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Wednesday, September 22, 1999

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MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

Michael Milkovich
Director

September 13, 1999

99 SEP 22 PM 2:17

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

Dear Mr. President:

The Museum of Fine Arts, St. Petersburg, in collaboration with the Croatian Museum of Naive Art, is organizing the exhibition, *The Fantastical World of Croatian Naive Art*, to run from February 13, 2000 through May 28, 2000. This is our major exhibition for the millennium and the most comprehensive show of Croatian Naive Art ever organized. One of the most sophisticated naive school in Europe, the classics of the Naive Movement include Ivan Generalić, Mirko Virius, Emerich Fejes, Matija Skurjeni, Ivan Rabuzin, Dragan Gazi, Ivan Vecenaj, Mijo Kovačić, Ivan Lakovich Croata, and Josip Generalić. The exhibition will feature a collection of one hundred works produced by these masterful artists, all to be fully illustrated in color in a comprehensive exhibition catalogue.

Mr. President, with great pleasure, we ask you to honor us by accepting the role of patron of our exhibition. I am pleased to inform you that the President of the Republic of Croatia has already offered his patronage to the exhibition, and we hope that you will give us your favorable consent to be our patron. Your gracious support to celebrate with us this important artistic and cultural event will be welcomed and applauded by over three million Americans of Croatian origin.

We are proud participants in Art in Embassy programs for the last 12 years. At the present time our works of art are in the American Embassy and Ambassadors residence in Croatia, Berlin, Germany, and Guatemala.

Your consideration will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

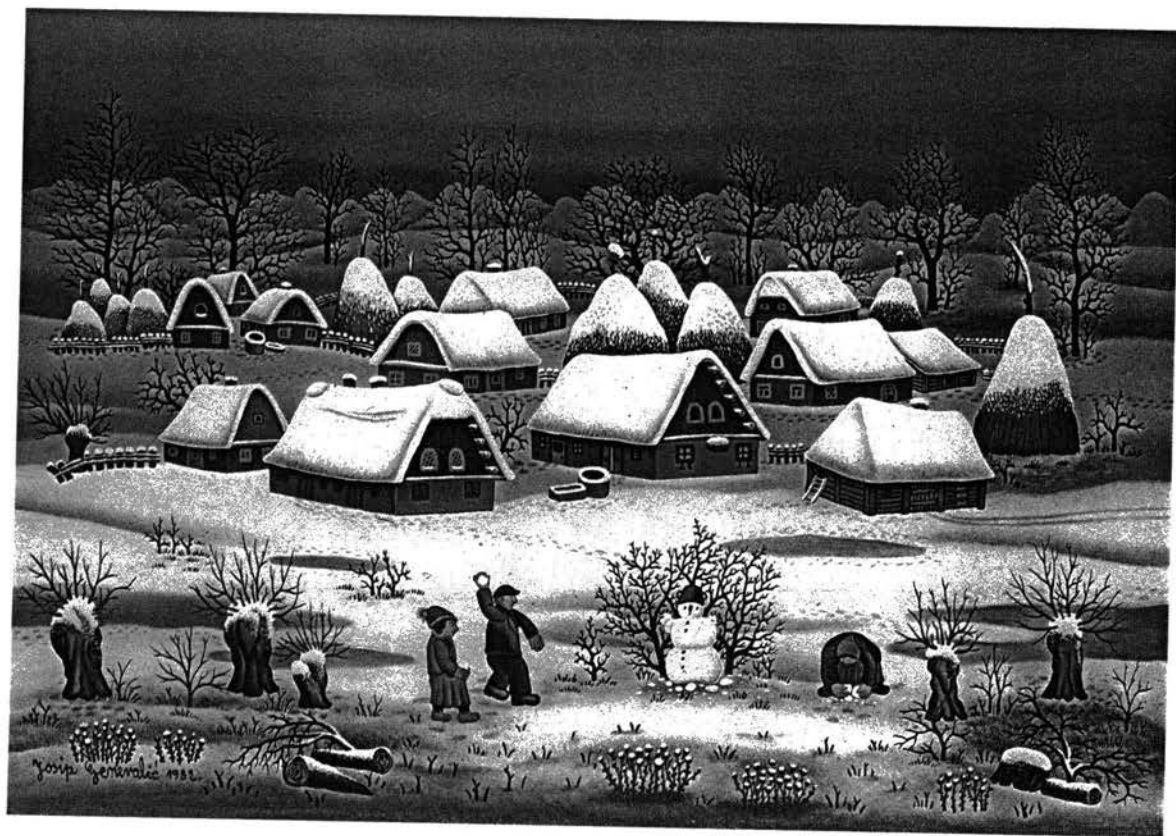
Michael Milkovich
Director

MM/gcl

9-22-99

To Dan B. for reply.

Coordinate with Counsel/NSC?
Yes ☒ No ☐



SOME EXAMPLE
OF NATURE WORKS.





MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS
ST. PETERSBURG, FLORIDA

255 Beach Drive NE
St. Petersburg, Florida
33701-3498

Nancy -
Pls. Review for
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C -

The Honorable William Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 22, 1999

Donald G. Riesenbergr
2768 Troxler Way
Highland, Illinois 62249

Dear Donald:

Thank you for your kind letter. The tragic death of your son-in-law was not only an enormous personal loss for his family, but also a great loss to the Marine Corps and to our country. Mark was highly respected by his fellow officers and the crew of Marine One, and the tremendous response and support his family received from them were indicative of that. He is greatly missed.

This has been an incredibly difficult experience for Laura, Allison and Erin, but I know they have found strength in God's love and the heartfelt concern and prayers of family and friends.

God bless and keep all of you.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Donald G. Riesenbergr
2768 Troxler Way
Highland, Illinois 62249

Engenie
I will do
a letter to
Col Riesenbergr
too personally
him for his support
of the family + all
the work of Mark
B.



2768 Troxler Way
Highland, IL 62249 USA
FAX 618-654-2135 PH 618-654-2440
Web Site-<http://www.brookside-agra.com>
E-mail-brookside-usa@brookside-agra.com

August 30, 1999

The President of the United States of America
Mr. William J. Clinton
White House
Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. U.S.A.

Dear Mr. President:

I am the father of Mrs. Laura E. Cwick, who is the widow of Lt. Colonel Mark J. Cwick U.S.M.C.
This letter is to thank you for all that you have done for the Cwick family.

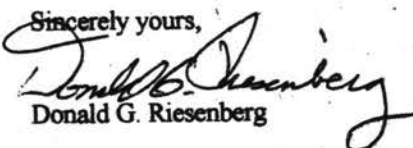
As you know, Mark was one of your pilots, based at USMC-HMX-1 at Quantico, Va. Mark was killed recently in a terrible automobile accident. The response and support from the Marine Corps and from you has been heart warming and very much appreciated. The phone call that you made to Laura while you were on vacation, was without a doubt very uplifting to Laura and her two wonderful daughters, Allison and Erin. To those of us from the family who were at the Cwick residence, it was one of the most important calls received. The assistance that has been received from the Marine Corps as a result of your conversation with Laura has been overwhelming.

We thank you for your kind help to ensure that Laura and the girls will be able to continue on with life in the true American tradition. As a retired Navy man, I must say that I have never experienced the personal support that the family received from the Commanding Officer, Col. Arthur M. Reynolds of HMX-1 and his Executive Officer, Major Frank Miner III, as well as Mark's personal friend, Major Timothy Herndon.

As you know Mark was a Naval Academy graduate and proud of it. Above all he loved the Marine Corps and his country. He served with pride and was an excellent pilot. As a father he was number one. His girls and his wife were always in the forefront. Mark's death is a tragic loss. But as you know, life must go on. With the very kind help that you have provided, the Cwick family can begin to look to the future in planning to live without a husband and father. Laura, I know, will certainly always be grateful to you for all that you have done, and forever grateful to the United States Marines for their untiring efforts during these trying times.

Thank you for what you do for our country and friends around the world. May God keep you and bless.

Sincerely yours,


Donald G. Riesenber

Cc: Mrs. Laura E. Cwick
Col. Arthur M. Reynolds - HMX-1

List

Donald G. Riesenber, father of Laura E. Cwick (listed above), thanks you for all you have done for the family and for your kind help to ensure that Laura and her wonderful daughters will be able to continue on with life in the true American tradition. As a retired Navy man, he has never experienced the personal support the family received from the Commanding Officer and his Executive Officer. Thank you for what you do for our country and friends around the world. God keep and bless you.

Agny

Mrs. Strom Thurmond

'99 SEP 22 AM 9:16

PERSONAL AND ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TO: Betty Currie

DATE: September 21, 1999
5:25 pm EST
5:40

9-22-99

To Scheduling
for Reply
✓

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: Jol DATE: 3/23/2018

To: Betty Currie
From: Nancy Thurmond

I am requesting a meeting with the President to discuss the following: A Presidential Proclamation of January 2000 as National Biotechnology Month to begin the millenium.

