

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. resume	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	09/00/1995	b(6)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files September 3-9, 1995 [1]

2019-0774-S

rs3294

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 WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc: THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
Enlin 9/7/95
DScotch

This OK
Might be a. pm
Very good might do
let's discuss — PC

September 6, 1995

Jim Pledger
Executive Vice President
Arkansas State Fair and Livestock Show
Post Office Box 166660
Little Rock, Arkansas 72216

Dear Jim:

Thanks for your note of August 22 and for sending Marion Fletcher's letters regarding the National Future Farmers of America Convention in November. While I never know what the schedule here will hold, I've shared your letter with Billy Webster, my scheduler, to let him know of your recommendation.

I'm looking forward to seeing you, Maurice, and Bill!

Sincerely,

Jim

cc scheduling

*Green
less on
less to a
commitment
ment*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 6, 1995

*I'm concerned
that this sounds
like a scheduling
commitment.
PM.*

Jim Pledger
Executive Vice President
Arkansas State Fair and Livestock Show
Post Office Box 166660
Little Rock, Arkansas 72216

Dear Jim:

Thanks for your note of August 22 and for sending Marion Fletcher's letters regarding the National Future Farmers of America Convention in November. I think you're right that it would be a good group for me.

I'm looking forward to seeing you, Maurice, and Bill!

Sincerely,



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/7/95

JIM PLEDGER
Executive Vice President

8-22-95

MIZ PRESIDENT:

MAIZION FLETCHER ASKED ME
TO SEND YOU THE ENCLOSED LETTERS
CONCERNING THE NATIONAL FFA
CONVENTION IN KANSAS CITY. MAIZION
DOES NOT WANT YOU TO MISS THIS
OPPORTUNITY TO ADDRESS THIS
GROUP OF YOUNG PEOPLE. IT IS
MY UNDERSTANDING THAT
PRESIDENTS CARTER, REYAN AND
BUSH HAVE ALL ATTENDED THIS
CONVENTION.

IT SEEMS TO ME THAT
THIS WOULD BE A GOOD OPPORTUNITY

Jim Pledger
Executive Vice President
Arkansas State Fair
and Livestock Show
Post Office Box 166660
Little Rock, Arkansas 72216



For you.

MAURICE, CLARK AND I ARE
TRYING TO WORK OUT A TIME TO
COME AND VISIT. HOPE TO SEE
YOU SOON.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "J" followed by a long horizontal stroke.

P. O. BOX 166660

Little Rock, Arkansas 72216

(501) 372-8341



MARY BOWLIN, President
KATIE LYNN McKINNON, Secretary
ANGIE BLOCK, Vice President
MACY BRASWELL, Vice President
SARAH TAYLOR, Vice President

JOE BOB WASHBURN, Vice President
MARION FLETCHER, State Advisor
WALTER UPTON, Executive Secretary
LEE GRIFFITH, Area Supervisor
TRAVIS HOPPER, Area Supervisor

ARKANSAS FUTURE FARMERS

Three Capitol Mall
Luther S. Hardin Building 502-D
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201
Telephone: (501) 682-2561
Fax: (501) 682-1509
March 9, 1995

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

Each November, more than 35,000 FFA members, advisors, and guests from across this great Nation attend the National FFA Convention in Kansas City, Missouri. The date for 1995 is November 9-11.

FFA members are pursuing premier leadership, personal growth and career success for rural and urban youth through Agricultural Education.

I extend a personal invitation to you for a special appearance to the convention. It would be an honor to host you on such a special occasion.

Personally--keep up the great work as you lead this great Nation. I believe you are on the right road to success. The family sends their special "Howdy" to you and the first family. Perhaps our paths will cross again soon.

Please advise If I can provide further information and may the Good Lord keep you safe and healthy.

Sincerely,

Marion D. Fletcher
State Advisor
Arkansas Association FFA

es

95/MDF/130

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 24, 1995

Ms. Marion D. Fletcher
State Advisor
Arkansas Future Farmers
Three Capitol Mall
Luther S. Hardin Building 502-D
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

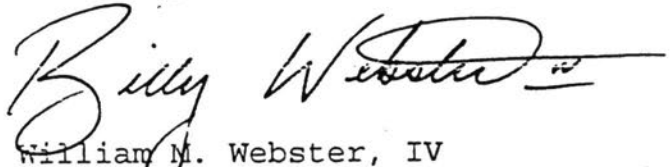
Dear Ms. Fletcher:

Thank you for inviting President Clinton to attend the National Future Farmers of America Convention in Kansas City, Missouri. The President has asked me to convey his appreciation for your kind offer.

At this time, I am unable to make a commitment to your request. However, I will keep your invitation on file for further consideration as the date of the convention approaches. Please be assured that I will contact you if it is possible for the President to participate in this event.

On behalf of the President, thank you again for your thoughtful invitation. I encourage you to contact my office if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Billy Webster". The signature is written in dark ink and includes a horizontal line at the end.

William M. Webster, IV
Director of Scheduling and Advance

WMW/ing



MARY BOWLIN, President
KATIE LYNN McKINNON, Secretary
ANGIE BLOCK, Vice President
MACY BRASWELL, Vice President
SARAH TAYLOR, Vice President

JOE BOB WASHBURN, Vice President
MARION FLETCHER, State Advisor
WALTER UPTON, Executive Secretary
LEE GRIFFITH, Area Supervisor
TRAVIS HOPPER, Area Supervisor

ARKANSAS FUTURE FARMERS

Three Capitol Mall
Luther S. Hardin Building 502-D
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201
Telephone: (501) 682-2561
Fax: (501) 682-1509
May 2, 1995

Mr. William M. Webster, II
Director of Scheduling and Advance
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Webster:

Thanks for your reply to my request for President Clinton to attend the National Future Farmers of America Convention in Kansas City, Missouri, November 1995.

I realize that it is early to commit to November, but I truly appreciate your cooperation and consideration and that the invitation is on file.

If I can provide further information, please advise.

Sincerely,

Marion D. Fletcher
State Advisor
Arkansas Association FFA

MDF:es

95/MDF/206

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/8/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 6, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TS*
PHIL CAPLAN

SUBJECT: Employment Non-Discrimination Act

In the attached memo, counsel's office recommends that you endorse the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA), prohibiting employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. The bill was first introduced by Senator Kennedy last year, and a modified version was introduced in the House in June. Last year, after you approved, Deval Patrick testified in support of the bill's purpose, without explicitly endorsing the bill.

Last year, you asked how ENDA would interact with the Religious Freedom Restoration Act. ENDA's application to religious groups is limited, applying only to employment positions that pertain solely to a group's taxable, for-profit activities. Religious groups might still attack the bill under the RIFRA, but OLC believes the bill would survive such challenge.

Your endorsement would be welcomed by the bill's supporters, especially after DOJ's decision not to file a brief in the case involving Colorado anti-gay initiative. On the religious front, several liberal religious groups supported the bill during last year's hearings, but Linda Lader's informal canvassing of several other religious leaders suggests there may be some opposition. One leader expressed concern that the bill would cover religious schools, but White House Counsel says it won't as long as the schools are operated as 501(c)(3) entities, which they generally are. The Family Research Group has warned that the "for-profit" language of the bill might still have adverse consequences for groups like the Mormon Church.

Leon, George, Doug and Pat concur in Counsel's recommendation that you endorse the bill. Counsel advises against further religious outreach since it risks stirring up trouble where there doesn't yet appear to be any.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Discuss ☒ _____

*Copies given to: Castello
Krislov
Caplan.*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/8/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 24, 1995 95 AUG 24 P3:59

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JAMES E. CASTELLO J.E.C.
DEPUTY COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT
MARVIN KRISLOV MK
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON E. PANETTA
GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

SUBJECT: EMPLOYMENT NON-DISCRIMINATION ACT

This memorandum evaluates legislation that would prohibit employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation.

Background:

In June of 1994, Senator Kennedy introduced a version of the Employment Non-Discrimination Act (ENDA) that was the subject of hearings before a Senate Judiciary Subcommittee at which Deval Patrick testified. Consistent with your response to a decision memo from our office (copy attached), Deval expressed support for the bill's purpose without explicitly endorsing the legislation. The written testimony noted that "we expect to have some technical comments on the bill" but promised that you would "sign into law legislation passed by Congress that prohibits discrimination in employment based on sexual orientation."

Current Status

A slightly modified version of ENDA was reintroduced in the House this summer, with 120 co-sponsors. Earlier this year, a leading gay rights group asked for your outright endorsement of the revised bill. It is likely that this group--as well as some of the bill's congressional sponsors, such as Congressman Barney Frank--feel even more strongly about securing your endorsement, following the Justice Department's decision not to file an amicus brief in Evans v. Romer, the case involving Colorado's anti-gay initiative that is now before the Supreme Court. (However, even if ENDA were enacted into law, it would only partially correct the effect of the Colorado initiative. That initiative is not limited to employment discrimination but bars ordinances, laws or policies that protect gays from any discrimination -- including in such areas as housing, public accommodations and health insurance.)

Three potentially troubling provisions in Senator Kennedy's prior version of ENDA have been modified in the bill introduced this year. First, the bill contains no "findings" section that could be inconsistent with the gays-in-the-military policy. Second, the definition of "sexual orientation" has been changed to make clear that employers may bar on-the-job sexual behavior. Finally, the bill's limited application to religious organizations has been clarified. The Act only applies "to any employment position that pertains solely to a religious organization's for-profit activities subject to taxation."

You have previously asked how this religious provision would interact with the Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA). That law generally provides that "government shall not substantially burden a person's exercise of religion . . ." and permits such a burden to be imposed only if it furthers "a compelling governmental interest" by "the least restrictive means." Religious groups might attack ENDA as being inconsistent with RFRA on grounds that no compelling government interest is served by the anti-discrimination requirement or that the coverage of churches' for-profit activities is still too broad. DOJ's Office of Legal Counsel (OLC) believes the statute would survive such facial challenges, because courts would find that ENDA does serve a compelling interest in a way designed not to be too restrictive of religious exercise. OLC acknowledges that in a particular circumstance a court might find ENDA's burden on free exercise of religion to be impermissible. OLC believes, however, that ENDA merits endorsement in its current form.

In last year's hearings, several major religious groups testified that the religious exemption in ENDA was sufficient. However, these groups represented more "liberal" denominations, which supported the bill itself. (A representative of the Family Research Council did warn that the courts could interpret the "for-profit" category too broadly, with major repercussions for such groups as the Mormon Church.) In an effort to canvass other views on a confidential basis, we asked Linda Lader what she had heard among her contacts in the religious community. Several people to whom she spoke believed it was inadvisable from a political or general policy standpoint to endorse the bill, but she heard only two specific comments about the bill's potential impact on religious groups. First, the Executive Director of the Christian Legal Foundation argued for a "conscience" exception, which presumably would exempt employers who oppose (perhaps solely on religious grounds) homosexuality. This seems to us an unworkable exception that could swallow the rule.

Another religious leader stressed that religious schools should not be covered by the bill but believed this was ensured by the provision limiting the bill's application to religious groups' taxable activities. We checked this conclusion with the Office of Tax Policy at Treasury, which generally agreed. So long as a religious school is run by a charitable (that is, a

501(c)(3)) entity, it is almost certain that school staff--especially teachers--would not be engaged "solely" in taxable activities and thus the hiring of such staff would not be covered by ENDA. It is impossible for Treasury to be certain that there are no religious schools that have declined to seek 501(c)(3) status, but the financial disadvantages of such an arrangement would tend to minimize the number of such schools.

Recommendation:

Given your basic support for the principles and policy reflected in ENDA, we recommend that you announce your support for the bill. One benefit of doing so is that it will be welcomed by many leaders of the gay community. We do not believe that regulating religious groups' hiring decisions in their for-profit operations will interfere with core religious activities. However, your endorsement of the bill need not deprive you of the flexibility to accept subsequent modification of the religious exemption, if religious groups come forward with evidence that ENDA would inhibit free exercise in some unacceptable way. Alternatively, prior to any endorsement, you could reach out to more conservative religious groups to see if they have specific objections to the scope of the exemption. However, we believe this approach poses the risk of simply stirring up trouble where (so far) there does not appear to be any.

☐ Endorse bill ☐ Explore religious issue further ☐ Discuss

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 22, 1994

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a decision memo from Counsel's office on a bill that Senator Kennedy plans to introduce tomorrow prohibiting employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. Senator Kennedy is hoping for an Administration endorsement.

Counsel's office lists four options, recommending option 2 -- that you express support for the principle of combatting employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, but refrain from explicitly endorsing the Kennedy bill so as to preserve some flexibility. Counsel's office informs us that George and Gergen also support this approach. (The other options are (1) endorse the bill; (3) state that we will review it, while expressing no further position; and (4) oppose the bill.)

In view of the shortness of time, I am forwarding the memo to you immediately. At the same time, I am circulating it to the Vice President and relevant staff.

Option 1___ Option 2 (Counsel's choice) ☒

Option 3___ Option 4___ Discuss___

Todd Stern

*Religious Freedom Act
Can't offload
decision on it*

Big P

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 22, 1994

94 JUN 22 P7:10

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LLOYD N. CUTLER *LNC*
SPECIAL COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

JOEL I. KLEIN *JEK*
DEPUTY COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

CLIFFORD M. SLOAN *CMS*
ASSOCIATE COUNSEL TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Gay rights anti-discrimination bill

Senator Kennedy plans to introduce legislation tomorrow that would prohibit employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation ("the Employment Non-Discrimination Act"). According to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the bill will be endorsed by a bipartisan group of legislators (Feinstein, Murray, Chafee, and Jeffords in the Senate; Frank, Studds, Edwards, Schroeder, Morella, Shays, and Huffington in the House) and by a range of civil rights leaders and groups (including Coretta Scott King, Justin Dart, the Leadership Conference On Civil Rights, and many other representatives of minority, women, disability, and labor groups). Senator Kennedy has requested that the Administration endorse the bill and that Assistant Attorney General Deval Patrick be present to express support for it.

In many respects, the bill is narrowly crafted. The Act prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. (A copy of the bill is attached.) It precludes the use of quotas or discrimination claims based solely on statistics (so-called "disparate impact" claims). It does not apply to religious organizations, but it does apply to their "for-profit activities subject to taxation." The bill also does not apply to the armed forces.

At the same time, certain provisions of the bill may raise significant issues. The congressional findings seem to include a finding that would lead to "strict scrutiny" for sexual orientation claims in court. (The finding refers to exclusion of gay men, lesbians, and bisexuals from "full participation in the political process" and to their status as a "discrete and insular minority," p. 2, lines 17-20 -- traditional formulations for strict scrutiny). In the gays-in-the-military litigation, DOJ and DOD have been arguing against strict scrutiny in the military context.

In addition, the bill defines "sexual orientation" as "lesbian, gay, bisexual, or heterosexual orientation, real or perceived, as manifested by identity, acts, statements, or associations" (p. 11, lines 13-16) and prohibits employment discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation (p. 3, lines 21-22). Opponents may claim that the bill thus protects even on-the-job sexual acts and on-the-job sexual statements of any kind, regardless of propriety. It is, however, possible that clarifying language could promptly resolve this problem and make clear that the point of the legislation is merely that gay men, lesbians, and bisexuals should not be treated differently from similarly situated heterosexuals.

OPTIONS

Four options are possible:

- (1) ___ Endorse the legislation.
- (2) ___ State that we support the principle of combatting sexual orientation employment discrimination and that we will review the legislation with care.
- (3) ___ State that we will review the legislation and express no further position at this time.
- (4) ___ Oppose the legislation.

We recommend in favor of option 2. The principle of non-discrimination in employment is clearly laudable and appropriate, and is consistent with your public statements during the campaign and subsequently. At the same time, we may wish to preserve some flexibility to offer suggestions on the bill and to respond to criticisms of it.

Elaine THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/9/95

We have a lot
of supporters in
this group

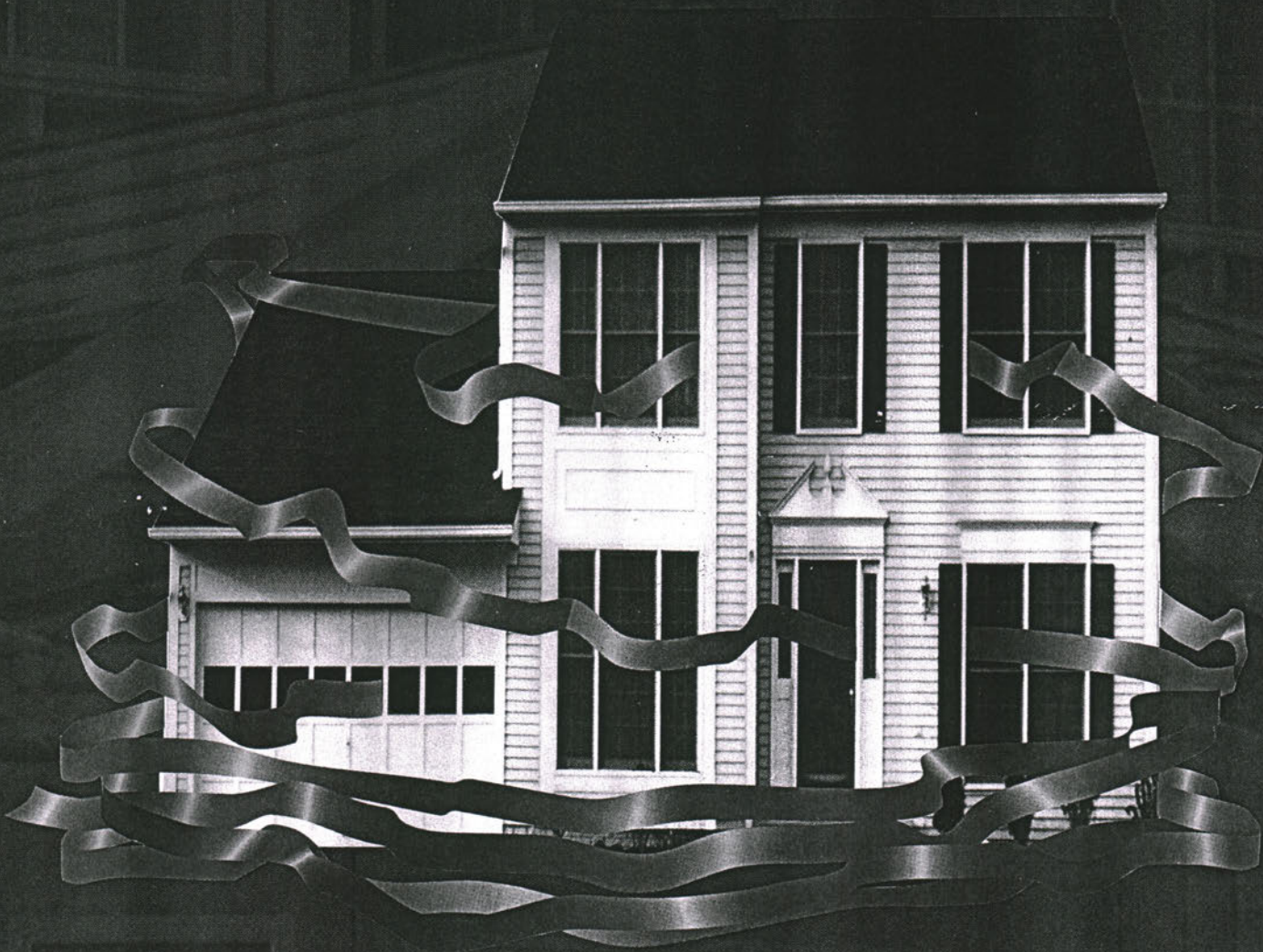
B.

9/9/95

Magazine given to Elaine Ramasck

The Truth About
Regulations and The Cost of

HOUSING



PUBLISHED BY THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF HOME BUILDERS



NETWORK

A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby

801 Pennsylvania Avenue SE ■ Suite 460 ■ Washington DC 20003

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/9/95

President William Jefferson Clinton

*/ ches / cc: Ann Leira
need to reply*



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/9/95

Jim Dorskind
Please coordinate
the reply.

A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby

801 Pennsylvania Avenue SE ■ Suite 460 ■ Washington DC 20003 ■ (202) 547-5556 ■ FAX (202) 547-5510

September 8, 1995

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

Dear Mr. President:

I have written to you many times before and received acknowledgments for which I am truly grateful. My past letters were in the nature of advice, (rather presumptuous to advise a President), but most often of encouragement. This time I write in the nature of a plea around two different action proposals:

1. To educate the U.S. people during a prime-time telecast before you veto The Budget Reconciliation Bill (which many thinking people would support) as to the drastic differences between two proposals:

A) Your plan for balancing the budget within ten years and the implications of its enactment; and B) The GOP Congressional leadership plan for a balancing the budget within seven years and the implications of its enactment. (See the attached two scenarios.)

2. To consider very seriously the Roth-Nickles proposal to cut some \$66 billion in EITC and the slowly-to-be-unveiled proposal of Senator Nickles to extend the child tax credit to all children, not limiting it to children of families with incomes below \$250,000.

This presents a great opportunity to juxtapose the effects of shifting child tax credits from those who need them to those who don't, while all the while raising taxes on workers through cuts in EITC and cutting taxes on upper-income people. This is an example of the appalling gross inequities inherent in the whole Budget Resolution. (PLEASE see the study to be released Monday by the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities.)

To enflame my plea...As the nation approaches what I consider an ultimate test of its direction in the next few weeks as evidenced in the FY 1996 Budget Reconciliation Bill, your commitment "to put people first and to forge a covenant with the American people" is more critical than ever.

That you take a clear and decisive stance in the resolution of the coming budget process is crucial not only to your re-election (for which many are working hard), but even more importantly to the future of this nation.

The policy changes inherent in both the Republican Contract With America and its final devastating blow in the FY 96 Budget Resolution shift the whole direction of the nation: 1) from benefits going from the poor and working middle class families to the wealthy; 2) from federal spending moving from domestic to military programs; and, 3) from federal responsibility for programs protecting the general welfare to the state and local levels. All the while, the moral fabric of this nation is not just being eroded but rather utterly shredded.

MY PROPOSAL: TWO SCENARIOS

SCENARIO I. That within the next two weeks, you inform the Congressional leadership that unless there is a just and equitable budget compromise that safeguards the nation's economic and social future, you will take your case directly to the people.

You refuse to have the blame for a government shutdown placed on your shoulders when in truth the policies inherent in the FY 1996 Budget Resolution and its Reconciliation Instructions imperil the futures of millions of hard-working families and their children. The situation is unconscionable.

In reality, the excessive cuts in discretionary programs, in welfare spending, in Medicare and Medicaid and the exclusionary provisions of the welfare reform bill can well be characterized as violations of the human rights of individuals to food, clothing, shelter, medical care, education and employment.

SCENARIO TWO: (I like this one better.)

That you take your commitment to veto the FY 1996 Budget Reconciliation Bill (what a misuse of the term "reconciliation") directly to the people. Get prime time reserved on major channels. Call it "WHY I REFUSE TO SIGN INTO LAW THE CONGRESSIONAL BUDGET RECONCILIATION BILL."

THEN...

Include in your presentation side-by-side graphs (use the Perot graph techniques) to illustrate the critical differences between your proposed Budget Balancing Plan (The 1993 Economic Plan was a genius plan) and the present GOP Budget Balancing Plan.

Stress that the GOP Plan achieves balance by decreases in government spending with astronomical increases in the nation's social deficit. Show the shifts in policy which affect the nation's future.

Graphically illustrate the effects of the GOP cuts on children, on families, on labor, on housing, on local and state taxes. Demonstrate how their policies widen the gap between the wealthy and the poor, between the middle class and the wealthy. (The EITC cuts and the Nickels proposal to extend the child credit to all children, not only those whose family incomes are below \$250,000, is a case in point.

Illustrate how your budget balancing plan achieves its goal while not only preserving but enhancing the nation's social fabric.

(In both cases it might be interesting to have Cabinet Secretaries inserted to "collage" their concerns and their visions.)

Then issue the CHALLENGE:

"IS THIS A BUDGET WITH WHICH WE CAN LIVE? DO YOU, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, FROM WHOM THE PRESENT CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP SAYS IT HAS A MANDATE, WISH TO LIVE WITH THE CONSEQUENCES OF SUCH CHANGES IN THE DIRECTION OF FISCAL AND SOCIAL POLICY ON YOUR FAMILIES, ON YOUR CHILDREN, ON YOUR FUTURE?

WHILE I KNOW THAT BRINGING THE BUDGET INTO BALANCE WILL REQUIRE SACRIFICE ON THE PART OF US ALL, I BELIEVE THAT THE BURDEN MUST BE EQUITABLY SHARED. WE ARE IN DANGER OF BECOMING A NATION OF "HAVES" VERSUS "HAVE-NOTS" WITH THE BURDENS ON THE MIDDLE CLASS MOVING THEM DAY-BY-DAY AWAY FROM ECONOMIC SECURITY, THE WORKING POOR SUBSUMED INTO POVERTY AND THE INDIGENT POOR HOPELESS IN THE FACE OF REALITY." (You would do better at the phrasing)

Mr. President, the numerous coalitions around town with whom we at NETWORK work and vision are feeling at an all-time low. Immediately preceding the writing of this letter, I attended an emergency legislative meeting at the Center for Budget and Policy Priorities. Just when one thinks things cannot get any worse, we find another hidden tactic being unveiled.

Hundreds of organizations have been alerted to the possibility of the Roth-Nickles' invasion of EITC with \$66 billion in cuts. While we abhor the \$23 billion in EITC cuts already in the Senate Budget Resolution, we find ourselves hoping to hold the cuts there.

Now, we are faced with the fact that Senator Nickles with 19 co-sponsors is working toward a child-tax credit proposal which, unlike the House child-tax credit plan, would not limit the credit to families with incomes below \$250,000.

This would skew the child-tax credit benefits to the top 40 percent of children in terms of income, these receiving 65 percent of the credit benefits, while the poorest 40 percent of U.S. children, most of whom live in families where both parents work, would receive 3.4% of the benefits from the credit. The poorest third, 24 million, would receive no credit at all.

These developments come as a new international study shows that low-income children in the United States are poorer than low-income children in 15 out of 17 other industrialized countries. The study also shows that the income gap between rich children and poor children in the United States is wider than in any industrialized nation. The Nickels proposal would widen the gap.

Mr. President, at no time is your drawing a line in the sand more necessary. Not to do so would be an abdication of your responsibility. Those of us who count on your leadership need to see you take a risk at this time.

NETWORK did some 33 welfare reform workshops (with the federal budget as a context) in almost 20 states. People are angry at how they have been kept in the dark. You can only reach so many in your visits to cities. But a national telecast with lead ins about "The President Challenges Congress, Himself and the Nation" might turn the tide of cynicism toward more informed thinking.

A few weeks ago, Bernie Sanders was on NPR. He virtually decimated the GOP Plans. Maybe, you and he are not seeing eye-to-eye, but he could be an ally in this process. No one would want him as an adversary.

Just a few thoughts... Our prayers are with you and your wonderful, dynamic wife.

Catherine Pinkerton C.S.J.

Catherine Pinkerton CSJ

9/9/95

WASHINGTON

RICHARD BLUM BIRTHDAY AUDIO TAPING

DATE: September 9, 1995
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 10:45 AM EDT
FROM: Richard Strauss

To record a short message for Senator Feinstein's husband, Richard Blum to help celebrate his 60th birthday. *E. E. [unclear]*

Richard Blum turned 60 this past year, but was unable to attend a planned birthday celebration earlier in the year due to the death of his mother. His Himalayan Foundation is having its annual fundraising dinner and Blum is being surprised by birthday messages from friends and celebrities.

Blum is an avid runner, and you have jogged with him before. You might want to mention his running and your hope that turning 60 will not slow him down any. You might also want to congratulate him for his efforts on behalf of the Himalayan Foundation.

Also in attendance at the dinner will be Sir Edmund Hillary, the 74 year-old New Zealander, who in 1953 became the first person to climb Mt. Everest.

The audio will be played in the room while a still photo of you jogging with him is shown on the screen.

1. White House Communications Agency (WHCA) staff, video
taping staff, stenographer's office, staff
photographer.
2. Senior staff, Richard Strauss, Rika Rodman.

None.

Following the radio address and before the video tapings, you will record the short audio message.

