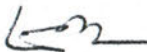


THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TS
PC
SW
AW
JA
DB
CC

95 JUL 25 A 8:55

MEMORANDUM

TO: All Assistants to the President
FROM: Erskine Bowles 
SUBJECT: England/Ireland Trip
DATE: July 24, 1995

Leon Panetta has designated Jack Quinn as the coordinator for the President's upcoming trip to England and Ireland.

Lucie Naphin is the designated trip scheduler for this trip.

STERN, TODD
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

WHITE HOUSE OFFICE

STAFF SECRETARY

WH

GFL/WW



With a Little Help From Her Friends

SOO YEUN KIM AND THE STUDENTS OF JERICHO HIGH SCHOOL

SOO YEUN KIM WAS THE KIND OF STUDENT WHO SHOWS up in the "most likely to succeed" category in high-school yearbooks. At Jericho High School in Jericho, N.Y., the 17-year-old was an accomplished flutist, editor of the literary magazine and a star science student. The week after Thanksgiving, as she was putting the finishing touches on her project for the prestigious Westinghouse Science Talent Search, she and her close friend Joseph Ching were killed in a car accident on a rain-soaked road just a mile from her home.

Jericho had lost two of its best and brightest students—and their grieving friends refused to let Soo Yeun's hard work go to waste. With only two days before the deadline, a group of her classmates joined together to finish her Westinghouse application, some putting off their own work to finish their friend's. Most of her project, a two-year study of bone fragments as they related to the behavior

of the Neanderthal man, was already complete. But an eight-page entry form remained, and there were questions that needed answers. What awards had she won? What clubs did she belong to? One question, especially, brought tears to the eyes of her friends: "What would you really like to be doing 10 or 15 years from now?"

The group finished the project in time and, with the help of Soo Yeun's science teacher, Allen Sachs (above, in beard and tie), sent it off to Westinghouse with a note explaining what they had done. But the note was torn off, and judges had no inkling of the circumstances surrounding Soo Yeun's application. Two months later, her project was selected as one of 40 finalists from more than 1,600 applicants. (Since finalists must be interviewed, Soo Yeun's project could go no farther.) It was the first time in the competition's 54-year history that Westinghouse has made an award posthumously—a tribute not only to Soo Yeun Kim's hard work but to her selfless friends as well. ■

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7.24.95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 18, 1995

95 JUL 18 P6:33

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

MARK GEARAN *MG*

SUBJECT:

GOVERNOR WALLACE SIDEBAR FOR GEORGE MAGAZINE

For your information, I am forwarding a copy of the George Magazine sidebar written off your conversation with John Kennedy regarding Governor Wallace.

Please let me know if there are any portions of this story that you feel need editing.

*Paul! Think these minor changes
are necessary to clarify
the story -*

SIDEBAR ON WALLACE

BILL CLINTON

President of the United States; Former Governor of Arkansas, 1979-1981; 1983-1993.

"I had an interesting relationship with Wallace, ~~because~~ ^{and they both realized it at the time} he first served with Orval Faubus [the former Governor of Arkansas] during the period when Little Rock Central High School and the University of Alabama were being integrated ^{and tensions were high}. And ^{But} then he got re-elected with a substantial portion of the black vote.

^{in 1982}

~~But~~ In 1983, when I was at my first Governors Conference in Portland, Maine, after I was reelected to my second term, Wallace came all the way from Alabama. His wounds were severe and his movements were labored. I was then spearheading a movement among the Governors to try to reverse the actions of the Reagan administration on Social Security disability, which was basically a program for people who are disabled and can't go back to work. There was some abuse of the program and it needed to be corrected, but the Reagan people went way overboard. They tried to kick a truck driver in Arkansas who lost his arm, ^{and} who had a ninth-grade education, off of Social Security disability on the theory that he really could work at a clerical job. That's the kind of thing they were doing.

^{on a congressional letter}

"So we organized a Governors' revolt. And then at the last minute, ~~they~~ ^{we} said, we need statement from the Governors -- the whole Governors Conference, including the Republicans, that this is not a good thing. And we knew if we would ever get it on the floor, the Republicans wouldn't vote against it just to be loyal to the White House because there were a lot of innocent people being kicked off.

^{Assistant}

"So the Reagan administration sent two Secretaries from the Department of Health and Human Services to try to ~~beat this thing~~ ^{beat out the vote}. And they had to beat it in the committee, where we were one vote short. George Wallace was on this committee. We met early in the morning, like eight a.m. ^(the day before) And I sat down with Wallace and told him the whole story and I said, 'Look, I know this is a pain for you, but you're up here and a lot of your people in Alabama are being really hurt. You've got a lot of poor working people that are on Social Security disability, and I need your vote for this.'

"He literally had just gotten re-elected and -- I'll never forget this -- he said, it sounds to me like you're right. Now that doesn't sound like such a big deal, except in the condition he was in, it took him ^{much} ~~two hours~~ ^{up and to come} longer to get ready than anybody else. ^(the next morning) And he got up very early, six in the morning. He was tired from his trip and in pain all the time and he went through the difficult ritual he had to go through to get himself prepared. And boy, he rolled into that committee room and made the damndest speech you ever heard. And the guys from the Reagan administration were downcast. The other guys -- the Governors that were trying to beat ~~him~~ ^{us} -- knew they were beat. And we rolled the thing out of the

committee and rolled it through the Governors Conference with a unanimous motion. Within a matter of months, the whole thing was reversed.

Terror in Montana

By Martha A. Bethel

I serve as a municipal judge in the towns of Hamilton and Darby in western Montana. Hate groups like the Militia of Montana, one of the most extreme self-styled paramilitary organizations, have been active in our area for several years.

My experience with them began in January, when a man who said he was part of the "Freemen" movement, which has ties to the militia, appeared in court in response to three routine traffic tickets. He described his appearance as a "special visitation" and refused to cooperate

Judges do their jobs — and risk their lives.

with the initial proceedings. He said he was not in any way bound by the laws of Montana.

On March 3, he served me with documents demanding dismissal of the charges against him and asserting I had violated my oath of office. These documents recounted a hear-

Martha A. Bethel has been a municipal judge in Montana for nine years. This article is adapted from a statement she made last week at a Congressional forum on the militia movement.

ing held before "justices" of a "common law" court, one of a number of tribunals created in Montana recently by the fringe groups that claim they have jurisdiction over our district and local courts.

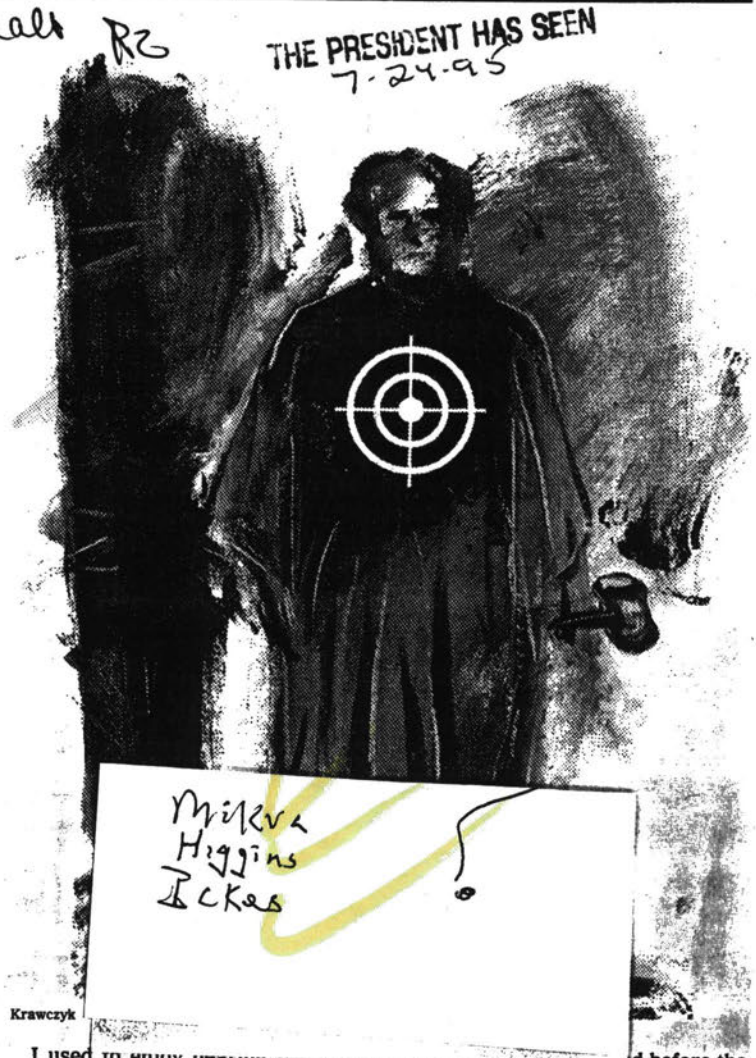
The "Ravalli County Court, Common Law Venue, Supreme Court, Country of Montana" demanded that I dismiss the charges within 10 days or a warrant would be issued for my arrest. On the same day, the documents were filed in several other courts as well.

Later, I received threats that I would be kidnapped and tried before the common-law court and sentenced for my "treasonous" acts. I also received a call one day warning me, "Don't come to Darby tonight for court tonight, or you won't be leaving."

In addition, someone threatened to shoot a justice of the peace in the head. A deputy county attorney was warned that his home would be burned and that he would be shot in the back. Our district judge heard threats, to his face, that he would be hanged in the city park.

In February, I was followed home, roughly 40 miles away, after a night court session. Several days later, an unidentified caller informed me that I had been followed home and gave me the location of my home to prove it. I have received dozens of phone calls, both from anonymous callers and from concerned citizens warning me of what they heard would happen to me or my home.

Most of us who have been threatened are concerned that these people might carry out these threats. Though we have enjoyed support from local citizens and businesses, we share a sinking feeling of helplessness.



I used to enjoy hearing the bears and other animals move about at night without a second thought, other than expressing thanks for the beautiful place in which I live. Now, when I hear deer giving their warning calls, or when I hear animals moving through the brush in the woods, I worry if an intruder is frightening them.

Montana Legislature on a bill making it a felony to impersonate or intimidate a public official. The threats against me worsened, and hate mail arrived from across the country. Twice, I sent my three children, ages 10, 11 and 13, to live with their father for a week.

After someone threatened to "ridle my home with gunfire," the police came to map my house and land. They told me which room to hide in if the house were attacked. They suggested I pack a duffel bag with a police radio, flashlight and other emergency gear. They mapped out where in the woods I would hide with the children if we had to run.

Over Easter weekend, the police suggested we leave the county after they received information that an attack would be made on me or my house. Most recently, a Federal law enforcement agency told me a contract had been issued for my murder. This has been a living nightmare. As judges, we all expect to deal with disgruntled people who refuse to take responsibility for their actions. But who in their right mind would choose to serve their community when the community becomes defenseless in the face of such terrorism? □

Sneak Attack on AIDS Research

By David Baltimore and David Ho

In his effort to cut spending on AIDS, Senator Jesse Helms caused a furor this month by attributing the epidemic not to a virus but to "disgusting, revolting conduct." But a more subtle and menacing Congressional attack on Federal financing for AIDS research has gone largely unnoticed.

Today, the House Appropriations Committee

and no common strategic plan; now the office coordinates the effort, eliminating overlaps in research and evaluating every program.

Before the office took charge, the \$1.4 billion annual AIDS research enterprise was like a house being built with plumbers, roofers, carpenters and painters working away, but with no architect or general contractor to direct them.

This year the coordinated effort was initiated. A task force of 100

homosexuality and drug abuse. They pretend not to see the huge economic and emotional toll of AIDS.

The public has invested more than \$100 billion in general biomedical research over the last decade. Scientists have a responsibility to show that we have made the most of this money, and we will be judged in large part by our success against AIDS. It would be cataclysmic to be turned away and sacrifice the gains we have made.

Some critics of AIDS research claim it receives a disproportionate amount of money compared to other diseases that



Patrice Whittaker
21582 Avon Ln
Southfield, MI 48075-7106

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7.24.95

Reply
Do not
miss my
for her
to sign
for
President & Mrs. Clinton

Make sure
Jim Dorskind
gets a copy &
he can
coordinate
copy

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate
the reply.

original
to
Dorskind

July 2nd, 1995

Dear President and Ms. Clinton,

I am the mother of Elizabeth Whittaker (the young lady presenting this note to you), and I am the great granddaughter of Johnson C. Whittaker (the man you are commissioning today).

I voted for you for President and I find the First Lady to be an inspiration.

On at least two occasions I actually dreamt of meeting the First Family (the Clintons) at the White House. Whoever would have thought that I would actually have that opportunity.

It has been said that it is better to be prepared and not have an opportunity, than to have an opportunity and not be prepared!

It is with much regret that I was not prepared for this opportunity, as I would like very much to have been there.

Respectfully,

Elizabeth Whittaker



Rasco

Jim
Dorskind

Fyl - should
do try to
Gov Poner

BC

Jim Dorskind -
Please coordinate
the reply.

original
sent to

J.m

7/24/95



COMMONWEALTH OF KENTUCKY
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR

BRERETON C. JONES
GOVERNOR

RECEIVED
7/10
THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
7.24.95

THE CAPITOL
700 CAPITAL AVENUE
FRANKFORT 40601
(502) 564-2611

July 6, 1995

Mr. Eli Segal
Chief Executive Officer
Corporation for National Service
1201 New York Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20525

Dear Eli:

As you know, in Kentucky we are very excited about the President's national community service initiative and the progress you and the Corporation have made over the past few years. We take great pride in our Kentucky Community Service Commission and strongly support the AmeriCorps program.

Recently as we were discussing welfare reform and the problems it poses for our state, we hit upon an idea to create an AmeriCorps program designed to move able-bodied welfare recipients into the workforce. We announced the program on June 30 and received a positive response. I am enclosing a copy of the remarks I made at the press conference as well as an editorial we received a few days later.

This pilot project will include 20 AmeriCorp members and be funded by state dollars. We will apply to the Corporation for education awards under your new guidelines for Governor sponsored programs.

The AmeriCorps/Welfare to Self-Sufficiency program will focus on reaching out to civic groups, community agencies, churches and others to leverage their resources in an effort to help provide child care, transportation and job training for people on welfare. The program provides a great deal of flexibility for localities to develop a plan that meets their needs. By involving the entire community we believe it will make a lasting impact.



Mr. Eli Segal
July 6, 1995
Page Two

The AmeriCorps model is perfect in this situation. Its emphasis on "getting things done" and accountability will allow us to easily review our results at year end and see how many people have been helped off welfare. We also believe AmeriCorps is the perfect facilitator for the broad community involvement we want to stimulate.

We strongly believe that this new program will succeed. We also believe that its success will continue to enhance the reputation of the AmeriCorps program as an essential and invaluable resource. Above all, we believe this program represents a refreshing, positive approach to a complex social problem which has long been plagued with negatives.

Thank you for the work you and your staff have done to guarantee the success of the national service initiative. I especially want to commend Mr. Rick Allen for his assistance with this project. If we can provide you with more information or help in any other way, please do not hesitate to contact us.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Brereton Jones", with a large, stylized flourish at the end.

Brereton C. Jones

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7.24.95

7/14/95

Mr. President.

I couldn't resist sharing the enclosed letter from Governor Jones with you. As AmeriCorps goes from poetry to prose, it is becoming simultaneously a tool to help communities address their problems (eg. welfare reform, child health), a way to pay for college and a statement about citizenship in America at the turn of the Century. With your leadership, it won't simply survive; it will thrive.

Ed.

P.S. I spoke to the Governor & with his permission I'm circulating the letter to other Governors.

OFFICE OF THE CEO

Robert S. McIntyre

Are the Rich Really Overtaxed?

James K. Glassman ["The Rich Already Pay Plenty," op-ed, July 11] thinks he has discovered what's wrong with our nation's tax system: "The poor, the lower-middle class and even the middle-middle class pay only a tiny proportion of federal income taxes." To rectify this perceived problem, he offers a simple solution: big tax increases on low- and middle-income families, and big tax cuts for the rich.

That, of course, would be the result from Rep. Dick Armey's "flat tax," which Glassman endorses. Armey's plan entails giant new loopholes for the wealthy—as Glassman notes, "Armey's plan exempts all investment income and capital gains from taxation at the individual level"—and cuts the top tax rate about in half. Thus the rich would pay a lower rate on less of their incomes. No one can doubt that this double bonanza would mean a huge tax reduction for the rich, nor, by simple arithmetic, that middle- and low-income families would have to pay a lot more to make up the difference.

So what is Glassman's case for such a gigantic tax shift? First of all, he finds the progressivity of the current income tax "astounding." The top one percent, he complains, pays 26 percent of total federal income taxes while garnering a mere 13 percent of the total income. I'm not sure why that seems offensive, but in any event the figures are considerably less stark when the full range of taxes is taken into account.

The top one percent's share of all federal taxes—income, Social Security, excise taxes etc.—is only 18 percent. Its share of federal, state and local taxes combined is less than 16 percent, only slightly more than its 13 percent share of total income. The result of this small sacrifice on the part of the wealthy is that the bottom 40 percent of the population, with 13 percent of total income, pays just under 10 percent of the total taxes. (Families in the middle ranges pay tax shares a bit below their income shares; those in the upper middle to near rich pay a slightly higher share.)

Were progressivity in the federal income tax abandoned, as Glassman and Armey propose, then the rich's share of taxes would be far less than their

share of total income, leaving middle- and lower-income people to pay a considerably greater share.

That's only fair, maintains Glassman, since the rich don't get much in the way of benefits from government anyway.

The fact is, though, that the rich benefit greatly from government. No one's fate hinges more on the quality of public education, for example, than that of employers (generally a very well-off group). Likewise, businesses need good roads both to transport

Taking Exception

their goods and to get their workers to the job. National defense and police defend not only our lives and liberty but also our property—an item of which the wealthy enjoy the lion's share.

More fundamentally, we have organized our society so that wide differences in wealth and income are inevitable. Within reason, that may be a good overall economic strategy. But it does not imply that we can't take at least modest steps, through the tax code among other means, to mitigate the most egregious disparities. The fact that the rich have gotten much richer over the past two decades, while incomes in the middle and lower ranges have stagnated or fallen, would seem to indicate a need for more progressivity, not less.

To be sure, as Glassman points out, hard work often plays a major role in huge success. But so do accidents of birth, inheritance and countless other kinds of just plain good luck. For every self-made millionaire, there are many, many others who work very hard but aren't so lucky. Why should we raise their taxes to reduce the obligations of the most fortunate?

Trickle-down, answers Glassman: "Armey and other Republicans are trying to address a serious problem—the lack of savings and investment in this country." Glassman seems to have forgotten that this approach was tried—and failed—in the late '70s and early '80s. Tax changes in those years showered tax breaks on corporations and the rich in

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

the name of enhancing investment. But while the tax "incentives" sharply reduced the progressivity of the federal tax system, they did not improve the savings or investment rate.

Instead, we saw an orgy of tax sheltering and an explosion in government borrowing that we are still paying for. Eventually, even Ronald Reagan grew weary of his "supply-side revolution" and helped undo part of its damage with the Tax Reform Act of 1986.

Glassman's final argument for a flat tax is his oddest: that anyone who takes up the "class warfare" cudgels to resist the flat tax's middle-class tax increases is doomed politically. That's because, he says with no obvious irony, a big middle-class tax boost is wildly popular with the general public. "Americans like it," he insists, "because it's equitable."

Well, we'll see. There's no doubt that, in principle, most Americans claim to favor a simpler tax code—mainly because they're convinced that the current complexity works in favor of the well-off. But when the public discovers that the Armey-Glassman version of simplicity includes several-thousand-dollar tax increases on most families, I'd guess the bloom will quickly be off the flat-tax rose. (That's what's happened every time a flat tax has been put forward before, in the mid-'70s, the mid-'80s and, most recently, by Jerry Brown in the 1992 presidential campaign.)

Fortunately, if the public really does want simpler taxes, it now has a progressive alternative. House Minority Leader Richard Gephardt (D-Mo.) wants to close loopholes and put most families in the 10 percent tax bracket. But to avoid adding to the deficit, he retains graduated rates—up to 34 percent for the most well-off people. This approach has the notable advantage of cutting middle-class taxes rather than increasing them.

Thanks to Gephardt, if tax simplification is a major issue in the 1996 elections, voters will be able to choose between higher and lower taxes as part of the bargain. Unlike Glassman, I wouldn't bet on most people voting to pay more.

The writer is director of Citizens for Tax Justice, a lobbying group for tax reform.

attorney general today not she was the best-qualified person the land, but because the post, for some reason, was reserved for a woman. Reno was the third approached.

Such a president could not abandon affirmative action without looking like a political hack—or, an even more cynical interpretation, incurring the wrath of Jesse Jackson. But it is also true that civil rights has long been Bill Clinton's core cause, the one he cited in his famous 1969 letter explaining why he was ducking service in Vietnam. He opposed the war, he wrote, "with a depth of feeling I had reserved solely for racism." As Arkansas governor, he had implemented affirmative action programs.

In theory, Wilson is right—although, I think, for the wrong reasons. It's time to end affirmative action, to reject the divisive formulas that are its essence and that contradict the American creed. But to authorize a program one year and condemn it the next smacks of political opportunism. The same applies to Bob Dole, another affirmative action foe whose zeal seems directly connected to his candidacy. He would embrace the veil for women if militant Islam were a force in the Republican primaries.

It damns Clinton with faint praise to exult that he has stuck to his principles. He has really done more than that, though. He reminded us all that affirmative action, no matter what one might think of it, was not the loony idea of social engineers but a reasonable response to centuries of slavery, racism and impoverishment. That history and his own experience as a southerner are the very good reasons Bill Clinton reached the wrong conclusion about affirmative action. It's also why I feel better about Clinton being wrong than about some of his critics being right.

Ltr of 6/21/95 from Deborah Chapman, President of National Foundation of Manufactured Home Owners, Inc, thanking you for enabling them to be part of the WH ceremony presenting "The National Homeownership Strategy: Partners in the American Dream." She believes the President is a true visionary; cares deeply for people and is making every effort for much needed change in the country.

✓

File; NRN + CC POTUS ✓

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-24-95

See

CC:
Doug Stone
for reply

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-24-95

To Doug Stone

~~FM~~ -

good supporter

Boc



National Foundation of Manufactured Home Owners

PAMHOA P. O. Box 7946 Lancaster, PA 17604-7946 717-284-4520

June 21, 1995

Office of the First Lady
Room 100
Old Executive Building
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

On behalf of the National Foundation of Manufactured Home Owners, Inc., (NFMHO) I would like to extend our genuine thanks and appreciation for the assistance you and your staff gave in enabling us to be part of the White House ceremony presenting "The National Homeownership Strategy: Partners in the American Dream".

The NFMHO represents the interests of over 17 million people in our nation residing in manufactured housing. There are 36 affiliated state organizations under the NFMHO umbrella. Most of our organizations are run solely by volunteers. I can tell you the feed back I have had because of the assistance of your office has been extremely positive.

My initial contact to your office wasn't the most productive. When I called back to ask about the status of my request, I was told the person working on it was not going to be in that day. This was distressing because it was the last business day before the ceremony and that person never called back.

I do want to recognize Evan Ryan on your staff, however. She went into action, on that date, and by the end of the day she did call me back and had everything straightened out. I also received two other calls after Ms. Ryan's call, one from the White House Office of Public Liaison and another from HUD, all inviting the NFMHO to the White House ceremony. Ms. Ryan should be commended for her efforts.

For me personally, this was an exciting day. President Clinton is the only Presidential candidate, that I voted for, who became President. I believe he is a true visionary; cares deeply for people, and is making every effort for much needed change in the United States.

As President of the NFMHO, I can tell you it is always an uphill battle to work the legislative process, and to work within the bureaucratic agency systems. We will put forth every effort to insure that this "Partnership" doesn't get lost in the "beltway shuffle". It is our intention to bring to the table the "reality" of everyday life in America, not just theories.

Once again, Mrs. Clinton, thank you for the attention and the privilege of attending this very important event.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Deborah J. Chapman". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned to the right of a vertical line.

Deborah J. Chapman, President
NFMHO

DJC:csf

1997 01 03:43

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-24-95

95 JUL 21 P2:11

July 20, 1995

TO
J. m
Does Kind

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN H. GIBBONS

SUBJECT: Fiftieth Anniversary of Trinity Nuclear Test

Attached is the text of the keynote remarks I delivered at the Symposium on the 50th Anniversary of the Trinity Test--the first nuclear weapons test in Alamogordo, New Mexico. I took on this task at the encouragement of the Vice President.

The event, held at the National Academy of Sciences, was very well attended and covered by the press. Hazel O'Leary, Jeff Bingaman, and key scientists discussed the past and future of nuclear weapons.

It also provided an excellent occasion for me to emphasize the importance to the Administration of nuclear nonproliferation, protection of nuclear materials, and a Comprehensive Test Ban. See pages 3-6 for a list of some of your remarkable successes over the past 30 months.