The wise application of the science of biotechnology will create enormous, positive change in the United States and around the world. What began as experiments with mice and plants with pioneers such as Luther Burbank, George Washington Carver and even Thomas Jefferson, has now grown into a precise science and process called biotechnology; this knowledge is aimed at improving the world's supply of food and the saving of lives through new medical innovations in diagnostics, therapies, and preventive treatments.

Over 200 million people worldwide have been helped by the more than 80 biotechnology drug products and vaccines approved by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration. There are more than 350 biotechnology drug products and vaccines currently in human clinical trials and hundreds more in early development in the United States.

Consumers are already enjoying biotechnology foods such as vine-ripened, longer lasting tomatoes and better-tasting carrots and peppers. Hundreds of biopesticides are reducing dependence on chemical pesticides. Environmental biotechnology products make it possible to clean up hazardous waste without the use of caustic chemicals.

The biotechnology industry employs more than 153,000 people in high-wage, high-value jobs, and is closely aligned with the improvement of the educational system in our country.

Therefore, it is timely, critically important, and would be extremely important in raising public awareness about biotechnology and its innumerable positive benefits, if the President would proclaim January, 2000, as NATIONAL BIOTECHNOLOGY MONTH to begin the millenium.

I will be in Washington on September 22 and 23, and will be honored to meet with the President as his schedule permits.

Betty, thank you for considering our important request. We know President Clinton joins us in our dedication and commitment to meeting the challenges and growing needs of the 21st century for innovative and more effective medicines, better agricultural products and the preservation of our environment.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Nancy Moore Thurmond". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Nancy Moore Thurmond

ONE WHO HAS SEEN
9-22-99

~~Handwritten signature~~
(Turn this top)
PK

I think this too

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Bergin
NSC WW Desk
Podesta

Federal Commission Predicts Increasing Threat of Terrorism

By STEVEN LEE MYERS

WASHINGTON, Sept. 20 — The United States faces increasing threats from terrorism in the next 25 years and is likely to be compelled to intervene in other conflicts like Kosovo and East Timor even as its military shrinks, a Federal advisory commission warned in a report issued today.

The report makes grim predictions about crises and threats at home and abroad. The commission, headed by former Senators Gary Hart and Warren B. Rudman, warns in the 143-page report that the country "will be vulnerable to an increasing range of threats against American forces and citizens overseas, as well as at home," from terrorists or rogue states.

"While conventional conflicts will still be possible, the most serious threat to our security may consist of unannounced attacks on American cities" by terrorist groups using germ warfare, said a summary of the report. "Another may be well-planned cyber-attack on the air traffic control system on the East Coast of the United States as some 200 commercial aircraft are trying to land safely in a morning's rain and fog."

The commission predicted that the American military will increasingly be called upon to conduct humanitarian missions and what the Pentagon calls "operations other than war" in trouble spots around the world. But its status and influence will fuel resentment toward the United States, making it a target for attacks at home and abroad. In one of its grimmest predictions, the report added, "Americans will likely die on American soil, possibly in large numbers."

The commission said the United States is not prepared to defend itself against terrorist threats at home. That, its report concluded, will lead to more pressure on the military to expand its scope into domestic law

enforcement as the line between foreign and domestic threats is blurred.

The commission's effort is the latest in a series of reviews undertaken inside and outside the Government during the last few years to try to assess threats to the United States in the post-cold-war era. Many of its findings echo those made by the Pentagon's own Quadrennial Defense Review in 1997 and a Congressional group, the National Defense Panel, which issued a report a year later.

Still the commission is expected to influence the debate over funding for the Pentagon and its programs for

dealing with new threats, including a stronger focus on chemical and biological weapons and a missile defense system.

At a news conference last week previewing the report, Mr. Rudman said he hoped that the commission's work would ultimately lead to a rethinking of the organization of the nation's national security agencies — the way similar reviews after the end of World War II led to the creation of the Air Force, the Central Intelligence Agency and the National Security Council. "We believe that with the world changing as it has, the

essential force structure of the United States defense establishment, although it has changed in many ways, structurally has remained very much like it was intended to be" after World War II, Mr. Rudman said.

The commission stopped short of offering prescriptions, saying it would offer those in its subsequent reports.

In surveying the possibilities for the future, the commission said that, while Russia and China are likely to be competitors to the United States in global influence — with China's

economy likely to surpass the United States' by 2020 — it is also possible that Russia and China could disintegrate.

In looking ahead, the commission was not entirely gloomy. The spread of democracy, advances in medicine and technology and new economic opportunities raise the prospect of increased stability and security around the world, it said.

But some of the same trends have less benign consequences. The increasing integration of the world's economy will mean that economic crises that were once local might spread, while scientific advances could hasten the spread of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, as well as missiles to fire them.

The reliance on computers and other technologies will also create new vulnerabilities to attack from those unable to take on the American military directly, the commission said. The United States, like other advanced countries, could also face serious security threats from economic crises that touch off social unrest or conflicts. The report noted that the Asian economic crisis in 1997 and 1998 was soon followed by the political upheaval in Indonesia and the fall of President Suharto's Government.

"For most advanced states," the report said, "major threats to national security will broaden beyond the purely military."

The New York Times

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1999

9-22-99

B Reed (B Johnson) / ~~Both Nolan~~

Can we do anything
about this?

BC

Can we do anything
about this?

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Racial Disparity Found in Credit Rating

By CINDY LOOSE
Washington Post Staff Writer

AI

African Americans are far more likely to have bad credit records than whites, even when blacks and whites with similar incomes are compared, according to a study to be released today by Freddie Mac.

The study found that whites earning less than \$25,000 had better credit records as a group than African Americans earning between \$65,000 and \$75,000. Overall, 48 percent of blacks and 27 percent of whites had bad credit ratings, as defined by Freddie Mac in this study.

While the study did not attempt to establish conclusively why the disparity exists, researchers conjecture that black Americans have fewer resources to fall back on in times of trouble. Cultural attitudes also contribute, they suspect: For example, it is known that people who believe they control their lives tend to budget better and save more. While credit reporting is supposed to be colorblind, some experts said that racism may contribute to the economic instability that leads to unpaid bills.

Freddie Mac, which is federally chartered to provide capital for mortgage lending, plans to use the results of the \$1.3 million study and an in-depth survey of consumer knowledge and attitudes to develop a course intended to change behaviors. The NAACP, the National Urban League and five historically black colleges, including Howard University, will help develop and disseminate materials in the \$2 million program.

The researchers, who examined the credit reports of a scientific sampling of more than 80,000 people, assigned a bad credit rating to anyone who in the last two years had two bills overdue more than 30 days, one bill more than 90 days late, a lien or judgment or a bankruptcy.

But lenders rely on a credit scoring model that considers more than just how late people are on their bills. Credit history is determined by factors including the borrower's repayment pattern, how long the borrower has had credit, the total amount of credit the borrower has access to and is using and whether the consumer is seeking credit from other sources. And the system is subjective. For example, it is up to creditors to report their customers' payment patterns.

"Blacks have been disadvantaged in many ways for a long time, and that is going to show up in credit reports," said Alicia Munnell, a Boston College professor who led a study of discrimination in lending for the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston.

Blacks, she noted, have had less time to accumulate a financial cushion. And their parents and other relatives are less likely to have the resources to help them during an economic crisis.

"The figures are quite stunning, and more startling than I would have expected," said Theodore Cross, author of "Black Capitalism" and editor of the Journal of Blacks in Higher Education.

Other studies, including a recent one by the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development, have documented racial discrimination in lending even among people with equal incomes and equally good credit ratings. The new study could conceivably be used by bankers to justify denying loans disproportionately to African Americans.

But Hugh Price, head of the Urban League, said such fears miss the point. "If people have bad credit, they'll be denied loans, end of story," Price said.

He added that continuing discrimination against minorities with good credit ratings must be addressed through stricter enforcement, but he added, "This study pinpoints another area that has to be addressed."

Cross said he was most disturbed by the statistics showing that 48 percent of African Americans with incomes between \$45,000 and \$65,000 had bad credit, compared with only 21.6 percent of whites. Hispanics in that bracket had a slightly worse record than whites—28 percent had credit problems. Only 15.7 percent of Asians with the same income had a bad credit rating.

These African Americans "are the heart of the American middle class, yet they are being determined poor credit risks at twice the rates of whites," Cross said.

While the credit reporting may have been colorblind, racism often plays an underlying role, said Thomas Shapiro, co-author of "Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality." For example, he said, many people get behind on their bills when they lose a job—and black employees, he said, are often the first to be let go.

Leroy Hubbard, chairman of the D.C. Reinvestment Alliance, said that when blacks get in financial trouble, they are less likely to be able to get a loan to tide them over. Numerous studies also show that some lenders deny loans to black applicants with good credit histories. Cross suggested that such lenders are making assumptions similar to those made by police officers who stop black drivers more often than white drivers.

"If you pull over a black kid in a red sports car for no reasons except suspicion, it may not be constitutional, but it's rational," he said. That young man, he continued, is probably not carrying drugs, but he's more likely to be carrying drugs than a white woman in a van filled with children.

"But while it's rational," Cross added, "it's still racist."