There are no prepared remarks.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/9/95
THE WHITE HOUSE

9/8

Thay
BC

Mr. President -

We have sent an AID
Office of Foreign Disaster Relief team to
Antigua to assess damage and see
what assistance we can provide. FEMA
has offered assistance to PR, U.S. Virgin
Islands and British V.I.

We will prepare letters from you
to affected leaders

Jerry

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/9/95

Affirmative Action: Quality Not Quotas

By HUGH B. PRICE

Like the true fair-weather fan, Gov. Pete Wilson of California, once an exponent of affirmative action, has become its most outspoken foe. Last fall he said: "I have long supported set-asides as a means to assist traditionally underrepresented businesses." Today his tune is completely different.

The hopes of millions of women and minorities, the vitality of our nation's economy, which must rely on their talent, and the very future of our society as a cohesive and inclusive enterprise are at stake in this debate. It's too fateful an issue to be decided by weathervane or, worse, wedge politics.

I concede the occasional abuses of affirmative action. Yes, colleges have admitted some unqualified students to meet numerical goals. Yes, minority entrepreneurs have sometimes fronted for white firms to win set-aside contracts. But these abuses pale by comparison with those scandalous Defense Department overruns, tax evasion, securities fraud and federal subsidies for wealthy weekend farmers. There's reason to get affirmative action back on track, but not to derailed it entirely.

Affirmative action is about inclusion, not about quotas. It's about giving qualified women and minorities—who've long been shut out—a genuine shot at performing. It isn't about recruiting or promoting the unqualified. Of course people should be selected solely on merit. The crucial question is what we mean by merit and how we go about judging who is meritorious.

Grades and gatekeeping tests like the Scholastic Assessment Test may help spot who'll do well in the short term, but they don't predict the successful performers later in life. A study of Harvard graduates who'd been out 30 years found that the most successful grads had lower SAT scores and came from blue-collar backgrounds. In other words, they were ambitious.

I believe universities and employers should set the qualifications bar at a point that reliably predicts that all those above it can do the work. That way, everyone in the candidate pool will be qualified without question.

This would enable those doing the admitting and hiring to select candidates of all ethnic and socioeconomic groups based on demonstrated ability, but based also on potential, ambition and perseverance. Those attributes aren't easily detected on standardized tests, but they certainly are relevant to whether people perform successfully.

If our multiethnic society is to work and our economy is to hum at peak productivity, inclusion must become standard oper-

ating procedure in America's opportunity structure. Farsighted employers see clearly the bottom-line benefits of inclusion.

As Donald Sacco, vice president of Nynex, noted at a C-SPAN forum we staged recently on affirmative action, by the year 2000 New York City will be 28% African-American, 27% Hispanic and 9% Asian. "It's tough to sell products and services," he said, "to markets we don't understand."

Inclusion matters enormously in higher education, as well. It enables universities to recruit and prepare the multiethnic work force of the future and readies it to work in culturally diverse teams. Minorities are a steadily growing proportion of the labor force. Baby boomers have a big stake in ensuring that these future workers are as educated and earn as much money as possible—so that their own Social Security checks don't bounce in the future. Just imagine how fast and how far household incomes will fall if the employment and earnings potential of women is once again stunted because of limited educational opportunity.

Yet if race and gender are ruled out entirely as considerations in college admissions, the enrollment of qualified female and minority youngsters could drop precipitously.

The bottom line is that no urbanized and multiethnic society like ours can be competitive and cohesive if it isn't also compassionate and inclusive. Focusing solely on the first two characteristics will ultimately be an exercise in futility.

With the end of the millennium upon us, it's time for America to get on with its future. Here are some suggestions:

- Both quotas and tokenism should be eliminated, as should total exclusion of any segment of American society from the opportunity structure.

- Only the qualified should be included. Candidates who aren't qualified ought not be in the applicant pool. For those with potential who lack the requisite skills, let there be intensive remediation programs to help them get quickly up to speed so that they, too, can qualify some day soon.

- Selection should be based on a broad understanding of what "qualified" and "merit" mean in the real world. Those who do the picking should be free to weigh traditional indicators, such as test scores and grades, along with intangible attributes like what Massachusetts Gov. William Weld—a friend of affirmative action and national finance chairman for Mr. Wilson's presidential campaign—calls grit and determination.

- Inclusion is morally virtuous, economically advantageous and demographi-

cally inevitable. Our population is diverse by definition—50% female and more and more multiethnic by the day. Americans must accept this reality and incorporate it into the allocation of opportunities to learn, work and do business in our society.

- To achieve inclusion, those who allocate opportunity should take many factors into account, among them geography, gender, ethnicity, economic disadvantage and cultural diversity. Gender and race needn't be the deciding factors, but they definitely should be among the criteria used to overcome exclusion and promote inclusion of all those who are qualified.

Mr. Price is president of the National Urban League.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Peter R. Kann
Chairman & Publisher

Kenneth L. Burenga
President

Paul E. Steiger
Managing Editor

Robert L. Bartley
Editor

Byron E. Calame
Daniel Kortberg

Daniel Henninger
Deputy Editor

Deputy Managing Editors

Danforth W. Austin

Paul C. Atkinson

Vice President,

Vice President,

General Manager

Advertising

F. Thomas Kull Jr.

Charles F. Russell

Vice President,

Vice President,

Operations

Technology

Published since 1889 by

DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC.

Editorial and Corporate Headquarters:

300 Liberty Street, New York, N.Y. 10281.

Telephone (212) 418-2000

Peter R. Kann, Chairman & Chief Executive Officer;
Kenneth L. Burenga, President & Chief Operating Officer

Senior Vice Presidents: James H. Ottaway Jr.,
Chairman, Ottaway Newspapers, President,
Magazines; Peter G. Skinner, General Counsel,
President, Television; Carl M. Valenti, President &
Publisher, Dow Jones TeleRate.

Vice Presidents/Operating Groups: Karen Elliott
Hoots, President, International; Richard Myers,
President, Ottaway Newspapers; Dorothea Cocchi
Palsho, President, Business Information Services;
Julian B. Childs, William R. Clabby, Executive Vice
Presidents, Dow Jones TeleRate.

Vice Presidents: Kevin J. Rocha, Chief Financial
Officer; Bernard T. Flanagan, Marketing; Richard J.
Levine, News Services; Donald L. Miller, Employee
Relations; David E. Moran, Law.

Washington News and Sales Office:
1085 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone (202) 843-9100

SUBSCRIPTIONS AND ADDRESS CHANGES
call 1-800-JOURNAL or write to The Wall Street Journal,
200 Burnett Road, Chicago, Mass. 01020, giving old and
new address. For subscription rates see Page A2.

SHOUTS & MURMURS



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEAGALLING ON COLIN

9/9/95

BY JAMIE MALANOWSKI

I'm not saying the Board [of Education] has to select a business person [as the next Schools Chancellor], or has to select a person who's run another government agency. [But] let's say Colin Powell.—Mayor Giuliani, quoted in the *Times*, July 30, 1995.

It's almost, "Powell, irrespective of his views." ... There's a yearning for a sense of moral conviction.—Paul Tsongas, quoted in the same article.

The *Post*, September 18, 1995
POW-POW-POW-POWELL!

O.K., folks, make your World Series reservations now. Hard on the heels of the acquisitions of David Cone and Ruben Sierra, the Yankees yesterday signed former Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell to a one-year pact.

"I'm not sure where we'll put him," a grinning George Steinbrenner bubbled at a news conference. "I'm not sure whether he's a righty or a lefty—frankly, I'm not even sure if he's a pitcher or a hitter. But I do know this: our team has been yearning for a sense of moral conviction, and my morality people tell me that nobody has more of that than Colin Powell."

Variety, November 6, 1995
MCA SHOCKER: IT'S POWELL

EDGAR BRONFMAN, JR., the president of the Seagram Company, today stunned Hollywood and Wall Street by announcing that he had named the light-hitting New York Yankee infielder Colin Powell to run MCA, the sprawling entertainment conglomerate.

The post, which had been offered to Hollywood insider Michael Ovitz, goes instead to someone who has no experience in entertainment or movie production.



"Frankly, I'm not so sure that's a problem," said Mr. Bronfman. "I know he likes John Wayne and musicals, and I know he ran Desert Storm, which got tremendous ratings. Mostly, he has a lot of moral conviction, which is something Hollywood has been yearning for."

The *Times*, December 4, 1995
IN ADVENT MESSAGE, CARDINAL STRESSES MORAL CONVICTION

IN a wide-ranging interview held yesterday, John Cardinal O'Connor defended the Church's teachings on celibacy and suggested that the next Pope could be the Hollywood entertainment executive Colin Powell.

"Surely I have only good wishes for our present Pontiff," said the Cardinal, "but we should be prepared for any eventuality. I know Popes are traditionally selected from among the College of Cardinals, but I sense a certain restlessness among the electors, and I think we would keep an open mind if someone like Mr. Powell was interested."

"I'm not sure if Mr. Powell is a Catholic, or if he even believes in God," the Cardinal admitted, "but I do know that Catholics constantly yearn for moral

conviction, and Mr. Powell's got a lock on that."

Liz Smith's column, January 12, 1996
FLASH: JOHN-JOHN TO WED!

THE other night during the party at Planet Hollywood for the premiere of "Glory Days," the seventy-eight-million-dollar musical based on the John Wayne epic "The Alamo" that MCA's Universal studios crashed into



production last November, I ran into the world's most eligible bachelor, John F. Kennedy, Jr., who absolutely floored me with the news that he was planning to take a bride. His intended:

none other than the newly invested Pope Colin I. I told the gorgeous Kennedy that it's my understanding that Popes don't traditionally marry, and, besides, the Pope is already married, and, on top of that, is a man—at least he was when he starred in the World Series last fall. John-John seemed nonplussed. "I hear different," he said. "But, frankly, I'm not sure if any of that should matter. All I know is that I'm ready to settle down and get some moral conviction."

The Washington *Post*, February 2, 1996
CLINTON BEEFS UP WHITE HOUSE STAFF

FACED with apparently never-ending investigations into his Administration's handling of Whitewater, Waco, and Bosnia, President Bill Clinton today appointed Mrs. John F. Kennedy, Jr., to be his Special Counsel for Moral Conviction. "Obviously, people believe Mrs. Kennedy can do anything," said Mr. Clinton. "Let's see if he can change the past." ♦

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/9/95

Stardust Christmas
667 Auwina Street
Kailua, HI 96734
Ph. 808-261-4342
Fx. 808-263-7720



August 17, 1995

Mr. Francis Lum
Protocol Officer
Office of the Governor
State Office Tower
235 S. Beretania Street
Honolulu, HI 96813

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate
the reply.

Dear Mr. Lum:

We understand that the President and First Lady are planning a visit to Hawaii and that they will receive an omiyage basket of gifts from the Islands. We would like to offer our very special "Aloha" Christmas ornament for inclusion in the basket as a keepsake for their Hawaiian trip.

Our ornament, "Aloha", is a hula dancer of mouthblown glass that is dipped in silver and hand decorated, made by Christopher Radko. Radko is an American designer who is bringing back the vintage style of glass ornaments. His ornaments have graced the White House tree as well as Vice President & Mrs. Gore's. The ornament will be presented in a lauhala basket and is available exclusively in Hawaii through Stardust Christmas.

Please call or fax us with any questions or additional information you may require. We will be happy to deliver the ornament to you for the President and First Lady at your convenience.

Fondest aloha,

Susan Kaye
Owner

9/9/95
original sent to
Jim Dorskind



Aloha
←



Carolyn & Susan with
Rev. Julia McKenna - Kahala Mall
Blessing. 11/94



Christmas Eve - Kahala Mall 1994



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/9/95

As 00 TV

Mr. Francis Lum
Protocol Officer
Office of the Governor
State Office Tower
235 S. Beretania St. 15th Flr.
Honolulu, HI 96813

Four sun
pits

—

DRAFT 9/5/95 5:00 P.M.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-8-95

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
OP-ED FOR COLLEGE NEWSPAPERS
SEPTEMBER 11, 1995

Dear Student,

This is a busy time for you. But while you are choosing classes and making the decisions that will help you build a good life for yourself, ~~I need to alert you to the fact that there are those~~ *you should be aware of what is happening here in Washington.*
~~who are working to jeopardize the future you are struggling~~ *working*
~~toward~~. Right now, the Congressional majority wants to make drastic cuts in education -- in your student loans, in national service, and even in your scholarships. *which will jeopardize the future you and your generation are working toward.*

I want you to know that I oppose these cuts. I will do everything in my power to fight them and to see to it that the dream of higher education remains real for all Americans. Not only do I ~~intend to defend~~ *by opening* the opportunities of those of you who are already in college, ~~I am determined to open~~ *but by opening* the doors further to make sure that *all* ~~even more~~ deserving Americans have the ~~privilege~~ *opportunity* ~~of standing~~ *to stand* where you stand today. *chance*

For the first time in a long time, leaders from both parties are resolved that we must balance the federal budget. From the day I took office, I've been committed to this goal -- to getting rid ~~the budget~~ *our national debt* of ~~a~~ deficit that quadrupled *in* the 12 years before I came to Washington. So far, we have made ~~specific~~ great progress.

in 3 years

We have cut the deficit nearly in half, from 290b to 160b.

Now we are ready to eliminate the deficit entirely. On this, the Congressional majority and I see eye to eye.

But just how we get rid of the deficit is another matter. The majority in Congress wants to balance the budget in seven years, ~~and to do so while~~ ^{and to do so while} ~~to do so, it would give~~ ^{it would give} an unnecessarily large tax cut while ~~and~~ making enormous cuts in education.

My balanced budget plan would take ~~three~~ ^{eliminate} more years than Congress' to ~~get rid of~~ ^{to} the deficit, but that's a small price to pay [since it would keep your scholarships, your student loans, and national service safe and well, ^{and to maintain our ability to protect the environment and the integrity of Medicare from our children}

~~It is also a small price to pay for a balanced budget plan that balances the budget about 1990 than 1991. It's about our values and our future.~~ genuinely reflects our national priorities. Education has always

been the currency of the American Dream. When I was your age, it was assumed -- based on our long history -- that each generation would have a better life than the preceding one. More than anything else, a good education is the way we pass this vision on to those who come after us.

The facts speak for themselves. Earnings for those with no post-secondary education have fallen substantially in the last 15 years.

The only people for whom earnings have increased steadily are people exactly like you -- those Americans with ~~at least two~~ ^{More education.} ~~years of education after high school.~~ Moreover, Every year of higher education increases your earnings by six to 12 percent.

~~Now you also must have a stronger overall economy and~~ ^{make it live for those who have them.}

~~The unmistakable fault line between who makes it in America, and~~ ^{But} ~~basically the budget will be good for our economy~~ ^{your future if it doesn't.} ~~who doesn't, is education.~~ Simply balancing the budget won't do

us much good ^{in the} long term if your generation does not have the education it needs to meet the challenges of the next century.

Just think over what the Congressional majority's plan, if it went through, would do to you, your ^{? - may not know it} roommates, and any of the one out of two college students who receives federal aid. It would:

- Raise the cost of student loans by \$10 billion over seven years by charging you interest on your loan while you are in school. This would increase the cost of ^a college education by as much as \$3,100 for undergraduates and \$9,400 for graduate students.
- Deny up to 360,000 low-income students desperately needed Pell Grants in 1996.
- ^{End} Get rid of ^{Thousands of} Americorps, our national service initiative, which gives ^{where} young people the chance to ^{earn and} save up money for college ~~by~~ serving their country.

~~By~~ contrast, my balanced budget plan builds on the national consensus that we must help people help themselves, ~~with~~ ^{through} the ~~tool~~ ^{power} of ~~an~~ education. It eliminates ~~both~~ ^{so} our deficits: our budget deficit ~~and~~ our education deficit. ~~Though~~ ^{but} ~~my~~ ^{so} plan cuts wasteful spending by more than \$1 trillion, it actually increases investments in education by \$40 billion over the next seven years.

Think over how my balanced budget plan would help guarantee your future and all the hard work you're ~~about to put into it.~~ ^{investing to your education. It will.}

- Increase funding for Pell Grants by \$3.4 billion. Almost one million more students would benefit from the scholarships. And we would raise the top award to \$3,128 ^{from —} by the year 2002. ?
- Expand Americorps to let even more young Americans serve their communities and go to college.
- Protect our direct-lending program, which makes student ^{with new repayment options} loans more affordable and saves taxpayers, parents, and students ^{themselves} billions of dollars.

I just returned from Pearl Harbor, where I took part in ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the end of the Second World War.

In the late 1940s, when the veterans we honored left their loved ones to go off and serve their country, they were the age most of you are now.

When they came home, the country recognized their ~~work~~^{service} and their potential, ~~commitment~~, and it responded with the G.I. Bill, which guaranteed a college education to every returning veteran. Those who served weren't given a handout, and they didn't want one. They were given the opportunity they needed to take responsibility for their lives.

Your generation has its own battles to wage. ~~Every day~~^{It frequently} you face the choice of doing something right and difficult -- or something easy and wrong. ^{To debate in court}

In taking on the responsibility of educating yourselves, you have chosen the right and difficult path. You did the work you had to do to get into college. ~~Maybe you held down a job after school to pay your way.~~^{you may be working now to pay} ~~You and your family~~^{may have} ~~probably~~^{help you} worked long hours and made great sacrifices to get where you are today.

^{It} you deserve your Nation's support. And your future success will

~~There are a number of voices in our society today who claim that we're all agreed on common investment. your generation is making destructive choices, that it just doesn't care. I say that you who are pursuing an education made constructive choices, and you deserve our support.~~

I do not accept the arguments of those who condemn
irresponsibility in young Americans and then seek to deny the
nation's helping hand to the millions of you who ^{are} ~~choose to~~ doing
^{the} right things

Now you'll support my efforts to protect education and balance the budget.
The fight for education is the fight for your future. In my life
-- and in the lives of countless Americans -- education has meant
the difference between the impossible and the possible. It should
be true in your lives, too. With your help, we'll keep it that
way.

DRAFT 9/5/95 5:00 P.M.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-8-95

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
OP-ED FOR COLLEGE NEWSPAPERS
SEPTEMBER 11, 1995

Dear Student,

This is a busy time for you. But while you are choosing classes and making the decisions that will help you build a good life for yourself, ~~I need to alert you to the fact that there are those~~ ^{working} ~~who are working to jeopardize the future you are struggling~~ ^{toward}. Right now, the Congressional majority wants to make drastic cuts in education -- in your student loans, in national service, and even in your scholarships -- ^{which will jeopardize the future you and your generation are working toward.}

I want you to know that I oppose these cuts. I will do everything in my power to fight them and to see to it that the dream of higher education remains real for all Americans. Not only ~~do I~~ ^{by simply} ~~intend to defend~~ the opportunities of those of you who are already in college, ^{but by opening} ~~I am determined to open~~ the doors further to make sure that even more deserving Americans have the ^{opportunity} ~~privilege~~ ^{to stand} ~~of standing~~ where you stand today. ^{chance}

For the first time in a long time, leaders from both parties are resolved that we must balance the federal budget. From the day I took office, I've been committed to this goal -- to getting rid ^{the budget} ~~of~~ ^{our national debt} ~~deficit~~ that quadrupled in the 12 years before I came to Washington. So far, we have made ~~significant~~ great progress.

In 3 years

^ We have cut the deficit nearly in half, *from 290b to 160b.*

Now we are ready to eliminate the deficit entirely. On this, the Congressional majority and I see eye to eye.

But just how we get rid of the deficit is another matter. The majority in Congress wants to balance the budget in seven years, *and to do it while*
~~To do so, it would give~~ ^{us} an unnecessarily large tax cut while making enormous cuts in education.

My balanced budget plan would take ~~three~~ more years than Congress' to get rid of the deficit, but that's a small price to pay since it would keep your scholarships, your student loans, and national service safe and well, *and to maintain our ability to protect the environment and the integrity of science from education*

~~It is also a small price to pay for a balanced budget plan that balances the budget about 1990. It's about our values and our future, genuinely reflects our national priorities.~~ Education has always been the currency of the American Dream. When I was your age, it was assumed -- based on our long history -- that each generation would have a better life than the preceding one. More than anything else, a good education is the way we pass this vision on to those who come after us.

The facts speak for themselves. Earnings for those with no post-secondary education have fallen substantially in the last 15 years.

The only people for whom earnings have increased steadily are people exactly like you -- those Americans with ~~at least two~~ ^{More Education.}

~~years of education after high school. Moreover,~~ Every year of higher education increases your earnings by six to 12 percent.

~~Now you also mean~~ ^{Now you also mean} ~~a stronger overall economy and~~ ^{a stronger overall economy and} ~~under, live for those who have them.~~ ^{under, live for those who have them.}

~~The unmistakable fault line between who makes it in America, and~~ ^{But} ~~balancing the budget will be good for our economy.~~ ^{your future if it doesn't.} ~~who doesn't, is education. Simply balancing the budget won't do~~

us much good long-term if your generation does not have the education it needs to meet the challenges of the next century.

Just think over what the Congressional majority's plan, if it went through, would do to you, your roommates, and any of the one out of two college students who receives federal aid. It would:

- Raise the cost of student loans by \$10 billion over seven years by charging you interest on your loan while you are in school. This would increase the cost of college education by as much as \$3,100 for undergraduates and \$9,400 for graduate students.
- Deny up to 360,000 low-income students desperately needed Pell Grants in 1996.
- Get rid of Americorps, our national service initiative, which gives ^{Thousands} young people the chance to ^{earn and} save up money for college ^{while} serving their country.

~~By~~ contrast, my balanced budget plan builds on the national consensus that we must help people help themselves, ~~with~~ ^{through} the ~~tool~~ ^{power} of ~~an~~ education. It eliminates both our deficits: our budget deficit and our education deficit. Though my plan cuts wasteful spending by more than \$1 trillion, it actually increases investments in education by \$40 billion over the next seven years.

Think over how my balanced budget plan would help guarantee your future and all the hard work you're about to put into it:

- Increase funding for Pell Grants by \$3.4 billion. Almost one million more students would benefit from the scholarships. And we would raise the top award to \$3,128 by the year 2002.
- Expand Americorps to let even more young Americans serve their communities and go to college.
- Protect our direct-lending program, which makes student ^{with new repayment options} loans more affordable, and saves taxpayers, parents, and students themselves billions of dollars.

I just returned from Pearl Harbor, where I took part in ceremonies marking the 50th anniversary of the end of the Second World War.

In the late 1940s, when the veterans we honored left their loved ones to go off and serve their country, they were the age most of you are now.

When they came home, the country recognized their ~~work~~ ^{service} and ~~their potential~~ ^{and their potential}, ~~commitment~~, and it responded with the G.I. Bill, which guaranteed a college education to every returning veteran. Those who served weren't given a handout, and they didn't want one. They were given the opportunity they needed to take responsibility for their lives.

Your generation has its own battles to wage. ~~Every day~~ ^{you} face the choice of doing something right and difficult -- or something easy and wrong.

In taking on the responsibility of educating yourselves, you have chosen the right and difficult path. You did the work you had to do to get into college. ~~Maybe you held down a job after school to pay your way.~~ ^{you may be working now to pay} ~~your family~~ ^{may have} ~~probably~~ worked long hours and made great sacrifices to ~~get~~ ^{help you} where you are today.

~~There are a number of voices in our society today who claim that~~ ^{you deserve your nation's support. And your future success will} ~~likely agree our common investment.~~
~~your generation is making destructive choices, that it just~~
~~doesn't care. I say that you who are pursuing an education made~~
~~constructive choices, and you deserve our support.~~

I do not accept the arguments of those who condemn
irresponsibility in young Americans and then seek to deny the
nation's helping hand to the millions of you who ^{are} ~~choose to~~ doing
the right thing

I hope you'll support my efforts to protect education and balance the budget.
The fight for education is the fight for your future. In my life

-- and in the lives of countless Americans -- education has meant
the difference between the impossible and the possible. It should
be true in your lives, too. With your help, we'll keep it that
way.

CIGAR

Aficionado

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/9/95

September 7, 1995



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

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate
the reply.

Dear President Clinton,

At the suggestion of Terence McAuliffe, please find enclosed the new issue of *Cigar Aficionado*.

In my Editor's note on page 19, you will see an enjoyable letter from me entitled, "The President Celebrates with Cigars."

I hope you enjoy the issue, and I look forward to visiting with you one day in Washington when your schedule permits.

Very truly yours,

9/9/95

original and magazine
give to J. Dorskind.

C. Cleveland

Marvin R. Shanken
Editor & Publisher

/jm

A Publication of M. Shanken Communications, Inc.

Publishers of WINE SPECTATOR • CIGAR AFICIONADO • FOOD ARTS • MARKET WATCH • IMPACT • IMPACT INTERNATIONAL

387 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10016 • 212-684-4224 • Fax 212-684-5424

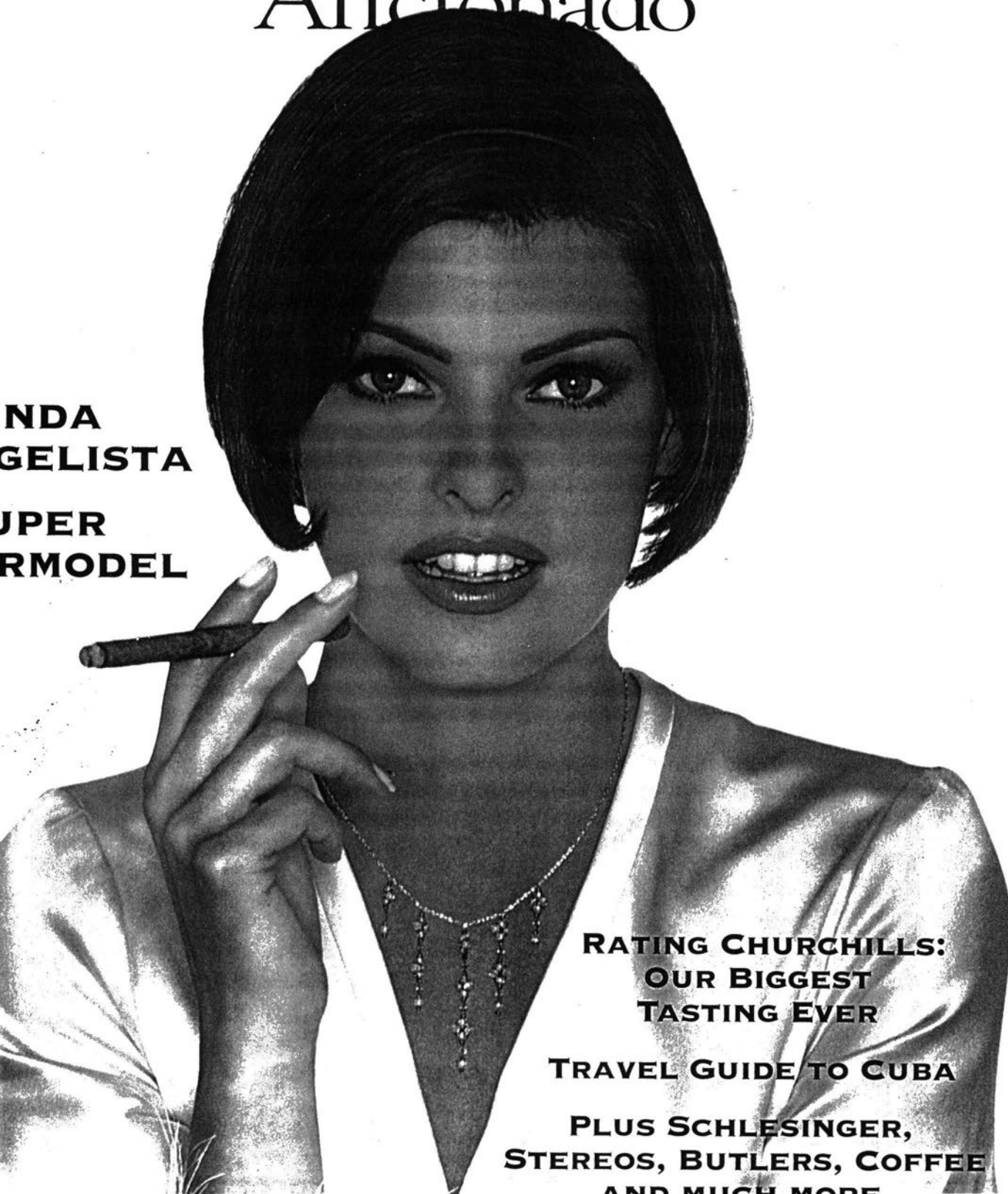
AUTUMN 1995

CANADA \$5.95 • U.K. £4 \$4.95

CIGAR

Aficionado

**ANDA
GELISTA
UPER
RMODEL**



**RATING CHURCHILLS:
OUR BIGGEST
TASTING EVER**

TRAVEL GUIDE TO CUBA

**PLUS SCHLESINGER,
STEREOS, BUTLERS, COFFEE
AND MUCH MORE**

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/7/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 28, 1995

MR. PRESIDENT:

In the attached memo filling you in on White House involvement with African American clergy, Alexis recommends that you speak at the National Baptist Convention of America, Inc. between September 4 and 8 in Dallas, or, if not, that you speak before both that organization and the National Baptist Convention USA in 1996.