Symposium on the 50th Anniversary of the Trinity Test

Agenda

Sunday, July 16, 1995

Moderator: Marvin Kalb

9:00 am Registration and Coffee

9:30 am to 10:00 am Opening Remarks
Bruce Alberts, President of National Academy of Sciences
Hazel R. O'Leary, Secretary of Energy

10:00 am to 10:30 am Speaker
Senator Jeff Bingaman (D-NM)

10:30 am to 12:15 pm A Retrospective: How Trinity Shaped Science and Security

Panelists
Dr. Harold Agnew
Dr. David Holloway
Dr. Phillip Morrison
Mr. Richard Rhodes
Dr. Edward Teller

12:15 pm to 1:30 pm Lunch Break

1:30 pm to 2:00 pm Keynote Address
Dr. John H. Gibbons, Science Advisor to the President

2:00 pm to 3:30 pm The 21st Century: Scientific and Security Challenges

Panelists
Mr. Al Alm
Dr. Sidney Drell
Dr. Siegfried Hecker
Ambassador Paul Nitze
Dr. Wolfgang Panofsky

3:30 pm to 3:45 pm Closing Remarks

THE HONORABLE JOHN H. GIBBONS
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Fifty Years After Trinity: Working Toward a Happy Ending

Symposium on the 50th Anniversary of the Trinity Test
Co-Sponsored by the U.S. Department of Energy and the
National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C.

July 16, 1995

This bell is fashioned after the "bonshoo" bell in the Hiroshima Peace Park. Its solemn tone reminds us of both the peril of destruction and the hope of peace inherent in the awesome power of the unleashed atom.

We are here today to commemorate the dawn of a double-edged age. The atomic fire lit at Trinity 50 years ago, just 30 months after Stagg Field, was an unparalleled scientific accomplishment, reflecting an extraordinary marshalling of talent and treasure. That fire raised the hope for a transformed world, an end to major war -- and indeed, there has been no large-scale war among the major powers for the past 50 years. But it also raised an unprecedented peril, giving our species the key to its own destruction for the first time. Awesome potential, combined with awesome danger -- and therefore awesome responsibility.

Today we are embarking on a new nuclear era, double-edged in a different way, whose ultimate shape remains shrouded in the future. It is an era of great hope: we have stepped decisively away from the nuclear brink. For the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, the United States and Russia have no missiles targeted on each other. The United States is dismantling nuclear warheads literally as fast as we can -- some 1500 every year -- and everything we know suggests that Russia is doing the same.

But this is also an era of new dangers. The collapse of the Soviet Union and of the Cold War rivalry has raised new proliferation risks and lifted the lid on age-old ethnic, racial, and religious conflicts. The dismantlement of thousands of nuclear weapons leaves us with the daunting task of coping safely and securely with the hundreds of tons of fissile material these weapons contain. The technological revolution that is bringing our world closer together -- parts of which had their origins in the Manhattan District -- is also bringing problems closer to our shores.

A peril and a hope. Our challenge is to bequeath to our children a world in which the peril is forestalled and the hope fulfilled.

Five decades ago, even as the world was engulfed in the flames of war, Niels Bohr offered a remarkable vision of such a world -- a planet transformed for the better by the fearsome power of nuclear weapons. His profound insight was the "complementarity" of the bomb: he called the invention of nuclear weapons a great and deep difficulty which contained within itself its own solution.

He imagined that far-seeing statesmen would understand that a world armed with thousands of nuclear weapons ready to be launched at any moment was clearly an unacceptable danger to human survival. The unmistakable need to forestall this danger would force them to do what they otherwise would not -- to compromise national sovereignty in the interest of international control.

Since no one would give up such a weapon without absolute confidence that others were doing the same, verification would require a world of absolute openness. As Oppenheimer summarized it, "in principle everything that might be a threat to the security of the world would have to be open to the world." And that universal openness, in Bohr's vision, would itself transform the earth in favor of democracy, freedom, and the unending advancement of science and technology.

Unfortunately, over four decades of Cold War, we built precisely the world from whose terrors Bohr rightly shrank. Now our problem is: where do we go from here?

The time has come, 50 years after Trinity, for a deep national reflection on what we want our nuclear future to be. As the strategist Fred Ikle once asked so memorably: "can nuclear deterrence have a happy ending?"

We don't know, today, what such a happy ending would look like. We don't know, with all that has passed, whether we can build a world that matches Bohr's vision. But we do know the general direction we need to head:

- We want a world in which there are fewer nuclear weapons held by fewer countries, and they matter less in determining national power and stature. Thus we want deep, transparent, and irreversible nuclear arms reductions.
- And we want a world in which all nations can benefit from the peaceful applications of the atom, under strong safeguards to prevent any diversion for military purposes.

So as we reflect on our long-term nuclear future, it is incumbent upon us to roll up our sleeves and do the hard work needed to keep heading in the right direction -- forestalling the dangers, and seizing the opportunities, that we face today. We're better off focusing on the

here-and-now challenges of nuclear dismantlement and nonproliferation than locking horns over exactly what nuclear force we are going to need twenty years from now.

And I can tell you, over the past 30 months, this President and this administration have had their sleeves rolled up, and we have some remarkable successes to report:

- Just a few short years after the breakup of the Soviet Union, all of the non-Russian successor states have agreed to join the Nonproliferation Treaty and ship all the nuclear weapons on their soil back to Russia.

- The START I treaty, which will eliminate delivery systems that carry 9,000 nuclear warheads, has entered into force. Already, thanks in part to the Nunn-Lugar assistance program, hundreds of missiles and launchers once pointed at the United States have been eliminated, and thousands of nuclear warheads have been shipped to dismantlement plants.

- We are working to ratify START II, which will remove another 5,000 warheads from the deployed arsenals of the United States and Russia.

- President Clinton and President Yeltsin pledged at their summit last September to begin considering additional reductions and limitations as soon as START II is ratified. As Vice President Gore has said, the improved international security climate will permit -- and indeed require -- additional progress in reducing the size and structure of our nuclear forces.

- We are working to reach agreement on clarifying the ABM Treaty's distinction between strategic defenses and permitted theater defenses, in order to maintain this arms reduction momentum while responding to the threat of missile proliferation.

- To meet the new challenge of possible erosion of nuclear controls, we have launched a major new effort focused on controlling nuclear weapons themselves and the fissile materials needed to make them, rather than only the missiles and launchers limited by START. This includes U.S. and Russian pursuit of:

- cooperation to ensure that all nuclear weapons and weapons-usable materials are secure and accounted for;
- data exchanges and reciprocal visits to build confidence that nuclear weapons are being irreversibly dismantled and that nuclear stockpiles are safe and secure;
- new agreements to stop further production of fissile materials for weapons; and
- cooperation to ensure safe and secure disposition of all the hundreds of tons of plutonium and highly-enriched uranium we no longer need.

- Just this spring, the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty was extended indefinitely, with overwhelming support from every corner of the globe, making this centerpiece of the nuclear nonproliferation regime a permanent fixture of the international landscape.

- This President's strong stand in going all-out to achieve a Comprehensive Test Ban was an essential factor in the overwhelming support the NPT received. President Clinton has made clear that we seek a test ban agreement which is truly comprehensive, which includes all the nuclear states as well as many other states as possible, and that will allow us to maintain a safe and reliable nuclear stockpile. Making the needed investment in the Department of Energy's innovative Science-Based Stockpile Stewardship program will be critical in achieving that goal. The CTB -- a goal of Republic and Democratic Presidents from Eisenhower to Carter -- is a good idea whose time has finally come. We are prepared for the possibility that the United States has already conducted its last nuclear test.

- Through determined diplomacy, we have also stopped the North Korean nuclear threat in its tracks, with an agreement that will freeze and dismantle their nuclear program. This agreement is not built on trust, but on international monitoring. The recent agreement on the type of reactors to be provided represents another milestone in the long hard road of implementation ahead. Here too, we have focused investment and hard work on heading off a major threat to international security before it arose -- rather than having to face far higher costs and risks later.

- We have proposed a permanent global ban on the production of fissile materials for weapons -- ending mankind's production of the essential ingredients of nuclear weapons forever.

- The International Atomic Energy Agency is greatly strengthening the nuclear safeguards system, focusing needed attention on detecting secret nuclear programs that inspectors aren't asked to visit. This year, we increased our voluntary contribution by \$10 million. Again: investment in prevention.

- As part of the fissile material control effort I just mentioned, we are making every effort to combat the most frightening nuclear proliferation threat now facing us -- nuclear theft and nuclear smuggling. Nothing could be more central to our security than ensuring that the essential ingredients of nuclear weapons do not fall into the wrong hands. U.S. and Russian experts, for example, are working closely together to install modernized security and accounting systems at facilities such as Kurchatov and Obninsk. We are ramping this effort up just as fast as we can, as we build the basis of mutual confidence and transparency. As of one year ago, we had only spent about \$1 million on security and accounting for nuclear materials in Russia; over the last year, we've spent over \$10 million, and over the next 15 months, we expect to spend roughly \$100 million more.

- We are working hard to get the Chemical Weapons Convention ratified, and to negotiate new compliance measures to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention.

- Since the Gulf War revealed how Iraq had taken advantage of weak links in international export controls, we have been working hard to strengthen those controls. And we have succeeded: the intelligence community tells us that, apart from nuclear smuggling, it

is harder today than ever before for proliferators to buy the technologies they need to build weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. Yet at the same time, we have lifted out-dated restrictions on technologies critical to developing economies -- such as high-speed computers and communication systems -- and freed over \$30 billion in exports from unnecessary controls.

- We are working to establish a new, post-COCOM regime to constrain dangerous exports and limit arms sales to unstable regions or states that threaten international peace and security. And we have proposed new steps to curb the terrible civilian toll of anti-personnel landmines.

This is a record of solid achievement. We are moving as fast as we can to undo the daunting legacies of the Cold War arms competition. Our vision is of the United States and Russia running our nuclear weapons complexes in reverse -- dismantling thousands of nuclear weapons rather than building more, getting rid of nuclear weapons materials rather than producing ever larger stockpiles, cleaning up rather than further fouling our nuclear sites, fostering openness and trust rather than secrecy and suspicion. This administration is committed to making that vision a reality. What better gift could we leave our children as a legacy?

This is tough, difficult, day-to-day work: it requires leadership, and a willingness to invest in preventing problems before they become expensive crises. Just two weeks ago, at the fifth meeting of the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission -- an excellent example of the kind of nuts-and-bolts cooperative work now underway -- we made progress on a broad front:

- We quietly resolved a number of issues related to arms and missile technology sales, allowing us to announce that Russia would join the Missile Technology Control Regime and would be a founding member of the post-COCOM Forum.

- We put the purchase of 500 tons of Russian highly-enriched uranium on a sound footing, by offering to modify a trade agreement to allow the uranium to be sold more easily in the United States -- so that we could pay Russia for it when it was delivered -- and by offering an additional \$100 million pre-payment to help finance Russia's shipment of reactor fuel to Ukraine in compensation for warheads Ukraine is shipping back to Russia for dismantlement. That deal will provide an incentive for weapons dismantlement, ensure that Ukrainian disarmament takes place and that Ukraine has a reliable nuclear fuel supply, provide \$12 billion in badly needed hard-currency income for the Russian economy, and secure a valuable commercial product for the United States.

- We reached agreement on a number of steps to accelerate our ongoing cooperation in security and accounting for nuclear materials, including a new agreement under which the Department of Energy will help the Russian nuclear regulatory agency establish an accurate national inventory of all the plutonium and HEU Russia has.

- We established a Civilian R&D Foundation, with \$10 million in initial funding, which will provide a new lifeline for supporting Russia's outstanding scientific community.

- We witnessed the space link-up of the U.S. Shuttle and the Russian Mir space station -- a critical step on the path to building Space Station Alpha, the world's largest international technology collaboration, first agreed to in the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission.

What next? Fifty years after Trinity, we in the science and technology community have a responsibility to look ahead and try to envision what the next 50 years may hold. For example, with a burgeoning world population coupled with economic growth, we will face daunting challenges. Food demands will drastically increase, energy demands will likely double (and electricity demands will triple). Climate-driven changes in weather and crop production patterns could create bounty for some and poverty and pestilence for others. We will have to cope with stewardship of the globe's environmental resources under unprecedented pressures.

All of these challenges, if not successfully addressed, hold the potential for provoking conflict. Only if we can replicate the Manhattan Project experience, by harnessing the best of the world's best scientific and technical minds, and committing a significant investment of resources can we hope to build a future of peace and plenty.

There was a time when science and technology's contribution to national security was primarily building new and better weapons. Trinity heralded the most earth-shattering achievement of that era.

But our security imperatives have changed. The dangers we face today are far more diverse than Fascist or Communist expansionism. The post-Cold War reality includes a contagion of violence that is spreading, in the face of economic, social, and environmental pressures that prevent governments from meeting their citizens' most basic needs. In Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and even Europe, we find that endemic poverty, ethnic and religious tensions, overpopulation, environmental degradation, and mass migration are producing a tangled skein of conflicts -- that cannot be stopped once they have begun.

No weapon, no matter how powerful, can meet these diverse challenges. There is no silver bullet, but a central part of the answer lies in a strategy of prevention using the tools of science and technology.

President Clinton recognizes that reality. And that is why he has called for the development of a comprehensive National Security Science and Technology Strategy--the first this country has ever had. At a Forum held in this hall last March, the President charged his administration and the scientific community with drafting such a strategy. And the President's National Science and Technology Council (NSTC) has been tasked with building a government-wide consensus for the essential investments in R&D and S&T cooperation we will need to meet the future's national security challenges.

The resulting National Security Science and Technology Strategy will be on the President's desk later this month. It will call for a systematic government-wide effort to harness science and technology to meet our nation's broad national security aims. And as the President has made clear, those security aims include not only maintenance of ready and capable military forces, but engagement with other nations to ensure sustainable development, to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and to build strong and vibrant economies around the world.

Unfortunately, there are those on Capitol Hill who apparently don't understand the importance of these long-term investments. Even compelling investments like the Nunn-Lugar arms reduction assistance program are under attack. As Senator Nunn asked: if some one offered you a weapon that could eliminate hundreds of missiles and thousands of nuclear weapons, what would you be willing to pay for it? We are going to have to work hard to ensure that our nation does not take the penny-wise and pound-foolish path of cutting the heart out of our science and technology enterprise -- particularly in areas central to our future security. That enterprise is the seed corn we plant for our future; nothing could be more foolish than to eat it now.

A peril and a hope. The challenges before us are great, but so are the opportunities. Getting to the "happy ending" that we all seek will be a big job. We are going to need help from the science and technology community -- bringing new insights and perspectives, and weighing in on the importance of a long-term strategy for harnessing science and technology to our national security needs. We will do well if we can muster the talent, vision, dedication, and wise perspectives that many of the people in this room brought to the Manhattan Project -- and if we invest in the science and technology needed to meet the challenges we face. That will truly be a fitting legacy of Trinity.

Thank you very much.

The spirit of politics

A widening plea for the radical transformation of American public life

NICOLE BENGIVENO — MATRIX FOR USN&WR



Biblical values. Evangelical minister Jim Wallis looks to the wisdom of the early prophets for a restorative vision of party politics.

During the spring of 1962, a University of Michigan student labored over a "manifesto of hope" that contained these words: "Loneliness, estrangement, isolation describe the vast distance between man and man today. These dominant tendencies cannot be overcome by better personnel management, nor by improved gadgets, but only when a love of man overcomes the idolatrous worship of things by man." Politics, he continued, "has the function of bringing people out of isolation and into community, thus being a necessary, though not sufficient, means of finding meaning in personal life."

The author of this highly spiritual passage was Tom Hayden, a little-known campus activist at the time who would later achieve notoriety as an antiwar

rabble-rouser and "Chicago 7" conspiracy defendant. The document that came to be known as *The Port Huron Statement* contained the principles and blueprint for the nascent Students for a Democratic Society, or SDS, an acronym that would in short time become a potent symbol of the most extreme antiauthoritarianism of the Vietnam War era.

If it's surprising that one of the premier radicals of the 1960s would be so saturated in spiritual values, it's perhaps even more surprising to hear those sentiments resonating in intellectual and political circles everywhere today. In almost identical vocabularies, religious leaders, scholars, activists and political theorists of both right and left can be heard deploring the degradation of American politics and calling—often in

undisguised biblical language—for a spiritual transformation of our public life. Like no time in recent memory, serious and urgent discussions of political and economic reform are being framed around religious notions such as the soul, spiritual healing, faith and—perhaps most resonant—the restoration of something called "community." Consider just these few recent examples:

■ Evangelical preacher and antiwar activist Jim Wallis's new book, *The Soul of Politics*, is a passionate argument for letting the wisdom of biblical prophets inform modern America's public life. "Deep in the American soul," he writes, "exists the conviction that politics and morality are integrally related."

■ Republican political commentator Kevin Phillips's *Arrogant Capital* com-

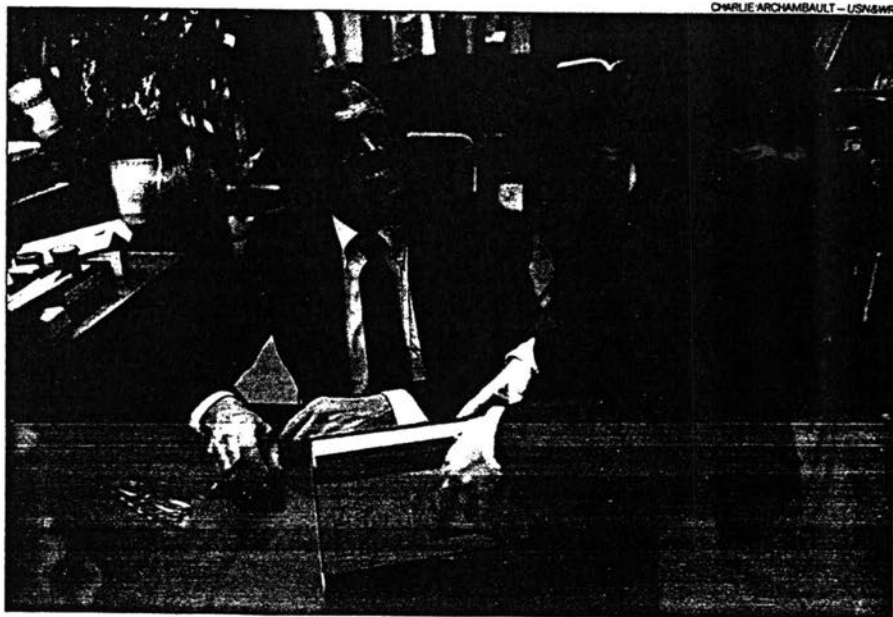
■ SCIENCE & SOCIETY

compares American political stagnation today with the doomed politics of ancient Rome, 16th-century Spain, 17th-century Holland and Victorian England. All of these world powers, Phillips argues, experienced similar economic and cultural changes prior to their deterioration—among them economic polarization, declining cities and schools, widespread xenophobia and—especially—complaints about the culture's moral decay.

■ Jewish philosopher Michael Lerner's *Jewish Renewal* calls for a return to Hebrew tenets of compassion and transcendence as a way of salvaging our spiritually bereft political life. According to Hillary Rodham Clinton's unofficial intellectual counselor, nothing less than a profound religious renewal is needed to transform America's foundering political economy.

Central to all these critiques is a belief that America's body politic is in big trouble and that old categories like liberal and conservative, left and right, are of little use anymore in discussing public priorities. If the socialist experiment has dead-ended, these critics say, the laissez-faire alternative has led to an empty and cynical consumerism that has left people unhappy and craving something more. These critiques are not coming from the Christian right; indeed, Wallis's Christian spiritualism dictates tolerance on volatile values issues like abortion and gay rights. The common message is that the ideology of neither the left nor the right is equipped to deal with the enormity of the spiritual crisis.

Restoring a role for values. What's offered in place of ideology is a corrective vision—one of a moral community and genuine participatory democracy, a "politics of conscience," in Wallis's phrase. Where the particulars of these communities and political visions vary, the common thread is a belief that values—especially traditional Judeo-Christian values—have been wrongly and harmfully excluded from politics and public life and ought to be restored. In one way or another, these critics want to renew the "national conversation" and revitalize American public philosophy with a deliberate infusion of moral debate. To that end, for example, Lerner's liberal Jewish magazine *Tikkun* and Wallis's evangelical publication *Sojourners* will co-sponsor a national summit on ethics next year. "Clinton began his presidency with a national summit on the economy," says



Talmudic vision. Michael Lerner preaches a politics of compassion based in Judaism.

Lerner. "We think that was the wrong direction in which to go."

While such sentiments run the risk of sounding utopian and preachy, underlying these visionary documents is a rigorous and highly nuanced scholarly debate. Called the "public square debate" in the nation's law reviews, it poses contentious philosophical questions: Who has a rightful place in the national conversation? Should all religious baggage properly be left at the door when public issues are under discussion? While most philosophers and legal scholars have taken the position that public debate must be thoroughly secular, others have increasingly argued that religious principles are not only permissible in but essential to fruitful discussion of a good society. Yale law Prof. Stephen Carter popularized this

position last year with the publication of his book *The Culture of Disbelief*, a treatise publicly endorsed by President Clinton. Some of the recent cultural critiques push that argument even further, resoundingly calling for more rather than less religion in the public realm.

What accounts for the current wave of disenchantment with politics as usual? At least part of the answer, most critics agree, lies with the end of the cold war, which for better or worse provided many Americans with a clear framework of meaning and good purpose. But at least as important, Lerner argues, is the cultural triumph of the market, the complete penetration of the American psyche by the capitalist ethic of self-interest: "That triumph has generated widespread materialism, cynicism and unhappiness—and the search for meaning." Even the hard-nosed political pragmatist Phillips views Americans' unease as a fundamental psychological craving. Observing that the '90s have always been radical decades in U.S. history, he says: "These last decades sort of hurry up the future. People get concerned about what's coming, what the next patterns are going to be." A recent poll, he notes, shows 6 in 10 Americans wanting to change not just the faces of politics but the entire system.

Of course, spiritual hunger and searching are as dangerous as they are exciting, as these critics are well aware. Craving can be satisfied by fascist communities as easily as by rational ones.



Price of arrogance. Kevin Phillips sees a nation in decline.

And as Wallis makes clear in *The Soul of Politics*, the spiritual renewal of politics is something quite different from the increased presence of the Christian right in party politics: "We are not calling here for the invasion of sectarian religion or theocratic grabs for power," he insists, "but rather for the contribution of neglected values to the political process."

Devil in the details. So what would this new world look like in practice? Nearly every critic talks in one way or another about more democracy and an enhanced sense of responsibility for the community. But the notions of what makes a meaningful community, and the connection between these communitarian visions and the pragmatic particulars, vary a great deal. Phillips sees electronic connectivity as a possible solution and advocates a national referendum system that would allow citizens' voices to supplant elected officials in national decision making. Wallis, by contrast, sees direct democracy happening at the street level, in neighborhood organizing around well-defined local purposes. Lerner, a former psychotherapist, talks of innovations such as teaching empathy in the nation's classrooms. Whatever form the movement toward revitalized community and participatory democracy takes, critics agree that the need for change is urgent.

The sense of great cultural moment would be easy to dismiss as hyperbole were it not being heard everywhere and in a variety of voices. "Politically as well as economically," write the authors of *Habits of the Heart* and *The Good Society*, "ours is a new historical moment." Wallis uses the New Testament word *kairos*, by which he means a time of serious spiritual crisis, but also a time pregnant with possibility. In more secular language, political analyst E. J. Dionne Jr., author of *Why Americans Hate Politics*, says: "The 1990s are daunting, but they also offer an opportunity for creative political thinking not seen since the Industrial Revolution ushered in the new intellectual systems that we now call Marxism and capitalism."

Tom Hayden, now 54 and a California state lawmaker, is at work on his own book about the proper place of spiritual values in politics and public life. He looks back at the founding of the radical SDS and finds the current emphasis on biblical and republican values familiar: "These conclusions and many others like them represent nothing less than the maturing of the awkward formulations of *The Port Huron Statement* into the cultural vocabulary of the mainstream of American life." ■

BY WRAY HERBERT

■ CONVERSATION

A born-again V Earth Catalog

Looking toward the millennium, it shows how new technologies can per



New look. Rheingold seeks "ideals that have a chance of succeeding"

If the Sears, Roebuck catalog and a Swiss Army knife had conceived a baby in 1968, it would have looked like the first *Whole Earth Catalog*. A hippie-esque guide to books and tools, *WEC* inspired the back-to-the-land movement of the '70s and encouraged rural and spiritual homesteaders to plunge into self-reliance. Out this month, *WEC* has been reincarnated as *MWEC*—the *Millennium Whole Earth Catalog* (HarperCollins, \$30), which centers on the ways citizens can use new communication technology in their lives. *U.S. News* senior editor Vic Sussman interviewed Stewart Brand, the founder of the old *WEC*, and Howard Rheingold, editor of the new *MWEC*, to discuss the once and future catalog. The conversation was conducted entirely by E-mail.

