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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Bruce Lindsey to POTUS re: General Counsel [partial] (1 page)	07/10/1995	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7689

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files August 1-5, 1995 [2]

2019-0774-S
rs3291

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 1, 1995

Roy L. Furman
Furman Selz Incorporated
230 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10169

Dear Roy:

Thanks for your thoughtful letter of July 26 and for sharing your perspective on the line item veto, the environment, and funding for the arts. I appreciate and agree with your suggestion that the Administration seek to more clearly highlight the differences in the positions of the parties.

Thanks for your insight and, as always, for your friendship. See you soon.

Sincerely,

Bin

I agree with you — we did
a good list on the environment
today — and I'll keep trying to
push through on this issue. I've
done a couple of arts events that
haven't broken through — we'll get
a lot but probably can't say much more.

OK HSC, A Stock
Should Furman
be invited
to a State Dinner?
He is to go
spend the night
if he hasn't —

July 26, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

Among the many issues illustrating the sharp differences between your approach and that of the Republicans, there are three which should engender strong support politically while taking what I believe would be a high moral ground:

1. **Line Item Veto:** Why not highlight the hypocrisy of the Republicans, who promoted the Line Item Veto as a central element of their program but have waffled when it came time to deliver for fear they would be providing you a valuable instrument to improve government? It seems like a win/win situation to me: Either they finally bring it out of committee and you secure the veto power, or they are made to look petty and political, everything they contend they are not. I assume the public would understand the significance of this issue if an effort were made by the Administration.
2. **Environment:** You and the Vice President have been quite forceful in this area, but, again, it would be helpful to contrast your positions with Republican willingness to eliminate so many of the gains being made in this vital area. Here again, the public and the business community should be strongly on the side of the environmentalists and against the indifference and "forward to the past" approach of the opposition.
3. **Funding for the Arts:** This is a more sensitive issue, as the Republicans have been able to portray this as a black and white issue based on a few outrageous NEA grants. The truth is that arts funding represents a minuscule portion of government spending but is crucial in setting a tone for arts givers and institutions around the country. It seems essential for the Administration to take an even stronger stand here because of the importance of the arts in our society, a position the First Lady has championed with great force. Aside from the moral probity of

this stance, it would seem that politically most key contributors in both small towns and big cities are the movers and shapers of public opinion. Given my major involvement in the arts in New York, I speak to these patrons around the country, and they are appalled by recent developments, especially the brusqueness with which the Republicans have attacked this issue and their willingness to eliminate the NEA and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting.

Your Administration seems to be in high gear, and the outlook for re-election grows continually brighter. Congratulations and good luck.

With all best wishes,

Sincerely,


Roy L. Furman

To Mac/~~cc: McCallister~~ FY-
cc: McCallister

LARRY C. WALLACE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8.2.95

Monday.

Dear Mr President,

There are many many people in Arkansas
(and across the U.S.) that will do everything
they can to assure your re-election. After
reading Don Tyson's remarks Saturday, I am
going to double my effort to help you. You
have done a wonderful job for our Country...
I am very proud of you. Call on me. Larry.



THE PRESIDENT

8/2/95

Dear Larry -

Thanks for your MBO of
support - & appreciate it
for grateful - we'll make it!

Sincerely,
Bill

Larry Wallace
425 West Capitol Avenue
Suite 3800
Little Rock, Arkansas 72203

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 AUG 3 12:18

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Terry McAuliffe

Fax Number: 496-4848

Phone Number:

FROM: Todd Stern

SUBJECT: Copy of letter from the President

DATE: 08/02/95

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 3

MESSAGE:

If all pages are not received, please call 202/456-2702

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To Mac / ~~cc: McCall~~ Fix-
cc: McCall

LARRY C. WALLACE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8 2 95

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(and across the U.S.) that will do everything
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have done a wonderful job for our Country...
I am very proud of you. Call on me. Larry.



THE PRESIDENT

8/2/95

Dear Larry -

Thanks for your MBO of
support - & appreciate it
from grateful - we'll make it!

Sincerely,
Bill

Larry Wallace
425 West Capitol Avenue
Suite 3800
Little Rock, Arkansas 72203

NORMAN LEAR

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/8/95

July 31, 1995

Dear Mr. President,

Further to my earlier fax:

Media businesses need not be castigated for the unhealthy situation that is developing as they swallow one another. The media barons are in the same trap all business leaders find themselves in today. To compete globally they believe they must gobble and expand beyond all reason; except what they believe to be the bottom line.

It is time to reconsider that bottom line philosophy, the notion that each quarterly profit statement must be greater than the preceding and that global competition demands the gobbling.

There are other values that involve and affect the human family. And they get short-shrift when one considers a future where all news information and entertainment may come to that human family via only three or four global outlets.

This country and the world needs to be warned and, at the risk of repeating, this can be done without pointing to villains. There are no villains. We have to question ourselves and you, sir, are the one to start that questioning.

Sincerely,

Norman

NL/la

(Dictated from Vermont, but not read.)

VIA FAX: 202/456-6703
President Bill Clinton
The White House

To Dorskind
ORIGINAL to
Jim

131
need reply
- send letter
we haven't
Be
Re

NORMAN LEAR

June 28, 1995

Dear Mr. President,

As the Congress begins to dismantle all regulation over television, cable and the new technologies, I find myself thinking about Dwight Eisenhower's warning to the American people about the build-up of the military-industrial complex.

The world can no more afford a handful of Rupert Murdochs controlling the hardware through which every bit of news, information and entertainment will be funneled worldwide, anymore than it could afford the unholy alliance between the military and government.

Think about this, Mr. President.

With every good wish,



NL/la

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
West Wing
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

NORMAN LEAR

July 31, 1995

Dear Mr. President,

Last week the Gannett Company, which already owned 82 dailies, bought another eleven in its \$1.7 billion purchase of Multimedia. Today we learn that Disney is purchasing or merging with Capital Cities-ABC. Please consider my letter to you of June 28th, attached.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Norman".

NL/la

(Enclosure/ltr., June 28, 1995)

(Dictated from Vermont, but not read)

VIA FAX: 202/456-6424
President Bill Clinton
The White House



Pres
cc: VP

PERMANENT MAILING ADDRESS:

5555 Melrose Avenue
Hollywood, CA 90038

DELIVERY ADDRESS:

5555 Melrose Avenue
The Lewis Annex
Hollywood, CA 90038

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

TO: President Bill Clinton

FAX: 202/456-6424

FROM: NORMAN LEAR

DATE: 7/31/95

TIME: 12:00p.m.

Number of Pages, Including this Cover Sheet 3

Please call (213) 956-8585 if all pages are not received.

COMMENTS:

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ALAN K. SIMPSON
WYOMING

*Sent Jocelyn
Original*



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/8/95

United States Senator

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20510

July 25, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

We would like to take this opportunity to extend a warm Wyoming welcome to you and to your family as you make the final preparations for your trip to Wyoming next month. We feel certain this will be the best, the most interesting and the most restful and peaceful vacation you have had in a long time! If there is anything we can do to make your visit to the Cowboy State more comfortable -- please do not hesitate to ask!

These expressions of welcome and the promise of warm Western hospitality also come from folks throughout our state who will be honored to host you, the First Lady and Chelsea as you visit the stunning sights that make our state a national treasure of parks and breathtaking scenery. You will soon agree that there's no place like Wyoming! Jackson Hole and Grand Teton National Park will literally take your breath away and convince you to return.

You will especially enjoy Wyoming's bracing clean air and deep blue skies as you venture into a Western summer and winter paradise. We have low humidity, cool evenings and Wyoming's 460,000 people who are eager to show you our great state.

Welcome, Mr. President! If there is anything we can do to help facilitate your visit, please let us know. We would be pleased to assist you in any way possible.

Alan K. Simpson
U.S. Senator

Sincerely,
Craig Thomas

Craig Thomas
U.S. Senator

Barbara Cubin

Barbara Cubin
Member of Congress

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-5002

A FAX FROM

SENATOR ALAN K. SIMPSON (R-WY)

FROM:

Ted Segel

PHONE:

(202) 224-0115

DATE:

7/31/95

PLEASE DELIVER TO:

President Clinton

NUMBER OF PAGES TO FOLLOW:

1

Please call (202) 224-3424 if problems occur with this fax.



THE PRESIDENT

8/2/95

Dear Norm

Thanks for your letter,
I asked Leon Panetta to call
& set up a time for you to come
see us soon

Bill Clinton

Norman J. Ornstein
5818 Surrey Street
Chevy Chase, Maryland 20815

cc: Nancy Heinrich ✓
Billy Webster ✓
Leon Panetta ✓
Phil

Norman J. Ornstein

July 10, 1995

Dear Bill,

The crunch time is coming. September-August too - are going to be critical to the next year, with the debt limit vote, appropriations and continuing resolutions, and all the other issues like welfare reform & telecommunications piling up. How you handle the strategy here is as important as anything else going on. The key for the Republicans is how they can maneuver through their conference committees. If they deadlock there, they lose any momentum to dominate the agenda & put you on the defensive. I'd like to talk some of this through with you when you get a chance.

Norm

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts

Executive Department
State House • Boston 02133 95 AUG 2 P6:53*Staff Secy*
Pres has not
*seen it*William F. Weld
GovernorArgeo Paul Cellucci
Lt. GovernorFAX COVER SHEET

TO:

The President

AGENCY/COMPANY:

PHONE NUMBER:

FAX NUMBER:

FROM:

Governor's Office

PHONE NUMBER:

(617) 727-3600

FAX NUMBER:

(617) 727-9723

NUMBER OF PAGES _____ INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET

IF THERE IS TROUBLE WITH THIS FAX, CONTACT:

COMMENTS:

*To Dorskind for reply**cc Marcia Hale**OK? yes*
*8/2**S.**original*
to
*Dorskind**S.*



THE COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

STATE HOUSE • BOSTON 02133

(617) 727-3600

WILLIAM F. WELD
GOVERNORARGEO PAUL CELLUCCI
LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR

VIA FAX -- COPY BY SURFACE MAIL

August 2, 1995

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to follow up on our brief conversation in Vermont on Monday concerning the Commonwealth's pending welfare reform waivers and also to respond to Secretary Shalala's letter to me of July 29th.

As you pointed out in your April 11th letter to one of our mutual constituents in Lynn, Massachusetts, "Welfare should be a transitional program". I agree and for that reason feel unable to accept a reform which does not hold to that straightforward principle.

As you know, Massachusetts has always had one of the nation's strongest commitments to assisting at-risk populations. Our AFDC benefit is among the highest in America, our Medicaid investment is near the top and, on a per capita basis, we invest more in subsidized child care than any other state. We have no intention of moving back from our willingness to assist our citizens in search of self-sufficiency.

As you suggested in your remarks in Burlington, the apparent major stumbling block in the waiver negotiations has been the question of conditions under which recipients are permitted to continue in the program.

It is worth noting that under our plan, a first time mother who joins the AFDC rolls during her third trimester will be eligible for 48 to 50 months of benefits prior to the expiration of her time limit, because under our plan the 24-month clock does not begin running until the youngest child is two years of age. For an able bodied individual who is capable of work, four years on welfare ought to be enough. I suspect you agree that as policy makers we should put in place, now, a program that does call for the end of benefits at some point.

As you may or may not have been advised, during our negotiations we have agreed to a provision that will result in extensions being given to recipients in counties where extended unemployment at 10% or more makes successful job searches more challenging.

Further, we have agreed to special provisions under which extensions can be given where recipients "demonstrate circumstances that temporarily prevent the individual from being competitive for employment opportunities" or where individuals have "encountered unique personal life disruptions that make a required immediate entrance to the job market unreasonable".

Finally, our plan authorizes the Commissioner to grant extensions in any other instance where significant hardship is apparent.

We all share your concern about the need for appropriate supports for families, but at the same time I cannot shake the feeling that as we reform the welfare system, we must remove the perverse incentives that trap generation after generation in a terrible situation.

Our statute -- which, as you know, passed with overwhelming bipartisan support -- 31 to 3 in our Senate and 133 to 21 in our House -- does not provide for (nor should it) another layer of bureaucratic paternalism at a time when we should be stressing straightforward, unambiguous, personal responsibility. We have not expected enough of welfare recipients in the past. The consequence is a system that I believe you and I both want to end.

Individuals who know they will have to work will be motivated in a very different way than individuals who will have access to indefinite extensions by indicating that a job is not available or is just out of reach.

I was pleased that you have moved waiver approval to a 30-day process in your Administration and I hope, now, that our waiver -- which has been at HHS for more than four months -- will be expeditiously approved.

The Commonwealth is anxious to go forward with the nation's broadest reform to date, and I look forward to this partnership with you in authorizing its implementation.

Respectfully,



William F. Weld
Governor

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-2-95

him -

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-2-95

One report for you; one
for POTUS - stay to
forward to POTUS?

95 JUL 24 P5:45

~~Leben~~

Think great - must follow up on
over order, must.

JP

BC

ADDRESSING AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Report on the New Jersey Project

by Stan Greenberg

JULY 14, 1995

GREENBERG
RESEARCH
INC





~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ - 1 OF 5

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

Date: July 14, 1995

MARKING INITIALS: MM DATE: 7/14/95

2017-0774-S

To: President Bill Clinton (1)
Vice President Al Gore (2)
Leon Panetta (3)
Harold Ickes (4)
George Stephanopoulos (5)

From: Stan Greenberg

RE: ADDRESSING AFFIRMATIVE ACTION
Report on the New Jersey Project

In advance of the affirmative action speech, we conducted a survey and focus groups in the key swing state of New Jersey -- to help the White House put affirmative action in the best possible context, and to help it work through the politics of the issue. This is obviously a difficult issue which needs to be framed properly to build support and minimize political losses.

THE RHETORICAL CONTEXT

There is a majority in the country who believe affirmative action is still needed: 52 percent nationally (NBC/WSJ) and 54 percent in New Jersey. That majority reflects broad-based opposition to discrimination, a recognition that progress has been made and could be threatened, and a fear about what might happen if affirmative action were simply abolished. Within that bloc are significant minorities that support things like goals (31 percent) and set-asides (41 percent).

But we also understand that the majority is misleading: for many people, the term "affirmative action" is vague and without meaning; large majorities are opposed to goals and set-asides. "Group preferences" are a lightning rod and, increasingly, the terms of debate. In the survey, racial and gender preferences were opposed by 2-to-1, and in the focus groups, they produced passionate opposition.



When people understood affirmative action to be racial preferences, they described it in terms that sounded very much like welfare: "money for nothing," "unfair," "hand outs," "undeserving," "don't like the idea of hand outs." The Dole affirmative action message had clarity because of his ability to say he would end group preferences and stand up for the most qualified. Our inability to be clear here comes at a price. People are opposed to discrimination and accept preferences as a remedy, but only for those disadvantaged by the specific acts of discrimination.

The bloc of intense opponents of affirmative action is larger than the bloc of intense proponents and more strategically placed. In the course of this survey and the focus groups, their concerns about affirmative action produced a small but politically important shift that, if replicated in the real world, would put New Jersey in doubt. So it is important that we get this right.

Real Reform

The President could come close to winning this issue if the public thought he was serious about reform -- correcting abuses while maintaining affirmative action. In the focus groups, the downscale married women preferred Clinton on this issue if that is really his intention. But the President has a high hurdle of disbelief to overcome if he is to be credible. The public is inclined to think that he is being rhetorical, trying to take both sides of an issue, fool people with things that sound good but are not real. There is a real danger that a reform proposal could reinforce the impression that the President will not stand up for what he believes, that he is just being political. Many of the men in the focus groups concluded that.

In the survey, a clear statement about support for affirmative action in principle and clear statement of abuses produced a positive response (66 percent feel better about the President); indeed, 58 percent say that, after the statement, they think of him as "strong." (We shall see later that we lose this issue when contrasted with Dole's position, but it is clearly better to lose with strength and principle.)

The President should state very clearly that he is opposed to discrimination, believes every one should have an equal chance to succeed, and that affirmative action is important to that end. It may not be popular, but that is what I believe. At the same time, there are abuses and they must be fixed.



The Sons

The sons have become a symbol of what is wrong with affirmative action -- and allows both married men and women to feel wronged on behalf of their children. A small majority opposes goals in college and university acceptances (52 percent), but there is a large bloc of intense opponents (28 percent). The *intense opponents* of university affirmative action grows to 35 percent among those with some post-high school education and to 39 percent among white non-college men.

In the focus groups, the issue brought out more resentment than any other we considered.

My son wanted to go to college, and said he was Hispanic. He took advantage of his background because my husband's Hispanic. If he were an Irish-American, nothing. If I had married an Irishman, my son would be digging ditches.

The average white middle class person works 3 jobs to send their kids to colleges, and their kids are not eligible for financial aid.

The guidance counselor told my son that he would have gotten in had he been a minority.

If my kid worked his butt off but doesn't get in because he's the wrong color, what values does that teach him?

Let those college professors see their kids blocked from getting into college.

The President should address the sons to show he knows what is at issue, the challenges facing middle class families, and emphasize his fight for college loans -- expanded, affordable, guaranteed -- equally available regardless of race. If you are qualified to get into college, you are *eligible*. The commitment to college loans is a critical part of the affirmative action message: reform means correcting abuses *and* making sure that the sons of the working middle class can get the loans to go to college.



Goals, Not Quotas

An astonishing 67 percent oppose goals for the number of minorities to be employed in a firm, but opposition drops to only 36 percent if one simply says, "setting goals, *not quotas*." The President must constantly emphasize that point.

The Qualified

There is an emerging consensus that the "best qualified" should be hired. Discrimination should not block it, and affirmative action should not substitute some other standard. That is one of the primary abuses that people focus on. Indeed, even supporters of affirmative action and minorities are opposed to the hiring of the unqualified, or even to the use of preferences rather than qualifications, to decide between the equally qualified (California focus groups). In the focus groups, people constantly referred to the concept "qualified" as a norm: "qualified people are being discriminated against"; "letting-in non-qualified people"; "atoning for discrimination should mean taking the most qualified"; "hire whomever qualified for the job."

The hiring of the non-qualified or lesser-qualified connects affirmative action to welfare. People think blacks will learn that they can get ahead on a free ride, without having to take responsibility and achieve something.

The President must associate affirmative action with giving a hand to those who are working to succeed, not people looking for a free ride. It must be about giving people hope and rewarding responsibility. A firm commitment in law that the unqualified must never be hired over the qualified must be a signal to people that they must strive to do their best.

From Set-Asides to Poor Neighborhoods

The public is wary about set-asides for minority contractors: 54 percent opposed, including 30 percent strongly. But there is strong support for "set aside programs that guarantee a certain percentage of government contracts to firms that locate in poorer neighborhoods": almost two-thirds (66 percent) support that idea, with almost a third strongly favorable.



112 { The President will correct a real abuse and substitute the right standard if he abolishes set asides and moves to programs that help poor neighborhoods, whatever their race. In the focus groups, there was a sigh of relief that he had finally moved to a non-racial standard and, at the same time, addressed an important problem. People wanted to make sure that the law required that these firms employ people from the neighborhood.

Diversity

Voters are open to diversity arguments when they are placed clearly in the context of jobs that would be better performed if they reflected the community's diversity. But voters are cautious about this grant of authority. In the case of the police serving a minority community, 62 percent are supportive. But support drops off almost 20 points when put in the context of a university that wants to provide a better learning experience for its students.

Eliding Affirmative Action and Equal Rights

113 { There is majority support for affirmative action because people believe that they are defending the civil rights regime that protects against discrimination -- against racial minorities but, more importantly, women. Our communication should elide affirmative action and protections against discrimination in order to highlight the threat. We cannot go back to square one and hope for the best. People favor "reform" over "abolishing" precisely because they are nervous about the consequences. We should emphasize that they have good reason to be nervous. The President should ask the question of women: do you really believe that without these laws, you'll get the best chance at the jobs you are qualified for?



THE POLITICAL CONTEXT

The President will lose ground on this issue and to Dole when this issue is joined. The impact of the issue is somewhat mitigated by counter pressures, such as the support of many Republicans for affirmative action, and frankly, the greater importance of other concerns. Just 23 percent say this is one of the top few issues for people. Still, in this close contest for the Presidency, the "antagonists" on affirmative action are strategically placed in the middle and thus play a disproportionately important role.

The State of Play in New Jersey

The President begins ahead of Dole in New Jersey, 50 to 44 percent. That is an impressive 6 point lead in a state critical to 1996. Unfortunately, the President's hard job performance stands at only 38 percent, suggesting that the President's advantage is rooted in Dole's weakness.

On affirmative action in general, the President begins with a 14 point advantage over Dole (48 to 34 percent). But when the issue is posed starkly as the President wanting to maintain it, and Dole wanting to abolish it, the Clinton advantage drops to 4 points (47 to 43 percent). When the President's reform position is counterpoised to Dole's commitment to abolish racial preferences, Dole moves into a 4 point lead (47 to 43 percent).

The shifts away from Clinton to Dole are most marked among white men (net - 9 points), white union households (-12 points), white high school graduates (-11 points), and white non-college men (-12 points).



The Antagonists

To judge the impact of this speech and decision, it is important to look at those most opposed to it. They are the ones most likely to move electorally. Using the New Jersey survey and replicating a model created by Gallup, we divided the electorate into four segments.

True Believers (16 percent).	Strongly believe Affirmative action is needed; see racism or sexism as a major problem; support group preferences for either blacks or women.
Floaters (33 percent).	Think affirmative action is needed and see some race and gender discrimination problems; support 3 of 5 affirmative action policies.
Doubters (31 percent)	Doubt affirmative action programs are still needed and see few discrimination problems; reject preferences and goals, but support benign outreach programs.
Antagonists (20 percent)	Say affirmative action has gone too far and see no discrimination problems; oppose preferences and affirmative action policies, even recruitment.

The problem is simple: 29 percent of antagonists are Clinton voters, as are 43 percent of the dubious. (A parallel 23 percent of true believers are Dole voters -- but that bloc is smaller and less likely to move as a result of the decision). Among the weak Clinton voters -- the 13 percent of the electorate that we describe as "conditional" and "vulnerable" -- 19 percent are antagonists, and 45 percent are doubters or antagonists. We should anticipate weakness at this strategic point in the electorate.

Not surprisingly, 60 percent of the antagonists are men, but more striking is the 62 percent who are Catholics.



The Clinton-Dole Comparison

There is clarity and power in opposition to group preferences which is why the message comparison produces a shift to Dole: among whites, 25 percent feel much better about the President after his statement but 34 percent feel much better about Dole -- a 9 point advantage (in a survey where the President is ahead overall). Among the conditional and vulnerable Clinton supporters, the Dole advantage is 14 points -- explaining the vote shift away from the President.

At the end of the focus groups, all the undecided voters (60 percent of each group) shifted to Dole. Many said they would give Dole "a chance," but an equal number said Dole would be "more for the working class people," "he's more for the regular people." Being for the "qualified" and against "group preferences" enables him to make a case with these mostly downscale voters.

Balancing the Losses

The aggregate shifts are not that large, in part, because many voters are reluctant to dismantle the anti-discrimination regime. Many of the men were ready to "let the chips fall where they may," but many women were nervous about where this might go.

Almost a quarters of the true believers are now supporting Dole, as are 39 percent of the floaters. These are voters in a dissonant position who could shift back toward Clinton. These pro-affirmative action Dole voters tend to be better-educated which suggests a possible upscale balance to downscale losses.

Black support clearly rises for the President after his position is laid out on affirmative action: 85 percent feel better, including 54 percent who feel much better about him. The gains in enthusiasm are most marked with black men (64 percent much better) where Democrats and the President have suffered losses over the last couple of years.

One should also recognize that had the President moved to end affirmative action, he would have paid a price among black voters and Democrats generally. We presented voters with a *Democratic* congressional candidate who wanted to end affirmative action: 27 percent were more likely to vote for that candidate and 24 percent less -- an unimpressive 3 point gain. Half of black voters were less likely to support that congressional candidate and 35 percent of all Democrats.



Welfare Reform Trumps Affirmative Action

While the affirmative action issue is very important, it pales next to welfare. The biggest worry in the state is that there are "too many people on welfare who shouldn't be there" (58 percent). That ranks above concerns with inequality (52 percent) and lack of jobs (49 percent), the next highest worries.

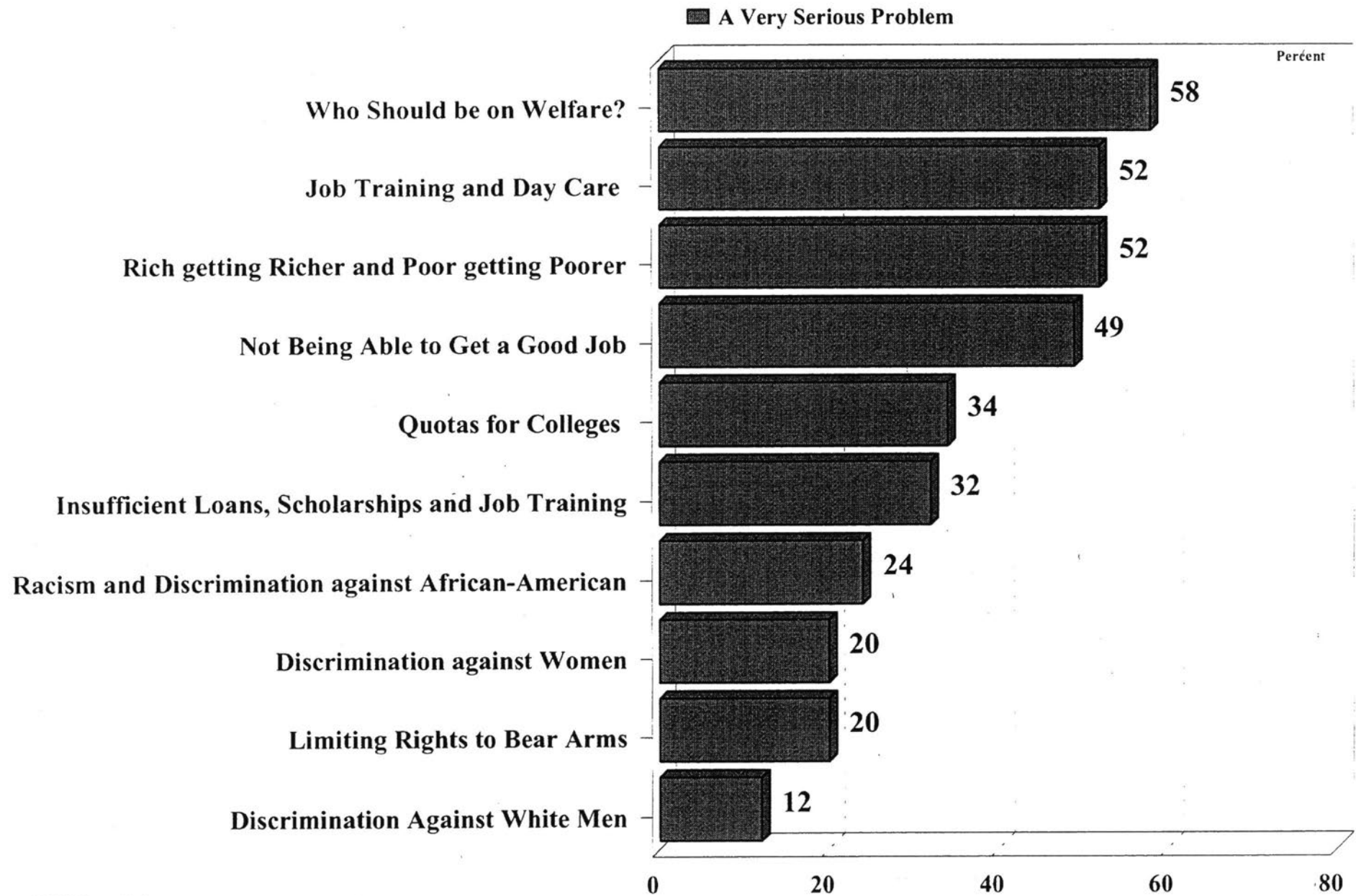
A Republican candidate for Congress who runs against affirmative action and for the opening up of the colleges and university to everyone, scores political points (49 percent more likely to support, including 28 percent much more likely). But when the candidate combines that position with support for tough welfare reform, 60 percent say they would be more likely to support him or her, including 32 percent much more likely. **Two-thirds of the weak Clinton voters say they are more likely to vote for that anti-affirmative action/anti-welfare Republican candidate.**

In the focus groups, we presented voters with a bundle of potential Republican issues. The most powerful were cutting spending, limiting immigration, cutting taxes, and ending welfare as we know it. Three times as many people cited ending welfare reform as mentioned ending affirmative action (even after an hour of discussion on the subject). Affirmative action is dangerous but, combined with welfare reform, it can be lethal.

In the focus groups, a pro-affirmative action, but pro-welfare reform Democrat, was received very well. Participants described that candidate as "somebody I would vote for," "I would listen to what this guy has to say," that is somebody with "new ideas." By contrast, a straight pro-affirmative action Democrat was described as "past his time," "failed policies of the Democrats," "going for a particular minority vote," "wants the lower class to vote for him," "courting a particular vote." **In Democratic hands, welfare reform is an antidote to affirmative action; in Republican hands, it exaggerates and broadens the impact of affirmative action.**

The administration cannot allow the Republicans to take ownership and win welfare reform. The President needs to challenge the Republicans for failing to act on welfare reform and then, if possible, move in a bold way administratively to make welfare reform happen and allow the President to take ownership of this change.