Freddie Mac contracted with Market Facts, a leading survey company, to help conduct its study. In addition to reviewing credit reports, researchers gave a long questionnaire to 19,000 people to measure attitudes, knowledge and behavior.

Peter Zorn, a Freddie Mac researcher, said the group has not yet subjected the data to sophisticated analysis, but already is surprised by some preliminary findings.

"We expected there to be pretty

significant differences of attitudes towards and knowledge about credit [among races], but we didn't find it," he said. "We are struck by the similarity in answers to things like, 'How often do you buy products to impress others?'"

He said that whites seem slightly more knowledgeable than blacks about issues of personal finance but that neither group knows much.

Dwight Robinson, a senior vice president at Freddie Mac, noted that while Americans of all races are

enjoying historic rates of homeownership, disparities remain. About 67 percent of whites own their own homes, and 45 percent of blacks.

"As we find solutions out of this" credit history disparity, he said, "obviously that can only be good for business at Freddie Mac."

The study also found that even the poorest Asians—with incomes under \$25,000—had credit records comparable to the wealthiest whites studied—those with incomes between \$65,000 and \$75,000.

Only 12.5 percent of the wealthier

Asians had credit problems, compared with 20.4 percent of the wealthier whites and 34.5 percent of wealthier blacks.

Previous studies have found that Asians save more than other groups, with whites coming in second. Black Americans have very low savings rates. In designing a course and other materials, Freddie Mac will work not only with the business departments of historically black colleges, but also with their sociology and psychology departments.

"We want to figure out all the

things that might affect behaviors and ultimately credit, and focus on the things we can impact," Zorn said. Increasing homeownership among lower-income Americans and minorities is part of Freddie Mac's mission.

Zorn said that convincing people they have power over their lives may be as important as teaching them about the joys and horrors of compound interest.

Staff writer Michelle Singletary contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1999

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*It
shows
with letters
thoughtful &
Laurie's attention
they feel like it —*

September 22, 1999

Laura E. Cwick
#8 Wedham Way
Stafford, Virginia 22554

Dear Laura:

Thank you for your especially thoughtful letter. I know the past few weeks have been challenging for you, Allison and Erin after the tragic and untimely death of Mark. I'm grateful, but not at all surprised, that you have experienced such an outpouring of compassion and support.

You can be forever proud that your husband served his country with such dedication, honor and distinction. He was truly an outstanding Marine.

May God's love continue to sustain and strengthen you and your daughters as you move forward with your lives.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

*I am so grateful for the
fine service Mark rendered to me and to
our country. Thank you for giving me the chance
to help you and your Allison and Erin.*

Laura E. Cwick
#8 Wedham Way
Stafford, Virginia 22554

September 3, 1999

The President of the United States of America
Mr. William J. Clinton
White House
Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. U.S.A.

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing this letter to you with a saddened heart. As you will recall, my husband, Lt. Colonel Mark J. Cwick, U.S.M.C., was killed in an automobile accident recently. He was one of your pilots.

As a Naval Academy graduate and a very proud U.S. Marine, Mark considered flying for you as the utmost honor. We were also pleased to know that my husband was flying the President of the United States. Our daughters, Allison and Erin, who are teenagers not only are and were proud of their Dad, but always interested in what he was doing and where he was going. Questions always abounded about you and how nice you were to their Dad.

Please accept my sincere appreciation for taking time from your busy schedule and vacation to phone me and offer your condolences. I shall never forget this. Thank you!

We also want to thank you for the assistance in getting the disability claim processed for approval. Without your help in this area, we would have had some very unstable situations develop. We know that Mark must be smiling (as he always did) and saying thank you Mr. President for taking care of my family.

Sir, words cannot express at this time what the United States Marines have done for our family. The Commanding Officer of HMX-1 Colonel Arthur Reynolds, the Executive Officer, Major Frank Miner III and Major Timothy Herndon were untiring in their efforts to provide us with support that no one could understand unless they experienced it as we have. We cannot say thank you to them and others enough. It is warming to know that Mark had many friends. They certainly have come to the support of the family. As you must feel, that as Americans, we strive to take care of those people who work so hard to protect our country.

Again, thank you for your most kind help. May God bless you and your family.

Sincerely yours,

Laura E. Cwick

Mrs. Laura E. Cwick
#8 Wedham Way
Stafford, VA 22554

Cc: Colonel Arthur Reynolds
Major Frank Miner III
Major Timothy Herndon

Laura E. Cwick thanks you for taking time during your vacation to phone and offer condolences on the death of her husband, Lt. Colonel Mark J. Cwick, U.S.M.C. He considered flying for you as the utmost honor. The U.S. Marines have provided tremendous support for their family during this difficult time. Thank you for your most kind help. God bless you and your family.

Mary

9-22-99

September 20, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: MINYON MOORE

SUBJECT: 1999 Fall Elections

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This memorandum provides an update on upcoming races. Of particular interest this season are the following close races: the gubernatorial race in Mississippi, state legislative races in Virginia and Washington; and mayoral races in Philadelphia, San Francisco, Indianapolis and Columbus.

As you know, the results of the off-year elections are often cited as a bellweather of the political mood of the country and the strength of the parties. For example, if Democrats can retain the seats they currently hold and pick up seats in some or all of the following races - - Mississippi governor, Washington House special election, Virginia Senate, Indianapolis mayor and Columbus mayor - - these victories could signal Democratic momentum heading into 2000. Furthermore, picking up the Mississippi governor's seat and the Virginia Senate would solidify the party's southern resurgence on the heels of the 1998 victories by South Carolina Governor Hodges (D), Alabama Governor Jim Siegelman (D) and North Carolina Senator John Edwards (D). However, if Republicans are able to retain the seats they now possess, and pick up key wins like the mayors' offices in San Francisco and Philadelphia and the Virginia House, pundits and analysts may identify a Republican trend and evoke 1993 when Rudy Giuliani (R) won in New York and Richard Riordan (R) won in Los Angeles - - two "Democratic" cities lost just prior to the 1994 elections.

U.S. HOUSE

California Special Election - September 21 (*Leans Democratic*): Tomorrow, the special election to fill the 42nd Congressional district seat will be held. If no candidate wins a majority of all votes cast on September 21, the top vote-getter from the top two parties will advance to a November 16 runoff. On August 9, ten candidates qualified for the September 21 primary election to replace the late Rep. George E. Brown (D). Democrats who filed are Brown's widow, Marta Macias Brown, state Senator Joe Baca, Fontana Mayor David Eshleman, real estate agent Donald Hubner, and businessman Bernard McClay. Republicans who filed are 1998 nominee and frontrunner Elia Pirozzi, businessman Hale J. Styles Jr., and Fontana resident Rob Guzman. Libertarian candidate John Ballard and Reform candidate Rick Simon also filed. The fragmented Democratic field will most likely lead to a close race between Hispanic candidates Brown and Baca, due to the fact that Hispanics make up 27% of the district's electorate.

GOVERNORS

Mississippi - November 2 (*Toss Up - Possible Democratic Pick Up*): The statewide general election to succeed Governor Kirk Fordice (R), who is term-limited, pairs Lt. Governor Ronnie Musgrove (D) versus former U.S. Rep. Mike Parker (R). It is believed that Musgrove holds a slight edge. In a recent Republican Governors' Association poll, conducted August 5-7, Parker was said to be leading Musgrove, 42%-40%. However, earlier polls had Musgrove with a 12% and 14% leads over Parker. (Former State Senator Amy Tuck (D) and legislator Bill Hawks (R) are seeking the Lt. Governor's seat in a heated race that is considered a toss up at this time.)

Kentucky - November 2 (*Solidly Democratic*): Governor Paul Patton (D), who did not have any primary opponents, is expected to handily beat publicist Peppy Martin (R). If elected, Patton will become the state's first sitting governor in more than 20 years to win a consecutive four-year term (due to a 1992 constitutional amendment that allows two terms). Patton has had some political setbacks recently as a result of two Democrat defections to the GOP in the state Senate, giving the GOP a 20-18 majority for the first time in state history. With an anticipated low turnout in this election, the result will be closer than expected, but the seat should remain safely Democratic.

Louisiana Gubernatorial – Primary October 23; Possible Run-Off November 20 (*Solidly Republican*): Despite his recent troubles regarding his purchase of David Duke's supporters lists, Governor Mike Foster (R) continues to ride high in the polls. The latest public survey, conducted August 23-24 by Southern Media and Opinion Research, showed Foster leading his top rival, Rep. Bill Jefferson, 62%-17%, while garnering the support of 52% of Democrats and 19% of African Americans. Until last week, it was assumed that Foster would easily receive over 50% of the vote on primary election day and avoid the run-off scheduled for November 20. But the last-minute entry of Christian conservative state Senator Tom Greene (R) may force Foster into a run-off with Jefferson.