Billy Webster disagrees with the recommendation that you speak at the Dallas convention next week both because your schedule is very tight and because there is no money for additional travel.

Approve speaking at
1995 convention _____

Disapprove _____

Discuss _____

[Signature]
Todd Stern

Ph. 1 -

9/7/95

Copy given to
Alexis Herman -

9108

cc:

Webster

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/7/95

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

95 AUG 25 P5:38

August 25, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Alexis Herman *AH*

RE: African American Clergy Report

Attached is the information you requested regarding White House involvement with African American Clergy. The information contained in the report includes meetings and events with African American religious leaders that you have participated in or hosted. It also includes several general White House religious events that African American religious leaders have attended with other participants (Attachment A). I also included for your review a chronological list of upcoming church conventions that have requested your participation (Attachment B). These conventions represent the majority of African American religious conventions in 1995.

Ben Johnson faxes out 3-4 times weekly to 300 active ministers and has weekly telephone calls with more than 15 ministers. Additionally, key officials including Secretary Ron Brown, Secretary Henry Cisneros, Rodney Slater, Catherine Le Blanc, William Peer and Ben Johnson have represented the Administration for the past two years at major denominational conventions.

It is important to note that you have not had any participation with the National Baptist Convention of America, Inc. This group is headed by the Rev. Dr. E. Edward Jones of Louisiana and is the second largest Baptist organization in the African American community. Ben Johnson and Carol Willis are recommending that you address the convention in early September.

If you chose to wait until 1996 to address any additional African American religious conventions, I am recommending that you consider both the National Baptist Convention, USA and the National Baptist Convention of America, Inc.

43

African American Religious Events

Group	Date	Event	Location	Representation	Comments
Religious Leaders	August 30, 1993	Breakfast Meeting	State Dining Room, White House	Mixed group of African American and White Clergy. 100 people	The Breakfast was attended by the following African American clergy: The Rev. E. Edward Jones, Bishop Fred James, The Rev. Otis Moss, The Rev. Ames Brown, The Rev. Willie Barrow, Bishop John Hurst Adams, The Rev. Charles Adams, Bishop William Graves, Bishop J. Canton Hoggard, The Rev. Dr. T.J. Jamison, Bishop S.C. Madison, The Rev. Dorothy McKinley-Wright, The Rev. Bennett W. Smith, The Rev. Charles Stith and the Rev. Franklin Richardson.
The Church of God In Christ	November 13, 1993	Annual Convention	Memphis, TN	10,000 Participants	This is the convention in which the President delivered his highly commended speech citing Dr. King's achievements.
Religious Leaders	November 29, 1993	Breakfast Meeting	Old Family Dining Room, White House	Mixed group of African American and White clergy. 20 people.	This was a breakfast to discuss various issues surrounding A.I.D.S. This was not attended by any notable African American leaders
African-American Religious Leaders	February 28, 1994	White House Summit on Aids	Old Executive Office Building	African American clergy from various denominations. 65 people	These were African American clergy from the eastern U.S. who were briefed on our A.I.D.S. policy in an effort to solicit the support of black churches in the fight against aids.
African-American Religious Leaders	April 18, 1994	Healthcare Briefing	Old Executive Office Building	150 African American clergy leaders.	The top leadership from all major African American denominations were brought in to be briefed on health care and other issues important to the administration.
Full Gospel A.M.E. Zion Church	August 14, 1994	Worship Service	Temple Hills, MD	3500 Members of the Full Gospel A.M.E. Zion Church	The President and his family attended church and established a friendly relationship with The Rev. John Cherry and The Rev. Diana Cherry.
The National Baptist Convention, U.S.A.	September 9, 1994	Annual Convention	New Orleans, LA	15,000 Participants	The President was warmly received by the audience. This is the convention in which the President was first introduced to The Rev. Henry Lyon, the successor to The Rev. T. J. Jamison.
African Methodist Episcopal Bishops	November 9, 1994	Breakfast Meeting	Old Family Dining Room, White House	15 African Methodist Episcopal Bishops	This meeting was arranged by Bishop Brookins and was very successful.
African-American Religious Leaders	February 1, 1995	Dinner Meeting	State Dining Room, White House	35 African American Religious leaders from the major African American denominations.	This meeting was attended by key African clergy from all major denominations. The President was well received when he candidly discussed affirmative action with the group. Bishop Ford spent the night in the White House and this was the last time the President saw him before he died.
Progressive National Baptist Convention	August 9, 1995	Annual Convention	Charlotte, NC	7,000 Participants	This organization is considered the most politically active of all African American denominations. The President was warmly received and we continue to receive very positive feedback on his most recent speech.

ATTACHMENT B

Upcoming African American Religious Events

Group	Date	Event	Location	Comments
The National Baptist Convention of America, Inc.	September 4-8, 1995	Annual Meeting	Dallas, Texas	This is the second largest African American Baptist organization in the U.S. They are holding their 117th annual convention and they have made a request for the President to speak. This is the only major African American religious organization that the President has not addressed. They are holding their meeting on the same dates as the National Baptist Convention U.S.A..
The National Baptist Convention, USA	September 4-8, 1995	Annual Meeting	Birmingham, Alabama	This is the largest African American Baptist organization in the U.S. They will be holding their 158th annual convention which will be the first under the leadership of the Rev. Dr. Henry Lyons. The President spoke to this group last year in New Orleans and they have requested his participation again this year. While in Birmingham, they are planning a mass march to commemorate the civil rights struggles and to focus attention on the rights of poor people and minorities.
The Church of God In Christ	November 7-15, 1995	Annual Meeting	Memphis, TN	The Church of God In Christ is holding their first annual convention since the death of Bishop Louis Ford. The organization is now headed by Bishop Chandler Owens of New Jersey. Bishop Owens is drafting an invitation to the President to speak at the groups annual convention in Memphis this fall. Bishop Owens is under the impression that the President has already agreed to speak to the group in November. In the meantime, he is organizing a voter registration drive to register 3 million new voters.

ACTION:

Speak to the National Baptist Convention of America, Inc. for 1995:

yes _____ no _____

or wait until 1996:

yes _____ no _____

cc: Leon Panetta
Harold Ickes
Erskine Bowles



Staff sec 9/8
TO
Dorskind

THE UNITED STATES VIRGIN ISLANDS

OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
GOVERNMENT HOUSE

Charlotte Amalie, V.I. 00802
809-774-0001

95 SEP 8 P4:36

September 8, 1995

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

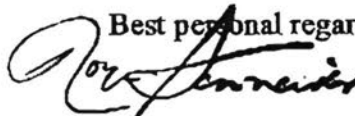
Dear Mr. President:

This letter is to convey the appreciation of all the people of the United States Virgin Islands for your assistance and support of the Virgin Islands during our most recent encounter with Hurricane Luis.

We were particularly pleased with the exceptional cooperation of your Federal Emergency Management Agency and its Director, Mr. James Lee Witt, for their deep understanding of our dilemma, their comprehensive preparation and their sending of personnel to the Virgin Islands to assist us in our operation and to prepare for our period of recovery. Through FEMA, all the people in our region fully understand your administration's commitment to the democratic principle and your deep humanitarian feeling for all Americans.

Again, you have the deepest appreciation and gratitude of each and every citizen in America's Paradise - the United States Virgin Islands.

Kindly come and visit the Virgin Islands as my guests.

Best personal regards,

Roy L. Schneider, M.D.
Governor

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Jocelyn Jolley

Fax Number:

Phone Number:

FROM: Todd Stern

SUBJECT: Response to Representative Farr

DATE: September 8, 1995

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 3

MESSAGE: Attached is the text that should be used in responding to Representative Farr re oil and gas leasing off California's coastline.

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

The document accompanying this facsimile transmittal sheet is intended only for the use of the individual or entity to whom it is addressed. This message contains information which may be privileged, confidential or exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, or the employee or agent responsible for delivering the message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any disclosure, dissemination, copying or distribution, or the taking of any action in reliance on the contents of this communication is strictly prohibited.

September 7, 1995

95 SEP 17 P3:23

Dear Representative Farr:

Thank you for your letter regarding your concern about oil and gas leasing off California's coastline.

As you know, the vote by a House Appropriations Subcommittee to lift the long-standing moratorium on oil and gas drilling would have overturned long-standing bipartisan agreement on the need to protect the environment and the economies of coastal states such as California, Florida, Oregon, Washington, and Alaska, among others. I am strongly opposed to any oil and gas drilling off our nation's most sensitive coastlines, and I expressed those concerns in a statement the day after I received your letter.

I was pleased when the full Appropriations Committee reversed the subcommittee vote and restored the offshore drilling moratorium. Since then, both the House and Senate have voted to maintain the moratorium. As a result, I feel confident that our sensitive coastlines are not currently threatened by legislative action. ^

California's action to further protect its coastal waters is testament to the consensus view that protection of our coastlines is important to our economy and our way of life. I will continue to fight to maintain policies that accomplish a high level of protection and look forward to working with you to that end.

Insert A

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

08-Sep-1995 09:33am

TO: Todd Stern

FROM: Shelley N. Fidler
Council on Environmental Quality

SUBJECT: Farr sentence

To be inserted at end of para three.

I appreciate having your proposal about issuing an executive order. Should additional threats to our precious national heritage loom during the legislative process, I will be happy to consider such an option.

Insert
A

TRANSMIT CONFIRMATION REPORT

NO.	:	003	
RECEIVER	:		2024566221
TRANSMITTER	:		
DATE	:	SEP 08'95	9:11
DURATION	:	01'21	
MODE	:	STD	
PAGES	:	03	
RESULT	:	OK	

DRAFT

DRAFT

Dear Representative Farr:

Thank you for writing to urge that I sign an Executive Order providing for a permanent ban on oil and gas activities in Federal waters off the coast of California.

As you know, the development of energy resources in coastal waters has been a contentious issue for many years. Recently, an attempt was made during the appropriations process to remove these moratoria. While this effort was successful at the House Appropriations Subcommittee level, it subsequently failed during consideration by the full House Appropriations Committee. My Administration supported the efforts of those who wanted to maintain the moratoria. I denounced the Subcommittee action and strongly support maintaining the current protected status.

While I do not endorse the outer continental shelf moratorium as a long-term means of resolving contentious issues, continuation of this status provides an opportunity to continue dialogue with the States and communities and to pursue creative solutions to resolve longstanding conflicts. At this time, given our increasing dependence upon imported oil, a complete ban on future oil and gas resource development off the California coast is not advisable, especially since we have been making progress in our discussions with the Tri-County Forum concerning future development activities in areas that are already under lease.

Thank you for your continued interest in preserving our environment. I look forward to working together in the future on this and other issues of importance to your constituents.

Sincerely,

I appreciate your suggestion.

The Honorable Sam Farr
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

you should
NEC
get
CEQ
approval

Jacklyn-
Interim
syn of on
action
needs to
be in
DOE
Don

8:12 a.m. Farr. 8/1

SAM FARR
15TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE
SUBCOMMITTEES:
FOREST AND RANGELAND OPERATIONS, RECREATION,
AND TRADITIONAL AGRICULTURE
FISH, MARINE SCIENCE, AND SPECIALTY CROPS

COMMITTEE ON RESOURCES
SUBCOMMITTEES:
FOREST, WILDLIFE, AND OCEANS
WATER AND LAND-USE RESOURCES

120706
101430022

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-0917 P.S. CC

1111 LOWMEYER BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-0517
(202) 225-2801

DISTRICT OFFICES
380 ALVARADO STREET
MONTREY, CA 93940
(408) 948-3836

100 WEST AVAL
SALINAS, CA 93901
(408) 634-3179

701 OCEAN STREET
ROOM 317
SANTA CRUZ, CA 95060
(408) 478-1975

June 19, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to request that you help the people of California's central coast by halting further offshore development off California.

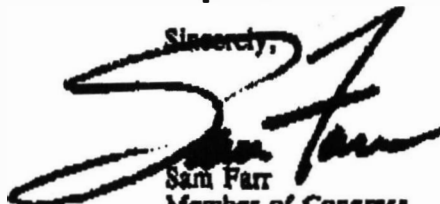
I know that you strongly support the protection of California's coastline. This natural treasure is the backbone of a multi-billion dollar tourism industry and a robust commercial fishing economy. Unfortunately, the economic and environmental health of this coast has long been threatened by offshore oil development. During the 1980s, the Reagan Administration and the oil industry tried to open federal waters along the California coast to offshore oil development. Congress derided those efforts by attaching a ban to each of the past fourteen Department of Interior spending bills. Now, that moratorium may not be renewed by Congress.

This threat to the offshore oil moratorium is just another manifestation of the broad assault on environmental protections in the current Congress. You have helped lead the resistance to this assault. You have vetoed reclamation legislation that would have opened the way for unchecked logging, threatened to veto dirty water legislation that seeks to roll back decades of clean water protections, and spoken out strongly against the wide range of efforts to kill crucial protections in the name of common sense reform.

I urge you to extend this leadership to coastal protection by issuing an executive order banning new federal offshore oil development along the California coast. With broad public support, the State of California recently enacted a permanent ban on all new offshore oil development out to the three mile state limit. This law grew out of the strong bipartisan recognition in California that the health of State's coast is too valuable to risk for the questionable gains of new offshore oil development. With the stroke of a pen, you can ensure that California's protection extends well beyond three miles to the State's entire outer continental shelf.

Thank you for your attention to this request.

Sincerely,


Sam Farr
Member of Congress

Chris
Walker
L.A.

To Wes

Copy of letter
with corresp. notes

July 25, 1995

Members of the California Legislature
c/o The Honorable Dan Hauser
Assemblyman, California Legislature
State Capitol
Post Office Box 942849
Sacramento, California 94249-0001

Dear Friends:

Thank you for your letter regarding the moratorium on oil and gas leasing along sensitive areas of the Outer Continental Shelf.

The recent vote by the House Appropriations subcommittee to lift the moratorium on oil and gas drilling on the Outer Continental Shelf would have overturned long-standing bipartisan agreement on the need to protect the environment and economies of California, Florida, the Pacific Northwest, Alaska, and other coastal states. My Administration is strongly opposed to any oil and gas drilling off our nation's most sensitive coastlines, and I expressed my strong concerns about this vote when it occurred.

I was pleased when the full Appropriations Committee reversed the subcommittee vote and restored the offshore drilling moratorium. I will continue to fight to maintain policies that protect our environmentally sensitive coastlines, which are crucial to our economy and our way of life.

I appreciate knowing your concerns about this critical issue, and I hope I can count on your continued involvement.

Sincerely, **BILL CLINTON**

BC/DIA/DNP/pw (Corres. #2340324)
(7.hauser.d)

- cc: IGA
- cc: E. Bromberg, 106
- cc: J. Emerson, 148
- cc: T. Epstein and R. Martinez, 115
- cc: E. Holstein, 221
- cc: B. Toiv, 178
- cc: W. Warren, 360
- cc: D. Ikemiyashiro, 93

CLEARED BY: IGA, John Emerson and Barry Toiv, Chief of Staff's

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
For Immediate Release
June 20, 1995

Statement by the President

Today's vote by a House subcommittee to lift the moratorium on oil and gas drilling on the Outer Continental Shelf would overturn a long-time bipartisan consensus on the need to protect the environment and economies of California, Florida, the Pacific Northwest, Alaska, and other coastal states.

This action is a mistake, and I will have no part of it. I will not allow oil and gas drilling off our nation's most sensitive coastlines on my watch. America's coastlines are simply too important to our economy and our way of life.

This is yet another example of the zealous efforts of the Republican Congress to roll back environmental laws. Those laws serve the American people well, and I will fight to maintain them.

-30-30-30-

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 8, 1995

Leon --

As you're probably aware, the Staff Secretary and Deputy Staff Secretary have shown a singular lack of coordination in both contriving to get married on the same day -- this Sunday.

Phil is in Idaho and I'll be leaving for New York around 2:30 pm this afternoon. Phil will be back Wednesday, September 12 (I'll be off in Italy for 12 days). For the weekend and Monday and Tuesday, Jim Dorskind will be in charge of our shop.

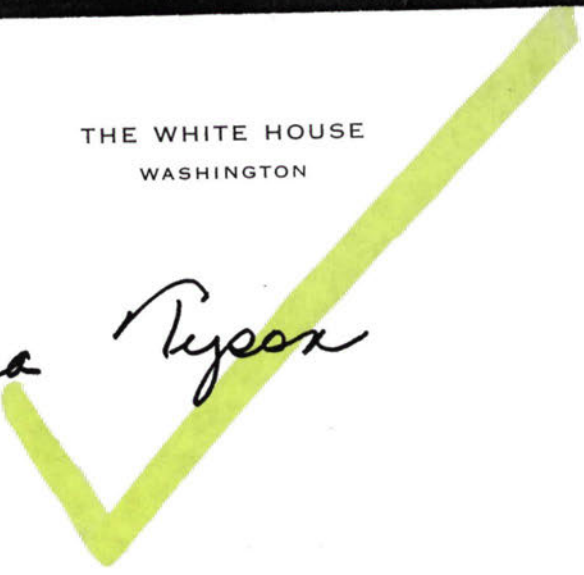
I have explained things to Jim in a good deal of detail to him and, in addition, have alerted Andy Sens and the folks on your staff that Jim will be here and that, when in doubt, he will be consulting them. In addition, I'll be reachable in New York through Monday afternoon and have instructed my office to call me if there's any need. Sorry for the slight gap in coverage, but we should be ok.


Todd

cc: Erskine Bowles
Harold Ickes

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Laura Tyson



WORLD TRADE WITHOUT BARRIERS



The World Trade
Organization (WTO)
and Dispute Resolution

Frank W. Swacker
Kenneth R. Redden
Larry B. Wenger

A Surge in Immigration Surprises Experts and Intensifies a Debate

By STEVEN A. HOLMES

A1

WASHINGTON, Aug. 29 — The Census Bureau's report this week that the percentage of the country's population that is foreign born is at its highest level since World War II and is accelerating at a record pace has taken demographers aback and is fueling an already intense debate over immigration in American life.

The surprising figures result in part from a declining birth rate among native-born Americans, but more from increased immigration. The proportion of Americans who were born elsewhere rose to 8.7 percent last year, or 22.6 million people, according to the Census Bureau. The bureau estimated that about four million of the immigrants were in the United States illegally.

The proportion of immigrants is the highest since 1940, when it was 8.8 percent, although it remains far short of the modern historic high of 14.7 percent in 1910. Since 1970, the percentage has doubled. From 1990 to 1994, 4.5 million immigrants came to the United States, nearly as many as landed during the entire decade of the 1970's.

Though it is written in the flat prose of Government demographic reports, the study, "The Foreign Born Population: 1994" is sure to add to the debate over immigration, which has already emerged as a hot issue in the Presidential race. The issue is particularly incendiary in populous states like California and New York, the two whose populations contain the highest proportion of foreign-born residents. According to the report, nearly 25 percent of California's population and 16 percent of New York's were born outside the United States.

In New Jersey, 13.5 percent of residents were born outside the United States. The report did not provide figures for Connecticut.

Although the United States is a nation that has been largely built by successive waves of immigration, the rising number of immigrants has been the subject of an increasingly bitter debate in recent years. Proposed laws, and ballot initiatives like

The bureau's findings are based on a nationwide survey of 60,000 households that asked individuals where they were born. As such, the estimate includes legal immigrants, refugees, illegal aliens, as well as students and tourists whose visas have expired.

"Legal and illegal immigrants, refugees, tourists and student visa overstays, we don't ask," said Kristin Hansen, a demographer with the bureau who compiled the study. "It's just anybody who was in our sample who said they were foreign born. I'm sure that those numbers contain some illegals. How many, I have no idea."

The bureau did not survey residents in dormitory settings, like farm labor camps, military barracks, colleges or prisons. As a result, some experts say the bureau may be underestimating the actual number of foreign-born residents.

Historians, economists, social scientists and advocates for tightened controls on immigration say the rising proportion of foreign-born residents could have striking effects on the country's economic, social and political environment.

"It bodes an accelerating public debate about the role of immigration at this point in our history," said Dan Stein, executive director of the Federation for American Immigration Reform, a group pressing for a moratorium on immigration.

Past waves of immigration helped fuel the ranks of xenophobic, and sometimes violent, groups like the Know-Nothings in the 19th century and the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920's. While, in comparison to the activities of those groups, there has been little organized violence against immigrants, the issue of whether to cur-

In a nation built of immigrants, many initiatives now seek to close the door.

tail immigration is certain to be a major issue in the coming Presidential campaign and in Congress.

Already bills have been introduced to deny public assistance to legal immigrants or to make their sponsors financially responsible for them, to streamline deportation of undocumented workers, to crack down on alien smuggling, to end the automatic granting of asylum to Cuban refugees and to deport beef up the Border Patrol.

Two candidates for the Republican Presidential nomination, Gov. Pete Wilson of California and Patrick J. Buchanan, the columnist, were strong supporters of a successful ballot initiative last year that denied Government assistance to illegal immigrants. Both have made

stemming immigration a central focus of their campaigns.

According to the report, the vast majority of foreign-born residents are from Mexico, followed by the Philippines, Cuba, El Salvador, Canada, Germany and China.

Experts say the surge the number of foreign born mainly stemmed from the 1965 Immigration Act, which replaced a policy based on quotas for various countries with one that allowed relatives of recent immigrants easier entry into the country. As a result, immigration increased to about 600,000 a year during the 1970's and 1980's.

A new law enacted in 1990 which maintained the policy of family reunification and also gave immigrants with more education and skills a higher priority further increased the numbers to about 800,000 a year.

In addition, a 1986 law provided amnesty to illegal immigrants, allowing them to qualify for citizenship.

The Census Bureau study provides some ammunition to both sides of the immigration debate. It indicates that 20.9 percent of recent immigrants over the age of 25 have bachelor's degrees, compared with 14.7 percent of native-born Americans. Paradoxically, 36 percent of recent immigrants over 25 years old did not finish high school, compared with 17 percent of those born in the United States.

The report also noted that 5.7 percent of recent immigrants have received public assistance, most notably Aid to Families With Dependent Children. That compares with 2.9 percent of native-born Americans, a fact certain to be seized upon by those seeking to curtail immigration.

"These figures clearly show we cannot continue what we have been doing indefinitely," Mr. Stein said. "The question is will we have good, solid sensible reforms now, or radical and extreme proposals down the line."

But Mr. Passel argued that studies conducted by the Urban Institute indicated that the bulk of foreign-born residents receiving public assistance were refugees who had fled political turmoil and arrived in the United States with very little means of support. If refugees are removed from the equation, Mr. Passel said,

the percentage of foreign born people receiving public assistance is comparable with native-born Americans.

Can we really have to decide whether what to do is an answer to working with Simpson

Continued on Page A15, Column 1

Continued From Page A1

Proposition 187 in California, have sought to limit the influx of immigrants or to cut them off from a variety of Government benefits.

But despite the widespread attention given to the subject, demographers interviewed today said they were surprised by the large number of recent immigrants, both legal and illegal, turned up in the bureau's study.

"It's a very high percentage," said Jeffrey Passel, director of the Program for Research on Immigration Policy at the Urban Institute, a nonprofit research organization in Washington. He found especially striking the fact that about one in five arrived in the last five years. "That's much higher than numbers we've had historically, going back 20, 30, 40, 100 years," he said.

Even before the latest census report, which noted a quickening pace of immigration, the Urban Institute projected that if current trends continued, the proportion of foreign-born residents would gradually reach 13 percent or 14 percent within the next 50 years.

U.S. Immigrant Population at Postwar High

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writer

A1

After a surge in immigration over the past 20 years the foreign-born population of the United States reached 22.6 million people in 1994, making up 8.7 percent of the total population, the highest proportion since World War II and nearly double the percentage in 1970, the Census Bureau reported yesterday.

The report says the largest group of foreign-born came from Mexico, more than 6.2 million, with the Philippines next at 1 million. Cuba, El Salvador, Canada, Germany, China, the Dominican Republic, Korea, Vietnam and India range from 805,000 to 494,000.

The census survey, which covers both legal and illegal immigrants, calculated that there are 8.3 million people living in the United States who entered in the 1980s, which makes that the decade with the highest levels of immigration since the turn of the century. The report shows that the flow increased during the early 1990s, with 4.5 million people entering the country during the first four years of the decade.

Long-term poverty plagues a small but significant fraction of the immigrants of the 1980s, according to the census report. In general, immigrants improve their economic standing the longer they live in the United States. Both in yester-

See IMMIGRANTS, A8, Col. 1

IMMIGRANTS, From A1

day's report, which was based on a survey taken in 1994, and in the 1990 census, about a quarter of the immigrants of the 1980s lived below poverty level.

The problem was particularly acute among those who came from Mexico. Forty percent of the Mexicans who came north in the 1980s lived in poverty according to the most recent report. By comparison only 4 percent of the Filipino immigrants of the 1980s live in poverty. About 14 percent of natives live in poverty.

The report issued yesterday also found:

- More than two-thirds of the foreign-born are white, one-fifth are Asian and Pacific Islanders, and 7.1 percent black. More than 45 percent of the foreign-born are Hispanics, who can be of any race.

- Foreign-born women 15 to 44 had borne 1.5 children each, compared with 1.2 each for native U.S. women.

- Unemployment among the foreign-born when the survey was taken was 9.1 percent compared with 6.8 percent for native Americans. Median income was \$12,179 for foreign-born persons in 1993 compared with \$15,876 for natives.

- Recent immigrants (since 1990) who are adults are better educated

overall than either natives or earlier immigrants. While 21 percent of recent immigrants have a college degree, only about 15 percent of natives and 14 percent of earlier immigrants have such degrees.

About 31 percent of the 22.6 million foreign-born have become naturalized U.S. citizens, according to the census report. Under most circumstances a legal immigrant has to live in the United States for five years before becoming eligible for citizenship. The census survey made no distinction between legal and illegal immigrants. According to estimates by the Immigration and Naturalization Service, about 4 million illegal immigrants reside in the United States on a permanent basis.

The census report shows that the foreign-born remained concentrated in just a few parts of the country, especially California, where the 7.7 million foreign-born persons make up a quarter of the population. Other states with a large number of foreign-born include New York (2.9 million), Florida (2.1 million) and Texas, Illinois and New Jersey, with more than 1 million each.

The sharp rise in the foreign-born population since 1970 has become a major political issue because of allegations that immigrants are making excessive use of public benefits and are taking job opportunities from natives.

California Gov. Pete Wilson (R) has used attacks on illegal immigration as the foundation for his reelection campaign last year and for the presidential campaign he formally launched yesterday. With Wilson as its chief advocate, California voters overwhelmingly approved Proposition 187, a ballot initiative designed to prevent illegal immigrants from receiving various state services and benefits. However, immediately after the vote, federal and state courts halted implementation of the initiative pending trials on its constitutionality.

This year concern expanded to encompass legal immigrants as well. In March the House enacted and the Senate is now considering measures that would cut off major federal welfare benefits to legal immigrants who are not citizens. In addition Congress is set to consider and President Clinton has endorsed proposals to greatly reduce the level of legal immigration.

Early this century, the percentage of foreign-born was far higher than now—14.7 percent in 1910—following 50 years of sustained immigration primarily from Europe. But the flow declined sharply after Congress in 1924 enacted a system of racial and ethnic quotas that effectively barred immigration except from Northern European countries. By 1970 the percent of foreign-born

dropped to 4.8 percent of the population.

The current wave of immigration began in 1965 when Congress overhauled immigration law to do away with racial quotas as a civil rights reform. More recently Congress passed another immigration reform in 1990 with broad bipartisan support that substantially increased levels of legal immigration.

