage of drivers and cannot operate without some relief by the means of non-immigrant workers. We have tried to recruit Americans but with the unemployment rate at an all time low the success rate has been very low. There is currently a 10% driver deficiency within the trucking industry, and Harold Ives Trucking Company is at a 15% driver deficiency. The economic severity of the situation has not only affected Harold Ives Trucking Company, but has had an adverse affect on the trucking industry as a whole.

Solution No. 3

To help alleviate the truck driver shortage in the long term, the truck driver occupation needs to be amended from a Schedule B occupation to a Schedule A

occupation. Filing applications for Alien Employment Certification for permanent employment in the United States currently lists the trucking driving occupation as a Schedule B occupation. These are the occupations that has been determined that there are generally sufficient United States workers who are able, willing, qualified and available for the activity listed on Schedule B which include truck drivers, that the wages and working conditions of United States workers similarly employed will be adversely affected by the employment in the United States of aliens of these Schedule B occupations. The truck driving occupation needs to be moved from a Schedule B occupation to a Schedule A occupation. The Schedule A occupation is defined where the Director of the United States Employment Service has determined there are not sufficient United States workers who are able, willing, qualified and available for the occupations listed on Schedule A and that the wages and working conditions of United States workers similarly employed will not be adversely affected by the employment of aliens in Schedule A occupations. Changing the truck driver classification would be a tremendous step for alleviating the industry shortage of drivers.

I want to thank you in advance for all your help and attention to the matters that I have presented to you. As always, if you should need my assistance in the future please contact me.

Kindest regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Harold Ives".

Harold Ives

c: The Honorable Blanche Lincoln Lambert
 The Honorable Marion Berry
 The Honorable Vic Snyder
 Nolan Law Firm

More pilots opt to stay in Air Force, officials say

BY DAVID LERMAN
NEWPORT NEWS DAILY PRESS

WASHINGTON — The Air Force is beginning to halt an exodus of pilots who are fleeing the service for better pay and benefits in the private sector, officials say.

Gen. Michael E. Ryan, the Air Force chief of staff, said the number of pilots choosing to re-enlist after their initial eight years of service is up sharply this year.

The percentage of pilots who accept a bonus for a renewed commitment to the Air Force grew from 27 percent last year to an estimated 41 percent so far this year, he said.

"That's a very heartening sign for us," Ryan told reporters.

For years the Air Force has watched a growing number of its 12,700 pilots quit in frustration. They blame poor pay and unpredictable schedules that disrupt family life, among other complaints.

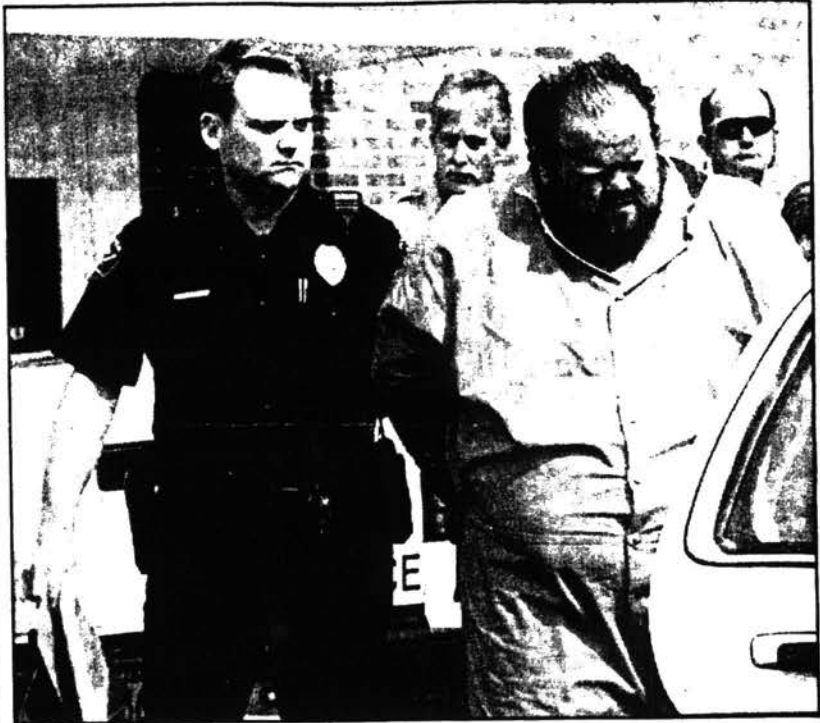
The percentage of pilots who agreed to accept a bonus for continued service plunged from 59 percent in 1996 to 27 percent last year, the Air Force said.

The manpower shortage grew so severe this year that the Air Force issued a "stop loss" order that prevented some service members from retiring during the bombing campaign over Kosovo.

But officials say they may be on the verge of turning the tide.

Congress is approving an extensive pay and benefits package that would mark the first major pay raise since 1982. It includes a 4.8 percent pay raise, more raises for midcareer officers, pension increases, extended education benefits and a new savings plan similar to the 401(k) plans offered in the private sector.

At the same time, the Air Force is preparing to reorganize itself into 10 "air expeditionary forces" designed to permit a more orderly rotation of troops for overseas missions. Officials have said the new structure, to begin in October, should provide more predictability and guaranteed family time for pilots now struggling to respond to de-



Associated Press

Police officers escort suspect Alan Eugene Miller of Billingsley, Ala., away from the Pelham city jail Thursday. Miller is charged with three counts of capital murder in the slayings of three people at two businesses in Pelham, Ala.

3 slain at companies; Alabamian charged

2 co-workers among dead near Birmingham

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

PELHAM, Ala. — A man allegedly shot two co-workers to death at their office Thursday, then killed a third person at a company where he used to work, a burst of workplace violence just one week after the Atlanta office massacre.

Alan Eugene Miller, 34, was arrested shortly after the shootings when police spotted him on nearby Interstate 65 and forced him to pull over. He briefly scuffled with officers, and a gun was found in his car.

Miller was charged with three counts of capital murder. The motive was not clear.

Pelham, a suburb of about 10,000 people in the wooded hills south of Birmingham, is a mix of upscale subdivisions, commercial districts and rural farmland.

Police Chief Allan Wade said Miller worked at Ferguson Enterprises, a heating and air-condition-



Alan Eugene Miller

terprises and whose car was seen entering I-65.

"Everybody around here is just regular working people," said Cathy McKay, owner of a carpet store across the street from Post Airgas. "You feel safe coming out here at night. The shooting, she said, "is just beyond my comprehension."

Miller is from Billingsley, a rural town 50 miles south of Pelham, Wade said.

At his Billingsley home, Miller's mother, Barbara Miller, said he "went off to work just as he always does this morning. He left here like he always does, with a 7Up and a couple of things of biscuits and sausage. Alan didn't bother

Last month the Air Force predicted it would fall short this fiscal year by 1,000 to 3,000 recruits — the first such shortfall in about 20 years.

"It will be the first time in a long, long time that we've missed our recruiting goal," Ryan said. "But I'm confident we'll turn that around."

Ryan pinned the blame on a booming civilian economy that makes it harder for the Air Force to compete for new talent.

"It's a competitive world out there," he said.

Police arrived at Ferguson at 7:04 a.m. Birmingham time. Officers were still securing the crime scene 13 minutes later when dispatchers got a second emergency call — this time about a shooting at Post Airgas Inc., a company that sells helium, oxygen and other gases several miles from Ferguson Enterprises.

The third victim, Terry Jarvis, 39, was found at Post Airgas.

Wade said the gunman at Post Airgas matched the description of the suspect who fled Ferguson En-

age firms in Atlanta in one of the worst office massacres in U.S. history.

Fred Herder, a day trader who had worked with Barton and was wounded in his rampage, was released from the hospital Wednesday and found the Pelham shootings a troubling repeat of the Atlanta carnage.

"It's really frightening that all of a sudden that someone is copying this," he said. "I can't believe some idiot has started to copy it."

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1:00 PM & 7:00 PM

DoubleTree Hotel
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Little Rock, AR 72201

Wednesday
August 18, 1999
1:00 PM & 7:00 PM

New Orleans Marriott
555 Canal Street
New Orleans, LA 70130

Thursday
August 19, 1999
1:00 PM & 7:00 PM

Radisson Inn
New Orleans Airport
2150 Veterans Blvd.
Kenner, LA 70062

Attn. Larry & Charlie.
Found this in a paper in England.