STATE LEGISLATURES

Virginia – November 2 (*House – Toss Up and Possible Democratic Loss; Senate – Toss Up and Possible Democratic Pick Up*): The battle for control of the Virginia House and Senate is close and hotly contested. The numbers in the Democratically controlled House and the Republican controlled Senate are so close that either party could gain control of the whole body, the status quo may result or the parties may switch control of the chambers. In the 100 seat Virginia House, there are currently 50 Democrats, 49 Republicans and one Independent. Three Democrats and two Republicans are retiring. Four of these five races will most likely determine who has ultimate control of the House. In the 40-seat Senate, Democrats currently hold 19 seats to the Republican's 21-seat majority. There is one open Senate seat, which is solidly Democratic and two competitive Senate races against Republican incumbents. Democratic wins in these three races would bring the Senate back into Democratic hands. However, one advantage the Republicans have is money. They have raised \$7.7 million to the Democrats' \$5.1 million, which is unusual because the Democrats have usually outraised the GOP.

Washington 9th State House District Special Election – November 2 (*Leans Republican – Possible Democratic Pick Up of House Chamber*): Currently, control of the state House is evenly split, 49 Democrats and 49 Republicans. The outcome of this race in November will either maintain the tie or throw control of the state House to Democrats. In November, Attorney Mike Connelly (D) faces off against state Rep. Don Cox (R), who was appointed to fill a vacant seat in the state House last January. (Connelly's father, Jim, is a Clinton/Gore appointee and U.S. Attorney for Eastern Washington.) Last November, Democrats picked up control of the state Senate chamber and currently control the Governor's seat.

New Jersey Assembly – November 2 (*Solidly Republican*): All 80 seats of the New Jersey Assembly are up this year. Republicans currently hold a 48-32 advantage. The Democrats are making a serious push to regain the majority that they lost in 1990, but it is an uphill battle. They have done a great job recruiting candidates and are staying financially competitive with the GOP, but it is unlikely they will pick up the eight seats necessary to regain control.

Louisiana - October 23 (*House and Senate Solidly Democratic*): The Louisiana State House and Senate are up for election this year. Currently, 77 Democrats and 28 Republicans hold the 105 House seats, and the 39 Senate seats are held by 25 Democrats and 14 Republicans. The Democrats are expected to maintain their wide margins in both chambers.

Mississippi – November 2 (*House and Senate Solidly Democratic*): The Democratic Party remains firmly in control of the House (83 Democrats, 37 Republicans and 2 Independents) and Senate (34 Democrats and 18 Republicans). Democrats are expected to continue their dominance through these elections.

MAYORS

San Francisco – November 2 (*Toss Up – Possible Democratic Loss*): Mayor Willie L. Brown, Jr. (D) will face former San Francisco Mayor Frank Jordan (R) and former campaign strategist and millionaire Clint Reilly (D) and 31 other candidates. Since August, Reilly and Jordan have continued to double-team Brown with allegations of corruption at City Hall. If no candidate receives a majority, a run off will be held on December 14. A run-off between Brown and Jordan is expected.

Philadelphia – November 2 (*Leans Democratic – Possible Democratic Loss*): Although Democrats maintain a solid registration advantage over Republicans, John Street (D) is facing a strong challenge from nominee Sam Katz (R). Katz was recently endorsed by John White (D), who finished third in the Democratic primary. Katz continues to push hard for more Democratic support. Street took a substantial amount of time off over the summer, and his campaign is having a difficult time getting back on track. Katz aired TV ads for most of the summer, while Street chose to conserve his resources and only recently began an ad campaign. Street's internal polling in August showed him leading Katz by a strong 55%-32% margin. Katz's internal polling in August showed Street barely leading Katz, 42%-41%. Overall, Street's campaign appears lethargic, and Katz has the potential to pull an upset here.

Indianapolis – November 2 (*Toss Up - Possible Democratic Pick Up*): Secretary of State Sue Anne Gilroy (R) and millionaire real estate developer and former Bayh chief of staff Bart Peterson (D) are facing off in one of the most expensive and competitive Indianapolis mayoral elections in decades. If Peterson wins, he will be the first Democrat elected mayor since 1963. If Gilroy wins, she will be the first woman elected mayor of Indianapolis. Polling to date has shown the race to be a dead heat. On Sunday, *The Indianapolis Star* released a poll that found Peterson at 40.8% and Gilroy at 37.3%.

Columbus – November 2 (*Leans Democratic – Possible Democratic Pick Up*): A *Columbus Dispatch* Poll conducted August 27- September 3 showed Columbus City Council President Michael Coleman (D) leading Franklin County Commissioner Dorothy Teater (R) 45%-36% in the race for mayor. The poll also showed that Coleman has strong support among African Americans, women and independents. Coleman defeated Teater in the May 5 non-partisan

mayoral primary election, 39%-37%, while Senate Majority Leader Ben Espy (D) placed third with 24%. The primary voter turnout was only 19%. Coleman spent approximately \$707,529 on the primary, averaging \$25 per vote, which was almost double the amount spent by Teater (\$354,998). If Teater wins, she would be the first woman to serve as mayor. If Coleman wins, he would be the first African American to serve as mayor. Mayor Greg Lashutka (R) announced last December that he would not seek reelection and has endorsed Teater. Coleman has an excellent chance at picking this seat up.

Baltimore – November 2 (*Solidly Democratic*): City Councilor Martin O'Malley (D) won the Democratic primary by garnering over 50% in a crowded field. O'Malley will face David Tufaro (R) in the general election, but given Baltimore's overwhelming Democratic advantage, he is virtually assured victory.

Des Moines – November 2 (*Solidly Democratic*): Mayor Preston Daniels (D), the first African-American mayor in Des Moines history, is up for reelection. Real estate developer Tim Urban (D), who served on the City Council from 1974-1983, recently announced that he would challenge Daniels in his reelection bid. Urban's brother, Tom Urban, was Des Moines mayor from 1968-72. Urban's entrance in the mayoral race has caused a political stir among Democrats, who feel loyalty to both candidates and are also excited by the possible campaign dialogue this race will inspire. Some Democrats feel that Daniels has not been a pro-active mayor, and that Urban's late entrance in the race will force Daniels to reevaluate his agenda. Currently, there is no Republican candidate in the race.

Flint – November 2 (*Solidly Democratic*): In the August 3 Flint mayoral primary, incumbent Mayor Woodrow Stanley (D) and City Council President Scott Kincaid (D) each won 36% of the vote, defeating state Rep. Vera Rison (D), who had 25%. Stanley won just 29 more votes than Kincaid. Turnout was relatively low with only 20% of the registered voters participating. Mayor Stanley spent \$57,000 in the primary, while Kincaid spent only \$3,200. On election night, the President called Mayor Stanley to congratulate him on his victory. Insiders see Stanley as particularly vulnerable because he will enter the general election *without* the support of the UAW for the first time since he first ran for mayor in 1991. On August 5, the UAW decided to support Kincaid, who is a member of the union. Many believe that the UAW is upset with Stanley due to his failure to support last year's GM strike. Stanley does have the support of the Greater Flint AFL-CIO Labor Council, pitting the two state labor giants against each other. This race slightly leans towards Stanley.

Manchester (New Hampshire) – Primary September 27, General November 2 (*Leans Republican – Possible Democratic Pick Up*): Incumbent Mayor Ray Wieczorek is seeking a fifth term to this office. Wieczorek is a former RNC member who lost the 1996 Congressional primary to Rep. John Sununu (R). Wieczorek is being challenged by Donna Soucy, a former Democratic Alderwoman and state Representative. Soucy was also a Clinton/Gore delegate to the Democratic National Convention in 1996. High School principal Bob Baines is also running and has gathered a good deal of support in the education community. The top two primary finishers advance to the November 2 general election. Wieczorek and Soucy are slight favorites to emerge from the primary.

Memphis – October 7 (*Solidly Democratic*): Incumbent Memphis mayor Willie W. Herenton (D) is facing a strong challenge from Memphis City Council Chairman Joe Ford (D). According to a recent *Commercial Appeal* poll, which surveyed 600 likely Memphis voters, Herenton leads his five closest challengers with 30%. Ford polled second with 17%. According to the poll, Herenton's approval rating was 58%.

Knoxville – September 28 (*Solidly Republican*): Knoxville Mayor Victor Ashe (R) is seeking re-election to a fourth consecutive term in the Knoxville mayoral contest. Ashe, who has enjoyed bi-partisan popularity during his three terms, is facing opposition from former Knoxville Mayor Randy Tyree (D) and City Councilman Danny Mayfield (I). Ashe is the heavy favorite in the race.

Birmingham – October 12 (*Leans Independent – Possible Democratic Loss*): The non-partisan mayoral candidates in this race are Interim Mayor William Bell (D), State Representative George Perdue (D), City Councilman Bernard Kincaid (I), City Councilman Bill Johnson (R), and professor Horace Huntley (D). A recent *Birmingham News/NBC* poll has Bell with 35%, Kincaid with 48%, Johnson with 3%, and Huntley and Perdue with 2% each. At this stage, Kincaid is clearly the favorite.