New Jersey Concerns



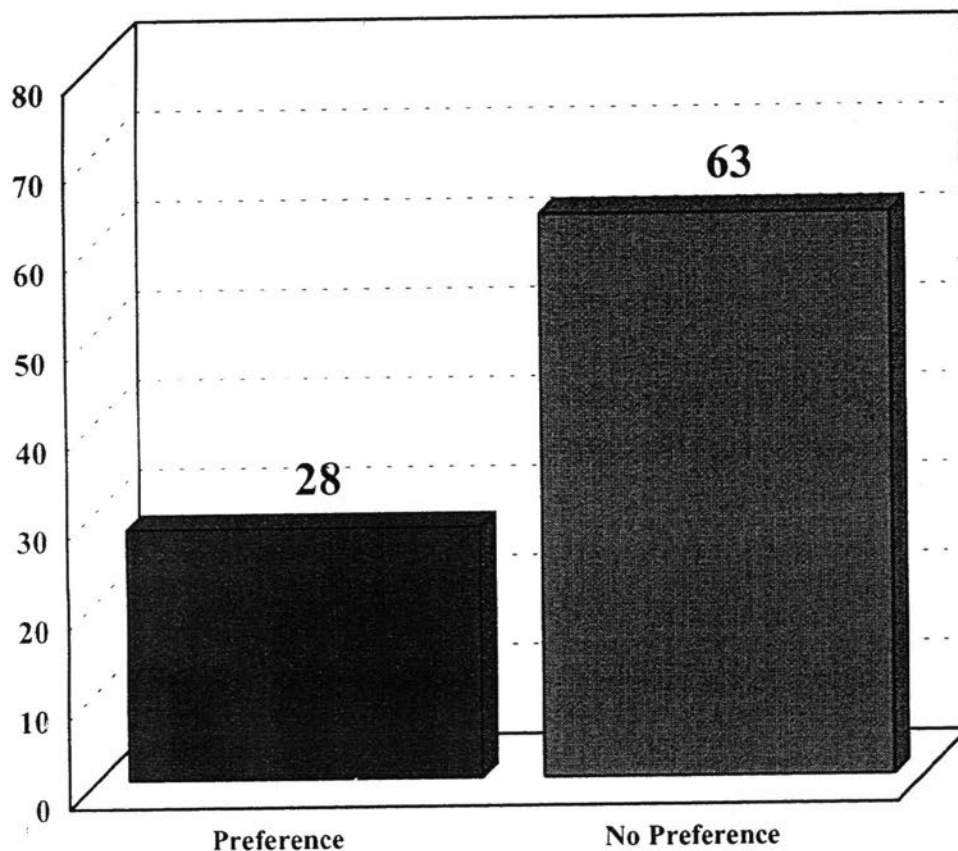
DNC NJ Statewide Survey
Greenberg Research Inc.
7/11/95

Figure 1
(Q35-50)

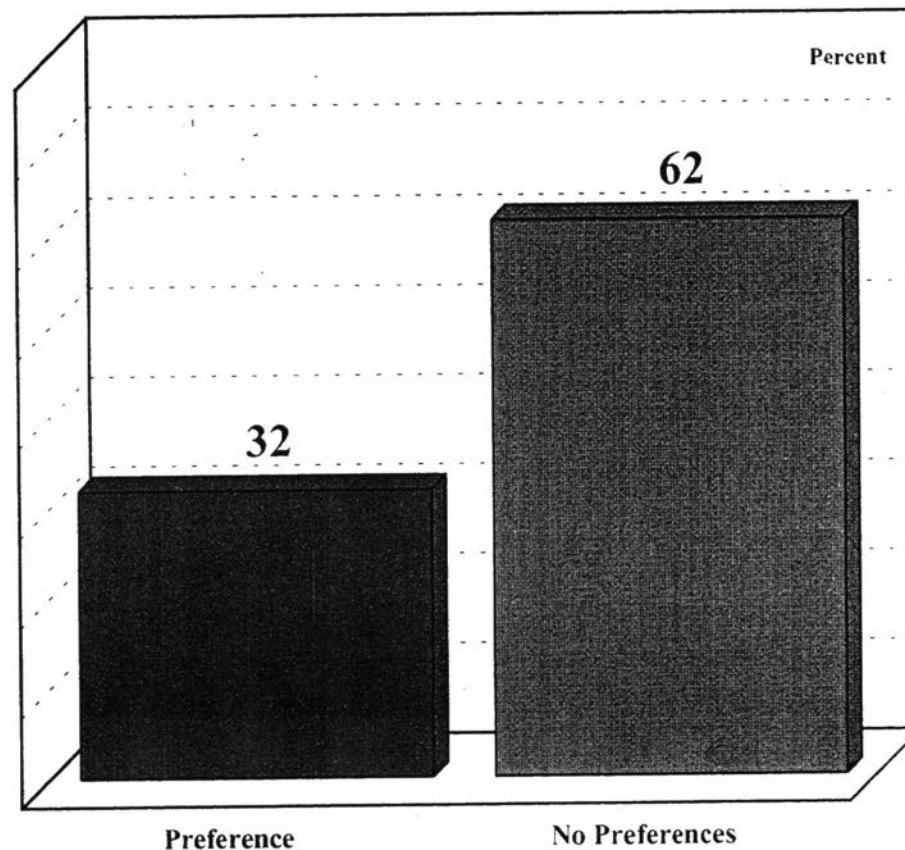
Past Discrimination

Do you believe that where there has been discrimination in the past, preference should be given today?

Preference for African-Americans



Preference for Women



Affirmative Action

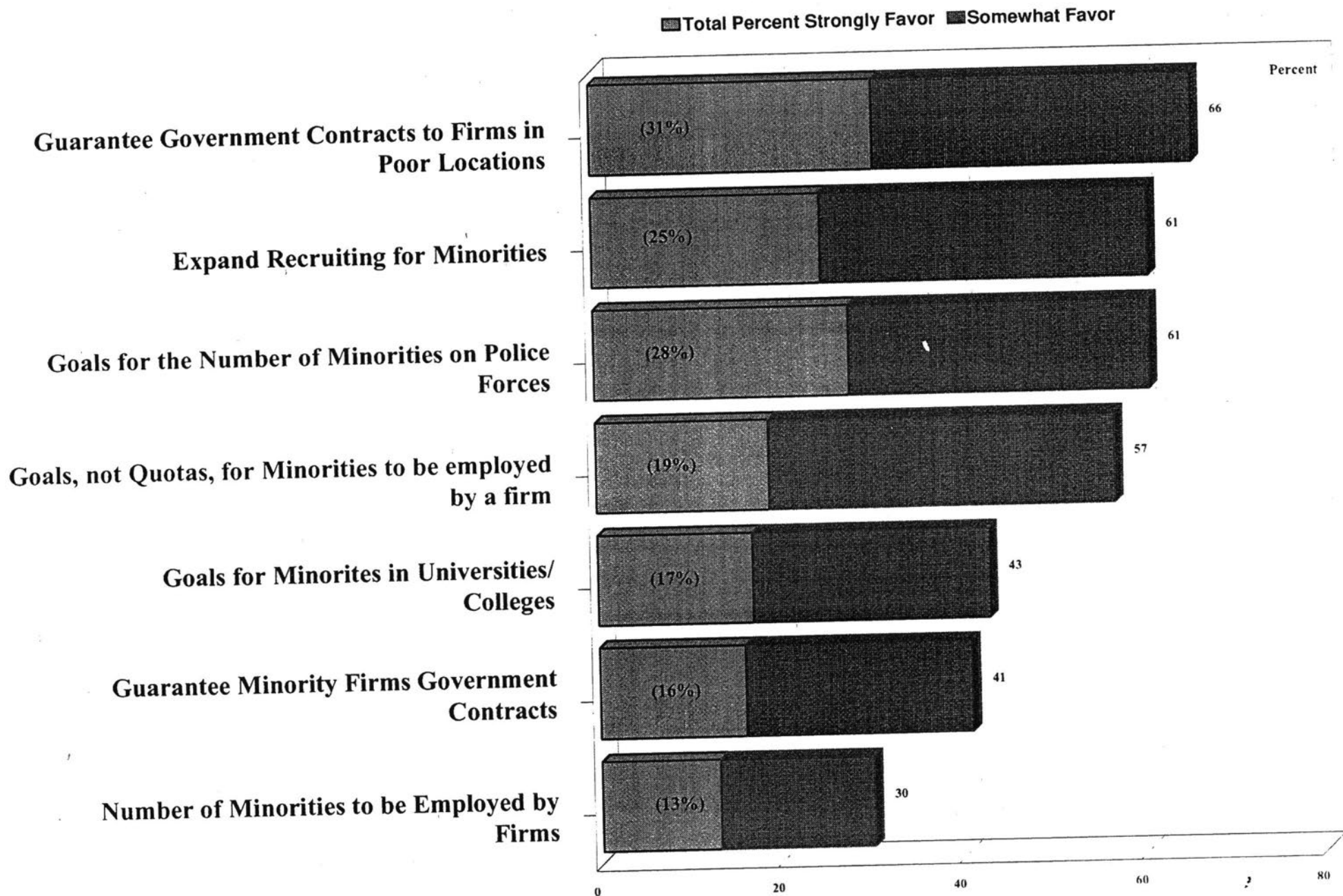


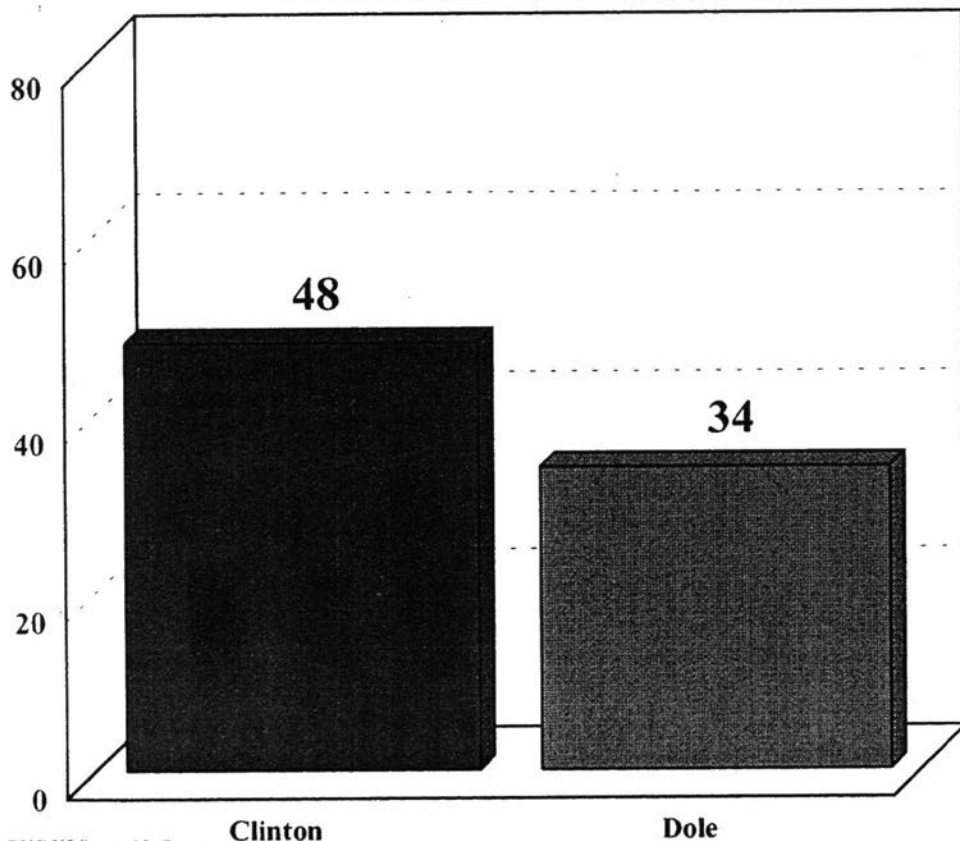
Figure 3

Affirmative Action Profile Vote

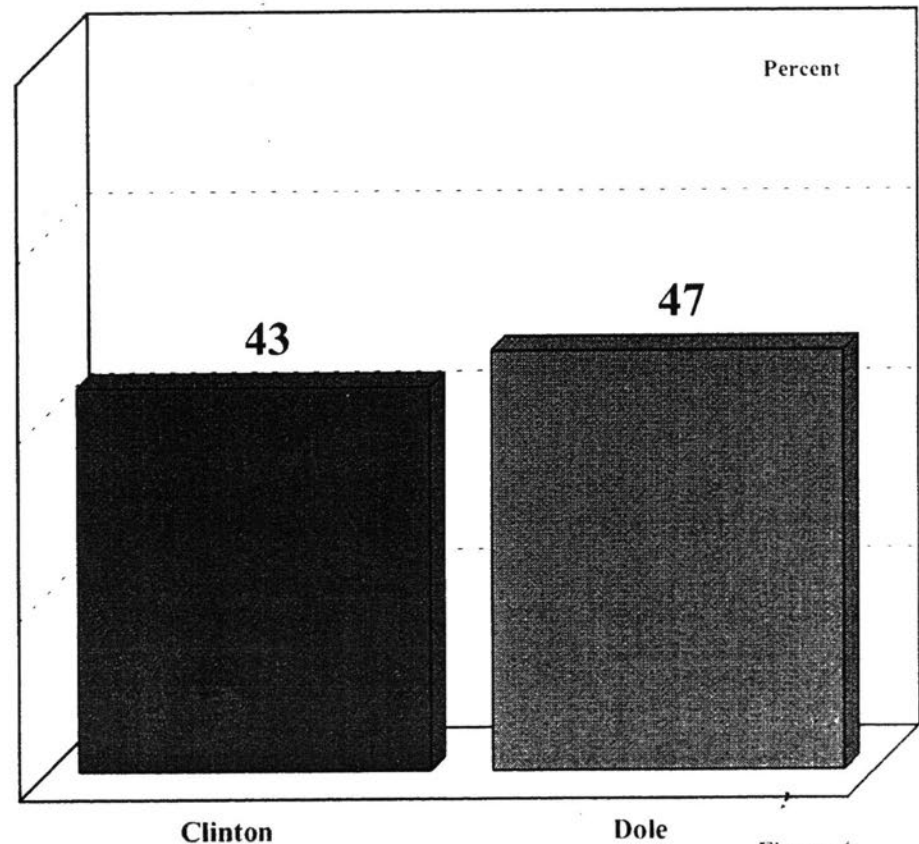
President Clinton states that affirmative action remains an important tool in achieving equality for African-Americans and women and making America one country where everyone has a chance to succeed. We've made important progress in ending discrimination, but our work is not done. We should certainly correct the abuses in affirmative action and make sure it follows court guidelines. We should never allow quotas, and an unqualified candidate must never get preference over a qualified one. Reverse discrimination is prohibited. But we still have important work to fight discrimination and achieve equality for minorities and women. So I continue to support affirmative action.

Presidential Candidate Bob Dole recently stated it is time for our country to end affirmative action. While it played an important role at an earlier time, today, it has become a policy of racial and group preferences. It is time to abolish all preferences based on race, gender or national origin. We are all Americans, and we must be judged as individuals, on our own merits. Of course, we must maintain our laws against discrimination and insist our companies and universities hire the best qualified, regardless of their race or gender. But now is the time to end affirmative action and racial group preferences.

Without Statements



With Statements



FREQUENCY QUESTIONNAIRE

1. First of all, are you registered to vote at this address?

[IF YES, GO TO Q2]

[IF NO] I'm sorry. Is there a registered voter at home I can speak to?

[REPEAT INTRODUCTION OR TERMINATE]

2. Many people weren't able to vote in the 1992 election for president between George Bush, Bill Clinton, and Ross Perot. How about you? Were you able to vote, or for some other reason were you unable to vote?

Voted	95
Ineligible/too young	5
Did not vote	[TERMINATE]
Can't remember/Don't know	[TERMINATE]
Refused	[TERMINATE]

3. I know it's a long way off, but what are the chances of your voting in the election for president in 1996 -- are you almost certain to vote, will you probably vote, are the chances 50-50, or don't you think you will vote?

Almost certain	91
Probably	9
50-50	[TERMINATE]
Will not vote	[TERMINATE]
(Don't know)	[TERMINATE]

4. Generally speaking, do you think that things in this country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

Right direction	26
Wrong track	56
(Don't know)	18

5. How would you rate the condition of the national economy these days? Is it very good, fairly good, fairly bad, or very bad?

	Combined
Very good	4
Fairly good	42
Fairly bad	36
Very bad	14
(Neither good nor bad)	3
(Don't know)	1

6. How would you rate the condition of New Jersey's economy these days? Is it very good, fairly good, fairly bad, or very bad?

		Combined
Very good	4	
Fairly good	47	51
Fairly bad	27	
Very bad	15	42
(Neither good nor bad)	5	
(Don't know)	3	

7. Is that mainly because of the economic direction set by Bill Clinton nationally or because of the economic direction set by Christine Whitman in New Jersey?

Clinton	17
Whitman	47
(Both)	16
(Neither)	12
(Don't Know)	8

8. When you think about the economy today, do you see increasing instability or increasing opportunity?

Increasing instability	53
Increasing opportunity	32
(Both)	7
(Don't Know)	7

9. When you think about yourself and your family, do you feel the changes happening today are mostly good or mostly bad?
[FOLLOW UP] Would that be very or pretty (good/bad)?

		Combined
Very good	5	
Pretty good	42	47
Pretty bad	36	
Very bad	8	44
(Don't know)	9	

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. You can use any number from zero to one hundred, the higher the number the more favorable your feelings are toward that person or organization. If you have no opinion or never heard of that person or organization, please say so.

[IF DON'T KNOW:] Would you say you are unable to give an opinion of [NAME OF PERSON OR ORGANIZATION], or have you never heard of [NAME OF PERSON OR ORGANIZATION]?

[WRITE IN NUMBER]
[NO OPINION/DK = 101] [NEVER HEARD = 102]

[READ FIRST]

10. George Bush. Give George Bush a rating,
with 100 meaning a very warm, favorable feeling;
zero meaning a very cold, unfavorable feeling;
and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold

Thermometer

% Warm

% Cool

_____ 59 _____

53

24

[ROTATE Q11-Q29]

11. Ross Perot [pah-ROE]

_____ 42 _____

29

48

12. Bill Clinton

_____ 53 _____

47

32

13. The Republican Party

_____ 55 _____

47

30

14. Rush Limbaugh

_____ 35 _____

21

49

15. Bill Bradley

_____ 57 _____

49

21

16. The Democratic Party

_____ 52 _____

41

30

17. Christie Whitman

_____ 55 _____

53

30

18. An independent, third political party

_____ 44 _____

24

35

19. Jesse Jackson

_____ 38 _____

23

51

20. Talk radio host, Bob Grant

_____ 32 _____

11

34

21. Bob Dole

_____ 50 _____

40

32

22. Newt Gingrich

_____ 41 _____

29

48

23. The NRA, National Rifle Association

_____ 37 _____

24

52

24. Al Gore

_____ 53 _____

47

29

25. The Evangelical Christian political movement

_____ 35 _____

12

32

26. Colin Powell

_____ 66 _____

60

13

27. Blacks and minorities

_____ 64 _____

48

11

28. Feminist women's groups

_____ 52 _____

37

30

29. The black clergy organization

_____ 53 _____

25

18

30. How would you rate the job being done by Bill Clinton as President -- excellent, good, just fair, or poor?

		Combined
Excellent	4	
Good	34	38
Just fair	45	
Poor	16	61
(Don't know)	0	

31.

32.

33.

34. In next year's election for U.S. Congress, do you plan to vote for the [ROTATE] Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate in your district?

		Combined
Democratic candidate	29	
Lean Democratic	9	38
Republican candidate	34	
Lean Republican	8	42
(Undecided)	20	

34b. Now let me read you two brief statements on affirmative action programs, and ask which one comes closer to your own point of view. [READ BOTH STATEMENTS SLOWLY]

[ROTATE]

Affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas.

Affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities, and should be phased out because they unfairly discriminate against whites.

[IF RESPONDENT SELECTS STATEMENT ASK:] Do you feel strongly about that or not so strongly?

		Combined
Needed -- strongly	32	
Needed -- not feel strongly	21	54
Gone too far -- strongly	27	
Gone too far -- not feel strongly	10	37
(Don't know)	9	

[SPLIT A] 341 Respondents

Now, I want to do something different. I'm going to read you a list of things some people think are problems in New Jersey. Please tell me how much of a problem you think each one is -- a very serious problem, a problem, a little problem, or not a problem.

	Very Serious Problem	A Problem	A Little Problem	Not A Problem	(Don't know)	Total A Problem	Total Not A Problem
[ROTATE Q35-Q42]							
35./43. People not being able to get good jobs. Is that an a very serious problem, a problem, a little problem, or not a problem?	49	29	12	7	2	91	7
36./44. Racism and discrimination against blacks.	24	36	21	16	3	81	16
37. Too many people on welfare who shouldn't be there.	58	27	10	3	2	94	3
38./46. Discrimination against white men.	12	22	24	38	5	58	38
39./47. Discrimination against women.	20	30	26	21	3	76	21
40./48. Qualified students not being able to go to New Jersey colleges because of quotas for minorities and other groups.	34	24	15	13	14	73	13
41./49. Lack of loans and scholarships to go to college or get job training.	32	31	17	11	9	80	11
42. Government limiting people's right to bear arms.	20	19	18	35	7	57	35

[SPLIT B] 350 RESPONDENTS

43.44.

45. Lack of child care and job training to help people get off welfare.	52	23	14	7	4	89	7
--	----	----	----	---	---	----	---

46.47. 48. 49.

50. The rich getting richer and poor poorer.	52	23	10	11	3	85	11
--	----	----	----	----	---	----	----

[END SPLIT B -- GO TO Q51]

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

51. Do you think the problems facing minority groups in America's inner cities are more problems of personal responsibility or are they more problems of racism and economic injustice?

Personal responsibility	48
Racism/economic injustice	26
(Both)	19
(Don't know)	6

52. When you hear on the news about someone being accused of making racist statements, what is your first reaction -- do you tend to think the charges about racism are generally justified or do you tend to think the charges of racism are exaggerated?

Justified	21
Exaggerated	56
(Depends)	18
(Don't know)	5

53./56. Do you believe that where there has been job discrimination against blacks in the past, preference in hiring or promotion should be given today?

Should -- preference	28
Should not -- no preferences	63
(Don't know)	8

54./55. Do you believe that where there has been job discrimination against women in the past, preference in hiring or promotion should be given today?

Should -- preference	32
Should not -- no preferences	62
(Don't know)	6

55.56.

57. In order to fill the hiring goals of an affirmative action program, suppose a company were to give a job to a well qualified black applicant rather than to an equally qualified white applicant. Would you view this as discrimination against the white job applicant, or would you not consider this discrimination?

Discrimination against white applicant	19
Not discrimination against white applicant	69
(Don't know)	12

[SPLIT SAMPLE C = 1/2 A, 1/2 B] 350 Respondents

Let me read you some specific types of affirmative action programs. Please tell me whether you favor or oppose each one.
[FOLLOW-UP] Is that strongly or somewhat (Favor/oppose)?

[ROTATE Q58-Q62]	Strongly Favor	Somewhat Favor	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose	[DK]	Total Favor	Total Oppose
[SPLIT C]							
58. Setting goals for the number of minorities to be employed in a firm.	13	17	32	34	3	31	67
59. Set aside programs that guarantee a certain percentage of government contracts to minority owned firms.	16	25	24	30	5	41	54
[ALL RESPONDENTS]							
60./65. Setting goals for the number of minorities to be accepted at university and colleges.	17	26	24	28	5	44	52
61./66. Requiring expanded recruiting and advertising to get more minorities to apply for positions.	25	36	18	17	4	61	35
62./67. Settings goals for the number of minorities to be employed by the police so the force will be more diverse and better able to do its job.	28	33	17	15	6	62	32

[SPLIT SAMPLE D = 1/2 A, 1/2 B] 341 Respondents

63. Setting goals, not quotas, for the number of minorities to be employed in a firm.	19	38	20	16	8	56	36
64. Set aside programs that guarantee a certain percentage of government contracts to firms that locate in poorer neighborhoods.	31	35	15	14	6	66	28
65.							
66.							
67.							

[END OF SPLIT D -- GO TO Q68]

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

I'm going to read you a series of paired items. For each pair, please tell me which one you trust more when it comes to changing affirmative action and anti-discrimination laws and setting a new direction on these issues.

68. First, what about **[ROTATE ORDER]** the Democrats or the Republicans. Which one do you trust more when it comes to affirmative action and anti-discrimination laws and setting a future direction on these issues.

[FOLLOW UP] Do you feel strongly about that, or not so strongly?

Combined

Democrats -- strongly	36	
Democrats -- not feel strongly	13	49
Republicans -- not feel strongly	11	
Republicans -- strongly	23	34
(Don't know)	17	

69. What about **[ROTATE ORDER]** Bob Dole or Bill Clinton. Which one do you trust more when it comes to affirmative action and anti-discrimination laws and setting a future direction on these issues.

[FOLLOW UP] Do you feel strongly about that, or not so strongly?

Combined

Bob Dole -- strongly	21	
Bob Dole -- not feel strongly	13	34
Bill Clinton -- not feel strongly	15	
Bill Clinton -- strongly	33	48
(Don't know)	18	

70. President Clinton has said he wants to maintain affirmative action. Bob Dole has said he wants to abolish affirmative action. After hearing that, do you tend to agree more with Bob Dole or more with Bill Clinton?

[FOLLOW UP] Do you agree much more or somewhat more?

	Combined
Dole -- much more	20
Dole -- somewhat more	23
Clinton -- somewhat more	26
Clinton -- much more	21
(Don't know)	10
	43
	47

71. Let me read you what President Clinton has said recently about affirmative action.

Affirmative action remains an important tool in achieving equality for blacks and women and making America one country where everyone has a chance to succeed. We've made important progress in ending discrimination, but our work is not done. We should certainly correct the abuses in affirmative action and make sure it follows court guidelines. We should never allow quotas, and an unqualified candidate must never get preferences over a qualified one. Reverse discrimination is prohibited. But we still have important work to fight discrimination and achieve equality for minorities and women. So I continue to support affirmative action.

After hearing that, do you feel better or worse about Bill Clinton? [FOLLOW UP] Is that much or somewhat (better/worse)?

	Combined
Much better	27
Somewhat better	39
Somewhat worse	13
Much worse	8
(Don't know)	13
	66
	21

72. After hearing Clinton take this position, do you think of him as strong or weak? [FOLLOW UP] Is that very or somewhat (strong/weak)?

	Combined
Very strong	20
Somewhat strong	39
Somewhat weak	19
Very weak	13
(Don't know)	9
	58
	32

73. Let me read you what Bob Dole has said recently about affirmative action.

It is time for our country to end affirmative action. While it played an important role at an earlier time, today, it has become a policy of racial and group preferences. It is time to abolish all preferences based on race, gender or national origin. We are all Americans, and we must be judged as individuals, on our own merits. Of course, we must maintain our laws against discrimination and insist our companies and universities hire the best qualified, regardless of their race or gender. But now is the time to end affirmative action and racial group preferences.

After hearing that, do you feel better or worse about Bob Dole? **[FOLLOW UP]** Is that very or somewhat (better/worse)?

		Combined
Much better	32	
Somewhat better	31	62
Somewhat worse	16	
Much worse	10	26
(Don't know)	12	

74. After hearing those statements, do you tend to agree more with Bob Dole or more with Bill Clinton?
[FOLLOW UP] Is that much or somewhat more?

		Combined
Dole -- much more	29	
Dole -- somewhat more	18	47
Clinton -- somewhat more	23	
Clinton -- much more	20	43
(Don't know)	9	

75.

[SPLIT C] 350 Respondents

76. Let me ask you about Congress and the affirmative action issue. If the Democratic candidate for Congress in your area came out for maintaining affirmative action, would you be more likely or less likely to vote for that candidate, or wouldn't this issue make any difference to you?

[FOLLOW UP:] Is that much or somewhat (more/less) likely?

	Combined
Much more likely	11
Somewhat more likely	13
Somewhat less likely	14
Much less likely	12
No difference	43
(Don't know)	6
	24
	26

[END OF SPLIT C – GO TO Q78 OR Q79]

[SPLIT D] 341 Respondents

77. Let me ask you about Congress and the affirmative action issue. If the Democratic candidate for Congress in your area came out for ending affirmative action, would you be more likely or less likely to vote for that candidate, or wouldn't this issue make any difference to you?

[FOLLOW UP:] Is that much or somewhat (more/less) likely?

	Combined
Much more likely	8
Somewhat more likely	18
Somewhat less likely	13
Much less likely	11
No difference	41
(Don't know)	8
	27
	24

[END OF SPLIT D – GO TO Q78 OR Q79]

[SPLIT A] 341 Respondents

78. The Republican candidate for Congress supports ending racial preferences and affirmative action, particularly in the colleges and university so they will be open to everyone in New Jersey. Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for that candidate or wouldn't these issues make any difference to you?

[FOLLOW UP:] Is that much or somewhat (more/less) likely?

	Combined
Much more likely	28
Somewhat more likely	22
Somewhat less likely	7
Much less likely	7
No difference	34
(Don't know)	3
	49
	14

[END OF SPLIT A – GO TO Q80]

[SPLIT B] 350 Respondents

79. The Republican candidate for Congress supports ending racial preferences and affirmative action, particularly in the colleges and university so they will be open to everyone in New Jersey. The Republican candidate also supports tough welfare reforms, that limit the number of years on welfare and limits welfare payments for more children? Would you be more likely or less likely to vote for that candidate or wouldn't these issues make any difference to you?

[FOLLOW UP:] Is that much or somewhat (more/less) likely?

	Combined
Much more likely	32
Somewhat more likely	28
Somewhat less likely	10
Much less likely	9
No difference	16
(Don't know)	6
	60
	19

[END OF SPLIT B – GO TO Q80]

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

Finally, I would like to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes.

80. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat or what?

	Combined Party w/ Leans
Strong Democrat	17
Weak Democrat	17
Ind - Lean Democrat	9
Independent	7
Ind - Lean Republican	9
Weak Republican	22
Strong Republican	15
(Other)	2
(Don't know/Refused)	2
	43
	46

81. In what year were you born?

18-24	7
25-29	8
30-34	13
35-39	12
40-44	9
45-49	10
50-54	8
55-59	7
60-64	7
Over 64	16
(Don't Know/Refused)	2

82. What is the last year of schooling that you have completed?

1 - 11th grade	5
High school graduate	28
Non-college post H.S. [E.G. TECH]	3
Some college [JR. COLLEGE]	22
College graduate	27
Post-graduate school	14
(Don't know)	1

83./84. Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are conservative, moderate, or liberal?

	Combined
Liberal	7
Somewhat liberal	11
Moderate, closer to liberal	16
Moderate	8
Moderate, closer to conservative	21
Somewhat conservative	18
Conservative	12
Other	6
Don't know /Refused	0
	18
	31

84.