How does the *Millennium Whole Earth Catalog* reflect social changes since the first *WEC*?

RHEINGOLD: There was no such thing as a personal computer in 1968, and [the Internet] wouldn't exist until 1969. Now, individuals and grass-roots organizations

have desktop tool and communication power that only governments and large corporations had 25 years ago.

BRAND: A difference for me was shifting from Buckminster to anthropologist-biologist. Bateson for fundamental pushed a "whole" but Bucky's was based on whereas Bateson's is a technology—much more complex and evolving. We all mune dwellers to connect our most nutritious

Young people drawn to annealed by Vietnam and Who is your audience for generation X?

RHEINGOLD: Any lead a more independent without selling his or

Memorandum to the Chief of Staff

From: George Stephanopoulos

November 1, 1994

Values Speech Series

A small group of us (including Joel Klein, Bill Galston and Don Baer) have held a couple of meetings to discuss the possibility of the President giving a series of speeches on values during the post-election/pre State of the Union period. We think it would be a good way for the President to rise above the Congressional/political fray, to speak to the broader problems facing American society, and to give his personal perspective on how to strengthen the bonds of the American community.

Ideally, we would do the first speech in late November before a major Protestant or Evangelical group, the second as his last public appearance before Christmas at a major Catholic University, and the third in early January -- either at the Convention on Christian Ethics as Bill Galston has suggested or at before a Jewish congregation. The first speech would analyze our spiritual/values crisis; the second could address the roles of churches, families, individuals in solving these problems; and the wrap-up speech could address the role of government. Obviously, this is just a first sketch of the idea; others may have a better suggestion.

Finally, I think we should seriously consider approaching a publisher now to explore the possibility of publishing the series early in the year. Such a book may have great appeal, and it would give the American people the chance to see a different side of the President than they are presented by the mass media.

This project would take a fairly significant commitment of time and staff resources, but I think it's worth it. We need to lift the President above the day-to-day fray and present him as the thoughtful, spiritual and inspiring leader we know him to be.

By
I agree
with this


UNITED STATES SENATE

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4001

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7.24.95

*Peri
man suw
form*

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Strom Thurmond
U.S.S.

cc: NSC

cc: Jacobson

For: Jolley

15: cc to NSC
12

STROM THURMOND, SOUTH CAROLINA, CHAIRMAN

JOHN W. WARNER, VIRGINIA
WILLIAM S. COHEN, MAINE
JOHN MCCAIN, ARIZONA
TRENT LOTT, MISSISSIPPI
DAN COATS, INDIANA
BOB SMITH, NEW HAMPSHIRE
DIRK KEMPTHORNE, IDAHO
KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON, TEXAS
JAMES M. INHOFE, OKLAHOMA
RICK SANTORUM, PENNSYLVANIA

SAM NUNN, GEORGIA
J. JAMES EXON, NEBRASKA
CARL LEVIN, MICHIGAN
EDWARD M. KENNEDY, MASSACHUSETTS
JEFF BINGAMAN, NEW MEXICO
JOHN GLENN, OHIO
ROBERT C. BYRD, WEST VIRGINIA
CHARLES S. ROBB, VIRGINIA
JOSEPH I. LIEBERMAN, CONNECTICUT
RICHARD H. BRYAN, NEVADA

RICHARD L. REYNARD, STAFF DIRECTOR
ARNOLD L. PUNARO, STAFF DIRECTOR FOR THE MINORITY

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6050

July 24, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Section 555 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1995 directed the Secretary of the Army to conduct a thorough review of the discharge from the Corps of Cadets of the United States Military Academy of James Webster Smith in 1874 and Johnson C. Whittaker in 1880.

I am proud to participate with you today in posthumously commissioning Johnson C. Whittaker in the Army. This recognition that Cadet Whittaker suffered a terrible injustice is long overdue. I congratulate the Army on its courage in acknowledging that, over 100 years ago, Cadet Whittaker was incorrectly and inappropriately denied his commission.

On the occasion of Lieutenant Whittaker's commissioning, I urge you and the Secretary of the Army to complete the review of James Webster Smith's discharge at the earliest possible date and, if determined to be appropriate, grant Cadet Smith a commission in the Army.

Timely completion of the review of the circumstances surrounding the discharge of Cadet Smith will bring these events in our history to a conclusion. I am optimistic that we will meet again soon to recognize Cadet Smith as yet another son of South Carolina who served his Country proudly.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Respectfully,



Strom Thurmond

ST/ca

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

7/24/95

Bob -

Sorry to bother
you but could
you take a ~~bit~~
look at my
NN comment?
Am I wrong?

Bill

1. Stern
edits

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

On July 27, 1953, the guns finally fell silent over the Korean peninsula. Three years of fierce struggle, costing over 600,000 ^{lives} ~~deaths~~ among U.S. and allied combatants and more than a million casualties, ended with a negotiated cease-fire at Panmunjom. At that moment, weary from two wars and shouldering the burden of ^{con} ~~maintaining an unrelenting vigilance against~~ the hostility of the communist world, America could not yet see clearly what the Korean War had achieved.

Time and history have cleared our vision. More than 4 decades later, we look back in awe and ~~with~~ gratitude at what our ~~valiant~~ Armed Forces and ~~our~~ allies accomplished in Korea. They helped the Republic of South Korea grow, survive, and prosper as an independent and democratic nation and a strong friend of the United States. At a defining moment in the early years of the United Nations, they rallied to the UN's call to defend freedom and human dignity in the Korean peninsula, demonstrating to the world's totalitarian regimes that men and women of goodwill were ready to pay with their lives so that others might enjoy the blessings of liberty. With their quiet courage and stern resolve, American troops sowed the seeds for the triumph of democracy that is sweeping across the globe today.

Now, at long last, we have a fitting memorial to honor the achievements and the sacrifice of our Korean War veterans. From across this country and around the world, these veterans will gather in our Nation's capital to dedicate the Korean War Veterans Memorial, the enduring testament to their valor and generosity of spirit. America honors their service; we remember their sacrifice; and we are forever in their debt.

I have a problem with this:
We're saying U.S. answered
the UN's call - as if UN was the moving
force here? ~~And~~ This is no more true than that
US answered UN call in Persian Gulf, is it? And

it's not a lot of people. What's it? 100k
it'll offend the hell out of it

NOW, THEREFORE, I, WILLIAM J. CLINTON, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim July 27, 1995, as "National Korean War Veterans Armistice Day." I call upon all Americans to observe this day with appropriate programs, ceremonies, and activities in honor of our Nation's Korean War veterans.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this
day of , in the year of our
Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-five, and of the Independence
of the United States of America the two hundred and twentieth.

 **Patrice Whittaker**
21582 Avon Ln
Southfield, MI 48075-7106

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7.24.95

✓
Letter

*Do not
give my
for Mr
to give
for
President & Mrs. Clinton*

*Make sure
Jim Dorskind
gets a copy &
he can
coordinate
copy*

Jim Dorskind

✓
Please coordinate
the reply.

July 24, 1995

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton,

I am the mother of Elizabeth Whittaker (the young lady presenting this note to you), and I am the great granddaughter of Johnson C. Whittaker (the man you are commissioning today).

I voted for you for President and I find the First Lady to be an inspiration.

On at least two occasions I actually dreamt of meeting the First Family (the Clintons) at the White House. Whoever would have thought that I would actually have that opportunity.

It has been said that it is better to be prepared and not have an opportunity, than to have an opportunity and not be prepared!

It is with much regret that I was not prepared for this opportunity, as I would like very much to have been there.

Respectfully,

Patrice Whittaker



Ron Schretner

17

PRINTED ON RECYCLED PAPER INCLUDING
MINIMUM 25% POST CONSUMER
AND 25% PRE-CONSUMER FIBER 



MADE IN THE USA
©1995 PVA 125NK02SD

UNITED STATES SENATE

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-4001

OFFICIAL BUSINESS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7.24.95

*Alvin
mean summer
before*

The President

The White House

Washington, D. C. 20500

Strom Thurmond
U.S.S.

*TO
Pres
notes*

11

STROM THURMOND, SOUTH CAROLINA, CHAIRMAN

JOHN W. WARNER, VIRGINIA
WILLIAM S. COHEN, MAINE
JOHN MCCAIN, ARIZONA
TRENT LOTT, MISSISSIPPI
DAN COATS, INDIANA
BOB SMITH, NEW HAMPSHIRE
DIRK KEMPTHORNE, IDAHO
KAY BAILEY HUTCHISON, TEXAS
JAMES M. INHOFE, OKLAHOMA
RICK SANTORUM, PENNSYLVANIA

SAM NUNN, GEORGIA
J. JAMES EXON, NEBRASKA
CARL LEVIN, MICHIGAN
EDWARD M. KENNEDY, MASSACHUSETTS
JEFF BINGAMAN, NEW MEXICO
JOHN GLENN, OHIO
ROBERT C. BYRD, WEST VIRGINIA
CHARLES S. ROBB, VIRGINIA
JOSEPH I. LIEBERMAN, CONNECTICUT
RICHARD H. BRYAN, NEVADA

RICHARD L. REYNARD, STAFF DIRECTOR
ARNOLD L. PUNARO, STAFF DIRECTOR FOR THE MINORITY

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ARMED SERVICES

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6050

July 24, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Section 555 of the National Defense Authorization Act for Fiscal Year 1995 directed the Secretary of the Army to conduct a thorough review of the discharge from the Corps of Cadets of the United States Military Academy of James Webster Smith in 1874 and Johnson C. Whittaker in 1880.

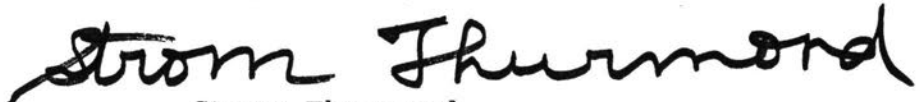
I am proud to participate with you today in posthumously commissioning Johnson C. Whittaker in the Army. This recognition that Cadet Whittaker suffered a terrible injustice is long overdue. I congratulate the Army on its courage in acknowledging that, over 100 years ago, Cadet Whittaker was incorrectly and inappropriately denied his commission.

On the occasion of Lieutenant Whittaker's commissioning, I urge you and the Secretary of the Army to complete the review of James Webster Smith's discharge at the earliest possible date and, if determined to be appropriate, grant Cadet Smith a commission in the Army.

Timely completion of the review of the circumstances surrounding the discharge of Cadet Smith will bring these events in our history to a conclusion. I am optimistic that we will meet again soon to recognize Cadet Smith as yet another son of South Carolina who served his Country proudly.

With kindest regards and best wishes,

Respectfully,



Strom Thurmond

ST/ca

copy to
Dorskind

only ②

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-24-95

95 JUL 21 P2:11

July 20, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN H. GIBBONS

SUBJECT: Fiftieth Anniversary of Trinity Nuclear Test

Attached is the text of the keynote remarks I delivered at the Symposium on the 50th Anniversary of the Trinity Test--the first nuclear weapons test in Alamogordo, New Mexico. I took on this task at the encouragement of the Vice President.

The event, held at the National Academy of Sciences, was very well attended and covered by the press. Hazel O'Leary, Jeff Bingaman, and key scientists discussed the past and future of nuclear weapons.

It also provided an excellent occasion for me to emphasize the importance to the Administration of nuclear nonproliferation, protection of nuclear materials, and a Comprehensive Test Ban. See pages 3-6 for a list of some of your remarkable successes over the past 30 months.

Symposium on the 50th Anniversary of the Trinity Test

Agenda

Sunday, July 16, 1995

Moderator: Marvin Kalb

9:00 am Registration and Coffee

9:30 am to 10:00 am Opening Remarks

*Bruce Alberts, President of National Academy of Sciences
Hazel R. O'Leary, Secretary of Energy*

10:00 am to 10:30 am Speaker

Senator Jeff Bingaman (D-NM)

10:30 am to 12:15 pm A Retrospective: How Trinity Shaped Science and Security

Panelists

*Dr. Harold Agnew
Dr. David Holloway
Dr. Phillip Morrison
Mr. Richard Rhodes
Dr. Edward Teller*

12:15 pm to 1:30 pm Lunch Break

1:30 pm to 2:00 pm Keynote Address

Dr. John H. Gibbons, Science Advisor to the President

2:00 pm to 3:30 pm The 21st Century: Scientific and Security Challenges

Panelists

*Mr. Al Alm
Dr. Sidney Drell
Dr. Siegfried Hecker
Ambassador Paul Nitze
Dr. Wolfgang Panofsky*

3:30 pm to 3:45 pm Closing Remarks

THE HONORABLE JOHN H. GIBBONS
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

Fifty Years After Trinity: Working Toward a Happy Ending

Symposium on the 50th Anniversary of the Trinity Test
Co-Sponsored by the U.S. Department of Energy and the
National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C.

July 16, 1995

This bell is fashioned after the "bonshoo" bell in the Hiroshima Peace Park. Its solemn tone reminds us of both the peril of destruction and the hope of peace inherent in the awesome power of the unleashed atom.

We are here today to commemorate the dawn of a double-edged age. The atomic fire lit at Trinity 50 years ago, just 30 months after Stagg Field, was an unparalleled scientific accomplishment, reflecting an extraordinary marshalling of talent and treasure. That fire raised the hope for a transformed world, an end to major war -- and indeed, there has been no large-scale war among the major powers for the past 50 years. But it also raised an unprecedented peril, giving our species the key to its own destruction for the first time. Awesome potential, combined with awesome danger -- and therefore awesome responsibility.

Today we are embarking on a new nuclear era, double-edged in a different way, whose ultimate shape remains shrouded in the future. It is an era of great hope: we have stepped decisively away from the nuclear brink. For the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, the United States and Russia have no missiles targeted on each other. The United States is dismantling nuclear warheads literally as fast as we can -- some 1500 every year -- and everything we know suggests that Russia is doing the same.

But this is also an era of new dangers. The collapse of the Soviet Union and of the Cold War rivalry has raised new proliferation risks and lifted the lid on age-old ethnic, racial, and religious conflicts. The dismantlement of thousands of nuclear weapons leaves us with the daunting task of coping safely and securely with the hundreds of tons of fissile material these weapons contain. The technological revolution that is bringing our world closer together -- parts of which had their origins in the Manhattan District -- is also bringing problems closer to our shores.

A peril and a hope. Our challenge is to bequeath to our children a world in which the peril is forestalled and the hope fulfilled.

Five decades ago, even as the world was engulfed in the flames of war, Niels Bohr offered a remarkable vision of such a world -- a planet transformed for the better by the fearsome power of nuclear weapons. His profound insight was the "complementarity" of the bomb: he called the invention of nuclear weapons a great and deep difficulty which contained within itself its own solution.

He imagined that far-seeing statesmen would understand that a world armed with thousands of nuclear weapons ready to be launched at any moment was clearly an unacceptable danger to human survival. The unmistakable need to forestall this danger would force them to do what they otherwise would not -- to compromise national sovereignty in the interest of international control.

Since no one would give up such a weapon without absolute confidence that others were doing the same, verification would require a world of absolute openness. As Oppenheimer summarized it, "in principle everything that might be a threat to the security of the world would have to be open to the world." And that universal openness, in Bohr's vision, would itself transform the earth in favor of democracy, freedom, and the unending advancement of science and technology.

Unfortunately, over four decades of Cold War, we built precisely the world from whose terrors Bohr rightly shrank. Now our problem is: where do we go from here?

The time has come, 50 years after Trinity, for a deep national reflection on what we want our nuclear future to be. As the strategist Fred Ikle once asked so memorably: "can nuclear deterrence have a happy ending?"

We don't know, today, what such a happy ending would look like. We don't know, with all that has passed, whether we can build a world that matches Bohr's vision. But we do know the general direction we need to head:

- We want a world in which there are fewer nuclear weapons held by fewer countries, and they matter less in determining national power and stature. Thus we want deep, transparent, and irreversible nuclear arms reductions.
- And we want a world in which all nations can benefit from the peaceful applications of the atom, under strong safeguards to prevent any diversion for military purposes.

So as we reflect on our long-term nuclear future, it is incumbent upon us to roll up our sleeves and do the hard work needed to keep heading in the right direction -- forestalling the dangers, and seizing the opportunities, that we face today. We're better off focusing on the

here-and-now challenges of nuclear dismantlement and nonproliferation than locking horns over exactly what nuclear force we are going to need twenty years from now.

And I can tell you, over the past 30 months, this President and this administration have had their sleeves rolled up, and we have some remarkable successes to report:

- Just a few short years after the breakup of the Soviet Union, all of the non-Russian successor states have agreed to join the Nonproliferation Treaty and ship all the nuclear weapons on their soil back to Russia.

- The START I treaty, which will eliminate delivery systems that carry 9,000 nuclear warheads, has entered into force. Already, thanks in part to the Nunn-Lugar assistance program, hundreds of missiles and launchers once pointed at the United States have been eliminated, and thousands of nuclear warheads have been shipped to dismantlement plants.

- We are working to ratify START II, which will remove another 5,000 warheads from the deployed arsenals of the United States and Russia.

- President Clinton and President Yeltsin pledged at their summit last September to begin considering additional reductions and limitations as soon as START II is ratified. As Vice President Gore has said, the improved international security climate will permit -- and indeed require -- additional progress in reducing the size and structure of our nuclear forces.

- We are working to reach agreement on clarifying the ABM Treaty's distinction between strategic defenses and permitted theater defenses, in order to maintain this arms reduction momentum while responding to the threat of missile proliferation.

- To meet the new challenge of possible erosion of nuclear controls, we have launched a major new effort focused on controlling nuclear weapons themselves and the fissile materials needed to make them, rather than only the missiles and launchers limited by START. This includes U.S. and Russian pursuit of:

- cooperation to ensure that all nuclear weapons and weapons-usable materials are secure and accounted for;
- data exchanges and reciprocal visits to build confidence that nuclear weapons are being irreversibly dismantled and that nuclear stockpiles are safe and secure;
- new agreements to stop further production of fissile materials for weapons; and
- cooperation to ensure safe and secure disposition of all the hundreds of tons of plutonium and highly-enriched uranium we no longer need.

- Just this spring, the nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty was extended indefinitely, with overwhelming support from every corner of the globe, making this centerpiece of the nuclear nonproliferation regime a permanent fixture of the international landscape.

· This President's strong stand in going all-out to achieve a Comprehensive Test Ban was an essential factor in the overwhelming support the NPT received. President Clinton has made clear that we seek a test ban agreement which is truly comprehensive, which includes all the nuclear states as well as many other states as possible, and that will allow us to maintain a safe and reliable nuclear stockpile. Making the needed investment in the Department of Energy's innovative Science-Based Stockpile Stewardship program will be critical in achieving that goal. The CTB -- a goal of Republic and Democratic Presidents from Eisenhower to Carter -- is a good idea whose time has finally come. We are prepared for the possibility that the United States has already conducted its last nuclear test.

· Through determined diplomacy, we have also stopped the North Korean nuclear threat in its tracks, with an agreement that will freeze and dismantle their nuclear program. This agreement is not built on trust, but on international monitoring. The recent agreement on the type of reactors to be provided represents another milestone in the long hard road of implementation ahead. Here too, we have focused investment and hard work on heading off a major threat to international security before it arose -- rather than having to face far higher costs and risks later.

· We have proposed a permanent global ban on the production of fissile materials for weapons -- ending mankind's production of the essential ingredients of nuclear weapons forever.

· The International Atomic Energy Agency is greatly strengthening the nuclear safeguards system, focusing needed attention on detecting secret nuclear programs that inspectors aren't asked to visit. This year, we increased our voluntary contribution by \$10 million. Again: investment in prevention.

· As part of the fissile material control effort I just mentioned, we are making every effort to combat the most frightening nuclear proliferation threat now facing us -- nuclear theft and nuclear smuggling. Nothing could be more central to our security than ensuring that the essential ingredients of nuclear weapons do not fall into the wrong hands. U.S. and Russian experts, for example, are working closely together to install modernized security and accounting systems at facilities such as Kurchatov and Obninsk. We are ramping this effort up just as fast as we can, as we build the basis of mutual confidence and transparency. As of one year ago, we had only spent about \$1 million on security and accounting for nuclear materials in Russia; over the last year, we've spent over \$10 million, and over the next 15 months, we expect to spend roughly \$100 million more.

· We are working hard to get the Chemical Weapons Convention ratified, and to negotiate new compliance measures to strengthen the Biological Weapons Convention.

· Since the Gulf War revealed how Iraq had taken advantage of weak links in international export controls, we have been working hard to strengthen those controls. And we have succeeded: the intelligence community tells us that, apart from nuclear smuggling, it

is harder today than ever before for proliferators to buy the technologies they need to build weapons of mass destruction and the means to deliver them. Yet at the same time, we have lifted out-dated restrictions on technologies critical to developing economies -- such as high-speed computers and communication systems -- and freed over \$30 billion in exports from unnecessary controls.

- We are working to establish a new, post-COCOM regime to constrain dangerous exports and limit arms sales to unstable regions or states that threaten international peace and security. And we have proposed new steps to curb the terrible civilian toll of anti-personnel landmines.

This is a record of solid achievement. We are moving as fast as we can to undo the daunting legacies of the Cold War arms competition. Our vision is of the United States and Russia running our nuclear weapons complexes in reverse -- dismantling thousands of nuclear weapons rather than building more, getting rid of nuclear weapons materials rather than producing ever larger stockpiles, cleaning up rather than further fouling our nuclear sites, fostering openness and trust rather than secrecy and suspicion. This administration is committed to making that vision a reality. What better gift could we leave our children as a legacy?

This is tough, difficult, day-to-day work: it requires leadership, and a willingness to invest in preventing problems before they become expensive crises. Just two weeks ago, at the fifth meeting of the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission -- an excellent example of the kind of nuts-and-bolts cooperative work now underway -- we made progress on a broad front:

- We quietly resolved a number of issues related to arms and missile technology sales, allowing us to announce that Russia would join the Missile Technology Control Regime and would be a founding member of the post-COCOM Forum.

- We put the purchase of 500 tons of Russian highly-enriched uranium on a sound footing, by offering to modify a trade agreement to allow the uranium to be sold more easily in the United States -- so that we could pay Russia for it when it was delivered -- and by offering an additional \$100 million pre-payment to help finance Russia's shipment of reactor fuel to Ukraine in compensation for warheads Ukraine is shipping back to Russia for dismantlement. That deal will provide an incentive for weapons dismantlement, ensure that Ukrainian disarmament takes place and that Ukraine has a reliable nuclear fuel supply, provide \$12 billion in badly needed hard-currency income for the Russian economy, and secure a valuable commercial product for the United States.

- We reached agreement on a number of steps to accelerate our ongoing cooperation in security and accounting for nuclear materials, including a new agreement under which the Department of Energy will help the Russian nuclear regulatory agency establish an accurate national inventory of all the plutonium and HEU Russia has.

- We established a Civilian R&D Foundation, with \$10 million in initial funding, which will provide a new lifeline for supporting Russia's outstanding scientific community.

- We witnessed the space link-up of the U.S. Shuttle and the Russian Mir space station -- a critical step on the path to building Space Station Alpha, the world's largest international technology collaboration, first agreed to in the Gore-Chernomyrdin Commission.

What next? Fifty years after Trinity, we in the science and technology community have a responsibility to look ahead and try to envision what the next 50 years may hold. For example, with a burgeoning world population coupled with economic growth, we will face daunting challenges. Food demands will drastically increase, energy demands will likely double (and electricity demands will triple). Climate-driven changes in weather and crop production patterns could create bounty for some and poverty and pestilence for others. We will have to cope with stewardship of the globe's environmental resources under unprecedented pressures.

All of these challenges, if not successfully addressed, hold the potential for provoking conflict. Only if we can replicate the Manhattan Project experience, by harnessing the best of the world's best scientific and technical minds, and committing a significant investment of resources can we hope to build a future of peace and plenty.

There was a time when science and technology's contribution to national security was primarily building new and better weapons. Trinity heralded the most earth-shattering achievement of that era.

But our security imperatives have changed. The dangers we face today are far more diverse than Fascist or Communist expansionism. The post-Cold War reality includes a contagion of violence that is spreading, in the face of economic, social, and environmental pressures that prevent governments from meeting their citizens' most basic needs. In Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, and even Europe, we find that endemic poverty, ethnic and religious tensions, overpopulation, environmental degradation, and mass migration are producing a tangled skein of conflicts -- that cannot be stopped once they have begun.

No weapon, no matter how powerful, can meet these diverse challenges. There is no silver bullet, but a central part of the answer lies in a strategy of prevention using the tools of science and technology.

President Clinton recognizes that reality. And that is why he has called for the development of a comprehensive National Security Science and Technology Strategy--the first this country has ever had. At a Forum held in this hall last March, the President charged his administration and the scientific community with drafting such a strategy. And the President's National Science and Technology Council (NSTC) has been tasked with building a government-wide consensus for the essential investments in R&D and S&T cooperation we will need to meet the future's national security challenges.