OTHER STATE AND LOCAL RACES

Louisiana - Commissioner of Elections – October 23 (*Leans Republican - Likely Democratic Loss*): On August 19, incumbent Commissioner Jerry Fowler (D) was indicted on eight felony charges in what prosecutors say was a scheme that netted him at least \$1 million in kickbacks from voting-machine deals. Top state Democrats tried to recruit a strong Democratic candidate for this race and force Fowler to withdraw, but they were unsuccessful. Democrats are now very worried that they will lose this important post (the Commissioner places voting machines and schedules elections) to conservative state Rep. Woody Jenkins (R), the strongest of the seven challengers Fowler drew. You will recall that Jenkins very narrowly lost the 1996 Senate race to Mary Landrieu.

New Jersey - Mercer County Executive – November 2 (*Leans Republican – Possible Democratic Pick Up*): Jim McManimon (D) is challenging incumbent Republican County Executive Robert Prunetti. Democrats outnumber Republicans almost two-to-one, but unaffiliated voters make up over half of the population and Prunetti is a strong incumbent. Taking back this position is seen as a key component of a U.S. Senate victory in 2000. McManimon is running a strong race, and this looks like it will be very close.

New York - Erie County Executive - November 2 (*Toss Up – Possible Democratic Loss*): Two-term incumbent Dennis Gorski (D) is facing a difficult challenge from Democrat-turned-Republican Comptroller Joel Giambra. Polling over the summer gave Gorski a slight lead.

Pennsylvania - Allegheny County Executive – November 2 (*Leans Democratic*): A poll, conducted by Mason/Dixon from September 8-10, showed County Coroner Cyril Wecht (D) leading businessman Jim Roddey (R) 44%-37%. This is the first ever race for Allegheny County Executive. A 1998 ballot initiative created a strong, centralized county executive position. Allegheny County's importance in statewide elections makes this a key race for Democrats.



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*He
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need you to speak*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

National Assn. Of
Health Services Executives
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9-22-99

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NCLR

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

Raul Yzaguirre, President

National Office

1111 19th Street, N.W., Suite 1000

Washington, DC 20036

Phone: (202) 785-1670

Fax: (202) 776-1792

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FAX COVER MEMO

DATE: 9 / 20 / 1999

TIME: _____

COST CENTER # 1600

TO NAME: Mickey Ibarra

COMPANY: _____

CITY: _____

FAX#: (____) _____

FROM NAME: C. Kamasaki

Office of Research, Advocacy & Legislation (ORAL)

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of pages in transmission, including cover 4

MESSAGE:

FYI

*work w/ Susan
Response to Raul
Refer to Sen. Rely
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① Maria
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COORDINATE w/
MICKEY IBARRA -
HE'S GOT SOME
IDEAS FOR THE
RESPONSE*



Program Offices: Phoenix, Arizona • San An

LA RAZA: The Hispanic People of the New World

NCLR

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF LA RAZA

Raul Yzaguirre, President

September 21, 1999

(Delivered by hand)

COPY

Hon. Bill Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I write to you on an urgent matter that demands your immediate attention. You have noted the Administration's success in conceiving and then winning increased funding from Congress for the Hispanic Education Action Plan (HEAP), and deservedly so. NCLR has supported HEAP vigorously, both in its planning stages within the Administration and in our lobbying efforts with the Congress. In addition, we have given the Administration substantial credit for this first-ever, major programmatic federal education initiative targeted to the Hispanic community. We recognize that, on symbolic grounds alone, the HEAP is an important, precedent-setting, groundbreaking initiative, and we very much appreciate the personal attention you and the Vice President have given to its conception and implementation.

Having said that, we are obligated to call to your attention several serious and long-standing problems which threaten to turn the HEAP into a complete sham. Permit me to give you some background. Latinos have long been under-served by federal education programs (see attachment 1). The theory behind HEAP – to provide major increases in funding to programs for which Latinos students are disproportionately *eligible* – makes sense as a strategy only to the extent that Hispanic children are *actually served* by such programs. Thus, HEAP makes sense only if the problem of underrepresentation is addressed. The Executive Order signed by President Bush in 1990 and that you re-issued designed in part to address the underrepresentation issue. It established a structural mechanism to monitor and encourage progress toward improving the responsiveness of federal education programs to the Hispanic community.

Thus, our support for the HEAP was conditioned on “off-budget” improvements in program implementation that would make such programs, as well as other important programs like Head Start, more responsive to our community. We believed, inaccurately as it turns out, that the combination of the White House Initiative overseeing the Executive Order and a special inter-departmental team overseeing HEAP implementation together would produce the kinds of programmatic and policy changes needed to increase Hispanic access to HEAP and related programs.



We have participated in numerous discussions with, and have provided specific recommendations to Administration officials to address the chronic denial of access of Hispanic students from federal education programs (see attachment 2). We had confidence in the commitment and competence of the very able public servants involved in these efforts, and expected by now to see some real, substantive changes.

Unfortunately, two related sets of documents have led us to conclude that, in the absence of your immediate personal intervention, these efforts will result in failure. First, we have reviewed an initial draft of the Department of Education's HEAP implementation plan. While the plan lists numerous ongoing actions that relate to Hispanics, it does not include a single, substantive program or policy change that will materially improve Latino access to and participation in the Department's programs. While we have not seen a counterpart document related to Head Start, we have reason to believe that no important developments have taken place with respect to that program either.

Second, we have reviewed a preliminary draft of the FY 1998 Annual Performance Report on Implementing Executive Order #12900. As the draft report states, in pertinent part:

The majority of the reporting agencies have not adequately monitored and addressed Hispanic participation in educational and employment related programs since 1995.... Agency reports show a gross underrepresentation of Hispanic American participation in programs. This deficiency is increased because most reports do not provide either specific strategies to gauge Hispanic participation or design plans that address program effectiveness.

I would add that many of the agency reports seemed designed deliberately to obfuscate rather than enlighten.

We believe that three major problems underlie the failure of both the Bush and Clinton Administrations to reverse the chronic, gross underrepresentation of Latinos in federal education programs. First, all of us have underestimated the intransigence of the federal bureaucracy, a few political appointees, and other entrenched interests who have resisted change consistently and energetically. Second, the existing Executive Order has failed to be the kind of effective accountability mechanism that we had hoped it would be, in part because too many people involved, including the White House, simply have never made a serious commitment to making it work.

Third, however, I must take some personal responsibility for failing to bring greater public attention to the scope and persistence of this problem. I had hoped that by working quietly with the many able Administration officials of good will, together we would be able to reverse this situation. It is now clear to me that this has not worked.

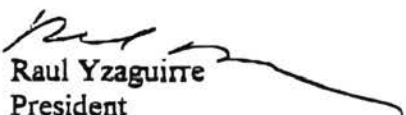
Unless we are able to come up with a solution very quickly, I must say that I face some difficult questions. As it now stands, HEAP borders on fraud. It purports to target

resources to Hispanics, but in fact many of the programs it funds actually under-serve Latino children. How can I, in good conscience, continue to ask public officials and leaders in my own community to continue to support increased appropriations for programs which deny equal opportunity to Hispanics? With respect to the Executive Order, since my resignation as Commission Chair in 1996, I have kept my commitment to the you, Secretary Riley, and other members of the Commission to refrain from publicly criticizing the initiative, and I have instructed my staff to cooperate fully with its work. In light of recent developments, don't I have an obligation to declare the effort a failure and call for its abolition?

I request immediate personal intervention by you and/or the Vice President to see if we might be able to develop an effective response to the problem, and ask for a meeting with you and/or the Vice President within the next 10 days to discuss the issue. Please have your staff contact me or my scheduling assistant Helen Coronado at (202) 776-1739 to arrange a mutually convenient time to meet.

Thank you for your personal attention to this issue.

Sincerely,


Raul Yzaguirre
President

cc: Vice President Al Gore

9-22-99

Bashirov's, Bashirov was arrested during a raid on the medical students' dormitory where they both live, after the police found a photo album containing pictures of Chechen guerrillas. The following day the police claimed to have detained "Shamil Basayev's personal doctor." Batayev comments ruefully that Basayev, a Chechen terrorist and leader of the Chechen incursion into Dagestan, "has, unfortunately, never suffered a moment of ill health in his life."

In addition, it so happens that Bashirov is known to a number of Moscow's journalists, politicians and human rights activists because, in the early days of the war in Chechnya, he worked at a makeshift mixed-staff hospital in Grozny where wounded Chechens and Russians, both soldiers and civilians, were treated. These Good Samaritan credentials do not, of course, mean that Bashirov cannot be a terrorist, but, in conjunction with the random manner in which the police stumbled upon him, they make him a rather unlikely suspect. "The police don't care," explains Batayev. "They used to raid the dorm once a week or every few weeks. Now they've been told to check, say, 30 apartments and 45 people a day, so they come to my room in the dorm at least once a day, sometimes several times—so they can report back that they've done their checks."