85. What is your religion?

[DO NOT READ CATEGORIES]

Protestant	28
Catholic	50
Jewish	6
(Other/none/refused)	16

86. How often do you attend church -- every week, once or twice a month, several times a year, or hardly ever?

Every week	34
Once or twice a month	17
Several times a year	20
Hardly ever	20
(Never)	5
(Don't know)	3

[ASK ONLY IF PROTESTANT (Q85 = 1)] 197 Respondents

87. Which one of these words best describes your kind of Christianity -- fundamentalist, evangelical, charismatic, pentecostal or moderate to liberal?

Fundamentalist	17
Evangelical	12
Charismatic/pentecostal	7
Moderate to liberal	43
(Something else)	8
(Don't know)	13

88. Are you married, single, separated, divorced, or widowed?

Married	61
Single	22
Separated/divorced	9
Widowed	9
(Don't know)	0

89. In terms of your job status, are you employed, unemployed but looking for work, retired, a student, or a homemaker?

Employed	65
Unemployed	5
Retired	20
Student	2
Homemaker	6
(Other)	2
(Don't know/refused)	0

90. Are you a member of a labor union? [IF NO] Is any member of your household a union member?

Yes: Respondent belongs	19
Household member	9
No member belongs	70
(Don't know/refused)	2

91. How many guns or rifles do you own?

None	82
One	5
Two to three	6
Four or more	5
DK/Ref	2

92. What is your race?

White	86
Black	6
Hispanic [PUERTO RICAN, MEXICAN- AMERICAN, ETC.]	3
(Other)	3
(Don't know/refused)	1

Gender

Male	49
Female	51

93. And what is your zip code? _____

And finally, strictly for verification purposes, can I have just your first name? _____

[THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME [TERMINATE]]

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8.2.95

IMMIGRATION AND
NATURALIZATION SERVICE

95 JUL 10 AB: 22

Monthly Statistical Report
May 1995



CHIEF OF STAFF TO THE PRESIDENT

lg

TO ~~the~~ President
TYI



Table of Contents

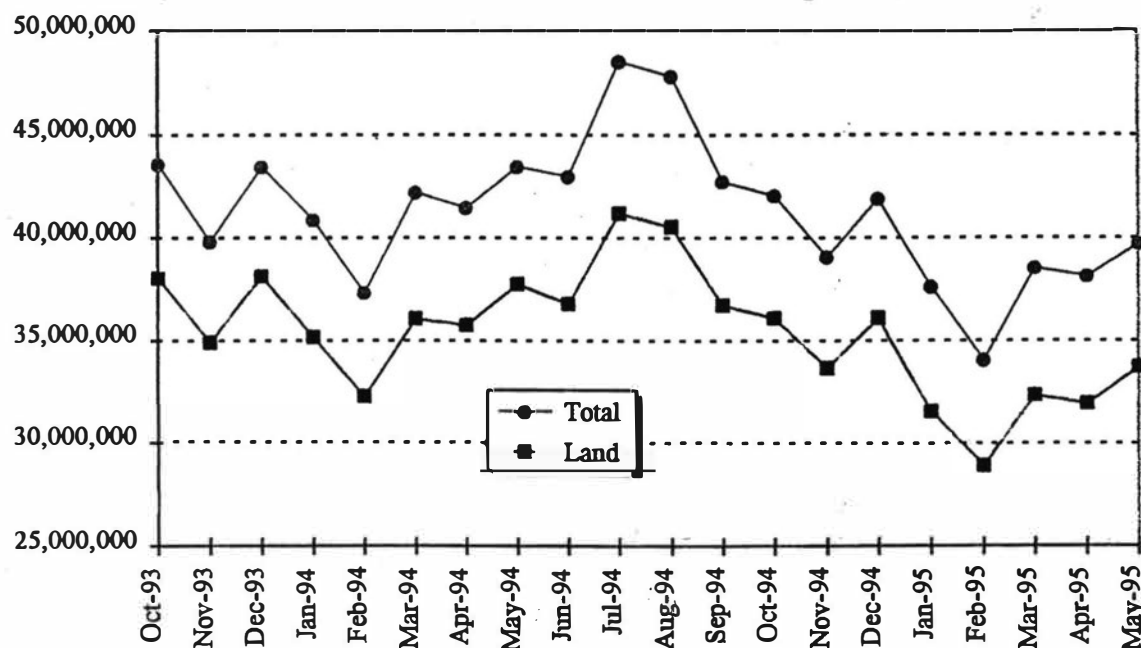
Inspections.....	2
Southwest Border Apprehensions.....	3
Applications for Immigration Benefits.....	4
Naturalizations.....	5
Removals	6
Investigations.....	7
Asylum	8-9

INSPECTIONS

Inspections of citizens and aliens for entry to the United States decreased 9 percent in May 1995 compared to May 1994. Most of the decline resulted from an 11 percent drop in inspections at the land ports-of-entry. Air traffic increased 7 percent over the previous May, sustaining a 7 percent rise in airport inspections during FY 95 over the same period last year.

	May-95	May-94	% Change	FY 95 to Date	FY 94 to Date	% Change
Total Inspections	39,730,732	43,464,035	-9	311,106,892	332,222,389	-6
Air Admitted	4,875,837	4,550,125	7	37,614,271	35,103,690	7
Land Admitted	33,725,132	37,745,801	-11	264,291,319	287,952,488	-8

Total Inspections and Land Admissions



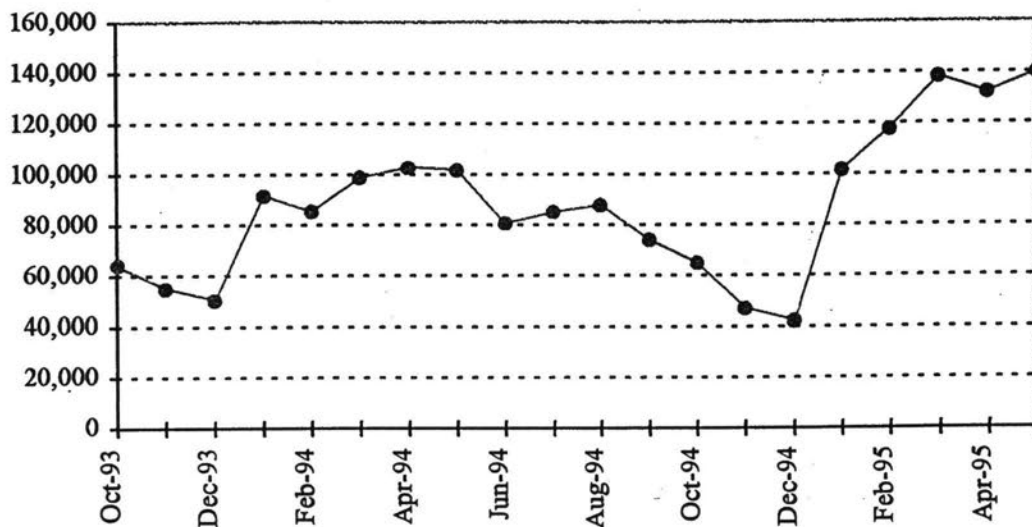
- The decrease in total inspections of aliens and citizens is partially explained by technical changes in methods of estimating land passenger traffic. INS uses a ratio for each port to estimate the number of passengers per vehicle. In FY 95, INS adjusted the ratio at several large ports to improve the estimates of passengers.
- The total number of immigrants, refugees, and returning resident aliens inspected in the first eight months of FY 95 is 52.6 million; More than 140 million nonimmigrants were inspected and admitted during the same period.
- Devaluation of the Mexican peso may have reduced traffic across the southern border in 1995; traffic may also have declined along the northern border because of the decrease in Canadian tariffs, which decreased the economic incentive to cross into the United States for shopping.

SOUTHWEST BORDER APPREHENSIONS

The Border Patrol apprehended 139,932 illegal aliens at the Southwest border during May 1995, an increase of 37 percent compared to May 1994. Apprehensions for fiscal year 1995 through May increased by 21 percent compared to the same period last year. Voluntary returns, conducted by Border Patrol agents, rose at the same rate (21%) as the increase in apprehensions.

	<i>May-95</i>	<i>May-94</i>	<i>% Change</i>	<i>FY 95 to Date</i>	<i>FY 94 to Date</i>	<i>% Change</i>
Southwest Border Apprehensions	139,932	101,936	37	784,788	650,851	21
Southwest Border Voluntary Returns	137,752	100,658	37	767,743	636,390	21

Southwest Border Total Apprehensions



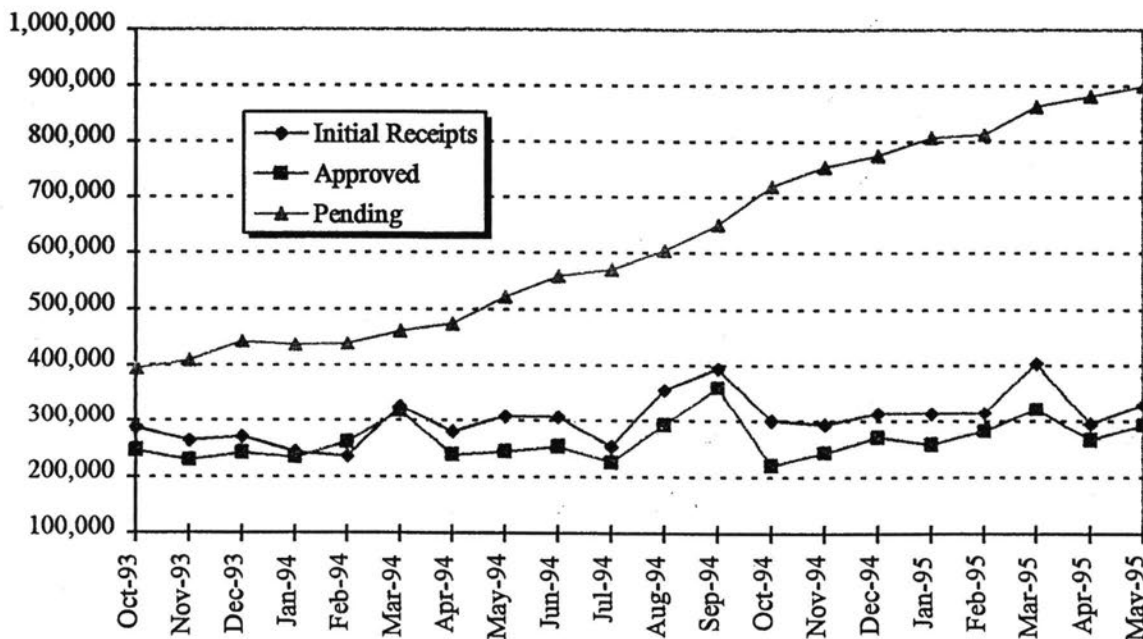
- Recent increases in apprehensions occurred primarily during January and February 1995, rising 33 percent between December and January, and 20 percent between January and February.
- Apprehensions in December 1994 (42,259) were the lowest monthly total since December 1988 (35,013).
- Apprehensions are typically highest during March, April, and May, decrease through the summer and fall, and reach a yearly low in December.

APPLICATIONS FOR IMMIGRATION BENEFITS

Applications and petitions for immigration benefits in May 1995 increased 7 percent over the number received in May 1994. Approvals in May were 20 percent higher than the previous year. Throughout the fiscal year, new applications and petitions outstripped approvals and denials, adding to the cumulative number of pending cases. These pending cases increased 72% through the first eight months of FY 95 compared to the same period last year.

	May-95	May-94	% Change	FY 95 to Date	FY 94 to Date	% Change
Initial Receipts	329,684	308,213	7	2,565,851	2,219,315	16
Approved	292,914	244,468	20	2,155,601	2,014,448	7
Denied	24,017	22,334	8	189,735	159,180	19
Pending	900,442	522,699	72	900,442	522,699	72

Applications for Benefits: Receipts, Approved, and Pending



- Pending cases have increased by 247,000 during FY 95 primarily because of the following: 138,000 I-485 permanent resident adjustment cases; 56,000 I-130 relative petitions; and 8,000 I-90 Green Card Replacement cases.
- FY 95 applications include: 561,000 I-765 employment authorizations; 432,000 I-130 relative petitions; 349,000 I-90 Green Card replacements; and 303,000 I-485 permanent resident adjustments.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-2-95

Leon / Guevara / Bakun

we have to do better

on these 3 ~~pages~~

we have to, esp. 1+2

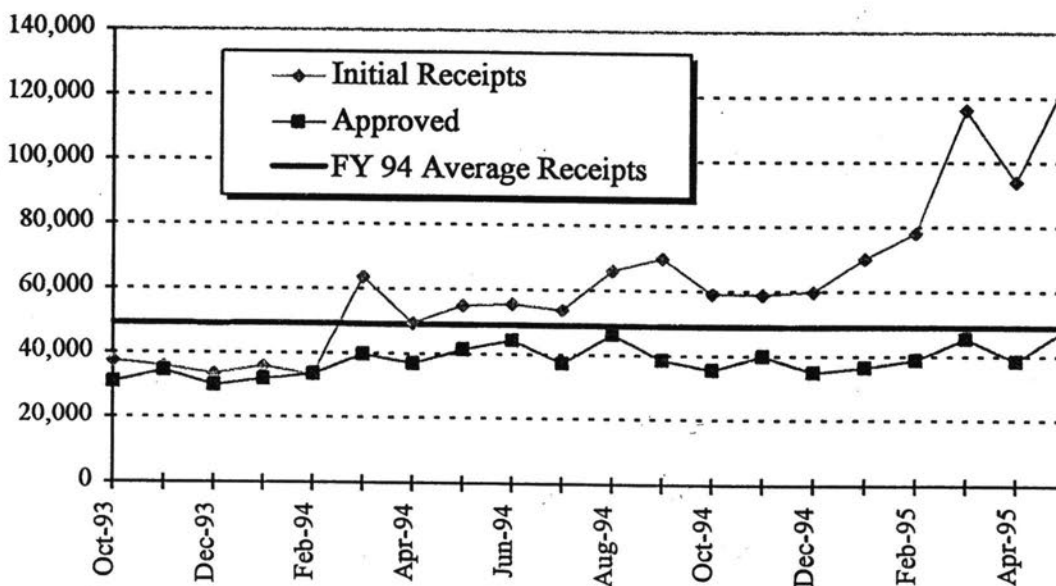
Get's done - BR

NATURALIZATIONS

New applications for naturalization rose substantially by 128% during May 1995 compared to May 1994. May's applications sustained the 92% rise in applications during the first eight months of FY 95 over the same period the year before. Approvals also increased by 14 percent in FY 95. Nearly 320,000 immigrants became U.S. citizens in the last 8 months.

	May-95	May-94	% Change	FY 95 to Date	FY 94 to Date	% Change
Initial Receipts	125,627	55,001	128	662,875	344,918	92
Approved	48,227	41,425	16	319,180	280,114	14
Denied	4,367	5,185	-16	33,225	28,214	18
Pending	593,562	278,518	113	593,562	278,518	113

Naturalizations: Receipts, Approved, and FY 94 Average Receipts



- Applications for naturalization began to increase slowly in March 1994 after INS set a new deadline for its Green Card replacement program. After a decline in the first 3 months of FY 95, new applications for naturalization surged higher with unprecedented increases in January, February and March.
- INS is launching a major citizenship initiative which includes reducing the backlog of naturalization applications not yet entered into the reporting system. This will contribute to monthly variations. The first of these variations shows in this report, where the May total includes approximately 38,000 applications previously received in the Chicago District Office.

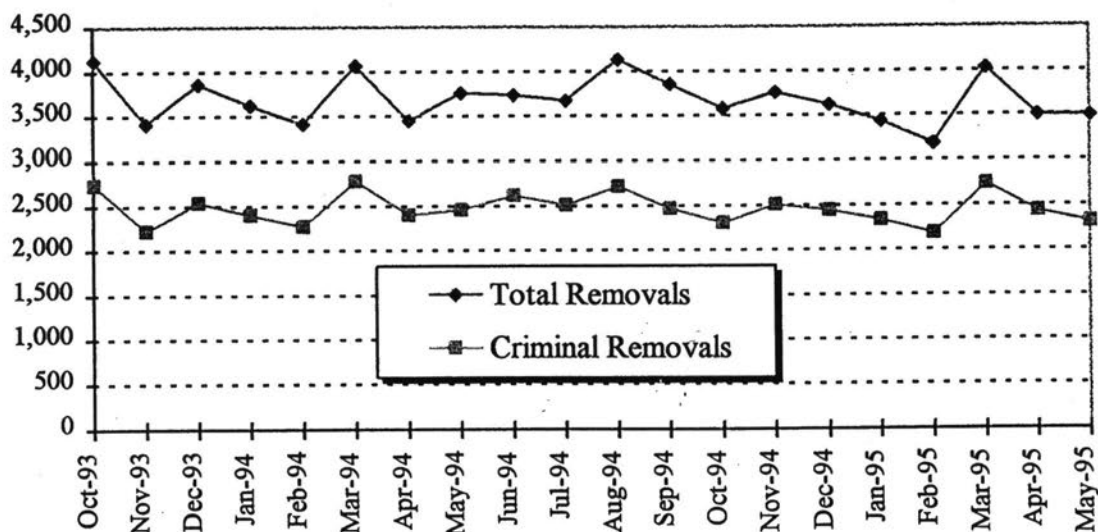
REMOVALS

This month's report introduces an improved definition of criminal alien removals to include cases which a criminal conviction was not used as the reason for removal by the immigration judge. The change modifies the counts of criminal aliens in April's report and changes all of the counts for criminal aliens dating to October 1993. It has no effect on total removals.

During the first eight months of FY 95, INS removed 28,613 aliens from the United States, 19,291 of whom were criminals, according to the new definition. Total removals were 7 percent less in May 1995, compared to the same month a year ago, and 4 percent lower in FY 95 year-to-date than in FY 94. INS currently projects total removals of 48,500 by the end of FY 95.

	May-95	May-94	% Change	FY 95 to Date	FY 94 to Date	% Change
Deportations	3,097	3,270	-5	24,999	25,951	-4
Exclusions	397	490	-19	3,614	3,776	-4
Total Removals	3,494	3,760	-7	28,613	29,727	-4
Criminal Removals	2,312	2,465	-6	19,291	19,833	-3

Total and Criminal Removals



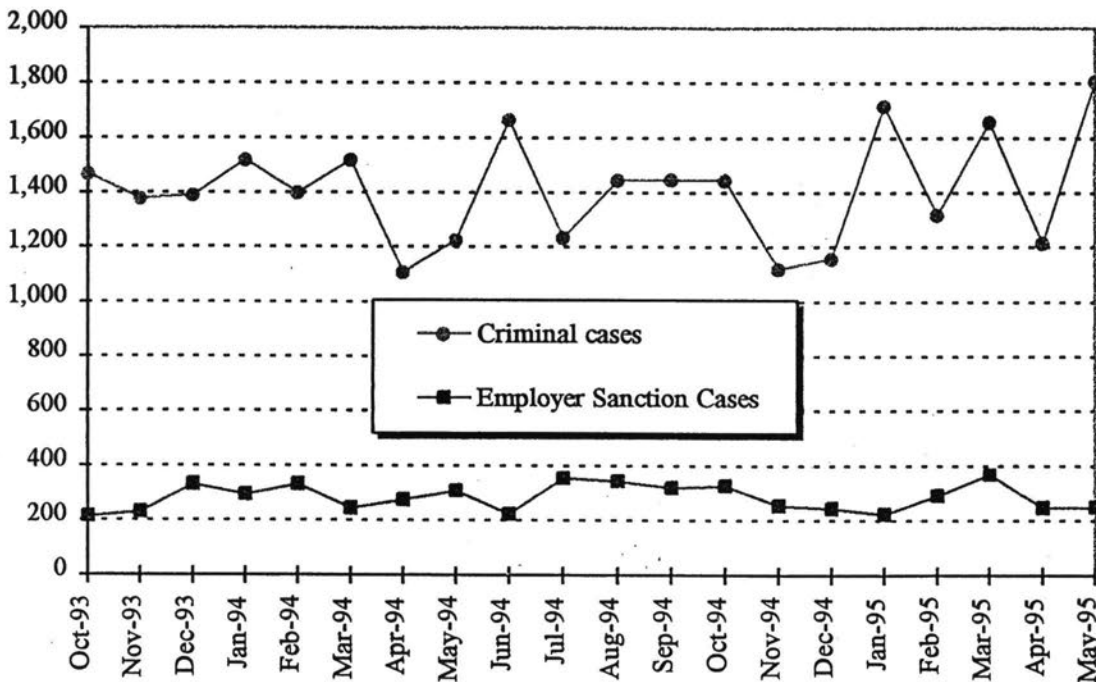
- The number of removals is closely tied to funding for detention and travel. Reprogramming actions from internal INS funds and Department of Justice sources are presently before Congress. With these new funds, INS will increase its illegal alien removals by the end of FY 95 above the current target of 48,500 to 55,050, an increase of 6,200 over current year projections.

INVESTIGATIONS

Investigations of both criminal and smuggling cases rose in May 1995 compared to a year before, while employer sanctions cases declined 19%. The pace of investigatory work, fluctuates from month to month. For the first eight months of FY 95, anti-smuggling cases increased 10%, while criminal cases rose 4% and employer cases remained stable compared to the same period in FY 94.

<i>Achieving Objective</i>	<i>May-95</i>	<i>May-94</i>	<i>% Change</i>	<i>FY 95 to Date</i>	<i>FY 94 to Date</i>	<i>% Change</i>
Criminal cases	1,809	1,226	48	11,450	11,017	4
Employer Sanction	249	306	-19	2,199	2,222	-1
Antismuggling cases	47	35	34	412	374	10

Criminal and Employer Sanctions Cases Achieving Objective



- The number of Employer Sanctions cases remains stable despite a decrease in available investigators. Funding available in FY 95 will increase investigative staffs by the end of the fiscal year, and these enhancements should add to the number of Sanctions cases.

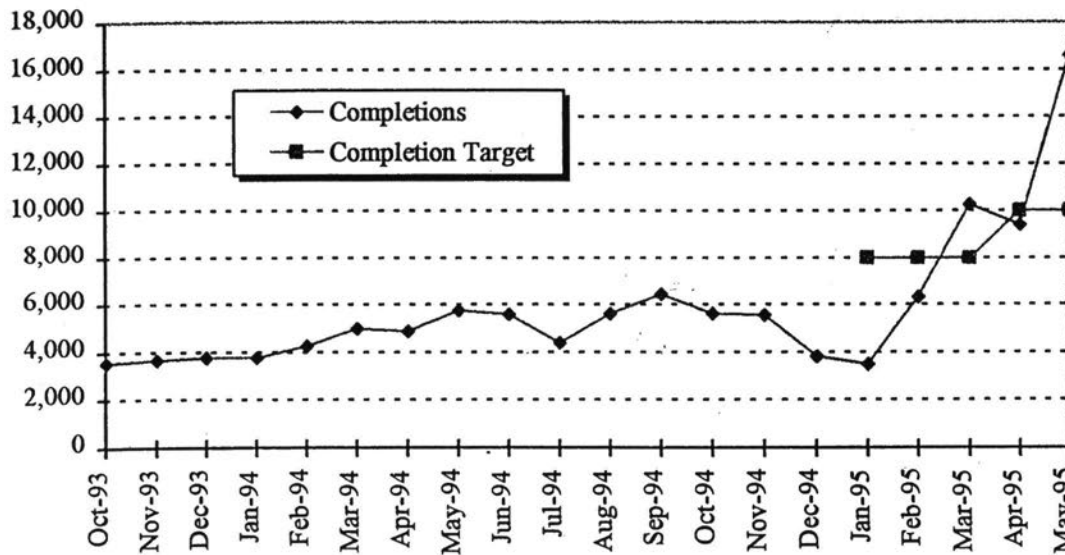
ASYLUM

New applications for asylum in May 1995 were 2% lower than the number filed in May 1994, and 5% lower for the first 8 months of FY 95 compared to last year. The decline in cases filed began with the implementation of the asylum reform system in January 1995, which was designed to discourage frivolous claims and speed processing. The pending caseload continued to decline from its peak of nearly 460,000 in February 1995.

	May-95	May-94	% Change	FY 95 to Date	FY 94 to Date	% Change
Initial Receipts	11,184	11,439	-2	92,502	97,721	-5
Approved	1,243	1,028	21	7,329	5,262	39
Denied	602	2,354	-74	12,799	19,806	-35
Referred to IJ	5,068	NA	NA	17,062	NA	NA
Pending	450,606	389,093	16	450,606	389,093	16

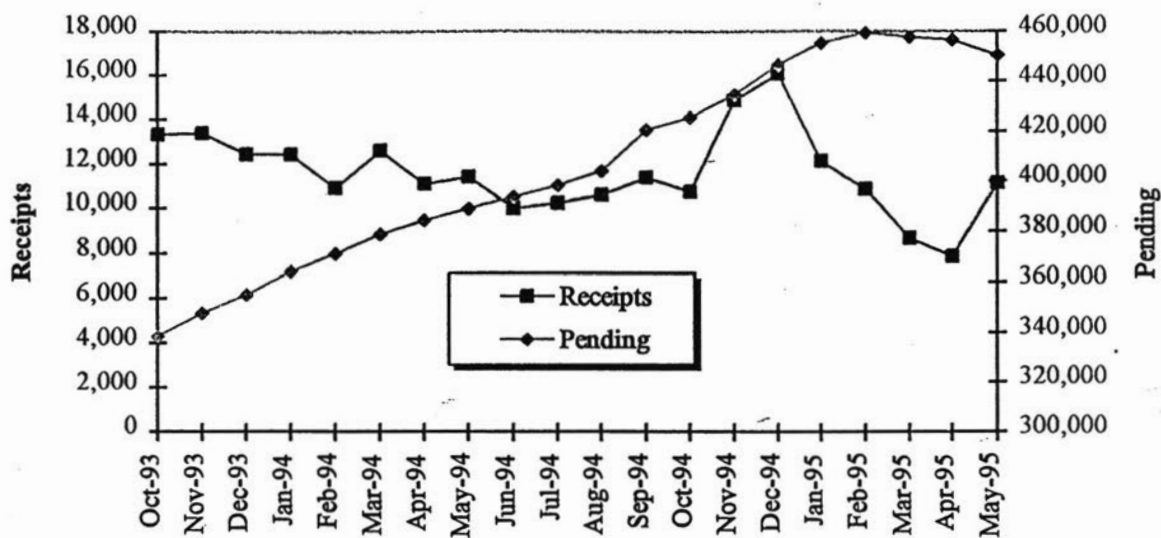
NA - Not applicable. IJ - Immigration Judges at the Executive Office for Immigration Review.

Asylum Completions and Target



- Completions are the sum of approvals, denials, and cases otherwise administratively closed.
- The number of cases that were administratively closed increased over 3 times between May 1994 and May 1995, from 2,381 to 9,713, respectively, due to a change in procedures for handling applicants who did not appear for their scheduled interviews.

Asylum Applications Received and Pending



- Much of the increase in cases filed in early FY 95 was due to the expiration in December 1994 of Deferred Enforced Departure (DED) status for nationals of El Salvador. These applications have remained at high levels and account for the increase in cases filed in May. Applications by persons of other nationalities have fallen sharply since January.
- Expansion of the Asylum Officer Corps increased the number of adjudicated applications by 204 percent over May 1994.

CITY OF LITTLE ROCK

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8/2/95

Martin Borchert, Mayor
Victor Menefee, Assistant Mayor
Harold E. Hanson, Jr., Director
William F. Steinkamp, Director
Ray Winder, Director
James F. Hewitt, Director
Warren Baldwin, Jr., Director

*Correspondence
copy*



LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

14 June 1995

WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D.C.

*8/2 TO
Dors/Bind*

MR. PRESIDENT,

I supported you in the past, I'm supporting you now, and I plan to support you in the future. We are "mighty proud" having one of our own in a leadership role that is undoubtedly in the most critical period in history. Harry Truman was always one of my favorites in his "Give Them Hell, Harry", philosophy, also.

I'm enclosing a gift for you, an Arkansas product, that hopefully you will wear on one of your next jogging trips. We also have "trade-marked" "THE UNIVERSITY OF HOT SPRINGS", and when they come off the press, I'll send one of those along.

The 1963 year is the first operational year for the Dam at Greer's Ferry, the year that our JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY dedicated it before his trip to Dallas. With the degrees on the back of the shirts, they are proving to be very popular for the some 4.5 million tourists, vacationing in this area.

One favor from you, if you please, a signed picture of you wearing it. I'm copying this letter to Bruce Lindsey, so maybe he'll take the picture. (Bruce, don't forget my teaching you in Church School many tears ago)

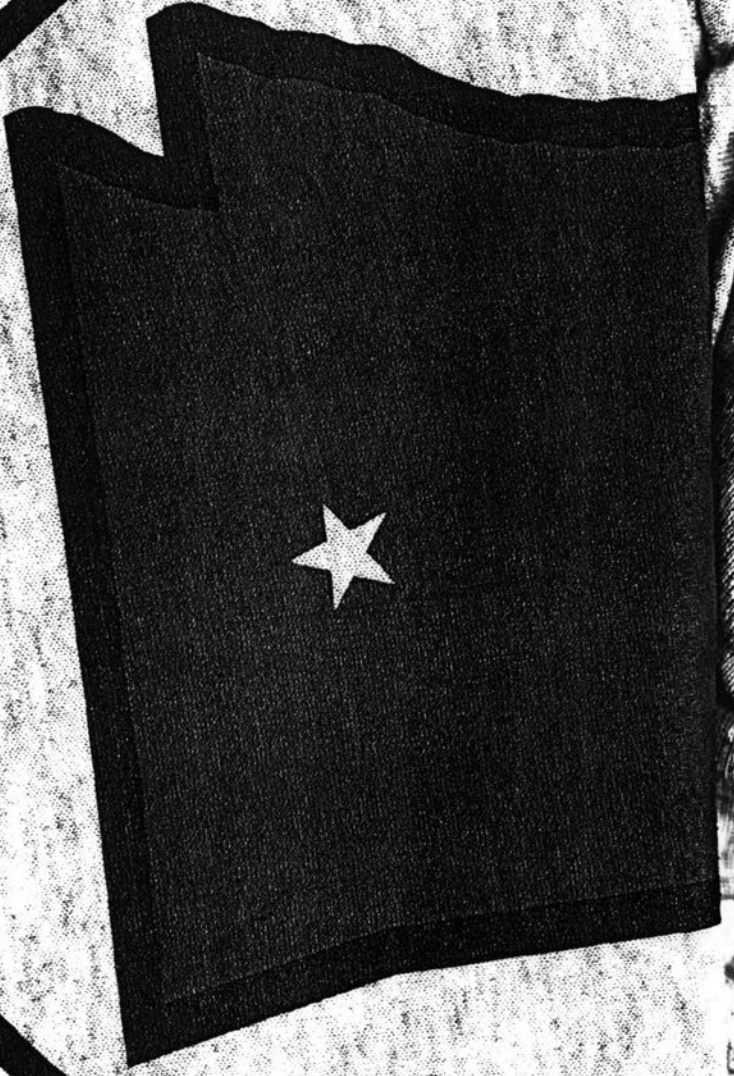
COPY: BRUCE LINDSEY

Respectfully,

Victor E. Menefee
Victor E. Menefee
5509 Sherwood Rd.
Little Rock, Ar 72207
501 666 8149

P.S. I meant years not tears. This stationery goes back to the 60's.