NEWS

Wednesday, May 5, 1999

Kiwis head north to the harvest

A TEAM of 150 New Zealanders has been recruited for the first time for the 1999 American wheat harvest.

The Kiwis are expected to work seven days a week - usually from 7am until midnight, and sometimes to 1am - heading crops in the wheat belt, starting in Texas and Oklahoma and moving north as far as Montana and North Dakota.

Workers are paid a minimum salary of \$NZ2600 a month with free board and accommodation, plus an hourly rate of \$NZ12 to \$NZ14.

The New Zealand team has been organised by agricultural contractor Daniel Little, of Balclutha, on behalf of the US Custom Harvesters Institute.

Mr Little said individual New

Zealanders, including himself, had worked in the United States previously but this was the first time a New Zealand team had been organised in an official way, with visas and employment pre-arranged.

Mr Little said the American harvest would begin in a few weeks in Texas and continue through to the autumn.

- NZPA

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TRUCKLINE

A NEWS BLAST FROM THE AMERICAN TRUCKING ASSOCIATIONS

Wednesday, August 4, 1999

ERGONOMICS BILL PASSES IN U.S. HOUSE, 217-209; HUGE VICTORY FOR TRUCKING AND BUSINESS.

Last night the House approved H.R. 987, a bipartisan bill supporting sound science in OSHA's ergonomics rulemaking process. ATA has vigorously supported the bill, authored by Rep. Roy Blunt (R-MO) and sponsored by more than 150 House members. The bill prohibits OSHA from publishing its ergonomics rule until completion of a comprehensive scientific study by the National Academy of Science. Thanks to the many ATA members who contacted their legislators in support of this bill. For more information, contact Ed Gilroy at 202-544-6245 or egilroy@trucking.org.

ATA ENDORSES SHUSTER'S CALL FOR NATIONAL MOTOR CARRIER ADMINISTRATION.

ATA announced yesterday that it supports House Transportation and Infrastructure Committee Chairman Bud Shuster's call for establishment of a new "National Motor Carrier Administration" within the U.S. Department of Transportation in the Motor Carrier Safety Act of 1999 (HR 2679). "The responsible trucking companies and professional truck drivers we represent strongly support the intent of this legislation," said Walter B. McCormick, Jr., ATA president and CEO. This morning, the House Ground Transportation Subcommittee passed the bill by voice vote; the full Committee is scheduled to consider the bill Thursday. A summary of HR 2679 will be available to ATA Members on-line at <http://www.truckline.com/members> by Thursday. ATA's statement is available at <http://www.truckline.com>

SENATOR HOLLINGS CALLS FOR CO-SPONSORS FOR TOLL RELIEF BILL.

On Monday, Senator Ernest Hollings (D-SC), Ranking member of the Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee sent a letter to his Senate colleagues in the calling for their support for The Interstate Tolls Relief Act of 1999 (S. 947). ATA strongly supports the bill, which would limit the authority of individual states to establish tolls on the Interstate Highway System, prevent new Interstate Highway System tolls and restrict other tolling authority for major bridges and tunnels. States may still toll non-Interstate highways, and current tolls on highways are not affected. For more information, contact Ken Stinger at 703-544-6245 or kstinger@trucking.org.

DIESEL FUEL PRICES CONTINUE TO CLIMB; OIL SUPPLIES REMAIN TIGHT.

The national retail diesel average price continues to climb, this week jumping 0.9 cents to \$1.146 a gallon, up 13 cents from a year ago. Supplies are likely to get tighter due to refinery problems in California, Texas and the Midwest. Members can get the complete fuel update with Fuel Line at <http://www.truckline.com/members>

NTDAW: DON'T MISS NASCAR GRAND FINALE AT HEARTLAND PARK TOPEKA RACEWAY.

This year's National Truck Driver Appreciation Week (NTDAW) Grand Finale is at Heartland Park Topeka Raceway. Tell your drivers about the NASCAR Craftsman Truck Series Race, the O'Reilly Auto Parts 275; all CDL holders arriving in their trucks get free admission. Walter B. McCormick, ATA president and CEO, will be hosting ATA's hospitality tent trackside. For more information, contact Tim Sipes, Heartland Park Topeka at 785-862-4781.

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Visit Truckline on-line at ATA's website at <http://www.truckline.com/members>.

Direct questions or comments to Portia Krebs, Editor, at 703-838-1925 or pkrebs@trucking.org.



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

August 11, 1999

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

'99 AUG 12 PM 1:46

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I respectfully tender my resignation as Assistant Secretary of the Treasury
(Public Affairs) effective August 11, 1999.

It has been a high honor and privilege to serve you. You and your
Administration have made a real difference in the economic well-being of this
country.

Respectfully yours,

Howard M. Schloss
Assistant Secretary (Public Affairs)

8-12-99

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes ☒ _____
No ☐ _____

cc: Exec Clerk ☒
Yes ☐ _____
No ☐ _____
C

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY

1500 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
Washington, D.C. 20500

The Silas H. Hunt Institute for Social, Economic, Political, & Environmental Justice Saratoga, Arkansas

a chance to dream...

a young child learns how to
dream of owning their own
business

a sense of pride...

a child learns about their
African American Heritage

an opportunity for growth through experience...

an elder passes down
stories of their generational
struggles to young children

The Silas H. Hunt Institute for Social, Economic, Political, & Environmental Justice...

The purpose of the institute
is to educate and inform
community residents about
social, economic, and
political systems within their
communities across the state,
nationally and internationally

The Silas H. Hunt Memorial Fund... the memorial fund to support the mission of The Silas H. Hunt Institute for Social, Economic, Political, & Environmental Justice

Please send your contributions to:
Silas H. Hunt Institute
P.O. Box 102
Saratoga, AR 72075

The Silas H. Hunt Memorial Fund has been created to support the development of The Silas H. Hunt Institute for Social, Economic, Political, & Environmental Justice in dedication to Silas H. Hunt. Born near East Ogden, Silas H. Hunt was a pioneer in advancing the rights of African Americans to receive information through a quality education, and a champion for the rights of African Americans to enter academic institutions of their choice regardless of race and class.

The Circle of Honor. The Circle of Honor is a membership distinction recognizing the first 30 individuals who contribute \$1,000.00 to the vision of The Silas H. Hunt Institute for Social, Economic, Political, & Environmental Justice

Your contribution to The Silas H. Hunt Memorial Fund will support:

- a public policy institution dedicated to research and application
- a forum for social, political and economic debate on current issues
- an educational institution incorporating innovative technical and educational equipment and involving nationally known educational experts and community organizers
- a symbol to the African American community of what we have been and who we can become
- youth entrepreneurship programs encouraging young people to think freely and critically about job creation opportunities
- inter-generational programming supporting the reinstitution of family and community values.

Gift-giving categories are:

- \$ 100.00 _____
- \$ 250.00 _____
- \$ 500.00 _____
- \$ 1,000.00 _____
- Other _____

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See Slater
Podesta

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To Rodney Slater

I got this in Arkansas.
See with on back -
Should we try to help them?
Better to get Foundation
to help Rodney Slater

EUROPELAND

Silas H Hunt Members, Really Need Your Help!
296 Acre Site - Hempstead Co for Training Purposes

8-12-99

No Summary

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Bergen
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]

Milosevic Base Is Moved by Maverick Serb

Single Protest Foments One Town's Discontent

By WILLIAM BRANIGIN
Washington Post Staff Writer

This southern Serbian town has long been known as a stronghold of President Slobodan Milosevic. So it came as something of a shock when thousands of people took to the streets last month in response to a lone protest by a maverick employee of the local government-controlled television station.

Since then, there have been daily demonstrations against Milosevic and local authorities in Leskovac, which lies midway between the city of Nis and the provincial border with Kosovo. The man who started it all, Ivan Novkovic, has emerged as something of a folk hero throughout Serbia.

While opposition politicians continue to squabble among themselves and the protest movement seeks direction, the 34-year-old technician has come to symbolize not only the discontent of many Serbs following their debacle in Kosovo but also the hope that, somehow, they can change the country's government.