Still, popular support for the emergency police measures appears to be overwhelming. Even many of the migrants from the Caucasus living here seem to support them, though for somewhat different reasons. "I think Moscow should be closed, a curfew and a state of emergency imposed," says Abuzar Bagirov, an Azeri activist and journalist who lives in Moscow. Azeris are the most numerous ethnic minority in Moscow—more than one million of them live in the city, compared to about 50,000 Chechens. They are also the most easily identifiable as being from the Caucasus since they tend to have darker complexions than representatives of other ethnic groups. As a result, Azeris are picked on by the police. But Bagirov, who has been one of the most outspoken critics of Moscow's unconstitutional passport regime and the resultant police practices, now withdraws his objections. "Now it would all be justified. If the police don't do it, with all this fear spreading, I am in danger from any crowd. They see I am black—and I am dead." (Though people from the Caucasus are indeed Caucasian, the dark hair and eyes characteristic of their ethnic group lead many Russians, who are generally fair-skinned, to refer to them disparagingly as "black.") In other words, Bagirov believes that only a state of emergency will be able to prevent anti-Caucasian pogroms in Moscow.

UNLIKE ORDINARY CITIZENS, most politicians have publicly spoken out against a state of emergency. A notable exception is the clown nationalist Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, whose unlikely but stable alliance with the Kremlin (his is the only faction in parliament that unfailingly votes with the president) has led some journalists to speculate that a state of emergency may indeed be in the offing. No one knows quite what it would mean: the existing law on the state of emergency dates back to the late Soviet era, but, should the need and desire arise, the current parliament may push through a new law on an urgent basis. A perusal of the constitution indicates that a state of emergency would, in any case,

mean vastly increased police power, a curfew, censorship, and a variety of other limitations of civil liberties.

Then again, all of this is already happening. Politicians are uniquely unanimous in their response to the terrorist attacks. President Boris Yeltsin and Mayor Luzhkov have set aside their long-standing feud to cooperate on policing Moscow. Even the staunchly opposition left-liberal Grigory Yavlinsky has declared his Yabloko Party's support for "a number of extraordinary measures in Moscow." About a dozen major cities so far are following Moscow's example, instituting document checks and summarily lifting constitutional restrictions on searches and seizures. With cities deporting or detaining people not registered to live there, freedom of movement is becoming a thing of the past.

The same goes for freedom of assembly: permits for rallies, demonstrations, or pickets will not be issued as long as the authorities can claim that any large gathering is a potential terrorist target. Meanwhile, on September 14, the parliament introduced a resolution that, should it be enacted, would severely restrict the state media's coverage of military conflicts—a major move, given that Russia's two largest TV channels belong to the state. For its part, the General Staff has quietly—and unconstitutionally—expanded the list of classified topics, which the media are banned from covering.

In other words, the only thing that significantly distinguishes what is taking shape from a state of emergency is that there is no apparent plan to cancel this December's parliamentary elections—never mind that elections in the absence of basic civil liberties could hardly be called free and fair. And there is another important difference as well: Unlike a state of emergency, which would sooner or later have to be lifted, the erosion of democracy now under way threatens to be permanent. After all, at least one test of a democracy's strength is its ability to cope with an internal security threat without resorting to repressive measures. So far, it appears that Russian democracy is still too weak to resist the immediate temptation to reach for the billy club. ■

Of Clintons and clemency. Liberation Movement

By MICHELLE COTTLE

WAS BILL CLINTON'S offer of clemency to 16 convicted Puerto Rican terrorists a shameless attempt to curry favor with the 1.3 million Puerto Ricans of New York City, where wife Hillary is expected to run for Senate next year? No way, say the Clintons. You bet, say Republicans such as Representative Dan Burton of Indiana, who has called for an investigation. Burton's end-of-the-summer dream, no doubt, is to find a memo from the

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Hillary 2000 headquarters to President Clinton, calculating just how many votes the first lady would pick up if Bill sprang the terrorists.

But it's doubtful that Burton's dream will come true. Although any conclusion about the truth behind this episode must remain tentative—except, briefly, for the president and first lady themselves, no one in the White House or Justice Department seems willing to talk about it, even off the record—it appears that Hillary's political ambitions were not crucial to the president's decision. That, of course, doesn't mean the clemency offer is OK. Indeed, it may be even more disturbing to think that the president acted because he was persuaded that releasing these convicted felons was the right thing to do—even though it sends a strange signal about the government's resolve to fight terrorism, and even though it was, foreseeably, a probable political loser for Hillary.

Our saga begins with the prisoners' trial and conviction back in the 1980s. The prisoners were members of a violent pro-independence group, the Armed Forces of National Liberation (known as FALN, their Spanish acronym). Although the prisoners had not been convicted of any crimes resulting in death or injury, their sentences ranged up to 90 years on such charges as seditious conspiracy and federal weapons violations.

Luis Nieves-Falcon, a Puerto Rico-based sociologist, felt so strongly that the FALN members had been railroaded that he dedicated his career to their cause. But the movement got off to a slow start. One problem was that the FALN members, wanting nothing to do with the American government, had requested that supporters not lobby for their release. Another problem was that the prisoners' cause, linked as it was to the issue of Puerto Rican independence, lacked broad appeal. Surveys show that only around four percent of New York Puerto Ricans favor independence—a figure consistent with the low support reflected in island referenda on the issue over the years. The problem, then, was to generate a groundswell, showing the White House that the issue was something Puerto Rican votes hinged on. The campaign began in earnest in 1990 with a grassroots effort in Puerto Rico itself. The prisoners' advocates also courted international support, winning the backing of South African archbishop Desmond Tutu. The objective, says Nieves-Falcon, "was to create a consciousness among people that these were political prisoners and not common criminals."

Over the next couple of years, the clemency movement picked up steam. The prisoners themselves agreed to support the campaign for their release. In November of that year, Luis Gutierrez, a Puerto Rican politician in Chicago with a history of youthful *independentista* activism, was elected to the House of Representatives. Gutierrez took a special interest in the release of the FALN prisoners, two of whom had gone to grade school with him. From his congressional perch, Gutierrez helped push the clemency cause in the media. He was also involved with the original lobbying of the new Democratic administration, which began in 1993. In November of that year, Gutierrez, along with fellow Puerto Rican members of Congress Nydia Velazquez and Jose Serrano (both from the Big Apple), wrote to Attorney General Janet Reno requesting a meeting on the issue. The same

month, a petition was filed with the federal pardon attorney on behalf of the prisoners.

About this time, the marketing of the prisoners' cause began to change. Originally, many of the clemency advocates wanted to link their cause to Puerto Rican independence. But, over time, leaders of the movement recognized the need to frame the appeal in less-controversial terms. "Our issue would be that, in humanitarian terms, these sentences they got were really out of proportion," says New York activist Angelo Falcon. As the humanitarian message took hold, says Falcon, the clemency effort gained momentum. "You started having people who were seriously lobbying the president. You had mainstream organizations doing this, not just fringe groups." In October 1994, some 400 Puerto Rican community leaders gathered in Washington for a meeting of Boricua First—a New York-based organization aimed at increasing the profile and influence of the Puerto Rican community—at which a resolution calling for release of the prisoners was approved.

By 1996, the movement had built a critical mass of support. Advocates of clemency—who by this time claimed the backing of such luminaries as Tutu, Coretta Scott King, and Cardinal O'Connor—held several meetings with then-White House counsel Jack Quinn. In April 1996, demonstrators hand-delivered more than 15,000 pardon petitions to the White House. In December, 100,000 letters were delivered.

Clemency advocates felt they had to achieve their goal before Clinton finished his second term. "When Clinton first walks in, he don't know nothing," says Gloria Quinones, a New York attorney and childhood friend of Dylcia Pagan, one of the prisoners. "He's from Arkansas. It takes time to educate folks." Moreover, a first-term president would be much less likely to tackle such an issue, says Quinones. Only when a president isn't facing reelection "will he dare to make this move." Thus, from the beginning, the activists' approach to the White House was pretty explicitly political; according to the *New York Daily News*, the clemency supporters presented the petition as something Clinton would be wise to dispose of before Al Gore's 2000 presidential bid. White House sources told the *Daily News* that the petitioners were informed that the issue would be decided purely on its merits.

Was it? In late 1997, Deputy Attorney General Eric Holder pledged to review the request and issue a recommendation to White House counsel Charles Ruff, who in early 1997 had replaced Quinn. The clemency advocates were told that the matter would be ruled on by the end of 1998. But, in January of that year, disaster struck in the form of Monica Lewinsky. Ruff found himself preoccupied with saving his boss. It wasn't until February of this year that the impeachment nightmare ended, freeing Ruff to return to the Puerto Rican matter. Right before Ruff decamped for private practice on August 6, his report hit the president's desk. Five days later, the president offered the conditional clemency deal.

Which brings us back to the issue of what the first lady knew, when she knew it, and just how much her Senate ambitions may have influenced the president's decision. Whether or not she was officially consulted on the matter, her recent claim that she literally "didn't know anything about the issue" before the president announced the clemency offer is hard to

believe. For starters, she certainly encountered this issue during her "listening tour" of New York. On August 9, New York City Councilman José Rivera personally presented Hillary with a packet on clemency, including a letter asking her to "speak to the president and ask him to consider granting executive clemency" to the prisoners. Even if she promptly tossed the packet aside, Rivera told me he wasn't the only New Yorker pressing her on this issue.