FERRY L



CO

ERSITY

HEALTH BRIEFS

Philip Morris raised nicotine, Rep. says

Cigarette giant Philip Morris boosted the nicotine levels of Benson & Hedges and Merit cigarettes after finding that smokers wanted higher nicotine, lower tar cigarettes, Rep. Henry Waxman, D-Calif., said Monday.

Documents independently obtained by USA TODAY also show company researchers manipulated nicotine levels in test cigarettes in the 1970s. Waxman says such research was put to use in cigarettes sold after 1978.

A series of studies in 1974 was "designed to determine what nicotine and menthol parameters will optimize consumer acceptability," says a research report signed by W.L. Dunn, then a top Philip Morris researcher. The same memo outlines a study of 19- to 22-year-olds to determine how much smoke they inhale from different types of cigarettes.

The documents also show that Philip Morris scientists developed test cigarettes with nicotine levels as low as .3 milligrams and as high as 1.2 milligrams. Waxman says his documents show the company found a way to boost nicotine levels by 40% while maintaining the same tar levels.

Philip Morris executives say nicotine levels go up and down depending only on tar levels. It filed a \$10 billion libel suit against ABC after the network broadcast a report that tobacco companies controlled nicotine levels to keep smokers addicted. The company had no immediate reaction to Waxman's charges.

2 forms of gene play role in Alzheimer's

The risk of developing late-onset Alzheimer's disease is affected by two forms of a gene, say researchers at the University of Pittsburgh Medical School. Their discovery adds weight to the theory that Alzheimer's results from the interaction of several factors, rather than a single cause.

"This puts it into the same category as heart disease or diabetes in terms of how you determine the risk of someone getting the disease," says Dr. Steven T. DeKosky, director of the university's Alzheimer's Disease Research Center and co-principal investigator of the study.

Tapping into new ethical quandaries

By Lawrence Hardy
USA TODAY

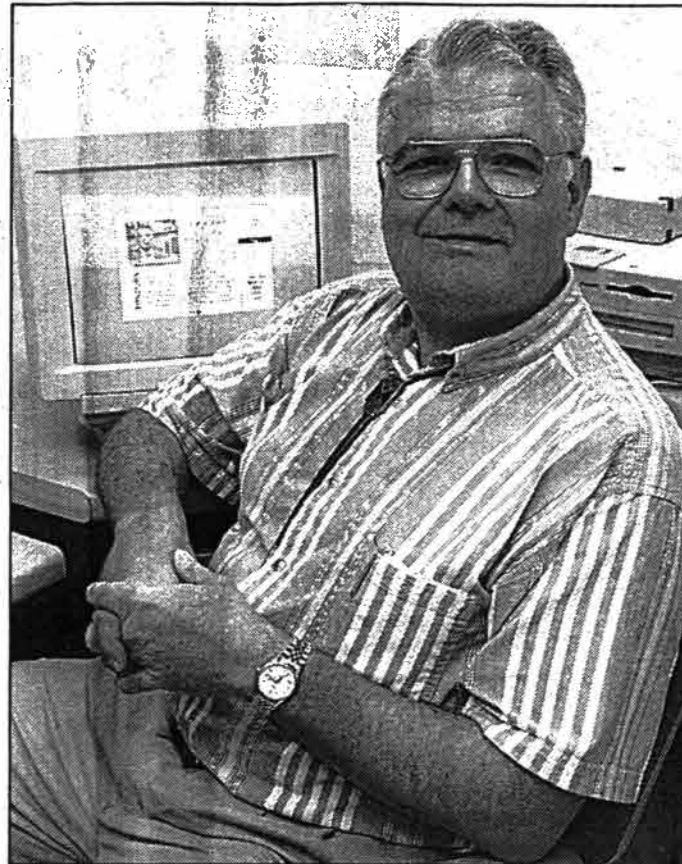
They laughed at Walter Maner in 1976 — the year he coined the phrase "computer ethics."

"I became a kind of evangelist," says Maner, who taught philosophy at Old Dominion University, Norfolk, Va., and is now a computer scientist at Bowling Green (Ohio) State University. To get people interested, he would pose ethical questions. An example: Since pirating software doesn't deprive the original owner of anything, is it really theft?

Now some of Maner's fears have been realized — and no one's laughing anymore. The field is studied by a growing number of computer science students and urged for others whose lives will be changed by the new technology.

Some scholars say existing ethical frameworks can be applied to cyberspace. Others maintain that the medium has so changed the nature of communications — creating international "communities" with only tenuous electronic ties — that nothing short of evolving ethics can contain it.

"The field is exploding so fast, I don't know if we can keep up with it," says Terry Bynum, who chairs the Ameri-



By Lori King, AP
AN UNKNOWN FRONTIER: Foreseeing some of the dangers, Walter Maner coined the term 'computer ethics' in 1976.

can Philosophical Association's Committee on Philosophy and Computing.

Keeping up with the field has, in large part, meant keeping tabs on the Internet, the

electronic network of networks linking people around the globe.

New possibilities have spawned novel twists on old issues: What privacy rights do users have on the Internet? Is it ever right to access an individual's private file? A corporation's? A government's?

"There's a real pervasive notion that if something is not illegal, it's OK to do," says Patrick Sullivan, executive director of the Computer Ethics Institute, a Washington non-profit group.

Other questions concern limits on anonymous speech or coded material (encryption), both of which have been criticized for their potential to obstruct criminal investigations.

"Civil libertarians go into orbit over (the encryption issue)," says Trotter Hardy of William & Mary's Marshall-Wythe School of Law. They say, "I can speak in whatever language I want to, and if you can't read it, it's your tough luck."

Also unresolved are questions of intellectual property. When, for example, is it permissible to copy an author's work on the Internet without violating a copyright?

Scholars approach these issues from two sides. Some say traditional ethics still work.

"It's a new species of a ge-

neric moral problem," says Deborah Johnson, a philosophy professor at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, who has helped other schools create computer ethics courses.

Others maintain the medium is so revolutionary that ethics will evolve with it.

"Computer technology is the most powerful and the most flexible technology ever developed," says Bynum, who teaches philosophy at Southern Connecticut State University, New Haven. "Even though it's called a technical revolution, at heart it's a social and ethical revolution because it changes everything we value."

It will also be a legal revolution, say law professors.

The legal questions spawned by computers and the Internet cross traditional legal boundaries, touching on everything from commerce to civil rights. But the issues are new; there is little case law, says Mark Lemley, a University of Texas at Austin law professor.

"It feels like we're on a frontier of the law," says Lemley, who runs an Internet discussion group on teaching computer law. "I think for a limited time everybody who's participating will have an opportunity to shape the future course of the law — and it's not all that often that happens."

~~Sam Be~~
**Wilson Endorses Non-Unanimous Jury
Amendment By Dave Leshner (c) 1995, Los
Angeles Times=**

SACRAMENTO Gov. Pete Wilson said Monday that the O.J. Simpson trial and other sensational California cases have convinced him that criminal convictions are too difficult to obtain and that juries should no longer be required to reach a unanimous decision.

Wilson, speaking to the National District Attorneys Assn. convention in Las Vegas, endorsed a constitutional amendment being considered by the Legislature that would reduce the unanimous jury requirement for a criminal conviction to a 10-2 vote.

The rule, which would not apply to death penalty cases, is necessary because hung juries have clogged the state's court system, run up a costly bill and caused unnecessary suffering for crime victims, the governor said.

"At present, 10% of all criminal jury trials in my state result in hung juries," Wilson said. "Some, like the Menendez case, earn headlines, scorn, even ridicule. As you've seen in the Simpson case, it's a question of whether it's Simpson on trial or the legal system. Clearly it's both."

Wilson aides said the governor was not suggesting that Simpson or the Menendez brothers Erik and Lyle, whose trial on charges of murdering their parents ended in hung juries last year were guilty. Instead, aides said the cases illustrate how jury behavior has damaged public confidence in the state's judicial system.

Neither of the two juries deliberating the fates of the Menendez brothers had even 10 votes in favor of conviction.

"We've built our jury system on the premise that 12 people individuals chosen regardless of age, gender, income or race each will be fair and honorable in their duties," said Wilson, who is an attorney. "But that's not always the case. In fact, it has become apparent that to put 12 strangers behind closed doors and expect that not one of them will act unreasonably is no longer a reasonable assumption."

Wilson told reporters after his speech that Simpson's case contributed to his decision. "But it's much broader than that," he said. "I think that it's a very serious problem. The most serious aspect of it, in my view, is that public confidence in the criminal justice system is seriously undermined."

Wilson's endorsement of the jury change comes early in his nascent bid for the White House, indicating that the governor plans to make crime a major issue in his campaign just as he did during his reelection drive last year.

Then, Wilson campaigned in support of "three strikes" legislation to lengthen sentences of habitual criminals. The governor has also supported various plans that provide more flexibility to police and prosecutors and reduce the appeals available to criminal defendants.

Officially, Wilson's appearance Monday was handled as a speech by the governor of California not a presidential candidate. But Wilson alluded to his campaign, noting that he intends to promote his anti-crime proposals nationwide.

"As you may have heard, I have occasion these days to get in front of audiences in places like Des Moines, Iowa,

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8.2.95

dam.)

Col 5-6: Bosnian Serbs attacking the Muslim safe area Zepa detain Ukrainian U.N. peacekeepers and threaten to kill them if NATO warplanes appear, effectively creating human shields against air strikes and giving the rebel Serbs the upper hand against an indecisive West. (BOSNIA-TIMES, moved.)

Above fold:

Col 2-3: Testifying about the medical conditions that he said plagued O.J. Simpson in the days after Nicole Brown Simpson and Ronald Goldman were slain, Simpson's doctor says that his patient appeared devastated by the killings but acknowledges that Simpson was strong enough to have carried them out. 980 words, by Tim Rutten and Jim Newton. (SIMPSON, moved.)

Col 4: The California Supreme Court, ruling in the case of a Los Angeles man who contends he was blinded by malathion spraying when he was 14 years old, says that manufacturers of the pesticide cannot be held liable for injuries that occurred during the state's emergency Medfly program. By Richard C. Paddock. (MALATHION, moved.)

Col 6: The Clinton administration says it is willing to send U.S. military helicopters and ground crews to help the allies bolster U.N. forces in Bosnia but will not formally commit itself until Britain and France settle their differences over how far to carry the fight. (BOSNIA-POLICY-TIMES, moved.)

Below fold:

Col 3: California Gov. Pete Wilson says that the O.J. Simpson murder trial and other sensational California cases have convinced him that criminal convictions are too difficult to obtain and that juries should no longer be required to reach unanimous decisions. By Dave Leshner. (WILSON, moved.)

Cols 5-6: As the two Americans imprisoned for four months in Iraq arrive in Jordan, Iraqi President Saddam Hussein warns the United Nations that he will not comply with disarmament efforts and other U.N. resolutions dating to the 1991 Gulf War unless economic sanctions are lifted. (IRAQ-TIMES, moved.)

Bottom of page:

Col 1-2: Kimberly-Clark Corp. agrees to buy Scott Paper Co. for \$6.8 billion in stock, creating the world's largest facial tissue company and illustrating how growing global competition in household products is forcing many industry giants to combine. By Denise Giellene. (PAPER, moved.)

Cols 5-6: The approach of the election season renews a familiar Democratic tradition. The Rev. Jesse Jackson considers a presidential bid and party faithful tremble at the damage this could inflict on their leading candidate for the job. (JACKSON, moving Tuesday.)

Manchester, New Hampshire," Wilson said in a prepared text for his speech. "And there is no single issue in which I take greater pride and satisfaction than the effort I've led to lock up career criminals in California. And I say it's time we took that fight to the rest of America."

Support for a non-unanimous jury system has grown significantly in California over the last few years, when experts say a number of high-profile cases have shaken confidence in the court's integrity.

The proposed constitutional amendment is carried in the Legislature by Assemblyman and former Sheriff Richard K. Rainey (R-Walnut Creek) and it is sponsored by the California District Attorney's Assn. It is opposed by the American Civil Liberties Union.

Supporters say the impact of a non-unanimous jury has been proven in Louisiana and Oregon where conviction on a 10-2 decision has been the norm for about 60 years. The U.S. Supreme Court, in a 5-4 decision, upheld the practice in 1973.

Studies have indicated that the non-unanimous jury has not increased conviction rates since most deadlocked panels lean toward acquittal. Supporters of the legislation note that only 3.1% of Oregon's felony trials end in hung juries, significantly below the national average.

Rainey's bill was rejected last May on a party-line vote by the Assembly Public Safety Committee. Since the vote, however, control of the committee has switched from Democrats to Republicans. Supporters say the measure will be reconsidered by the committee and they expect it to pass.

Prospects elsewhere, however, remain uncertain or unfavorable. Because the change requires an amendment to the state Constitution, it must be approved by a two-thirds majority in both the Assembly and Senate. Democrats control the Senate and predicted the effort will fail in their chamber.

After passage by the Legislature and the governor, the proposal would only become law if it is approved by voters. Supporters hope the matter could be placed on the ballot in March or November, 1996.

In his speech, Wilson also attacked President Clinton, challenging him to support changes that speed up death penalty appeals.

"The man most likely to be executed next in California Keith Daniel Williams first entered Death Row on April 13, 1979," the governor said. "That just isn't right. Old age shouldn't be the leading cause of death on Death Row."

more flexibility to police and prosecutors and reduce the appeals available to criminal defendants.

Officially, Wilson's appearance Monday was handled as a speech by the governor of California not a presidential candidate. But Wilson alluded to his campaign, noting that he intends to promote his anti-crime proposals nationwide.

"As you may have heard, I have occasion these days to get in front of audiences in places like Des Moines, Iowa,

The TV Censorship Chip: Dream or Nightmare? **By Rick du Brow= (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times=**

HOLLYWOOD The TV entertainment industry and its advertisers will break into a cold sweat if their latest nightmare the v-chip becomes a reality.

Amid the most recent barrage against sex, violence and racy language on the home screen, potential congressional legislation could require television sets to include a device the v-chip that would enable parents and others to block out such programming and, says one source, entire time periods as well.

Programs would be classified under some sort of movie-type rating system, then electronically coded. Viewers could activate the chip in their TV set to black out whatever programming they found to contain objectionable material on broadcast outlets and cable.

Senate Majority Leader Robert Dole, R-Kan., a Republican presidential contender, set off an ongoing furor with a recent attack on sex and violence in TV, movies and pop music.

President Clinton, who last week supported the v-chip but has taken a more kid-gloves approach to Hollywood, where he picks up major campaign contributions, has also suggested that show business be more careful of its product. Poll results indicate that much of the public agrees. And 1996 is a presidential election year.

Thus the question: To v-chip or not to v-chip?

The showdown could hardly be more crucial for TV at a time when networks are losing viewers and many broadcasters and cable operators are turning to exploitative programming, desperately trying to hold on to increasingly fractionalized audiences. Further viewer erosion from a v-chip could add significantly to the crisis.

That in turn could cause a drop in prices that sponsors pay, as well as a possible loss of some advertisers.

Well, as you can imagine, those who have been highly critical of TV's racier bent in recent years may well think this is all just fine absolutely great, in fact. Who, they might ask, are these networks and other makers of television programs who are undermining our values, our standards, our tastes and how long did they think they could get away with it without a backlash that carries the threat of real clout?

If the public agrees that commercial TV is simply running wild from suggestive prime-time programs to freaky afternoon talk shows to crime-heavy local news to tabloid-style newsmagazines Hollywood, always an easy congressional target, might be a truly vulnerable one this time around.

History has generally been on the side of the TV entertainment moguls. The past pattern has been almost predictable: Congress gets headlines by hollering about

Cols 5-6: The approach of the election season renews a familiar Democratic tradition. The Rev. Jesse Jackson considers a presidential bid and party faithful tremble at the damage this could inflict on their leading candidate for the job. (JACKSON, moving Tuesday.)

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Bruce Lindsey to POTUS re: General Counsel [partial] (1 page)	07/10/1995	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7689

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files August 1-5, 1995 [2]

2019-0774-S

rs3291

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-2-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 10, 1995

95 JUL 11 P3:04

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Bruce R. Lindsey

Subject: General Counsel at the Department of Transportation

This is a follow-up to our discussion on AF-1 about the General Counsel position at the Department of Transportation. My understanding is that between Nancy McFadden and Sam Dubbin, Nancy is Secretary Pena's strong preference. The Secretary interviewed and considered Sam Dubbin at the request of the White House.

(b)(6)

As you know, the General Counsel of DOT is the point person on many politically sensitive decisions (transfer of funds from the Los Angeles Airport Authority to the City of Los Angeles, international routing decision, etc.).

Secretary Pena and Rodney Slater have agreed to offer Sam Dubbin the General Counsel position at the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA). As you know, the top issues that are handled by NHTSA are: setting standards for the Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE); working on automotive defect issues with relation to safety standards; continuing regulatory issues with NPR and new regulations on auto head injuries and anti-lock brakes for large trucks; and continuing behavioral issues such as drunk driving, safety belts and speed limits. The General Counsel of NHTSA heads a staff of approximately thirty attorneys with staff support.

I continue to believe that we should concur in Secretary Pena's recommendation of Nancy McFadden as General Counsel of the Department of Transportation, while simultaneously offering Sam Dubbin the General Counsel position at the NHTSA.

12-6

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S RECORD ON VIOLENCE AND HOLLYWOOD
(updated 6/2/95)

Town Hall Meeting in Billings, Montana, Thursday, June 1, 1995

Q. Mr. President, G. Gordon Liddy, the NRA and some right-wing groups are using incendiary rhetoric about federal agencies with whose policies they disagree. They seem to have forgotten the advice the political right used against protestors against the U.S. policy in Vietnam in the '60s and '70s when their answer was love it or leave it. What is your perception of the contrast between the protestors of the '60s and '70s and those of the '90s and the response of the U.S. government? Thank you.

The President. Well, first of all, there were some people in the '60s and '70s who went beyond their First Amendment rights and advocated violence. And they were wrong then, and this crowd is wrong now.

And it's very interesting to me to see that there are some public officials in our country who are only too happy to criticize the culture of violence being promoted by the media in our country or the rap lyrics that are coming out in some of our recordings -- which I have also criticized before they did, by and large -- but are stone-cold silent when these other folks are talking and making violence seem like it's okay.

And I believe, again, if we're going to create an American community where we can disagree, vote differently, work through our differences, but all think we're friends and neighbors and get closer together, we have to have a uniform standard that says violence is wrong, illegal conduct is wrong, and people that are out there encouraging people and explicitly tell them when it's okay for them to take the law into their own hands and be violent, they're wrong.

Character Education Conference, the White House, May 20, 1995

The President. If you think about -- let me mention the entertainment industry, there's been a lot said about that and I got a big standing ovation at the State of the Union from both Republican and Democratic members of Congress when I talked about the damage that comes to our society from incessant, repetitive, mindless violence coming through entertainment. There are lots of studies showing that young people tend to get numbed to violence, and to the consequences of it, from constant overexposure to it.

And I say this, not to point the finger at anybody. I have enjoyed more than my fair share of what I would call cheap thrills movies in my time. So, I am not being sanctimonious about this. I'm just saying it is an established fact that if children from very early ages are exposed to huge volumes of a certain kind of entertainment, it desensitizes them to the same sort of conduct in the real world. There's lots of evidence about that.

[...]

The Children's Educational Television Act -- Television Education Act was passed back in 1990. I think there is more to do here. We need -- the broadcasters need to read that Act again and adhere to its spirit, as well as to its letters. We should be thinking twice before movies and rap music that celebrate violence against women or law enforcement officers are put out there in huge volume, in piling one on top of one another.

There is a connection, in this sense, between words and deeds. We do get dulled of that to which we are overexposed in a banalizing way.

Interview on 60 Minutes, April 23, 1995

Mr. Wallace. Final question -- do we see too much violence in movies and television in the United States?

The President. Well, I have said before, I said in my State of the Union Address, that I think we see it sometimes when it's disembodied and romanticized, when you don't deal with the consequences of it. I think -- when a movie shows violence, if it's honest and it's horrible and it's ugly and there are human consequences, then maybe that's a realistic and a decent thing to do. That movie "Boyz N the Hood," I thought, did a good job of that.

But when a movie -- when movie after movie after movie after movie sort of romanticizes violence and killing and you don't see the human consequences, you don't see the faces of the mothers and the children that I saw today, the husbands and the wives, then I think too much of it can deaden the senses of a lot of Americans. And we need to be aware of that.

But it's not just the movies showing violence. It's the words spouting violence, giving sanction to violence, telling people how to practice violence that are sweeping all across the country. People should examine the consequences of what they say and the kind of emotions they are trying to inflame.

CNN Interview, April 13, 1995

The President. Well, I would remind you that long before Senator Dole said anything about it, I actually went to Hollywood and challenged them to deglorify violence, to deglorify sexual misconduct, to deglorify drug use, to deglorify destructive behaviors, and to try to help to build this country up. I also said the same thing in the State of the Union Address. And if you'll remember, it got as strong a response as anything that we had done. I think there --

Ms. Woodruff. And you're still saying that?

The President. Absolutely. And I think there has to be -- I think what we need nobody wants to abolish the First Amendment, but people who can shape our culture have a responsibility to try to help build it up. And when they show things that are destructive, they need to be shown in a destructive light, not in a glorified light.

So if I might give you two examples, I think that one reason people liked "Forrest Gump" is they thought it reasserted American values. And it didn't hide the problems of the sixties, seventies, and eighties; in fact, it explored them, but it showed them in a sad and tragic light.

The movie "Boys N The Hood" was a violent movie, but it deglorified, it demystified gang life. No one could watch that movie and walk away from it with anything other than that children should not do these things. So there is a way for these subjects to be dealt with and to be commercially successful and still send cultural messages that bring us together and make us stronger.

1995 State of the Union

"For people in the entertainment industry in this country, we applaud your creativity and your world-wide success, and we support your freedom of expression. But you do have a responsibility to assess the impact of your work and to understand the damage that comes from the incessant, repetitive, mindless violence and irresponsible conduct that permeates our media all the time. (Applause.)"

Radio Address, December 11, 1993

"I've spoken to leaders from the religious community and the entertainment community about the obligation we all share to fight violence with values. Last week I was proud to hear that the Inner-city Broadcasting corporation of New York, which owns five radio stations throughout the country, will no longer play songs that advocate violence or show contempt for women. And I understand that two stations in Los Angeles -- KACE, owned by former Green Bay Packer Willy Davis; and KJLH, owned by Stevie Wonder -- have also adopted this policy. Whether we're ministers or moviemakers, business people or broadcasters, teachers or parents, we can all set our sons and daughters on a better path in life so they can learn and love and lead decent and productive lives."

*- Next up
2/20/94 (Fox?)*

Creative Artists Agency, December 3, 1993

But what might be entertaining to us -- a violent, thrilling movie or television program, a torrid but fundamentally amoral use and manipulation of people in what may be for us just an entertaining 30 minutes or an hour -- if it's 10 or 11 hours a day of relentless exposure into the minds of people who have never been taught to understand the consequences of their action, never had any kind of internal structure motivated and driven by seeing their parents go to work every day and having a regular relationship with family and having other institutions, then these things can unintentionally set forth a chain reaction of even more

impulsive behavior, even more inability to deal with conflict in nonviolent ways and to pass up the aggressive influences and impulses that all of us feel but most of us learn at some point in our lives not to act on. And it all gets worse if the void left by the loss of family and work and other institutions is filled by gangs and guns and drugs.

So, what I ask you for tonight is not to wear a hair shirt and say, "Mea culpa, I wish I hadn't done this, that, or the other thing," but to recognize that what may be one person's moment of entertainment, even exhilaration, the taking your mind off the pressures of the day, can, when multiplied by 1,000, have a cumulative impact that at the very least does not help to bring a whole generation of people back from the brink.

I'm telling you, if we don't find a way to deal with this, the rest of these endeavors ultimately will fail. We will not be able to make a strength out of our diversity. We will not be able to restore the ladder from poverty to the middle class that can be climbed through work and education. We will not be able to put our people back together again and use our money on education and opportunity instead of crime and jail.

So what I ask you to do is to join a partnership with me, not to stop entertaining or even titillating, not to stop frightening or thrilling the American public, but to examine what together you might do to simply face the reality that so many of our young people live with and help us as we seek to rebuild the frayed bonds of this community, as we seek to give children nonviolent ways to resolve their own frustrations, as we seek to restore some structure and some hope and some essential dignity and purpose to lives that have been dominated by chaos or worse.

We must do this. Make no mistake about it. No society, no society can prosper allowing huge pockets of people to go on forever without the opportunity to work, allowing huge pockets of children to go on without me opportunity to get a decent education, allowing huge sections of cities to be no man's lands, where the law of the automatic assault weapon controls. We cannot do well if we permit that to happen. We need every last dollar we can to invest in growth and opportunity and positive good things. And we have to use every means at our command.

Rainbow Coalition, June 13, 1992

You had a rap singer here last night named Sister SoulJah. I defend her right to express herself through music, but her comments before and after Los Angeles were filled with the kind of hatred that you do not honor today and tonight.

Just listen to this, what she said. She told the Washington Post about a month ago and I quote, "If black people kill black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people. So you're a gang member and normally kill somebody. Why not kill a white person."

Last year she said, "You can't call me or any black person anywhere in the world a racist. We don't have the power to do to white people what white people have done to us. And even if we did, we don't have that low down and dirty nature. If there are any good white people I haven't met them. Where are they?" Right here in this room. That's where they are.

I know she is a young person, but she has a big influence on a lot of people. And when people say that, if you took the words white and black and reversed them, you might think David Duke was giving that speech.

Let me tell you, we all make mistakes and sometimes we're not as sensitive as we ought to be. But we have an obligation, all of us, to call attention to prejudice wherever we see it.

A few months ago I made a mistake. I joined a friend of mine and I played golf in a country club that didn't have any African-American members. I was criticized for doing it. You know what, I was rightly criticized for doing it. I make a mistake. And I said I would never do that again.

Enslin (H) ^{THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN} 8.2.95

fulfilling

3C

Philip Morris Plan Infuriates Cigarette Retailers

By SUEIN L. HWANG

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Who could quarrel with a plan to curb underage smoking? Plenty of people.

Philip Morris Cos. last month unveiled such a plan without informing cigarette retailers. Now the retailers are livid and adamantly opposed to the plan, which calls for licensing the retailers and cutting marketing support to stores convicted of selling to kids.

Retailers say the plan shifts the majority of the blame for kids' smoking away from cigarette makers — especially the industry's advertising and promotions — and onto a convenient scapegoat. "It is disappointing that the priorities of the largest tobacco manufacturer in the nation have degenerated to posturing blame," wrote the National Association of Convenience Stores, long a sturdy lobbying ally of the cigarette industry, in a blistering letter to Philip Morris. "Your plan will certainly punish our industry for these events, but it will not solve the problem," added the letter, obtained from a person close to the association's executive committee.

"Retailer outlets handle your product because of its demand created by your high-powered advertising," complained Bobby W. Sproles, owner of two convenience stores in Bristol, Va., in a letter to Philip Morris Chief Executive Geoffrey C. Bible.

Some retailers also say Philip Morris is quietly meeting with them to try to assure

TOBACCO

them that the plan's measures aren't as onerous as the retailers complain. Indeed, some health officials worry the measures could well be toothless. The Coalition on Smoking or Health reports that licensing of cigarette retailers is already required by 41 states and the District of Columbia, but only nine states include penalties leading up to revocation of a license for selling to minors.

The controversy points up the tangled industry interests and difficult enforcement problems at stake in youth smoking, just as the White House weighs an array of options to address the problem. The Food and Drug Administration has concluded that it has the authority to regulate nicotine as a drug; the White House is also looking at milder voluntary measures.

A Philip Morris spokesman stressed that both retailers and the company "share the same goal" of eliminating youth smoking and emphasized that the company is working with retailers to "develop a consensus" on how to do that. "Like any consensus-building project, this is something that takes time," he added.

Philip Morris's youth-smoking plan, dubbed "Action Against Access," promises to "seek state legislation calling for reasonable cigarette retail licensing requirements." But earlier this month, D.J. Leary, a Philip Morris outside publicist,

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

said at a meeting of Minnesota convenience-store operators that retailer licensing is "not a priority of the program."

Two people who heard Mr. Leary speak say he also assured retailers the Philip Morris plan wouldn't add much of a new hardship since there's already "sort of a form of licensing" in Minnesota. Mr. Leary was attending a workshop on how to prevent sales to minors, co-sponsored by the Smokeless Tobacco Council.

Reached late yesterday, Mr. Leary said he wasn't speaking on behalf of Philip Morris. He also said that his comments were made in the context of answering a question about potential conflicts about representing both Philip Morris and retailers.