The chain of events started at halftime of a televised basketball game between Yugoslavia and Germany on July 1, when Novkovic suddenly came on air and began talking about the people's grievances. Viewers were stunned to hear him charge that local leaders of Milosevic's Socialist Party, the successor of the Communist Party, had protected their sons and friends from a call-up of army reservists for service in Kosovo.

They listened as he complained about a lack of free speech and employment opportunities, about the poor economy and the area's disproportionate burden for fighting in Kosovo. And they took note when he invited everyone with similar views to meet at a public square four days later.

Novkovic made the comments in a videotape he had recorded at home. Without telling anyone of his plans, he played the tape at halftime, then left the station and went into hiding.

At the appointed time the following Monday, the locals received another shock when up to 20,000 of Leskovac's 70,000 residents showed up for the demonstration. Novkovic addressed the crowd with a loudspeaker from the roof of a car. He was later arrested on misdemeanor charges of disturbing the peace and holding a rally without permission.

Released last week after spending 30 days in jail, an animated Novkovic said he had no regrets, although he faces criminal charges stemming from his unauthorized broadcast. As he sat in the modest apartment he shares

with his wife and 6-year-old daughter, he summed up his motives: "A person has to have a dream that change is possible."

At a demonstration that evening, the 32nd successive day one has occurred here since Novkovic's call to action, about 3,500 people chanted "Ivan! Ivan!" as he expressed thanks for the support he received from Serbs "who long for freedom."

Aleksandar Visnjic, a student leader from Nis, said at the rally: "We're doing our best to get all of Serbia to look at Leskovac, to look at Ivan. This is how you can make resistance."

Throughout the demonstration, the crowd booed, jeered and whistled disapproval at every mention of Milosevic and his wife, Mirjana Markovic, who heads the Yugoslav United

Left, a small political party allied with the Socialists.

"This was something that people have been keeping inside themselves," said Jovan Jovic, a 24-year-old student. "What Ivan did was something that woke people up. What he said everybody had in mind, but they didn't know how to send the message."

A main target of discontent has been the local leader of the Jablanica district, which includes Leskovac. A Socialist Party stalwart named Zivojin "Zika" Stefanovic, widely known around here as "Zika the Blinker" because of a persistent eye twitch, was accused of shielding five of his bodyguards from the Kosovo call-up, a charge he denies.

In the only violence here since the demonstrations began, protesters last month stoned Stefanovic's house, breaking a number of windows.

According to Milorad Marjanovic, a reserve officer who served as military police chief in Leskovac and oversaw the call-up here, Stefanovic first arranged for the five to obtain fraudulent papers saying they were not to be drafted because they were involved in "territorial defense." After the fraud was exposed, Marjanovic said, Stefanovic helped the men get papers excusing them from service on grounds of mental incompetence.

"But they still carried guns, drove cars and guarded Zika the Blinker," Marjanovic said.

"That's a lie," Stefanovic said of the accusation that he helped his bodyguards avoid duty in Kosovo. He described his accusers as "rascals" sponsored by the local Democratic Party and said the protest rallies on most days consisted of "just a few dozen people from who knows where."

Public resentment of the alleged draft-dodging has been fueled by what residents say was a disproportionate call-up of reservists from this and other parts of southern Serbia, although casualties were not particularly heavy. Of about 40,000 reservists enlisted from around Serbia, 18,500 came from the Jablanica district, Marjanovic said. At least 54 were killed and nine are missing, he said.

In the town of Lebane, with a population of about 10,000, more than 2,000 men were called up, reservists there said. On Friday, about 100 of them gathered on a street corner for the first of what they said would be a series of demonstrations to demand payment for their service in Kosovo and to show solidarity with protesting reservists elsewhere in Serbia.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 10, 1999

Champion of Free Kosovo Now Urges Moderation

By STEVEN ERLANGER

PRISTINA, Kosovo, Aug. 8 — Adem Demaci, often called the Nelson Mandela of Kosovo, has found some of the same serenity and moderation, urging his fellow Albanians to use their sudden gift of freedom to build a civilized society here.

Mr. Demaci has spent more than 29 of his 64 years in Yugoslav jails for his fervent belief in independence for Kosovo. He was the "political representative" of the Kosovo Liberation Army and in effect its spokesman until March 3, when he quit in fury over its willingness, under intense pressure from Washington, to accept something less than independence in negotiations in Rambouillet, France.

But asked whether he expected to see an independent Kosovo in his lifetime, Mr. Demaci, a tiny, natty man with thick glasses, gave the sort of answer American diplomats had despaired of ever hearing him utter.

"I must say that no one country in the world is truly independent," he said, with a bemused look. "Even the United States, in a way, is not fully independent."

Over time, he said — "and I am always an optimist" — reconciliation between Serbs and Albanians is both possible and necessary, and will lead to a real state in a modern Europe of shared sovereignty.

As Kosovo's Albanians work to better their poor lives with international help and create real institutions, the Serbs, "who are in confusion now, will be released from their myths and illusions" about the impossibility of a Serbian nation without Kosovo, he said.

"Both peoples," he said, "will make a reconciliation, and they will both earn the right to enter Europe — not just geographically, but morally, in our behavior."

NATO's bombing war, which

forced the Serbs to pull out of Kosovo but kept the province under Yugoslav's sovereignty, has not been a complete victory, Mr. Demaci said. But he said it provided extraordinary opportunities under the umbrella of NATO force and United Nations administration.

"We have the unique chance in our history, with our European friends, to build a state," he said.

The Albanians, "after 2,000 years of slavery," from the Romans through the Turks to the Serbs, "are now breathing freely," he said, "able to decide their lives for themselves." With the aid of the United Nations, they now have a chance to build "real institutions of civil society, all to world standards — a non-ideological school system, a non-ideological media, a non-ideological finance and health system — and no more follow some Balkan standard or Communist standard."

It could take 10 years, he said.

But the United Nations must not fail in its obligation to engage with Albanian society and politics and "understand our history, at least from 1945 until now," Mr. Demaci said. The United Nations administrators and NATO soldiers must avoid turning into a new colonial ruler or allowing the Kosovo Liberation Army to become an opposition, he said. And the Albanians must not squander this extraordinary chance, "paid for with such blood."

Mr. Demaci, asked if so much tragedy was necessary, smiled distantly, looking off toward the deep



Reuters

Adem Demaci spent more than 29 years in Yugoslavia's jails.

red sunset bleeding behind the trees.

"It was impossible to change this situation without tragedy and bloodshed," he said and added, using the Albanian name for Kosovo, "I always wanted to die for Kosovo, and I think maybe this war was my last chance."

Mr. Demaci, a novelist turned radical politician who is hated by the Serbs for his early and unyielding commitment to Kosovo's freedom, spent the entire war in Pristina, walking the streets and going to the market. His wife left Kosovo in late March, a few days after NATO's bombing began, when a human rights lawyer, Bajram Kelmendi, and his two sons were found dead after their arrest by the police.

But Mr. Demaci stayed, tended by his 70-year-old sister, and had a number of run-ins with the police, with two arrests.

French Soldier Hurt in Mitrovica Clash

with a head injury. He said Albanian demonstrators had hurled two big stones at the soldier and hit him with a stick.

It was the third straight day of disturbances between the Albanians and Kosovo Albanians who have been trying to storm the Serbian-dominated part of this town, a French military spokesman said.

Leaders of the Kosovo Liberation Army, the Kosovo Albanian rebel group, subsequently dispersed the crowd confronting the French peacekeeping force at a bridge linking the Albanian and Serbian sides of the province's third largest town.

The French contingent's chief information officer, Lieut. Col. Philippe Tanguy, said the soldier was taken to the French military hospital "in serious condition" the head of the mob.

MITROVICA, Kosovo, Aug. 9 (Reuters) — A French soldier was seriously wounded today in clashes between peacekeepers and Kosovo Albanians who have been trying to storm the Serbian-dominated part of this town, a French military spokesman said.

Witnesses said the soldier had been knocked unconscious as a mob of about 150 men tried to charge across the bridge to north Mitrovica as soldiers strung barbed wire across it.

At one point, after being arrested, a Serbian soldier accused him, as a representative of the Kosovo Liberation Army, of skinning the Serb's brother alive. "You have the gun, I don't," Mr. Demaci said quietly. "Go ahead and shoot me." Yet other Serbian soldiers and policemen were polite to him, he said.