The resulting National Security Science and Technology Strategy will be on the President's desk later this month. It will call for a systematic government-wide effort to harness science and technology to meet our nation's broad national security aims. And as the President has made clear, those security aims include not only maintenance of ready and capable military forces, but engagement with other nations to ensure sustainable development, to stop the spread of weapons of mass destruction, and to build strong and vibrant economies around the world.

Unfortunately, there are those on Capitol Hill who apparently don't understand the importance of these long-term investments. Even compelling investments like the Nunn-Lugar arms reduction assistance program are under attack. As Senator Nunn asked: if some one offered you a weapon that could eliminate hundreds of missiles and thousands of nuclear weapons, what would you be willing to pay for it? We are going to have to work hard to ensure that our nation does not take the penny-wise and pound-foolish path of cutting the heart out of our science and technology enterprise -- particularly in areas central to our future security. That enterprise is the seed corn we plant for our future; nothing could be more foolish than to eat it now.

A peril and a hope. The challenges before us are great, but so are the opportunities. Getting to the "happy ending" that we all seek will be a big job. We are going to need help from the science and technology community -- bringing new insights and perspectives, and weighing in on the importance of a long-term strategy for harnessing science and technology to our national security needs. We will do well if we can muster the talent, vision, dedication, and wise perspectives that many of the people in this room brought to the Manhattan Project -- and if we invest in the science and technology needed to meet the challenges we face. That will truly be a fitting legacy of Trinity.

Thank you very much.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/24/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 JUL 18 P9:30

18 July 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
CC LEON PANETTA
ERSKINE BOWLES
FROM HAROLD ICKES *HI*
RE Heat wave in Chicago

Attached is a copy of an 18 July 1995 memorandum to Steve Silverman, from Richard W. Krimm, Associate Director of FEMA, concerning activities undertaken by FEMA with respect to the recent heat wave in Chicago.

I've also spoken with Kevin Thurm, chief of staff to Secretary Shalala, who said that HHS is looking into the possibility of releasing certain monies from the emergency fund of the Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program, which apparently could be used to supplement electrical bills for low income families with air conditioners.

Kevin will also give me a report in the morning with respect to activities, if any, by the Public Health Service.



Federal Emergency Management Agency

Washington, D.C. 20472

July 18, 1995

MEMORANDUM TO: Stephen B. Silverman
Deputy Secretary to the Cabinet

FROM: *Richard W. Krimm*
Richard W. Krimm
Associate Director, Response and Recovery

SUBJECT: Heat Wave in Chicago

As you know, since last weekend FEMA has been monitoring the situation in Chicago, Illinois that developed as a result of the recent heat wave in the midwestern and eastern United States. To date, the City Coroner's Office reports that over 170 individuals have died from heat-related ailments.

Despite the tragedy of the loss of life in Chicago, FEMA believes that a Presidential disaster declaration or emergency declaration would not be appropriate for this type of event. The reasons for this are as follows:

- The types of assistance that could be made available under a Presidential declaration would be extremely limited (some possible examples include reimbursement of some emergency personnel expenses, rental costs for refrigerated vehicles at the Coroner's Office, and some burial assistance). These forms of aid would be of little use in alleviating any life-safety concern in the City;
- While the impact of the heat wave appears to be significant, the response to identified needs appears to be well within the combined capabilities of State and local government, and private non-profit organizations;
- A "heat wave" is not specifically fit the definitions of "major disaster" or "emergency" as outlined in the Robert T. Stafford Disaster Relief and Emergency Assistance Act; and
- While the Mayor of Chicago has asked the Governor to request Federal assistance, FEMA has not received any request from the State for such assistance, as required by law.

At this time, FEMA is working closely with the American Red Cross and the U.S. Small Business Administration to conduct limited community outreach to identify needs in Chicago. FEMA also remains in close contact with the State Emergency Management Agency.

I hope that you find this information useful. Please feel free to contact me if you would like to discuss this matter further.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/24/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 22, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN 
PHIL CAPLAN

SUBJECT: Recent Political Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent political information items:

- (A) **Ickes memo on Re-elect expenditures.** As a follow-up to his previous memo, Harold explains the \$2.2 million in expenditures incurred by the Re-elect for the period April 1 - June 30 1995. We are permitted to raise a total of \$45 million for the primary -- \$34 million for the campaign, \$6.8 million for fundraising expenses and \$4.2 million for legal expenses. The \$2.2 million includes expenditures of approximately \$1.7 or \$1.8 million allocated to fundraising, accounting and legal compliance with the remainder allocated to the primary itself. Harold attaches other receipt and expenditure information as well.
- (B) **Memo from political consultant Steve Miller on tobacco issues.** Forwarded by Doug Sosnik. Miller is an associate of Frank Greer's and an adviser to Governor Jones. Based on polling he has seen and his own intuition, Miller thinks you can win three southern states in '96 -- Arkansas, Kentucky and North Carolina -- but that you'll have no chance of winning Kentucky or North Carolina if the FDA regulates cigarettes as a drug with your imprimatur.
- (C) **Louisiana poll.** From Senator Breaux via Doug Sosnik and Craig Smith. Shows your job performance at 47.4% Excellent/Good vs. 49.1% Not Good/Poor. Head-to-head numbers are Clinton 44% vs. Dole 42% and Clinton 46% vs. Gramm 32%.

We have also received:

- **Ickes note on Re-elect fundraising.** For the period April 15 to June 30, total contributions were about \$9.3 million and cash on hand was about \$6.3 million. The average contribution was \$100.



✓ THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/24/95

FYI Rahm

The Washington Times

NRA seeks windfall from hearings

ASSOCIATED PRESS

The National Rifle Association, at the center of controversy for its role in House Republicans' probe of the 1993 raid on the Branch Davidians in Waco, Texas, is using the congressional hearings to raise money.

A new letter to the firearms lobby's 3.5 million members contains language similar to other recent NRA fund-raising material denouncing the Clinton administration and federal law enforcement agencies.

The letter, signed by NRA Executive Vice President Wayne LaPierre, is accompanied by a prepared postcard addressed to Rep. Bill McCollum, Florida Republican and one of the two House subcommittee chairman heading the Waco hearings that begin today.

The letter exhorts the NRA members to send the postcard to Mr. McCollum, telling him, "I support your decision to hold investigations on Waco... and the numerous other cases of alleged abuse by federal agents."

"The American people need to be free from fear of their own government," the postcard reads. "Civil rights abuses should not be tolerated from any segment of our society, including a small segment of federal

police officers."

NRA spokesman Bill Powers had no immediate comment on the letter, which he said was sent in the past few weeks.

Democrats on Capitol Hill and in the White House say there was an "emerging pattern" of NRA involvement in the investigation by House Republican staffers to set up the hearings.

The questions have centered on the actions of Rep. Bill Zeliff, New Hampshire Republican the other subcommittee.

In the latest incident to come to light, Rep. Charles E. Schumer, New York Democrat, cited an instance in which an NRA staff member gave the impression she represented the subcommittees holding the hearing when she interviewed a Texas social worker slated to testify.

The controversy over the NRA's role accelerated yesterday when House Judiciary Committee Chairman Henry J. Hyde, Illinois Republican, told Mr. Schumer and Rep. John Conyers Jr. of Michigan, the committee's senior Democrat, he shares their "outrage" that a woman with NRA ties interviewed a prospective witness under the guise of being part of the Waco hearing team.

✓
V Radd
When answer
on this
Re
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/24/95

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 19, 1995

Marc E. Lackritz
1401 I Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

Dear Marc:

Thanks for your letter of July 17. It was good to see you at the Schneiders' and to have a chance to visit.

Thanks, too, for your recommendation of Jeffrey Liss for appointment to the United States Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit. I appreciate your letting me know what you think, and I've shared your letter with Abner Mikva, Counsel to the President, to let him know of your personal recommendation.

Sincerely,

Bin

ce V Radd

M A R C E . L A C K R I T Z

1401 EYE STREET N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20005

July 17, 1995

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Re: Jeffrey F. Liss - U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit

Dear Mr. President:

I very much enjoyed seeing and speaking with you last Thursday night at the Schneiders' reception. I particularly enjoyed your remarks about the importance of the political battle to come, and, as always, I look forward to helping you in any way I can.

You may remember that I had an opportunity to introduce you at that time to my very good friend and former law partner, Jeffrey Liss, and to mention to you that, as I understand it, he is under very serious consideration for a vacancy on the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit. I wanted to follow up on that brief conversation.

I have previously written to you about Jeffrey (see attached), and I will not repeat the full substance of that letter. Suffice it to say that I am urging his nomination not only because he is a very good friend, but primarily because I think he would make an outstanding judge. He is a superb lawyer, with relevant experience in many of the areas of commercial litigation that make up the Federal Circuit's jurisdiction. He has shown himself to be a leader of the profession, through substantial award-winning pro bono work and as the head of his firm's Washington office. He has made scholarly contributions through his voluminous writings and speeches as well as through his role as an adjunct law professor at Georgetown. In short, he is just the sort of broad-gauged lawyer and professional, with a "big heart" and a clear sense of responsibility toward society at large, that I know you seek in your judicial appointments.

* [I should add that he has been an absolutely unwavering and generous supporter of yours since the beginning of the 1992 effort -- I introduced him to you initially at the Raisers' in Georgetown in 1991. His wife Susan Liss, also an early and generous supporter of yours, has served your Administration ably in the Justice Department, most recently as Assistant Attorney General Deval Patrick's Chief of Staff, and prior to that as Assistant Attorney General Eleanor Acheson's deputy.

If you would find it useful, I would like to bring Jeffrey to meet you for a few minutes in quieter circumstances because I know you would enjoy him as much as I do. In any case, I wanted to reiterate my very strong support for Jeffrey. I am confident that if you nominate him, he will turn out to be an appointment of which you will be most proud.

My best personal regards to you and the First Lady. With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,



Attachment

cc: Ms. Vicky Radd, Esq.

M A R C E. L A C K R I T Z

1401 EYE STREET N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

April 29, 1994

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Re: Jeffrey F. Liss - U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit

Dear Mr. President:

I understand that you are considering a short list of possible nominees to the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit. I am writing directly to you to strongly and enthusiastically endorse Jeffrey F. Liss and to attest to his "bona fides" as an early, unwavering and loyal Clinton supporter throughout the 1992 campaign.

I have known Jeffrey for over fifteen years, first as my partner and colleague when I was in private law practice at Wald Harkrader & Ross, and subsequently as a dear friend. He would make an outstanding judge, and would bring much-needed litigation expertise to the Federal Circuit. He is currently head of Piper & Marbury's Washington office, a 65-lawyer operation. He is quite active in the Bar, a leader in his and his firm's commitment to pro bono work, and is intelligent, decisive and balanced. His judgment is impeccable, and he is without guile. He would be an absolutely superb choice for the Federal Circuit.

Perhaps as importantly, Jeffrey was a generous supporter of yours early and throughout the campaign. I introduced him to you at a 1991 event at the Raisers' in Georgetown, and Jeffrey and his wife Susan were both unwavering, loyal supporters throughout the campaign. I hope this information is helpful, and that you will give favorable consideration to Jeffrey and nominate him to the Court of Appeals for the Federal Circuit.

Thanks very much for your consideration. With best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,



Marc E. Lackritz

cc: Joel Klein, Esq.

Weekend
6/24 - 6/25

INSIDE SECTION 2

D.C. Journal2
Weather.....5
Deaths last week.....6
Obituaries6.7

Eric Zorn



If the government owns the airwaves, where's our cut?

I imagine that an ambitious but impractical billionaire years ago sank his vast wealth into constructing a shopping mall five times the size of Gurnee Mills on the fringe of suburbia. Then imagine he went bankrupt before even one tenant moved in and surrendered the finished property to the federal government.

Imagine then that the government decided to go into the retail business and offered the first few pioneering merchants free rent. These merchants thrived, more merchants came, also

free, they thrived, until the mall was full and booming, netting hundreds of millions of dollars in sales. Storeowners who moved out sold the rights to occupy the biggest storefronts for up to half a billion dollars.

Any time the idea that they should pay

rent came up, the merchants successfully objected and Congress did nothing.

A no-vacancy sign hangs on the airwaves, and occupants can get very rich by moving on.

Now imagine the screams of taxpayers. Yet today, in reality, there are well over 10,000 profitmaking "storefronts" residing rent-free on public property and delivering estimated annual revenues of \$35 billion. They are the commercial squatters on the electromagnetic spectrum—informally known as the public airwaves—occupying, selling access to and trading for huge prices individual frequencies on your radio and television dials.

To encourage the growth of the infant broadcasting industry in the late 1920s, the government gave out dial positions basically free of charge, asking only that the pioneers put forth at least some programming in the public interest.

Times changed dramatically, but the rules did not. Broadcasting became an explosively profitable business long ago, and the necessity for Homestead Act-style incentives vanished. A no-vacancy sign hangs on the airwaves, and occupants can get very rich by moving on—the owners of the WXRT-FM, WSCR-AM combo in Chicago, for instance, recently sold their stations for a reported \$60 million—yet these stations pay only modest license fees that simply cover the costs of regulation.

What makes this galling is that the free-marketters in Congress who want to eliminate the direct subsidy to public broadcasting have shown few qualms about what amounts to a massive indirect subsidy for commercial broadcasting. Indeed, the Senate just passed a telecommunications bill that lifts long-standing limits on how many TV and radio stations one company may own. Regular proposals to institute a user fee—a "spectrum royalty"—on broadcasters are tabled into oblivion by lawmakers who apparently buy into the underwhelming objections of the National Association of Broadcasters.

In fighting a proposed annual broadcasters' tax of 1 percent of gross ad receipts that was linked to the GATT treaty last year, the NAB complained that many stations were already unprofitable and such a tax would increase that number, and that broadcasters already pay conventional business taxes and that they "pay" for the use of the airwaves by "providing the public free of charge with local programming, news, weather, public service and other public interest programming."

Yes, and it would be nice if the government supplied free newsprint to newspapers too. Newspapers, after all, also serve the public interest—far better than most broadcasters, particularly in this era of comically lax enforcement by the Federal Communications Commission.

Congress and the FCC realized that they were giving away the electromagnetic store after speculators made a fortune by entering lotteries for cellular phone frequencies in the 1980s, winning free licenses and reselling them to real businesses. So in the last two years, the FCC has raised \$8.9 billion by auctioning off new segments of the spectrum to wireless-communication firms.

You don't have to be married to someone in public radio, as I am, to see how user fees—based on a percentage of revenues and levied on all those who make money on any exclusive use of segments of the commercial, cellular, microwave or other transmission bands—could and should eliminate any need for direct taxpayer subsidy of public broadcasting.

If we collected simple, fair-market "rent" on the virtual mega-mall we own, we'd be able to fund a vast new array of educational and children's programming on both traditional and emerging media, and never have to endure another dreadful—sorry, dear—on-air pledge drive. Imagine that.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/24/95

Bo UP
BZ

CLOSE HOLD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
July 24, 1995

TO: The Vice President
Leon Panetta
Erskine Bowles
Harold Ickes
George Stephanopoulos

FROM: Todd Stern^{TS}

For your information re: the
1:45 p.m. meeting.

Steve Miller
1505 Crystal Drive, Apt. 905
Arlington, VA 22202-4120
703-413-4145

95 JUL 19 P 6 : 04

July 14, 1995

MEMORANDUM

To: President William J. Clinton

From: Steve Miller 

Re: Political implications of tobacco issues on Kentucky and North Carolina voters and a Southern electoral vote strategy

While I do not presume to advise you on the governance issues involved in the request by David Kessler to regulate cigarettes as a drug, I do want you to understand clearly the political implications of such a decision. If the FDA takes such an action, especially now that Dr. Kessler has positioned this decision so that it would occur with your imprimatur, then you should remove both Kentucky and North Carolina from your southern state electoral strategy in 1996. However, this choice, along with tobacco-related budget decisions made later this year, provides you with an opportunity to regain some lost ground in both Kentucky and North Carolina.

**1. Kentucky and North Carolina as parts
of the electoral strategic imperatives**

Based on polling information I have seen and my own intuition, you have a real chance to carry three southern states next year--Arkansas, Louisiana and Kentucky. The other southern states are much more difficult. However, one of the strategic imperatives I learned from preparing the state-by-state media buy analyses for you in 1992 is that at least 330-350 electoral votes must be kept "in play" during the general election. If that is not the case, you will find yourself in the mirror image of 1992, when Bush was forced to make national buys and conduct a national campaign, rather than focusing on state-specific efforts.

Both Kentucky and North Carolina must be kept "in play" to reach that 330-350 electoral vote threshold. Otherwise, you will find even less appealing states added to the "must win list". I realize the difficulty of winning in Kentucky, and especially North Carolina. Still, you must force a hard fight there to keep the Republican nominee from capturing those 22 electoral votes at almost no resource cost and hoarding his resources for use in larger, even more crucial states such as Ohio, Michigan and Florida. In the parlance of the folks back home, you simply have to drop your line in both ponds if you want to catch enough fish!

2. Understanding the importance of tobacco to Kentucky and North Carolina

Revenue from tobacco accounts for one-fourth of Kentucky's farm economy. Tobacco is grown in almost every one of our 120 counties. More than 60,000 farm families earn a significant part of their income from tobacco. A recent Price Waterhouse study found that more than 135,000 Kentucky jobs are related to tobacco. The ripple effect of this revenue is even more profound.

My home has the largest per capita income from tobacco of any Kentucky county. Tobacco is the foundation of the county's economic structure. Take a big whack out of tobacco and the price of land will plummet--the banks will be seriously jeopardized and the businesses that supply farmers are damaged.

3. Tobacco farmers as key swing voters

Historically, tobacco farmers have been a key bloc of Democratic votes in state elections. Over the past 30 years, they have been swing voters in national elections. Kentucky tobacco farmers have been quintessential "Reagan Democrats". That is why Governor Jones and Senator Ford urged you to stop in Western Kentucky on the last night of the 1992 election. And, in my judgment, that visit gave us the extra bump needed to carry the state. Without a significant portion of these folks, you will not repeat your win in Kentucky and the polling numbers will be so bad in North Carolina that it will be difficult to justify pouring resources into that state. *Your decisions on these issues will also have a profound effect on what will be a close Kentucky governor's race this fall.*

4. What can be done?

You must make two decisions having the greatest impact on positioning you for a win in Kentucky and a competitive race in North Carolina. First, you must decide where to come down on FDA's request to regulate tobacco. Second, you must decide where you stand on any proposed cuts to the tobacco program as part of the budget debate.

Make no mistake--if you come down on the side of the anti-tobacco folks or propose a compromise that significantly injures the tobacco farmers, then you should use your time and resources to fight in other states next year. My home county recently elected its first Republican County Judge-Executive in its 160 year history. When I went home, the tobacco farmers told me they were sending the President and the Governor a message. I heard them loud and clear. As always, I am available to help you in any way I can.

CLOSE HOLD

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
July 24, 1995

TO: The Vice President
Leon Panetta
Erskine Bowles
Harold Ickes
George Stephanopoulos

FROM: Todd Stern^{TS}

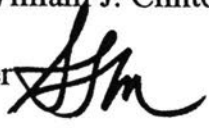
For your information re: the
1:45 p.m. meeting.

Steve Miller
1505 Crystal Drive, Apt. 905
Arlington, VA 22202-4120
703-413-4145

95 JUL 19 P 6 : 04

July 14, 1995

MEMORANDUM

To: President William J. Clinton
From: Steve Miller 
Re: Political implications of tobacco issues on Kentucky and North Carolina voters and a Southern electoral vote strategy

While I do not presume to advise you on the governance issues involved in the request by David Kessler to regulate cigarettes as a drug, I do want you to understand clearly the political implications of such a decision. If the FDA takes such an action, especially now that Dr. Kessler has positioned this decision so that it would occur with your imprimatur, then you should remove both Kentucky and North Carolina from your southern state electoral strategy in 1996. However, this choice, along with tobacco-related budget decisions made later this year, provides you with an opportunity to regain some lost ground in both Kentucky and North Carolina.

**1. Kentucky and North Carolina as parts
of the electoral strategic imperatives**

Based on polling information I have seen and my own intuition, you have a real chance to carry three southern states next year—Arkansas, Louisiana and Kentucky. The other southern states are much more difficult. However, one of the strategic imperatives I learned from preparing the state-by-state media buy analyses for you in 1992 is that at least 330-350 electoral votes must be kept “in play” during the general election. If that is not the case, you will find yourself in the mirror image of 1992, when Bush was forced to make national buys and conduct a national campaign, rather than focusing on state-specific efforts.

Both Kentucky and North Carolina must be kept “in play” to reach that 330-350 electoral vote threshold. Otherwise, you will find even less appealing states added to the “must win list”. I realize the difficulty of winning in Kentucky, and especially North Carolina. Still, you must force a hard fight there to keep the Republican nominee from capturing those 22 electoral votes at almost no resource cost and hoarding his resources for use in larger, even more crucial states such as Ohio, Michigan and Florida. In the parlance of the folks back home, you simply have to drop your line in both ponds if you want to catch enough fish!

2. Understanding the importance of tobacco to Kentucky and North Carolina

Revenue from tobacco accounts for one-fourth of Kentucky's farm economy. Tobacco is grown in almost every one of our 120 counties. More than 60,000 farm families earn a significant part of their income from tobacco. A recent Price Waterhouse study found that more than 135,000 Kentucky jobs are related to tobacco. The ripple effect of this revenue is even more profound.

My home has the largest per capita income from tobacco of any Kentucky county. Tobacco is the foundation of the county's economic structure. Take a big whack out of tobacco and the price of land will plummet--the banks will be seriously jeopardized and the businesses that supply farmers are damaged.

3. Tobacco farmers as key swing voters

Historically, tobacco farmers have been a key bloc of Democratic votes in state elections. Over the past 30 years, they have been swing voters in national elections. Kentucky tobacco farmers have been quintessential "Reagan Democrats". That is why Governor Jones and Senator Ford urged you to stop in Western Kentucky on the last night of the 1992 election. And, in my judgment, that visit gave us the extra bump needed to carry the state. Without a significant portion of these folks, you will not repeat your win in Kentucky and the polling numbers will be so bad in North Carolina that it will be difficult to justify pouring resources into that state. *Your decisions on these issues will also have a profound effect on what will be a close Kentucky governor's race this fall.*

4. What can be done?

You must make two decisions having the greatest impact on positioning you for a win in Kentucky and a competitive race in North Carolina. First, you must decide where to come down on FDA's request to regulate tobacco. Second, you must decide where you stand on any proposed cuts to the tobacco program as part of the budget debate.

Make no mistake--if you come down on the side of the anti-tobacco folks or propose a compromise that significantly injures the tobacco farmers, then you should use your time and resources to fight in other states next year. My home county recently elected its first Republican County Judge-Executive in its 160 year history. When I went home, the tobacco farmers told me they were sending the President and the Governor a message. I heard them loud and clear. As always, I am available to help you in any way I can.

To Smile

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/24/95

Fyl - we need
Stream - Not urgent
Be.