A prominent spokesman for reduced immigration, Dan Stein, executive director of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR), contended that "immigrants are driving Americans out of these high-impact areas and native Americans are not moving into these areas such as Southern California, Miami and New York." Stein said in those areas immigrants are "eroding jobs for native Americans, especially the unskilled."

However, Jeffrey Passel, an immigration specialist at the Urban Institute, a Washington think tank, said his group found that "far from being a net cost, immigrants probably contribute more in taxes than they obtain in benefits, with a \$25 billion to \$30 billion annual surplus from recent post-1970 immigrants."

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/9/95

THE WASHINGTON POST
TUESDAY, AUGUST 29, 1995

1603

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, AUGUST 27, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/7/95

Our Aging Air Traffic System

The Federal Aviation Administration is struggling to overcome equipment breakdowns that threaten to undermine the safety of air travel. Some of the nation's busiest air centers rely on creaking computers and other ancient technologies that are prone to malfunction, forcing controllers to use less efficient backup systems. Just last year the agency's associate administrator for air traffic warned that equipment failures were increasing and that "the chances of a catastrophic failure" in one or more traffic control centers "should be considered likely."

The dimensions of the problem were described in an article last Sunday by The Times's Matthew Wald. He reported that some air traffic control equipment, notably the I.B.M. 9020c computers that deliver data and images to air controllers' screens at five key centers, date back a quarter century or more to the dark ages of the electronic revolution. They are clunky vacuum tube machines with tangled webs of wires that are extremely fragile. Even the main data processing computers at major centers have only a fraction of the memory power of modern desktop computers.

The skilled technicians who can service this ancient equipment are in dwindling supply, though there is disagreement over how fast their numbers have dropped. To make matters worse, Congress is tinkering with retirement pay in ways that could drive many remaining technicians into early retirement. Meanwhile, training in how to maintain the old equipment was cut back in anticipation of new equipment that has yet to arrive.

These problems have not yet caused an accident. Officials insist that when computers or radars break down, planes are held on the ground and

spaced more widely apart in the skies, thus slowing traffic to a level that the degraded system can handle. But one senses that the margin of safety is diminishing. Computer and power outages in some centers are becoming more common and lasting longer. Some controllers report seeing phantom or nonexistent planes on their radar screens. In other cases, real planes do not show up on the screens at all, or their images are in the wrong location. Sooner or later those kinds of glitches will combine with human error to cause a tragedy.

The F.A.A. is already embarked on an ambitious program to modernize its air traffic control system. But that effort is running behind schedule and over cost because of management misuses, cumbersome procurement procedures and the sheer difficulty of writing software to run the automated system. It was recently restructured to get it back on track. The Administration is also proposing to put the air-traffic system under a new Government corporation presumed capable of modernizing more rapidly (see letters at right).

But what is needed now is a maximum effort to keep the existing system in working order. The F.A.A. announced this month that, while waiting for its advanced traffic management system to be completed, it will take interim steps to replace aging computers in five centers. It will also provide new courses to train technicians to maintain them, offer refresher training for air controllers in the use of backup systems and hire 116 new technicians. The agency has commissioned a slew of expert reviews of the breakdown problem.

The flying public can only hope this will prove sufficient. Until the new gear is delivered, there is little choice but to bandage up what we have.

Standing Up for Immigrants

Mayor Rudolph Giuliani struck a blow for decency and common sense when he criticized Congress's proposed crackdown on both legal and illegal immigrants.

Interviewed last week, Mr. Giuliani argued that measures taking shape in Congress would play havoc with New York City and other large urban centers. A bill requiring schools to turn away students who have immigrated illegally, or have been born here of illegal immigrant parents, could throw 60,000 children into the streets and deprive them of the education they desperately need to become productive citizens.

Inevitably, fear of being discovered would force parents to withdraw their children from school. A similar measure forced upon hospitals, even if emergency care were permitted, could discourage the ill from seeking treatment. That could well result in the spread of communicable diseases like tuberculosis, which has been making a disturbing comeback.

The Giuliani administration has worked vigorously to reduce the city's welfare rolls. Even so, the Mayor has pledged to defy Congressional efforts to

deny food stamps, Medicaid and welfare even to aliens who enter the country legally but who are not yet citizens. In addition to its xenophobia, such a law would force the city to bear the cost of caring for thousands of people once they lost their Federal benefits and became destitute.

As for aliens who are clearly illegal, some may ask why the Mayor has gotten himself so worked up over people who should not be here in the first place. It is a fair question with a simple answer. As Mr. Giuliani suggested, keeping illegal aliens out and sending them home is a job for the immigration authorities, not the Mayor of New York. They are here, and his responsibility is to deal with them as fairly and rationally as possible.

Some of what the Mayor finds disturbing emerged from a Republican-dominated panel on immigration reform that issued its recommendations in June. Mr. Giuliani was right to characterize key parts of the package as pandering to an irrational fear of foreigners. The Mayor's remarks underscore the fact that the G.O.P. is deeply split on this issue. The forthcoming debate is bound to be a rancorous one.

Up
Non-Tier Congress
is back in need
a major push
our best
BC

Abolishing the
Bannon's Pit
to Family
Conference
Don't need
to answer now
BL

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/7/95



Please note: portions of this letter are not suitable for children.

August 1995

Dear Friends,

I want to talk to you this month about what could be the most important topic I've addressed in many years. This matter has profound implications for the institution of the family and for what we have called "the defense of righteousness," yet it will not be covered adequately by the secular press. Thus, I'm asking that you give particular attention to the words that follow, even if you don't often read my written comments. The events about to unfold on the world scene are almost beyond comprehension.

From Aug. 30 to Sept. 15, 1995, delegates from more than 170 sovereign nations will attend the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, China. It will represent the most radical, atheistic and anti-family crusade in the history of the world, and your own government pulling the strings and supporting a disproportionate share of the costs. The extremists who are preparing for and promoting this conference are a million miles outside the American mainstream, and yet they will be speaking in Beijing with the authority of the United States government. The more I learn about what these radical feminists want to impose on the human family, the more appalled I am that so few churches, Christian magazines and religious radio stations have chosen to alert our citizens to the implicit danger. It is a mystery, in fact, how such enormous threats to our spiritual and cultural heritage could have slithered into our midst without due notice or alarm.

Make no mistake about it: most of what Christianity stands for will be challenged during this atheistic conference. Every good and perfect gift from the hand of the Creator will be mocked and vilified by many of its delegates. That is their agenda. That is their program. And if they have their way, the family as it has been known since antiquity will cease to exist. Let me try to spell out what is about to occur on the other side of the globe.

First, consider where this international event will be held. No country on earth has abused and oppressed more women than China, with its forced abortion policy and its "one child per family" law. This is a nation that monitors menstrual cycles so it can identify young women with unapproved pregnancies and drag them into medical clinics to have their babies killed. It is also a country that has murdered tens of millions of female infants. So effective has been its bias against the feminine gender that the sex-ratio in large regions of China favors males by 64 percent.¹ What irony, then, that the people who have annihilated their little girls will host a conference on the betterment of women. What breathtaking wickedness! And to their shame, President Bill Clinton and his First Lady, Hillary, have committed the resources of the United States government to this travesty. Indeed, at the time of this writing, Hillary was the likely chairperson to lead the American delegation to China.²

Sending a delegation to China should be unthinkable for two other reasons. First, Sen. Jesse Helms, chairman of the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee, held hearings in May to investigate a deeply disturbing practice occurring inside China. A half-dozen witnesses testified that the Chinese government is satisfying its need for hard cash by executing young prisoners and then "harvesting" their organs while their bodies are still warm. Sue Lloyd-Roberts, a BBC reporter, and Harry Wu, who spent 19 years in China's forced labor camps, showed the senators a shocking videotape of the actual

man hater, you name it. There are those who say I'm impatient, impetuous, uppity, rude, profane, brash and overbearing. Whether I'm any of these things, or all of them, you can decide for yourself."¹³ I have decided for myself, but it makes no difference. Abzug will soon be off to China to wreck the family and reconstruct human relationships throughout the world.

Let me share a portion of what Abzug and her cronies at the United Nations hope to sell to—or impose on—other countries. (Note: Most of the concepts that follow are also taught in university "women's study programs," which would shock the parents who are struggling to give their sons and daughters "a good education.")

1. At the heart of the draft document is enormous hostility to the institution of the family. Marriage is seen as the root of all evil for women, and hence, it will be largely ignored in the deliberations. Everything related to traditional male and female relationships is despised. Men are seen as oppressors and exploiters whom women should regard as lifelong enemies. The family is also blamed for most of the violence suffered by women and girls. Nowhere is it acknowledged that men and women should be partners in the procreation, care and nurturing of children. Clearly, the age-old institution of the family is in for hard times in China.¹⁴
2. Of great significance to the framers of the conference is a concept known as "gender feminism." *Please read carefully, now, because this is the basis for the Beijing conference.* What is being proposed is a new way of looking at human sexuality. The notion that babies come into the world as male or female based on the size and shape of their genitalia is anathema. Sexual identification, they say, is something society imposes on children and then expects them to play out in their behavior ever after. One feminist writer expressed it like this, "Although many people think that men and women are the natural expression of a genetic blueprint, gender is a product of human thought and culture, a social construction that creates the 'true nature' of all individuals."¹⁵

In other words, the only biological differences between men and women are relatively insignificant, external features. Therefore, if we protect children from social and religious conditioning, people will be free to move into and out of existing genders and gender roles according to their preferences. Taking that concept to its illogical conclusion, the radicals want to dissolve the traditional roles of mothers and fathers. They also hope to eliminate such terms as *wife, husband, son, daughter, sister, brother, manhood, womanhood, masculine and feminine*. These references to sexual identity are being replaced with gender-neutral terms, such as *parent, spouse, child and sibling*. The ultimate goal of those who drafted the document, although they tried to hide it, is a plan to get rid of traditional sexuality in order to destroy patriarchy. Men can't have male privileges if we deny the existence of males and females.¹⁶ This political objective is called "the deconstruction of gender."

After maleness and femaleness have been disenfranchised, everything related to sex will change. All household responsibilities will be divided 50/50 by governmental decree. Every business will be governed by strict 50/50 quotas. The military will also be apportioned equally between men and women, including ground combat assignments and any future selection of draftees. There will be absolutely no differences tolerated between the sexes. In short, the distinction between masculinity and femininity will utterly disappear from the cultures of the world.¹⁶

There is a thorny little problem with this unisexual view of mankind, of course. It contradicts Genesis 1:27, which reads: "So God created man in His own image; in the image of God he created him; male and female he created them." It also ignores the words of Jesus, who said, "Haven't you read that at the beginning the Creator made them male and female. . . ." Then He said, "For this reason a man will leave his father and mother and be united to his wife, and the two will become one flesh" (Matthew 19:4-5).

In this instance and so many others, the draft document to be promoted in Beijing is utterly disdainful of the King of kings and Lord of lords. But before casting Him aside as irrelevant, our delegates should take a look at the Scripture that warns, "Do not be deceived; God cannot be mocked" (Galatians 6:7).

be represented there. Imagine the damage that can be done around the globe if the credibility of this wonderful country, with all its resources and power, is used to undermine the family, promote abortion, teach immoral behavior to teenagers, incite anger and competition between men and women, advocate lesbian and homosexual behavior, and vilify those with sincere religious faith. This is Satan's trump card if I have ever seen it.

Remember, too, that people from underdeveloped nations don't understand that the Clinton administration does not represent the majority of the American people on these radical positions. They will see Madeline Albright, our representative to the United Nations, Timothy Wirth, our assistant secretary of state, Vice President Al Gore, and perhaps the First Lady herself leading the parade to Beijing. What is the international community to assume but that the most powerful and respected nation on earth has endorsed a new understanding of human relationships. Furthermore, they will quickly recognize that foreign aid is dependent upon going along with the politically correct program.

Knowledgeable conservative writers are beginning to recognize the scope of the threat at our door. One of them, Dale O'Leary, has studied gender feminist ideology extensively. She wrote the following:

To the average person the Gender Feminist agenda appears as pure nonsense. How could anyone sincerely believe that society could do away with family, impose 50/50 quotas on all activities, eliminate motherhood, and institute polymorphous perversity? Five years ago people laughed at the suggestion, but those who have been exposed to the influence of the Gender Feminist agenda aren't laughing anymore.

Many mothers, who sent their lovely daughters off to college to prepare for careers, are weeping, because their daughters have come home with lesbian lovers. An April 26, 1995, article entitled 'Dating Game Today Breaks Traditional Gender Roles,' which appeared in the *Wall Street Journal* reported on a growing number of young women coming out of U.S. universities where they have been indoctrinated in women's studies programs who are engaging in sexual relations with women and men. Included is a report on Ms. Anji Dickson who can't decide whether to marry her boyfriend or grow old with a woman.

... in Ms. Dickson's generation young women openly enter into intimate relationships with both genders that are more than just experiments. They resist being described as straight or gay—or even bisexual, which some think suggests promiscuity and one-night stands. Instead, they use words like 'fluid' and 'omnisexual.'

The deconstruction of gender is mainstream America. Many U.S. television series have included episodes promoting the Gender Feminist agenda, homosexuality and choosing one's own sexual identity. These include the popular 'Roseanne,' 'Northern Exposure,' 'Star Trek: the Next Generation' and 'Star Trek: Deep Space Nine.' The message that sexual identity can be deconstructed and the vocations of manhood and womanhood are nothing but socially constructed gender roles can be found in children's books and on the popular children's television series 'Sesame Street.'

Unfortunately, there has been no effective voice to challenge the gender feminists within academia or within the mainstream media. The power of the U.S. entertainment industry and the U.S. universities, not only at home but around the world, means that the nonsense of Gender Feminism may soon become an international tragedy."

Well, the obvious question to ask is, "What can we do to derail this gender feminism juggernaut?" I would make four suggestions which I sincerely hope my readers will implement.

First, pray diligently about this conference. Pray especially for our staff members who will be on the front lines in Beijing. By great effort and patience, Focus on the Family has obtained approval from the United Nations to

Let me see, now—what are the words engraved on the Statue of Liberty standing a short distance from where the *Golden Venture* ran aground? Don't they say, "Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free . . .?"

This travesty reminds me of the large contingent of desperate Jews who sailed away from Nazi Germany in 1939, only to be denied immigration in the United States. No country would accept them, and they were eventually shipped back to Germany to face Hitler's gas chambers." It was one of the most shameful acts in U.S. history. The rejection and incarceration of 180 Chinese women today is almost as reprehensible. But . . . support for world population control is the official policy of this administration, and it has no sympathy for those who flee from it! So onward to Beijing we go!

A footnote to the sordid story related above: Can we forget that in 1993, just before the immigration policy was changed to exclude those fleeing forced abortion, the Clinton administration fought hard for HIV-infected patients to be granted admittance to this country. Congress overruled the President by an overwhelming vote. I guess it comes down to this: Contagious HIV patients: "Yes." Oppressed Chinese mothers: "No way!"

Despite the distressing news I have shared, I hope you won't get discouraged. This band of left-wing radicals that is heading up our delegation to Beijing does not represent the great American people. The insanity of their agenda is not on the ascent—it's on its way out. Our country is becoming increasingly conservative, not more liberal. Indeed, the conference in China may represent the twilight of an outrageous idea that has run its course at home. If we can just keep the ultra-liberals from exporting their failed policies around the world, there may be light at the end of the tunnel.

Before resorting to panic, therefore, we must remember Whom we are working for! I was reminded of that good news after a church service Shirley and I attended last Sunday. A man I didn't know came up and shook my hand. Without even introducing himself he said, "I just attended a reunion of my family, and so many of my relatives said they were praying for you." With that, he began to cry and walked away. I was overwhelmed to realize that this man and his family had been on their knees, asking the Lord to bless and protect me and this ministry. I know there are thousands of other wonderful folks who are holding us up in prayer day after day. That is what keeps us going in these times.

In conclusion, let me remind you that it is expensive to send a delegation to China and to support all that Focus on the Family is committed to doing. We need your help to get the job done. And we'd like to hear from you when time permits.

God's richest blessings to you all.

Sincerely,



James C. Dobson, Ph.D.
President

P.S. For the benefit of the skeptical, let me assure you that every word in this letter has been carefully documented. Nothing has been exaggerated or over-stated. A quick examination of the official U.N. draft document will confirm the mess our government has created.

PRAYER ACTION ALERT BULLETIN

The U.N. World Conference
on Women to be held in
Beijing, China,
September 4-15, 1995.

THE OFFICIAL U.S. DELEGATION

Hillary Rodham Clinton is honorary chair of the United States delegation. Ambassador Madeleine Albright, U.S. representative to the U.N., is the working chairman.

Three types of official voting delegates will attend:

- (1) Agency employees from the Departments of State, Labor, Education, and the Environmental Protection Agency.
- (2) Four to five non-governmental organization (NGO) representatives, called "Public Member Delegates," paid for by our tax dollars.
- (3) "Private Sector Advisors" who are actually NGO representatives who will pay their own way but who have delegate voting rights.

The White House and the State Department have subjectively chosen the NGO's who are to serve as U.S. delegates. These most likely will include recognized feminists like Bella Abzug, Eleanor Smeal, and other women who are leaders in the extreme feminist/lesbian movement in America.

Official delegates will represent the United States and have the authority to draft language and vote on the conference's platform.

DENIAL OF CWA'S ACCREDITATION

To date, CWA has been denied accreditation, despite the fact that we are the largest pro-family active women's organization in America. We were told we "lacked relevance to women's issues."

CWA has learned that the United Nations "blacklisted" CWA and other Christian pro-family organizations.

THE POWER OF THE PLATFORM DOCUMENT

Based on the extreme feminist agenda, the platform document, when approved by the conference will influence and mandate American domestic policies and laws and our education curricula.

This won't be the first time! The "Goals 2000" education bill President Clinton signed into law in the Spring of 1994 was almost identical to the six U.N. goals established at the World Conference on Education for All, in Thailand, March 1990.

A SAMPLING OF THE DESTRUCTIVE CONSEQUENCES OF THE PLATFORM DOCUMENT

- (1) In the draft document to be presented in Beijing, the word "gender" has been defined to have five meanings: male, female, homosexual, bisexual, transsexual.
- (2) Some delegates propose to replace the word "mother" with "caretaker," and the word "family" with "household."
- (3) Sec. 59 mandates "gender awareness" for all educators.
- (4) Sec. 63(c) requires all nations to "create a gender-sensitive educational system." Sec. 66(a) mandates "curricula, textbooks, and teaching aids free of [traditional] sex-stereotypes."
- (5) Sec. 80(c) requires governments to "make more accessible, available and affordable . . . health care services . . . including reproductive health interventions" abortion.

- (6) Sec. 80(e) calls for "universal access to quality health services for girls and women, including reproductive health [abortion] information and services . . ."
- (7) Sec. 89 declares: "Most of the violence against women and girls occurs in the family, where violence is often tolerated and encouraged."
- (8) Sec. 94(e) demands "reform training of judicial, legal and police personnel so as to sensitize them to the nature of gender-based violence . . ."
- (9) Sec. 106(c) calls for all nations to "register and ultimately eliminate weapons development, production, deployment and sales, including, as a first step, expanding the UN Register of Arms Transfers . . ."
- (10) Secs. 125(a) and 159(a) propose that all governments add an "Equal Rights Amendment" to their national constitutions.

AND ON AND ON IT GOES. . . .

Page after page, section after section, this platform document can be called the "Feminist/Lesbian Manifesto." If America adopts it. . . .

► Homosexual and lesbian relationships will ultimately be given the full recognition of traditional marriage.

► Abortion-on-demand policies could be forced into law.

► Gender equity and gender sensitivity training would become standard American policy and law.

► Children would be subjected to explicit sex education in schools.

► State and federal laws would mandate radical social policies.

WHAT YOU CAN, WHAT YOU MUST DO

- (1) As a CWA member you know there is no power greater than prayer. Pray that the women of

(2)

(3)

(4)

C
th
h
ir

A
g
f
v
f
f

-) Sec. 80(e) calls for "universal access to quality health services for girls and women, including reproductive health [abortion] information and services . . ."
-) Sec. 89 declares: "Most of the violence against women and girls occurs in the family, where violence is often tolerated and encouraged."
-) Sec. 94(e) demands "reform training of judicial, legal and police personnel so as to sensitize them to the nature of gender-based violence . . ."
-) Sec. 106(c) calls for all nations to "register and ultimately eliminate weapons development, production, deployment and sales, including, as a first step, expanding the UN Register of Arms Transfers . . ."
- 0) Secs. 125(a) and 159(a) propose that all governments add an "Equal Rights Amendment" to their national constitutions.

AND ON AND ON IT GOES. . . .

Page after page, section after section, this platform document can be called the "Feminist/Lesbian Manifesto." If America adopts it. . . .

- ▶ Homosexual and lesbian relationships will ultimately be given the full recognition of traditional marriage.
- ▶ Abortion-on-demand policies could be forced into law.
- ▶ Gender equity and gender sensitivity training would become standard American policy and law.
- ▶ Children would be subjected to explicit sex education in schools.
- ▶ State and federal laws would mandate radical social policies.

WHAT YOU CAN, WHAT YOU MUST DO

- (1) As a CWA member you know there is no power greater than prayer. Pray that the women of

the world not be tricked by the extreme feminist agenda.

- (2) Pray that God will open all doors for CWA to go to Beijing, including clearances by the Chinese government.
- (3) Call or write your U.S. senators and representative. Let them know you do not support this document, and you do not support the U.S. delegation President Clinton will be sending to Beijing to speak for you and the women of America.
- (4) Please stand with CWA today. CWA is going to Beijing to expose and report the truth about this so-called women's conference.

CWA needs your financial assistance for this and all our other vital work on the homefront. And your prayer support is invaluable to us.

As soon as you are able, please send as generous a gift as you can to help CWA fight to keep the voices of Christian women, mothers, and grandmothers from being drowned out by extreme feminists and lesbians.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/17/95

The Servant Class Is at the Counter

By DAVID CAY JOHNSTON

Continued from page 1

AS the gap between the working poor and the working rich grows, the servant class is making a comeback of sorts.

Servants haven't disappeared. They just moved out.

"The servant class is all around us," said Phyllis Palmer, a history professor at George Washington University who wrote "Domesticity and Dirt," a 1989 study of housewives and their servants in the years between the world wars. "They just aren't on the household payroll. They've been outsourced."

Until World War II, middle-class American families typically had one or more servants to help around the house. In 1940, the Bureau of Labor Statistics counted 2.6 million domestic servants, almost one job in 20. Now, cleaners, cooks and others working in private homes account for less than one job in 145. It may seem that hardly anyone has servants except for the very rich and the professional couples in big cities who hire an au pair to watch their small children.

But today the family cook works at McDonald's, Domino's or one of those those delis that deliver dinner to the overworked middle class families of the 90's in which mothers, single or married, typically work full time outside the home.

The daughters and granddaughters and other successors of maids who cleaned, ironed and washed windows in an era when most mothers were homemakers is now more likely to come in once a week and to be on the payroll not of the family, but of Merry Maids. Just as likely, Professor Palmer says, the maid now works for a janitorial service, spending her nights cleaning office buildings.

At the Center

And the nanny has been replaced by the employees of the day care center. Among preschool children, fewer than 1 in 13 whose mother works outside the home is cared for by a nanny.

As the servant class has moved from private homes to the payrolls of businesses, the percentage of workers in such jobs has increased, too. One useful measure is restaurant employment: in 1984, 1.7 million Americans worked in eating and drinking establishments, and in 1994, 7.1 million did; the total workforce

had not quite doubled in that period.

Lawrence Mishel, a labor economist at the Economic Policy Institute in Washington, said the growth of personal-services jobs was being fueled in part by the rising incomes of the top 20 percent of the population, the rich and the burgeoning upper middle class who have more money to pay for personal services from by-the-pound laundry service to dog walkers in the city (and, in the suburbs, services that remove the family dog's droppings from the yard).

People buy these services when they want, cutting them off when money is tight, and leave the frustrating problem of calculating withholding taxes to someone else. (Domestic servants were not covered by Social Security until 1950, and many are still cheated out of these benefits. And the minimum wage did not apply to domestics until 1974.)

Indeed, the families that pay the servant class's salaries are, in effect, treating the workers in the same way that large corporations are treating them. The technique, called outsourcing, also eliminates paid vacations and medical insurance, and may avoid the taxes that finance Social Security, disability and unemployment benefits.

By replacing the family cook with take-out food, a working parent can achieve the goals of simplicity, flexibility and lower cost, avoiding paperwork and social insurance taxes. (Of course, these circumstances exact a price on home life: less time with children, more exhaustion, dustballs and cold dinners.)

While servants have always been the most exploited of workers, some figures suggest that that they were better off economically as household employees.

Consider the family cook. Books on the etiquette of hiring servants indicate that in major East Coast cities in 1910, a cook typically earned \$10 a week. Adjusted for inflation, that is about \$145 today. But back then there was no income tax, no Social Security, unemployment or disability tax. To net \$145 a week in 1995, a fast-food worker needs to gross about \$170, which happens to be what 40 hours at the minimum wage totals.

The fast-food worker probably commutes to work, so keeping his or her job means at least \$2.50 a day for subway or bus fare. Thus the net cash from a full-time fast-food job at the minimum wage is about \$132.50 a week, or about 8.6 percent less than the 1910 household cook's weekly pay.

Out of that pay, the outsourced servant has to eat and pay for housing, the only two benefits that came with the live-in cook's job in 1910.

Chloe E. Bird, a sociologist at the Health Institute at New England Medical Center who has studied servants, says the shift from household servants to outsourced servants grew in part from the new science of management that developed with the industrial era. After World War I, the field of home economics arose, with girls taught in school how to organize a family budget and a pantry.

Professor Palmer notes that machines also began to replace domestic labor, with vacuum cleaners, gas stoves, electric refrigerators and, in the 1930's, automatic washing machines, substituting for maids in many homes.

And while management and machines made housework more efficient, corporations began finding ways to increase the productivity of these workers, which earned them profits. A cook for a family of four, for example, prepared 84 meals a week for a family of four, assuming they always ate at home. A cook at McDonald's is often paid less but can turn out hundreds of meals in a day. That's productivity.

Continued on page 4



DAYMARK®

America's
One Source™

TRANSPORTATION • WAREHOUSING • CONSOLIDATION • DISTRIBUTION

H
FYI
C

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/5/95

August 28, 1995

Ms. Carolyn Huber
214 East Wing
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Jim Dorskind

Please coordinate
the reply.

9/8
ORIGINAL
Sent to
Dorskind

Dear Carolyn;

The enclosed was in Saturdays Arkansas Democrat-Gazette. Do you think we should start a "fund raising" campaign to buy this home on October 8th., to be available as the Clinton's permanent residence, when they leave the White House in the year 2000?

Sincerely


Dick Hill



Arkansas Democrat-Gazette/STEPHEN B. THORNTON

ON THE BLOCK — This 17,000-square-foot home in west Little Rock, one of the largest in Arkansas, will go up for auction Oct. 8. The home —

owned by Phil Elkins, majority owner of Paramount Life Insurance Co. of Little Rock — will be sold, regardless of price, to the highest bidder.

Luxury on grand scale will go to highest bidder

BY ANDREW MOREAU
Democrat-Gazette Business Writer

One of the state's largest private homes, a 17,000-square-foot house in Little Rock modeled after Tara in "Gone With the Wind," will be sold at auction in October.

The 42-acre Cross Creek estate at 18800 Cantrell Road in west Little Rock will be auctioned Oct. 8 and will be sold to the highest bidder, regardless of price. "We're going to sell it that day, no matter what it brings," said William Bone of the Nation-

al Auction Group, which is conducting the sale.

Appraisals have estimated the home's value at \$3 million with a replacement value of about \$3.8 million, Bone said.

Phil Elkins, majority owner of Paramount Life Insurance Co. of Little Rock, owns the home, which he built in 1984. "He's basically moved and spends most of his time on his boat in Florida," Bone said of Elkins. "He's decided he's going to sell the home, and Phil is not real concerned

about what price it will bring."

NBA All-Star Scottie Pippin has expressed an interest in the home, Bone said. "He's already looked at it and met with me," Bone said. "He says he'll be there and will be a bidder. He's a definite player."