"I was not happy when I saw ordinary Serbs going from here," he said. "We were never in danger from the Serbs as Serbs. But all Serb regimes from 1878 until now manipulated the people here, and every state has mechanisms to force people to do terrible things. A bad regime has so many instruments. I'm very sad about their leaving, but I also find that a great number of Serbs here were involved in crimes and looting."

But Mr. Demaci is a firm advocate of a democratic, multi-ethnic Kosovo, whatever the current problems and fears. "I don't accept freedom only for Albanians," he said. "We are not angels. But we must choose another way, which is not revenge, and understand that all these miseries and tragedies were done by the Serbian regime, not by every Serb."

Is a moderate Albanian politics possible now? "We have no other way," he said. "Albanians know that only a moderate politics able to guarantee freedom for Serbs and all others here is acceptable. Otherwise, Albanians themselves will not be free."

Mr. Demaci, always mysterious about his age, said at first that he was "39 and holding." Pressed, he said that his real birth date was July 26, 1935, but that his documents gave the date as Feb. 26, 1936. "I was a weak baby and my father refused to register me," he said. "But six months later, my mother told him: 'You better register him. This one is not going to die.'"

The New York Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 10, 1999

Sarajevo Is at Peace, but Its Old Zest Is Lost

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By CHRIS HEDGES

SARAJEVO, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Aug. 8 — The marks of war are nearly erased from Sarajevo. Sheets of glass have been fitted into the high-rises, and the shell holes have been plastered over.

The newly painted trolleys rumble nosily down the tracks of the central boulevard Zmaja od Bosne, known during the war as Snipers' Alley. Water, a commodity once so precious that mothers dashed under artillery fire to reach water trucks, gushes miraculously from the taps.

But the Bosnian capital, which held together a blend of Muslims, Croats and Serbs and hung on to life during almost four years of siege by the Bosnian Serbs, has lost its sense of purpose, its direction and, many say, its soul.

The city, once an artistic center, had a cosmopolitan feeling and a rich cultural and intellectual life. Marriages and friendships that crossed the ethnic divides were commonplace. Today, the ethnic mix and the liveliness it created are gone, along with hopes that the city would rekindle its old identity — hopes that have

been disregarded by all three ethnic groups.

The \$5.1 billion international reconstruction effort, which has physically mended Sarajevo, masks despair. The smooth, plaster facades of apartment blocks, painted purple, red, blue and yellow, shelter people who for the most part survive on the beneficence of others.

Men, out of work, often wounded physically or emotionally, waste hours in dingy coffee shops. Many of the young gather in the lines for visas outside foreign embassies. At night they meet in jammed, smoky clubs like Fis or The Stage where they can buy marijuana, Ecstasy and heroin.

An army of war invalids lies trapped indoors. Most of them lack proper medical attention, and many lie alone in rooms, tended by elderly parents.

"My son is inside," said an angry 70-year-old man, who would not give his name, as he stood outside his small house fitting new aluminum drainpipes to the roof. "He can't get up. Every night my wife has to go in and turn him over so he can go to the bathroom."

Thousands in the city, where half of the work force is jobless, live in apartments that belong to someone else, someone who lives across the ethnic gulf, still a universe away in this partitioned country.

Muslims now account for more than 90 percent of the population in this city of 350,000, and with the widespread uprooting of people during and after the war, only 20 percent of the city's residents are natives. The siege and the drastic changes that followed it have left behind a collective exhaustion and bewilderment

that makes routine life daunting.

"I will never again be able to live such a strong, horrible and wonderful life," said Boba Lizdek, 32, a book translator.

Ms. Lizdek, a Serb who stayed in Sarajevo through the war, said that since then she had lost her focus and purpose. "It is as if I see life through pieces of a mirror that lies in fragments," she said.

The suburb of Dobrinja, built as the athletes' village for the 1984 Winter Olympics, was on the front line during the war, which began in April 1992 when Serbian forces attacked the city and ended in 1995 with the Dayton peace agreement.

Sections of Dobrinja are in ruins, the walls and roofs gone, the bricks and cement chewed up by shell and bullet holes. Crude grave markers poke up at odd angles from tiny, overgrown parks and lonely patches of ground.

The renovated buildings, often next to the ruins, gleam with spotless white plaster and terra cotta tiled roofs. The balconies hold boxes of carnations. The streets are quiet.

Murdija Badzic, 51, lives in a small apartment that she and her husband rebuilt for \$10,000 a year ago. It is clean, with new carpets, a semicircular blue sofa in the living room and freshly painted walls.

In June 1992, Serbian troops occupied the Dobrinja area. Mrs. Badzic was herded barefoot along with her children to a prison camp, where they were held for two weeks.

The family stayed away for four years out of fear, Mrs. Badzic said, and when she returned in 1996, all the mementos of her life, her photos, the children's favorite toys, the wedding gifts and the collection of trinkets that remind couples of the passage of time had vanished.

The two-room apartment holds nothing of the old life. The only photo on the wall is of her eldest son, Husein, a soldier killed in the war.

She and her husband live with their remaining two sons. The young men, unemployed since the end of the war, have applied to emigrate to the United States. When Mrs. Badzic spoke of the war, her youngest son, Aladin, 24, abruptly left the room.

"Forgive him," she said. "He cannot talk about the war. He cannot hear about it."

The New York Times

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During the family's detention, Aladin, who was 16 at the time, was severely beaten by Serbian soldiers and threatened with mock executions. He did not speak for two months after he was released.

In the empty street below, Huso Kovac, 58, swung himself forward with the help of hand-held aluminum crutches. He said he disliked spending days in his apartment, which previously belonged to a Serb. He moves laboriously about the neighborhood, resting at times on the cement walls and staring at the road.

Before the war Mr. Kovac worked in Sutjeska, the national park that was the site of one of the most famous Partisan battles in World War II. When he speaks of the yearly anniversaries, which always saw the arrival of Tito, his eyes light up. It is the only time he smiles.

He lost his leg in 1993 as he and his Muslim neighbors fled under mortar fire from Sutjeska over Mount Igman to Sarajevo. He receives a pension of \$100 a month. His only son died in the war. His daughter's hus-

band was also killed. She cares for their two small children alone on her widow's pension.

"I don't trust anyone anymore," he said. "This is what the war has taught me, not to trust."

He shifts his hands to grip the handles and moves away.

The only Serbian enclave in the city is a rim of forlorn buildings at the edge of Dobrinja. The buildings were not handed over to the Muslim-led Government under the Dayton peace agreement. The wartime Bosnian Serb leaders, none of whom live here, have christened the neighborhood the "Serb Sarajevo."

"I will go into the city to buy something, but I would never stop to have a coffee," said Dalibor Bugarin, a 21-year-old Serb, as a helicopter passed overhead. "I do not feel comfortable. We lost our house in Sarajevo and will never get it back. We just want to get out of here."

But even for the ethnic minorities, life is a constant battle to abide by the politically correct version of the war. Nearly all of the Croats and Serbs who once lived here, and who together made up half of the city's population, lost their apartments. Serbs have gone to their sector of Bosnia or moved to Serbia, and Croats have gone to Croatia or to Bosnia's Croatian enclave. Despite international pressure, few have been able to return home.

Mile Sadzak, 37, who has a doctorate in economics, is unemployed. The city where he was born is filled, he said, with outsiders, those who fled here from villages razed by the Bosnian Serbs.

"If you are not a member of the ruling party, you do not work," he said. "There are thousands of us who walk the streets and do nothing. The intellectuals have been pushed out of the new nationalist system. I miss my friends. I miss the old city."

"I have lost confidence. When we speak together, we must think about what we will say. Croats will only go to Croat doctors. Muslims will only go to Muslim doctors. If a few of us Croats are together and a Muslim friend comes over, we fall silent. The

mood changes."

Ms. Lizdek sat in the late afternoon with her mother, Radmila, in their small apartment. Her mother, a Serb, lost her parents and four of her six brothers and sisters in World War II, the victims of Muslim soldiers allied with the fascist Ustashe forces. As a 12-year-old girl, separated from her family in 1942, she joined Tito's First Proletarian Brigade. She moved for three years through the mountains in the fight against the Germans.

Mrs. Lizdek, 70, opened a book that held two dried flowers, given to her daughter by Tito and his wife, Jovanka, at the 1973 anniversary of Sutjeska.