In fact, while numerous Minnesota cities require cigarette licenses, only about a quarter of them currently use them to enforce underage smoking laws, according to the Association for Nonsmokers Minnesota. Earlier this year, a bill that would have revoked licenses of retailers caught repeatedly selling cigarettes to children died in the Minnesota legislature. Supporters of the bill blamed the defeat on heavy lobbying by Philip Morris and other cigarette makers together with the retailing industry.

In its Action Against Access plan, Philip Morris agreed to place "Under-

age Sale Prohibited" notices on its packs and to stop distributing free cigarette samples. The company also vowed to push for laws requiring that cigarettes be sold within sight of a sales clerk and limiting kids' access to vending machines.

Several health authorities have called for stricter measures, including an outright ban on cigarette vending machines, a requirement that stores keep cigarettes behind their counters and a ban on ads that target underage smokers.

The Philip Morris plan is "an ineffective program whose sole purpose is to convince the federal government that there's no need to get involved," says Joseph DiFranza, a family physician and associate professor at the University of Massachusetts Medical Center in Worcester.

Dr. DiFranza recently completed a study, which hasn't been published, in which he sent minors to make 240 attempts to buy cigarettes at 40 stores participating in a tobacco-industry sponsored program to curb youth smoking and 240 attempts at 40 stores that weren't in the program. He says he found that the kids were successful roughly a third of the time at both groups. The five-year-old program, "It's The Law," trains merchants to spot underage smokers and provides big warning signs.

Brennan Dawson, a spokeswoman for the Tobacco Institute, a leading industry trade group, said she hadn't seen the study.

WHY ARE THESE FORMER GIRL SCOUTS SICK?

The bond these women shared as children now haunts them as adults. What really happened back at that summer camp by the lake? By Mubarak Dahir

THE WOMEN

Terri Harman was only 27 years old in 1986, when the dull ache she'd had in her left side for almost a year finally grew unbearable. At the end of her waitressing shift at the After Dark Club in Hampton, Virginia, she drove herself to the hospital; it was late at night, and her husband, Elton, an aircraft mechanic, was home with their 2-year-old son. Sometime in the wee hours, Terri called home crying. In the emergency room, her doctors first diagnosed her symptoms as appendicitis. Then they found a tumor the size of a man's fist on her left ovary.

They thought it might be cancer.

When the pain first woke Pam Cobb one June morning in 1989, she figured it was the same old thing—another cyst on one of her ovaries. In five years she'd had several, and they caused such heavy menstrual bleeding and abdominal cramps that she'd become nauseated. But this time the pain was so bad Pam couldn't stand up. Five days later she was in surgery having a cyst removed from her left ovary.

Holly Lanutti, third from right, at the Maple Grove Day Camp in 1968. Doctors have not been able to explain why she can't have children.

Although it wasn't her first cyst, it was the worst. Her first, at age 25, just a month after her wedding in 1984, disappeared on its own. Her doctor wasn't alarmed then or later that year when Pam's first pregnancy ended in miscarriage. "He told me it wasn't unusual, so I didn't worry." Eventually, Pam, now 36 and a waitress in Barnsboro, New Jersey, and her husband, Alan, a sprinkler-fitter, had three children. But in between, Pam had also had three *more* miscar-



VP
8.2.25
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN



**THE WATER, FISH AND SOIL OF
ALCYON LAKE ARE CONTAMINATED
WITH CANCER CAUSING CHEMICALS**

BY ORDER OF PITTSBURGH COUNTY AND BO OF HEALTH
SUPPORTED BY JOHN'S WOMEN'S CLUB

Poisons from
the nearby
dump eventually
emptied into this
19-acre lake,
about a mile
from the camp.

Girl Scouts

(continued from page 95)

was a shock to see their hometown not only listed on the 1983 federal Environmental Protection Agency's roster of 406 Superfund sites, but at the top of it. By then Holly had moved away to the New Jersey shore, where she was waitressing to put herself through nursing school at Stockton State College. When she heard the news, she called her parents in Pitman to make sure they had too. But she certainly didn't think about her own health. She was only 23. "It didn't correlate. I was young and healthy, and there was no reason to be suspicious at the time."

Pam had just moved in with Alan in Williamstown, ten miles from her childhood home, and was working as a waitress in Lindenwold. One morning, over a cup of coffee, she read a newspaper headline about the toxic waste dump. "Oh my gosh!" she thought. "Not in Pitman!" Then she looked down at her watch and hurried off to work without giving the Superfund list another thought.

Terri never even heard about it. In 1976 her family moved to Virginia. Pitman wasn't big news down there. Plus, she had other things on her mind: Her older brother, Gary, was sick. No one could figure out what was wrong. Until he was diagnosed with spinal brain stem cancer. He was only 27.

THE TOWN

It's hard to believe that such news might register as no more than a blip in a person's consciousness. But the former Girl Scouts weren't alone in their insouciance. If most townspeople remembered a landfill existed out there in the woods, they had no reason to suspect it harbored any danger. "We had no idea how bad this thing was," says Harry Lindsay, 52, an electronic-parts salesman who moved to Pitman in 1965. "There had been no talk in town about it before the Superfund list came out."

As it was, Lindsay was one of the more environmentally aware residents. He lived in a house 15 feet from Alcyon Lake, and had been one of the first to alert the state in the late sixties to the smell that wafted across the water. When the Superfund cleanup began, Lindsay was a member of the borough environmental commission, an appointment he remembers as frus-

trating: The more the group found out about the Lipari landfill, the scarier the implications became, yet Lindsay says it was his duty to report the findings not to the public but to the mayor. "I felt I couldn't bring out the facts and scream as loud as I wanted," he says. And so he quit the commission and, in May 1985, spearheaded a citizens group called the Pitman Alcyon Lake Lipari Landfill Community Association (PALLCA). Health was chief among Lindsay's concerns: What were the long-term effects of the toxins they were uncovering in the Lipari landfill?

That, he says, was a question no one wanted to answer. Lindsay remembers pressing the EPA again and again for a federal registry to document illnesses in Pitman. He never got

Some of the ducks had two bills, or they had just one eye or only one wing, a woman recalled.

it. Everyone was more intent on getting the place mopped up. And that was some job.

The \$100 million cleanup started in 1983, with the sinking of a 30-inch wide clay wall 50 feet deep around the 16-acre landfill area to contain the leachate. The area was also capped with a waterproof cover to contain airborne toxins. The EPA then planned to "batch-flush" the landfill by drilling wells, through which polluted water would be extracted, purified, then injected back into the landfill. PALLCA eventually got the EPA to add a third phase—excavating contaminated marsh soil and heating it to destroy toxins—but that effort forced PALLCA to turn attention away from its prime concern, health, to the technology of flushing.

And that, unfortunately, was not a subject that engendered passion over the long haul. According to Dana Kaminstein, Ph.D., a social psychologist at the University of Pennsylvania who is writing a book about Pitman, EPA officials routinely avoided answering questions about health during public hearings, and what answers they gave were so tech-heavy, residents became frustrated. Fewer and fewer attended meetings, and fewer of those who did challenged EPA findings.

Harry Lindsay paid a price for his questions. He remembers sitting in the Broadway Cafe on Main Street, having a cup of coffee, and residents march-

ing up to him and screaming, "What are you trying to do to this town?" Lindsay wasn't surprised: "One, they were worried about property values," he says. "Two, they felt the problem was so colossal, there was nothing they could do about it. And three, they desperately wanted to believe someone was taking care of the community they so loved. No one wanted to believe that anything bad could really happen. Not in Pitman."

In 1986 Lindsay got satisfaction, of a sort. In response to PALLCA's pressure, the state health department began a study of cancer rates in residents living within 2.5 kilometers of the Lipari landfill. The study started with the year 1980 (allowing for a 15-year latency period for cancer to sur-

face) and was updated every year through 1989. The results? No statistically elevated cancer rates.

There were just a few snags: The latency period for some cancers can be 20 years. The study ignored other types of health problems. And it did not include anyone who had left the Pitman area—like Terri Harman and her brother Gary.

THE WOMEN

Two days after Terri left work for the emergency room, she listened as an oncologist sat on the edge of her hospital bed and told her the tumor on her ovary was so large she would need three times the normal dose of chemotherapy. If all went well, she had a 40 percent chance of survival.

Everyone in the family started crying except Terri. "I was so scared, but I wanted to be strong," she recalls. "I waited until they went to the cafeteria. Then I cried so hard I was shaking."

Terri spent most of the next six months in a hospital bed. She was so weak she couldn't feed herself and was barely able to speak. She lost 72 pounds and most of her hair. A day didn't go by that she didn't rail at God. "Why me? I'm only 27 years old!"

One day Terri was staring at the TV when a commercial showing a mother rocking her child came on. "All I could think was that I was going to die and miss my son's (continued on page 108)

Girl Scouts

(continued from page 106)

life: I wouldn't take him to his first day of school or go to his graduation or see him get married." Terri asked a nurse to phone her doctor, and to hold the receiver for her. "I want to go home," Terri whispered to the doctor. "I want to see my baby boy." That evening, lying on the couch with her son at her feet, she vowed to live.

Though she was still so sick from chemotherapy that she vomited almost anything she ate, Terri forced herself to swallow the cherry sodas, meatball sandwiches, and Butterfingers that Elton plied her with. Slowly she began to gain back her weight and strength.

A week later she was sitting in the doctor's office, stunned: The cancer was in remission. Elton started to cry, but Terri was silent, letting the words sink in. "I have another chance at life!" her mind screamed.

Not once during her whole ordeal had Terri—or anyone else in the family—made a connection between her cancer and her brother's.

"Ten years after, you can look back and it is obvious," Terri says. "But at the time I hadn't heard about all the cancers in Pitman. I hadn't even thought about Pitman in years. So there was no reason to be suspicious."

It was just double bad luck.

THE CAMP

It took until 1992 to drill the wells and build the water-treatment plant at the Lipari landfill; flushing won't be completed until the year 2000. This spring and summer Alcyon Lake was finally drained; eight feet of sediment was dug up. Weather permitting, the lake will be refilled for the first time this month.

The town has also taken steps to fill in the gaps left by the state cancer study. With a \$400,000 federal grant, Pitman set up the Lipari Information Network (LINK) to document the health histories of people who lived there from 1967 to 1984, when the landfill was capped. Clare Bonner, LINK's director, says by the time LINK completes the survey in 1997, all participants will have been mailed detailed questionnaires about their health histories, and how they might have been exposed to the landfill.

One question on the form: Did you ever go to the Girl Scout camp in Pitman?

LOOKING BACK, PAM AND HOLLY remember thinking it was weird that they both had gynecological problems at the same time, and so young. Yet their problems paled compared with what they'd occasionally hear about childhood friends. Often it was Pam's mom, who still lives in Pitman, who'd update them, usually in passing: "By the way, did you hear so-and-so has cancer?" And then Pam would tell Holly, but again, only in passing.

The first death Pam remembers hearing about, sometime in the mid-eighties, was Jeanette Falunas's, who'd graduated from Pitman High School just two years ahead of them. Pam remembers it was cancer, but not what type. At Pitman's annual Labor Day carnival in 1988, Holly ran into former

She lost 72 pounds and almost all her hair. Every day she railed at God, "Why me? I'm only 27 years old!"

classmates who told her Gail Lutz, a year older, had leukemia. In the early nineties their school friend Bobby Weir died of brain cancer. In 1993 Holly bumped into Regina Morrison Hills, an old friend who'd moved away; Regina mentioned that when she was 26, she'd had ovarian cancer and had undergone a hysterectomy. "God!" thought Holly. "She's really young."

Then Mary Ann Wuertz Collings died from melanoma in 1993. She was 33.

Pam was home when her mother called to tell her about Mary Ann's death. After drying her tears, she took out a sheet of paper and wrote down the names of everyone under 40 from Pitman who she knew was dead or had cancer or some serious or uncommon illness. She listed 23 names. Pam immediately phoned Holly.

"You're not going to believe this," Pam said. "Do you remember Mary Ann Wuertz? She's dead."

Pam told Holly about the list, too, but Holly wasn't listening. An old scene kept replaying in her mind's eye:

It was a hot summer day at the Maple Grove Day Camp for Girl Scouts. Holly was splashing in Zee's Pond when Daisy, the swimming teacher, suddenly yelled "Buddy up!" Though her memory was fuzzy, Holly could still recall the big smile on Mary Ann Wuertz's face as they clasped hands and raised them high in the air.

THE WOMEN

In February 1994, Terri Harman's sister, Robin Wilson, a 37-year-old school aide and mother of two, was swimming laps at the YMCA in Hatboro, Pennsylvania, just 25 miles north of Pitman. She noticed that a normally cheerful woman getting out of the pool looked depressed.

"How are you doing tonight?" Robin asked her.

The woman said her father and brother had cancer.

"Oh, I have both a brother and a sister who have cancer too," Robin replied sympathetically.

"By any chance did you ever live in Pitman, New Jersey?" the woman asked.

Robin almost choked. "How could she know that?" she wondered.

It turned out that the woman had lived in Pitman and had heard that a lot of residents were getting cancer. Robin was too shocked to answer. It was true that her own sister had had cancer. It was also true that she had suffered two miscarriages, and had an irregular heartbeat. And her brother Gary's condition had deteriorated; he'd been paralyzed from the neck down since last year. But she'd never looked at it like that, that a lot of people in one town were getting cancer. She dried off, but she still shook.

Robin rushed home, dug up her old Pitman High yearbook, then picked up the phone. She started randomly calling from the first page to the last, touching base with old friends, including two girls, Pam Cobb and Holly Lanutti, who'd gone to Girl Scout camp with her younger sister.

Her former classmates told her what they knew, and with each call she made—to people as far away as Canada and Australia and New Zealand—Robin heard another sad story. Of the 300 people she reached, more than 150 had been stricken with cancer—brain, spinal, liver, breast, ovarian—or recurring (though non-malignant) tumors in their arms or legs, or irregular heartbeats, or respiratory problems. Robin thought the number too high (continued on page 110)

MONDAY



TUESDAY



WEDNESDAY



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Girl Scouts

(continued from page 108)

to be coincidence. "At first, it was like a business, tracing people and finding out what happened to them," she says. "But then, as I would hear the horrible stories, like people dying of strange brain cancers, I would remember the kids I used to play with, and it became more and more personal."

THE CAMP

It's funny how the pieces of a puzzle stare you in the face and yet you don't see them. You stare at the pieces and say, "Yup, those are pieces all right" and then you keep right on staring. That's what it's been like for Terri, Holly, Pam and Robin over the last months. They've been staring at the pieces, wondering how they fit the puzzle.

Was it just a fluke that they'd all gone to the same Girl Scout camp? Occasionally, Pam and Holly would hear of another girl who'd been there and later got sick. Or was the common denominator simply Pitman? They knew that in 1987 Harry Lindsay's heart had started beating irregularly—medical records list the cause as "pos-

sible toxic cardiomyopathy"—and that later he'd had a stroke. So was the missing piece Alcyon Lake? The park?

Questions, questions, questions. Ask one, you get ten more.

THE TOWN

Finally, Robin called the Borough Council, and was referred to LINK. "At first I was happy to hear that something like this existed," Robin said. "But I was surprised, too. No one in my family has ever been contacted by LINK." Suspicious, she started in with a full-court press: Was LINK really contacting people who'd had the greatest toxic exposure? Why didn't it have any data yet after four years?

By then Robin had talked with Harry Lindsay, and had scoured piles of newspaper clips dating back to the 1970s. The fact that LINK is government sponsored makes it hard for her—and Pam, Holly, and Terri—to trust what officials say: They feel there's just too much similarity here to the eighties, to the battles to get the place properly cleaned up. One particular story sticks in their minds. The Borough Council did not remove playground equipment from Betty Park, on the banks of Alcyon Lake, until 1987,

six years after announcement of the Superfund list, which was certainly enough time to realize the lake posed a health threat. Robin had seen newspaper clips that quoted council members saying they didn't want to remove the equipment because they didn't want to cause a panic in town.

Robin adamantly refused to stop asking questions.

Not surprisingly, she did not get a warm response. In May 1994, LINK sent a newsletter to all 3,440 people on its register, warning them that an "unauthorized survey" was being conducted and that "those involved are not revealing their purpose or intention." The newsletter also accused Robin (without naming her) of sometimes being "offensive and inflammatory." According to Bonner, LINK's concern is that if people are "harassed" with Robin's calls, they may not want to fill out LINK's 22-page questionnaire. "She is not conducting a *scientific* survey," says Bonner. "Also, we warned them that she is not guaranteeing confidentiality."

The former Girl Scouts don't know what to think.

"First, I'm never contacted by LINK. Then I see this newsletter

Fun day

FRIDAY



Lunch will never be the same.

telling people like me not to talk to anyone else!" says Holly. "It makes me wonder why they don't want anyone raising questions but them." She's miffed that LINK's newsletter made her old friend sound so flaky. "Robin's not a nut," she says. "She's just a concerned woman whose family has been tragically affected. Robin just wants some answers. And so do we."

THE WOMEN

About six months ago, Holly quit the fertility treatments. "I've finally resigned myself to the notion that I may never be a mother," she says sadly. "The most frustrating thing is that my infertility remains undiagnosed. Every day I ask: Did the Lipari landfill steal my dreams for a family?"

Terri's cancer has been in remission for eight years, but she still worries. "You can never be 100 percent sure, but I really don't think this was just a freak thing. Every day I wake up and wonder, Is this the day I go out of remission?" she asks. "I feel like it's a life sentence."

Last September Pam was in the hotel kitchen, about to pick up an order,

when she doubled over with cramps. For the next three months, she was so sick her mother and mother-in-law had to take turns cooking, cleaning, and getting the kids off to school. She was hospitalized for more tests. The results were normal. She's terrified that one day they won't be.

"We had no idea what we were subjecting our bodies to as innocent little girls," she says. "We would never have gone to Girl Scout camp if we'd known about all those chemicals."

THE TOWN

Pitman is a town where little boys still sport crew cuts and little girls still wear pigtails. At the library or coffee shop or gas station people go out of their way to help. Until you say why you're here—that you're looking to talk to people who've grown up around here and who've gotten sick. Then doors slam in your face. People hang up phones. And they say stuff like "I have to ask the Borough Council if I can talk about this." Often, it's the people who you *know* are sick who are the most reticent.

"The town has been torn apart by long, long battles with the EPA, where promises were made and broken,"

explains Dr. Kaminstein. "There is a sense of hopelessness that even if their cancers were caused by the landfill, what can they do about it?"

Last April Harry Lindsay finally called it quits. He sold his house and moved away from Pitman. "I tried to fight for the good of the town," he says, "and all I did was get beat up for it." He'd had enough.

That leaves the former Girl Scouts as the last of the crusaders—albeit reluctant ones. So far, Robin has spent more than \$7,000 on phone bills alone. "I'll spend my last penny to find out the truth," she says. But there are so many dead ends and so many questions. No one remembers for sure when the Girl Scout camp closed—probably in the early eighties—nor does anyone recall what year it started. The Girl Scouts' national headquarters in New York has nothing about the camp in its records. After all, the Maple Grove Day Camp wasn't really a camp—it was a gathering of young, innocent girls, a wholesome place to pass your summer days.

"We're lucky we have each other to talk to," says Pam. "No one in Pitman wants to talk about it. No one wants to believe that this is going on here." □



STATE OF NORTH CAROLINA
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
RALEIGH 27603-8001

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8.2.95

See

JAMES B. HUNT JR.
GOVERNOR

June 1, 1995

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 25005

*Please read this
& give to Harold
Scha. DK*

Dear Mr. President:

I want to call your attention to an important issue facing thousands of people in North Carolina and other Southern states whose incomes depend on tobacco.

We are greatly concerned by reports that the Food and Drug Administration will move soon to regulate tobacco as a drug. I appeal to you as strongly as I can to prevent the FDA from taking this unfair, unjustified and damaging action.

FDA's statutory authority to take such a step is very questionable. Beyond that, now is not a time when an agency of the administration should be asserting such sweeping regulatory authority.

My concern is heightened by reports that the FDA is conducting a heavy-handed and secretive investigation of tobacco products. I am told that this involved some 50 employees, including criminal investigators, and that people in my state have been subjected to unannounced, late-night visits in their homes by criminal investigators. This is contrary to everything that your administration stands for, and the agency needs to be far more sensitive to what can be viewed as government harassment.

Also, I must point out the tremendous economic anxiety that the proposed cigarette tax increase caused among people in North Carolina and the South during the past two years. This is more than a political issue. It is about people who work hard on farms, in factories and throughout our economy. It is about their struggle to make ends meet and raise their families and provide a secure economic future.

What may appear to be "reasonable" regulation in Washington can be financially devastating to these people and their families. So they look to you for understanding and an appreciation of their situation. Whatever their political views, they believe that you are a President who cares deeply about individual Americans and who values their hard work.

These people deserve fair treatment from their government. They deserve the assurance that their families' financial future will not be jeopardized by overzealous regulators.

I respectfully urge you to give serious consideration to this issue and these people. I will sincerely appreciate it, and I know they will too.

My warmest personal regards.

Sincerely,

James B. Hunt Jr.

JBH:sh

NORTH CAROLINA '96 OUTLOOK

- The President's approval ratings have significantly improved in North Carolina this year. In April, his ratings were 53 positive and 47 negative, up from 41 positive and 58 negative last September. By comparison, Jesse Helms' ratings in April were only marginally better than the President's: 55 positive and 42 negative.
- North Carolina should be viewed as a potential "surprise" state for the President's reelection campaign. It is a state he did not carry in 1992 that could well be in play in 1996.
- The President's narrowly lost North Carolina in 1992. In 1996, he will be on the ticket with a popular Democratic Governor seeking reelection. And there will be a spirited and close contest for Jesse Helms' Senate seat.
- An April matchup showed the President trailing Bob Dole in North Carolina by only 48-42. The President will do even better as the public focuses on the eventual Republican candidate. A third-party candidate would further enhance our chances.
- Under Governor Hunt's leadership, the State Democratic Party is being revitalized. It will be even more effective than in 1992, when Governor Hunt faced a primary challenge. And the apathy of 1994 is gone.
- A campaign that hammers on the President's strength, his sincere concern for working people, will significantly boost his chances in North Carolina and the nation. Research shows that, despite the President's political problems, voters in North Carolina remain convinced that he understands and cares about people like them.
- Any action taken by the FDA regarding tobacco will have a great bearing on this view of the President. If Republicans succeed in reining in the FDA and taking political credit, this will be a great political liability for the President and the party. But if Southern Democrats can take credit for preventing overzealous regulatory action, the political benefits will be dramatic.

HICKMAN-BROWN

PUBLIC OPINION RESEARCH

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NORTH CAROLINA

April 1995
9511NR1218

FINAL

Q6. Now I'd like to ask you a different question about some of these same people. As I read each name, please tell me whether you think the way he is handling his job is excellent, good, not so good or poor. Here's the first one: [READ NAME] Do you think the way he is handling his job is excellent, good, not so good or poor?

ROTATE

	Excellent	Good	Not So Good	Poor	(Don't Know)	Total Positive	Total Negative
a. Jim Hunt as Governor	12%	66	14	5	3	78	19
September 1994	15%	59	15	7	4	74	22
August 1994	9%	63	20	8	1	71	27
April 1994	13%	61	17	5	4	74	23
February 1994	9%	67	18	4	1	77	22
August 1993	9%	62	20	8	1	71	27
b. Bill Clinton as President	11%	42	24	23	1	53	47
September 1994	10%	31	25	32	2	41	58
August 1994	4%	34	31	29	1	39	60
April 1994	12%	42	21	24	1	55	44
February 1994	12%	42	26	19	1	54	46
August 1993	11%	35	28	25	1	46	53
c. Jesse Helms as U.S. Senator	12%	42	20	22	3	55	42
December 1992	16%	36	23	21	3	52	44

Q8. If the candidates in the 1996 general election for President are:
[ROTATE]

- Bill Clinton, the Democrat and,
- Bob Dole, the Republican

which one would you vote for? [IF UNDECIDED] Well, which one would you lean toward supporting if the election were held today?

Clinton 37%
(Lean Clinton) 5
Dole 44
(Lean Dole) 5
(Don't Know) 10

TOTAL CLINTON 42
TOTAL DOLE 48

Jim -

P/S - Advise

ASAP.

Todd
8/2/95

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 AUG 21 P1: 51

4 July 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR TODD STERN

FROM: Harold Ickes (17)

SUBJECT: Nomination of Sandra Gardebring to the Federal
District Court, district of Minnesota

Todd, attached is a copy of a self-explanatory 9 June 1995 letter to the President from Patrick J. O'Connor and his letter of the same date to me asking that I bring a nomination of Sandra Gardebring to the President's attention.

I assume that Mr. O'Connor's letter to the President has been dealt with.

O'CONNOR & HANNAN, L.L.P.

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

SUITE 800

1919 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE N.W.

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006-3483

(202) 887-1400

FAX (202) 466-2198

WASHINGTON, D.C.
 PATRICK J. O'CONNOR
 EDWARD W. BROOKE
 THOMAS W. QUINN
 DAVID R. HELINGOFF
 HOPE S. FOSTER
 PATRICK L. O'CONNELL
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GOVERNMENT RELATIONS
 ROBERT M. BARRIE
 LARRY J. KITTO

SPECIAL ADVISOR
 RICHARD K. COOK

WILLIAM Y. HANNAN 39, (1911-1985)
 M. ROBERT HALPER (1921-1988)
 JOHN J. LYNN (1923-1988)

OF COUNSEL
 DAVID C. TRECEN
 F. WILLIAM CROTTY
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MINNEAPOLIS
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 JOE A. WALTERS
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 JOHN S. JAGIELA

OF COUNSEL
 MICHAEL E. MCGUIRE

FREDERICK W. THORAS (1911-1984)
 WILLIAM C. KELLY (1918-1970)

*NOT MEMBER OF D.C. BAR

MINNEAPOLIS OFFICE
 705 SOUTH SECOND AVENUE
 700 BAKER BUILDING
 MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55402
 (612) 341-3800
 FAX (612) 343-1238

MADRID OFFICE
 LA RINCONADA, S. 3.
 28023 MADRID, SPAIN
 (91) 344 373-0844
 (91) 344 377-2281
 FAX (91) 344 377-0738
 LOCAL COUNSEL
 JESUS A. MADALENA

June 9, 1995

Via Telefax

The Honorable Harold Ickes
 Assistant to the President and Deputy
 Chief of Staff for Policy and Political
 Affairs
 The White House
 Washington, D.C.

Dear Harold:

Will you please bring this to the attention of the President?

Many thanks,



Patrick J. O'Connor

O'CONNOR & HANNAN, L.L.P.

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

SUITE 800

1919 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006-3483

(202) 887-1400

FAX (202) 466-2198

MINNEAPOLIS
PATRICK J. O'CONNOR
JOE A. WALTERS
ROBERT J. TENNESSEN
JOHN S. JADELAOF COUNSEL
MICHAEL E. MCGUIREFREDERICK W. THOMAS (1931-1988)
WILLIAM C. KELLY (1918-1970)

*NOT MEMBER OF D.C. BAR

MINNEAPOLIS OFFICE
700 SOUTH SECOND AVENUE
700 BAKER BUILDING
MINNEAPOLIS, MN 55402
(612) 341-2600
FAX (612) 343-1256MADRID OFFICE
LA RINCONADA, 6, 3^a
28023 MADRID, SPAIN
(91) 341 875-0944
(91) 341 357-3251
FAX (91) 341 377-0730
LOCAL COUNSEL
JESUS A. MADALENAAUDREY P. RASMUSSEN
ELISSA BARBER MOH
CRAIG A. KOENIGS
THOMAS P. CASSIDYGOVERNMENT RELATIONS
ROBERT W. BARRIC
LARRY J. KITTOSPECIAL ADVISOR
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J. TIMOTHY O'NEILL
DAVID L. ANDERSON
SUSAN R. RILEY

June 9, 1995

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

Subject: Nomination of Sandra Gardebring to the Federal
District Court, District of Minnesota

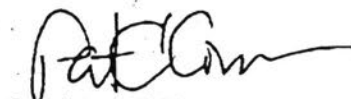
Dear Mr. President:

I have known Judge Gardebring for over twenty years. My first working relationship with her occurred in the seventies. She was the Commissioner of the Minnesota Pollution Control Agency at that time. I represented a large defense contractor that manufactured naval guns. My client had recently acquired the plant and was negotiating with the E.P.A and P.C.A. to clear up the dumpings of the previous owner (going back to 1942). This was at a site about one thousand yards from the Mississippi River where the City of Minneapolis was taking its drinking water. The EPA considered this site as one of the most critical in the nation. Judge Gardebring took hold of this complicated situation and worked out a solution that met EPA standards and one that the company could handle financially.

Through the years I have observed her handle many complicated matters on both the state and federal level. She is fair, highly intelligent, a tireless worker, and is respected by her peers. She will make an excellent federal judge, is well qualified and will be a credit to the federal judicial system.

I recommend her without reservation and urge you to nominate her for this position.

Very truly yours,



Patrick J. O'Connor

P.S. Enclosed is a biographical sketch of the Justice.

The Honorable Sandra Gardebring

Judge Gardebring has been honored by a variety of local and national organizations for her work on environment, human service, transportation, and women's issues. In 1987, she was named "Woman of the Year" by the national Women's Transportation Association; in 1989, she received the Environmental Regeneration Award from the International Rene Dubos Center for Human Environment and also in that year, she was acknowledged by the American Public Welfare Association for her leadership in the national effort to improve the lot of children in this country.

She is an active member of the Minnesota State Bar Association, particularly involved in its efforts to assure access to the court system for poor people. Judge is a member of the American Law Institute and the American Judicature Society. Judge Gardebring has served as a member of the board of directors of the Center for Victims of Torture; People, Inc.; Project Environment Foundation; Camp DuNord, and the St. Paul United Way.

Judge Gardebring has provided leadership to the judiciary in Minnesota in a variety of ways. In 1992, she chaired a Task Force of the Minnesota Supreme Court to consider the use of interactive television within the state court system. From 1992 to 1994, she chaired a legislatively-authorized Commission on Juvenile Justice. The task force report led to major changes in the statutory scheme for juvenile justice in Minnesota. Judge Gardebring is now chairing another legislatively mandated task force, this one directed to the overhaul of the system for civil commitment of the mentally ill in Minnesota. She also chairs a Supreme Court committee on the issue of judicial support for pro bono activities, and is a member of the Minnesota Sentencing Guidelines Commission.