- ① High Ground → President HAS SEEN 7/24/95
→ Defies Bullwhip
→ Murderer, 20, 500
- ② Beat Approp → 100/1000, Remain
100/1000
→ Leverage
- ③ Use the crisis in Oct
↳ Get term car, 100/1000
- ④ Brezina

07/20/95

30 Lowest Median Household Income Districts
Represented by a White Democrat

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/24/95 Page 1

District	Member	Median Income	1994 House	1992 House	Presidential Average
West Virginia 3	Nick Rahall	18,166	63.9	65.6	61.2
Arkansas 1	Blanche Lambert Lincoln	18,180	53.6	69.8	56.4
Oklahoma 3	Bill Brewster	18,394	73.8	75.1	52.5
Mississippi 4	Mike Parker	20,234	68.5	75.0	42.0
Pennsylvania 1	Tom Foglietta	20,372	81.5	80.9	76.1
Texas 29	Gene Green	20,612	73.4	64.9	60.6
Virginia 9	Rick Boucher	20,857	58.8	63.1	48.2
Alabama 4	Tom Bevill	20,877	100.0	70.2	46.4
California 20	Cal Dooley	21,140	56.7	64.9	54.3
Texas 2	Charles Wilson	21,216	57.0	56.3	53.1
Florida 5	Karen Thurman	21,374	57.2	53.1	49.2
Louisiana 7	Jimmy Hayes	21,442	100.0	73.0	52.0
Texas 17	Charles Stenholm	21,532	53.7	66.1	44.0
Alabama 3	Glen Browder	21,594	63.6	61.8	42.9
Mississippi 3	G. V. (Sonny) Montgomery	21,625	67.6	81.2	34.9
Texas 1	Jim Chapman	21,697	57.5	100.0	48.0
Mississippi 5	Gene Taylor	21,702	60.1	64.1	33.3
West Virginia 1	Alan Mollohan	21,903	70.3	100.0	53.7
Pennsylvania 12	John Murtha	22,024	68.9	100.0	56.8
West Virginia 2	Bob Wise	22,253	63.7	70.9	51.0
Texas 11	Chet Edwards	22,283	59.2	67.4	44.4
South Dakota 1	Tim Johnson	22,503	62.0	72.0	47.3
Tennessee 8	John Tanner	22,622	63.8	100.0	47.7
Texas 16	Ron Coleman	22,632	57.1	51.9	56.2
Michigan 1	Bart Stupak	22,788	57.5	55.3	50.2
Minnesota 7	Collin Peterson	22,893	51.3	50.7	49.1
Illinois 19	Glenn Poshard	22,979	58.4	69.1	52.7
Montana 1	Pat Williams	22,988	53.5	51.8	49.4
Missouri 4	Ike Skelton	23,064	67.8	70.4	45.0
North Dakota 1	Earl Pomeroy	23,213	53.7	59.0	42.8

→ black & white

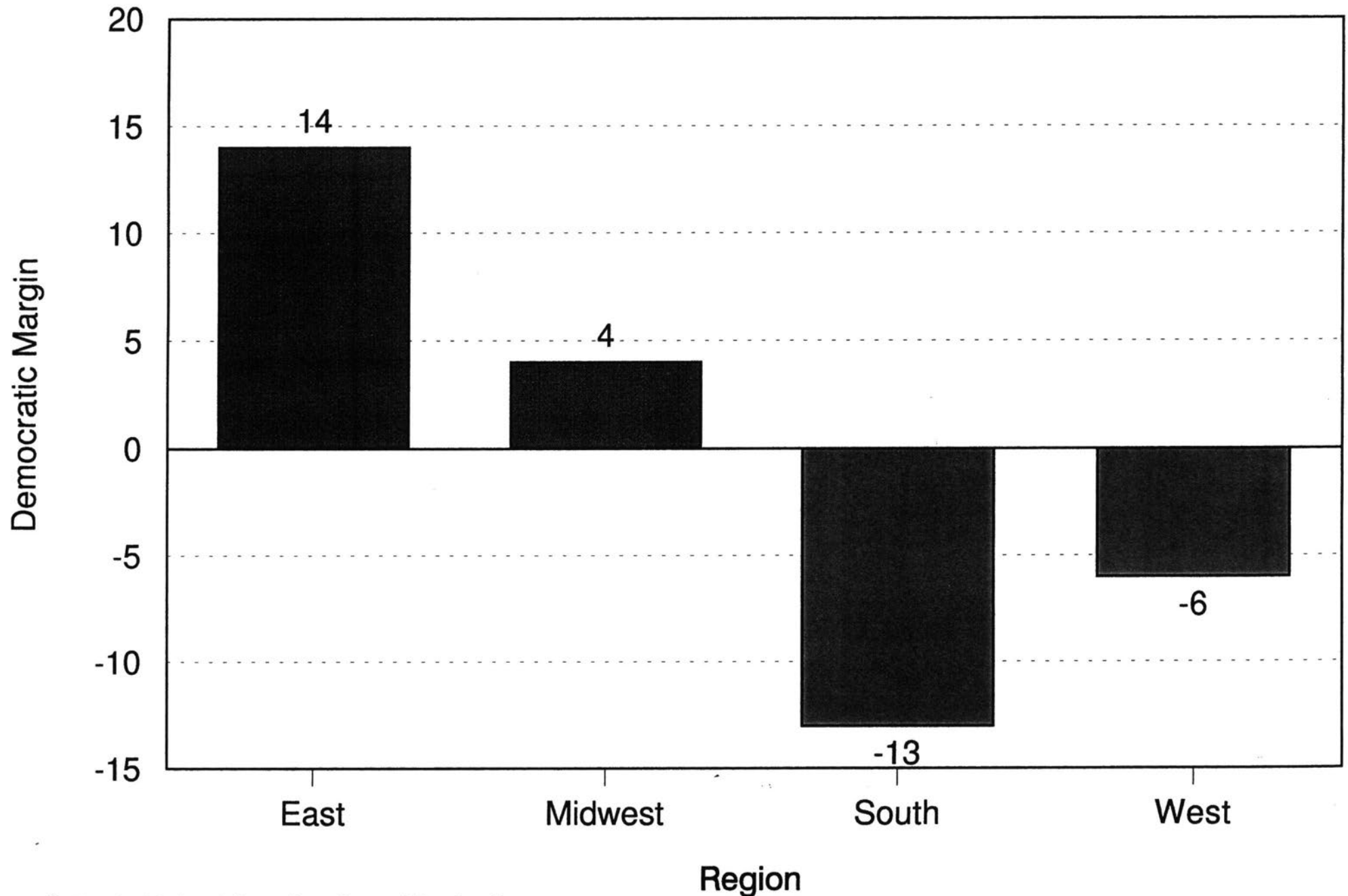
→ where they vote together

→ where they don't vote together

Marginal Congressional District Demographic Data by Region

Region	Median Income	College Education	Black VAP	Hispanic VAP
East	36,683	23	4.8	3.4
South	26,099	17.1	13.5	6.7
Midwest	29,532	17.6	5.1	1.8
West	32,120	21.6	2.7	13.6
National Average	30,700	20.1	10.7	8.1

Democratic Margin in Congressional Match Race by Region (July 1995 CNN/USA Today National Gallup Poll)

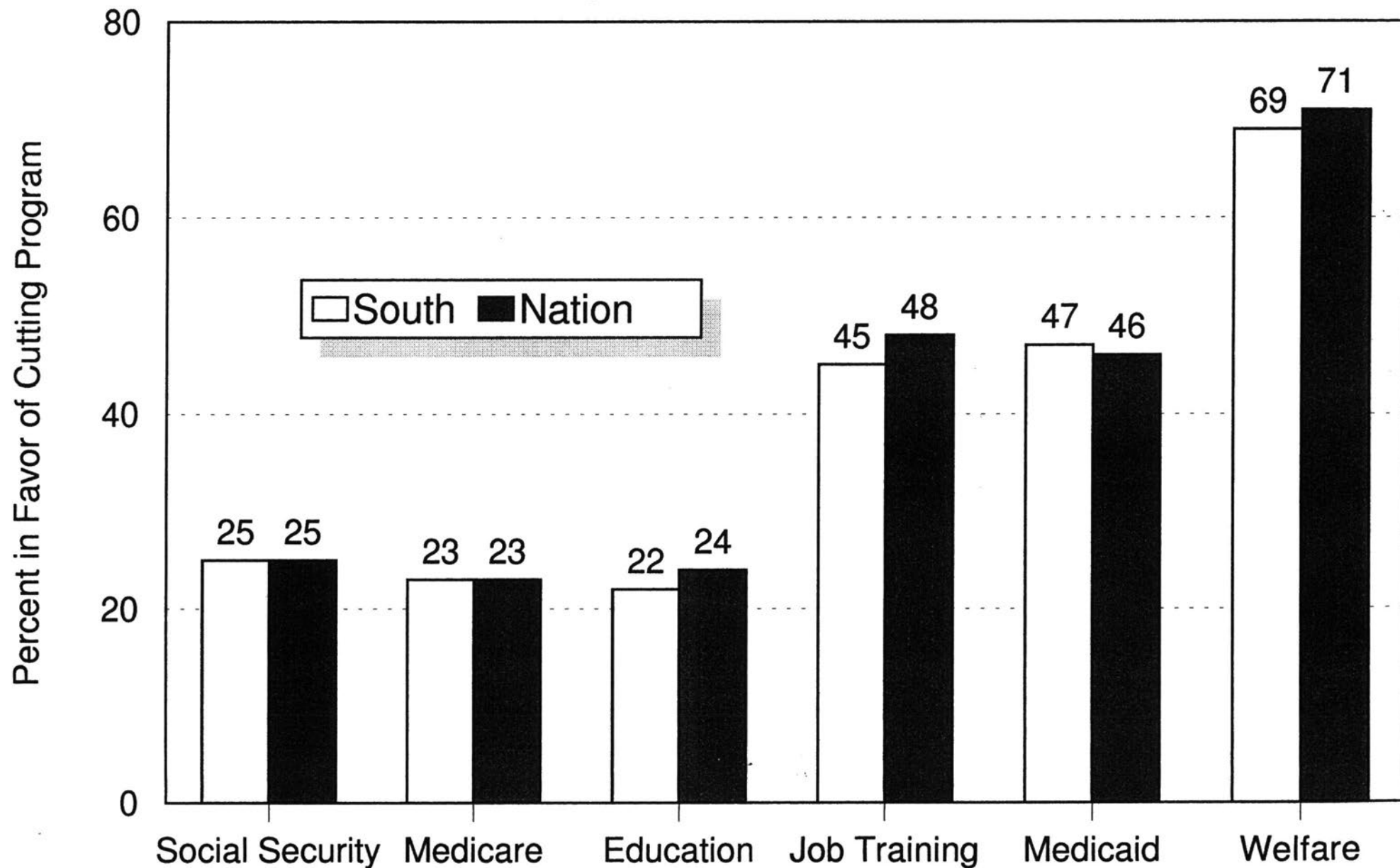


Marginal Congressional District Demographic Data by Region

Region	Median Income	College Education	Black VAP	Hispanic VAP
East	36,683	23	4.8	3.4
South	26,099	17.1	13.5	6.7
Midwest	29,532	17.6	5.1	1.8
West	32,120	21.6	2.7	13.6
National Average	30,700	20.1	10.7	8.1

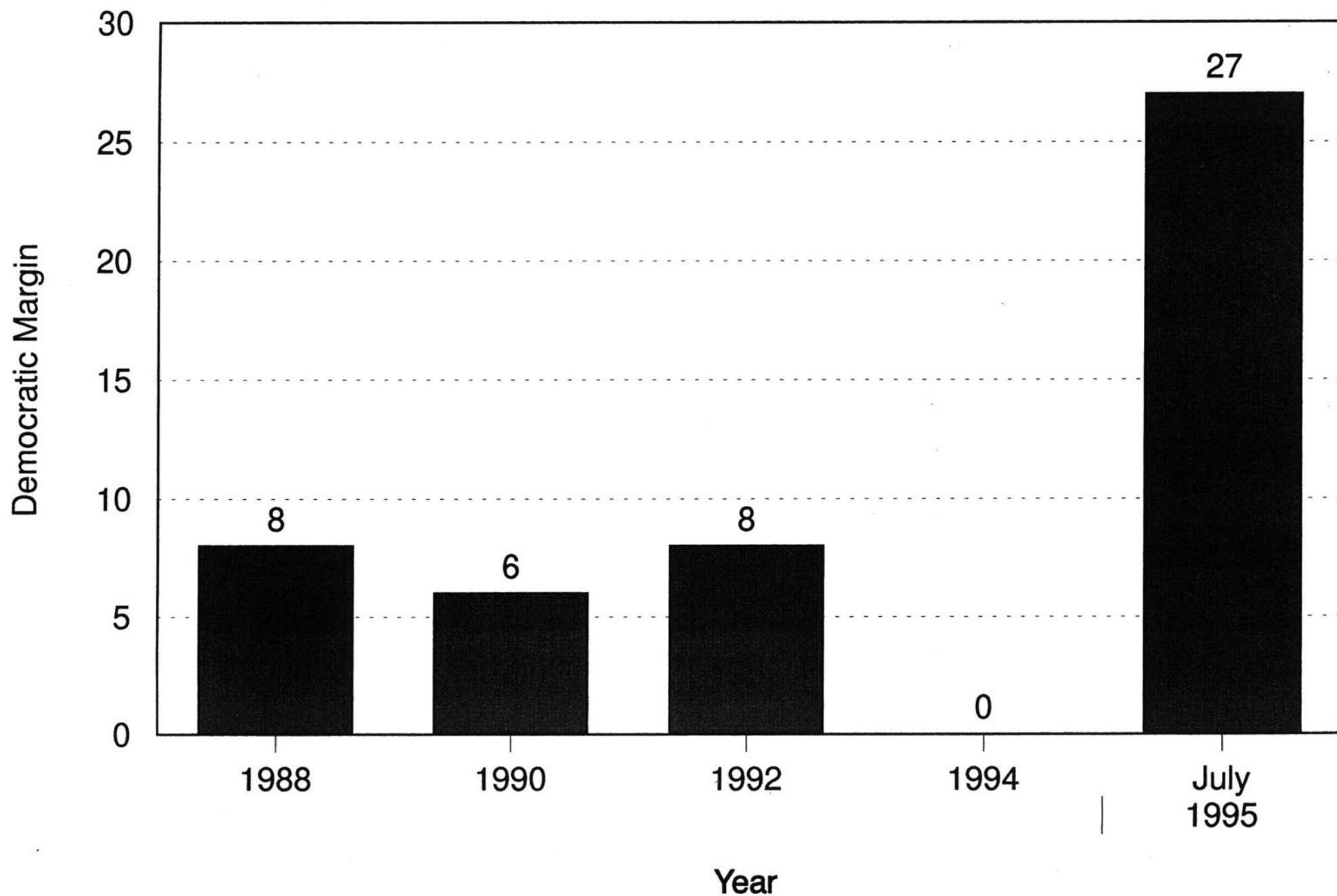
Would You Favor Cutting the Following Programs in order to Balance the Budget?

[Source: The Mellman Group National Issues Foundation Study—April 26-28]



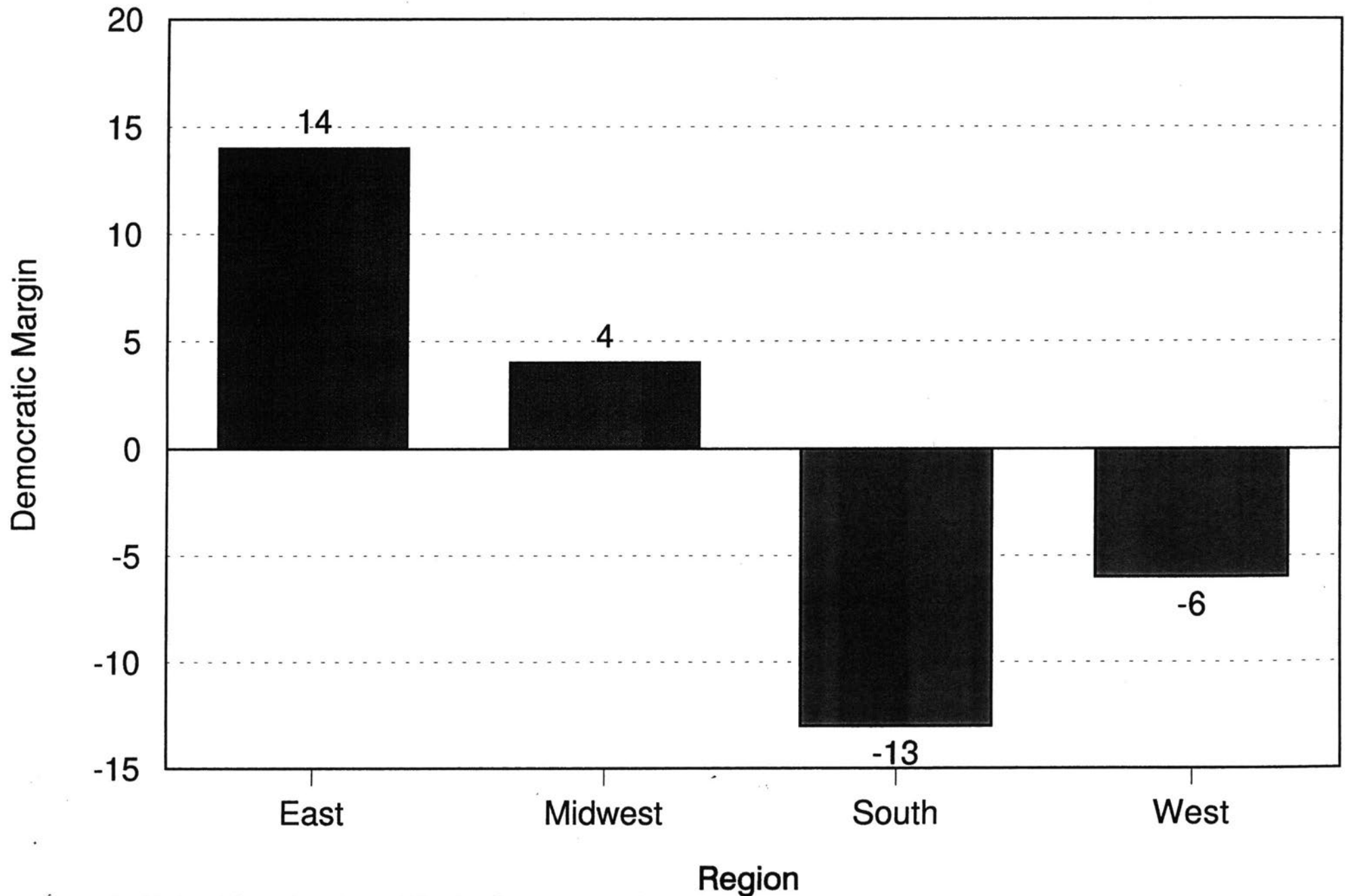
Democratic Margin Among Seniors (60 Years and Over)

(CBS, VRS, VNS Exit Polls and July 1995 CNN/USA Today National Gallup Poll)



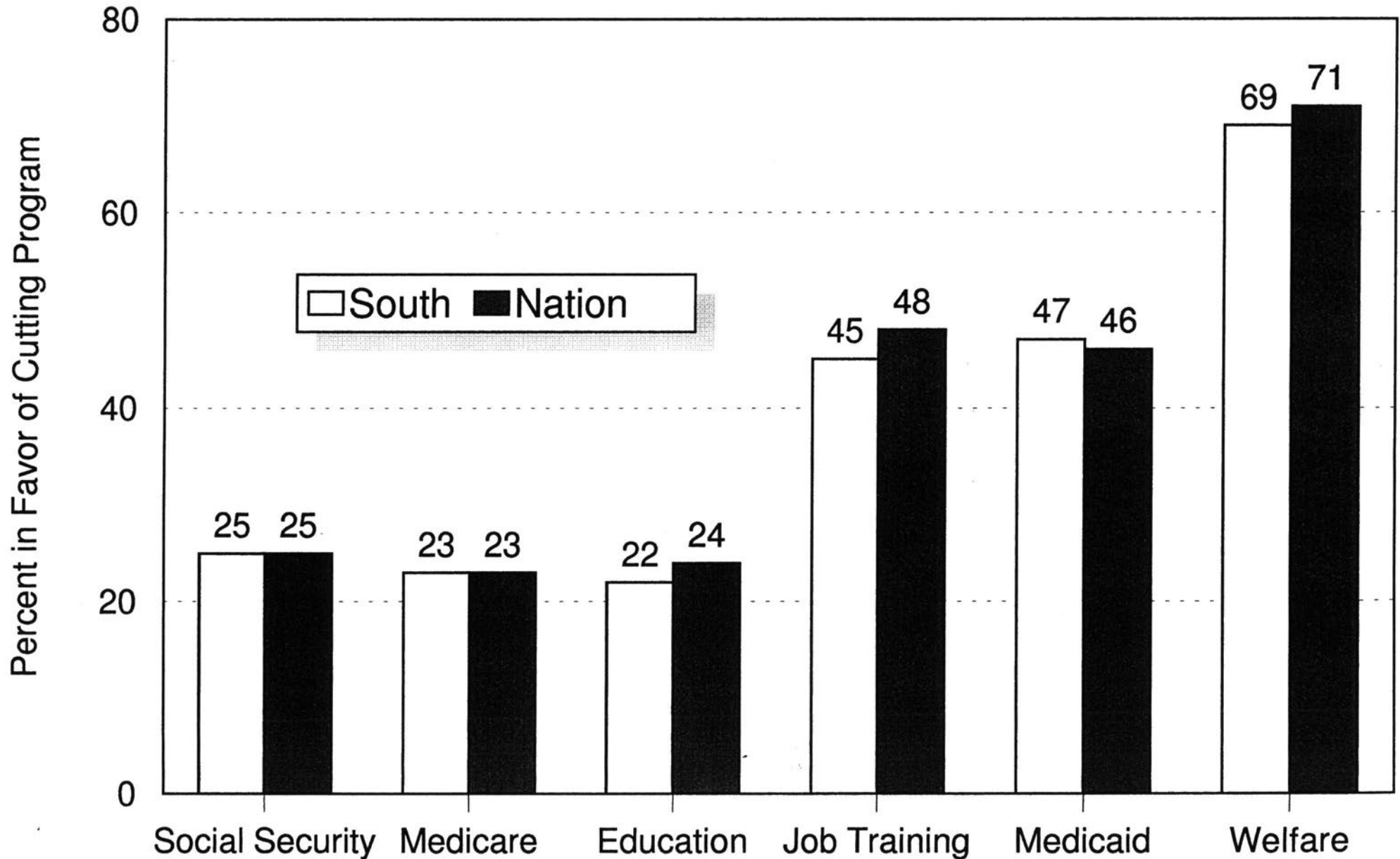
*July 1995 Gallup Result for 65 Years and Over

Democratic Margin in Congressional Match Race by Region (July 1995 CNN/USA Today National Gallup Poll)



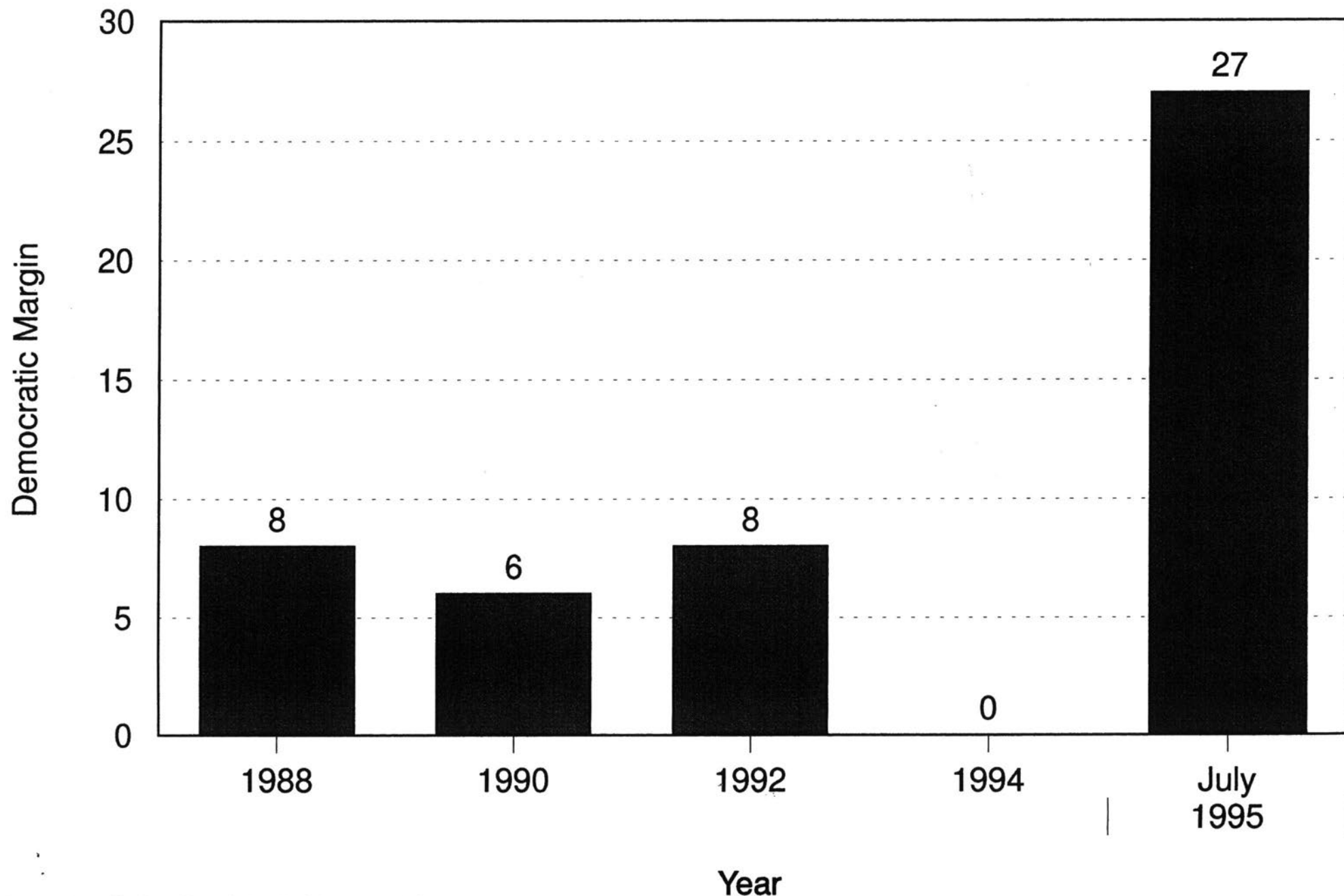
Would You Favor Cutting the Following Programs in order to Balance the Budget?