"We were walking in a long column in 1942 when I saw a woman from my village," she said. "She told me my mother and brothers had been killed. I started to weep. The column halted, and the commander, Moshe Pijade, galloped over on his horse. He asked what had happened. They told him Radmila's mother and brothers were dead."

"He put me on the horse and told me to stop crying. He said the proletariat does not cry; it sings. We began to sing the Partisan song 'Through the Forests and the Mountains.' The whole column began to sing. This is how I survived the death of my mother."

But the heroics and romance of the last war, so much a part of her daughter's life, have been extinguished.

"I lived through two wars," said Ms. Lizdek, "the virtual war explained to me by my mother and the real war. I felt my mother's war deeply as a little girl. I heard the idealized fiction of the life before the war, the gardens, flowers, fruits of my grandfather's home."

"War seemed a normal part of my life. I was prepared for war. But I am fragile now. I did not need this experience. My mother did not need this experience. She did not need to lose her family. I only realize this now."

SUPPORT THE FRESH AIR FUND

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The New York Times

TUESDAY, AUGUST 10, 1999

Dick Lugar

To Win the Next Balkan War

The Western alliance's commitment to achieving democracy in Yugoslavia in the aftermath of war must be as strong as the resolve exhibited during the bombing campaign. NATO forces expelled Serbian troops from Kosovo at great expense and loss of life. We must not now lose the opportunity to bring stability and democracy to the Balkans simply because we lack the attention span or the imagination to finish the job.

Democracy-building in Serbia is not a purely altruistic exercise. Without a democratically elected government in Belgrade that is supportive of peace, protective of individual freedoms and eager for the economic benefits of European citizenship, American troops could remain for many years in Kosovo and Bosnia. In addition, the United States will almost surely be called upon to expend financial and human resources again to help resolve new Balkan crises.

Despite the media's focus on wars, breakthrough negotiations or dramatic ultimatums, most foreign policy campaigns are won and lost with mundane and painstaking work before and after crises occur. The Western alliance can win the next Balkan war right now at very small expense by committing itself to Serbian democratization.

American support for the democratic opposition has been minimal because our government gave priority to securing Slobodan Milosevic's cooperation in solving the most recent crisis, which he had manufactured. Keeping our distance from the opposition was a price we paid for that collaboration. That left Milosevic free to plan the next crisis and free to close down the media, shut out the students and intimidate the democratic opposition. Even as we advocated democracy, market principles, independent media, human rights and the rule of law, our own policies toward the Yugoslav government perversely undercut progress in these areas.

Apart from the "Dump Milosevic" theme, the opposition is fragmented and lacks a coherent message. But it also lacks resources and firm support by the United States and the West. We should try to provide basic operating tools such as fax machines, telephones, gasoline, office space and office supplies. We should increase radio and television broadcasts to

bring objective news coverage to the Serbian people through the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and other international news programs. We should seek ways to strengthen the independent media as an antidote to state-run news sources that have facilitated the regime's disinformation. And we should make clear that substantial economic benefits from the West would follow a genuine embrace of democracy in Serbia.

Our assistance should be targeted to: the Alliance for Change, the most promising pro-democracy group; elected municipal leaders who oppose Milosevic; the rural areas, where Milosevic opposition is high; the beleaguered independent media; student groups; trade unions; and other groups committed to democratic change.

We should encourage the democratic opposition to create a common resource center through which foreign contributions could be channeled and prioritized.

The administration recently lifted legal restrictions on support for the Serbian opposition groups. The president announced in Sarajevo that \$10 million will be available for democracy promotion in Yugoslavia. These funds are welcome, but long overdue. The sluggish government grant-making process could delay them for several months. That may be too late.

This is why the work of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), particularly the National Endowment for Democracy (NED), is so important. The NED and other NGOs can gain access to grass-roots leaders that government officials cannot easily obtain. They can respond far more quickly, often more effectively and at less expense than government agencies.

The NED group should immediately implement projects that were suspended during the bombing campaign, use unexpended democracy funds now in the pipe-

line, and devise new projects that can be implemented quickly. Meanwhile, the Agency for International Development and Department of State should relax time-consuming grant review and approv-



al procedures. Incomplete aid proposals that arrive on time will help the democratic forces more than impeccably designed projects that arrive too late.

Having squandered a decade of opportunity for democracy building in Serbia, we should not now expect instant gratification. But Serbia has never been more ripe for change. Even without an independent media, the Kosovo debacle has provided irrefutable evidence to large segments of the Serbian people that the Milosevic approach is bankrupt. A focused and immediate democracy-building campaign can prevent the next Balkan crisis and bring hope to this troubled part of the world.

The writer, a senator from Indiana, is the senior Republican member of the Senate Foreign Relations and Intelligence committees.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 10, 1999

Good

July, 1999
600 North Martin
Little Rock, Arkansas 72205

Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

003

Dear President Clinton,

I realize your time is at a premium. I do not ask for it lightly, but you did tell me, at Jerry Maulden's house in January, that if I would write explaining the circumstances surrounding Peter MacDonald you would personally read my letter and give it serious consideration. I will be as succinct as I can, trusting your own experience with partisan political tactics to recognize the truth of MacDonald's story. I will be glad to provide as much detail as you want. Please believe me, this issue is critical, not only to Peter MacDonald and the Navajo, but to all tribes struggling for self-determination, and to all Americans striving to preserve the integrity of our system of justice.

So that you can better judge my credibility, I grew up in Flagstaff, Arizona close to the Navajo/Hopi reservations during the time that Peter MacDonald was leading the Navajos from a "blanket" society into the 20th century. Later, working for the Arizona Office of Tourism, I was liaison between the Governor's Office and Arizona's Indian tribes, spending much time among Arizona's Navajo, Hopi, and Apaches. I traveled alone on the reservations, often for days at a time, often late at night; never once did I feel threatened or in danger among the Navajo. I cannot say that about the other tribes, (or about Phoenix for that matter). I have sat in the Tribal Council and ~~listened~~ to debates and eaten mutton stew with them around campfires. I have an unusual rapport with them. Believe me, I do understand Navajo culture and I watched the events in this letter unfold.

8-11-99

Send to Burkhardt

Yes ☒
No ☐

5

I appreciate your reluctance to interfere in the judicial process; that reluctance indicates a wise leader. But you must not forget that the framers of our government were also wise when they safeguarded the people by granting you power to override the judicial system in those rare instances when that system has erred. If, for a few minutes, you will give me the full focus of your attention, I believe you will find this is one of those instances.

Peter MacDonald has 5 years remaining of a 14½ year prison term for *conspiracy to kidnap*. Thirty-two Navajos were charged with varying degrees of felonious behavior. Plea bargain "negotiations" with U.S. attorneys left ten, who were convicted with MacDonald; five, including MacDonald, remain in prison, one died there.

These people were not guilty of the things with which they were charged. *They were portrayed as violent in order to remove effective leadership from the Navajo tribe in a tactical plan to disenfranchise Indian tribes throughout the country and allow special interests to control Indian lands, oil, coal, uranium, and water rights.*

Cutting through the half-truths, legal jargon, and smokescreens, this is the situation. In 1989, MacDonald and his entire staff, elected by popular vote of the Navajo people, were illegally removed from office by a group of dissidents who never at any time had the 2/3 vote of the Tribal Council required to remove the Chairman. No process existed by which an entire governmental staff could be removed and an interim government installed. The coup succeeded because it had the tactical advice and backing of the U.S. Attorney's Office in Phoenix and the FBI, both ~~forbidden~~ by federal law to participate in the overthrow of a tribal government.

The dissidents, with a simple majority, forced the suspension of two sections of the Navajo Code and subsequently restructured the Executive and Judicial branches of tribal government, severely limiting the Executive branch and taking away the people's right to choose their own leader by giving that right instead to

the Tribal Council. The Navajo people at large have never agreed to this usurpation of their rights. The dissidents installed one of their own as interim Chairman and removed sitting judges, replacing them with judges sympathetic to the dissidents. The newly appointed judges rubber stamped all further actions against MacDonald and his advisors.