A national promotion — geared particularly toward Washington, D.C., and New York — will be conducted, Bone said, adding that the home would be of value for use during the re-election campaign of President Clin-

ton. "For something like that, it would be the ideal place to entertain," Bone said.

Four stairways offer access to the upper floor, including a suspended, circular staircase that leads from the foyer. The great room features a two-story ceiling. "Everything about the home is oversized," Bone said.

Outdoors, the estate offers a heated swimming pool, a fenced and lighted tennis court, a stocked lake and a 2,000-square-foot home for a caretaker.

Jim -

Could you check
with CEQ to see if
this letter needs
updating given recent press
and litigation. Thanks
Phon

9/3 To Jim

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 6, 1995

Mr. Edgar M. Bronfman
Post Office Box 2705
Sun Valley, Idaho 83353

Dear Edgar:

Thanks so much for your thoughtful letter. I know how much this issue means to you and I appreciated hearing your views.

In the end, I signed the rescission bill because it helps to further reduce the deficit while maintaining responsible investments in children, education, national service, and job training. As you know, we were unable to persuade Congress to abandon the salvage timber rider, which I opposed, but Congress did accept important changes that will preserve the Administration's ability to adhere to the standards and guidelines in our current forest plans. The changes give the agencies the discretion, which we will exercise fully, to protect our nation's natural resources. This isn't all that we wanted, but on balance I thought it important to sign the bill.

Now that the rider has become law, I have directed the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior, and the heads of other federal agencies to carry out timber salvage activities consistent with the spirit and intent of all existing environmental laws.

I greatly appreciate your abiding commitment to protecting our natural heritage. This is a battle we must never stop fighting.

Sincerely,

123216

TOTAL P.01

7-19-95
P-70113

EDGAR M. BRONFMAN
102 SHEEP MEADOW LANE
KETCHUM ID 83340

July 19, 1995

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you very much for the letter you sent me regarding your meeting President Lech Walesa of Poland. You took a moral stand, and I, on behalf of all decent people everywhere, applaud and thank you.

My wife and I spend our summers in Idaho, where there is still wilderness and the lure of unspoiled nature. It has come to our attention that the 1995 Resission Bill will do long term damage to the natural beauty of much of this state, and will destroy the natural habitat of many species of wildlife, especially salmon.

I most strongly urge you to veto that bill should it reach your desk.

With admiration and respect,



August 18, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION

FROM: John B. Emerson *JBE*
SUBJ: California: Affirmative Action Initiative

Yesterday we met with leadership of the California Democratic Party and with Diane Feldman and Ron Lester, who were retained by the Party to poll/focus group the proposed California Civil Rights Initiative. CCRI will essentially abolish affirmative action in the State. The focus of the discussion was the timetable for and advisability of pursuing an alternative initiative on affirmative action, the proposed "Equal Opportunity Act" (EOA).

Background: Feldman will give anyone who is interested a detailed briefing on their research. In sum, their May '95 poll found CCRI favored by California likely voters by 75% to 19%. The basic vote on the EOA, described as banning quotas and strengthening anti-discrimination laws (including age discrimination), was 78% to 16%. After arguments on both sides were presented, CCRI was supported 60% to 32% (including leaners). On August 7 (after the President's speech and Wilson's actions had a chance to percolate), a 500 sample tracker had the basic CCRI vote at 65% to 27.8%. The EOA received 76.6% to 18% in the tracker. An analysis of the tracker crosstabs shows some shoring up of the base vote after the recent publicity surrounding the issue.

CCRI proponents submitted the initiative to the Attorney General (Republican Dan Lungren) two weeks ago for approval. The AG has privately indicated that he will release the initiative for signature gathering prior to Wilson's announcement for President next week. Proponents will then have the full 150 day period in which to secure 692,711 valid signatures for the initiative to be placed on the November ballot. Under this time frame, it may still be possible to secure signatures in time for the CCRI to go on the March ballot (mid-November deadline for Secretary of State approval of the signatures).

Proponents have had difficulty raising money for their task (\$1.2 million likely needed to obtain signatures; more if in a shorter time frame), but no one doubts that Pete Wilson will step up to the plate if necessary. It is rumored that Wilson may push for the initiative to appear on the March ballot to help his primary efforts, but the Republicans are well aware of its power as a general election issue. Moreover, this would require a 60-75 day signature gathering effort--possible, but likely boosting the cost of the effort well above \$2 million.

Opponents generally believe that it will be close to impossible to defeat the CCRI head to head. In stark disagreement stand the Fund for a Feminist Majority (Peg Yorkin's group), armed with a favorable Lou Harris poll (which Feldman discredits). They have hired Bob Shrum to do the media and Roger Craver for direct mail, and state an intent to raise \$10-12 million to defeat CCRI. Our folks think they will be lucky to get to \$3-4 million (enough to run a "bare bones" TV campaign down the stretch).

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1/11/95 (Smith)

9/5/95

*Need for direct
B.*

Alternative Initiative: Opinion is decidedly split as to whether it is in the President's interest for an alternative initiative (EOA or other) to be placed on the ballot. The initiative would be phrased in terms of "equal opportunity", would put "teeth" in anti-discrimination laws (especially age discrimination, which is ignored in CCRI), and would ban "quotas." CCRI opponents insist that any alternative have language that would in effect invalidate CCRI if both pass. [Under California law, if two initiatives on the same subject pass, non-conflicting provisions of each go into law; in the event of a conflict, the provisions of the highest vote getter become law.] Any alternative initiative would have to be carefully drafted, tested--with focus groups and then an extensive poll, revised according to the research, and then shopped to the groups for political vetting. This final step may be difficult. For instance, civil rights groups have made clear that they would oppose any alternative that addresses "preferences" rather than simply "quotas." Moreover, while CCRI opponents are split on this issue, the vocal FFM will vigorously attack any effort to proceed with an alternative as jeopardizing their campaign against CCRI.

Those who favor the alternative course argue as follows: The Republican nominee will run on CCRI in California, much as Wilson ran on 187 in 1994. Moreover, the CCRI campaign will be presented in terms of values ("The State shall not discriminate..." opens the initiative). The President, and down ticket Democrats, need something to be for in the great debate over affirmative action. By phrasing the alternative in values terms, Democrats will not simply be against the "moral" arguments in favor of CCRI. An alternative will motivate the base, and can help Democratic turnout by expanding age-discrimination laws. By phrasing it in terms of values, Democrats will not simply be against the "values" arguments in favor of CCRI.

Those who oppose the alternative course argue: We are dead if the 1996 election in California is contested over affirmative action, rather than our issues. To place an alternative on the ballot and build a campaign will guarantee that affirmative action is the central issue of the race, playing right into the Republican hands. The cost of an alternative (\$1.2 million to qualify; \$3 to 4 million for a bare bones TV campaign) will be financed with funds that would otherwise go into voter persuasion and GOTV in direct benefit to the Democratic ticket. Because an anti-CCRI campaign is promised, there will be plenty to motivate the base without an alternative on the ballot. The arguments differentiating the alternative from CCRI are too complex and subtle to be effectively communicated to California voters without the expenditure of many millions of dollars, if at all. And the President, who has clearly taken his stand on affirmative action, and can use the issue to pivot onto the real issues impacting opportunity in California--the economy and education--doesn't need the cover of an alternative.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, we all agreed that we must take our best shot at developing and testing alternative language so that an informed decision can be made in sufficient time to get the initiative qualified if we decide to proceed. While there are lots of drafts and ideas floating around out there, **it is clear that unless we step up to drive the process, there will be no option for an alternative to appear on the ballot.**

Timetable and Assignments:

Under California law, initiative proponents have 150 days to collect qualifying signatures. Initiative experts believe that 120 days is ample time to collect the necessary signatures. Democrats have qualified initiatives in 75 days before, but that was with cooperative Attorneys General and Secretaries of State (they are now both Republicans). To the extent an initiative is submitted to the AG for approval after October 2, the 150 day time period will be reduced accordingly. Thus, to give alternative proponents 120 days, our practical deadline for making a go decision is the end of October. That gives us eleven weeks to draft, test, refine and shop an alternative.

The first issue is who drives the process. The Party, which finds itself in a balancing act between the factions of CCRI opponents, cannot. The White House and re-elect need to be arms length from the process; otherwise, this becomes the "Clinton Initiative" or, worse, gets characterized as the President trying to wiggle out of his stated position on the issue. The cleanest option is to put a California consultant with significant initiative experience in charge of the process. I, and whomever else we wish, will closely monitor the work. Second, we must select a lawyer who is an initiative expert to draft various alternative language, and the pollster who will handle the research. Finally, we need to decide how this will be funded. The estimated cost of the drafting-research phase is \$125-150,000. Realistically, these costs will end up being incurred by the DNC if we want to proceed in timely fashion.

I propose the following timetable.

August: Select consultant: Best options are Bill Carrick, Jim Margolis, David Townsend and Maggie Linden. Carrick's downside is that he is a known opponent of the alternative strategy. Margolis' downside is that, as Boxer's consultant for 1998, he is a known advocate. Townsend and Linden are Sacramento based consultants with substantial initiative experience. I recommend Townsend, who has an 11-1 record on initiatives.

Select lawyer, and commence drafting: All agree that Barry Fadem is the best in the State for this kind of project; Joe Remcho second choice. He needs a briefing from Feldman, and should have alternative draft language for review by the end of Labor Day week. Bill Wardlaw, who attended our meeting, has agreed to supervise this part of the project.

Select pollster: Feldman would be an obvious choice, although we may want one of our pollsters to do this work. At a minimum, our folks need to consult with her in detail regarding our own research on affirmative action. These conversations should take place before Labor Day, and fed into the legal work.

September: Complete focus groups: The second and third full weeks of September should be devoted to focus groups. 10-12 are recommended. Emerson will go to California to monitor the focus groups, with Wardlaw as backup.

Prepare poll: Based on the group research, and further language drafting, a

detailed poll needs to be prepared.

October: Conduct poll: Late Sept. or early October.

Refine initiative language; possible additional focus groups: Post poll; complete by mid-October.

Quietly begin to shop initiative: Post poll. We need to determine whether what works with the public will be opposed by civil rights groups and other CCRI opponents.

Final Decision: Late October.

Submit to AG: By October 30, if we decide to proceed.

We need to come to closure on the August decisions by the end of this week, if we are going to keep to this timetable. Every week the timetable slips, the initiative signature gathering process becomes more difficult and more expensive.

1. Laan

g Out ly Want

A. They tell us that a woman's sexual arousal, unlike a man's, is not based on her assessment of physiological cues. Instead, she relies on environmental cues. Our subjects were telling us they were aroused by a film when they liked the film. The sexual arousal they reported was due mostly to how they appreciated the situation.

Apparently, for both men and women, when you show them a sexual cue, the body responds to it. It's an automatic response, it's probably hard-wired, and it's probably a good mechanism for the survival of the species. But it doesn't mean that women who respond physiologically necessarily want to have sex. I always tell men if you want to know whether a woman wants to have sex with you, you have to ask.

Rape Fantasy

These results could also explain why women, when they are raped, sometimes respond by getting lubricated. Rape victims often feel guilty about this, they think maybe on an unconscious level they led the guy on. But this means nothing of the sort. Getting wet is an automatic, physiological thing. Incidentally, if women didn't have this automatic response, there would be a lot more physical harm to them from the rape.

Q. But don't women have fantasies about being raped?

A. I think the term rape fantasy is completely wrong. What happens in these fantasies is what I would call being overmened. The woman is so desired, so wanted that the other character has to do what she wants to do, and of course it's very arousing wanted that much. But ultimately she does not have control in the fantasy, which is what you do not.

Do these results tell us anything whether women and men have different drives?

The results suggest that they have or less equal potential for sexual arousal. But there's an evolutionary rationale why women might be more disarming, and why they might screen the

Where We Stand

By Albert Shanker, President
American Federation of Teachers

A New School Myth

In "The History of a Hoax," a wonderful *New York Times Magazine* article last March, Yale professor Barry O'Neill recounted his search for the origins of two widely quoted lists of top school problems. There was a 1940s list featuring gum-chewing, talking, and not putting paper in wastebaskets, and a 1980s version with drug abuse, suicide, pregnancy, and violence. The contrast between the lists was supposed to show how bad our schools had become. People who cited them had no idea where they came from; everyone just picked them up from someone else. O'Neill never did unearth any original studies because there weren't any; instead, he discovered a man who had created the two lists. The man said he knew what to include because he had gone to school in the '40s and "read the newspapers." In other words, the lists were neither polls nor scientific surveys. They were one man's invention circulated by many as social science.

I cited the lists myself until I learned better. So did columnist George Will and former Education Secretary William Bennett. Will and Bennett have also been going around saying that those who know the schools best—the people who teach in them—are more likely than other Americans to put their own children into private schools. That's a myth, too. But it gets repeated often by people who are promoting voucher plans and for-profit schools.

Now these folks have a study by Denis P. Doyle, "Where Connoisseurs Send Their Children to School," that pretends to be research proving them right. But Doyle's own data actually show the opposite: Public-school "connoisseurs" (teachers) choose public schools for their children more often than the general public and far more often than other families with similar incomes. Even three out of four private-school teachers choose public schools for some of their children and two-thirds have all of their children in public systems.

Nationally, Doyle's data show, only 12.1 percent of public-school teachers enroll any of their children in private schools, compared with 13.1 percent of the public. About a third of those teachers also have children in public schools. That means that 92 percent of all public-school teacher families send some or all of their children to public schools, compared with 90 percent of the public. Public-school teachers are more likely than the public to use public schools in 40 of the 50 states. And in 6 of the 10 states where teachers are more likely than the public to use private schools, the difference is less than 1 percent.

Teachers are typically in two-income households, so they tend to have higher family incomes than the general population. And higher-income people tend to use private schools more than lower-income people do. So you would think that the higher-income "connoisseurs" would follow that pattern.

Not so. In the \$30,000-\$70,000 bracket, 11.6 percent of all public-school teachers have a child in private school, according to Doyle's data, compared with 15.2 percent of other families in that bracket. At an income level of \$70,000 or more, only 15.2 percent of teachers use private schools, compared with 24.2 percent of comparable families.

In big cities, the overall proportion of families using private education is above the national average. That's not surprising, since city schools cope with education's highest concentrations of social and behavioral problems. What is surprising is that Doyle's numbers—though not his words—show that public-school teachers in a large majority of the 100 largest U.S. cities choose public schools more frequently than other city families, and at about the same rate in all but a handful of the rest.



Public-school teachers choose public schools for their own children more often than the general public.

ones who get pregnant from believe there are many more cues onment that are likely to stimu-an women. Just look at advertis-way women's bodies are every-sed.

y men have the assumption that it all, women don't like sex. Can that issue from this work at all?

I didn't have any trouble finding this research. I think women do a lot of women don't like the sex on in the bedroom. They still the terms of it or the pace of it. le, women feel there is some- with them if they don't have rough intercourse. But only one-men report having regular or-ugh intercourse. Should "nor-fined as what happens to one-nen, or to two-thirds?

ner career, she
k to school.
s President of
it Manhattan.

returning students at
n get very special attention.



How far can you go with the right education? Just ask our president. You're invited to tour the College on Tues., Aug. 15, 6-7:30 pm at our Information Session

Marymount
Manhattan
College

Zip _____

cve

families earning \$70,000 or more are far more likely than comparable city families to use public schools. Middle-income teachers (\$35,000-\$70,000) in many cities are also more likely than other families to choose public schools. And city public-school teachers are at least twice as likely as city private-school teachers to use the public schools. Doyle questions the "allegiance" of teachers to public education, but his report shows strong allegiance.

The families in urban areas who send their children to private schools mostly do so because they fear violence and disruption in public schools. But much of the problem in public schools is caused by a small fraction of the students, 2 to 3 percent. Doyle argues, though, in a conclusion as flawed as his analysis, that the "trapped" 97 percent should be given vouchers to attend private schools. Wouldn't it make more sense to send the 3 percent to private schools? Will private schools take and keep them? The toughest students I had as a teacher were those who were kicked out of private school.

The only realistic way to improve education for city families is to make every public school a safe, orderly place where students meet high standards of conduct and academic achievement. That requires hard work and commitment. And that's not a myth.

Mr. Shanker's comments appear in this section every Sunday, under the auspices of the New York State United Teachers and the American Federation of Teachers. Reader correspondence is invited. Address your letters to Mr. Shanker at the AFT, 555 New Jersey Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20001. © 1995 by Albert Shanker.

ADVANCE YOUR CAREER SECURE YOUR FUTURE

COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY AND APPLICATIONS PROGRAM

In one year of evening and weekend study, you can prepare for a new career or advance professionally in your current position. Columbia's Computer Technology and Applications (CTA) program offers specialized training in the following areas:

- C Programming and Software Development
- Relational Database and Structured Design
- Business Applications
- Local Area Networks
- Management and Executive Information Systems
- UNIX

Applications are now being accepted for the Summer Term. Classes begin **September 11.**

CAREER SERVICES

CTA graduates have taken positions as programmers, systems analysts, PC trainers, technical writers, and managers of information systems in publishing houses, banks, city agencies, software design companies, and Wall Street firms.

Columbia University is an affirmative action/equal opportunity institution.

OPEN HOUSE

AUGUST 22

6:30 P.M.

IN

307

LEWISOHN

HALL

COLUMBIA

UNIVERSITY

For a 1995-1996
brochure
contact

Continuing Education
Columbia University
206 Lewisohn Hall
New York, New York
10027
(212) 854-2820

Columbia
University
CONTINUING EDUCATION

CALL
COLUMBIA



KIDKES TV HAS SEEN



A CBS Affiliate

Laural Porter

Anchor/Reporter

P.O. Box 2008

Idaho Falls, ID 83403

(208) 522-5100

Fax (208) 522-5103

1-800-727-9971



Retlaw Broadcasting Company

9/17/95
Summer: 100
McCurry

MR. PRESIDENT,
Most of us

aren't racists

& militia

members.

I admire &

respect you.

Come visit us

in Idaho.

Sun Valley has

a great golf

course. Laurel



KAY LEE MUNGUA
Advertising Sales Consultant

P.O. BOX 2557
3203 3rd AVE. NORTH
BILLINGS, MT 59103
(406) 252-5611
FAX (406) 252-9938

Montana's News Station

*McCurry - was part of
Donna Hauke's*

Gus Heather
+ JOY STEPHAN
ASKED me to
SAY hello if
I SAW you.

ENJOY your
DAY.

9/7/95
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

What Actions Are Affirmative?

Advocates of affirmative action ought to pay careful attention to the recent "teens and race" poll conducted by USA Weekend Magazine. They might find themselves rethinking the concept, or at least their strategies for promoting it.

The survey of nearly a quarter of a million teenagers, grades six through 12, found a group of youngsters broadly reflective of the American mainstream: personally decent, racially progressive and somewhat pessimistic on the matter of race. Eighty-four percent of those surveyed (and 91 percent of the high schoolers) believe their peers harbor some racial prejudice, even if they won't admit it, and 86 percent fear that racial tensions will always exist.

Still, 72 percent say they have a close friend of another race, though they say they are pressured by family and friends not to mix with other races; and 71 percent say they would date a person of another race, even though 51 percent say their parents would disapprove of such a relationship.

There's more: Nearly half of the respondents, embracing all racial groups, say they have experienced prejudice in the last year. Seventy-seven percent say television is full of racial stereotypes that contribute to racial prejudice.

In short, they sound less like youthful ideologues than ordinary youngsters who have got their heads on fairly straight.

But listen: Despite their surprisingly progressive view of America's racial situation, nine out of ten of the

248,000 teenagers surveyed say they oppose affirmative action in hiring and college admissions to make up for past discrimination.

What does this mean for the advocates of affirmative action, a concept already under attack by Congress, the courts and a broad swath of American adults?

It means, at the very least, that they have not made the case for their favored remedy.

Have they failed to prove that racial (and sex) discrimination exists? Have they been unable to convince nine-tenths of America's youth that affirmative action is not merely reverse discrimination—as morally suspect as the practice it seeks to redress? Have opponents succeeded in painting affirmative action as a device for replacing competent white men with less-competent minorities and women?

It seems likely to me that the failure has been on all these fronts and on two others as well—in defining terms and in identifying targets.

Advocates may talk glibly about what they expect the policy to accomplish: to open up the ranks of privilege, to transform policy platitudes into concrete progress and to help make up for past disadvantage. But what precisely is the policy they have in mind? Taking specific steps to increase workplace diversity? Measuring results against available pools of eligibles? Giving the nod to minorities and women in all close cases? Awarding bonus points for membership in a historically disadvantaged group? Setting enforceable goals and timetables? Setting aside a certain

percentage of government contracts for women and minorities?

And just who is supposed to benefit from the application of the policy? Those minorities who have been most damaged by racism—the urban underclass, for example? Those who are doing reasonably well already but who could do even better with a race-based boost? Individual victims of discrimination or the groups to which they belong?

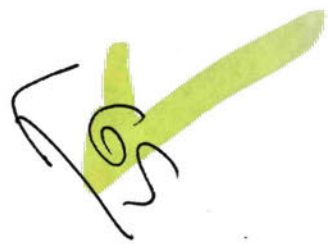
The failure to define and target puts affirmative action advocates in the position of defending almost anything that can be defined as affirmative action: the FCC's racial preference program that permitted ex-Charlotte Mayor Harvey Gantt to acquire a TV station, which he then sold at a huge personal profit; the awarding of a contract to a Hispanic company when a white firm had submitted the low bid; the admission of black college applicants whose paper credentials are inferior to rejected white applicants—even blatant pro-black favoritism.

I don't suggest the youngsters who participated in the USA Weekend survey spent much time thinking about definitions and targets, only that the debate over affirmative action has left Americans with an impression of what the concept involves. For too many of them—including our next-in-line political leadership—it is an impression of unfairness. Those of us who care about the threat to affirmative action had better get clear on what it is we wish to save, and why.

THE WASHINGTON POST
MODERN AUGUST 21, 1993

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/7/95



Elliott C. Lichtman

False Charges of Abuse

There were a number of false and misleading statements in the op-ed piece entitled "Unwelcome Guests" by Lars-Erik Nelson [Aug. 14].

Nelson complains of "abuse" in U.S. immigration law that allegedly permits U.S. employers (including the "White House") to turn to "cheap foreign labor." The article asserts that the Department of Labor approves requests for these workers within seven days and that although foreign workers are to be paid the "prevailing wage"—i.e., what U.S. workers in the same geographic area are paid—the law contains a "glaring loophole" that allows payment at the rate of the "rest of [the company's] foreign workers" instead of what American workers "actually earn."

These assertions misstate U.S. immigration law with respect to temporary professional workers such as

computer specialists, scholars and other workers with high-level skills. American employers are permitted annually to employ nationwide up to 65,000 temporary professional workers only if they attest that the foreign professional will be paid the higher of either the prevailing wage for the same job in the geographic area or the actual wage paid by the same employer to similarly situated American workers.

Moreover, the employer must convey the proposed wage of the foreign worker to the union, if there is one, or must post it at two conspicuous places at the workplace. (What the Labor Department does within seven days is merely to certify that the employer has signed and posted the attestation; Labor does not, as Mr. Nelson suggests, have authority to issue visas to foreign workers.)

Where an American worker or any other aggrieved party (including a government agency such as the Labor Department) concludes that the employer is not paying the required wage, a complaint may be filed with the Labor Department that, if found meritorious, may lead to substantial penalties for the employer.

A case in point is described in the Wall Street Journal of Aug. 16, which reports a Labor Department settlement of such a complaint in which Syntel Inc., a software consulting firm in Troy, Mich., agreed to pay \$77,000 in back wages to about 40 foreign workers, to hire at least 40 Americans in the coming year and to spend \$1 million to train U.S. programmers in the latest software techniques.

Thus, where vigorously enforced, the existing law fully protects the wage levels of American workers.

Nelson also complains that under U.S. immigration law "nearly 200,000 foreign workers can be brought into the U.S. each year." Although he presumably arrives at this figure by combining the above temporary professional workers with "green card" applicants sponsored by employers for permanent residence, the large majority of those sponsored for green cards may be hired only where the employer seeks to recruit qualified U.S. workers in a process carefully monitored by the Labor Department and where the employer is unable to find those U.S. workers. Moreover, just as in the case of the temporary professionals, the recruitment must be at "the prevailing wage." In short, where qualified American workers apply for the job, the statute fully and properly protects those jobs for Americans at prevailing wage levels.

The writer is an immigration attorney in Washington.

Taking Exception

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL MONDAY, AUGUST 21, 1985

The Great Revival

By DAVID BROOKS

Cal Ripken has the best view of one of the more significant cultural events of the age.

The Baltimore Oriole shortstop is playing in his 2,116th consecutive game tonight, but even more impressive is Camden Yards, the stadium he plays in. Cities like Baltimore, Cleveland, Chicago and Arlington, Texas, are building baseball parks that look like the grounds of 70 years ago and everybody adores them. Meanwhile, everybody hates the stadiums they used to love, the futuristic megaliths of the 1960s and '70s, such as the Houston Astrodome and Philadelphia's Veterans' Stadium. Watching Mr. Ripken chase Lou Gehrig's consecutive-game record, in throwback park Camden Yards, one gets the feeling that we may be entering one of those periods of historic revivalism, when people move forward by recovering the past.

Revivals happen periodically—the Italian Renaissance and the American founding in 1776 were two of the grander revivalist moments—and now the whirl of revivalism is all around. In economics, the neoclassical school inspired by Adam Smith sets the tone after decades of neglect. In poetry, a formalist school is thriving, lurching back some of the older styles after decades of free-form. And in politics, people on all sides talk about restoring civic institutions and community spirit, a project that leads inevitably back to the ancient Greeks.

The Neoclassicists

Architects were rediscovering sources as far back as the mid-1970s, and some have decided that the past is passé, and have thrown away classical references as if they were last year's neckties. But there is a thriving school of architecture, the neoclassicists, whose members are most advanced in their attachment to the past. They met in Chicago last month to gauge their progress.

"We are in a state of all-out war," the movement's godfather, Leon Krier, declared. For while the neoclassicists feel the winds of history (and public support) behind them, they are scorned by the architectural establishment. Feeling embattled at home, they seemed to treasure each other's company at their Chicago conference. Mr. Krier was given a standing ovation before he spoke. Belgian architect Maurice Choiot was given sustained applause before his talk, and had to pause for several minutes because he was crying.

Those enemies include the modernists, who built the giant steel and glass towers, the massive public housing projects and the enormous plazas that created what Norman Moller famously labeled "empty land-

scapes of psychosis." But the neoclassicists are also against the more contemporary post-modernists and deconstructionists, who borrow classical forms and add them to their glass and marble towers, corporate parks and other projects—a fake pediment here, a column there. The neoclassicists regard this as kitsch, which pillers indiscriminately from the past, as if it were a toy box, without transmitting any real and universal values.

The neoclassicists believe that the builders of the past created an architectural vocabulary, tested over the centuries, that reflects something universal in

nonetheless to precisely define a distinctive neoclassicist style. What is important is the way they defer to historical authority. And this is the link between them and revivalist movements in other spheres.

Revivalists put a lot of emphasis on historical continuity and on the slow accretion of knowledge. "Tradition is the bridge between the ideals of the past and the needs of the present," said Robert Adam, one of the speakers at the conference. Modernists, on the other hand, regard the past as a burden, not a touchstone. The power of modernism lies in the "desire to wipe out whatever came earlier," to achieve "a



House in Chestnut Villas, London, 1983

radically new departure," wrote Paul De Man, who was a leading American deconstructionist.

Around World War I, many intellectuals and artists came to the conclusion that they had the power to rip away the confining past and bend history according to their plans. So Lenin tore up the Russian past to create a communist utopia. Artists and writers discarded convention and began their work with a clean slate.

For many architects, the emphasis was on rational

planning and sweeping away confusing old idiosyncracies. "Is a reasonable urban development thinkable when each inhabitant lives in his own home with garden? I don't think so," said Walter Gropius in 1930. Le Corbusier, one of the most influential urban planners of the century, decided that streets should be cleared so they could be factories for traffic. "Cafes and places of recreation will no longer be a fungus that eats up the pavements of Paris," he wrote. And if you look at the big developments in American cities—with oversized plazas and big highways through city centers—you can see his influence. "There are people who like things as they are. I can't hold out any hope for them. They have to keep moving further away," said Robert Moses, New York's master builder.