Hillary may also have heard something about the issue from clemency advocate Dennis Rivera, who happens to be the head of New York's politically powerful health care workers' union. Rivera was among the state leaders whom Hillary sought out in the earliest days of her Senate explorations. And Harold Ickes, Hillary's top political strategist, is a long-time lobbyist for the Puerto Rican government and has made a pretty penny representing the commonwealth's pro-statehood faction. He may never have spoken with anyone directly involved with lobbying for clemency, but how could he not be aware of the issue and its growing prominence among Puerto Ricans?

That said, from a purely political perspective, the electoral dynamics of New York suggest that, assuming Hillary and her advisers knew about the issue, they would have thought twice before lobbying the president to offer clemency. Latino voters make up about six percent of the state's electorate. Typically, the vast majority of them vote Democratic. In 1996, for instance, the president garnered 91 percent of the state's Hispanic vote. Granted, Mayor Rudolph Giuliani tends to fare better than the average Republican: in 1997, he drew 43 percent of New York City's Hispanic vote. But Giuliani's Democratic opponent that year was Ruth Messinger, widely recognized as a total disaster, whereas Clinton is riding into town on the coattails of a president who got 91 percent of the state's Hispanic vote in 1996. Does it really make sense that Hillary and Ickes (and Bill) would have risked losing the affections of all those law-and-order suburbanites on Long Island simply to woo a few additional votes, or boost turnout, from a community already strongly inclined to go Clinton?

Moreover, Hillary's behavior since the president announced the clemency offer gives little indication that she was calling the shots. Through her campaign spokesperson, the public learned that she did in fact support the prisoners' release, assuming they accepted the attached conditions. But she had little else to say in the early days of the flap. If she was a player, her subsequent call to rescind the offer, ostensibly because of insufficient outward contrition by the prisoners, could not have been more bizarrely timed. It came less than 24 hours after the White House had privately given the prisoners a week to make up their minds whether or not to accept the deal. It would appear, then, that the president kept the news of this crucial communication from the first lady— whether out of some misguided effort to protect her from politically inconvenient information, we can't know.

Indeed, it is worth noting that, at the time of the first lady's September 4 statement, the prisoners appeared disinclined to accept the offer. All those left-wing activists now singing the president's praises and bashing Hillary for her "flip-flop" were then denouncing the clemency offer because it wasn't unconditional. One day after the offer was extended, no less a

player in New York politics than Jesse Jackson was in Puerto Rico, grouching about the "extraordinary and humiliating" conditions. On August 29, thousands of protesters took to the streets of San Juan to demand an unconditional pardon.

But less than a week after Hillary's statement, twelve of the prisoners opted to accept clemency. This was no coincidence, says Carlos Romero-Barceló, Puerto Rico's non-voting delegate to Congress. "When the first lady came out with a statement that they were not sorry and that the president should cancel the offer, ... it spurred them [the prisoners] to accept [the release]," he asserts. "They realized they weren't going to be able to get anything else by pressure."

No, we may need to look elsewhere to find the factors that tipped the balance. Start with Jimmy Carter, the man around whose neck Bill Clinton had just draped the Presidential Medal of Freedom. A longtime White House insider told me that Clinton has some inexplicable need to win the approval of his only living Democratic predecessor. If Clinton strongly opposed clemency, Carter's desire to see the Puerto Ricans freed may not have changed his mind. If Clinton had no real position, however, Carter's lobbying may have made a difference. The president also might have been swayed by Ruff—"a lawyer's lawyer," as a former White House insider describes him, whose numb political fingerprints and highly legalistic view of the world might have predisposed him to accept the argument that the prisoners had been unduly punished (just as it helped him craft key exculpatory arguments in a certain impeachment trial). Moreover, Deputy Attorney General Holder reportedly supported clemency, a fact likely reflected in the case review he sent the counsel's office, which apparently muted the fact that all federal law enforcement agencies had recommended against clemency. And, if Ruff—for whatever reason—decided that clemency was in order, Clinton was unlikely to override the man who had saved his bacon during the Monica disaster. (Both Ruff and Holder declined to discuss the matter.)

Whatever the truth is, two results seem clear. First, the controversy will leave an inaccurate imprint on the public's perception of Puerto Ricans' political attitudes. Romero-Barceló has repeatedly expressed concern that demonstrations on behalf of the prisoners would make stateside Americans think that Puerto Ricans advocate terrorism. "The real freedom fighters are the 197,000 Puerto Ricans who served the nation in times of war during this century," he has said.

Result number two is that, in the end, the first lady won't suffer unduly among Puerto Rican voters. Her disavowal of the clemency offer was carefully crafted, a classically Clintonian flourish that leaves all of her political options open. She did not criticize the president's offer on its merits; she merely pointed out that, if the prisoners were so hesitant to accept the parole conditions, perhaps they shouldn't be released. Now that they've accepted the offer, the first lady can claim she has always supported clemency, as long as the prisoners agreed to the terms. She knows perfectly well that New York's Democratic Puerto Rican activists aren't going to bolt to Giuliani over this. Indeed, the Puerto Rican leadership in New York already seems willing to grant her a pardon. As Roberto Ramírez, the Democratic assemblyman from the Bronx, has said, "we must move on." ■

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-22-99

The San Juan Star - Saturday, September 11, 1999

LOCAL NEWS

CRB blasts Clinton's defense for clemency offered to prisoners

By JOHN MCPHAUL
Of the STAR Staff

Resident Commissioner Carlos Romero Barceló took issue Friday with President Clinton's defense of the clemency given to members of the Armed Forces for National Liberation, saying the released prisoners share blame in the bombings carried out by the group in the 1970s.

"They were accomplices to those crimes," said Romero Barceló.

In defending the clemen-

cy offer, Clinton said blaming the prisoners for the deaths and injuries caused by the bombings would amount to judging them "guilty by association."

But the resident commissioner said that if the crimes were committed today, the independence activists could be tried on murder charges in federal court under statutes subsequently passed to thwart terrorism.

Romero Barceló said the term "terrorist," attached to the former prisoners in the U.S. press, is an accu-

rate one.

He blamed the strong reaction in the U.S. on supporters of the independence activists who, he said, have sought to minimize the nature of their crimes.

"This is a reaction which people have had against an apparent defense to acts of terrorism," he said.

Romero Barceló said he supported the release of the prisoners only under the terms of the clemency offered by President Clinton, because he thinks they had served enough



STAR file photo

Carlos Romero Barceló

time and were obliged to renounce violence.

While his New Progressive Party also supported the release of the prisoners, Romero Barceló said the party's official statement refers to the former prisoners as "terrorists."



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Hearings on Puerto Rico's Status Sought

BY LYNN DUKES
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK—Still roiled by opposition to the presidential clemencies recently granted to Puerto Rican militants, New York politicians of Puerto Rican heritage have asked the Senate to hold public hearings on the ultimate political status of Puerto Rico just as it is holding hearings on the clemencies.

Seizing the moment to put forward another issue that has run-

ning, in the prospective Senate campaign of first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, the 15 legislators also want the Senate to hold hearings on the Navy's use of Vieques Island, off Puerto Rico. The Navy has used Vieques as its East Coast firing range for several decades but was forced to suspend operations in April after protesters converged on it when one civilian was killed and four others were hurt from a bomb that went off target.

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han (D-N.Y.), believed that the offer contradicted the president's stand against terrorism.

When Hillary Clinton said she opposed the clemency offer, she was criticized for what was widely perceived as a political move to distance herself from a controversy. She has not taken a position on Vieques, saying she would await a presidential panel's findings this month.

These issues, say Serrano and others, stem from the unresolved question of Puerto Rico's status after 100 years of being, in effect, a U.S. territory. For the past 47 years, its status has been as a commonwealth. Puerto Ricans on the island are U.S. citizens and subject to military ser-

vice but pay no federal taxes, cannot vote in presidential elections and are represented in Congress by a delegate with no floor-voting powers.

Last year, the House passed a bill that would have set the terms for a Puerto Rican vote to seek and implement a final political status. The Senate objected, however, and refused to allow formal recognition of a Puerto Rican vote.

A Puerto Rican referendum was conducted in December, but its outcome was inconclusive. A narrow majority (50.2 percent) voted for a category called "none of the above," which was put forward as a protest against change, and 46.5 percent voted for statehood.

SUNDAY 11 AM-7 PM

LOCAL NEWS

San Juan 9th 9.12.99

be stood in the airport to come four other returned political prisoners. They are cultivating a seed for the future," he said. Spanish teacher Alfredo Bassat, said "the only real terrorist is as Romero Barceló, who has instilled an artificial fear and lying."

A 40-member delegation from San Juan arrived to meet Matos, who returned to live on his family in Parcelas La Plata.

Irizarry Ortiz, 75, spent in a large Puerto Rican and carrying a banner read "Valle de Lajas, was euphoric. He waited for Matos to emerge. The government, not the American people, has violated their democratic rights," he said.

Report official Carmen Echavarria, who had met the prisoners earlier, was bubbling with joy.

It's about time they had a chance to sleep in a "heavy" bed," she said. They may be terrorists but they

didn't kill anyone."

Jesús Mercado, 73, from Bayamón, called them brave. "Only those who have been bought by food coupons and Plan 8 (housing subsidies) object to their release," he said.