Outraged Navajo voters across the reservation poured into Window Rock to support their elected government. An FBI officer, without legal authority, instructed CitiBank, the New Mexico Bank controlling tribal monies, to honor the signature of the dissidents rather than that of the elected government, putting the dissidents in control of tribal funds and rendering the elected government unable to meet payroll. MacDonald's government continued to function as best they could; the dissidents set up their own government, up to and including a new Chief of Police, firing the regular Chief and most of his men, replacing them with their own supporters.

MacDonald supporters staged a "sit-in" protest in the Chairman's Office and were attacked by 50 members of the new "police force" armed with Mace and clubs. Among those attacked and roughed up were elderly Navajo women, historically the most respected segment of the Navajo population.

Forced out of tribal offices, MacDonald and his staff conducted the business of state from the home of a supporter, Willie Keeto, on the outskirts of Window Rock. Navajos streaming into Window Rock from Arizona, New Mexico, and Utah converged at the Keeto home setting up camp in the yard, cooking over open fires, waiting patiently for MacDonald to address them. When he spoke, he asked them to give him time to arrange police protection, explaining that he did not want any more tribal mothers roughly treated; then, he would lead them himself to the tribal complex where they could voice their protests.

The acting police chief refused protection to the demonstrators. Although MacDonald had intended to lead the march as he always did, he has an aversion to violence. Historically, he has consistently refused to use force against protesters. A revealing glimpse into MacDonald's own style occurred in the 1970's when for a week militant

AIM members took possession of the Fairchild Camera & Instrument Corporation in Shiprock, AZ. The plants' Board of Directors pressured the Chairman to eject the militants by force; MacDonald refused. He insisted that if the militants were left alone, they would eventually just get tired and go home, which is exactly what happened. However, Fairchild responded to MacDonald's stoic patience by closing the plant, costing the Navajo Nation 400 jobs. MacDonald does not regret his refusal to act. There was no violence; no one was hurt. His job was to protect his people, which he did consistently throughout his three and into his unprecedented fourth term in office.

Denied police protection, MacDonald again addressed the people telling them there would be no police escort, that he would not march without one, that he was going home and suggested they do the same. Their battle would have to be fought in the courts.

His announcement refusing to lead the march and urging supporters to go home was made publicly to hundreds of Navajos but **MacDonald's jury was never told this.**

Prosecutors

--led by Pam Gullett, wife of Wes Gullett, John McCain's Head of Staff, who had earlier deflected a Congressional investigation of BIA abuses **away from the BIA and onto an attack against Indian leaders as corrupt in general, specifically targeting Peter MacDonald--**

successfully kept MacDonald's address to the Navajos from the jury, claiming the speech was a clever manipulation designed to encourage the march.

MacDonald has never been accused of being afraid to confront his enemies. He has done it countless times so he did not call off the march out of any fear for himself. He had no ~~need~~ to manipulate his supporters into marching; they had come there for that purpose. *If, in fact, he had been willing to lead them, there would have been many times the number who ultimately marched.* He canceled the protest because a march without police control, particularly following on the heels of the sit-in, might result in his people being manhandled again and he chose not to risk it. MacDonald did **not** accompany his people, a drastic break in his pattern of leadership had he really

wanted them to march.

Most of MacDonald's people took his advice and left, but others were determined to march; they had come a long way to make their opinions known. However, coming from all over the reservation, many were unfamiliar with the tribal office complex. Again they called MacDonald outside, asking him to explain to them the layout of buildings within the complex. MacDonald drew a crude map of the area in the dirt and went back inside. *This act was later presented as proof that MacDonald had instigated the march. That is absolutely not the case.* MacDonald responded according to the etiquette of his culture. They asked him how to find the building they wanted within the framework of the complex. He showed them in typical Navajo fashion, by drawing a map in the dirt. To have refused would have shown disrespect for their right to make their own decision. MacDonald had already indicated his decision not to march. They had indicated their decision to march without him. Both respected the other's position. It's as simple as that.

At some point after MacDonald went back into the house, a young veteran, Paul Kinlicheenie, demonstrated how he had been trained in Viet Nam to protect himself and others with only a stick, offering to protect the "elderlies" himself. Others joined him, picking up axe handles to use as their "sticks."

The determined group of marchers set out for what was, by then, a seemingly deserted complex. As they milled around the empty buildings and parking lot, uncertain what to do since nobody was around, a police car sped into the midst of the crowd of men, women and children. The officer jumped out of his car and fired into the air. Many men in the crowd were veterans, some decorated war heroes trained in containing a potentially explosive situation. They instinctively acted to disarm the policeman, wrestling him to the ground and handcuffing him. They did not try to harm him, they contained him before he accidentally hurt somebody by either shooting them or running over them.

Other police cars appeared; an officer jumped out, inadvertently shooting himself in the leg as he pulled his gun. Thinking he had been fired upon, he began firing into

the crowd. People converged on him; those closest to him dragged him down and disarmed him as fast as they could. They didn't think about whether it was a felony to wrestle down a policeman. Navajos are *imminently practical people--you don't negotiate with a coyote who's at the throat of one of your sheep; you go after him with a stick or whatever you have to save the sheep.* Within minutes the fray was over. Three protestors lay dead and several more had been severely wounded. Injury to the police officers was negligible, with the exception of the officer's self-inflicted wound.

At the Keeto house, MacDonald's people heard gunshots. Knowing their own people had no guns and afraid that whoever had begun shooting might come after MacDonald, his staff surrounded MacDonald and sent a runner to determine the situation. MacDonald, a man whose life had been spent trying to help his people was sick with grief at the possible loss of people he knew and loved, and at the unthinkable happening on the reservation--Navajos fighting Navajos.

The Navajo men and women who contained the first officer and tried to contain the others did not consider their own actions violent; from their perspective, they were trying to stop what they considered irrational, violent behavior by men they weren't even sure were legitimate law enforcement officers.

These people were charged with various counts of kidnaping, burglary, assault, assault with a dangerous weapon, robbery and conspiracy to do all of the above. Their actual actions are described below:

Kidnaping--removing an officer from his car and ultimately dragging him approximately 6 feet. *Three of the people charged with this were not even present (including MacDonald).*

Burglary--(1) removing the keys from a police car and taking the officers' guns away from them. *[One of those charged was a 70 year old man who ultimately pled guilty in exchange for a sentence of 27 months.]*

--(2) entering one of the buildings and removing bookkeeping records, checks, and a

case of soda pop, items considered the property of the MacDonald government.

Assault--one of the officers sustained non-disabling injuries in a scuffle.

Assault with a dangerous weapon--the dangerous weapons were the axe-handles.

Robbery--taking guns, keys, sunglasses, and Mace away from the officers; some were even locked in the officers' own vehicles.

Phoenix U. S. Attorney Janet Napolitano's office claims the Navajos were charged and prosecuted so harshly because people were killed in the incident (*albeit by the police, not the demonstrators*) and MacDonald's supporters had to be taught the seriousness of their behavior. Peter MacDonald, who had publicly urged them not to march and who was not even present, was charged with Conspiracy To Kidnap because he had planned initially to lead them in their protest and because he had drawn a map in the dirt.

The truth remains that Peter MacDonald refused to lead them for the specific purpose of avoiding violence. When his people insisted on marching and he drew the map for them, he had no reason to think they would do anything but what they had originally planned . . . enter into a peaceful protest. MacDonald's concerns about violence were that his own people might be roughed up by policemen, as had already been the case. "Roughing up" had been more violence than MacDonald was willing to risk.

The deaths that occurred were the result of an overzealous police officer who panicked when he injured himself. **The marchers killed no one.** The only lesson the Navajos have learned from this is that, from their perspective, the U.S. Justice system has absolutely no basis in common sense. The policeman who shot himself and then into the crowd was known widely among the people as a bully who routinely beat the woman he lived with and practiced fast draw in front of a mirror. This might not be relevant in a courtroom but it absolutely was relevant to the Navajos in the crowd when this man was waving a gun around.

The Navajos expected, based on their own culture, that everyone would be given the opportunity to tell exactly what had happened and in that way the truth of the matter would be known. The policeman would probably have to go to trial in the white man's court and the young woman who broke in and took the case of soda pop would no doubt also have to be punished. However, **it did not occur to them that they would go to prison for trying to prevent armed men from shooting at defenseless citizens.**

Every person I've talked to among the Navajo was stunned by the violence exhibited toward them that day. From gaunt, sun weathered men and shy gray haired grandmothers, to brash students in jeans and sneakers--all said they had expected confrontation with dissident supporters, but at the worst, typical Navajo shoving and being shoved, squabbling and loud arguments about the people's right to elect their own government. They had expected the very presence of Kinlicheenie and his "stick" volunteers would discourage any of the policemen from indulging in the manhandling that had occurred against unprotected women at the "sit in." No one even considered the possibility of real violence.