Judge Gardebring is married to Paul Anders Ogren, and has two stepchildren, Sam, age 17, and Shana, age 15. She lives in Shoreview, Minnesota.

Erskine / Macduy / 13

We need to reevaluate ~~it~~
This - is it a good idea?

Boz

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8.2.95

SMITH WORLDWIDE

Strategic Communications

25 July
ERSKINE — THE STAMP
HERE'S THE ORIGINAL OF
AND AN ORIGINAL OF FAX.
YESTERDAY'S
I THINK THE
TECHNIQUE WILL BE
EFFECTIVE.

Cheers!
Perry



THE PRESIDENT

8/24/95

Guy -

Thanks for the veto stamp
and the idea!

We're evaluating it — I like
it but we have to be careful about
how we say what we say —

Ben

Guy Smith
Smith Worldwide
171 Madison Avenue
Suite 204
New York, New York 10016

MEMORANDUM

25 July 95

TO: The President

FROM: Guy L. Smith

SUBJ: Controlling the Agenda and the VETO Stamp

Mr. President:

In the past several days you and some of your key aides have begun to make it clear that you will not stand by and let the Republicans tear down key government programs that help low and middle income families and seniors.

Talk has begun about "shutting down the government." Some are calling it a coming "train wreck."

Practically speaking, the train wrecks of the past, that is when continuing resolutions have been voted at the last minute, they only impacted the inside-the-beltway crowd.

However, what gives you and your Administration a clear edge is the veto. The Republicans just don't have the numbers to override in virtually all instances. This gives you a real hammer.

The challenge right now is to make it abundantly clear to the Republicans, to the media, and to your natural constituencies, that you will not hesitate for an instant to use the veto. This message is beginning to come through, but not clearly enough. The folks back home don't know or care what a continuing resolution is. What they care about, and will respect, is that their President is in charge and will not permit important government activities to be jettisoned by callous and destructive Republicans.

While you and all your surrogates continue the drumbeat that you have held firm on America's common ground, I suggest you add a small touch. Pictures, they say, are worth a 1,000 words, so let's give them a picture.

THE VETO STAMP

Enclosed is a large VETO rubber stamp. Here's how you use it to get your message across with great clarity and simplicity.

Just start carrying this actual stamp with you everywhere you go. Don't announce what it is at first. Just carry it to all public events, in and out of the White House. Carry it with your notepad, your briefing papers, and carry it so it will be seen. Casually set it on the conference table or desk where you are sitting, the podium where you are standing.

Page Two-Guy L. Smith

In short order one of the wags in the press corps will ask Mike McCurry what it is. He should be prepared with a clear statement about what it is and that you have every intention on using it—early and often. You will then begin to get questions and attention from the media that focuses on the very real likelihood of a veto and you can use these opportunities to repeat the message over and over again.

The press corps will then go into a frenzy to get videotape and photos of you carrying the VETO stamp and every media outlet in the country will run photos and videotape of it...this will spawn articles about Presidents and their use of vetoes, it will cause your message about using it to be the focus of key media, AND the Republicans will begin to get the message loud and clear...and they will then come to the table to hammer out changes in what they are proposing that will meet your objectives.

While a small device, it is a dignified yet powerful way to communicate both your resolve and that it is very, very hard to override your veto. Thus, when your Administration comes to the table to maintain the "common ground" you will have a big hammer, yet one wrapped in velvet.

This puts you and your Administration in charge of setting the agenda, not reacting.

The VETO stamp is a simple prop, but it can be an effective catalyst to convey your message, which will then cause the Republicans to back off.

I am confident that this will enhance your efforts. Enjoy using it!

Let me know if I can be of help.

Sincerely,

Guy

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Guy", written over the word "Sincerely,".

Erskine has the actual stamp.

DOK

Opinion



BY ALICIA CZECHOWSKI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

On the other hand, George Washington had Napoleon was storming across Europe bent the world, and was thought by many to be t. Apocalyptic.

years later, Napoleon was gone, the British Merchant-Ivory idyll, zeppelins were in the s being recorded for the first time and the was progress. Daimler and Benz had just in- tomobile, and even if no one had them yet, arly worth looking forward to. Many people 20th century as a place of seething progress se civilization to new heights. Heady. Yet at e, sociologists panicked about overpopula- re critics bemoaned the decadence and sex- times, as seen in Nietzsche and Toulouse- mer and Freud—and predicted civilization's

See MILLENNIUM, C2, Col. 1

Unmaking The Quagmire

How the West Could End The War in the Balkans

By Michael Dobbs

THE CLINTON administration has always had a cast-iron alibi to defend its much-derided Bosnia policy: the inability of critics to come up with a better solution that would not bring America into the war. For all its failings, the administration has achieved two important goals in the former Yugoslavia. First, the fighting has largely been contained within the frontiers of Bosnia. Second, Capt. Scott O'Grady's adventures notwithstanding, Americans have so far managed to keep out of the bloodiest fighting in Europe since World War II.

The events of the past several weeks suggest how easy it would be for the administration's Balkan juggling act to fall apart. The bungled air strikes against the Bosnian Serbs, and their retaliatory action in seizing hundreds of Western hostages, have highlighted the failure of the United Nations' peacekeeping mission, which is known as UNPROFOR. For all their talk about "strengthening" UNPROFOR, the two main troop contributors, Britain and France, are making contingency plans for withdrawal. If the British and French leave, the entire peacekeeping effort would almost certainly be doomed. That in turn would lead to the dispatch of up to 25,000 U.S. ground troops to the Balkans to rescue the peacekeepers. And were that to happen, there would be a high probability of American casualties during the months leading up to the New Hampshire primary. The war could spread to neighboring Macedonia, where 500 American troops have been stationed to act as a kind of international tripwire.

It is the prospect that Americans could be drawn into the Bosnian morass by default rather than design that has stirred renewed interest in Congress and the foreign policy community in devising an alternative strategy. The kind of massive U.S. involvement urged by Republican presidential candidate Richard Lugar, who proposes the deployment of 100,000 NATO troops to Bosnia for an indefinite period, is viewed by most people in Congress as politically unacceptable.

That leaves a choice between the muddle-through approach adopted by President Clinton, who is trying to bolster the resolve of

See BALKANS, C4, Col. 1

Michael Dobbs, a diplomatic reporter for The Washington Post, lived in Yugoslavia from

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eventually received a life sentence. But the flood of cocaine into the United States did not diminish.

In 1989 Jose Gonzalez Rodriguez Gacha was gunned down by Colombian soldiers. "The notion that the cartel

others quickly rush in. Rather than OPEC, one should think of Hydra, a beast able to generate new heads when existing ones are lopped off.

Nonetheless, the United States continues to go after

of cars. Today, multi-ton
ported in jumbo jets owned
drug agents are simply out
unheard of.

Unmaking The Quagmire

BALKANS, From C1

the British and French to stay the course, and a much more vigorous attempt to force the rival Bosnian factions to the negotiating table through a combination of threats and inducements. If the warring factions refuse to come to terms, then the aim would be to "Bosnianize" the conflict by letting the Bosnians fight it out between themselves.

Critics of administration policy disagree on many things. But there is a common point of departure: a recognition that UNPROFOR has failed and a wish to get the 22,250 U.N. peacekeepers out of harm's way.

There is also general agreement that the credibility of the world's most powerful collective security institutions has been undermined. Over the past four years, NATO and the United Nations have issued numerous threats and warnings, only to forget them a few weeks later.

During a recent visit to Washington, a senior politician from a country with long experience in Balkan quarrels gave the following advice to the Clinton administration: "When you are dealing with people in the Balkans, you have to deal with them in a Balkan way. When they do something you approve of, praise them generously. When they do something wrong, punish them severely." The politician asked to remain anonymous because his government has to deal on a day-to-day basis with the leaders he is criticizing, but his advice goes to the heart of the West's mishandling of the Yugoslav

tragedy. The peoples who have always looked to solve their fratricidal disputes.

The Hapsburgs performed considerable success for more when the heir to the Austro-Hungarian Empire was killed by a nationalist Serb plunged the whole of Europe into a world war. The Kingdom of Yugoslavia was a child of internationalism and the 1919 Conference of Versailles.

After World War II, Yugoslavia, with the aid of the United States and pumped billions of dollars to preserve its "territorial integrity" in Marshal Tito's talent for playing off Moscow and Washington, South Slav nations off against each other. The nickname "Last of the Romans" was given to Tito.

After Tito died, and the Yugoslav Slavs lost their sense of direction, the first rule of thumb—precisely the lesson of the international communist Yugoslavia, where virtue was rarely punished. The child

Had the West intervened in Yugoslavia's affairs in the ground rules for the worst might have been avoided by some of the leading for including former secretary acknowledges that he had been winning the Gulf War of communism in the Soviet Union.

It is too late, of course, Yugoslavia cannot be put back to the hatreds fueled by four years of other atrocities will not eliminate, however, to consider extricate itself from Bosnia, while at the same time Slavs to stop massacring some cards that it can play and given the right combination the cards might even add up to the following:

- **War-weariness.** Apart from the military, nobles and politicians, nobles of thousands of people of thousands have lived. Living standards and salaries what they were before the war. The realization that little is being fought, Bosnia is approaching non-reached in 1989, while Syria produced a fragile body has a clear idea how

- **The military balance.** The Bosnian government forces their capability. Together outnumbered Serb forces by a margin considered to be better percent of Bosnian territory the war, the Serb rebellion. Their primary concern is government advantage in by a Serb advantage in the

- **The Contact Group plan.** Russia, France, Britain, a peace settlement that was to the Serbs and 51 percent. The plan has been implemented. Although the imperfections, it has the community and could for nations. It could also be a tension among the Serbs. Milosevic supports the proteges; and particularly, he is holding out for a

- **Plan 40104.** In the UNPROFOR withdrawal, 50,000 troops, half of the intricate the U.N. peacekeepers operate under robust rules enable them to quell any. The withdrawal operation months and months.

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Oliver Wendell Holmes

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UNIVERSITY BOULEVARD AT ADELPHI ROAD
COLLEGE PARK, MD 20741-0869

Name _____
Address _____

In the days of the French Connection, heroin would be smuggled in 100-pound lots concealed in the underbellies of cars. Today, multi-ton shipments of cocaine are transported in jumbo jets owned by the narcos themselves. U.S. drug agents are simply outmatched, and drug droughts are unheard of.

cities remain overwhelmed; and many of those who want help can't find it. As long as that's the case—as long as Americans seek out drugs—someone's going to find a way to supply it.

Which cartel will be targeted next?

tragedy. The peoples who inhabit the Balkan peninsula have always looked to some higher authority to settle their fratricidal disputes.

The Hapsburgs performed this function with considerable success for more than a century until 1914, when the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne was killed by a nationalist Serb in Sarajevo, an act that plunged the whole of Europe into war. The first Yugoslav state—the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes—was a child of internationalist Wilsonian idealism and the 1919 Conference of Versailles.

After World War II, Yugoslavia became a joint ward of the United States and the Soviet Union. The West pumped billions of dollars into the country in order to preserve its "territorial integrity" and "non-alignment." Marshal Tito's talent for exploiting the rivalry between Moscow and Washington, and for playing the different South Slav nations off against each other, earned him the nickname "Last of the Hapsburgs."

After Tito died, and the Cold War ended, the South Slavs lost their sense of parental direction. Any parent knows that the first rule in disciplining a child is consistency—precisely the lesson that has been ignored by the international community in dealing with the former Yugoslavia, where virtue goes unrewarded and vice is rarely punished. The children have been left to run riot.

Had the West intervened more forcefully in Yugoslavia's affairs in 1991, by imposing its own ground rules for the country's breakup, the worst might have been avoided. This is now recognized by some of the leading foreign policy actors of the time, including former secretary of state James Baker, who acknowledges that he had his mind on other things, notably winning the Gulf War and managing the collapse of communism in the Soviet Union.

It is too late, of course, to turn back the clock: Tito's Yugoslavia cannot be put back together again and the hatreds fueled by four years of "ethnic cleansing" and other atrocities will not easily be forgotten. It is not too late, however, to consider ways in which the West can extricate itself from Bosnia with some of its honor intact, while at the same time encouraging the South Slavs to stop massacring each other. The West still has some cards that it can play in the former Yugoslavia, and given the right combination of skill, daring and luck, the cards might even add up to a winning hand. They include the following:

■ **War-weariness.** Apart from a small minority of profiteers and politicians, nobody has gained from the war. Tens of thousands of people have been killed, and hundreds of thousands have been driven from their homes. Living standards and salary levels are only a fraction of what they were before the war began. There is a growing realization that little is to be gained from continuing the fighting. Bosnia is approaching the point that Lebanon reached in 1989, when a forceful intervention by Syria produced a fragile peace. On the other hand, nobody has a clear idea how to end the fighting.

■ **The military balance.** Over the past few months, Bosnian government forces have significantly improved their capability. Together with their Croat allies, they outnumber Serb forces by roughly 2 to 1 and are generally considered to be better motivated. After seizing 70 percent of Bosnian territory in the opening months of the war, the Serb rebels are now on the defensive. Their primary concern is holding onto their gains. The government advantage in manpower is, however, offset by a Serb advantage in tanks and artillery.

■ **The Contact Group plan.** The major powers—America, Russia, France, Britain, Germany—have agreed on a peace settlement that would give 49 percent of Bosnia to the Serbs and 51 percent to the Muslim-Croat federation. The plan has been accepted by the Bosnian government. Although the Contact Group plan has many imperfections, it has the support of the international community and could form the basis for peace negotiations. It could also be a tool for exploiting political divisions among the Serbs. (Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic supports the plan. His former Bosnian Serb proteges, and particularly their leader, Radovan Karadzic, are holding out for a larger territorial award.)

■ **Plan 40104.** In the increasingly likely event of UNPROFOR withdrawal, NATO has promised to dispatch 50,000 troops, half of them American, to Bosnia to extricate the U.N. peacekeepers. The rescue forces will operate under robust rules of engagement that would enable them to quell any resistance by Bosnian factions. The withdrawal operation could take three or four

active. The West could use this leverage to encourage the warring parties to negotiate in good faith.

■ **Lift and strike.** Political pressure is building in Congress for lifting the U.N. arms embargo, which has deprived the Bosnian government of the heavy weapons it needs to defeat the Serbs. The Clinton administration is opposed to such a step, because it fears it would lead to the collapse of UNPROFOR and the "Americanization" of the war. U.S. officials argue that there would be a significant interval between the lifting of the embargo and the arrival of large quantities of weapons, during which the Serbs could launch an all-out offensive against government positions. This in turn would put considerable moral pressure on America to use its air power to protect the eastern enclaves and Sarajevo. However, if this card were played skillfully, it could be another powerful inducement to the Serbs to accept the Contact Group plan. The Serbs would be faced with a choice: negotiate seriously or risk the arming of their Muslim enemies.

One of the most serious criticisms of the Clinton administration's handling of the Bosnian crisis over the past month has been the lack of a clearly thought-out strategy. Anxious to bolster the authority of the U.N. mission in Bosnia, Washington pressed hard for air strikes last month against the Serbs in retaliation for the shelling of Sarajevo and attacks on weapons collection points. But little thought was given to how the West would react if the Serbs upped the ante by seizing U.N. hostages. When that happened, the only response was a round of NATO meetings and angry rhetoric.

"It was ludicrous to follow the air raids with a NATO meeting," said a disgruntled Democrat on Capitol Hill. "That is the equivalent of General Eisenhower launching his invasion of Normandy and then sitting down with his commanders for a planning session."

Any attempt to pressure the warring factions in Bosnia to come to the negotiating table is likely to be futile unless it is part of a broader diplomatic and military campaign. During numerous hearings on Capitol Hill, lawmakers have heard from hawks like Alexander Haig, who advocated lifting of the siege of Sarajevo by force, and doves like Jimmy Carter, who called for "last chance" peace negotiations. All of these ideas have merit, but none will work by itself. Merged together into a long-term strategy of threats and inducements, they could be very effective.

If the international community is going to seize the initiative, it will have to seize it not only from the Serbs, who are widely viewed as the guilty party, but also from the Muslims. In the words of a senior NATO official, the Muslims have been the principal victims of the fighting, but they have been "artful victims." By exploiting the uneasy conscience of the West, they have contributed to the humiliation of UNPROFOR and the prolonging of the war. Evidence of this came with a recent report that the Bosnian government was deliberately running down Sarajevo's grain reserve, in an attempt to draw international attention to the humanitarian crisis. U.N. peacekeepers have been held physically hostage by the Serbs, but they have been held morally hostage by the Muslims.

The West cannot order the warring parties to make peace, but it can present them with a series of choices, designed to reward cooperation and punish recalcitrance. If the Serbs prove recalcitrant, NATO could turn supply routes over to the government and implement the threat to arm and train the Bosnian Muslims. If the Bosnian government insists on continuing the war, then the West would allow the Serbs to retain their existing advantage in firepower and territory.

As with the Clinton administration's present Bosnia policy, there are obvious drawbacks to this more activist approach. Although Milosevic has distanced himself from the Bosnian Serbs, he would probably feel the need to support them if they suffered a major reversal of fortunes on the battlefield. Russia might also feel constrained to play its traditional role of protector of the Serbs. However, cooperation with Moscow and Belgrade should not be impossible to attain, since they have already endorsed the Contact Group plan.

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As presently written, Plan 40104 provides for an essentially neutral exit of UNPROFOR from Bosnia, favoring neither the Bosnian government nor the Serbs. In theory, however, it would be perfectly possible for NATO troops to hand over supply routes and heavy weapons to whichever side is judged to be most cooper-

significant interval between the lifting of the embargo and the arrival of large quantities of weapons, during which the Serbs could launch an all-out offensive against government positions. This in turn would put considerable moral pressure on America to use its air power to protect the eastern enclaves and Sarajevo. However, if this card were played skillfully, it could be another powerful inducement to the Serbs to accept the Contact Group plan. The Serbs would be faced with a choice: negotiate seriously or risk the arming of their Muslim enemies.

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As with the Clinton administration's present Bosnia policy, there are obvious drawbacks to this more activist approach. Although Milosevic has distanced himself from the Bosnian Serbs, he would probably feel the need to support them if they suffered a major reversal of fortunes on the battlefield. Russia might also feel constrained to play its traditional role of protector of the Serbs. However, cooperation with Moscow and Belgrade should not be impossible to attain, since they have already endorsed the Contact Group plan.

The strategy would also require the Clinton administration to make good on its pledge to send 25,000 American troops to Bosnia—and to do so in an election year. This may be too much to ask of a president who is fighting an uphill battle for re-election. On the other hand, UNPROFOR's recent humiliations at the hands of the Bosnian Serbs suggest that, if the Clinton administration fails to take the lead, America could be dragged into the Bosnian morass, whether it likes it or not.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8.2.95

95 AUG 1 P6:29

August 1, 1995

*Called
Schuman
Thermon Collins
up w/one for Taylor*

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO:

DEMOCRATIC MEMBERS OF CONGRESSIONAL
SPECIAL SUBCOMMITTEE ON WACO
(see attached list for names and phone numbers)

DATE:

August 1, 1995

RECOMMENDED BY:

R Rahm Emanuel
P Pat Griffin

PURPOSE/BACKGROUND:

Given that the Waco hearings were at risk of becoming a political circus, it took a lot of hard work to keep the hearings focused on the facts of the Waco incident. The Democratic members did a commendable job in pursuing and bringing out the truth of the Waco incident.

TALKING POINTS:

Thank them for bringing out the facts of the Waco incident in the hearings.

They did a commendable job in keeping attention focused on the truth and limiting the political distractions posed by the hearing process.

You acknowledge that they were in a position where they had to ask tough questions and you are grateful for the integrity they brought to the hearings.

You hope they agree that you and this Administration have done all that you could to assist the hearing process.

As you have repeatedly said, you feel that Congressional hearings into Waco are entirely appropriate.

CONTACT PERSON:

Rahm Emanuel x6-2531
Pat Griffin x6-2230

DATE OF SUBMISSION: August 1, 1995

ACTION:

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Copy to
Jessica Arons

8-2-95

JRA

Today's Date: July 19, 1995

95 JUL 20 P2:40

Date of Request: 5/29/1995
Request for: POTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Member
Requestor Name: Dr. Georgi Gladyshev
Title: President
Organization: Academy of Creative Endeavors
Novy Arbat 36
121205, Moscow, RUSSIA
Contact Tel. #: 290-74-51
Event Date: n/a
Event Description: no event
Notes: In the past, it is likely that this request
would have been regretted.

Recommendations:

TS

NO

EB

8-2-95

Please return to Room 457

АКАДЕМИЯ ТВОРЧЕСТВА

Наука
Искусство
Общественная деятельность



ACADEMY OF CREATIVE ENDEAVORS

Science
Arts
Social issues

2279135

ПРЕЗИДИУМ

121205, Москва, Новый Арбат 36
Тел.: 290-74-51, 290-79-33
Факс: (7-095) 290-79-33
Эл. почта: academy@endeav.msk.su

PRESIDIUM

121205, Moscow, Novy Arbat 36
Tel.: 290-74-51, 290-79-33
Fax: (7-095) 290-79-33
E-mail: academy@endeav.msk.su

29 May 1995

President of the
United States of America
Mr. William Clinton

Dear Mr. President,

Presidium of the International Academy of Creative Endeavors sent you a letter requesting your agreement to include you, Honorable President, as an Honorary Member of the Academy of Creative Endeavors.

Unfortunately no reply was forthcoming. We are once again renewing our request and hope you will find it possible to reply to our letter and accept our invitation.

Included is a booklet of information concerning the Academy of Creative Endeavors (1995).

Sincerely yours,

Professor Georgi Gladyshev
The President of the Academy

Президент Г.П. Гладышев - действ. чл. Ак., д-р хим. наук, проф. Почетные Ак.: д-р Кеннет Денби, чл. Английского Королевского общества; Нобелевский лауреат д-р Мельвин Кальвин; Нобелевский лауреат сэр Дж. Кендрио, чл. Английского Королевского общества; дважды Нобелевский лауреат д-р Ф. Сэнгер, чл. Английского Королевского общества.
Первые вице-президенты: И.К. Архипова - действ. чл. Ак., нар. арт., проф.; Е.И. Быстров - действ. чл. Ак.; Ф.И. Комаров - действ. чл. Ак., ак. АМН РФ, д-р мед. наук, проф.
Вице-президенты: Ч.Т. Айтматов - действ. чл. Ак., нар. писатель Кырг.; А.Н. Воробьев - действ. чл. Ак., д-р мед. наук, проф.; З.М.С., засл. тренер; Я.М. Колотыркин - действ. чл. Ак., ак. РАН, д-р хим. наук, проф.; Ю.К. Курпеков - действ. чл. Ак.; А.А. Логунов - действ. чл. Ак., ак. РАН, д-р физ.-мат. наук, проф.; А.К. Микитаев - действ. чл. Ак., д-р хим. наук, проф.; А.В. Момджян - действ. чл. Ак., д-р филос. наук; В.А. Садовничий - действ. чл. Ак., д-р физ.-мат. наук, проф.; В.В. Сычев - действ. чл. Ак., д-р техн. наук, проф.; З.К. Церетели - действ. чл. Ак., ак. Ак. художеств РФ, проф.
Почетные чл. Президиума Ак.: действ. члены Ак., проф., Нобелевские лауреаты - Н.Г. Басов, В.В. Леонтьев, И.Р. Пригожин, А. Салам; действ. члены Ак., проф. - В.А. Амбарцумян, Г. Аррениус, Э.Кай, А.Л. Курсанов, Е.Е. Нестеренко, С.Т. Рихтер, Г.В. Свиридов, Г. Хаген, С.С. Шаталин.

Советник Президента И.Л. Гуревич - действ. чл. Ак..
Почетные основатели Академии: Почетный член Академии, проф. Н.Н. Боголюбов (наука); Его Святейшество, святейший Вязем Первый; проф. З.Копал (наука); Нобелевский лауреат, проф. П.Митчелл (наука), проф. С.Поннамерума (наука), проф. Н.И.Сац (искусство).

President: Prof. G.P. Gladyshev (science). Honorary Members of the Academy: Dr. K. Denbigh, F.R.S. (science); Nobel Laureate Dr. M. Calvin; Nobel Laureate Sir J. Kendrew, F.R.S. (science); Nobel Laureate (twice) Dr. F. Sanger, O.M., F.R.S. (science).

Vice-presidents: Prof. I.K. Arkhipova (arts), Prof. E.I. Bystrov (social issues), Prof. F.I. Komarov (science, medicine); Prof. Ch.T. Aitmatov (literature, social issues), Prof. A.N. Vorobyev (sport), Prof. Ya.M. Kolotyrkin (science), Mr. U.K. Kurpekov (arts), Prof. A.A. Logunov (science), Prof. A.K. Mikitaev (science), Dr. A.V. Momdjan (social issues), Prof. V.A. Sadovnichiy (science), Prof. V.V. Sychev (science, engineering), Prof. Z.K. Tsereteli (arts).

Honorary Members of the Presidium: Nobel Laureate Prof. N.G. Basov (science), Nobel Laureate Prof. W.W. Leontief (science, economics), Nobel Laureate Prof. I.R. Prigogine (science), Nobel Laureate Prof. A. Salam (science), Prof. V.A. Ambartsunyan (science), Prof. G. Arrhenius (science), D.Litt. E.Kav. Prof. A.L. Kursanov (science), Prof. F.F. Nesterenko (arts).

Copy to
Jessica Brown
8-2-95
JRA

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: July 19, 1995

95 JUL 20 P2:40

Date of Request: 6/21/1995
Request for: POTUS/FLOTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Co-Chairs
Requestor Name: Mr. John J. Brier
Title: Executive Director
Organization: Big Brothers/Big Sisters of Greater
Manchester
795 Elm Street
Suite 200
Manchester, New Hampshire 03101-2117
Contact Tel. #: 603/669-5365
Event Date: no event
Event Description: n/a
Notes: Mr. Brier has started a program called, "A Goal for Kids' Sake." The purpose of this program is threefold: 1) to provide academic scholarships for student hockey players; 2) to provide funds for youths to attend summer hockey schools; and 3) to provide funds for Big Brother/Big Sister agencies. He asks the President and First Lady to serve as honorary co-chairs of this program. In the past, it is likely that this request would have been regretted.

Recommendations:

MW _____

TS W

EB _____

8-2-95

Please return to Room 457

John J. Brier
Executive Director

95 Elm St., Suite 200
Manchester, N.H. 03101

Tel. 669-5365
Fax 645-6577

s/Big Sisters

June 21, 1995

President Clinton
First Lady Clinton
The White House
Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President and First Lady:

My name is John J. Brier. I am an Executive Director with the Big Brothers/Big Sisters organization in Manchester, New Hampshire. I am writing to seek your support, as Honorary Co-Chairs of Big brothers/Big Sisters of America, for a new program I am starting called **A GOAL FOR KIDS' SAKE**.

A GOAL FOR KIDS' SAKE is a non-profit program that is designed to utilize a community based fundraising effort, in conjunction with local high school hockey teams, to accomplish three things:

1. Provide academic scholarships for graduating seniors on each team who are continuing on with their education.
2. Provide funding for economically underprivileged youths to attend summer hockey schools that they otherwise could not afford.
3. Provide funding for non-profit Big brothers/ Big Sisters agencies.

A GOAL FOR KIDS' SAKE has been endorsed by both the NCAA, and the Boston Bruins. The Boston Bruins have agreed to let the team that raises the most money to attend a Boston Bruins practice, meet the players, go to a home game and be recognized at center ice (in front of 20,000 fans and a television audience) in between periods. I have enclosed letters of support for your review. I have also enclosed a sample, rough draft, of a pledge sheet that explains how the program works on the back side.

It is my hope that this program will grow into each city that has an N.H.L. team. I am currently working with the N.H.L. League Offices to try and develop a system to make this program available to cities across the nation. I have enclosed a projection of the potential this program has to make a difference in the lives of our nations youth in the years to come. However, the first step is making this innagural year a successfull one. I would appreciate a letter of support from you to help ensure the success of this worthwhile program.

Please respond as soon as you can, as I am really putting a great deal of effort into getting this program on line for the upcoming school year. Thank you very much for your time, and I shall look forward to hearing back from you in the very near future.

Sincerely,


John J. Brier
Executive Director



Copy to
Jessica Arons
8-2-95
JRA

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: July 7, 1995

95 JUL 20 P2:40

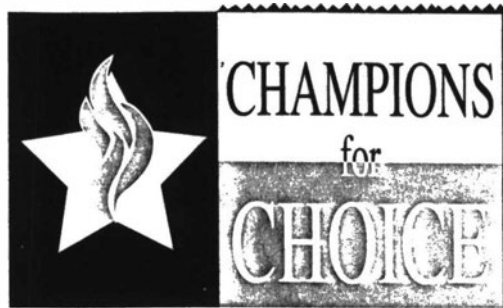
Date of Request: 6/23/1995
Request for: POTUS/FLOTUS
Type of Request: Host Committee Members
Requestor Name: Ms. Dana Hurt
Title: Chair, Steering Committee
Organization: Champions for Choice
Texas Abortion and Reproductive
Rights Action League
P.O. Box 980286
Houston, Texas 77098
Contact Tel. #: 713/520-1666
Event Date: 1/13/1996
Event Description: Fifth Annual "Champions for Choice" Awards
Banquet
Notes: Ann Richards will serve as Honorary Chair.
Recommendations:

MW _____

TS nd

EB _____

8-2-95



**Texas Abortion and Reproductive Rights
Action League**

June 23, 1995

The Honorable and Mrs. Bill Clinton
President of the
United States of America 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

HONORARY CHAIR
The Honorable Ann Richards

**EVENT STEERING
COMMITTEE**
Dana Hurt, Chair

Monica Brabham
Nancy Chafin
Sherri Cothurn
Eva Hern
Melissa Jaffee
Georganna Santarelli
Kim Wilk

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton:

Since 1972, the Texas Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League (TARAL) PAC has assumed a leadership role in protecting a woman's Right to Choose. Through community education, grassroots political organizing and lobbying efforts, TARAL-PAC continues to champion the issues of privacy, Choice, and self-determination for all women.