(Source: The Mellman Group National Issues Foundation Study—April 26-28)



Democratic Margin Among Seniors (60 Years and Over)

(CBS, VRS, VNS Exit Polls and July 1995 CNN/USA Today National Gallup Poll)



*July 1995 Gallup Result for 65 Years and Over

Boer / Keep in **THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN** 7/24/95

Remember part of
our playing out our
Community Theme is to
visit & celebrate what works

Br

★ NEWSWEEK AMERICAN ACHIEVEMENT AWARDS ★

Newsweek

May 29, 1995 \$2.95

Yes,
You Too
Can Make a
Difference

EVERYDAY HEROES



STUDENTS FROM L.A.'S FOOD FROM THE 'HOOD

What **Newsweek**

We all know the problems. Here are some solutions—drawn from grass-roots programs that make a difference. By Jonathan Alter

TODAY'S DOMESTIC PROBLEMS are depressing and overwhelming. We all know that. Individual efforts to reverse the tide often feel like a thousand points of light in a million pools of darkness. But the real news in America is not all the despair and degradation. That's old. What's fresher is a gradual, quiet entwining of the spirit of entrepreneurship and the spirit of citizenship, as people launch local civic enterprises. It might also be called the spirit of Oklahoma City. If the explosion exposed America's darkest streak, it also lit its brightest candle—hundreds of individuals pushing aside their grief, their anger, their longstanding differences to pull together in common cause.

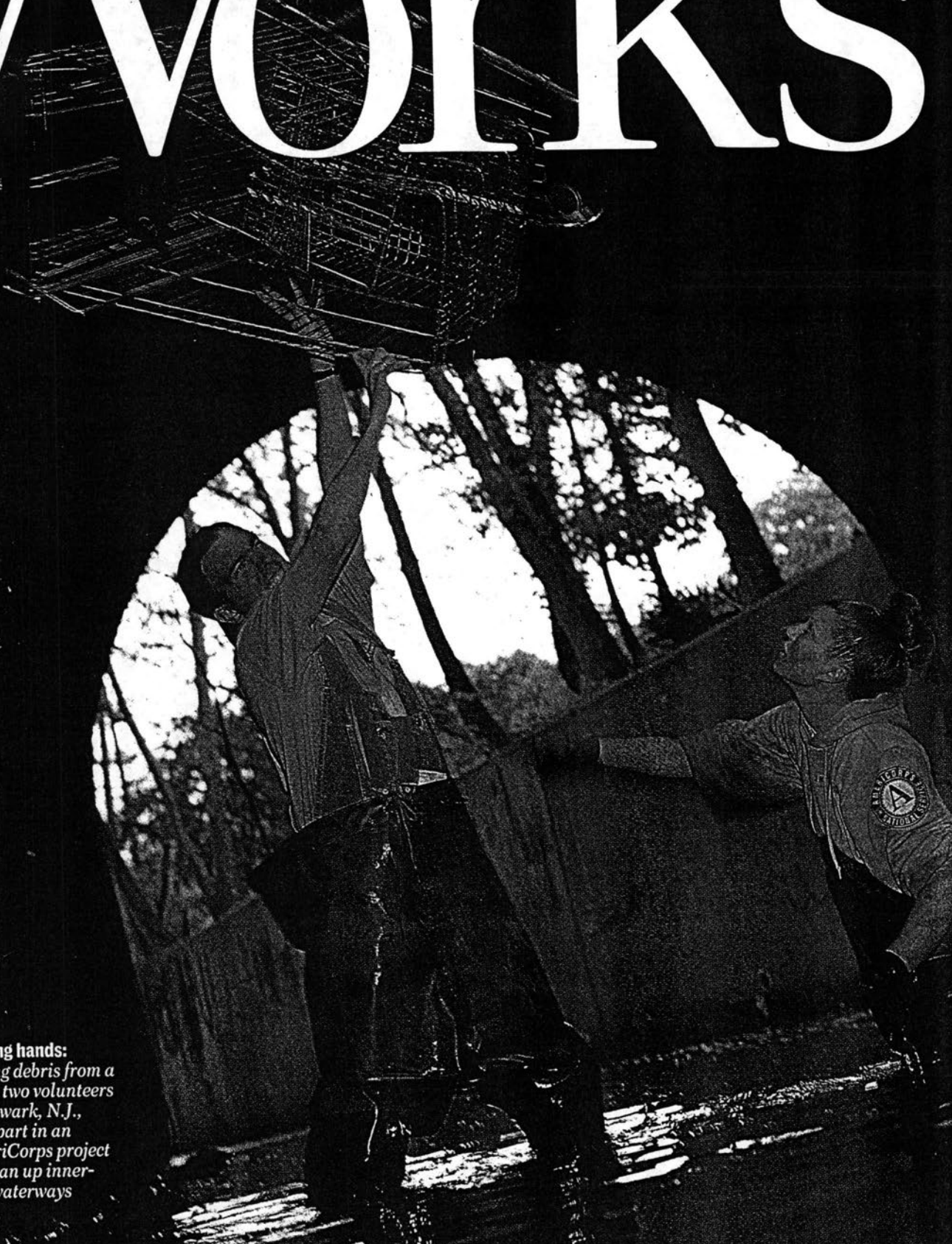
Part of the explanation for this shift is enlightened self-interest. The government's bankrupt, the frontier is closed and there's just no place to hide anymore from the world's

problems. Leadership, it's now clear, begins not with politicians but at home, where the line "It takes a whole village to raise a child" has moved in a few short years from obscure African proverb to Middle American cliché. Our fervid rescue fantasies are just that. We've seen the cavalry—and it is us.

But within this dawning acknowledgment of responsibility lies another old American virtue: pragmatism. We want our ideas to *work*. The perception that they haven't is what lies at the root of the crisis of faith in government. Often programs that sound terrific expand too quickly, rely too heavily on leaders who leave or turn bad, misdiagnose the problem, create new dependencies or just plain waste money. It could happen to programs described in these pages, in part because true performance evaluation is expensive and rare.

Too often, the hard task of separating promising programs from futile ones gets lost in the mists of ideology and media indifference. Members of Congress would rather posture

Works



Helping hands:
*Lifting debris from a
river, two volunteers
in Newark, N.J.,
take part in an
AmeriCorps project
to clean up inner-
city waterways*

about the big picture than dirty their hands on the details. Members of the press prefer scandal and failure to the harder task of finding and explaining success. And all of us too often forget to take our gratifications where we can find them. While we wait for the moral equivalent of war, to use William James's classic expression, the real equivalent is that sense of grace, exhilaration and even power that comes from actually helping change something small in our own communities, child by child, block by block.

As it turns out, amid the endless crime news and noisy partisan sniping, the cynical voices and contempt for the poor, people still care about each other more than we may give them credit for. Charitable giving is down slightly, but the communal spirit is strong, especially among the young. According to a UCLA survey, more than 40 percent of college freshmen are involved in at least some kind of voluntary activity. Intergenerational volunteerism—old helping young; young helping old—is growing rapidly. Businesses are pitching in as never before. Last week an insurance broker, Johnson and Higgins, shut down all of its 120 offices around the world for the day so that its 8,500 employees could do volunteer work for children.

It's true that attendance at PTA meetings is down precipitously from 30 years ago. This year's hottest sociological insight is Robert Putnam's point that Americans are "bowling alone" instead of in community leagues. But those who worry about the decline of civil society might remember that the total number of nonprofit organizations is roughly 2 million—one for every 125 Americans. While some of these groups are narrow, corrupt or ridiculous, our habit of creating civic associations—first noticed as distinctly American by Alexis de Tocqueville more than 150 years ago—still dwarfs the efforts of any other country.

And there's big money on the way, bequeathed by the World War II generation. The magazine Foundation News calls it "the largest transfer of wealth in our nation's history"; some analysts estimate the inheritance at \$8 trillion to \$10 trillion in the next 20 years. Local community foundations, whose numbers have doubled since 1987, are angling to get a large chunk of the cash that doesn't go to heirs or the IRS.

Of course it's a myth that the private sector can fully meet this country's social needs; anyone who has tried to raise money for a worthy cause knows that. Besides, even if government-run programs often fail, the record of government-supported nonprofit programs—many of which are now on the chopping block—is much more mixed. Some of them are no good, either. The rules and paperwork alone wreck them. But many others—including a few described below that receive small portions of federal, state or local funding—have not really been tried in any consistent way. With more than half of the money saved in proposed GOP budget cuts coming from programs aimed at the poor, a lot of good ideas won't even get a decent burial.

So as the struggle proceeds, how do we know what works? "If we only want to talk about National Academy of Science-quality data, we know little indeed," says Susan Philliber, a New York evaluator of nonprofits. "But if we're also willing to look at what we would bet a paycheck on, or what our experience and gut tells us is true, we can broaden the list." There are no magic bullets, but programs that succeed share some of these five characteristics:

Intervene earlier and more often

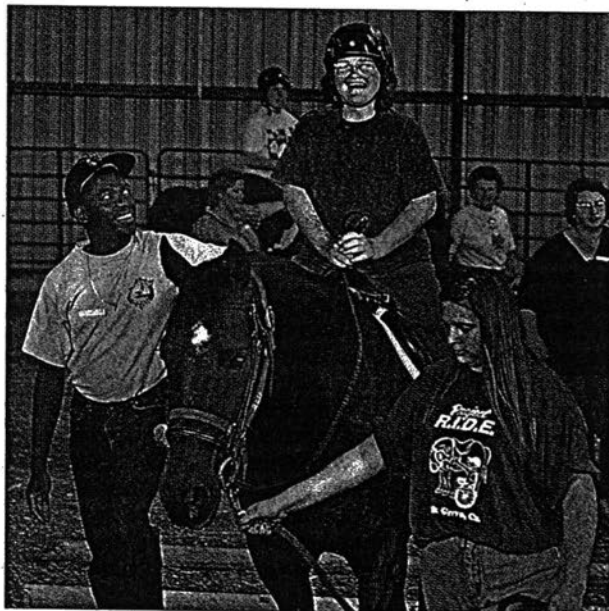
IN FOREIGN POLICY, "INTERVENTION" MEANS USING AMERICAN power to fix problems abroad. Now the word means the same thing at home in the struggle to break disastrous social pathologies. The hot idea in the foundation world is to make the interventions "comprehensive"—to attack interconnected problems of substance abuse, poor housing, single parenthood all at once. But trying to do everything can be a recipe for doing nothing. The important idea is that the interventions must be intense, with everyday contact and follow-through. That means a heavy investment upfront in order to save big money later on jail, welfare and medical costs.

The best interventions essentially re-create a sense of family. In New York, some of the city's poorest teenagers—half of them once homeless—gather in small, after-school arts workshops or other youth programs where they bond and work on personal goals. "There's no secret beyond caring adults who will stick with people over the long run," says David Saltzman of the Robin Hood Foundation, which is funding the successful expansion of this so-called Carrera/Dempsey model. "The key is finding adults who will give the kids what your parents gave you: love, discipline, attention, the ability to fail and still be cared about." After five years, the percentage of kids in the program who get pregnant, drop out, abuse drugs or commit crimes is a tiny fraction of that of others who are disadvantaged.

Finding idealistic young adults willing to make the intensive commitment to at-risk kids is difficult.

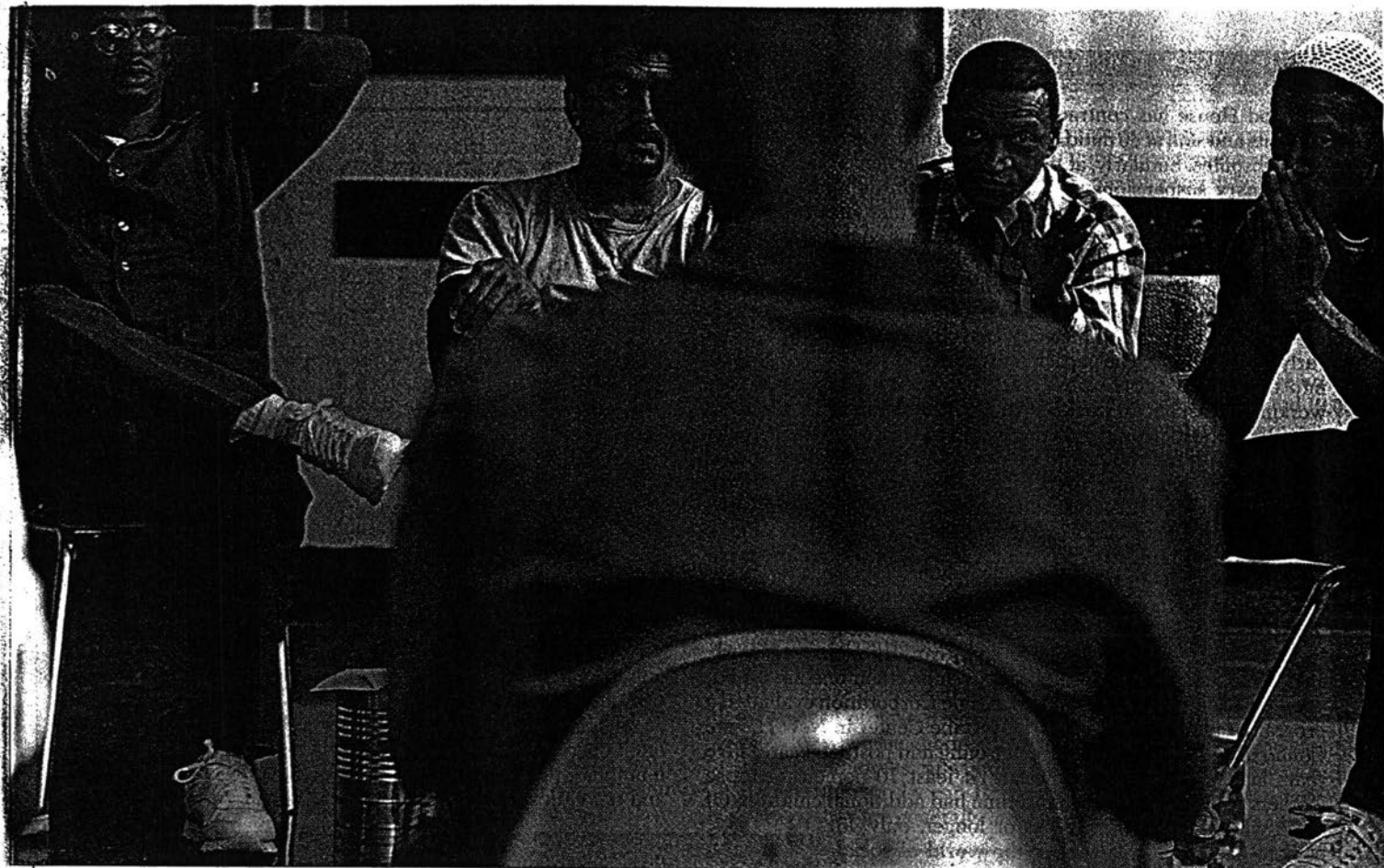
AmeriCorps, the Clinton administration's new national-service program, is showing some success in attracting the truly committed to grass-roots programs. At a Kentucky tutoring program called SLICE, AmeriCorps volunteers have helped increase reading comprehension 116 percent in about six months. The key is predictability and perseverance. AmeriCorps workers spend 30 minutes with each kid each day, and pay weekly home visits to get parents involved. "This is not rocket science," says director Michael Houston. "If you have someone there telling them every day 'I know you can do this'—then eventually it happens."

This logic applies to drug addicts, too. The most workable therapy—nearly everyone agrees in theory (though not at budget time)—is more drug treatment in jail. Stay 'n Out is a program based in Staten Island, N.Y., that serves as the model for 22 states. Its secret is a captive audience; participants don't have any choice



JAMES D. WILSON—NEWSWEEK

Project R.I.D.E.: Helping the mentally handicapped in Elk Grove, Calif., by teaching them how to ride horseback



Stay 'n Out: This drug-treatment program in a Staten Island, N.Y., prison has a captive audience, which improves the chances for success

about showing up for therapy. It's be there—or you're off to a meaner cellblock. The recidivism rate for enrollees is only 25 percent, which is much lower than average.

Garden-variety voluntary drug-treatment programs don't generally work well for addicts themselves; kicking the habit is tough. But almost any legitimate substance-abuse program *does* work for taxpayers. The most comprehensive study to date, conducted last year for the California Department of Alcohol and Drug Programs, shows that for every dollar spent on treatment for drug and alcohol abuse, California saves \$7, mostly in criminal-justice and health-care costs. Emergency-room admissions, for instance, dropped by one third for those who received treatment. Their drug problems didn't go away, but the abuse was less acute, which saved serious money.

The big savings come in keeping people out of jail. Again, the secret is intensity. Baltimore's Choice Program has caseworkers checking in with juvenile delinquents as often as five times a day. The residential programs for ex-cons that work, like San Francisco's Delancey Street Foundation, combine tough-love therapy with cultural enrichment (including opera) and work experience in foundation-run businesses. The residents are constantly supervised and challenged.

Not surprisingly, intensive intervention is also the answer in job training for the hard-core unemployed. The jobs programs that invariably fail—and they are legion—are those that lack discipline and follow-up. The secret of success for STRIVE, a mostly privately funded New York model now used in four cities, is that after tough orientation sessions, program officers stay in touch long after the trainees find work. For the first month on the job, trainees receive daily telephone checks. Then they have someone to talk to for years after they find—and usually lose—that first job. This is critical; most hard-to-employ people have no one to call when things go badly. No intervention works without follow-through.

Build a sense of character

WE ALL KNOW THAT MILLIONS OF AMERICAN KIDS are growing up without a moral compass. But they can be instructed at school in the basics of good character. And when they learn those, discipline, effort and good grades tend to follow.

In 1989, The Allen Classical Traditional Academy (formerly The Allen School) ranked fifth from the bottom in academic achievement among Dayton, Ohio, elementary schools. With 78 percent of its students in families that receive welfare, familiar behavior problems spilled over into school. By 1993, Allen was second from the top. It requires that each week, homeroom teachers introduce a new character trait ("responsibility," "kindness," "punctuality," "citizenship") and discuss it for five minutes. Throughout the day, teachers try to work the trait into lessons. If the "word of the week" is "honesty," the math teacher might give a student wrong change from a dollar and see how he reacts. The rest of Dayton is now also moving to "character education." Nationally, a much larger character-building program, Stop, Think, Act, Review (STAR), is now being tried with thousands of students.

Some of the most effective character education comes from peers. In Philadelphia, a local nonprofit called the Good Shepherd Neigh-

borhood House has contracted with the school district to teach students and staff at 60 middle schools and high schools how to help settle disputes. Similarly, at the Stoddard Fleisher Middle School, disciplinary suspensions dropped by two thirds after the peer-mediation program began. And the hope is that after learning to keep peace, students can take some of the same cool-down skills to settle fights in the streets.

As responsible parents know, character-building works best when it starts young. Alternatives for Girls, a teen-pregnancy prevention program in inner-city Detroit, reaches out to girls as early as the age of 5. The participants, mostly 12 to 14, are organized into tightly knit "girls clubs," each of which has one volunteer working at least once a week with only three or four girls. The adult volunteers must pledge to participate for at least one year. "It's the closeness with the volunteers we're after. It's about building self-esteem so they won't have to seek it from a boy, or by having a baby," says Amy Good, AFG's executive director. In education, "self-esteem" is an empty buzzword that often gets in the way of high standards; in fighting teen pregnancy, self-esteem—or, more accurately, self-respect—is the character trait that means everything.

Discouraging those who are already single mothers from having more children is another pressing goal. Experience suggests that teenage single mothers with one child can, through hard work, achieve self-sufficiency, but those with more than one are all but doomed to a life of poverty. The Carnegie Corporation evaluated a program it funded at the Polly T. McCabe Center in New Haven, Conn., that offered education, counseling and postnatal care. Five years later, the effects were clear. At least 70 percent of those mothers who stayed only a short time had additional children. Of those who stayed seven weeks or longer, only 45 percent had more children. In the world of social services, that is a major success.

Obviously, the best character-building takes place at home. Parents as Teachers (PAT), begun in Missouri and now at work in 42 states, sends "parent educators" to visit families expecting children and instructs them how to be "their child's first teacher." Evaluations show that PAT children score well above the national norm. More informally, the National Institute for Responsible Fatherhood, in Cleveland, trains hundreds of volunteers to counsel young fathers wherever they find them—from home to the basketball court.

Perhaps the best way to build character is through service itself. It turns out that helping others is therapeutic, as anyone familiar with 12-step programs can attest. While pulling someone else up, you pity yourself less—and get better faster. In many programs, participants find that becoming counselors and trainers is their best route out of poverty.

Service is an effective character-building tool within the middle class as well. One of the more extensively evaluated teen-pregnancy programs, Teen Outreach, sponsored by the Association of Junior Leagues, places 1,500 middle- and high-school girls and boys in volunteer programs such as helping the handicapped. Participants have pregnancy rates a third lower than their peers. About 200 public and private schools around the country now make community service a condition of graduation, and Maryland has become the first state to do so.

LARA JO REGAN—SABA

Delancey Street: Ex-cons in San Francisco residential program run a restaurant, other businesses. 'Far and away the most successful program I'm aware of,' says Judge Lawrence Kay.

Bust the Kafkaesque bureaucracy

BUREAUCRATS MIGHT MEAN WELL, BUT THEY GUM UP the works. Successful nonprofit programs figure out ways to either circumvent bureaucracies altogether—or coordinate the missions of government agencies so that they work together better. Local schools can be particularly useful one-stop-shopping sites for bringing together far-flung social services under one roof. It's no longer acceptable that they are open only part of the day, part of the year, following a calendar that's a vestige of farming days.

Deep in inner-city St. Louis lies the Walbridge School, which is often open round the clock. Under a program called Caring Communities, the formal school day, featuring lots of tutoring and recreation, is from 6:30 a.m. until 6 p.m. At night Walbridge



becomes a teen center, and on weekends it sponsors slumber parties that help parents and kids communicate better. Several state-sponsored programs (to promote health and parent education; to prevent gangs and substance abuse) are provided through the school. Caseworkers are on call seven days a week. Attendance, achievement and parental involvement have all risen substantially. The key to success was getting different Missouri state departments to shrink their fiefdoms and coordinate.

Computer technology can be of great help in simplifying bureaucratic headaches. The Texas Employment Commission now has 44 easy-to-use kiosks around the state that print out hundreds of job openings. The kiosks are already being tapped an average of 60,000 times a month. Seattle is among those cities assigning voice mailboxes to unemployed and homeless people who can't afford phones so that they can remain in touch with the world from pay phones. This is simple but essential: much of the problem with connecting needy people to social services is that they don't have an address or phone number where they can be reached.

Community groups often have the opposite problem—they don't know whom to call in the Kafkaesque bureaucracies as they try to obtain corporate and foundation funding, construction permits and other necessities. But some help has arrived. The Local Initiatives Support Corporation (LISC) is an example of the non-profit "intermediaries" now necessary to negotiate the unbelievably tangled world that faces community groups. Activists are learning that they need some Yuppies from places like LISC to finesse city hall and persuade the suits to invest in their projects. The result has been far less antagonism between community groups and banks and other authorities than in the past.

In fact, in many areas they are surprisingly cooperative. Fueled by tax credits for business, community-development corporations have been surprisingly successful in recent years in building good, low-density, affordable housing for the poor. LISC has raised \$1.7 billion from the private sector in the last 15 years and helped build or rehab 57,000 homes. That includes the notorious rubble on Charlotte Street in the South Bronx that both Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan, campaigning for the presidency, used as symbols of urban devastation. (The area was also featured in the movie "Fort Apache, the Bronx.") For years, the skeptics said the Bronx would come back about the same time as Elvis. They were wrong. In the past 10 years, more than 50 abandoned buildings and 19,000 apartments have been rehabbed, and home buyers are moving back in. Most have some stake in their new housing—an essential ingredient in keeping it in good shape.

Funding social projects can be good business. Of the hundreds of lenders that collapsed during the savings and loan fiasco of the 1980s, not one failed because of bad loans to the inner city. The Bank of America, among others, is now on record saying that it can make money in poor areas, and it opposes GOP efforts to repeal the law that requires lenders to invest money where their depositors live. Because bureaucracies are so inept at building and operating public housing, the private market is really the only option.