Elderly people spoke of being humiliated and intimidated by U.S. prosecutors and court appointed lawyers who impatiently told them to just plead guilty. Most did not understand plea agreements, even after they made them. The concept was confusing to them but then most of Anglo culture is confusing to them so they did as they were told. Whether they were frightened, indignant, or just sad, they unanimously agreed on one point: they were never allowed to tell what really happened. *"The white men didn't want to know what happened; they only wanted us to say their words. . . they told me I would go to prison and my children would have no mother. . . they said I would die in their prisons far away from the sacred mountains. . . they said if I would just sign the paper saying what they wanted me to say I could go home. . .they killed us and then they sent us to jail."*

The obvious question is, why?

Prior to these events Pete Dominici of New Mexico had offered into legislation a bill allowing the Navajo, as

the largest, wealthiest tribe, to handle their own finances for a period of several years. If the Navajo proved they were as capable of handling their own finances and contracts as the BIA, the BIA would no longer be a necessary watchdog over tribal monies; this would set a precedent and other tribes would no doubt follow suit. It would mean the end of an agency that currently manages to take 80 cents of every dollar designated to Indian tribes, an agency created as a temporary measure until the "primitive" tribes could learn to function in the dominant society. That was 100 years ago. The Navajo, under MacDonald's leadership, were well on the way to showing, that not only could they function, they could function more efficiently on their own than the BIA was functioning for them.

MacDonald's controversial persona is a lightning rod to many people. Definitely not a "white man's Indian," often arrogant, his knowledge of the Anglo world and his ability to consistently outwit their predatory grabs at Navajo resources earned him powerful enemies, particularly in states with a high Indian population, states whose representatives have been given enormous decision-making power in Indian affairs by Congress and who, unfortunately, more often than not consider the exploitation of Indian resources an extension of States' Rights. These men have the power to locally manipulate the judicial system. An educated Indian who can look at the books and see exactly where his people are being shortchanged, who is savvy enough to sidestep the endless bureaucracy that has mired the tribes in poverty for the last 100 years and get things done--such an Indian is a threat--such an Indian must either be brought in line or removed.

At his sentencing the judge told MacDonald he could serve his sentence in tribal jail, but federal prison officials, with no written authorization, appeared unexpectedly at the tribal jail late one night to "transfer" MacDonald to a federal prison. When the jailer refused to relinquish custody without written authorization, one of the dissident-appointed judges was called and verbally instructed the jailer to turn MacDonald over. Peter MacDonald disappeared from the reservation that night and his frantic family did not know his whereabouts for a

week.

In a "holding tank" in the Phoenix area he was promised freedom and that all charges against him in tribal courts would "disappear" if he pled guilty and provided evidence against others. The "others" included every leader and potential leader among the Navajos, including the dissidents. The list would have removed all leadership from the tribe. MacDonald refused the deal. When promises did not work, they threatened him with a Navajo's greatest fear--banishment far away from the reservation. MacDonald did not answer at all. He was subsequently sent in chains to a federal facility in Bradford, Pennsylvania, where he was designated as dangerous and violent. It was recommended he not be housed west of the Mississippi because of the likelihood he would incite the Navajos into an uprising.

Once MacDonald was successfully eliminated, leaders who had also challenged the BIA--Crow, Yavapai, and Mescalero Apaches--were charged with corruption. The tactics were the same; lesser staff members were squeezed until they agreed to testify against their leaders. Within weeks of MacDonald's conviction, U.S. Attorney Janet Napolitano moved FBI agents and U.S. attorneys back onto the Navajo reservation. MacDonald had thrown the federal officers off the reservation years before and they had not been able to get a foothold since. Now ensconced in Window Rock, having "trained" the Navajo Police, they systematically seduce or destroy any leader who does not work hand in glove with the BIA. Every time an Indian leader goes down to charges of corruption, and the Navajo have had 3 such leaders in 5 years, the BIA uses it to strengthen their claim that Indians can't govern themselves. The prosperous self-determination the Navajos were ushering in under the leadership of MacDonald has disappeared. The reservation is once again a place of depression and futility, with an added dimension--constant fear of investigation by government officials. The situation is the same on reservations across the country.

Peter MacDonald is not in prison because of anything that occurred in July, 1989. He and the marchers were deliberately ravaged because Peter MacDonald, an Indian, had the nerve to stand up to FBI and BIA agents and send

them packing from the reservation. He had the audacity to expect tribal monies to be spent on tribal needs instead of being used to support cumbersome, inefficient bureaucracy. He was arrogant enough to prevent state politicians from guaranteeing sweetheart deals to utility companies and mining operations at the expense of Navajo families.

Named for a nursery rhyme because Anglo teachers couldn't pronounce his real name, forced into boarding schools where Navajo children were humiliated daily for being "savages," forbidden to speak their own language even to each other, and told repeatedly how inferior their race was, Peter MacDonald nevertheless volunteered to fight for this country, becoming a Navajo Code Talker in the Marines when he was 15 years old. In the Marines **he accidentally discovered an amazing thing--Anglos were not born with the ability to read and write! They were not inherently superior!** This discovery galvanized him to use the G.I. Bill to educate himself and become an engineer. He went to work for Hughes Aircraft where, because of his effectiveness in problem solving, he was repeatedly promoted, eventually working on the highly respected Polaris Missile Project.

Yet he walked away from success in the Anglo world to return to the reservation because he could not ignore the abject poverty crippling his people or the sense of helplessness they felt at the hands of the BIA. MacDonald began by using his engineering and problem solving skills to tackle the tribe's economic problems from a fresh perspective. Going around the BIA, he obtained grant money and enrolled Navajos in self-help programs available to other Americans. He created programs in which unskilled laborers learning construction skills built houses for the needy, solving two problems at once. MacDonald forced utility companies to channel a portion of the electricity they were generating with Navajo coal to hogans on the reservation, revolutionizing heating, cooking, and communications in remote areas. He built roads to replace wagon tracks, and tribal schools so Navajo children could live at home and still get an education. *He had to fight the BIA every step of the way but he convinced his people they could solve their own problems.* Almost singlehandedly, he dragged his people out of hopelessness

and shame and onto the path of self determination. In doing so, he restored their pride in being Navajo. Other tribes wanted to improve their own conditions by following the Navajos' lead. MacDonald welcomed what promised to be a new era in which the formerly competitive tribes might unite in their efforts to throw off the yoke of the BIA. With a combined voting bloc equivalent to the Jewish vote, Native Americans would finally have a significant voice in their own destiny!

Peter MacDonald has hurt no one; he has kidnaped no one, he has conspired with no one. His crime is that he has fought too well and too hard. The "conspirators" were the agents of the BIA, FBI, and U.S. Attorney's office who unscrupulously conspired with local political opportunists to get rid of an Indian they could neither outsmart nor control and to destroy the most efficient tribal government in the United States before other tribes followed suit. The tragedy is that once again Indians are in jail charged with crimes actually committed by their accusers.

In prison he has become frail and ill; the indomitable warrior walks slowly with a cane. He suffers from an aneurism of the heart and has become borderline diabetic. But he is not bitter. His eyes glow as he speaks patiently of his concerns for the Navajo Nation, the healing that must take place. Mr. President, believe me, that healing will never take place if Peter MacDonald dies in prison. He will be remembered as the latest example of our inhumane treatment of the American Indian--except this American Indian tried to do things our way by demonstrating to us that he and his people didn't need a keeper. Unfortunately, once again, government agents with their own agendas have given Indian tribes a choice of either going along with the exploitation of their land and resources or being destroyed. For MacDonald the choice was clear and the single most powerful Indian in America was dragged off to prison in chains as an example to all the other tribes. The message was unmistakable: *"We finally got Peter MacDonald. Cause trouble and you'll end up just like MacDonald."* Peter MacDonald is no threat to peace, but he *is* a threat to those who want to keep the American Indian powerless while they silently plunder his resources and finally his land.