On Saturday January 13, 1996, at 7 pm, TARAL-PAC will host the fifth annual *Champions for Choice Awards Banquet*, which will be held at the Doubletree Hotel at The Allen Center, in downtown Houston, Texas. TARAL-PAC is honored to present and publicly recognize prominent Texans who by their continuous and exemplary efforts in the Pro-Choice movement have championed the cause of protecting the rights and lives of all Texas women. All proceeds will benefit TARAL-PAC and will further our political efforts as we work to elect Pro-Choice candidates at all levels of the political process.

The *Champions for Choice Steering Committee* and Honorary Chair Ann Richards would be honored to have you serve on the Host Committee for this special awards banquet. As a Host Committee Member, your name will appear on all printed materials, including the event letterhead and program booklet, as well as the invitations—which will be sent to over 5,000 Pro-Choice Texans. Additionally, as a member of the Host Committee you will be invited to attend the pre-event reception and you will enjoy special recognition before and during the event.

We have enclosed a response sheet, which may be mailed to: TARAL-PAC, Champions for Choice, P.O. Box 980286, Houston, Texas 77098. Should you have any questions about the event or TARAL-PAC you may either call Loretta Holland in Austin (512) 462-1661 or Dana Hurt at (713) 520-1666.

Thank you for your consideration and thank you for your leadership in the fight to protect and promote the Right to Choose.

Sincerely,

Dana Hurt
Dana Hurt
Chair, Steering Committee
Champions for Choice Awards Banquet

Pauline A. Cashion
Pauline A. Cashion
Executive Director
TARAL-PAC

Copy to
Jessica Arons
8-2-95
JRA

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: July 19, 1995

95 JUL 20 P2:40

Date of Request: 6/13/1995
Request for: POTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Chairman
Requestor Name: Ms. Barbara M. Irish
Title: President
Organization: National Federation of Music Clubs
419 Cayuga Heights Road
Ithaca, New York 14850
Contact Tel. #: 607/257-0530
Event Date: n/a
Event Description: no event
Notes: The Federation would like the President to serve as Honorary Chairman for the observance of National Music Week in 1996 and 1997. The group's request implies that the President served as Honorary Chair last year. Our records show that the Federation requested and received a message only (and did not ask that the President serve in an honorary capacity). We recommend only a message again this year.

Recommendations:

TS

ND
8-2-95

EB

Please return to Room 457

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF MUSIC CLUBS



DR. BARBARA M. IRISH
Office of the President
419 Cayuga Heights Road
Ithaca, New York 14850
(607) 257-0530

June 13, 1995

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Each year the National Federation of Music Clubs conducts the observance of National Music Week throughout the United States. This great celebration began as "A voluntary expression of the public's interest in Music" by Charles M. Tremaine in 1924. Many philanthropic and educational organizations have joined in the observances, reaching into every community in our nation.

Since 1959, the successful observances have been solely under the direction of the National Federation of Music Clubs, whose members have organized and coordinated the week-long activities and have enlisted the support and cooperation of all groups concerned with civic development.

It is our pleasure to invite you to honor us by indicating your support as Honorary Chairman for the 1996 and 1997 observance. Your eloquent message in our previous booklet was appreciated and we hope that you will accept this invitation to join us again, continuing the unbroken support we have had from each of our nation's Chief Executives since 1924, when President Calvin Coolidge served as the first Honorary Chairman. I enclose a copy of the 1994-1995 booklet.

It is important to note that although the observance does not occur until May, the booklet announcing the National Music Week celebration is printed and distributed among our 200,000 members in September, 1995. If you are able to accept this invitation, please send to me a picture and your 1996 message from the White House as soon as convenient. We will be most grateful. Frequently, the President's photograph has included the First Lady as well, and that would certainly be appropriate.

With all best wishes for your continuing success in office and special appreciation for the personal example you have set for acknowledging the importance of music in all our lives, I remain,

Respectfully yours,
Barbara M. Irish
Barbara M. Irish
President, NFMC

Copy to
Jessica Brown
8-2-95



SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: August 2, 1995

95 AUG 2 P4:34

Date of Request: 7/11/95
Request for: POTUS/FLOTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Co-Hosts
Requestor Name: Mrs. Sarah Brady
Title: Chair
Organization: Center to Prevent Handgun Violence
1225 Eye Street, N.W.
Suite 1100
Washington, DC 20005
Contact Tel. #: 202/289-5799
Event Date: 10/24/95
Event Description: Fourth annual "Stop the Violence" benefit dinner
Notes: Last year, the President was presented with the Pete Shields Award at this event. The President and First Lady served as Honorary Co-Hosts in '94.

Recommendations:

MW _____

TS OK

EB _____

8-2-95

Please return to Room 457

4 01139
Sarah Brady

rec'd 8/1/95 SDA

July 11, 1995

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you know, I serve as Chair of the Center to Prevent Handgun Violence in Washington, D.C. and my husband Jim is on the Center's Board of Trustees. On October 24, 1995, the Center will hold its fourth annual "Stop the Violence" benefit dinner and silent auction here in Washington, D.C. Jim and I would be honored if you and Mrs. Clinton would join us during this special evening and agree to once again serve as Co-Hosts for the event. Needless to say, your presence and involvement in the event would bring much needed attention to this public health epidemic.

Even though your schedule prevented you from attending last year's benefit, we were so pleased to present you with the Pete Shields Award for your unwavering commitment and courageous efforts to fight gun violence in America. We were delighted that Dr. Lee Brown was on hand to accept the award on your behalf.

The purpose of the evening is to bring together business and civic leader, as well as concerned individuals to heighten awareness of the toll that gun violence is taking on our youth and to raise funds to support the Center's many important programs, including our Pre-K-through Grade 12 gun violence prevention curriculum, **Straight Talk About Risks (STAR)**. This program is currently reaching more than 280,000 students in 43 school districts nationwide, including schools in Wards 7 and 8 in Washington, D.C.

Your outspoken leadership and moral courage has inspired us to fight even harder for the lives and safety of all Americans and to protect the extraordinary progress we have achieved. As you know, this is a critical year for us, as the 104th Congress continues to pose a tremendous threat to the recent historic victories won by our partner organization, Handgun Control, Inc. The Brady Law and the Assault Weapons Ban are proven to be effective. Given the unfriendly legislative climate, the Center's work to reduce gun violence through a long-term educational approach becomes all the more important.

Thank you so much for considering our invitation. I do hope that your schedule will permit you to join us. We're counting on your continued support. If you have any questions about the benefit, please call my office at (202)289-5799.

Best regards,

as ch
Sarah Brady, Chair
Center to Prevent Handgun Violence

Copy to Jessica
Drans 8-2-95
JRA

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: July 24, 1995

95 JUL 26 P1:29

Date of Request: 6/12/95
Request for: POTUS/FLOTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Chairmen
Requestor Name: Mrs. Walter J. Hodges
Title: Gala Co-Chair
Organization: Georgetown University Medical Center
2115 Wisconsin Avenue, N.W.
Suite 601
Washington, D.C. 20007-2292
Contact Tel. #: 202-687-4900
Event Date: 10/14/95
Event Description: Tenth Anniversary Lombardi Gala
Notes: The gala will benefit the Lombardi Cancer Center at Georgetown University Medical Center. The First Lady has already accepted this request. The President and the First Lady regretted in 1993 and 1994.

Recommendations:

MW _____

TS OK

EB _____

8-2-95

Please return to Room 457



GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY MEDICAL CENTER

Office of Development

June 12, 1995

Maggie
we should accept
this Hon. Chair.
CWW
6/20/95
YES for FLOTUS
copy to Dan

The President
and Mrs. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

My dear Mr. President and Mrs. Clinton:

A special event will occur on Saturday evening October 14, 1995...the *TENTH ANNIVERSARY LOMBARDI GALA* to benefit the Lombardi Cancer Center at Georgetown University Medical Center. It will be held at the Washington Hilton & Towers.

On behalf of my Co-Chairman Charles E. Long, Executive Vice President of Citicorp and all the Committees, we would be extremely honored if you would accept the position of Honorary Chairmen of this important Gala event. Your participation will greatly enhance the evening as well as stress the need for continued cancer research, treatment, awareness and prevention through private support.

The Gala will be attended by over 1000 guests representing Washington's leaders in the governmental, business, civic, sports, and social communities. This black-tie evening will again feature the "Fifty of the Finest" silent auction, live auction of a 1996 BMW, presentation of awards, along with dinner and dancing.

The "Lombardi Symbol of Courage" will be awarded to a sportsperson who has suffered cancer and possesses Coach Vince Lombardi's inspirational qualities. The "Lombardi Symbol of Caring" award is presented to an individual/group who has devoted much time and talent to promoting cancer research and prevention through awareness and philanthropy.

Through the generosity of our committees and supporters over the past nine years, this event has raised in excess of \$3 million, all of which has gone directly to the Lombardi Cancer Center for research, treatment, patient care and community outreach services. This is also a very special occasion for the Center as it marks its establishment 25 years ago in memory of Vince Lombardi.

TENTH ANNIVERSARY LOMBARDI GALA

FACT SHEET

- WHAT** The Tenth Anniversary Lombardi Gala to benefit the Lombardi Cancer Center at Georgetown University Medical Center. Under the direction of Dr. Marc E. Lippman, The Lombardi Center is one of 26 Comprehensive Cancer Centers nationwide designated by the National Cancer Institute. It is the only such center in the national capital region, thus recognizing the Lombardi Center's excellence in basic and clinical research, advanced treatments, and strong cancer prevention and community outreach programs. Since its inception, the Gala Committees have raised \$3 million with 100% of the proceeds going directly to the Center for cancer research, education and patient treatment.
- WHY** The Washington, D.C. metropolitan area has the highest incidence of cancer in the United States. During the past year the Lombardi Cancer Center, in addition to in hospital care, has performed over 22,000 outpatient services.
- WHEN** Saturday evening, October 14, 1995
- WHERE** The Washington Hilton & Towers on Connecticut Ave., Washington, D.C.
- THEME** "Tenth Anniversary Lombardi Gala - Jamaica Style." Black-tie dinner dance featuring the "Fifty of the Finest" silent auction and a live auction including a BMW automobile and a \$10,000 Hecht's shopping spree. The "Lombardi Symbol of Courage" will be awarded to an athlete who has suffered cancer and possesses the inspirational qualities of Coach Lombardi. The "Lombardi Symbol of Caring" will be presented to Gala founder and community leader, Margaret Hodges.
- TIME** 6:30 - 8:30 p.m. Silent Auction and Cocktail Reception
8:30 p.m. Dinner, Presentation of Awards, Live Auction & Dancing
- TICKETS** Benefactors - \$10,000 includes invitation to a Fall VIP Donor's Reception, a table for ten at the Gala, and appropriate recognition in the Program.
- Sponsors - \$5,000 includes invitation to a Fall VIP Donor's Reception, a table for ten at the Gala, and appropriate recognition in the Program.
- Patrons - \$1,000 includes two tickets to the Gala, and invitation to a Fall VIP Donor's Reception, and recognition in the Program.
- Tickets - \$250 each Individual Tables of 10 - \$2,500

For information on this important event, please call Bonnie Roberts at 202/687-1067

The President
and Mrs. Clinton
June 12, 1995
Page Two

The Lombardi Center has gained national recognition in the areas of medical oncology, gynecologic oncology, pediatric hematology and oncology, and radiation oncology. Founded in 1979, it is one of 24 comprehensive cancer centers nationwide designated by the National Cancer Institute. It is the only such center in the national capital region, thus recognizing the Lombardi Center's excellence in basic and clinical research, advanced treatments, and strong cancer prevention and community outreach programs.

Please do not hesitate to call Bonnie Roberts at Georgetown Medical Center, 202/687-1067 for any questions or further information.

We look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Most sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Margaret Hodges".

Mrs. Walter J. Hodges
Gala Co-Chairman

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 8-2-95

TO: JIM DORSKIND

FROM: Staff Secretary

cc Todd -

July 31, 1995

MEMORANDUM

To: The President
From: Nancy Hernreich
Rebecca Cameron
Re: Medal of Freedom

*Is this
a good idea?*

Steve Stephens called the Little Rock office and suggested that Jonas Salk and the March of Dimes receive the Medal of Freedom. We have notice of this to Todd Stern.

*Obviously the
President is
insecure of this -*

*Memo
cc 2nd St*

DATE	TIME	FROM	SUBJECT	CODES
6/28/95	11:18 am	steve stephens		[]*

From: steve stephens To: lynda
Company:
Phone: 371-9911 Extension:

Subject: New: [*] Codes: []
Message:

[*] Telephoned [*] Please Call [] Urgent
[] Visited [] Will call again
[] Wants to see you [] Returned your call

Operator: valencia@Clinton

James Call

Source of Divorce

Partially by Receiver's side of, 3rd am.

Nancy -

Steve would like this to happen.

*Steve's address is 700 East 9th, # 11-L
Little Rock, AR 72202*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 8-2

TO:

K, H

FROM: Staff Secretary

Could you call
me about this.
I can have someone
do a draft but we need
relevant information &
insight. Would it make
sense to talk to someone
like Kay C.? Tish

THE
HEINZ
AWARDS

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

DETERMINED TO BE AN ADMINISTRATIVE

MARKING INITIALS: M DATE: 9/14/14

7014-0774-5

July 18, 1995

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing on a matter of some sensitivity and hope that you can provide some insight. Richard Wilson Riley, Secretary of the Department of Education, has been nominated for a Heinz Award. In order to properly assess the merits of his nomination, I am contacting a small number of people who may be familiar with Secretary Riley's work.

The Heinz Awards have been recognized as among the nation's largest and most prestigious awards programs. Created by the Heinz Family Foundation as a tribute to the late U.S. Senator John Heinz, the Heinz Awards recognize individuals whose spirit, vision, and achievements have made a significant difference in one of five areas: Arts and Humanities, the Environment, Public Policy, Technology and the Economy, and the Human Condition. As many as five awards are given annually, one in each category, and each includes a cash prize of \$250,000.

Last year's recipients were documentary film producer Henry Hampton, environmentalists Paul and Anne Ehrlich, child welfare advocate Geoffrey Canada, nuclear arms negotiator James Goodby, and computer pioneer Andrew Grove. As demonstrated by the spirit and actions of the individuals honored in 1994, the Heinz Awards are designed to spotlight the continuing power of caring individuals to advance the state of knowledge and to improve the lives of others. In each category, the Awards recognize tangible accomplishments with application elsewhere.

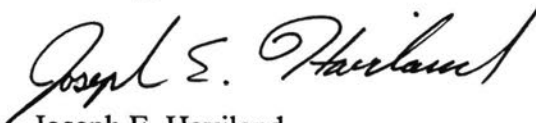
But they are also intended to reward intangible qualities of spirit, such as vision, joy, optimism, intellectual curiosity, an informed willingness to take risks, and the determination to make the world a better place. These qualities are extremely difficult to measure, except by those with personal knowledge of the individual.

That's why we need your help. Secretary Riley has been nominated in the category of Public Policy. We are asking you for a one to three page letter which includes your frank assessment of his accomplishments and a description of the spirit that inspires and guides him.

Finally, we ask that you keep this request and your response to it confidential, and that you not discuss it with the nominee. We expect many qualified nominees and do not wish to raise expectations for anyone unnecessarily. Since nominations remain eligible for three years, we would request your confidentiality for that extended period of time. Let us also assure you that your response will be entirely confidential as well.

It would be helpful to hear from you by August 11. We have enclosed a return envelope for your convenience. If you have any questions about the Heinz Awards program, don't hesitate to contact me at the Heinz Family Foundation at (412) 497-5775. We are grateful for your assistance.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Joseph E. Haviland". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Joseph E. Haviland
Awards Program Officer

Chron

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 8/2/95

NOTE FOR: Harold, Billy, Doug

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

cc:

interesting
BC

He's a sharp
a GOP in BC

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 1, 1995

Kerry Kirschner
Executive Director
The Argus Foundation
Post Office Box 49361
Sarasota, Florida 34230

Dear Kerry:

Thanks for your letter of July 24 and for your invitation to speak at The Argus Foundation's annual luncheon later this year. I appreciate your suggestions of efforts our administration is making in southwest Florida that we might highlight on a trip there, and I've shared your letter with Billy Webster, my scheduler, for his consideration.

I hope you're well, and I look forward to seeing you soon.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bill", written in a cursive, stylized script.



PRESIDENT

Stephen E. Kunk

PRESIDENT-ELECT

C. William Curtis

VICE PRESIDENT

Bruce E. Franklin

SECRETARY

M. Rod Macon

TREASURER

William E. North

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Kerry G. Kirschner

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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C. William Curtis, Jr.

First Union National Bank of Florida

Frederick M. Derr

Frederick Derr & Company

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Bruce E. Franklin

The ADP Group, Inc.

Michael J. Furen

Icard, Merrill, Cullis, Timm,
Furen & Ginsburg, P.A.

Stephen E. Kunk

Enterprise National Bank

M. Rod Macon

Florida Power & Light Company

William E. North

North, Armentrout & Co.

Richard A. Para

Poe & Brown Insurance

Donald L. Roberts

Goodwill Industries
Manasota, Inc.

Lemuel Sharp III

W.G. Mills, Inc.

Ronald L. Spector

Ronald L. Spector

Charles E. Stottlemeyer

FCCI Fund

H. Lee Sullivan

Jack Graham, Inc.

James L. Turner

Hi-Hat Ranch

David M. Wachtel

Bishop & Associates

July 24, 1995

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Bill:

The Argus Foundation Board of Directors has unanimously voted to extend to you an invitation to be the keynote speaker at our annual luncheon in November or December, subject to your schedule and availability. As a non-profit, nonpartisan, public policy organization, Argus is composed of members who are all Presidents and CEOs of companies in Southwest Florida, representing 53 different business categories, employing over 10,000 with combined gross revenues in excess of \$2.75 billion.

In addition to attending our luncheon, there are other opportunities in Sarasota and Southwest Florida that need public visibility regarding programs of your administration that are making a difference in the lives of the citizens of Florida.

EPA recently added Charlotte Harbor to their National Estuary Program (see attached), the only body of water so designated in Florida, and the most pristine and important marine nursery habitat left in the state.

Additionally, a specific appropriation has been requested in the Senate Labor and HHS subcommittee of Appropriations for \$10 million in support of an innovative and effective welfare to work program developed by one of our members, Goodwill Industries. Phil Lader has personal first-hand knowledge of the program, and I have briefed Laura D'Andrea Tyson on this exciting back-to-work effort that currently operates in Florida and Louisiana and could easily be replicated nationally.

In short, we could arrange a very hard-hitting day for you here in Southwest Florida. I will be happy to spearhead that coordination of events at this end with your staff.

Bill, I know that this can be a very positive visit, that will be well-received as we lead in to 1996. Your "Republican FRIEND" looks forward to hearing from you and seeing you back in Florida in the Fall!

Best Regards,



Kerry Kirschner
Executive Director

Enclosures

cc: Billy Webster, Scheduling
Harold Ickes, Deputy Chief of Staff
Doug Sosnik, Political Director
Alexis Herman, Public Liaison



Environmental News

FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, JULY 6, 1995

EPA PLEDGES FUNDS TO RESTORE SEVEN ESTUARIES

Robin Woods 202-260-4377

U.S. Environmental Protection Agency Administrator Carol M. Browner today pledged over \$10 million in federal assistance to restore the environmental and economic health of seven coastal bay areas, or estuaries, in eight states.

Browner added the following areas to EPA's National Estuary Program: Mobile Bay, Alabama; Morro Bay, California; Charlotte Harbor, Florida; Maryland Coastal Bays, Maryland; New Hampshire Estuaries, New Hampshire; Barnegat Bay, New Jersey; and Columbia River, Oregon & Washington.

An estuary is a coastal area, such as a bay or sound, where fresh water from rivers and streams mixes with salt water from the ocean. Estuaries support commercial fisheries, national and international ports and a large number of recreational opportunities, making them vital to the economy. Almost one-third of the Gross National Product is produced in coastal counties.

Browner said, "More than half of all Americans live in coastal states. Estuaries are essential to our nation's economic productivity. These grants will help communities and businesses develop common-sense solutions for the economic and environmental future of these vital areas."

Participation in the program makes each estuary eligible for \$300,000 to \$500,000 a year for three years. These funds bring representatives from government agencies, local citizens, business leaders, educators and researchers together to develop a comprehensive plan for revitalizing and protecting the estuary. The funding also supports new technologies and innovative programs to help restore and protect the estuaries.

After completing the management plan, the estuary programs will be eligible for additional funding to help support implementation.

State governors nominate their estuaries to the National Estuary Program. A 25 percent state match of all federal funds is required.

With today's additions, 28 estuaries are now in the National Estuary Program. Nine have moved from the planning to full implementation stage.

The estuary programs have achieved numerous successes including reducing runoff, preventing shoreline erosion, creating new marshland, reducing hazardous waste generated by industrial activities, improving habitat and improving local economies.

Estuaries already in the National Estuary Program are:

- *Puget Sound, Wash.
- Tillamook Bay, Ore.
- *San Francisco Estuary, Calif.
- *Santa Monica Bay, Calif.
- Corpus Christi Bay, Texas
- *Galveston Bay, Texas
- Barataria-Terrebonne Estuarine Complex, La.
- Tampa Bay, Fla.
- Sarasota Bay, Fla.
- Indian River Lagoon, Fla.
- *Albemarle-Pamlico Sounds, N.C.
- *Delaware Inland Bays, Del.
- Delaware Estuary, Del., Pa., and N.J.
- New York-New Jersey Harbor, N.Y. and N.J.
- *Long Island Sound, N.Y. and Conn.
- Peconic Bay, N.Y.
- *Narragansett Bay, R.I.
- *Buzzards Bay, Mass.
- Massachusetts Bays, Mass.
- Casco Bay, Maine
- San Juan Bay, Puerto Rico

(*In implementation phase)

The National Estuary Program was established by Congress in 1987 to identify and protect nationally significant estuaries. The program is designed to restore the estuaries' health while improving economic and recreational activities.

EPA selected the estuaries based on the nature and scope of the environmental threats, consensus on likely corrective actions, demonstrated strong working relationships among state and local environmental programs and local citizenry as well as demonstrated strong public support for the effort.

TESTIMONY BEFORE THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE
ON THE ISSUE OF WELFARE - TO - WORK
MARCH 29, 1995

Rev. Donald L. Roberts - President/C.E.O. Goodwill Industries-Manasota, Inc.
Sarasota, Florida

I NEVER FORGET -- IT'S ABOUT PEOPLE

MR. CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE, A MOMENT OF PERSONAL AND PASTORAL PRIVILEGE.

FIRST, THANK YOU FOR YOUR INVITATION TO SENATOR COOK AND MYSELF TO SPEAK BEFORE THE SENATE FINANCE COMMITTEE ON THE MATTER OF WELFARE-TO-WORK REFORM.

NOT A DAY GOES BY AT ANY OF OUR LOCAL GOODWILL'S 15 CONVENIENT JOB CONNECTION NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS, THAT WE ARE NOT REMINDED, THAT ULTIMATELY THE DEBATE SURROUNDING REFORM OF OUR WELFARE SYSTEM... IS ABOUT PEOPLE.

RELENTLESSLY, THEY COME THROUGH OUR DOORS, LOOKING FOR THE HOPE AND DIGNITY THAT COMES WITH A REGULAR PAYCHECK. THEY ARE NOT STATISTICS, THEY ARE PEOPLE. THEY ARE SOMEONE'S BABY-GROWN - LARGE, SOMEONE'S SON OR DAUGHTER, SOMEONE'S SISTER OR BROTHER, SOMEONE'S MOTHER OR FATHER.

ULTIMATELY, IN THE MIDST OF THE SWIRLING POLITICAL DEBATE OVER WHICH TECHNIQUE WILL BEST "CURE" THE WELFARE "PATIENT," WE ARE CALLED UPON BY OUR HIGHEST AND BEST VALUES TO REMEMBER THAT ... "IT'S ABOUT PEOPLE"..., BOTH THE PERSONS WHO NEED A HAND UP RATHER THAN A HAND OUT, ...AS WELL AS THOSE OF US CALLED BY THE BEST THAT IS WITHIN US, TO PASS ALONG THE HAND UP WE RECEIVED FROM THOSE WHO WENT BEFORE US.

I WOULD BE LESS THAN RESPONSIVE TO MY HIGH CALLING IF I DID NOT DAILY REMIND MYSELF AND OTHERS OF THE WORDS OF OUR JUDEO-CHRISTIAN-ISLAMIC HERITAGE THAT JUSTICE SHOULD ROLL DOWN LIKE WATERS....AND....WHAT WE HAVE DONE FOR THE LEAST OF THESE OUR BRETHREN IS INDEED DONE TO THE GOD OF ALL CREATION

THANK YOU FOR THIS MOMENT OF PERSONAL PRIVILEGE

II NOT CHARITY, BUT A CHANCE

IMAGINE, IF YOU WILL, AN INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS WITH ALMOST A BILLION DOLLARS OF ANNUAL EARNINGS, EMPLOYING 60,000 FULL TIME EMPLOYEES, GENERATING AN ANNUAL PAYROLL OF FIVE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS MAKING THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE FOLLOWING OFFER:

WE WILL DEDICATE OUR TOTAL LABOR FORCE OF 60,000 PEOPLE AND ITS ANNUAL PAYROLL OF 1/2 BILLION DOLLARS TO HIRE, SUPPORT, AND PLACE CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED WELFARE RECIPIENTS NOBODY ELSE WILL HIRE.

SUCH A BUSINESS ALREADY EXISTS.

THE BUSINESS IS CALLED GOODWILL INDUSTRIES.

WE ARE AN OLD FRIEND YOU ONLY THOUGHT YOU KNEW.

GOODWILL INDUSTRIES BEGAN IN BOSTON IN 1902. IT WAS FOUNDED BY THE REV. DR. EDGAR HELMS, A METHODIST PREACHER, WHO STRUCK UPON A RADICAL NOTION FOR HIS DAY... AND OURS.....

HIS EXPERIENCES AMONG THE POOR IMMIGRANTS OF SOUTH BOSTON TAUGHT HIM THE TRUTH OF AN AGE-OLD IDEA:

THE BEST WAY TO HELP PEOPLE HELP THEMSELVES IS:

NOT CHARITY, BUT A CHANCE

UPON THAT SINGULAR VALUE GOODWILL INDUSTRIES WAS BORN.

93 YEARS LATER, THE DEBATE ABOUT THAT VALUE HAS FINALLY TAKEN CENTER STAGE IN THE HALLWAYS OF CONGRESS AND THE WHITE HOUSE.

AND THROUGH ALL THESE YEARS, GOODWILL INDUSTRIES HAS CREATED JOBS, PAYROLLS, WORK EXPERIENCE, AND PLACEMENT FOR A SUCCESSION OF PERSONS NEEDING A HAND UP ... NOT A HAND OUT.

FIRST, TO QUOTE TIP O'NEIL, IT WAS THE IRISH AND OTHER IMMIGRANTS, WHEN THE SIGNS IN ALL THE BUSINESSES OF BOSTON IN 1902 DECLARED "NO IRISH NEED APPLY."

THEN, FOLLOWING W.W.II, GOODWILL INDUSTRIES TOOK UP THE TASK OF CREATING JOBS, WORK EXPERIENCE AND PLACEMENTS FOR PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES.

THEN, NEARING THE PASSAGE OF THE AMERICANS WITH DISABILITIES ACT, GOODWILL'S NATIONAL FOCUS SHIFTED TO THOSE NEEDING WELFARE - TO - WORK ASSISTANCE.

TODAY GOODWILL INDUSTRIES IS THE NATION'S LARGEST PRIVATE SECTOR PROVIDER OF VOCATIONAL SERVICES FOR CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED WELFARE RECIPIENTS

AND THE MAJORITY OF GOODWILL FUNDING COMES, NOT FROM TAXES OR THE UNITED WAY OR FROM BAKE SALES BUT FROM THE SALES OF THE "SHIRTS DONATED OFF THE BACKS OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE."

GOODWILL INDUSTRIES, AN OLD FRIEND YOU ONLY THOUGHT YOU KNEW

BUT, I DO NOT COME BEFORE YOU REPRESENTING THE NETWORK OF 190 AUTONOMOUS NOT -FOR- PROFIT BUSINESSES YOU KNOW AS GOODWILL INDUSTRIES. FOR THAT IS NOT MY AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY.

I COME BEFORE YOU REPRESENTING THE TWO GOODWILLS FOR WHICH I HAVE RESPONSIBILITY: ONE IN CONGRESSMAN DAN MILLER'S FLORIDA DISTRICT AND THE OTHER IN CONGRESSMAN JIMMY HAYES' DISTRICT IN LOUISIANA.

I COME BEFORE YOU TO SHARE WITH YOU OUR LOCAL GOODWILL'S INNOVATION IN JOB CREATION, WORK EXPERIENCE, AND PLACEMENT SERVICES WE PROUDLY CALL: THE JOB CONNECTION

III THE JOB CONNECTION: A NATIONALLY REPLICABLE PROTOTYPE

THE JOB CONNECTION BEGAN AS AN EXPERIMENTAL IDEA IN BRADENTON, FLORIDA IN 1987.

THE IDEA, BASED UPON 85 YEARS OF OPERATING A USED GOODS BUSINESS WITH A SOCIAL PURPOSE, WAS THIS:

EQUALS	LOCATION, LOCATION, LOCATION
EQUALS	DONATIONS, DONATIONS, DONATIONS
EQUALS	SALES, SALES, SALES
EQUALS	JOBS, JOBS, JOBS
EQUALS	PLACEMENTS, PLACEMENTS, PLACEMENTS

BASING THE IDEA FOR THE JOB CONNECTION ON THAT SOLID BUSINESS RESEARCH, OUR GOODWILL INDUSTRIES' BOARD OF DIRECTORS AUTHORIZED A SECOND MORTGAGE ON OUR EXISTING FACILITIES AND PURCHASED AN EXISTING BUILDING ON THE BUSIEST STREET IN THE BEST LOCATION WE COULD FIND IN MANATEE COUNTY, FLORIDA.