Mercado said he had run several times unsuccessfully for senator on the Puerto Rico Independence Party ticket.

Noelia González, 12, was taking pictures to be published in "Claridad," a weekly newspaper advocating independence for the island.

"It was time they got out," she said.

Mary Jo Baucor, who also came Thursday with her psychiatrist husband Dr. David Calceida, said her American father, a former FBI agent, shared her ideals of independence for the island.

Carmen Warren, 36, brought her handicapped daughter Zuania, 12, in a wheelchair. "She understands it all," she said of her daughter, a victim of cerebral palsy, who is unable to speak.



STAR photo by Humberto Velaz

Puerto Rican pro-independence prisoner Elizam Escobar waves to the crowd upon his return to Luis Muñoz Marín International Airport Saturday and four other former federal prisoners granted presidential clemency were met by hundreds of well-wishers on the arrival to the island after release Friday from federal prisons.

First Lady to meet with P.R. officials of New York

By SAMUEL RENE QUINONES

Special to the STAR

NEW YORK

With all the secrecy of a float and danger, political melodrama, New York City's federal, state and local Puerto Rican elected officials are secretly arranging a summit meeting with the first lady.

Clinton will meet with first lady Hillary Clinton at her Manhattan residence.

Sources said The STAR Saturday.

At the same time outspoken legislators like City Council members José Rivera and Margarita López warned a would-be Senator Clinton that "any politician from anywhere who wants our votes better learn about the reality of one-fourth of the people of New York City, who are the Puerto Ricans and other Latinos," in Rivera's words.

Councilwoman López, meanwhile, underlined that Mrs. Clinton must have very bad advice on Puerto Rican and Latino affairs, judging by the insensitive rejection of the clemency granted Puerto Rican political prisoners by her husband — the president — and warned the first lady and senatorial aspirant that "she should know that the time is gone when the Democrats can take it for granted that they had the Puerto Rican vote in their pockets."

Both López and Rivera said Mrs. Clinton had been calling them after her rejection of clemency, but both said they would not answer her call until the first lady apologized.

Late Friday night an incipient apology actually came from Mrs. Clinton herself. She recognized she was ill-advised about what the clemency issue meant to the Puerto Rican community and admitted she should have consulted with Puerto Rican leaders.

"I have to admit the consultation was not what it should have been. And that will never happen again," said Mrs. Clinton.

But this assurance seems not to have served its intended purpose.

So far, at least, Mrs. Clinton's handling of the issue seems to have satisfied no one. Her opposition to the clemency has been denounced by Puerto Rican leaders as a betrayal, wrote the New York Times Saturday on the front page of its metropolitan section, adding that her critics claim Mrs. Clinton was pandering to the "white, moderate and conservative wing of the Democratic Party."

Brooklyn Congressman José Serrano is one of those questioning the press that the first lady had not called him about any apology. The most vehement of all Puerto Rican elected officials in New York, State Senator Olga Méndez, said she was still "distressed" about Mrs. Clinton's action. "It was a horrible blunder. She is an intelligent woman. We are very hurt. We Puerto Ricans are very, very hurt," Méndez told the press after Mrs. Clinton's speech Friday night.

Councilwoman López said that Mrs. Clinton should have called all the Puerto Rican elected officials in New York, State Senator Olga Méndez, said she was still "distressed" about Mrs. Clinton's action. "It was a horrible blunder. She is an intelligent woman. We are very hurt. We Puerto Ricans are very, very hurt," Méndez told the press after Mrs. Clinton's speech Friday night.

Please see A-12: CLINTON

"I have to admit the consultation was not what it should have been. And that will never happen again."

Hillary Clinton
first lady

NEW & INVESTING

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Levitt Studies Plan for Single Market Regulator

By MICHAEL SCHROEDER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Securities and Exchange Commission Chairman Arthur Levitt is studying a plan to combine the nation's stock-market self-regulatory bodies into a single national regulator overseeing all exchanges.

In a major speech on Thursday, Mr. Levitt is expected to outline for the first time his views on how the securities regulatory framework should adjust to fast-changing markets. He is expected to talk about how the new structure should be geared to what is evolving as a central electronic market created by linking traditional exchanges with a growing array of automated trading systems.

Mr. Levitt also will address the need for creating a coordinated options market and for changing a New York Stock Exchange rule that prevents stocks listed on the exchange from trading in other markets.

A re-evaluation of exchanges' traditional structure, in which each exchange regulates itself, is being prompted by the proliferation of electronic communication networks, ECNs, and the plans of Nasdaq and the Big Board to become for-profit enterprises. Market participants, overwhelmed by changes, have been criticizing the SEC for being slow in coming up with new regulations for the new market.



Arthur Levitt

'We have an opportunity now that I don't think we'll have again in our lifetime, to come closer to the vision of a national market system that, in my judgment, has been too long delayed.'

They have also criticized Mr. Levitt for not speaking sooner about his vision for U.S. markets in the 21st century.

The themes of Mr. Levitt's speech surfaced during recent interviews with the chairman, his top policy officials and members of an ad hoc advisory group from industry and Wall Street. These people discussed the policies the SEC is developing but didn't provide the specific language of Mr. Levitt's upcoming address at Columbia University in New York.

'We have an opportunity now that I don't think we'll have again in our lifetime to come closer to the vision of a national market system that, in my judgment, has

been too long delayed,' Mr. Levitt said in an interview.

In the past three years, the nation's stock markets have been transformed by a powerful confluence of forces, including new technology, Internet trading and an unprecedented bull market.

SEC rule changes have also fueled the pace of change. In early 1997, in particular, the SEC imposed so-called order handling rules which required securities dealers to publicly display customers' orders to make sure they get the best price available. This led to the creation of nine ECNs, such as Datek Online Holdings Corp.'s Island ECN Inc. and Archipelago

Holdings LLC, which display and automatically execute customer orders — almost solely for Nasdaq stocks — in the process becoming quasi-stock exchanges in their own right.

Mr. Levitt has been seeking advice over the past six months from scores of experts. He has relied most on a kitchen cabinet that includes former Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin; former Deputy Secretary of State John Whitehead; investment legend Warren Buffett; and three Wall Street chiefs: David Komansky of Merrill Lynch & Co., Philip Purcell of Morgan Stanley Dean Witter & Co. and Henry Paulson of Goldman Sachs Group Inc.

Currently, each stock exchange is required to have its own self-regulatory organization. At exchanges, SROs are operated as integral parts of operations. As part of the SEC's 1996 enforcement action alleging the National Association of Securities Dealers failed to adequately police its Nasdaq Stock Market, NASD agreed to reorganize its operations. NASD's regulatory body was split off as a separate unit from the stock market, both of which report to a holding company.

The SEC believes it should continue to delegate direct oversight of Wall Street firms, traders, brokers and market makers

Please Turn to Page C16, Column 5

Levitt Mulls One-Regulator Plan

Continued From Page C1

to industry-funded self-regulatory organizations.

Mr. Levitt has said publicly that he has told the Big Board and NASD he wants a clear separation between their market operations and regulatory organizations, as a condition of approving their change to for-profit companies. Serving shareholders and overseeing market participants present too many potential conflicts of interest for the current model to continue to work, he said.

The SEC is also considering ways to immediately centralize some functions, such as rule making, to avoid duplication among the various regulatory bodies, including new ones that ECNs are forming as a requirement for becoming exchanges. In addition, the SEC is looking into the possibility of a single independent regulatory operation to oversee all the markets. "That's certainly the subject of intensive study," said Annette Nazareth, director of the SEC's market-regulation division.

But such an entity wouldn't be practical until the shape of fast-changing markets becomes clearer. Ms. Nazareth said she thinks that consolidation likely will produce a two- or three-legged national market system. The SEC favors competition among markets and would likely look askance at efforts by, say, the Big Board or Nasdaq to buy up major ECNs. The New York Stock Exchange has been exploring building, buying or allying with an ECN as a way to trade Nasdaq stocks and expand its business. All ECNs are currently participants in Nasdaq, but Nasdaq has long wanted a central order book that would in effect obviate the need for any ECN. It has mulled picking an ECN as a partner to act as that central book.

Mr. Levitt said he also would favor linking all markets electronically, which would keep down costs and allow the U.S. to compete internationally. The goal is for orders to be visible on all the markets. He hasn't ruled out letting the U.S. system become part of an integrated global market. "We

set the stage for making it possible for technology to increase the competitive forces within this country. We must see to it that we are moving toward an electronic marketplace," he said.

Where does that leave traditional markets such as regional exchanges and the Big Board? "I think you balance [the various markets] by not being hidebound and by not protecting structures that are unable in a competitive environment to provide an economic rationale for their existence," Mr. Levitt said.

That also means reconsidering regulations that will impede development of a national market for all securities trading. For instance, Mr. Levitt is expected to raise the question in his speech about whether to change the Big Board's longstanding Rule 390. That bars Big Board member firms from trading stocks listed before 1979, such as General Electric Co. and International Business Machines Corp., off an exchange during market hours. Such a rule would be an anachronism in a central electronic market designed to display all buy and sell orders.