Since modernism, artists and some architects have assigned themselves places in the permanent avant-garde, whose job it is to perpetually tear down what came before, and to shock the reactionary middle classes.

Modernists thought they could understand and direct history. In much milder form, but in keeping with the spirit of the age, many macroeconomists in the 1980s thought they knew how to fine-tune an economy. The modernist architects thought they could liberate human nature with concrete. These projects were doubtless exhilarating to design, not so great to live in.

Few have that sort of self-confidence anymore. But the various post-modernists, who came next, did not try to tap back into historical authority. Instead they decided that there was no authority since little could actually be known, and no truths were fixed. In 1965, Philip Johnson, who went on to design the AT&T building in New York, was probably just trying to sound with-it when he announced that morality was a sham: "It's feudal and fuller. I think it is much better to be nihilistic and forget about it all. I mean, I know I'm attacked by my moral friends, but really, don't they shake themselves up over nothing?" For many of today's leading academics, the meaning of a building or a set of standards shifts from one moment to the next.

Reborn Again

Well, nothing looks so dated as yesterday's vision of the future. Modernism and post-modernism can seem irrelevant fast. The movements produced a few geniuses, but their genius died with them, while the classical style seems to get reborn every century or so. And this may be one of those times. Or if it is not a neoclassical age, then perhaps it will be at least some sort of historicist one.

In global events, many have noticed that history seems to be unfolding, after a century of frozen animation to sometimes with awful results, as in Bosnia. Our international politics is beginning to resemble the politics of the neomodernist period. That is to say, it is no longer about utopianism (leftist or socialist) or about apocalypse; instead it's just one damn thing after another.

A revivalist period would end a century that had more than its share of failure, when people thought they could liberate society through revolution (à la Lenin), understand human nature through science (as some psychiatrists and sociologists did). The present wouldn't appear as some sort of unprecedented crisis, or as meaningless, and the future wouldn't offer utopia. Rather, we'd just play on, trying to learn from our predecessors and to surpass them—the way Carl Ripken does.

Mr. Brooks is senior editor at The Standard, a political magazine that is to begin publication in September.

68/8 Baer
futercentury

Fax Networks Link Outposts of Anger

Discontented Citizens Find Their Voice

A1

By Dale Russakoff
Washington Post Staff Writer

Barely two years ago, Linda Liotta was a former PTA president and an artist who worked alone in her spacious house in Potomac, and worried privately that something was deeply awry in America. Then she entered the electronic universe of fax networks, and discovered she was not alone at all.

Today Liotta's art studio is one of thousands of outposts of a new grass-roots political movement, a union of technology and fear whose potency has begun to alarm established politicians. It has no name, no headquarters and no official leaders or spokesmen. What it has is members—millions, according to groups monitoring it—linked by fax machines and united by a radical distrust of government borne of wide-ranging grievances about American society.

Increasingly, they are making common cause out of what appears to be little common ground, building mushrooming fax and computer networks of angry taxpayers, property rights groups, states' rights groups, gun owners, home schoolers, right-to-lifers, John Birchers and Christian patriots. While it echoes the militia movement—charting conspiracies from Waco to the United Nations—the new movement is far more mainstream and middle class.

"This is as yet an unorganized, unfocused group," said Grover Norquist, who is an ally of House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.) and heads Americans for Tax Reform, a conservative grass-roots coalition that at times overlaps with the new movement. "If somebody could focus their unhappiness, it could become very powerful."

Many men and women in the movement said they started as believers in some political leader—particularly 1992 independent presidential candidate Ross Perot—and then "moved beyond him." "Beyond" is a defining concept for this movement. Those interviewed used the word re-

See MOVEMENT, A22, Col. 1

MOVEMENT, From A1

peatedly. They have moved "beyond" newspapers and television news, "beyond Perot," "beyond Gingrich," "beyond Reagan," even "beyond Rush."

"I was never involved in politics until 1992, when I worked for Perot and discovered I had a voice," said Helen Mawn of Manhattan, a retired airline employee involved in an effort to unite more than 2,500 separate fax networks behind a far-right effort to field a new independent presidential candidate. "A great many of us have gone beyond Perot since then. But I'll be eternally grateful to Perot for waking us up and making us smell the garbage."

"This is not a top-down movement," said Chip Berlet, who studies it for Political Research Associates in Cambridge, Mass. "People have set up horizontally connected, low-level networks from the bottom up."

To activists in the various networks, their biggest trophy so far is the so-called Conference of the States. Championed by the nation's governors and legislative leaders, blessed by Gingrich, it was billed as a high-level forum for reasserting states' rights. But Liotta and her compatriots feared it was a plot to rewrite the Constitution, weaken states and maybe even install global government.

They faxed alerts to thousands of sympathizers, who faxed them to thousands more, enlisting radio talk show hosts in dozens of states, until one state capitol after another bulged with opponents. Earlier this summer the governors threw in the towel.

"We didn't take it seriously at first," said Levarr Webb, an aide to Utah Gov. Mike Leavitt (R), head of the Republican Governors' Association and chairman of the proposed conference. "We said: 'What's this? A bunch of right-wing wackos? We have the governors, the state legislatures, all the leaders. These people are way off in never-never land.'"

Early reports blamed militias (the Wall Street Journal) and "far-right extremists" (the New York Times) for defeating the conference. But calls to people listed on anti-conference faxes sent to several state legislatures turned up a much more mainstream coalition of small business owners, insurance agents, airline employees, engineers and stay-at-home mothers.

The media labeled us as militias and that was grossly unfair, completely inaccurate, an effort to discredit us by making us look like insane people," said Liotta. "I live in Potomac, Maryland. You won't find militias in Potomac, Maryland. My neighborhood is probably 80 percent Jewish, so you won't find many white supremacists here either."

Liotta, 46, a mother of two who is married to a federal scientist and who voted for Bill Clinton in 1992, said she now believes powerful forces on the right and left—including Clinton, Gingrich, Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), major American corporations, the media and the United Nations—are working to collapse the United States into a global government.

To me, that's the only explanation that seems to solve the confusion," she said. "The global socialists want the U.N. to have all the power, and

the global capitalists want the multinational corporations to have it, and in the meantime my kids can't get jobs and my friends' kids can't get jobs and the standard of living is going down for Americans and I'm angry about it."

The movement, whose members often call themselves "patriots," appears to be growing rapidly. A national fax network founded by Detroit-area sales representative Karen Mazzarella to fight Clinton's 1993 tax package mushroomed during the health care debate and tripled to more than 100,000 people while fighting the Conference of the States.

The movement is closely allied with talk radio. Liotta has been a guest on a Baltimore show hosted by Alan Keyes, a GOP presidential hopeful. Mazzarella, whose network is called Speak Out America, has been on the "Mike Reagan Show" in California, hosted by the former president's son. She phoned nightly bulletins to Reagan during the Conference of the States fight, and he told listeners which legislators to call or write, state by state. "Every time he gave out our number, we got 100 calls a day," she said.

Two Republicans viewed as renegades by party leaders have worked hard to marshal the networks into a movement. One is Evan Mecham, the impeached former Arizona governor whose defenders say he was ousted by forces behind Arizona's Martin Luther King Jr. paid holiday, which he rescinded. He chairs the Constitutionists' Networking Center (CNC), made up of more than 2,500 smaller networks, which aims to draft a 1996 presidential candidate. At a CNC conference last year, the Confederacy was extolled as the ultimate symbol of states' rights.

Another prime mover is Colorado state Sen. Charles Duke (R), founder of the Tenth Amendment Movement, who has a national network of 2,000 "patriot" groups and says states should dissolve the current Congress

PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/7/94
Grooming sub
contact with
try to commit her
back - Reed's
We are moving
where has
any from let

112

2/2

as treasonous unless it radically retracts Washington's regulatory reach.

"We don't see any difference between Bill Clinton, Bob Dole and Newt Gingrich," said Duke, himself a Republican, but a rogue in the eyes of party leaders. "Anybody with entrenched power is suspect."

Within the "constitutionalist" cloak are familiar segments of the growing far right: armed militias, white supremacists and purveyors of antisemitism. But as the Conference of the States fight revealed, the movement's ranks are thick with people like Liotta, educated, metropolitan and nonviolent. Many are "angry white males," but there are also "angry white mothers" who, like Liotta, voice fear for their children's economic futures. Calls to more than two dozen members of fax networks turned up no minorities, only whites. Keyes, who has had Liotta on his radio talk show, is black.

Besides defeating the conference, the movement coalesced to help vote Democrats out of power last November, to oppose the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (they called GATT a step toward global government) and most recently to fight the Clinton administration's new anti-terrorism legislative package as a breach of constitutional protections against unreasonable searches. While in ways ultraconservative, its members have allied with the labor movement at times on global trade and now side with the American Civil Liberties Union on anti-terrorism bills. Though many movement sympathizers supported the GOP in 1994, they show no sign of making a permanent home there.

American University historian Michael Kazin sees the unrest as a populist outcry from people bruised by three decades of social and economic upheaval.

"Beginning in the 1960s, America lost a war, the racial order was upset, the gender order was upset, you saw the rise of foreign industrial competi-

tion, deindustrialization at home, falling family incomes," he said. "When things are getting worse people seek explanations."

"We've lived with this incredible tension and anger in the society as if it wasn't there," said Beglet. "It's like pretending the dead elephant in the living room isn't a problem. People who used to put pot roast on the table every night are now eating meat loaf and they know the difference."

The story of how this discontent came to focus on the Conference of the States, about which most Americans knew little and cared less, provides a window onto the workings of the evolving movement.

Like many conference opponents, Liotta joined the fight after immersion in other causes. Her sometime art studio is now overtaken by stacks of faxes from across America. Where once there was an easel, a table is piled high with documents. Somewhere down the hall, a television is tuned perpetually to C-SPAN.

A registered independent, she said that in 1992 she was fearful about the recession and embraced Clinton's common man touch and call for a new prosperity. But she viewed his health care plan a year later as coercive and socialistic. After watching a spokesman for the American Conservative Union on C-SPAN discuss a national grass-roots coalition to fight the plan, she called to volunteer.

The ACU told her of Mazzarella, whose network turned from fighting the Clinton tax plan to fighting the health plan. Liotta joined that network, then set up her own, Americans for America, which she said has cost about \$15,000 from her own pocket. The ACU presented her with an award for helping to kill the health care bill by doing research in the archives of Hillary Rodham Clinton's task force and arranging a forum to publicize opposing views.

Some of Liotta's research has traveled widely on fax networks; for example, a letter she found in the task

force archives from a Justice Department lawyer explaining how to "avoid the Tenth Amendment limitation" on federal power over the states. The letter said the government instead could put conditions on federal funds or move to preempt state authority, as in the Clean Air Act.

People throughout the networks now cite Liotta's health care document as proof that the federal government subverts the Tenth Amendment to impose environmental policy, education policy, civil rights policy and more.

"When you send someone a fax, you don't know where it will end up exactly," Liotta said. "They'll send it to someone and that person will send it to someone else and all of a sudden you get a call from somebody all the way across the country and you don't even know who that person is. People put it on the Internet, on talk radio. You could be reaching millions."

She and others said they expect their movement ultimately to rely on computers, but for now many members have not graduated beyond fax technology.

After the health care fight, Liotta said, someone on the network plugged her into the unsuccessful fight against GATT. She was alarmed by the power Congress and Clinton were giving the World Trade Organization, she said, and became as wary of Gingrich and Dole for supporting GATT as she was of Clinton.

"I really didn't see the global picture until GATT," she said. "Then the U.N.-watchers threw their information into the network." Not only was Washington dictating to the states, she said, but the United Nations was also dictating to America.

After GATT, she joined a network fighting stiff federal auto emissions standards as violations of states' rights. This led her to Duke and his Tenth Amendment Movement. He is pushing a resolution, endorsed so far by 15 states, ordering the federal government to "cease and desist, effective immediately, mandates that are beyond the scope of its constitutionally delegated powers."

Shortly after the November elections, Utah Gov. Leavitt and Nebraska Gov. Ben Nelson (D), both conservatives, began championing the Conference of the States. They wanted a high-powered conference, authorized by resolutions in each state legislature, to agree on ways to reclaim power from Washington. They said the centralized, bureaucratic federal government was "outdated" in the "high-tech global marketplace," and hinted that if Washington failed to respond, a constitutional convention might be a last resort.

Although the governors' goals sounded similar to the Tenth Amendment Movement's, the "Constitutionalist" fax networks went on red alert. "When we hear language like 'global marketplace,' most of us in this movement, the hair rises on our necks," said Duke, calling it a code phrase for global government.

The mere mention of a constitutional convention, and the formal resolutions of support introduced in each state legislature, alarmed "constitutionalists." Unlike the conservative establishment, they view a constitutional convention as an invitation to mis-

chief, even if its purpose is to rein in the government.

"I would wake up in the morning and find the floor literally carpeted with faxes about the Conference of the States," said Liotta, who was working the fax network herself, calling talk radio hosts and lobbying her legislature.

She discovered from documents obtained through her network that the Council of State Governments, a sponsor of the conference, received donations from scores of multinational companies. "We just don't like the idea that big organizations, funded globally, can dictate the agenda in our states," she said.

Duke said he had never seen the fax networks collaborate so widely. Home schoolers, the religious right, gun owners, property rights activists, U.N.-watchers, GATT and environmental regulation opponents, Perot supporters and Tenth Amendment Movement activists all coalesced. Duke said that by sending eight faxes at night, he could reach 100,000 people by morning, and a million by the next day.

Meanwhile, Phyllis Schlafly's Eagle Forum, whose formidable grass-roots network helped blocked the Equal Rights Amendment in the 1980s, and the John Birch Society also turned their guns on the conference. Schlafly said she saw no global plot, but opposes any move that smells of a constitutional convention.

The AFL-CIO, viewing the anti-Washington tenor of the proposed conference as a threat to workplace protections, jumped in too. "At first we wondered whether this could be stopped," the federation's Mike Gildea said. "Then the right came on strong and they could get the people we couldn't touch."

"Anyone with patriots in their district had to stop and say, 'Do I need to take this risk?'" said Colorado state Sen. Ray Powers (R). "I don't think they had any strong conviction that Charlie [Duke] was right, but just a sense that it wasn't worth it."

Only 14 states ended up passing the resolutions. The National Governors' Association and the National Conference of State Legislatures since have scrapped the planned conference in favor of a "federalism summit" in Cincinnati in October. This time, no legislatures are being asked to approve it.

Meanwhile, the grass-roots networks have converged on the anti-terrorism legislation, papering Congress with warnings against giving the government too much police power. Conservative Republicans who recently blocked the administration's bill in the House used the same argument.

Liotta too is working mostly on anti-terrorism, but remains watchful of the governors and the unfolding stories of Whitewater, Waco and Oklahoma City. Standing in her doorway in Potomac after a long conversation with a reporter, she said again that it was laughable that anyone would characterize her and her compatriots as part of the militia movement. "The militia is very small and extreme," she said. "It's middle America where it's happening."

Special correspondent Leslie Jorgensen in Colorado Springs contributed to this report.

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Newspapers, Direct-Mail Firms Blast Postal Service's New Plan for Fliers

By ASHA Q. NOMANI

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Newspapers and direct-mail service providers blasted a U.S. Postal Service plan to mail fliers and other so-called junk mail without requiring names or addresses, charging the scheme would steal business from them.

Businesses would pay the Postal Service to blanket an area, skirting the often pricey costs of buying mailing lists and commercial mail services. The Postal Service is targeting its new local bulk-mail service to small businesses including mom-and-pop operations run by immigrants.

It even gave the service a feel-good name: Neighborhood Mail.

"We're going after pizza businesses, dry cleaners, florists, hardware stores, the neighborhood businesses that are in every community," said Julie Reis, a Postal Service marketing specialist working on the plan. "What we did was get rid of the hoops" for their direct-mail efforts.

Inexpensive Advertisement

Zachary Financial Inc., a consumer loan business in Zachary, La., will choose the Postal Service program because it's an inexpensive way to advertise. "I'm not IBM," said Gary V. Day, president of Zachary Financial. "I couldn't afford TV or radio. I don't really like newspapers. I like this because you've got it right in your hand."

But some in the direct-mail industry say they feel anything but good about the development. For one thing, they charge it could devastate "letter shops," which build their businesses on compiling mailing lists with names and addresses the Postal Service currently requires on mass mailings.

Letter shops, which often don't provide detailed demographic information, include companies such as Advo Inc., which sends postcard mailers with the pictures of missing children on them; Mailmen Inc.; Mid-America Mailers Inc. and Leo DataMail Services.

"This would put them out of business," said Gene Del Polito, president of the American Mail Marketing Association. "These companies have gone through great pains and expense to get these complete lists. The investment they've made would go totally down the drain."

The Direct Marketing Association estimates that advertisers doled out \$29.3 billion into direct mail last year in the U.S., almost 20% of total ad spending.

Lower Volume

Under the plan, which was first reported in Friday's Washington Post, small businesses could fan as few as 200 advertising circulars in a neighborhood for about 11.7 cents a piece. Right now, businesses have to mail out a lot more in volume to get the low third-class rates. Companies could bring advertising circulars to a local post office for delivery at every stop on a letter carrier's route.

This would be quite a plunge into the advertising business for the postal office. It's put together a brochure laying out tips on preparing advertising mail, and is going to offer census-type data about various neighborhoods for a fee of \$30 to \$50.

The one-year test plan, which is supposed to start next month in Rochester, N.Y., New Orleans and Baton Rouge, La., and Sacramento, Calif., also immediately raised the ire of newspaper companies that see the mailing as a direct threat to their advertising space.

"This is another step in the misguided business plan they've adopted to pretend that they're a private business rather than a government agency with a public service mandate," said Larry Graves, director of public policy at the National Newspaper Association.

The Postal Service is betting its service will have an edge because it would put advertisements literally in the hands of consumers. "The newspaper goes on the lawn or the porch, and this goes into the mailbox," said Mr. Graves. "It's unfair competition from a monopoly."

There's a branch of the direct-mail industry that isn't expected to be affected: the list compilers that churn out specific demographic breakdowns of target audiences, such as middle-class, Chrysler car owners with American Express cards. That would include big companies such as Metromail Corp., TRW Inc.'s TRW Marketing Services; Dun & Bradstreet Corp.'s Dun & Bradstreet Information Services unit and R.R. Donnelley & Sons Co. For certain advertisers, the new Postal Service plan offers too wide of a demographic sweep.

Controversy Is Brewing Over the Effects Of Chemicals That Are Replacing CFCs

By AMAL KUMAR NAIJ

A controversy is brewing over the potential environmental effects of the chemicals that are replacing the ozone-damaging CFCs in refrigerators and air conditioners.

In the past few years, companies have introduced a new class of chemicals that replace chlorofluorocarbons, or CFCs, that are blamed for destroying the Earth's ozone layer. The ozone layer protects the Earth from the sun's cancer-causing ultraviolet rays. Under an international agreement, all CFC production is scheduled to end this year.

The CFC replacements, however, may produce a problem of their own, according to researchers from Atmospheric and Environmental Research Inc., a private research company in Cambridge, Mass. When the replacement chemicals break down in the atmosphere they produce a byproduct called trifluoroacetate, or TFA. The byproduct TFA, an inert chemical carried to the Earth by rain, has been found to inhibit plant growth in certain concentrations.

Toxic Concentration

In a report in a recent issue of the journal Nature the scientists said their analyses indicated that over the next few decades TFA could accumulate in stagnant bodies of water to levels of 100 micrograms per liter. One microgram is a millionth of a gram. At that concentration, the researchers said, citing experiments done by others, TFA has been shown toxic to one type of algae and probably another out of seven that were tested.

Some companies that manufacture CFC substitutes said it was unlikely that the byproduct will reach that level of concentration. Tony Vogelsberg, the environmental manager of fluorochlorochemicals at DuPont Co., said the researchers' conclusions were based on "worst-case scenarios."

"We see no near-term risk of using any of the alternatives. Even if the speculation in the Nature paper has some validity, the concern seems to be several decades away. Our prime objective is to get away from CFCs," he said.

Tracey Tromp, one of the researchers of the study, said, "We don't believe our study is a worst-case scenario; it's belittling our work." Citing that it took more than two decades to take any action on CFCs since the chemical's effect on ozone was first investigated, she said, "Our concern is that we know almost nothing about the alternatives." The research was funded by an industry group.

Inhibit Plant Growth

She cited studies that have found that a concentration of 1,000 micrograms of TFA can inhibit the growth of corn and wheat plants. She said plants accumulate and store the chemical. "We don't know yet what's the probability of concentration reaching 1,000 micrograms, but if 100 is the threshold it wouldn't be very difficult to reach that," said Ms. Tromp.

She said her research team's mathematical analyses suggest that in wetlands and closed basins water evaporation can lead to TFA accumulation of 100 micrograms per liter in less than 50 years. She said concentration could reach substantial higher at locations near urban areas, where a large number of air conditioners and refrigerators are in use.

But George Rusch, a scientist at Allied-Signal Inc., another manufacturer of CFC substitutes, said the source of TFA in today's environment "is uncertain." He said the amounts present are much higher than can be expected from the emissions of CFC alternatives so far.

Ms. Tromp said if a TFA concentration at 100 is toxic to microorganisms the byproduct should be a cause of concern. She acknowledged that the algae test included was a small sample of hundreds of thousands of algae exist in nature. She said that it's nevertheless an important indication of the toxicity of the chemical on algae, and calls for further investigation. "Those tiny things are at the base of the food chain," she said.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/7/95
TO UCA
TO WHARF
TO THE G. NATION
BE

Erstein
Sumner N. N.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9/7/95

September 28, 1995

TO: Bruce Lindsey
FROM: Bob Nelson
SUBJECT: Business Items

From the sound of it, tomorrow night's dinner will be terrific and is sincerely appreciated.

This may not be a great chance for me to talk shop with the President. If possible, however, here is what I would like input from him on either tomorrow night or if I can see him in Washington for a few minutes in mid-September or at his pleasure:

1. "Ask what you can do for your country" I am prepared to volunteer half of my time to the Administration or the campaign or both if I can be truly useful. As a refresher, my resume is attached. Whether attached to the White House or to one of your consultants (Morris?), my time is free, with no conflicts of interest.
2. What should I do about my political party registration? I have stayed a Republican in case it would be useful for the President. If it is not really important for me to stay a Republican I would prefer to register independent, as I judge there to be no philosophical bridge remaining; or, if useful to the President, I'll become a (Clinton) Democrat.
3. The PAN political party of Mexico wants to meet with the President. I don't know why they are coming through me. I've attached some details, facts and ruminations to this memo. Should I extricate myself from this, or just let silence be an answer?
4. Is it possible for the Competitiveness Policy Council (CPC) to present the President with our annual report on September 14? We are having a lunch with some Congressional leaders that day. The vast majority of our report is right on track with Putting People First and nothing is obnoxious to the President's ideals. Regarding the CPC, I am really out of place there as it is mostly economists. May I seek a transfer to some PA appointment that is more substantive and an area where perhaps I can contribute more?

I can be reached at 1(800)SKYPAGE, pin 5012889. Thanks.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. resume	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	09/00/1995	b(6)

COLLECTION:

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

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files September 3-9, 1995 [1]

2019-0774-S

rs3294

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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.

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]

Robert E. (Bob) Nelson

Post Office Box 436

Driggs, Idaho 83422

(208) 354-8452 Fax: (208) 354-2339

SS#

(b)(6)

Current: Presidential Appointee, **U.S. Competitiveness Policy Council**

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, **Nelson Communications Group**. 76 employees. Annual revenues \$8 million. Offices in Sacramento, San Diego, Irvine, Phoenix, Washington, D.C. Public relations, public affairs, advertising, political consulting.

Boards of Directors: Young Presidents Organization (YPO) California Coast Chapter; Teton Valley Health Foundation; International Association of Political Consultants.

Volunteer Political Activities:

Founder, National Director and Co-Chair, **Republicans for Clinton/Gore**. Created and launched organization and traveled to 17 states promoting cross-over votes for Clinton/Gore ticket. Featured on CBS and ABC network news coverage; radio, television, print coverage. *References:* Mickey Kantor, Marsha Scott, Paul Sullivan, Jeff Eller, Dee Dee Myers.

Deputy Assistant Director, Public Outreach, **Presidential Transition Team**. Little Rock. Worked for Betsey Wright, David Wilhelm, Eli Segal. Transitional duties related to Clinton Republicans, admirals and generals, fundraising for Transition Foundation. *References:* Betsey Wright, David Wilhelm, Eli Segal.

Interim Chief of Staff and Transition Chairman (1991), **U.S. Senator John Seymour (R-Calif.)**. Organized initial government staff and campaign organization.

Professional Political/Public Relations Activities: Campaign strategist, lead advertising consultant and general manager of dozens of political campaigns including:

YEAR	CAMPAIGN	LOCATION	BUDGET	RESULT
1994	Yes on Gaming/Lottery	New Mexico	\$<1 million	Win
1993	No on School Vouchers	California	\$15 million	Win
1990	No on Alcohol Taxes	California	\$23 million	Win
1985	Yes on Freeway Taxes	Phoenix	\$ 2 million	Win
1985	No on Offshore Oil	Santa Barbara	\$1+ million	Win
1982	No on Bottle Bill	California	\$ 6 million	Win
1980	No on Smoking Sctns	California	\$ 3 million	Win

Consulted on political or public relations issues in: New Hampshire, New Jersey, Louisiana, Ohio, Missouri, Illinois, Wyoming, Alaska, Nevada, Arizona, California.

Current Agency Clients (no lobbying): American Medical Response, Anheuser-Busch, Association of American Railroads, Associated General Contractors, California Teachers Association, HealthNet, Home Depot, Motorola, San Diego Gas and Electric, Tri-Valley Growers, Unocal.

Awards Emmy Award (Rocky Mtn. division) television advertising; three Telly Awards, political advertising; 3 Silver Mike Awards, political advertising; 15 Polly Awards (American Association of Political Consulting) for television, radio, direct mail, print advertising.



Megan is not dying from AIDS.
SHE PREVIOUSLY HAS BEEN
SHE IS Living with AIDS...

9/7/95

Allan "Jay" Fox, IV N5LKJ
Megan A. Fox KB5WBX

507 Railroad Ave.
St. Michaels, MD 21663
(410) 745-5731

6510 Emerald St.
Austin, TX 78745
(512) 443-2205

CP
MUTUALITY
12/18/95

9-6-95

Laura Tyson /

Gene Sperling

President Clinton thought
you might be interested
in the attached book.

Barrie

Book given to Laura Tyson.

MYTH
AND
MEASUREMENT

**THE
NEW ECONOMICS
OF THE
MINIMUM WAGE**

DAVID CARD
ALAN B. KRUEGER

To: Shelley Fidler

Shelley —
Are we OK
on this? Pls.
let me know ASAP.
— Rod

DRAFT**DRAFT**

Dear Representative Farr:

Thank you for writing to urge that I sign an Executive Order providing for a permanent ban on oil and gas activities in Federal waters off the coast of California.

As you know, the development of energy resources in coastal waters has been a contentious issue for many years. Recently, an attempt was made during the appropriations process to remove these moratoria. While this effort was successful at the House Appropriations Subcommittee level, it subsequently failed during consideration by the full House Appropriations Committee. My Administration supported the efforts of those who wanted to maintain the moratoria.

While I do not endorse the outer continental shelf moratorium as a long-term means of resolving contentious issues, continuation of this status provides an opportunity to continue dialogue with the States and communities and to pursue creative solutions to resolve longstanding conflicts. At this time, given our increasing dependence upon imported oil, a complete ban on future oil and gas resource development off the California coast is not advisable, especially since we have been making progress in our discussions with the Tri-County Forum concerning future development activities in areas that are already under lease.

Thank you for your continued interest in preserving our environment. I look forward to working together in the future on this and other issues of importance to your constituents.