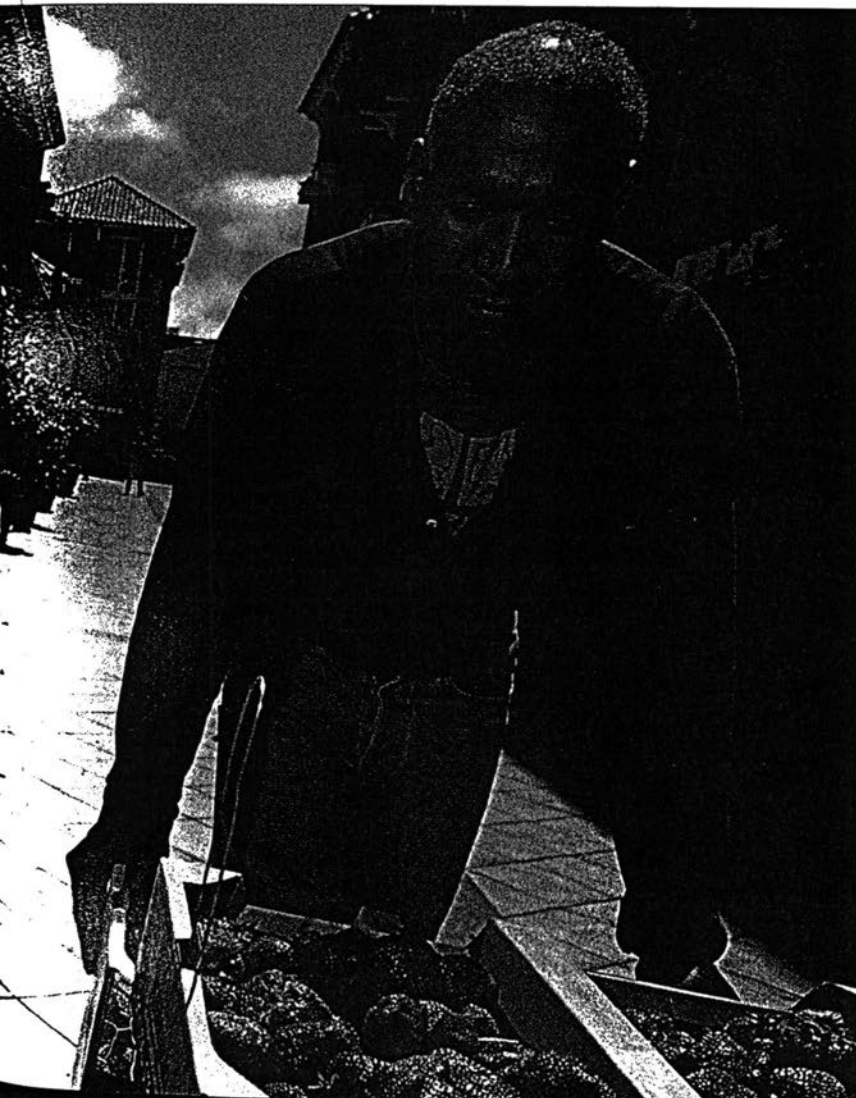
While far from meeting the need, businesses are developing more of a sense of civic responsibility. Their projects may be as big as reviving whole neighborhoods or as small as hiring a few buses so that retired employees can volunteer in inner-city schools they wouldn't dare venture to by car. Corporate efforts not only save taxpayer money; they are generally less bureaucratic.

Set high standards

WHY DO PRIVATE AND RELIGIOUS schools so often work better than public schools? They waste less time and money on paper-shuffling, don't require mindless teaching credentials and make it easier to fire bad administrators and teachers. Most important, private schools have frequently been more successful at developing a sense of community. They set high expectations, then hold schools and teachers accountable for meeting them.

While some public schools have long met this standard for performance, it's beginning to happen in the most unexpected places. "If you expect a kid to be a thug, he'll never disappoint you," says Seymour Fliegel, a public-school administrator and author of "Miracle in East Harlem," which documents an astonishing turnaround in one of New York's toughest school districts. The best way to implement high expectations is to let principals and teachers run their own schools with minimal interference from the central office. And the best way to keep that sense of community is to keep schools small. "I've never seen a large private school," Fliegel cracks. "The rich people must know something."

According to Deborah Meier, architect of the



east Harlem experiment, small schools work because they allow more access for parents, stay manageable and thus safer, and—most crucial—let teachers know their students over time. Other innovative, though less tested, ideas include “charter schools” (actually run by nonprofits) and public-school choice—an idea that keeps schools competitive and accountable.

On small schools, the evidence is in. Studies in Chicago and New Jersey both concluded that after the proportion of low-income students, the most important variable in student achievement is the size of the school. Suspensions and college admission also correlated to school size. By “small,” proponents mean no more than 350 students in elementary schools and 500 in secondary schools. These schools don’t require separate buildings. In east Harlem, 20 buildings were split into 51 schools. When small schools fail, they simply close them and try a different model.

But even when the schools are larger, expectations are what count. Inspired by Jaime Escalante and the movie “Stand and Deliver,” Newman Smith High School in Carrollton, Texas, decided to improve student performance in advanced math. The secret was identifying talented but underachieving students (especially blacks and women), letting them know they were *expected* to do advanced work, then using school spirit to make it cool to participate. The results speak for themselves. In 1987, 17 Newman Smith High School students received a passing score of 3 or better out of 5 on the Advanced Placement Calculus Exam that tests college-level ability. Last year, 90 did, and this year, all signs are that more than 120 will. In 1994, more than 10 percent of all African-American students in Texas who passed the AP Calculus exam were from this one high school.



The Phoenix Group: Members of the Minneapolis project at work in the group's New Endeavors Upholstery Shop

ROBERT MAASS FOR NEWSWEEK

Get the community involved

IN 1989, CHATTANOOGA, TENN., WAS LABELED THE “DIRTIEST city in the country.” Now it’s one of the cleanest, with everything from redesigned schools to a new riverfront and aquarium. Thousands of new jobs have been created and the city’s spirits are generally high. The secret of Chattanooga Venture was public engagement. More than 1,700 people attended public meetings, where they boiled down hundreds of ideas to 40 goals for the community. And civic-minded Chattanooga residents then began systematically meeting those goals. If the plan had been imposed from on high instead of arrived at democratically, it would have failed.

Similar citywide revitalization projects are underway in Kansas City, Indianapolis and Cleveland, among others. Harnessing community energy isn’t easy, but it’s the only answer to large-scale

challenges. Citizens meet across racial lines, not to shout at each other, but to deliberate in the finest town-hall tradition. As one participant in a long civic meeting in New Jersey said recently: “It sure beats TV.”

Actually, TV can help. The Miami Coalition for a Safe and Drug-Free Community, founded in 1988, decided that one prong of its attack on Miami’s problems would be the media. With the aid of the Partnership for a Drug-Free America, the coalition blanketed Miami with a huge ad buy in 1993. The aim was to tell viewers about the new substance-

abuse programs available to them. The effort apparently paid off. Drug use in the area declined at nearly three times the national rate, at least partly because of the coalition’s efforts.

Often the community talk begins casually. In 1989, seven African-American fathers fed up with drugs in their neighborhood met in a church basement in Omaha, Neb., and founded MAD DADS. The group patrols streets after midnight either to chase drug dealers away from the neighborhood or—preferably—to befriend them and help them out of trouble. It’s now widely imitated.

Community policing is hot now, but it doesn’t work if it just means cops walking around acting friendlier. They must give the community a direct role. Under Ft. Worth, Texas’s Citizens on Patrol program, more than 1,000 civilians have taken a 12-hour law-enforcement course, then volunteered as auxiliary police. In 1986, Ft. Worth was first on the FBI’s list of the most crime-ridden cities. Last year it was 12th, with crime down 50 percent, though the connection to community policing is hard to measure.

If citizens need a stake in their police departments, police need a stake in their communities. It helps if police officers live in the neighborhoods they patrol. Columbia, S.C., has responded by offering police officers low-interest loans, without down payments, to buy and rehab inner-city houses. This allows the officers to live and work in the same community.

Such human infrastructure is as essential in reclaiming neighborhoods as sewers, roads and other physical infrastructure. That’s why affordable housing works best when it takes advantage of diverse perspectives and mixed incomes. Once one of Boston’s roughest housing projects, Harbor Point (formerly Columbia Point) is now home to 300 low-income families—plus 1,430 middle-class and upper-middle-class neighbors living in luxury apartments. The project works because of community control. When Harbor Point was rebuilt in 1983, tenants had a say in every step of the transformation. They agreed to eject troublemakers unwilling to abide by their rules. A resident task force still controls 50 percent of all management decisions. Longtime low-income residents first resented the intrusion of wealth, but now mostly feel fortunate to live there.

In an exhaustive series this year on civic renewal, The Dallas Morning News identified the key elements of public engagement: work together with others you don’t know, don’t like or don’t agree with; focus on problems in common, not issues dividing you; be inclusive; set ground rules (for instance, no personal attacks); set specific attainable goals; celebrate victories; make use of modern technology to get the word out. And most important: be patient.

Maybe these old community traditions can yet be America’s new political life. As David Mathews, a former secretary of health, education and welfare who now heads the Dayton, Ohio-based Kettering Foundation, says: “To talk fear is to create fear; to talk hope is to create hope. You know that old expression ‘Talk don’t pick no cotton’? Well, this kind of talk *does* pick cotton, even if it’s tomorrow, not this second.”

The harvest beckons.

How to Help

Worthy ways to get involved

STRIVE

New York City; 212-360-1100
Trains young adults for entry-level jobs; heavy follow-up.

FOCUS: HOPE

Detroit; 313-494-5500
Offers the disadvantaged training in everything from machinery skills to high-tech engineering.

JOBS FOR YOUTH

Chicago; 312-782-2086
Tough-love job training.

DELANCEY STREET

San Francisco; 415-957-9800
Residential program for ex-cons; eases them back into life with school, rehab and jobs.

ALTERNATIVES FOR GIRLS

Detroit; 313-496-0938
Fights teen pregnancy by forming girls' clubs based on building self-respect from kindergarten up.

INST. FOR RESPONSIBLE

FATHERHOOD
Washington, D.C.; 202-789-6376
Reaches out to young single fathers, teaching parenting and responsibility skills.

MOM'S PROJECT

Boston; 617-638-5160
Female ex-addicts help pregnant women fight drug abuse.

ONE CHURCH—ONE ADDICT

Washington, D.C.; 800-942-2771
Teaches churches how to run drug and alcohol rehab programs.

MAD DADS

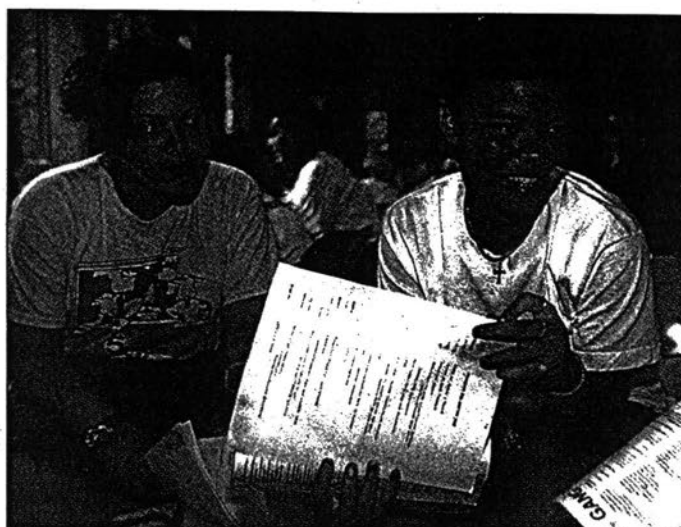
Omaha, Neb.; 402-451-3500
Area fathers patrol drug markets to report dealers. Volunteers serve as positive role models.

PHILAPRIDE INC.

Philadelphia; 215-575-2210
Helps communities prevent illegal dumping and clean up existing environmental hazards.

MASTER WOODLAND MANAGER

Ames, Iowa; 515-294-4465
Teaches landowners how to protect forests.



ROBERT MAASS FOR NEWSWEEK

'Alternatives for Girls': At a weekend retreat outside Detroit

'I HAVE A DREAM' FOUNDATION
New York City; 212-293-5480
College-tuition help promised for poor kids who manage to graduate from high school.

COURT APPOINTED SPECIAL ADVOCATES

Seattle; 206-328-8588
Volunteers investigate child-abuse cases to relieve burden on overworked bureaucrats.

ROBIN HOOD FOUNDATION

New York City; 212-227-6601
Provides seed money for street-level charitable entrepreneurs.

LOCAL INITIATIVES

SUPPORT CORP.
New York City; 212-455-9800
Cuts through red tape that blocks affordable housing developments.

ALLIANCE FOR NATIONAL RENEWAL

Denver; 303-571-4343
Links grass-roots activists to share ideas and approaches.

SUCCESS BY 6

Minneapolis; 612-340-7628 or, to volunteer: 612-340-7596

Focuses on early-childhood issues and education.

CENTER FOR COLLABORATIVE EDUCATION

New York City; 212-348-7821
Advocates small schools, choice.

BUILDING CHARACTER

SCHOOL-WIDE
Dayton, Ohio; 513-224-7364
Classroom 'character education.'

GOOD SHEPHERD HOUSE

Philadelphia; 215-843-5413
Educates kids about how to resolve conflicts without violence.

TEACH FOR AMERICA

New York City; 212-425-9039
Recruits recent college grads to spend two years teaching in understaffed public schools.

STAR PROGRAM

Pasadena, Calif.; 818-792-8130
'Stop, Think, Act, Review': a school primer on personal responsibility.

CARING COMMUNITIES

St. Louis; 314-231-3720
Helps schools function as round-the-clock community centers.

THE CHOICE PROGRAM

Baltimore; 410-455-2494
Offers juvenile offenders daily supervision and home drop-by visits.

PARENTS AS TEACHERS

St. Louis; 314-432-4330
Visits homes to promote parental involvement with kids' education.

CHATTANOOGA VENTURE

Chattanooga, Tenn.; 615-267-8687
Organizes festivals and rallies the community behind major renewal projects.

DALLAS AREA INTERFAITH

Dallas; 214-351-6595
Brings together churches to set up things ranging from job training to after-school programs.

NEW COMMUNITY CORP.

Newark, N.J.; 201-623-2800
Offers job training, housing. Encourages business development.

CALIFORNIA HUMAN DEVELOPMENT CORP.

Woodland, Calif.; 916-668-5160
Operates local Head Start, family-literacy and bilingual child-abuse-prevention programs.

NATIONAL RETIREE VOLUNTEER COALITION

Minneapolis; 612-341-2689
Helps corporations establish programs to channel retirees into useful charitable work.

WHO CARES MAGAZINE

Washington, D.C.; 202-628-1691, info@whocares.org
Provides info on community activist groups founded by young people.

PLUGGED IN

East Palo Alto, Calif.; 800-225-7584, info@pluggedin.org
Introduces disadvantaged kids to computers.

LEAP

New Haven, Conn.; 203-773-0770
College students operate a summer camp for inner-city kids—in the inner city.

CITY YEAR

Boston; 617-350-0700
One-year intensive community service for ages 17 to 23.

DANTE CHINNI

Everyday Heroes

A Tribute to Americans Who Care

THERE ARE THOUSANDS OF THEM, tireless men, women—and teenagers, too—who are quietly making a difference in communities across the country. In an age when cynicism is rampant and social problems seem permanent, those who dare to find

solutions deserve recognition, because even small successes can inspire more. NEWSWEEK canvassed grass-roots projects, outreach programs, hospitals and shelters for the homeless, searching for extraordinary individuals and ideas that work. We selected nine of them to receive our American Achievement Awards, and honored them in a ceremony at the Kennedy Center in Washington, D.C., to be broadcast on CBS this Friday evening.

The winners are a diverse bunch—doctors, social workers, a single mother, a basketball great and energetic high-school students. But each recognized a need, and found an innovative way to meet it.

As we were assembling our list, a bomb blast ripped through the Oklahoma City federal building,

killing 166 people. The unprecedented rescue effort mounted in its wake brought out hundreds more everyday heroes. Their selflessness, and bravery, helped lift the nation's spirits at a time of grief and terror. They receive special recognition here.

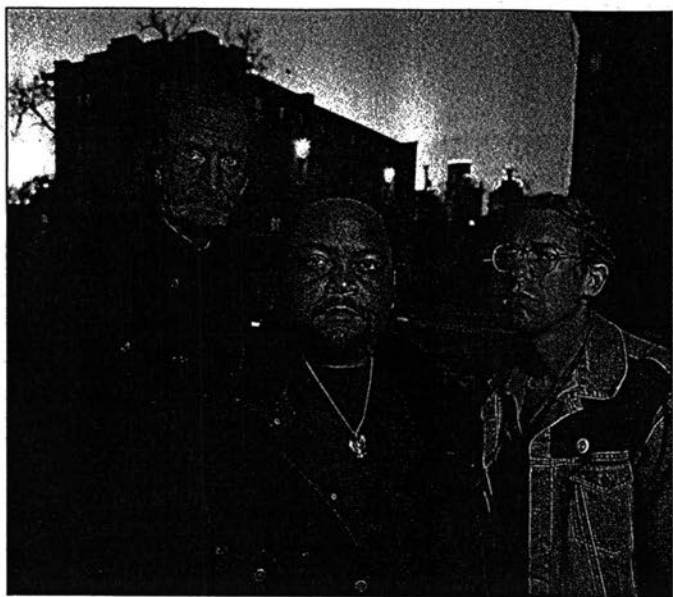
More Heart Than Hate in the Heartland

THE RESCUERS OF OKLAHOMA CITY

THEY CAME WITH STRETCHERS, PICKAXES, SENSITIVE LISTENING devices and trained rescue dogs. They came from down the street and as far away as New York City—cops, doctors, structural engineers and firefighters from more than 50 departments. Oklahoma City officials don't even know how many hundreds of emergency workers, and ordinary citizens, rushed to the bombed-out Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building on April 19 to help search for survivors and comfort the grieving over the next grueling days. Some rescuers, in turn, don't know the identities—or the fate—of the victims they retrieved.

One local nurse, Rebecca Anderson, was hit by debris and died of her injuries. Other volunteers may be haunted for years by their memories. (One common reaction is being awakened by a "snapshot"—a mental image from the scene. "It may be a kid's rattle, or a picture on a desk," says Maj. David Bowman of the fire department's stress-debriefing team. "We tell them that's OK—just look at it and put it away.") Some devastated families "adopted" favorite rescue workers—and local Oklahomans spent countless hours tending to their needs. Together, these brave men and women reassured the nation that there is far more heart than hate in the heartland.





Rehabbing Broken Homes—And Spirits

THE PHOENIX GROUP

ARCHIE ROBERTS NEEDED SERIOUS HELP. HE WAS homeless, living on friends' couches when he was lucky and in shelters when he wasn't. Because of an "anger problem" and a cocaine habit, he hadn't held a steady job in years. He didn't know where his five children were. At the age of 40, he had nothing to show for himself except a bad back, a case of diabetes and \$68. "It was like, the end of my life," says Roberts. That's when he met The Phoenix Group.

The group was founded in 1991 by Chuck Beattie and Bret Byfield (above, left and right), two Minneapolis social workers who shared a growing anger at the way government helps—or fails to help—street people like Roberts. Throwing money at them doesn't work, Byfield and Beattie believed, at least not for long. The key is helping them find jobs, a community and a sense of purpose for themselves. Armed with a few grants from private donors and foundations as well as a healthy dose of optimism, they began buying run-down houses on Minneapolis's shabby south side and fixing them up. They not only hired and trained people like Roberts to do the construction and maintenance; they also moved the homeless workers in, so they could benefit from what they'd built. "It's the most hopeful activity I've seen in a long time," says former Minnesota Human Services commissioner Sandra Gardebring.

It didn't stop there. Phoenix now houses more than 300 tenants in 39 properties, all run by Steve Wash (center). And as its successes multiplied, the group has started other operations to employ its residents. It opened an upholstery shop, a supermarket, an art gallery—11 businesses in all, and all hiring people who couldn't get work elsewhere. Some, like the People's Garage auto shop, turn a tidy profit. Most, like the Wall Art Gallery and the Phoenix Cafe, about break even. But profits are beside the point. "I don't make a lot of money, but I feel like I'm a king," says Roberts, who earns \$290 a month as a Phoenix property manager. He also owns a Phoenix-rebuilt home and spends the summers with his kids, who visit him in Minneapolis. "Nothing can stop me."

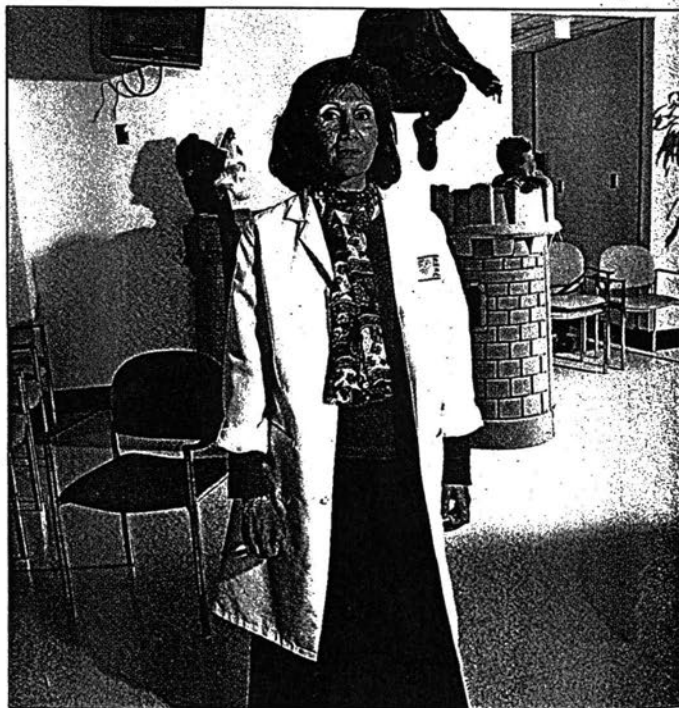
'She Makes Us Feel Wonderful'

ANITA SEPTIMUS

WHEN ANITA SEPTIMUS STARTED AS A SOCIAL worker for HIV-infected children in 1985, she did not know how emotionally draining the job would be. In her first few months she watched three of her tiny clients die—and the despair began to overwhelm her. She turned for advice to Dr. Arye Rubinstein, head of the Pediatric AIDS Center at New York's Albert Einstein College of Medicine. What was the point? How could she help these children? Rubinstein persuaded her to give it three more months, and Septimus did some soul-searching. She remembered a classmate in social-work school who complained about working in poor areas. "My teacher said, 'Well, my friend, you have not chosen a pretty profession.' Those words were ringing in my head."

That was 10 years ago. The clinic has since grown to become the Family Comprehensive AIDS Center, and Septimus now heads its social-work department. She and her staff look after more than 300 families with AIDS-infected children—going to their homes, teaching infection prevention and helping parents plan for the future. They also give their young clients a semblance of childhood, with trips to the zoo, the circus and summer camps. "She makes us feel wonderful about ourselves," says Petra Berrios, the mother of a child with AIDS who is HIV-positive herself.

That, Septimus says, is her job—helping families make the most of the lives they have. Happily, that time is expanding for some of them. One AIDS baby at the center wasn't expected to see her first birthday. Now she's 10 years old. Such "long term" clients give Septimus something in return—what she calls an "indestructible sense of hope." As she puts it, "You don't choose the day you enter the world and you don't choose the day you leave. It's what you do in between that makes all the difference."