MacDonald has a unique ability to bridge the gap between his people and ours in such a way that their own culture is enhanced, not lost. He is *himself* a bridge if we are wise enough to allow him to teach the others. His example to the tribal peoples of this country on attaining self determination, and therefore self-respect, should not be lost because of political partisanship and greed.

I assume that you will want to have my claims investigated by your own people, and rightly so. **I do ask you not to use people within, or in any way connected with, the Justice Department.** Though they work for Ms. Reno, *permanent employees of any of these agencies, including U.S. attorneys who were appointed by their own state senators, have allegiances as well as agendas of their own. Agency heads do not control the subcultures that thrive and function independently of the top brass.* Consequently, **any attempt at objective investigation by the Justice Department or Department of the Interior is doomed.** I hope you will not think ill of me for speaking so plainly but **if you send FBI agents or U.S. attorneys to investigate these particular circumstances you are sending the wolf in among the sheep. The outcome is inevitable.**

Mr. President, you are the most powerful man in the world. My earnest prayer and expectation is that you will exert the irrevocable, almost God-like power of the presidency to right a terrible wrong perpetrated against the neediest, most helpless segment of our population--the American Indian, and against a man history may well judge the greatest Indian leader of the 20th century. **I ask you to pardon Peter MacDonald;** let him return to his people. Allow him to regain his health and his rightful place of honor as Father of the Navajo Nation--that is what they call him, "Na'a'ta'ani," father. I believe he deserves pardon. I also believe that a president bold enough and courageous enough to shut down the government rather than capitulate to political blackmail is bold enough and courageous enough to declare war on the systematic dis-empowering of Indian tribes. *Mr. President, if not now, never. If not you, no one.*

I respectfully ask you to pardon those men and women convicted with MacDonald and imprisoned for no other reason than they defended their right to choose their own

leader according to established tribal law.

Five people are sitting in prison cells as you read this letter:

Earl Lee, a young man from Utah with a wife and young children whose brother, Vern, has courageously confronted dissidents, U.S. attorneys, and John McCain himself on behalf of his brother;
Don Benally, a rancher whose wife is up before daylight, struggling to do her husband's work on their land, before going to a day job at a grocery store, raising their children the best she can;
Ned McKensley, old, crippled by diabetes, whose aging wife and daughters fear he won't live to finish his sentence;
Annie Sorrell, whose teenagers have grown and gone while she has been imprisoned;
and
Peter MacDonald, Na'a'ta'ani, a man who is not perfect.

They have no hope but you.

Thank you for reading this. I am trusting my God and yours to give you His wisdom as you ponder a decision.

With my deepest respect and admiration,


Brenda Eastin Bell

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Good Sec

DATE: August 11, 1999

NO. OF PGS SENT (inc. Cover sheet): 2

TO: NAME: PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

FAX NO.: (202) 456-2883 or (202) 456-6703

FROM: NAME: NANCY JACOT-BELL

RE: RELEASE OF 15 PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDISTS

8-11-99
Send to Burkhardt
Yes ☒
No ☐
C

August 11, 1999

The Hon. William J. Clinton
President of the United States
Washington, DC 20500

Via Facsimile to Fax #s 202/456-2883 or 202/456-6703

Re: Release of 15 Puerto Rican Independentists

Dear President Clinton:

I am writing to request that you follow the recommendation of your attorney, Charles Ruff, and release the Puerto Rican independists who have been imprisoned for over 19 years for their political beliefs. I am requesting that further that you release Oscar López Rivera and Enrique Segarra Palmer, both of whom Mr. Ruff did not recommend for release.

These 15 independists are humanitarians of the first order. They were fervently seeking independence for Puerto Rico. They are not a violent threat to the populace like, for example, the Nazi terrorist who shot the children at the JCC in Los Angeles yesterday. On the contrary, they are full of love for the Puerto Rican people and for all people and forms of life on this earth.

The U.S. calls for justice for political prisoners in other countries, such as China for example. But we need to set an example first of freeing people who are prisoners of conscience in this country.

These 15 Puerto Rican independists are great servants of humanity and will only be of benefit to our society if released. Please consider my request and the requests of so many others for the release of all 15 of these prisoners who have suffered greatly for the past two decades.

Sincerely,



NANCY JACOB-BELL
821A York Street
San Francisco, CA 94110

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8-12-99

August 11, 1999

Copied
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Stein
Padesta

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Jacob J. Lew
Larry Stein

SUBJECT: FY 2000 Appropriations Update -- INFORMATIONAL

While Congress made progress on some of the appropriations bills before the August recess, many of the bills severely underfund core government and Administration priorities. This memorandum provides a status report on congressional appropriations action and lays out possible endgame scenarios. Attached for further information is a bill-by-bill summary of the appropriations bills.

Status

Overall, the gap between the pending appropriations bills and your proposed funding levels is approximately \$33 billion. This is roughly equal to the amount of headroom we created under the caps through offsets and advanced appropriations. In addition, a number of the bills have had objectionable language provisions attached to them. We have made veto recommendations on six of the thirteen appropriations bills. The state of the overall budget deliberations will substantially influence our ability to shape the outcome of the final bills. This year, we face in both the House and Senate a bipartisan aversion to having the Administration participate directly in the appropriations negotiations.

Of the thirteen bills, the House has passed eleven and the Senate has passed nine. Three bills -- Military Construction, Legislative Branch, and District of Columbia -- have been through conference. Only Military Construction has been sent to you for signature. Six other bills -- Agriculture/Rural Development, Commerce/Justice/State, Defense, Energy/Water Development, Foreign Operations, and Treasury -- have passed the House and the Senate and await conference action when Congress returns September 8. In addition, the House passed the Interior and Transportation bills. Neither the House nor Senate has acted yet on the largest domestic bills -- VA/HUD and Labor/HHS/Education. In the House, VA/HUD has been approved by the House Appropriations Committee and will be taken to the Floor in September. No action has been taken on Labor/HHS/Education. The Senate Appropriations Committee has not yet taken up either VA/HUD or the Labor/HHS/Education appropriations.

8-12-99

The Republican leadership is enforcing an appropriations plan that provides aggregate funding below a freeze, while attempting to increase defense spending and selected non-defense programs such as the National Institutes of Health, veterans' medical care, and Special Education. These competing pressures have forced the Appropriations Committees to produce bills that inadequately fund core programs such as law enforcement (FBI and DEA), programs for the poor (Legal Services Corporation, WIC and Bureau of Indian Affairs), investments in our environment (Energy Conservation and Solar and Renewable), civil rights (EEOC and the Civil Rights Commissions) and foreign affairs (Wye River, debt reduction and arrears to international organizations). Important initiatives and programs that require significant increases, such as the COPS II and Millennium initiatives, have also been inadequately funded.

To make as much progress as possible, the Senate and the House have accepted our \$2.6 billion spectrum sale proposal. The Senate has also shifted \$3.1 billion of defense funds to the non-defense bills, resources provided in the FY 99 Kosovo supplemental that provide additional funding for the Department for FY 2000. While this has helped, a significant gap remains relative to the \$33 billion problem mentioned previously. Senators Stevens and Domenici signaled privately that they would need the cooperation of the Administration to work through the offsets and the possible use of the surplus necessary to reduce the FY 2000 appropriations.

X { The House and Senate have allocated sufficient resources to the less controversial bills (Transportation, Military Construction, Legislative Branch, Treasury/General Government and Agriculture) in order to move them along, creating the appearance of progress. However, they have left a large and growing funding gap for the largest non-defense bills -- Labor/HHS/Education and VA/HUD. House action has reduced the already low Labor/HHS/Education allocation by \$4 billion to increase funding for the VA/HUD bill, consistent with this approach.

Riders

X { While there are some objectionable riders in a number of bills (e.g., Senate Interior, the DC conference report, Senate Transportation, and Foreign Operations), the Congress has been somewhat more restrained than usual in adding them to appropriations bills. However, as long as the issues command sufficient support among Democrats to sustain a veto, we should be able to maintain our ability to insist that the provisions be fixed or dropped.

Summary of Veto Recommendations

Six bills currently have veto recommendations attached to either the House or Senate versions:

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001. memo	From Melanne Verveer re: National Humanities Medals (5 pages)	08/11/1999	b(6)

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- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]