Sincerely,

The Honorable Sam Farr
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

you should get
NEC and CEQ
approval

John
Interv needs to
sign on letter in
DOE
Don

G:/Data/Farr.811

SAM FARR
11TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA

COMMITTEE ON AGRICULTURE
SUBCOMMITTEES:
ENVIRONMENT, OPERATIONS, NUTRITION,
AND FORTIFICATION AGRICULTURE
RISK MANAGEMENT AND SPECIALTY CROPS

COMMITTEE ON RESOURCES
SUBCOMMITTEES:
FISHING, WILDLIFE, AND OCEANS
WATER AND PLUMBER RESOURCES

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515-0987 P5:00

1117 LONGWORTH BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-0519
(202) 225-3581

DISTRICT OFFICES
380 ALVARADO STREET
MONTEREY, CA 93940
(408) 948-3836

100 WEST ALisal
SALINAS, CA 93901
(408) 434-2379

701 OCEAN STREET
ROOM 319
SANTA CRUZ, CA 95060
(408) 479-1975

June 19, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to request that you help the people of California's central coast by halting further offshore development off California.

I know that you strongly support the protection of California's coastline. This natural treasure is the backbone of a multi-billion dollar tourism industry and a robust commercial fishing economy. Unfortunately, the economic and environmental health of this coast has long been threatened by offshore oil development. During the 1980s, the Reagan Administration and the oil industry tried to open federal waters along the California coast to offshore oil development. Congress derailed those efforts by attaching a ban to each of the past fourteen Department of Interior spending bills. Now, that moratorium may not be renewed by Congress.

This threat to the offshore oil moratorium is just another manifestation of the broad assault on environmental protections in the current Congress. You have helped lead the resistance to this assault. You have vetoed rescissions legislation that would have opened the way for unchecked logging, threatened to veto dirty water legislation that seeks to roll back decades of clean water protections, and spoken out strongly against the wide range of efforts to kill crucial protections in the name of common sense reform.

I urge you to extend this leadership to coastal protection by issuing an executive order banning new federal offshore oil development along the California coast. With broad public support, the State of California recently enacted a permanent ban on all new offshore oil development out to the three mile state limit. This law grew out of the strong bipartisan recognition in California that the health of State's coast is too valuable to risk for the questionable gains of new offshore oil development. With the stroke of a pen, you can ensure that California's protection extends well beyond three miles to the State's entire outer continental shelf.

Thank you for your attention to this request.

Sincerely,


Sam Farr
Member of Congress

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Shelley Fidler

Fax Number: 456-2710

Phone Number: 456-6330

FROM: Phil Cople

SUBJECT:

DATE:

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet): 3

MESSAGE:

Shelley - is this letter OK with you? It's DOE
language. Could you let me know ASAP
Thanks

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

The document accompanying this facsimile transmittal sheet is intended only for the use of the individual or entity to whom it is addressed. This message contains information which may be privileged, confidential or exempt from disclosure under applicable law. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient, or the employee or agent responsible for delivering the message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any disclosure, dissemination, copying or distribution, or the taking of any action in reliance on the contents of this communication is strictly prohibited.

TRANSMIT CONFIRMATION REPORT

NO.	:	003	
RECEIVER	:	62710	
TRANSMITTER	:		
DATE	:	AUG 18'95	8:59
DURATION	:	01'44	
MODE	:	STD	
PAGES	:	03	
RESULT	:	OK	

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9.6.95

~~John Howard~~

Tony (Sandy) / Nancy

you might enjoy

This —————

BC

Book given to Tony take-

copy of note & cover of book

given to Sandy Berger & Nancy Soderberg

JOHN HANDS

HIS PREVIOUS NOVELS, *PERESTROIKA CHRISTI* AND *DARKNESS AT DAWN*, WERE AS CHILLINGLY PROPHETIC AS THEY WERE BRILLIANTLY WRITTEN



ANTITALASIES

THE GRIPPING STORY OF ONE MAN'S QUEST FOR A TERRORIST THAT BECOMES A QUEST FOR HIS SOUL

THE MOST POWERFUL NOVEL YOU'LL READ THIS YEAR!

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9.6.95

Boleor

- danger in court
to start with British
Division - just keep 2/35
from firing

Be

The Tax Code Heads Into the Operating Room

Long on Theory, Short on Proof, The Would-Be Surgeons Line Up

By PETER PASSELL

THE NEW YORK TIMES, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1993

FLAT tax, consumption tax, value-added tax, national sales tax, unlimited savings allowance tax: The jargon is largely new, but the underlying politics are familiar. Many Americans loathe the personal income tax, and influential lawmakers are beating the bushes for a winning replacement.

While President Clinton has yet to offer his own ideas on what may well be a central issue in the 1996 campaign, just about every other important politician in Washington is backing one of the several tax overhaul plans floating around today.

These plans, Republican and Democratic alike, share a political imperative: They seek to soothe taxpayer anger by promising to make the tax code both simpler and fairer. But while the leading Democratic plan, sponsored by the House minority leader, Dick Gephardt, would retain the familiar income tax while seeking to simplify it, the three main Republican proposals would go much further, either eliminating the income tax altogether or utterly changing the way the Government collects money from its citizens. And as with most everything in Congress these days, it is the Republicans who are driving the debate.

Though their plans are quite different,

they share a central premise: No longer would Americans be taxed on all that they earn—from work, savings or investments. Instead, they would be taxed only on what they spend, which tends to place a proportionally

greater burden on those least able to pay. Each plan's champion predicts lower interest rates and an economic windfall from encouraging Americans to invest more for the future and allowing them to keep more of the extra dollars they could earn by working harder and smarter.

The most visible of the new tax plans—and the one with the greatest political momentum behind it—is the flat tax, proposed by Representative Dick Armey of Texas, the House majority leader. The Government would tax salaries and benefits at a single low rate and eliminate all remaining itemized deductions, from mortgage interest to state and local taxes. Interest, dividends and capital gains would be tax free for individuals. After allowing for a generous personal exemption for each taxpayer, Mr. Armey contends that he could replace the current system with a single 20 percent rate, falling to 17 percent after two years. Others argue that the flat rate would have to be higher, at least 21 percent, and perhaps more.

A competing plan offered by Representative William Archer of Texas, the chair-

Continued on Page 6

Continued From Page 1

man of the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee and advocated by Senator Richard Lugar, the Indiana Republican who is also a presidential candidate, would replace the income tax completely with a national sales tax, which would probably have to add about 18 percent to the price of all goods and services to collect as much revenue as the current system.

Two Senate barons, Pete Domenici, the New Mexico Republican, and the Georgia Democrat Sam Nunn, are offering yet another alternative. The plan, known as the U.S.A. Tax, would keep the familiar progressively higher step-by-step income tax rates and retain popular deductions for mortgage interest and charitable contributions. But it would provide an unlimited exemption for all savings and add a new limited deduction for outlays on education.

This week, Senator Bob Dole, the leading Republican candidate for President, is expected to join the debate by endorsing the concept of a flat tax, although it is unclear whether he will support any specific plan.

"The general approach now is, 'Don't bother me with the details—we'll worry about that later,'" explained Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey, a Democrat who was a principal architect of the major 1986 rewrite of the tax code that sharply lowered rates and eliminated many preferences for special interest groups.

The Republicans' proposals, to be sure, would address the public's continuing call for a still-simpler tax system that would eliminate many economic distortions caused by special tax advantages. And that alone should save tens, perhaps hundreds, of billions of dollars now wasted on record-keeping, accountants and misdirected investments. Just as clearly, though, the plans would dramatically shuffle wealth and privilege in ways certain to delight some and infuriate others.

And those shifts raise troubling questions that many advocates of a thorough tax overhaul skate over lightly:

• Is it possible to reconcile the effort to boost growth and investment—which inevitably would provide greater direct benefits to those affluent enough to save substantial sums—with the public demand for fair treatment?

• Would eliminating the deductions for mortgage interest and property taxes—currently worth more than a \$80 billion a year to homeowners—send the economy reeling into a recession? By one widely circulated estimate, that move alone would wipe out as much as \$1.7 trillion in home equity by depressing real estate values on average by 15 percent.

• What would be the impact on consumer spending—which accounts for more than three-fifths of overall economic activity—of shifting to a tax system designed to promote savings at the expense of current consumption?

• How would charities, state and local governments, and a host of other entities that have come to depend on tax incentives respond to the loss of those provisions?

• And what would investors do once they could sell their stocks without worrying about capital gains and tax-free municipal bonds would no longer enjoy any tax advantage over Treasury bonds?

None of these questions is easy to answer. Even after decades of experience, there is no consensus among experts about the impact of the current tax system. And that makes sorting out the claims and counterclaims of the various proposals all that much harder.

Continued on Next Page

Continued From Preceding Page

"If you don't know where you've been," says Joel Slemrod, director of the office of policy research at the University of Michigan, "it's hard to figure where you're going."

What follows is a rundown on the three most prominent alternatives to the income tax, each of which has friends in Washington and admirers among economists. None of the proposals is likely to be enacted without substantial modification and nothing is likely to happen until after next year's Presidential election.

Flat Tax

Narrowly defined, this is simply a tax with a single bracket. But since the approach was outlined more than a decade ago by Robert Hall and Alvin Rabushka, economists at the Hoover Institution in Palo Alto, Calif., it has come to mean much more.

Under the plan sponsored by Mr. Armey, all taxes on labor income would be collected from individuals and all taxes on investment income would be paid by businesses. To many economists, the clean division of taxes between individuals and businesses is one of the plan's great virtues. To those who worry more about broad issues of tax equity, though, it is one of its greatest flaws.

The personal income tax would be transformed into a wage tax with absolutely no deductions. Mr. Armey proposed a 17 percent rate, although it is questionable whether that would generate as much revenue as he claims. Roger Brinner, the executive director of DRI/McGraw Hill, an economic forecasting group, estimates that a 21 percent rate would be needed to replace the revenues from the current system. The Treasury says the rate might at least temporarily have to be as high as 24 percent.

Not all wages would be taxed. The latest version of the Armey plan calls for a generous untaxed "family allowance," so that a family of four would have to earn at least \$31,400 in 1996 to owe any tax at all.

Taxpayers would not keep track of mortgage interest, state and local taxes, charity, medical expenditures or retirement accounts because the deductions would be eliminated. "Hundreds of thousands of pages of tax law, rules, guidelines, and decisions could be ripped up and thrown away," states Raymond Keating, chief economist of the Small Business Survival Foundation.

This would be no small feat. Mr. Slemrod estimates that it now costs 10 cents to collect a dollar through the income tax, a waste of tens of billions of dollars in taxpayers' time and outlays for enforcement.

But any such wholesale elimination of tax deductions would generate powerful political opposition. Costly medical expenses that are uninsured would no longer be deductible. Wealthy philanthropists would no longer see their generosity rewarded. And local politicians would scream about the elimination of the deduction for state and local

1/2

2/2

taxes, which would only add insult to injury to the loss they would suffer from no longer enjoying a tax-free borrowing advantage over Federal Government bonds.

Most important in political terms, the flat tax would almost inevitably cut the value of existing houses, so that its effects would spread far beyond the 30 million homeowners who currently claim the mortgage deduction. DRI/McGraw-Hill, which did research commissioned by the National Association of Realtors, estimated that average home values would drop 12 to 15 percent, even assuming that mortgage interest rates decline by 2 percentage points due to the broader economic effects of the tax change. The plunge would be much steeper if interest rates do not fall as much as predicted.

Advocates of the flat tax maintain that is an exaggeration. And Mr. Arment contends that the long run economic gains from his plan should outweigh any initial decline. "The American dream is not just about owning a home," Mr. Arment said. "It's about getting your kids out of it."

But getting that point across to a vast homeownership middle class would not be easy.

That's one reason Senator Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania, another Republican Presidential campaigner, has proposed to retain at least a partial deduction for mortgages (only the interest on the first \$100,000 would be deductible) and allow for charitable contributions up to \$2,500. But those tokens may do little to defuse opposition from real estate agents and charities, while at least partially undermining the appealing simplicity at the heart of Mr. Arment's plan.

National Sales Tax

All Americans understand that a trip to the store usually requires a little to the state at the checkout counter. Senator Lugar, as a key element of his Presidential campaign, hopes to exploit that familiarity by dropping the income tax in favor of a national sales tax. And although he has yet to put a formal plan on the table, Senator Lugar has a powerful ally in Mr. Archer, whose committee must originate all tax legislation and who says "the time has come to tear the income tax out by its roots."

The closest thing to a fleshed-out plan comes from Stephen Moore, an economist at the libertarian Cato Institute. He proposes an 18 percent tax on retail sales of all goods and services. To avoid double taxation, purchases by businesses would be exempt — much as they are today in the states.

To Mr. Moore, the biggest appeal of such an approach is that it would seem to put a stake through the heart of the government agency most Americans cannot escape: the I.R.S. The politics of tax reform is "driven by the civil liberties issue," he said. "Americans want Government out of their lives."

The I.R.S. would be abolished; states would be compensated for collecting the Federal sales tax on top of their own. To help compensate for the fact that sales taxes represent a disproportionate burden on the poor, every American would get an annual \$900 check — equivalent to an exemption for \$5,000 of personal expenditures.

The impact of such a sales tax on all consumer goods and services would be almost identical to that of an integrated wage and business flat tax. And all consumption choices — everything from purchases of food to the services of divorce lawyers — would be treated identically.

A sales tax would shift the tax burden from the rich to the middle class, since affluent people save a much larger portion of their earnings. But Lawrence Kotlikoff, an economist at Boston University, explains that, at least initially, a new tax on consumption would constitute a big, one-time hit on accumulated wealth.

An easy way to think of it, he suggests, is in terms of purchasing power. An 18 percent sales tax would raise the prices of all final goods and services by 18 percent, and thus

reduce the value of accumulated savings when they are spent by 18 percent.

One big catch to any universal sales tax is the practical problem of collecting the money. Imagine a department store selling sweaters for \$20, plus 18 percent Federal tax plus 10 percent state and local tax. Then imagine the street peddler outside selling the same sweater without the 28 percent tax. "There is no way you can run a sales tax at that level without draconian enforcement," predicts Mr. Slemrod.

He suggests the obvious fix: a "value added tax" that collects revenue from every transaction in the purchasing chain from seed corn to corn flakes. But the V.A.T., while universally adopted in Europe and rolled upon by nearly every advanced industrial state outside the United States, has never enjoyed political support here.

Other pitfalls could doom the sales tax or its value-added variant. It would be difficult to extend sales taxes to traditionally exempt areas such as rent, groceries and medical care. And the sales tax could be pecked to death with small exceptions: Would Congress be willing to tax kidney dialysis machines or Salvation Army uniforms?

U.S.A. Tax

The simplicity and straightforward appeal of the flat tax and the sales tax, if not all their consequences, are obvious. Not so the Unlimited Savings Allowance or U.S.A. tax, a combination of a deductions-loaded personal income tax and a value-added tax collected by business.

But unlike the other radical alternatives to the income tax, it is a full blown legislative proposal, not a gleam in the eye of policy intellectuals. "The U.S.A. Tax is the only tax reform plan that is close to a living, breathing tax code," said Arthur Hall, a senior economist with the Tax Foundation, a conservative research group in Washington.

The U.S.A. tax starts with the familiar personal income tax. Wage and investment income, plus proceeds from insurance and annuities, are taxed at progressive rates ranging from 10 percent to 40 percent.

But the blow is softened by a fat standard exemption and host of new preferences. Not only would the deductions for mortgage interest and charity continue, it would also allow taxpayers to deduct net annual additions to savings accounts, mutual funds and the like. Education expenses could be partially deducted. And once tax liability is figured, taxpayers would get to take a credit equal to their share of the payroll tax for Social Security and Medicare. This effectively lowers the maximum tax rate on wages to 32 percent.

The U.S.A. Tax, while seeking to accomplish the same goal of encouraging thrift and long-term investment, lacks the simplicity of the previous two approaches. Rather than striving for neutrality among expenditures and income classes, it adds a new preference for education and it taxes the incomes of people earning \$500,000 at far higher rates than those earning \$50,000. It would require taxpayers to continue to struggle with questions of defining personal income and verifying deductions.

But the U.S.A. tax plan does address an issue untouched by others by effectively eliminating the payroll tax, which many economists believe is a significant deterrent to employing unskilled workers. And it deals directly with the formidable problems of changing from one tax system to another that the other proposals ignore.

But where the flat tax appears to have grassroots appeal and the sales tax offers a direct assault on the I.R.S., the U.S.A. tax, argues Mr. Hall, is an "inside the Beltway" effort that does not enjoy much popular support outside Washington. While it would slaughter few sacred cows, it is also not likely to generate much passion among the tens of millions of Americans who see themselves as victims of the tax code. □

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9.6.95

Los Angeles Times first-edition Page 1 for
Sunday, Sept. 3, 1995:

Top of page:

Col 1: From Malibu's secluded beaches to Mandocino's rugged bluffs, some of the most scenic stretches of California coast remain off limits to strollers, sunbathers, surfers and other beach lovers despite laws to enhance recreational opportunities along the Pacific Ocean. (Not moving.)

Cols 2-4: Color photo of a U.S. Coast Guard helicopter plucking people from six-foot swells in the Florida Straits after one of 25 bouts used in an anti-Castro protest off the coast of Havana takes on water and sinks. (Accompanies CURA, moved.)

Cols 5-6: Jeopardizing a fragile peace process that was only starting to make progress, the head of the Bosnian Serb army refuses to withdraw heavy weaponry from around the besieged capital of Sarajevo. (BALKANS-TIMES, moving.)

Above fold:

Col 2-3: Helped by the aggressive leadership of House Speaker Newt Gingrich, GOP newcomers have undertaken the most concerted and most successful fund-raising blitz by a freshman class ever seen on Capitol Hill. (FRESHMEN, moved.)

Col 4: Report on the preliminary findings of a study on the unsafe sex practices of young gay men in Los Angeles. (Not moving.)

Col 6: The Justice Department may seek to disqualify the judge assigned to preside over the Oklahoma City bombing proceedings and change the location of the trial, according to government sources working on the case. (BLAST, moving.)

Below fold:

Col 3: The drumbeat for severe legal action against former police Detective Mark Fuhrman has begun and is sure to grow in the coming weeks as revulsion spreads about Fuhrman's vile racist remarks, which have endangered the prosecution case in the O.J. Simpson murder trial. (SIMPSON-FUHRMAN, moved.)

Cols 5-6: Although the late Rev. John R. Kiggins spent funds donated to his California church on himself and his teen-age mistress, 160 of his parishioners left with his son when the young man got a vision: set up a new church in Colorado; the move has led to divorce proceedings and charges that the gun-toting son is a false prophet. (EXODUS, will move Sunday.)

Bottom of page:

Cols 1-2: As far as forgeries go, it was a sloppy job; but they might have gone unnoticed in the maw of the Los Angeles criminal justice system if it weren't for the suspicions of an alternate public defender appointed by the court to represent a young man accused of murder; it was the catalyst that led to the announcement by Police Chief Willie L. Williams: Two veteran police officers had been suspended for falsifying evidence. (POLICE, moving.)

Cols 4-6: Local story, with photo, of emergency

personnel attending to persons trapped in their vehicles following a pileup on a Los Angeles freeway. (Not moving.)

House GOP Freshmen Cash In on Incumbency, With PACs' Help (Washu) By Alan C. Miller and Dwight Morris- (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times-

WASHINGTON Rick White, a boyish-looking lawyer, cast himself as the ultimate outsider in 1994 when he ran for Congress against Democratic Rep. Maria Cantwell, one of her party's rising stars, in a politically moderate Seattle district.

One of his strongest qualifications was that he had never before sought public office, the conservative White contended. He blasted Cantwell for taking hefty contributions from those symbols of insider politics: political action committees.

But no sooner had White prevailed and taken his place as part of the triumphant new Republican majority than he began to play the fund-raising game like a veteran.

During his first six months in office, White collected \$245,021 in campaign funds—three times the average for Democratic freshmen during a comparable period when they were in the majority in 1993. And 46 percent of the total came from PACs.

Measured in campaign currency, at least, White has become a Washington insider in a hurry. He has plenty of company among his 72 first-term Republican colleagues.

Helped and encouraged by the aggressive leadership of House Speaker Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., and his lieutenants, the newcomers have undertaken the most concerted and most successful fund-raising blitz by a freshman class ever seen on Capitol Hill. In fact, in the first six months of 1995, three of the top 10 fund-raisers in the entire House were freshmen. And Washington's PACs are prime targets for the blitz.

"They came to Washington and found reality. Namely, that they had campaign debts to pay off, that there were incentives for early fund raising to get a head start on the 1996 elections and that, clearly, there were individuals and PACs willing to help them," said Herbert E. Alexander, a political scientist at the University of Southern California.

Ann McBride, president of Common Cause, a proponent of more restrictive campaign-finance rules, offered a harsher assessment: "Freshmen representatives came to Washington to shake it up; they're staying to shake it down."

Soliciting campaign money from groups that want things from Congress is neither new nor illegal. The freshmen Republicans are only following the path blazed by their predecessors.

But the zeal with which they have adopted the old methods to entrench themselves in office suggests the arrival of a new set of career "insiders" rather than a new breed of "outsiders." And the reliance on PAC largesse, in particular, could make them vulnerable to the same kind of criticism that some of them leveled at their predecessors, especially if Texas billionaire and 1992 presidential candidate Ross Perot continues to beat the drums about the corrosive impact of campaign money.

The lawmakers themselves defend their fund raising. They say that donors knew where they stood before they arrived in Washington and are filling their campaign coffers because they share the new members' goals of shrinking government, slicing regulatory red tape and balancing the budget.

Rep. Frank A. Cremeans, R-Ohio, who raised \$157,384 from PACs in his first six months, "is a guy who came here with an agenda," said Mike Slanker, his acting chief of staff. "There's no waffling on issues. It has nothing

to do with who's giving him money."

And many freshmen did indeed take office with the twin burdens of enormous campaign debt and the prospect of a strong 1996 challenge. White's campaign treasury owed \$179,422 much of it to himself and he already is high on the Democrats' hit list for next year.

"To shake things up in Washington, we have to maintain the majority," said first-term Rep. George Radanovich, R-Calif., who has raised \$216,344 this year. "If you think you can change Washington in eight months or even two years, you're crazy."

The Republican freshmen as a group accumulated nearly \$10.5 million in the first half of 1995, an average of \$143,595 per lawmaker, according to a computer-assisted study by the Los Angeles Times. This includes nearly \$4.6 million from PACs, an average of \$62,935 per freshman and 44 percent of the total.

In contrast, the 47 Republican freshmen in 1992 raised less than half these amounts during the same period. The 63 Democratic freshmen in 1992 averaged \$73,200 in that cycle, including \$42,628 from PACs. The current crop of 13 Democratic first-termers lags well behind their Republican counterparts in early fund raising, averaging about \$95,000, of which about \$40,000 comes from PACs.

(Optional add end)

Much of the GOP money is coming from inside the Beltway. Freshman Rep. Daniel Frisa, R-N.Y., took in about \$120,000 at a single PAC event in Washington in March fully half the total he spent to win a tough race in 1994. Frisa charged \$1,000 a head, twice the going rate.

"It used to be that freshmen would hire me to do maybe two events a year," said Nancy Booskor, a Republican fund-raising consultant in Washington who specializes in PACs. She has done as many fund-raisers in the first six months of this two-year election cycle as she usually does in the six months before an election year.

"I now have monthly contracts with five of my six freshmen because fund raising is now an everyday occurrence," she said.

Renewed Sikh Violence Feared as Official Is Cremated (New Delhi) By John-Thor Dahlburg— (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times—

NEW DELHI, India To the booming of guns and the trill of army bugles, the mangled remains of Punjab's chief minister were burned on a funeral pyre with full state honors Saturday as Indians wondered whether a new round of bloodshed was beginning in a state just getting used to civil peace.

Government officials admitted that a security lapse led to the murder of Beant Singh, one of the country's most highly guarded politicians, and said some of the very people in charge of providing him with 24-hour-a-day protection were apparently involved.

"Somebody inside the system has helped this tragedy to take place," Rajesh Pilot, India's internal security minister, said in an interview.

Singh, 73, a member of the ruling Congress (I) party, and at least 15 others were killed or mortally wounded when an explosion of huge force tore apart the chief minister's bulletproof limousine Thursday in Chandigarh, Punjab's capital.

For Punjabis and all Indians, the big question is whether the assassination portends a revival of armed Sikh separatism, which claimed the lives of more than 11,000 civilians in Punjab from the mid-1980s through the early

'90s and for a time endangered the social and political fabric of India itself.

On Oct. 31, 1984, then-Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was assassinated by two of her Sikh bodyguards for having ordered Indian army units to invade the holiest site in Sikhdom, the Golden Temple in the Punjabi city of Amritsar, in order to dislodge armed Sikh militants who had holed up there.

Coming events in Punjab could have dangerous political consequences for India's current prime minister, P.V. Narasimha Rao, because his embattled Congress (I) government has trumpeted its achievements there to justify its policies in another strife-ridden state, Jammu and Kashmir.

Rao flew to Chandigarh on Saturday morning to place a wreath on Singh's bier and to comfort his widow. For security reasons, Rao did not stay for the public cremation.

(Begin optional trim)

To shouts of "Beant Singh has become immortal" from a crowd estimated at 15,000, the politician's mutilated body, contained in a wooden coffin topped with an Indian tricolor, was trundled on an army gun carriage along a four-mile route through Chandigarh.

Despite the bombing's deadly toll, knowledgeable observers of affairs in Punjab doubt that the armed struggle for a separate Sikh state, known as Khalistan, can be revived. Under a controversial police operation that reached its crescendo after Singh became the state's leader in February 1992, more than 8,000 alleged "terrorists" were killed.

T.R. Ramaswamy, deputy editor of the Tribune, a Chandigarh daily, said authorities did such a thorough job of hunting down militants and sealing the Pakistani border to bar them from smuggling in weapons that the Khalistan movement is now limited to "100 people spread across the state who can't even communicate with each other."

(End optional trim)

Officials said Saturday that 16 police officers have been suspended for security lapses that allowed the assassination to take place. They did not elaborate.

A claim of responsibility for the blast was quickly made on behalf of one militant Sikh group, the Babbar Khalsa International, but within 24 hours of the bombing, officials were pondering whether another extremist faction, the Khalistan Liberation Force, might have been behind the attack since it is thought to have expertise in the use of explosives.

Economists See Entitlements as Key to Deficit Crisis (Jackson, Wyo.) By James Risen— (c) 1995, Los Angeles Times—

JACKSON, Wyo. For Republican congressional leaders poised to begin the toughest part of this year's budget battle, some of the world's leading economists and economic policy-makers have some bad news: The GOP's plan to balance the budget over the next seven years will barely make a dent in America's long-term budget problems.

In an economic policy conference Friday and Saturday, private economists, Fed officials and other leaders largely agreed that the deficit reduction proposals now being debated in Washington ignore the long-term problem of entitlement spending.

U.S. Aid for Huge Russian Lake Is in Jeopardy

By STEVEN ERLANGER

KHUIZHIR, Russia — Arching out of the vivid, azure blue of Lake Baikal, where it laps up against Olkhon Island, is one of Buddhism's holiest sites, the Shaman Rock. It is revered by the native Buryat people, and the Dalai Lama has also prayed here.

In the Soviet period, when most native traditions and religion itself were considered anti-state activities, the authorities built a dock directly under the Shaman Rock, where ships unloaded supplies and diesel oil for this small town of 1,500 and picked up the garbage.

Filthy, unsightly and sacrilegious, the dock has now been dismantled and the sacred beach, on this sacred lake, is being cleared of oil and rubbish. There is a project to beautify the walk to the rock for tourists, and to let them share in the serene ceremony, involving a healthy gulp of the slightly psychedelic fermented sheep's whey. The whey also seems to go well with the local fish, a sort of salmon trout called omul.

The town is getting a simple system of wind and solar power that will give the residents more electricity than they have ever had before, and make regional plans to run an electric cable through the lake and a surrounding national park unnecessary.

The townspeople are preparing a zoning plan: moving the single gasoline station from the shore, where it pollutes protected waters; extending a log-built cultural museum; restoring native flora and fauna to the island and growing vegetables better suited to the climate.

All this is being done with the aid of the American taxpayer, through the United States Agency for International Development, in a project to promote sustainable and environmentally sound economic progress. The money involved on Olkhon, with its seven sub-projects, is less than \$150,000 a year over four years.

But if Congress goes ahead with suggested cuts in foreign aid, it is projects like those on Baikal that are most likely to disappear.

Olkhon is the largest of 12 pilot projects in the Baikal region designed and run by the nonprofit Ecologically Sustainable Development Inc., or E.S.D., under a four-year, \$3 million contract with the Agency for International Development that began in 1993. The larger effort is to create a sustainable plan for resource and land management all around Lake Baikal, the world's largest lake by volume and source of about 30 percent of the earth's fresh water. The lake harbors more than 1,800 unique species of plant and animal life that have developed in its 25-million-year history.