OUR BUSINESS PLAN INDICATED THAT THE LOCATION CHOSEN WAS CONVENIENT FOR GOODWILL'S THREE MAIN TARGET CUSTOMERS:

- 1) OUR DONORS OF USABLE DISCARDS
- 2) OUR INSATIABLE THRIFT STORE SHOPPERS
- 3) OUR WELFARE - TO -WORK CUSTOMERS NEEDING JOBS, WORK EXPERIENCE, AND PLACEMENT INTO UNSUBSIDIZED COMPETITIVE EMPLOYMENT

SINCE 1987 WE HAVE EXPANDED AND REFINED OUR NETWORK OF CONVENIENT JOB CONNECTIONS INTO 15 NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS IN FLORIDA.

IN 1990, WE REPLICATED THE JOB CONNECTION MODEL INTO AN AREA NEVER SERVED BY GOODWILL INDUSTRIES, LAFAYETTE, LA... WE DID THIS TO PROVE TO OURSELVES AND OTHERS THE EFFECTIVENESS AND REPLICABILITY OF THE BUSINESS AND JOB CREATION/PLACEMENT MODEL WE CALL THE JOB CONNECTION..

LAST YEAR THOSE COMBINED GOODWILL JOB CONNECTION NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS EMPLOYED SOME 200 PERSONS WITHIN GOODWILL AND PLACED SOME 400 PERSONS INTO COMPETITIVE EMPLOYMENT, AND ALL FROM THE PROCEEDS OF THE SALES OF THE DONATIONS BROUGHT TO US THROUGH OUR CONVENIENT DONATION DRIVE THRUS.

IN OUR STRATEGIC PLAN FOR THE 21ST CENTURY OUR VOLUNTEER BOARDS IN BOTH SARASOTA/BRADENTON, FL. AND LAFAYETTE, LA DETERMINED THE NEED TO DO THE FOLLOWING:

- 1) EXPAND OUR NETWORK OF JOB CONNECTIONS TO FULL ASSIGNED MARKET PENETRATION

- 2) TO DEMONSTRATE THE FINANCIAL VIABILITY OF THE JOB CONNECTION PROTOTYPE TO:
 - a) OTHER GOODWILLS
 - b) FOUNDATIONS
 - c) GOVERNMENT
- 3) TO DEMONSTRATE TO GOVERNMENT THE POTENTIAL OF PARTNERSHIPS WITH GOODWILLS AND OTHER 501C3 GROUPS

IV DEMONSTRATING THE POSSIBLE: GOODWILL'S SEARCH FOR A \$10 MILLION WELFARE -TO-WORK DEMONSTRATION PROJECT LOAN-TO-GRANT

MR. CHAIRMAN, SENATOR COOK AND I ARE HERE TODAY ASKING YOUR CONSIDERATION AND COUNSEL FOR OUR REQUEST FOR A \$10,000,000 WELFARE - TO -WORK DEMONSTRATION PROJECT LOAN - TO -GRANT.

(LOAN - TO-GRANT: Loan us the money and if we place an agreed number of persons from welfare-to-work turn the loan into a grant...if not, we repay the loan)

- OUR BUSINESS PLAN INDICATES THAT THIS AMOUNT WILL FULLY CAPITALIZE TO FULL MARKET PENETRATION, OUR NETWORK OF JOB CONNECTIONS IN DAN MILLER'S AND JOHNNY HAYES' DISTRICTS
- IT WILL FREE UP APPROXIMATELY \$500,000 ANNUALLY ...CURRENTLY GOING TO INTEREST PAYMENTS ON EXISTING JOB CONNECTIONS SO WE CAN USE THOSE DOLLARS TO HIRE , GIVE WORK EXPERIENCE, AND PLACE MANY ADDITIONAL CHRONICALLY UNEMPLOYED WELFARE RECIPIENTS.
- THIS \$10 MILLION INVESTMENT IN JOB CONNECTIONS WILL DOUBLE OUR CAPACITY: THE DONOR LOCATIONS, THE SALES, THE JOBS, THE PAYROLL, AND THE PLACEMENTS;
- WITHOUT ONGOING ANNUAL GOVERNMENTAL APPROPRIATIONS
- IT WILL DEMONSTRATE TO THE OTHER AUTONOMOUS GOODWILLS THE POTENTIAL OF THE JOB CONNECTION PROTOTYPE AND SET THE STAGE FOR A NATIONAL EXPANSION OF THE MODEL

- IT WILL DEMONSTRATE TO GOVERNMENT AND FOUNDATIONS THE WISDOM OF ONE-TIME CAPITAL GRANTS TO NOT-FOR-PROFITS (AS OPPOSED TO ONGOING OPERATIONAL SUPPORT)
- IT WILL SUPPORT PARTNERSHIPS WITH THE NOT-FOR-PROFIT PRIVATE SECTOR WHICH CAN USE THOSE CAPITAL RESOURCES TO DEVELOP ONGOING BUSINESSES IN SUPPORT OF OUR SHARED MISSION
- IT WILL ALLOW FOR IMMEDIATE EXPANSION OF THESE CRITICALLY NEEDED JOB CONNECTION SERVICES INTO EXISTING AND NEWLY-DEVELOPED NEIGHBORHOOD CENTERS
- IT SUPPORTS LOCAL SOLUTIONS TO LOCAL LABOR FORCE ISSUES GOVERNED BY LOCAL BOARDS OF DIRECTORS

V THE POWER OF PARTNERSHIPS WITH GOODWILL

AS OUR ENCLOSED CHART INDICATES, THE JOB CONNECTION PROTOTYPE, EXTENDED TO FULL NATIONAL MARKET PENETRATION WOULD CREATE :

- OVER 100,000 JOBS,
- AN ANNUAL PAYROLL OF ALMOST \$2 BILLION, AND
- PLACE OVER 200,000 WELFARE RECIPIENTS INTO EMPLOYMENT EACH AND EVERY YEAR

AND ALL FOR

A ONE-TIME CAPITAL INVESTMENT

IN A PARTNERSHIP WITH AMERICA'S LARGEST NOT -FOR- PROFIT PROVIDER OF VOCATIONAL SERVICES: GOODWILL INDUSTRIES

RATHER THAN:

ONGOING ANNUAL APPROPRIATIONS

VI THE SUMMARY

* ALWAYS REMEMBER: IT'S ABOUT PEOPLE

- * THE BEST WAY TO HELP PEOPLE?
NOT CHARITY, BUT A CHANCE
- * THE JOB CONNECTION WORKS: IT'S A PROVEN PRODUCT
- * THE JOB CONNECTION IS DEMONSTRABLY REPLICABLE
- * IT'S SMARTER FOR GOVERNMENT TO CAPITALIZE
SOLUTIONS ONCE RATHER THAN SUBSIDIZE OPERATIONS
ANNUALLY
- * GOODWILL INDUSTRIES HAS BEEN YOUR PARTNER SINCE 1902
- * PROPERLY CAPITALIZED, GOODWILL INDUSTRIES CAN
CONTINUE TO BE AN EFFECTIVE PARTNER FOR THE FUTURE

AS GOODWILL'S CURRENT "MOTTO" STATES

OUR BUSINESS WORKS SO PEOPLE CAN!

MR CHAIRMAN, MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE, ON BEHALF OF SENATOR COOK, THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE GOODWILLS IN FLORIDA AND LOUISIANA, I THANK YOU FOR YOUR INTEREST AND ENTHUSIASM.

WE ARE ESPECIALLY GRATEFUL FOR THE SUPPORT THIS INITIATIVE HAS RECEIVED FROM SENATORS BREAUX, JOHNSTON, MACK AND GRAHAM AND CONGRESSMEN MILLER AND HAYES AND THEIR STAFFS.

FURTHER, WE HAVE EXTENDED AN INVITATION TO SECRETARY REICH OF THE DEPARTMENT OF LABOR TO COME FOR A TOUR AND A REQUEST TO SEN. KASSEBAUM'S LABOR COMMITTEE TO TESTIFY.

WE STAND READY TO ANSWER ANY AND ALL QUESTIONS YOU MIGHT HAVE AND TO BE GUIDED BY YOUR COUNSEL AS TO POSSIBLE APPROACHES TO THE DEPARTMENTS OF LABOR, HHS, OR OTHER APPROPRIATE SOURCES.

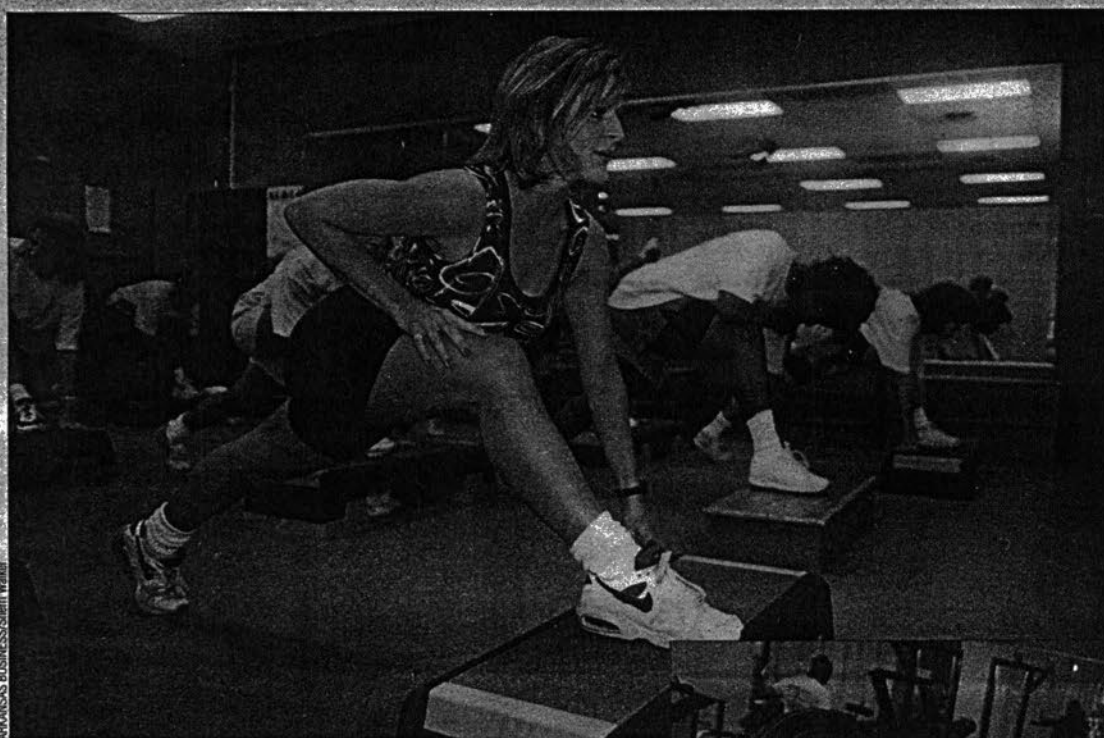
Health Care Update

A Special Supplement to **ARKANSAS BUSINESS**

July 24, 1995

Health Services - *Heber/Somich - Mamm. Ther.*

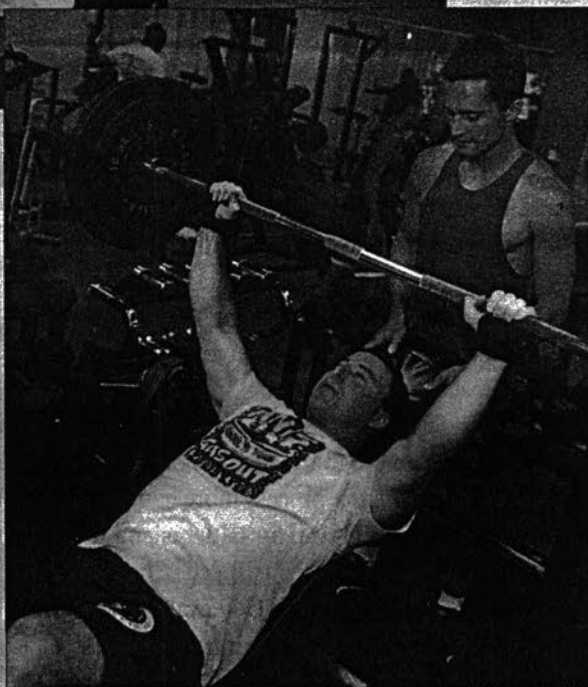
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ARKANSAS BUSINESS/Sheila Walker

CORPORATE WELLNESS

Some firms outsource and some do it in-house, but corporations want to keep their employees fit and stress-free. **See Page 6**



READY AND ABLE

No managed care organization has received certification to provide care for workers, but USAble Corp. has a good start with its pilot program. **Page 5**

IN DEMAND

The shortage of occupational therapists is estimated at 25 percent, and the field should grow quickly as the population ages. **Page 10**

BEVERLY'S BEST

Leisure Lodge in Searcy, owned by Beverly Enterprises Inc. of Fort Smith, topped \$1 million in net income to lead the rankings of the state's nursing homes. **Pages 14-17**

When's the last time one of your employees called in healthy?

PROBABLY NEVER, RIGHT?



EMPLOYEES usually don't think about their health on a daily basis — unless they get sick.

AND as an employer, you probably don't either. That should change. Your employees' health is your business these days.

NOT ONLY do healthy employees cost less in terms of medical dollars, they are also more productive at their jobs and miss fewer work days.

THE ADAGE for smart business today: A penny of prevention is worth a pound of cure.

AND THE best part? Not only do healthy employees work better — they live better, too. That's what we call a win-win proposition.

PREVENTIVE health care is just good business. To arrange a health screening for your company, or for more information, call 972-4473.



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years

There's no end to our commitment.



224 E. Matthews • Jonesboro, AR

Employees Cool Their Heels at Company Health Centers

Working Out, Staying Healthy Improve Stress-Filled Working Conditions

By JEFF WILLIAMS

CORPORATE JOBS ARE BREEDING grounds for stress. That's one of the reasons companies are finding ways to help their employees battle job-related stress and other health problems.

"If people are healthier, they are happier," says Jerry Kissinger, a health and wellness specialist for Conway's Acxiom Corp., among the companies that use a wellness facility to improve the lives and productivity of employees.

Acxiom opened its 6,000-SF wellness center April 25, 1988. Kissinger says its benefits are immense.

"It's an added benefit to corporate employees in this type of environment and stress," Kissinger says. "Acxiom is big on teamwork, and we support corporate goals through teaming. People build camaraderie, they become more personal [in a wellness center]. You get to know faces instead of numbers."

Acxiom's center includes weights, treadmills, aerobics, lockers, showers and intramural programs for basketball, softball, volleyball and horseshoes — everything you'd expect to find at a fitness center. Kissinger even organizes a golf tournament.

"We get high participation in the intramural programs," Kissinger says.

About 70 percent of Acxiom's 1,200 or so employees use the facility, Kissinger says. Usage is about the same for men and women.

"We had about 1,300 people come through here last week," Kissinger says. "The average age of employees six years ago was about 25. Now, it's 32."

Kissinger keeps Acxiom employees informed about the wellness center through e-mail.

Success stories are prominently displayed at the wellness center.

"We've had a lot of success stories," Kissinger says. "We have a body fat contest every January and we have a wall of fame that has any personal goals and tournament winners on it — from going three miles in 14 minutes on a treadmill to losing 25 or 30 pounds."

Out of the Office

Corporations without facilities such as those at Acxiom can take advantage of other wellness centers.

Lane Smith, a nutrition technician for a Jim Bottin's Fitness Center in Little Rock, says the Bottin's location in Conway has several corporate accounts.

"I don't know why more companies don't do it," Smith says. "[Using a work-

out facility] saves employees money, prevents injuries and cuts back sick leave."

Smith says there's an advantage to using a facility that's not part of corporate offices.

"Do you really feel like hanging around after work to work out?" Smith says. "You see the same faces. It's good to get away."

Martha Linch, human resources manager at Virco Manufacturing Corp. in Conway, says a good percentage of employees she works with spend time at the Conway Regional Health and Fitness Center and Bottin's.

"We have a payroll deduction plan so our employees can be members," Linch says.

Virco, Linch says, was one of the first of 64 corporate members at Conway Regional Health and Fitness Center, which opened Jan. 31.

"The people who go to Bottin's are more interested in bodybuilding rather than health," Linch says. "They are a more athletic, younger crowd."

Bargain for Employees

Linch, who works out every morning at Conway Regional, says it costs employees about \$9 per week.

"By being a corporate sponsor, we get it at a lesser rate," Linch says. "Their facility is second to none."

Kara Cordes is marketing director at Conway Regional Health and Fitness Center, part of Conway Regional Hospital.

"In order to qualify for a corporate account, the employer has to contribute a portion of the fees [for employees]," Cordes says. "We got some flak about that at first, but we have the most successful corporate program in the area."

And one of the largest. The facility covers 70,000 SF, has 2,300 members and is the seventh-largest hospital-based wellness center in the country, according to Cordes. Eleven of the facility's accounts are with manufacturers with 250-500 employees and seven of those companies are outside Conway.

As well as the usual workout machinery, tracks and courts, Conway Regional offers physical therapy, cardiac rehabilitation, health education classes, a sauna, steam room and whirlpool, plus day care.

The time and effort to relieve stress and keep employees healthy is well worth it, Linch says.

"Corporations are becoming more aware of it," Linch says. "It's in our best interest — we get a good return." ■

By

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8/2/95

Chion

THE NEW YORK TIMES OP-ED WEDNESDAY, JULY 26, 1995

A Realistic Entity: Greater Sarajevo

By Ronald Steel

The fall of the isolated Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia, including Zepa yesterday, may be a blessing in disguise. In threatening air strikes to protect the "safe havens," NATO is misguided. The eventual withdrawal of Muslim troops and civilians from Gorazde, Bihac and Tuzla could hold the key to a political settlement.

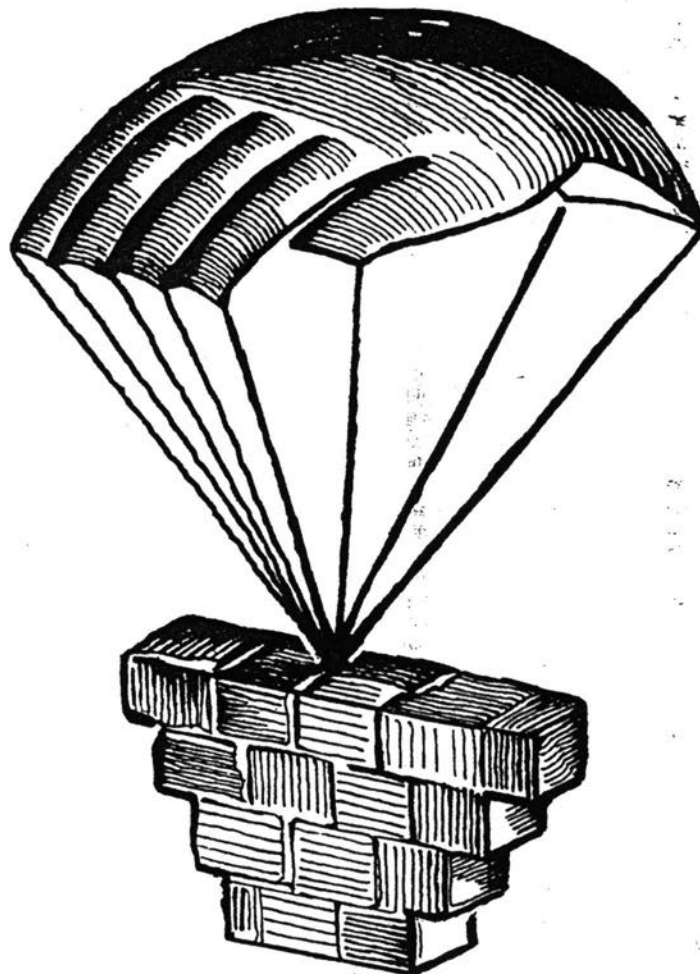
The Bosnian Government should have abandoned these towns long ago. They were held because they were considered useful in the effort to reclaim lost territories and because the plight of their refugees engaged the conscience of the West. Now the Bosnian Government should scale back its unrealistic ambitions and withdraw its army to establish a viable, independent republic around Sarajevo.

This would help end the war. But for a truce to be established, the combatants and the Western allies will have to take hard realities into account. The Muslims cannot recapture the havens. Neither the United States nor Europe will send in enough ground troops to force the Serbs out of lands they consider theirs. The Muslim state in Bosnia is essentially greater Sarajevo and its hinterland.

Although the legacy of Munich in 1938 is often invoked in discussing the Bosnian tragedy, the conflict is a civil war. A better analogy is the Indian subcontinent in 1947, where Muslims insisted they could insure their safety only through partition into a Muslim Pakistan and a predominantly Hindu India. They have not been good neighbors since then, but both countries still exist.

In effect, Bosnia has already been partitioned. The Bosnian Serbs now have their homeland, which they will likely confederate with Serbia. The Bosnian Croats have their slice, which they expect to link to Croatia. And the Bosnian Muslims have the core of the country around Sarajevo. The Muslim army is larger than that of the Bosnian Serbs and, if the West forced the Serbs out of mortar range of the city, should be able to defend itself.

Would this division constitute ethnic cleansing? Yes, in the European tradition that did not stop with World



War II. In 1945, millions of Germans were expelled from Poland and Czechoslovakia. In 1974, Greeks and Turks fled to separate parts of Cyprus. Although the Bosnian Serbs have been extremely cruel and brutal, their primary objective has been to drive the Muslims from coveted territory. This cannot be condoned. But it is not equivalent to Nazi genocide.

A political settlement does not have to assume good will on the combatants' part but simply that they recognize reality. The Serbs have largely achieved their territorial goals. Now they must be made aware that they have reached their limit. The Muslims must realize that others will not retake for them the lands they have lost.

So far, the West has not developed a strategy for dealing with Bosnia but has reacted spasmodically to events. (A typical case was the apparent bombing of Pale on Monday, for

Bosnia must shrink to survive.

which France denies responsibility despite American claims that it was carried out by French planes.) Yet the fall of the "safe havens" makes possible a settlement that all sides can live with. This would involve:

- Withdrawing refugees (along with the United Nations forces) from the enclaves and resettling them in Sarajevo and predominantly Muslim areas around it. This area, a little smaller than 50 percent of the old Bosnia-Herzegovina, is big enough for the fewer than two million Muslims.

- Returning the Bosnian Muslim army from distant outposts so that it can defend Sarajevo. NATO air power and the forces being assembled by

the British and French should be used to help the Muslims end the shelling of the capital, open the airport and carve out new borders around the lands they hold.

- Recognizing that Bosnia must shrink to survive. Just as Yugoslavia could not endure as a multiethnic state, neither can a greater Bosnia. Cosmopolitan Sarajevo may deserve its reputation as a multiethnic haven, but the rest of Bosnia is not one.

Small countries can prosper if reconciled with their neighbors, and Sarajevo has a relatively well-educated population and has been a center of industry. The West should offer economic and humanitarian aid and induce Croatia, an ally of Sarajevo's, to offer the Bosnians an outlet to the sea.

- Avoiding manipulation. The Muslims must understand that NATO will not grind the Serbs into submission. The Muslims should have the means to defend themselves but not enough to reopen the war. If they mount an offensive, the West should pull out its forces, withdraw its guarantees and terminate economic aid.

Would the Muslims accept such a solution? Probably, because they depend almost totally on Western protection. Would the Bosnian Serbs recognize this smaller Sarajevo? No one can be sure, but they are dangerously overextended and would have no desire to face a serious Muslim offensive around Sarajevo backed by Western air power. Further, Belgrade wants to bring them under control in anticipation of renewed war with Croatia.

Why not avoid all these unknowns and simply lift the arms embargo, as is called for in legislation making its way through Congress? Because then Europeans would immediately pull out their forces, leaving many civilians without food or shelter. The Bosnian Serbs would almost certainly attack Sarajevo. And the pressure for United States intervention would not diminish, particularly if the Muslims continued to lose the war.

Through clandestine shipments, the Muslims already have most of the weapons they can absorb. More weapons are unlikely to turn the tide of battle but would cause more casualties and could lead to a war between Serbia and Croatia. In that event, Bosnia would be but a sideshow, eventually to be divided up between its two more powerful neighbors.

A brokered political settlement is not a perfect solution. But it offers more hope than any alternatives. And it recognizes that since the Bosnians, like the other Yugoslavs, cannot live together, they must live separately. □

Ronald Steel, professor of international relations at the University of Southern California, is author of "Temptations of a Superpower."

SPEAK OUT

Why Save Davis-Bacon?

Because Lower Wages Mean Shoddy Work, More Accidents, Says Contractor

We rebuilt the world's busiest freeway in just 66 days. Part of our success came from contracting with private firms—to speed rebuilding and to keep down the cost.
— Gov. Wilson, 1995 State of the State Address

Government workers—hand-in-hand with private business—rebuilt Southern California's fractured freeways in record time and under budget.
— President Clinton, 1995 State of the Union Address

By C.C. Myers

IT MADE me proud when the governor of California and the president of the United States publicly recognized the tremendous success we had in rebuilding the Santa Monica Freeway after the Northridge earthquake. We just repeated that performance rebuilding in 21 days the twin bridges wiped out on I-5 after the recent floods.

Like air and water, the highways, dams, bridges, schools, sewage systems, and other infrastructure elements that make society run are easy to take for granted—until they're missing. When commerce stops, paychecks stop, families go hungry.

Those of us in the construction industry know what it takes to build a first-class infrastructure: government commitment, quality contractors, and a skilled, hardworking labor force. Each member of my crew, from top management to the newest apprentice, has a job to do in a tough, dirty, and dangerous occupation. These are skilled, rugged individuals who take great pride in their work. Many of them have devoted more than 5,000 hours to learning their trade. They put in a full day's work, and they get a decent day's pay.

At the end of the day, they go home tired, but proud. They've earned enough to take care of their families, including good medical and dental benefits. Using their hands and their heads, they've built some of the most sophisticated and durable structures in the world. Every construction worker I've ever known points with a special pride as he or she tells the kids, "I built that."

ASOLID, safe infrastructure has served business and the public well. Government construction, around 25 percent of all construction, has also served the construction industry well. High-quality

After the 1989 quake in the San Francisco Bay Area, C.C. Myers Inc. also replaced two bridges in record time.

construction standards are enforced. Extensive training of apprentices, including growing numbers of minorities and females, is required. Area wage standards, known as "prevailing wages," are mandatory. In this way, bids are won through efficiency and competence, not wage cutting. Federal law, the Davis-Bacon Act, and state laws, called "Little Davis-Bacon" laws, have kept careful control of a dog-eat-dog industry.

That's why I'm distressed to see The Bee expressing support for those politicians who want to change all this ("Prevailing wage reform," April 17). They want to repeal these laws or tinker with the wage protections. I say to them, lower wages don't mean lower costs. Lower wages mean shoddy work, more accidents, more injuries, more repairs.

IHAVEN'T built my company and my reputation using low-wage, unskilled workers. We come in ahead of schedule and under-budget because we use the best skilled workers and run the job with a talented management team. That kind of operation doesn't come cheap, but investing in skills is what brings the overall cost of construction down. . . .

I witness close up every day the core values that have made America great: hard work and the dignity that comes with it; individual responsibility combined with teamwork; and most of all, a fierce love of family and country. These are the people who work for me. They work hard, they're treated right, and they get the job done. Why would anyone want to screw that up?

C.C. Myers is president of C.C. Myers Inc. of Rancho Cordova, Calif., one of the state's biggest and best-known road and bridge construction firms. His comment excerpted here first appeared in The Sacramento (Calif.) Bee.



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/31/95

healing
inner
values

Deb Runions

Handwritten:
FAS letter
Need reply for
Mr to sign for

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Handwritten:
Chron
copy

Handwritten:
Original to
Dorskind

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate
the reply.

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ISSUE 1 • 1995



DEBBIE RUNIONS

SHINING THROUGH THE STORM OF HIV
SUPPORT: SOCIAL, FINANCIAL, NUTRITIONAL, MEDICAL & LEGAL
SPECIAL PULL-OUT SECTION ON NUTRITION BASICS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7/31/95



July 26, 1995

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

First, I want to thank you for choosing me for your HIV/AIDS Advisory Council. I feel very honored to serve you and my country in this capacity. By now you will have received our formal recommendations, but I wanted to add this personal note. You have done more to move the cause of AIDS into the light than any other President since the beginning of the epidemic. For that I thank you. I believe that you are a man of compassion, creativity and of courage. I believe that you were chosen by God to lead this nation toward healing.

Of course you must continue to fight to keep funding in the areas of research, education, medical and mental health treatments and housing and certainly you must veto any attempts by Congress to cut funds. But these are not the only pressing issues for which you as President must provide leadership. The greatest challenge in America today is fear. We as a nation are consumed by it. We are not just afraid of deadly diseases. We are afraid of becoming victims of violence, of being taken advantage of by government, of losing our wealth and dying impoverished, and/or losing our jobs to immigrants. In our fear we are becoming mean spirited and hateful. The chasm between US and THEM grows wider each day.

One of your strongest assets is your ability to communicate sincerely. You could provide great leadership for the people of America. You are a man who has a vision of Oneness. You have a dream of healing. You have the Quixotic notion that "we don't have a person to waste in our country." You have all the makings of a leader. What you have been lacking is a focus. I propose that healing be that focus, that all domestic decisions be interpreted through that mission and that you make your commitment to HIV/AIDS become the symbol of that steadfast goal.

It is my personal belief that HIV/AIDS is here to teach the world lessons in love. I believe that it is here to heal wounded relationships. We who carry the virus are those who have chosen to teach love. Those who relate to us may choose to be our healers. I don't think that there will be a cure for AIDS in my lifetime. But I do believe that I can be healed before I die. And I believe that America must be healed of its hatred and prejudice and bigotry before AIDS will disappear. You, Mr. President, have the chance to become a leader in the healing of AIDS and ultimately the healing of America. It is my hope that you will choose to do so.

Sincerely,

Deb Runions

2600 Hillsboro Pike #411 Nashville, TN 37212 (615) 298-5069 or 226-4764