TOP: PER BREIHAGEN, DOUGLAS LEVER



Planting Seeds, Harvesting Scholarships

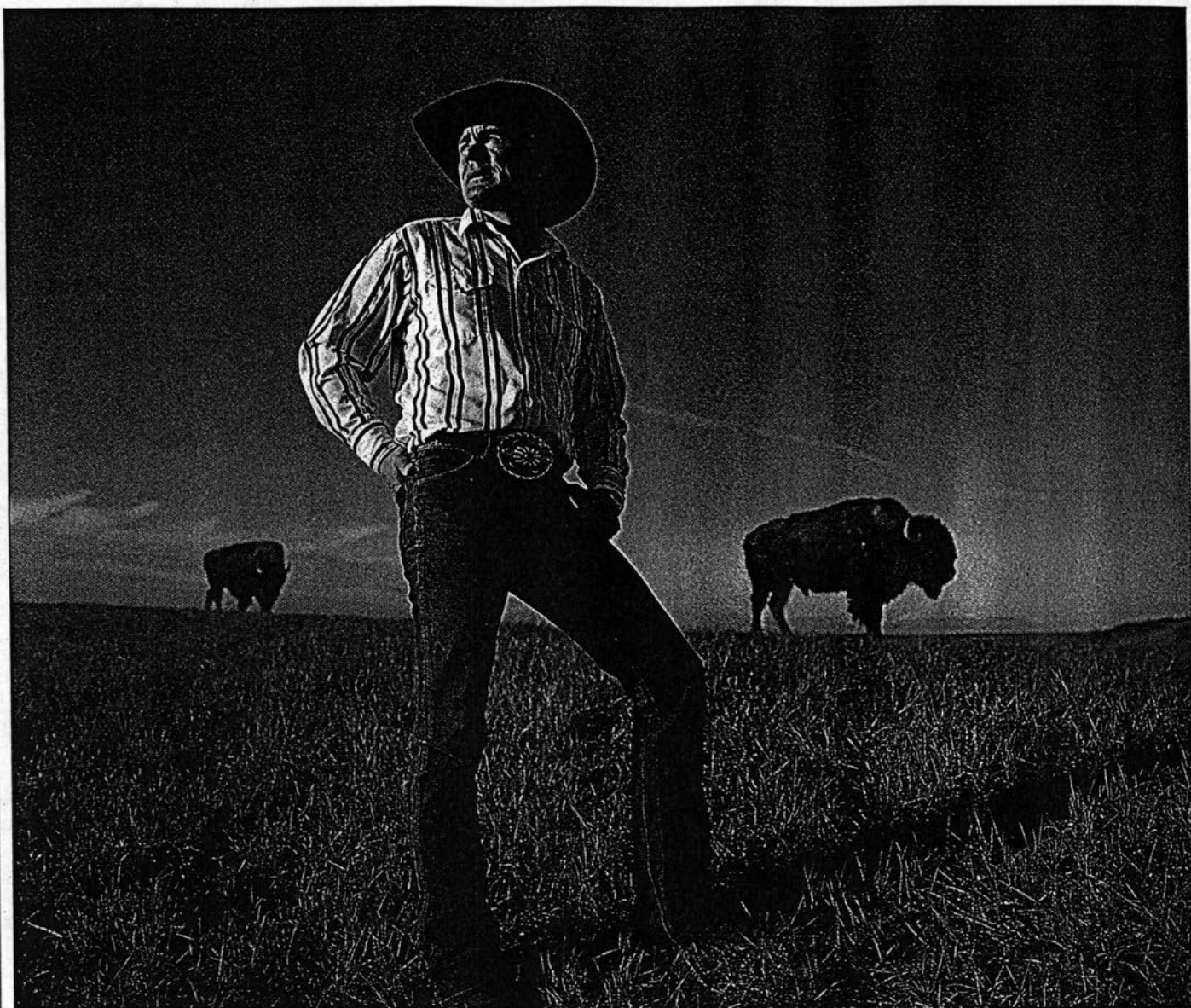
FOOD FROM THE 'HOOD

IT MAY NOT BE HISTORY'S BIGGEST VICTORY GARDEN, BUT don't underestimate the size of the victory. Shortly after the Los Angeles riots in 1992, a group of 40 students at Crenshaw High School and their energetic biology teacher decided to reclaim the weedy quarter-acre plot that had long been abandoned behind the school's football field. The goal was simple: to create a community garden that would bring life back to one of the city's most battered neighborhoods while giving the students some hands-on science experience. They planted flowers, herbs, lettuce, collard greens and other vegetables. A colorful mural soon appeared on the back wall, with a brown hand reaching toward a white one. In the middle of South-Central L.A., an oasis bloomed. The kids donated some of the produce to needy families in South-Central and sold the rest at local farmers markets. They called their project Food From the 'Hood.

And the ideas kept on sprouting. Buoyed by their success and aided by a growing roster of adult volunteers, the Crenshaw students decided to diversify. They had the herbs, they had the lettuce—what could be a better accompaniment than salad dressing? The Food From the 'Hood members created their own recipe and designed their own label for the brand, called Straight Out 'the Garden. Local business leaders helped with the marketing and manufacturing, and now the dressing is sold, for \$2.59 a bottle, in more than 2,000 stores in 23 states. The burgeoning enterprise has

catapulted the student farmers into student owners; they expect to earn \$50,000 in profits this year, which will go toward funding college scholarships. Ten of the 15 seniors in Food From the 'Hood have been accepted at four-year colleges—a remarkable record for an inner-city public school. "When a kid gets an acceptance letter to college, that's our immediate payoff," says Melinda McMullen, a marketing consultant who worked with teacher Tammy Bird to steer the kids toward produce and profits.

Even more important than the money is the sense of accomplishment that has grown out of Food From the 'Hood. "We showed that a group of inner-city kids can and did make a difference," says freshman Terie Smith, 15. The students run all aspects of the business—from weeding and harvesting to public relations and computer logs. They've received inquiries from across the country about duplicating their business plan, and they may franchise their logo to a group of New York kids who hope to sell applesauce. Food From the 'Hood members also have set up a mentor system and an SAT preparatory program. "We all try to help each other in everything," says Jaynell Grayson, 17, who will attend Babson College on scholarship next year. Grayson doesn't know who her father is; her mother has been incarcerated most of her life. Food From the 'Hood has been a substitute family for her. "What comes from that garden is inspiration," says McMullen. "From anything—even the riots—amazing things can grow."



Bringing Back the Buffalo

FRED DuBRAY

THEY ROAMED THE GREAT PLAINS 70 MILLION STRONG before the white man, and they are still sacred to the Lakota Sioux. Like many Plains tribes, the Lakota used the bison for food, clothing, shelter and spiritual sustenance—and as they dwindled, so did the tribe's livelihood. On the Cheyenne River Sioux reservation in South Dakota, Fred DuBray learned about the buffalo from his grandmother, who was born three years after Wounded Knee. Now 102, she told him the Lakotas believed the buffalo saved mankind. "They felt sorry for us and offered themselves so we could have life," DuBray says.

Now 44 and president of the InterTribal Bison Cooperative, DuBray is betting heavily that the buffalo will save the Plains

Indians once again—as a symbol of tradition, and as a source of income. Like other Plains tribes, the Lakota suffer from high unemployment and a lack of opportunity. "I looked at everything—our geographical isolation, the cost of shipping, the cost of setting up an artificial economy," DuBray said. "I studied all the failures."

Everything pointed to the buffalo as the tribe's salvation—and in 1991 DuBray came up with the idea of raising bison, partly as a cash crop but mainly as a way to return to traditional Lakota spiritual practices. No longer an endangered species, buffalo have less fat than beef and less cholesterol than chicken; they're hardy and relatively easy to raise. At DuBray's urging, the Cheyenne River Sioux formed a nonprofit corporation, Pte Hcaka Inc., to expand their herd. Nineteen other tribes joined a cooperative that now oversees some 6,000 bison, up from 1,500 four years ago.

The co-op's latest idea is saving buffalo that wander out of Yellowstone National Park, many of which are slaughtered as suspected carriers of brucellosis, a disease that can afflict cattle. "Buffalo can bring our people together," DuBray says. "Now it's our turn to take care of them."

These profiles were written and reported by Dante Chinni, Marc Peyser, John Leland, Annetta Miller, Tom Morganthau, Peter Annin and Pat Wingert.

ROBBIE McLARAN

Enabling the Disabled to Work

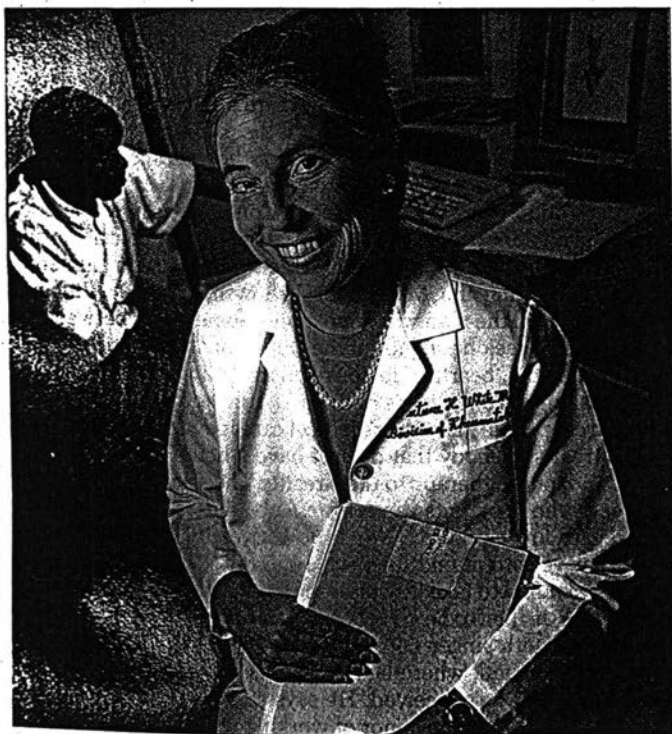
DR. PATIENCE WHITE

WITHOUT DR. PATIENCE WHITE, LORENZO STEWART might have never been able to make a life for himself. At 15, Lorenzo (photo, in background) was shot twice in the back by a person he never saw. He was left paralyzed from the waist down.

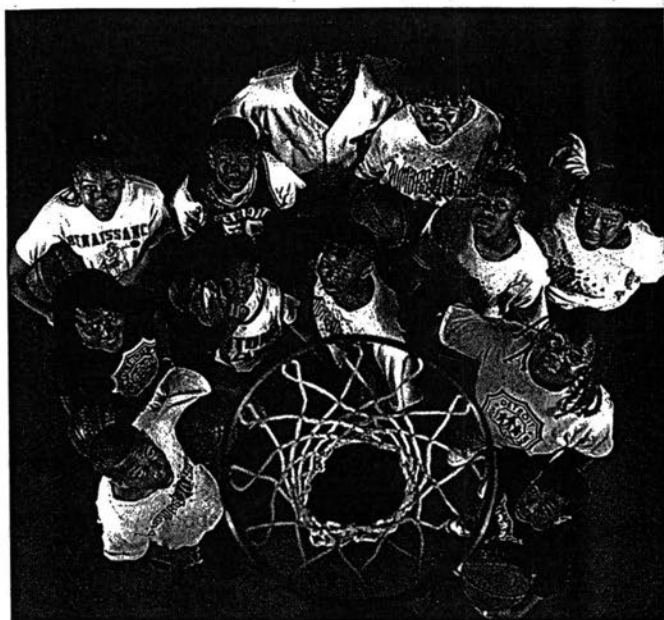
As a rheumatologist working with disabled people in Washington, D.C., White has seen a lot of patients like Lorenzo. The older ones, she noticed, got their treatment and then got on with their lives; the younger ones tended not to make that second step. She decided to do something about it. In 1985 she opened the Adolescent Employment Readiness Center in D.C., to prepare teens with physical disabilities and chronic illnesses for the working world. "Work is incredibly important in our society," she says. "A lot of self-worth is defined that way. But kids with disabilities are constantly being told, 'You're different. You can't do that.'"

White set out to prove they could. Her Readiness Center, located in the Children's National Medical Center, has given some 500 teens career counseling and even job opportunities. They are pushed not toward "supportive employment" but "competitive employment," just like anyone else. "These kids have tremendous resilience," says White. "They want to do great things. The best thing we can do for their health is to get them involved."

Lorenzo Stewart entered the program after being hospitalized for four months, and later landed a job at an investment group. Still confined to a wheelchair, he recently switched to part-time work so he could attend college, where he's taking computer courses. He is a special worker, but not because of his disability. "We think of Lorenzo as one of our top employees," says his boss. He has his own resilience, and the strength of Dr. White, to thank for that.



FROM TOP: DAVID WALBERG FOR NEWSWEEK, KATHERINE LAMBERT



Hoop Dreams and Bicycle Rims

JOE DUMARS

EVEN CELEBRITIES SOMETIMES QUIETLY GIVE C themselves behind the scenes. In Joe Dumars's life, basketball and community responsibility came together early on. The Detroit Pistons' guard grew up in Natchitoches, La., the youngest of seven children. One day his father, a truckdriver, cut an old door in half, nailed a bicycle rim to it, and transformed the neighborhood. "We had the biggest yard, basketball hoop, and it was just a magnet for all the kids in the area," he remembers. "It was always crowded, but everyone was made to feel welcome. My mother, Ophelia, made sure of that."

Dumars (above, top, center) made his rep on one of the brash teams ever to wear NBA uniforms, and he made it as a gentleman. When *Sport* magazine named the NBA's "classiest" players, Dumars swept the voting. But he says he'd rather be known for his work off the court, particularly with young people of Detroit. Since 1993 he has hosted the Joe Dumars Celebrity Tennis Classic, raising more than \$200,000 for Detroit's Children's Hospital, and he's active in Second Harvest, which collects food for the inner city. In 1994 he won basketball's J. Walter Kennedy Citizenship Award for community service. This summer he'll host a basketball camp for disadvantaged and disabled kids at his for-profit Joe Dumars's Fieldhouse.

But according to former Piston Dave Bing, Dumars's contributions go beyond what the public has seen. "He's done things in a very quiet, unassuming way. And because he's such an important part of our community, we're not going to let him do that anymore. He just happens to be one of these young black athletes who has been thrust into a role-model position, and he has done it well. He may embarrass him, but it's something he'll have to deal with."

In a 1991 interview, shortly after his father died, Dumars described himself as "square" and "straitlaced." He said it without apology; in his household, these were all you could aspire to. "Growing up," he says, "the only thing we knew was giving and sharing with others." He learned his lessons well.

The Scourge of Deadbeat Dads

SUSAN BROTCHE

SHE WAS FOUR MONTHS PREGNANT WHEN THE FATHER of her unborn child first walked out on her in 1982. That was just the beginning of Susan Broatchie's problems. The man refused to provide support for her daughter, Katie, and it took nine years and countless legal battles to collect the money. Broatchie could have simply put those grueling years behind her; instead she decided to put her experience to work for others. While raising her daughter and holding a full-time job as a cost analyst, she founded Advocates for Better Child Support (ABCS), in Peabody, Mass., which has helped more than 9,000 people establish child support or collect overdue payments.

Broatchie has succeeded where others have failed by working within the system. She collaborated with Massachusetts Rep. Peter Torkildsen on a proposal to allow officials to pursue delinquent parents across state lines. That became the basis for the so-called "deadbeat-dads amendment" to the House Republican welfare-reform bill; it passed with unanimous support in March. Broatchie has also found novel ways to collect back child support. When she heard that a group of prisoners won \$2.3 million from the state because of crowded conditions, she checked the list of recipients and discovered 84 deadbeat dads among them. She persuaded officials to seize \$300,000 of that money as back child support instead.

Broatchie's group has now opened offices in 11 states, all funded by grants and all run entirely by volunteers. "She's a force to be reckoned with," says Massachusetts Revenue Commissioner Mitchell Adams. Broatchie, who lives in Peabody with Katie, now 13, plans to expand her fight for kids nationwide, possibly by running for the state legislature. "I'm trying to prevent other women from having the same experience I did," she says.



Making House Calls to the Homeless

DR. PEDRO JOSE GREER

HIS IS SOMETHING OF A LEGEND IN MIAMI, AND SO IS the story of how he became passionate about getting medical care to the poor. As an intern in 1984, Dr. Pedro Jose Greer treated a homeless man with tuberculosis, a usually curable disease that had progressed to a fatal stage. Greer was so appalled that someone in his own backyard would be too poor or ignorant to seek medical treatment that he began working in a shelter and soon founded a clinic there—setting up a folding table and dragging in as many fellow doctors as he could find. But there's an equally telling part of the story that isn't so well known: as the patient lay dying, Greer spent four days searching the streets for the man's family, hoping to keep him from passing his last days alone.

Greer's clinic—the Camillus Health Concern—is now one of the largest providers of medical care for the poor in south Florida, serving 4,500 patients last year. Greer, 38, has won numerous awards, including the MacArthur Fellowship in 1993. But he's never forgotten the man who died alone. Somewhere between the three-days-a-week he spends at the clinics and his thriving private practice, the tall, bearlike doctor regularly prowls Miami's underbelly, making sure the city's homeless, drug addicts, hookers and other street people know that medical care is available if they need it. "To treat somebody that doesn't have a home or a family, you have to adapt the therapy to their reality," he says.

Greer, whose parents came from Cuba, knew early on that he would care for the poor. He quit the University of Florida before his senior year to attend med school in the Dominican Republic and had planned to take his stethoscope to Africa or South America. But he's thrilled to be giving back to his hometown—he went to high school with singer Gloria Estefan and was born at Jackson Memorial Hospital, where he now works. Greer is just surprised by the attention he's received. He says: "I've had the privilege of treating the sick and the honor of working with the poor."



TOP: TOM SALYER, IRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/24/95

DBMG

July 13, 1995

Dear Mr. President:

First, as someone who volunteered for service in the Marine Corps and Vietnam (July 1967 - June 1968), I fully endorse the decision you made this week for normalization of relations with the government of Vietnam. As you indicated, it's time for those wounds to heal, and for us to move beyond that war with a policy that's in the best long-term interest of our country.

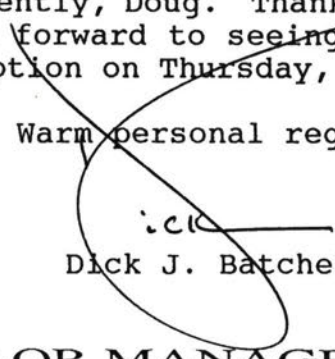
Out of respect for your time, Mr. President, I will be brief. As someone who is personally loyal to you and the First Lady, I want to play a significant role in your reelection campaign. Of course, I will work very hard with Lieutenant Governor Buddy MacKay to ensure that we can deliver Florida as well as with Terry McAuliffe in fundraising.

I have met with and begun coordinating those efforts with Craig Smith, Doug Sosnik and Karl Koch. In the area of fund raising, I am working with Terry McAuliffe and our Florida base to meet those goals. My other efforts will be to continue to write columns in support of the Administration, appearing as a panelist on a PBS broadcast, radio talk shows, as well as serving as a political analyst for the local ABC affiliate. All of this should afford me opportunities to speak in support of your agenda.

Because of the success and nature of my business I have additional time that I could devote to your campaign at the national level, but only if I can make a genuine contribution. I must say that my expertise is in the area of press relations, issues, and media strategy, but I'm prepared to give my time in any area where I can be of support. While it might be too early for such a decision, I wanted you and the First Lady to know that I am prepared to contribute substantial time and energies to what I think will be the most important election that has taken place in the last 50 years.

For your information, I have discussed these interests with Bruce, Erskine, and most recently, Doug. Thank you for your consideration and I very much look forward to seeing you and the First Lady at the Florida Day reception on Thursday, July 20, 1995.

Warm personal regards,


Dick J. Batchelor

DICK BATCHELOR MANAGEMENT GROUP, INC.

201 S. Orange Ave., Suite. 1017 • Orlando, Florida 32801 • Tel: 407-841-4311 • Fax: 407-841-4313

*Heater/Doug
Let's discuss his
agenda, talented
guy, PK*

DBMG

July 13, 1995

Dear Mr. President:

First, as someone who volunteered for service in the Marine Corps and Vietnam (July 1967 - June 1968), I fully endorse the decision you made this week for normalization of relations with the government of Vietnam. As you indicated, it's time for those wounds to heal, and for us to move beyond that war with a policy that's in the best long-term interest of our country.

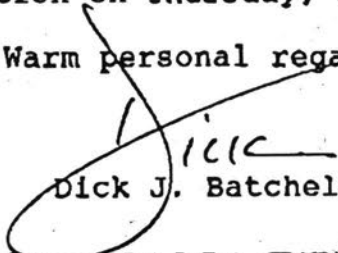
Out of respect for your time, Mr. President, I will be brief. As someone who is personally loyal to you and the First Lady, I want to play a significant role in your reelection campaign. Of course, I will work very hard with Lieutenant Governor Buddy MacKay to ensure that we can deliver Florida as well as with Terry McAuliffe in fundraising.

I have met with and begun coordinating those efforts with Craig Smith, Doug Sosnik and Karl Koch. In the area of fund raising, I am working with Terry McAuliffe and our Florida base to meet those goals. My other efforts will be to continue to write columns in support of the Administration, appearing as a panelist on a PBS broadcast, radio talk shows, as well as serving as a political analyst for the local ABC affiliate. All of this should afford me opportunities to speak in support of your agenda.

Because of the success and nature of my business I have additional time that I could devote to your campaign at the national level, but only if I can make a genuine contribution. I must say that my expertise is in the area of press relations, issues, and media strategy, but I'm prepared to give my time in any area where I can be of support. While it might be too early for such a decision, I wanted you and the First Lady to know that I am prepared to contribute substantial time and energies to what I think will be the most important election that has taken place in the last 50 years.

For your information, I have discussed these interests with Bruce, Erskine, and most recently, Doug. Thank you for your consideration and I very much look forward to seeing you and the First Lady at the Florida Day reception on Thursday, July 20, 1995.

Warm personal regards,


Dick J. Batchelor

DICK BATCHELOR MANAGEMENT GROUP, INC.
201 S. Orange Ave., Suite. 1017 • Orlando, Florida 32801 • Tel: 407-841-4311 • Fax: 407-841-4313

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/24/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 JUL 18 P2:57

JULY 18, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK

SUBJECT: SENATOR BRADLEY

Increasingly, the word out of New Jersey is that Senator Bradley will not seek re-election. There is also a rumor that Bradley has spoken with Senator Daschle about his possible retirement.

Should Bradley not retire, there is a good possibility Morris County prosecutor Mike Murphy (D) will primary Bradley. A possible Murphy candidacy is fueled by two sources: gambling interests that are angry at Bradley; and politicians within the state (many of whom are your supporters) who are disillusioned with Bradley.

If Bradley retires, Rep. Bob Torricelli will run for the open seat, and will likely be the nominee. Mike Murphy could probably be persuaded not to challenge Torricelli.

I need some guidance from you. Is this a situation that you want to just let play out by itself, or do you want me to nose around on the Bradley retirement possibility and see what way this may be going?

Handwritten notes:
A. Opening of min
B. Running of min
C. Can win + run
D. For

As you know
PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/24/95

With Rahm -

Loon-I agree PJ

Sheep may want
to know some - 19

26th 4th 1000 1/2 crew

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/24/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 14, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR LEON PANETTA

FROM: RAHM EMANUEL *RE*
BRUCE REED

SUBJECT: WELFARE REFORM

At this point it is clear that the Republicans will not be able to take up welfare reform by summer's end. When the Congress returns in September, they will be focused on the budget.

Therefore, it is imperative for us to use the end of this session to make a lasting impression on the welfare debate -- one which establishes the President as the true champion of welfare reform.

To accomplish this goal, we must organize HHS and the Department of Agriculture to wrap up all the remaining welfare waivers as soon as possible, there are approximately 20 or more, and sign all of them on one day.

At the announcement of the 20 additional waivers, the President would also lay out four principles on which any future waiver would be approved and the time frame for approval.

The headline we would strive for is, "Clinton: welfare reform has begun." This will give the President ownership of welfare reform.

To ensure this attention, the President should hold this event the day after the Congress departs for the August recess. The recess can be used to give us a jump on them for not accomplishing welfare reform, and the President through Executive action could take charge of devoting the recess period to welfare reform.

There are a number of steps that need to be put in place to make this work:

10/4

First, on the legislative front, we need you to call Senator Breaux and really push him to reach out to moderate Republicans. The goal would be to keep the moderate Republicans from making any agreement with the conservative Republicans so that the Senate will not have an agreement on welfare reform by the time of the August recess.

In addition, if and when the Senate begins discussions on welfare reform we want the moderates to be more closely aligned with the Democrats than with the Republicans.

- Second, we need a meeting with Secretary Glickman and Secretary Shalala to direct them to finish every waiver on time in order to represent the President's best interest; not their own bureaucratic timeline. *Yorcu*

Third, we need to organize Senate Democrats to attach their welfare bill to a major legislative vehicle before the August recess. This will show the Democrats trying to push welfare reform, and the Republicans as the ones who did not want it to happen. This would be a good prelude to the President's action after they leave for recess.

In addition to the President making an announcement at the end of the legislative session (the first day of the recess), on the following day he should travel to a welfare worksite on his way out to Hawaii. There are many options for areas to hold this type of event where the President reiterates his message on the welfare reform revolution. *Not bad*

Finally, it is clear that given where we are going on affirmative action, succeeding on welfare reform will be essential for the President's reelection.

I cannot stress enough the importance of agreeing to a strategy and then taking the necessary steps. By first gaining your approval and then moving the waiver process and the Senate relations along, I think we have a solid chance of reclaiming the issue of welfare reform.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/24/95

5672

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 21, 1995

95 JUL 21 P9:48

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

ANTHONY LAKE

SUBJECT:

Resettlement of Bosnians

You asked how our FY 1996 Refugee Admissions proposal would accommodate additional resettlement requirements that could arise for Bosnians. We believe we are prepared for this contingency.

Our proposal envisions resettlement of up to 15,000 Bosnians in 1996, which would be a substantial increase over the expected FY 1995 total of about 9,000. Beyond augmenting our own commitment in this area, a principal objective of this increase is to send a message about possible resettlement needs to European governments, which will have to assume the bulk of the responsibilities for resettlement of Bosnians who will not be able to return home.

Even if events dictated that we increase U.S. resettlement of Bosnians to as many as 30,000, we would have the flexibility to reallocate numbers within our worldwide ceiling of 90,000. In particular, we would probably reallocate numbers from the "unallocated reserve" category (3,000-5,000) as well as from the Indo-Chinese and Former Soviet Union programs. While this might postpone resettlement of some applicants in these programs until future years, the effect on these programs would not be dramatic.

If we wanted to implement an even more dramatic increase in Bosnian resettlement and also wanted to limit reallocations from other country programs, the Refugee Act authorizes you to initiate emergency consultations with the Congress on increasing our worldwide refugee admissions ceiling. After consulting with the Congress, you could authorize an increase in the ceiling to accommodate additional Bosnians.