Russians consider Lake Baikal the clear, clean heart of the world, an environmental treasure. But it is at risk from uncontrolled development in a period of weak government, official corruption and wild capitalism.

Working with local people and three regional Russian authorities, a task of great political delicacy, the E.S.D. project is seeking to preserve one of the world's wonders while trying to better the lives of the people here. The plan is to provide new ideas and training in activities that earn income and produce tax revenue, and then get out of the way. Ideally, these pilot projects will be copied elsewhere with local resources, directed by those Russians now working for and with E.S.D.

The group's other projects include developing "ecotourism" to allow visitors to experience Baikal without harming it, reclaiming polluted land, and restarting reindeer herding in mountainous areas, the indigenous form of animal husbandry. The Soviets made this impossible by their

artificial demands for meat and milk quotas, which required herds of cows that had to live in the already overburdened valleys.

These efforts are an important sign of American interest in provincial Russia — outside the rampant corruption and glitz of Moscow — where the country's future is being formed. Even provincial government leaders grudgingly acknowledge the usefulness of the projects.

To George D. Davis, a forester and former executive director of the Wilderness Society who runs Ecologically Sustainable Development, the possibility that Congress will cut financing for the program is a stupid tragedy.

Mr. Davis, 52, developed a similar program in his native Adirondacks region in New York State and won a five-year MacArthur Foundation Fellowship in 1989 for his work. That allowed him to establish Ecologically Sustainable Development and feed his family.

After considerable publicity for wasting aid money in the first years of America's effort to assist Russia, the Agency for International Development has tried to do better lately at spending its smaller budget — \$250 million in fiscal year 1995.

But Mr. Davis has been told by agency administrators that prospective cuts — the House wants to limit agency aid in Russia to \$185 million — will kill his kind of program, while big construction projects with huge overhead and little local training continue, because the cost of administering small projects is almost the same as that for large ones.

"We could produce bigger and more expensive projects," Mr. Davis said with annoyance. "But those are the ones that locals can't duplicate, because they can't afford it."

The American Ambassador to Russia, Thomas R. Pickering, who came to see the projects here, thinks that Congress will cut 20 to 30 percent from last year's aid totals. "We'll fight to keep every cent," he told somber E.S.D. workers.

Washington had planned to phase out most aid to Russia by 1998 in any case, Mr. Pickering said, "so if it phases out sooner, we can adjust." Still, he said, environmental aid should be part of a "base program" of aid to Russia even after 1998, and "Baikal is the epitome of Russia's environmental concerns."

Ecologically Sustainable Development employs just 11 full-time workers based in Elizabethtown, N.Y., has about 30 part-time employees and calls on 100 expert volunteers, but more to the point, it has 228 Russian employees, mostly part-time. The Americans pay Russian salaries the first year, but the contribution declines to a third over the four years of the grant, forcing local projects to become self-sustaining or die.

Along Baikal, the main environmental issues are air and water pollution from Soviet-built factories, like two big paper and pulp plants that pour 8.8 million cubic feet of waste water a day into the lake, and the rise in the level of the lake of a yard since the 1960's, largely due to a dam for a power plant. The extra water is the rough equivalent of 15 trillion two-liter bottles of Coca-Cola and has changed the lake in ways still little understood. The combination threatens Baikal, which has a 380-year recycling period, compared with about 10 years, for instance, in the Great Lakes.

Already, the number of omul in the lake is dropping, and not from over-

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-6-95

NO UP

A lake revered by Russians is at risk from development.

fishing, so that the one factory on Olkhon Island, a fish cannery that employs 200 people, mostly processes imported herring rather than omul.

The director of the factory, Vladimir Vinsak, 39, criticized Mr. Davis for not concentrating his efforts on fish. "Projects for energy and tourism are fine, but this island lives on fish," Mr. Vinsak said. "It's like the tail without the head. I'd like the program to begin with water and water resources."

Still, he said, the United States Government and Mr. Davis are helping where the Russian and regional governments had done little but talk.

"It's right for the American side, but unpleasant for the Russian side," Mr. Vinsak said. "We're afraid only that the Government could stop any aid from foreign governments."

At Bolshoye Goloustnoye, a small, dying town of some 700 people, unemployment is about 70 percent, said Lyudmila Sagayeva, the Ecologically Sustainable Development director there. The village was founded 300 years ago to exploit the timbered hills, but the establishment of a national park in 1987 stopped logging and nearly killed the town.

Half the rough wooden buildings are empty; there has been a lot of vandalism and "a loss of hope," Mrs. Sagayeva said. The idea is to encourage employment in ecotourism, based on the lake, the older landmarks of the town and the surrounding forest.

Ecologically Sustainable Development has employed residents to reclaim the town's beach, which was used for many years as a log storage area. Others work with park rangers, some of them American volunteers, to build "interpretive" walking trails in the forest, with guides to its flora and fauna. A collapsing, austere wooden church from the last

century is being restored, and the schoolhouse is now lighted with solar energy. Mrs. Sagayeva believes that the projects have restored a small measure of hope to the town.

"What pleases me most is the degree to which the Russians on the ground are running things," Mr. Davis said. "Not all 12 projects will go forward and spawn 800 others, but at least some will go on without any government assistance."

Sergei Shapkhayev, director of the Buryat/Baikal land-use program and head of the Buryat Republic's small Green Party, fears for Baikal generally. In the next century, he said, Baikal will be pressed hard by Russia's need for development and revenue, especially from unexploited forests and waters, and by its new, market-era chaos and corruption. Still, he said, the programs here can "try to soften the damage done to Lake Baikal and lay the foundation for better protection in the future."

With the free market, there are more competing companies and more lavish corruption. With privatization, there is by definition less Government control over land, which can now be bought and sold.

The influx of new people "with a totally different attitude toward nature" has diluted the ethnic balance of the lake's indigenous peoples, who "over the centuries have worked out ethical standards toward the land, and who are more conservative in their technologies," Mr. Shapkhayev said.

As an indication of these problems, a local boat owner spoke privately of a company he had formed with employees of the Interior Ministry and the Federal Security Service, the domestic side of the former K.G.B., to buy lakefront land for a resort. The owner, perhaps boasting, said money was little problem, given the income from sales of diverted oil and timber, but he was looking for a Western partner.

Told of this conversation, Mr. Davis sighed. "This kind of work has such incredible peaks and valleys, sometimes twice a day," he said. "But there's so much need out there, and frankly, the cost is so low."

I think there is some real merit in
these ideas

August 24, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9.6.95

MEMORANDUM TO HAROLD ICKES
ERSKINE BOWLES

FROM: BETSY MYERS

RE: WOMEN & THE BUDGET STRATEGY

As I reported in my memorandum to Leon Panetta on July 31, women's organizations and women political appointees are eager to carry the President's budget message. We need your help securing the President's participation and leadership.

More than any other constituency, women -- as breadwinners and caretakers of children and aging parents -- are directly impacted by proposed budget cuts in health, education, job training, Medicare and crime (see attached grid).

Budget cuts directly impact every issue that resonates with women and families and provide a perfect opportunity not only to sell the budget to America but also to give women a reason to go to the polls in 1996 -- if we speak directly to them.

(1) The women's vote will be crucial in '96:

Recent polls and studies abound on the importance of the gender gap and the women's vote in '96. "The Democratic Party could have kept control of Congress had its women been as 'excited' about their party as men were about the GOP," *U.S. News & World Report* reported from pollster Celinda Lake in its survey and article, "What do women want?" (8/14/95).

We are successful with the women's constituencies when the President is perceived as feeling and understanding the daily struggles of the average American family.



Women represent more than half of the drop-off voters (those who voted in 1992 but stayed home in 1994). (*U.S. News & World Report*, 8/14/95)



White women are now evenly split along party lines in support for congressional candidates. (Public Opinion Strategies)

o

Half of women think Washington budget cuts have gone too far, but half of men say cuts haven't gone far enough. Lower-wage women are the most nervous about the GOP Congress: 61 percent -- more than any other group -- believe Republican budget cuts have gone too far. (*U.S. News & World Report*, 8/14/95)

- o Even "born again" Christians show a gender gap on the budget: A plurality of white, born-again women believe the Republican budget cuts go "too far," while white, born-again men support the cuts by 56 percent to 29 percent. (Lake Research)

(2) **Women's concerns mirror the President's budget priorities**

Across party lines, women are concerned about budget cuts that will hurt the programs that currently help their families, including:

- Education and training programs that help women advance and become self-sufficient and that also provide opportunity for their children;
- Medicare and aging programs that help families care for aging parents;
- School meals and programs for children;
- Health care programs.
- Funding for Violence Against Women Act.
- Earned Income Tax Credit and cuts to the safety net.

New polls show women's top concerns are family concerns: Jobs, education and crime.

(3) **Our strategy to sell the President's budget includes the following:**

I. **PRESIDENTIAL EVENT:**

I need your help securing the President's participation in at least one of the following events:

- (1) Visit a **predominantly female workplace** (e.g., a hospital, school, factory or office), and talk with workers in an employee lounge or cafeteria. **Working women best represent family concerns:** family checkbook, child care, education, health and Medicare, jobs, and stress from balancing work and family. A nursing home would add a Medicare angle.
- (2) **Kitchen table talk** with a family of three generations:
 - a **grandmother** reliant on Medicare and elderly programs;
 - a **mother** concerned about family checkbook, drug-free schools for her kids, help for her aging parents, and student loans and skill grants to continue her education;
 - a **daughter** in Head Start or an older daughter concerned about drug-free schools and college loans.
- (3) Visit a **Battered women's shelter** and host a discussion on domestic

violence and GOP cuts to the Violence Against Women Act, despite its funding from the Crime Trust Fund. Participants could include:

- law enforcement officials;
- advocates;
- battered women.

(4)

White House Town Hall Meeting with families to discuss the budget cuts' impact on their pocketbooks, their kids and their aging parents.

II. PRESIDENTIAL BRIEFINGS:

The following briefings are necessary for our amplification and communications strategy:

- (1) **Women Appointees' Roundtable** with the President for 30 senior women political appointees whose programs are affected by the budget cuts. Women appointees all have constituencies that have never been touched by the White House. Appointees will amplify the President's message through travel and media.
- (2) **Women Constituents' Roundtable** with the President for 25 women leaders whose organizations and constituents are focused on the budget cuts. These women are necessary for amplifying our message.

III. PRESS EVENTS FOR OTHER PRINCIPALS:

- (1) **"Oprah Winfrey Show"** on women and the budget. This popular show reaches many women who currently are not hearing the President's message.
- (2) **Working mothers' roundtable** discussion with a 10 to 12 typical working women whose personal and family concerns exemplify the impact of the budget cuts. Vice President preferred.
- (3) **PTA meeting** with discussion by community mothers to highlight a family message and education programs.
- (4) **Community college** nursing program with discussion by women on jobs, student loans and skill-grants to highlight a Middle Class Bill of Rights message.
- (5) **Child care center** or Head Start located inside a supportive business. Discussion by business leaders and mothers on importance of public-private partnership.

- (6) **Neighborhood safety meeting** with local families and women police officers.
- (7) **Low-wage poultry plant** to target low-wage women with a message on education, health care, minimum wage, and families just above the safety net.

Office of Women's Initiatives and Outreach

July 31, 1995

CUTS TO PROGRAMS IMPACTING WOMEN

	PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL	REPUBLICAN CUTS
EFFECTS ON EDUCATION AND TRAINING	Women's Educational Equity Act Program: Maintains \$4 million which supports the research, development, and dissemination of curricular materials, training programs, guidance and testing activities, and other projects to promote educational equity for women and girls.	House appropriation bill eliminates this program that shares curricular materials with over 4,000 organizations and individuals yearly, helps schools implement non-discriminatory practices, and trains hundreds of teachers.
	Federal Direct Student Loan Program: Supports direct loans and phase out of guaranteed loans in order to save money for taxpayers. Lower cost of borrowing for students and reduce costs for schools.	House appropriations bill cuts administrative funding \$230 million, leaving less than what is needed to administer the direct loan program which will stop growth of efficient, cost-effective direct lending in order to keep paying banks, state agencies, and secondary markets. Republican budget reduction proposals also support the costly guaranteed programs instead of the direct loan program and will therefore charge students billions more (over seven years) for their college loans.
	Education for Disadvantaged Students: Boosts funding by \$302 million, to over \$ 7 billion per year, to help states raise academic achievement of 6.4 million disadvantaged children.	House bill reduces funding by \$1.1 billion, cutting up to 1.1 million children from program, and eliminating as many as 29,000 teacher and aide jobs.

CUTS CONT.	PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL	REPUBLICAN CUTS
EFFECTS ON EDUCATION AND TRAINING	Safe and Drug-Free Schools and Communities: Provides funding at \$500 million per year, for a safer, more drug-free learning environments for 39 million children in over 14, 000 school districts.	Reduces funding to \$200 million, a 60% cut from the President's request, depriving over 23 million students of services next year.
	Head Start: Increases 1996 funding by \$400 million and adds 32,000 new Head Start slots for children in 1996--and 50,000 new slots by 2002.	Cuts funding by \$137 million from 1995 level, shutting out 45,000-50,000 children from Head Start in 1996.
	Women in Apprenticeship and Nontraditional Occupations: Maintains funding at \$774,000 to promote training and employment opportunities for women in nontraditional fields.	Cuts funding by 18%.
	Goals 2000: Provides \$750 million in 1996 to raise academic standards and student achievement eventually in all schools, and in 1996 in more than 16,000 schools serving 8.8 million students in 48 states.	Eliminates all funding for education reform, severely undermining state and local efforts to improve student achievement. Without this funding, much needed improvements in teacher training, educational technology and parental involvement will not be implemented.
	School-to-Work: Boosts funds to \$400 million, a 60% increase over 1995, to support all states' building school-to-work systems with 1-year planning and 5-year implementation grants.	Cuts funds from the President's 1996 request to \$190 million, impairing efforts of 28 states to complete reforms begun in 1994 and 1995, and denying 22 states the chance to implement their reform plans to raise student skills and build a more competitive workplace.

CUTS CONT.	PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL	REPUBLICAN CUTS
EFFECTS ON FAMILIES AND CHILDREN	Low Income Home Energy Assistance Program (LIHEAP): Provides \$1.319 billion in 1996, matching pre-recission 1995 level.	Eliminates the LIHEAP program, ending assistance to between five and six million low income families.
	Food Stamp Program: Will serve 27 million people in 1996, about 60% of whom are female.	The House 1996 appropriations bill decreases benefits by \$190 million, freezing the food stamp standard deduction at the 1995 level. The Republican budget reduction would cut Food Stamps over \$35 billion over seven years.
	Special Supplementary Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC): Increase funding in 1996 by \$350 million and adds 200,000 women, infants and children to the program.	Funds WIC at \$90 million below the President's request, serving 50,000 fewer women, infants and children.
	School Meals Initiative: Provides \$26 million to help schools meet Dietary Guidelines for healthy meals.	Provides \$5 million for the School Meals Initiative, \$21 million below the President's request.
	Public Housing: Provides \$8.1 billion in 1996 for public housing capital and operating funds, enough to reduce a backlog of capital needs, tear down or reconfigure the worst projects, and prepare for a proposed transition to portable assistance, giving choices to public housing residents.	Cuts 1996 funding by 37%, or \$3 billion. These cuts will force public housing authorities to under-maintain and abandon projects or cut security and services.

CUTS CONT.	PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL	REPUBLICAN CUTS
EFFECTS ON DOMESTIC VIOLENCE PROGRAMS	Violence Against Women Programs at the Department of Justice: Increases funding from \$25 million to \$175 million.	Cuts funding by \$100 million to \$75 million. These cuts threaten the full enforcement of the VAWA, where they are concentrated at the local level. These cuts will be felt in local shelters, police stations, and courthouses, where they are desperately needed.
	Violence Against Women Programs at the Department of Health and Human Services: Increases Crime Trust Fund funding for rape and domestic violence prevention, domestic violence education, battered women's shelter, and a domestic violence hotline from \$1 million to \$61.9 million.	Cuts \$21.9 million from the President's 1996 request, eliminating programs to reduce sexual abuse of youth and providing less funding for battered women's shelters.
EFFECTS ON OLDER WOMEN	Administration on Aging: Boosts funds by \$21 million, to \$897 million. Maintains 1995 level for nutrition programs that include Meals on Wheels.	Ends 7 of 12 elderly programs and cuts funds for all others, but one. Organizations like Meals on Wheels would be reimbursed for 12 million fewer meals served to older Americans.
	Medicare: Eliminate the co-payment for mammograms for senior women.	No Republican proposal yet.
	Respite Care for Families of People with Alzheimer's Disease: Helps Medicare beneficiaries who suffer from Alzheimer's disease by providing respite services for their families for one week each year.	No Republican proposal yet.

CUTS CONT.	PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL	REPUBLICAN CUTS
EFFECTS ON OLDER WOMEN	Home and Community -Based Care: Provides grants to states for home- and community-based services for disabled elderly Americans.	The average beneficiary will pay at least \$1400 more in 2002 for home health care services, and the average Medicare recipient will pay \$1000 more for skilled nursing home services.
	Medicaid: Contains a mix of policies that save \$54 billion between now and 2002 and protects critical coverage for senior women.	Cuts \$182 billion from Medicaid over the next seven years by making the program a block grant to states which leads to lower benefits for low-income mothers and children and the elderly and disabled.
	Options: Expands the managed care options available to beneficiaries to include preferred provider organizations and point-of-service plans.	Utilizes vouchers which may threaten Medicare access of the elderly to high quality medical care.
EFFECTS ON HEALTH CARE	Substance Abuse & Mental Health Grants: Roughly maintains 1995 level of \$566 million.	Cuts 64%, or \$364 million, compared to the President's plan, jeopardizing substance abuse and mental health services for tens of thousands of pregnant women and high-risk youth.
	Title X. Requested \$199 million for Family Planning grants, \$6 million above the FY 1995 level.	Abolishes Title X family planning grants, the Community Health Centers, and the Maternal and Child Health Block Grant and reallocates the \$193 million. There will be no guarantees that these funds will be used for family planning services.
	Human Embryo Research.	Prohibits Federal funds from being spent on research that involves human embryos.
	Medicaid Funding.	Allows states the option to deny Medicaid funding for victims of rape and incest abortions.

CUTS CONT.	PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL	REPUBLICAN CUTS
EFFECTS ON HEALTH CARE	Funding for Residency Accreditation Related to Abortion Procedures	Prohibits Federal funds from being dependent on residency accreditation requirements that include abortion training.
	Federal Employees' Health Benefits Program. (FEHBP)	Precludes Federal employees and their families from purchasing health insurance coverage through FEHBP that covers abortions.
	Abortion Services.	Bans privately funded abortion services at U.S. military hospitals and other federal facilities to women stationed overseas.
EFFECTS ON THE ECONOMY	Department of Labor Wage & Hour Administration: Provides \$117 million to enforce the Family and Medical Leave Act and other worker protections particularly for low wage workers.	Cuts 7.5% of the Wage & Hour enforcement office which threatens the office's ability to handle any enforcement of the Family & Medical Leave Act. Reduces the number of low-wage women (e.g., in garment sweatshops) whose minimum wage and hour rights are protected (women account for the majority of minimum wage earners).
	Small Business Administration's Office of Women's Business Ownership: Provides \$4 million for the Women's Demonstration Site Program.	Cuts 50% of the funding of the President's 1996 request to \$2 million for the Women's Demonstration Site Program. Significantly reduces the amount of business education and training SBA can provide to women-owned small businesses.
	Department of Labor, Women's Bureau: Provides \$9 million to promote the interests of wage-earning women.	Cuts budget by 7.5% from the 1995 level.

CUTS CONT.	PRESIDENT'S PROPOSAL	REPUBLICAN CUTS
EFFECTS ON THE ECONOMY	Small Business Administration, National Women's Business Council.	Reduces budget from \$500,000 in 1994 to \$200,000 in 1996.
EFFECTS ON SERVICE PROGRAMS	Community Service Employment for Older Americans: Increases 1996 funding by \$15 million to provide almost 2,500 additional part-time work opportunities for low-income persons age 55 and older to work in community service activities.	Cuts funding by \$46 million, eliminating over 5,500 opportunities for elderly low-income women to work in part-time community service jobs.
	AmeriCorps: Increases funding by \$211 million and adds 20,000 new service opportunities for Americans to address vital local community needs such as health care, crime prevention and education.	Terminates AmeriCorps, eliminating nearly 25,000 opportunities for women to serve their communities and earn a monetary award to help them further their education or training.
	Volunteers In Service To America (VISTA): Increases funding by \$12 million to allow an additional 800 VISTA volunteers to work in low-income communities to alleviate poverty.	Cuts the VISTA program by 57% and denies nearly 2,400 women the opportunity to serve in their communities as VISTA volunteers and earn a monetary award to help them further their education or training.
	National Senior Volunteer Corps: Increase funding by \$32 million to provide Americans age 55 and over the opportunity to help the homebound elderly, disabled children, troubled adolescents and others in their communities.	Cuts funding by \$53 million and denies nearly 130,000 older women the opportunity to serve their communities.

A REPORT CARD ON WOMEN'S ISSUES IN THE 104TH CONGRESS



THE GOP LEGISLATIVE WAR ON WOMEN

A REPORT CARD ON WOMEN'S ISSUES IN THE 104TH CONGRESS

GOP DECLARES LEGISLATIVE WAR ON WOMEN ON 75TH ANNIVERSARY OF WOMEN'S VOTE

August 26, 1995 marks the 75th anniversary of the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution which gave American women the right to vote.

Women's 72 year campaign for the right to vote will go down in history as one of the longest, most peaceful struggles for political power and civil rights in American history. During those years women circulated petitions, published newspapers, chained themselves to the White House fence, and organized countless marches. Suffragist Susan B. Anthony was even arrested and put on trial for casting a vote.

American women prevailed and achieved this historic step forward by strength of argument, personal dedication, and tireless activism. No PACS, no conspiracy theories, no divisive tactics, no anti-government rhetoric--just the facts and the passion of their convictions.

Eventually, President Woodrow Wilson, Congress and state legislatures took note and ratified the Nineteenth Amendment. Even after women had won the right to vote, suffrage leader Alice Paul urged women to look forward: "When you put your hand to the plow, you cannot lift it until you reach the end of the row." Paul realized that although a great victory had been won, the battles faced by American women to achieve real equality would continue.

Now more than ever, American women must keep their hands to the plow. The power of women's vote has never been as crucial as it is today. Actions the 104th Congress has taken against American women make dedication to keep "plowing forward" even more important. The Republican Congress is pushing an extreme agenda that is anti-women, anti-choice, and anti-working family. 1995 is the 75th anniversary of women's suffrage, but this new Republican Congress is intent on making it a time for women to suffer.

American women are vital to our nation's economic, social, and political well-being. Yet, even as we celebrate the contribution of women to the American body politic, this Congress undermines women's very ability to continue contributing to their families and their country.

The Republican Congress has taken actions that demonstrate that they don't really understand the economic insecurity women feel today. Most women are struggling to make ends meet and are frustrated that they can't spend more time with their children and families because of economic responsibilities. But the new Republican Congress is oblivious to women's economic worries about affordable health insurance and an economically secure old age. Republican lawmakers dismiss women's worry about violence, which threatens them and their children.

Republican actions over the past six months have only fueled women's economic insecurity and pessimism about the direction of the country. For the past 200 days, special interests have been running roughshod over the public interest and women's economic and constitutional rights have been among the hardest trampled.

This assault on women's rights comes on the heels of thirty years of steady legislative progress on a range of issues of concern to women. Under Democratic leadership, Congress has passed legislation to toughen child support laws; to guarantee working families the right to take an unpaid leave to bond with their newborn and in family emergencies; to enforce equal pay for equal work; to provide for safe, affordable child care; to expand opportunities for women-owned businesses; to strengthen laws against rape, domestic violence, and other violence against women; and to improve the quality of women's reproductive health.

Since 1979, when the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues began monitoring legislation affecting women and families, Democrats have used their power to pass into law over 200 bills that have improved the status of women and their families in American society. Led by the Democratic Party, the 103rd Congress set a historic precedent for women by passing into law 66 bills that helped women and their families.

THE NEW REPUBLICAN CONGRESS, UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF NEWT GINGRICH, IS PASSING BILLS THAT WEAKEN AND THREATEN WOMEN'S RIGHTS, HEALTH, FREEDOM, OPPORTUNITIES, ECONOMIC EQUITY, AND ECONOMIC SECURITY.

The Republicans in the House of Representatives have over the past six months, with only cursory debate, slashed spending on a host of programs that millions of women use every day. These cuts will have real consequences for real people, and for women in particular. Because of these cuts, young women will not be able to get student loans, older women will have a tougher time qualifying for Social Security, women will be unable to get family planning services, women will not be able to enter the workforce because they won't be able to afford childcare, and girls will not be able to participate in school sports.

Under the guise of balancing the budget, the Republican Congress is sacrificing the constitutional rights of women as citizens and their economic rights as taxpayers in order to appease the Christian Coalition and its social agenda. Women pay the same taxes as men do, but are not getting their money's worth from their government--be it in health research or education. Republicans have even gone so far as to demand that women who are not on welfare, but are simply trying to get a court order enforced, give back 15% of any child support enforcement officials help them recover.

In the workplace, women earn 72 cents on the dollar, but they get further shortchanged in the funding for programs that benefit them. For example, in last Congress, under Democratic leadership, the House unanimously authorized and agreed to fully fund the Violence Against Women Act. Yet, in this Congress, Republicans funded the implementation of the law at only 60 cents on the dollar. It is clear that if women in Congress and in our communities had not been diligently and constantly monitoring the funding of VAWA, the funding level would have remained at low Republican levels. Only after advocates in Congress mobilized and fought for more funding for rape crisis centers, battered women's shelters and education programs to prevent such violence, did the House reinstate some of that money. The law, however, remains funded at \$109.4 million below its authorization of \$273.6 million.

In specific, the GOP's battle against women has been fought on several fronts:

CHOICE:

Never has the House voted to restrict so many reproductive rights with this much speed. The sheer number of actions successfully taken sends a signal that this new Republican Congress is anti-choice with a vengeance. Attached is a list of their actions. Over the past six months, the ultra conservatives in the Republican Party have embarked on an aggressive assault on women's reproductive health and choice despite Newt Gingrich's pre-election promises that women's abortion rights would not be in the line of fire of a Republican Congress. However, now even Republican moderates are nervous about the implication of the string of anti-choice legislation the House has passed. Anti-choice forces have passed 12 legislative provisions in House committees and on the floor that restrict women's constitutional rights to abortion and family planning. To live up to a deal made with the religious right, the House Appropriations committee tried to eliminate Title X-- the nation's only program devoted exclusively to family planning services. They were defeated in a narrow, rare, and tenuous victory for women. In addition, they have passed provisions in the foreign aid bill to cut funding to international family planning programs, thereby making abortion an international litmus test. They have also worked to allow states to deny Medicaid coverage of abortions for poor women who are the victims of rape and incest.

EDUCATION

When the House cut student loans by \$10 billion, they made it harder for thousands of young women to get an education. But the House of Representatives added insult to injury when they cut funds for education programs specifically designed to make sure our daughters have the same educational opportunities that our sons have. From weakening enforcement of Title IX, the civil rights law guaranteeing equal opportunity in education, including access to school sports program, to defunding the Women's Education Equity Act, a program established in 1974 to monitor sex discrimination in federally funded education programs and provide for gender equity programs, the House has backed off from our country's educational commitment to half of our children.

HEALTH

In 1990, when the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues uncovered the inequities of medical research on women, Congress made women's health a national priority. Over the past six months Republican lawmakers have made clear that women's health is only a priority when it doesn't cost much or when it doesn't conflict with special interests. When the House passed Product Liability Reform legislation, as part of the Republican Contract with America, American women who were harmed by medical products lost the ability to collect fully for non-economic damages such as the loss of fertility and other reproductive health injuries and women who are homemakers lost their access to punitive damages.

The budget cuts contained in the Recision Bill and the Labor/HHS Appropriations bill hamper women's access to reproductive health services and cut funding for the Public Health Services Office on Women's Health, which monitors and coordinates the government's women's health activities. While NIH funding remained intact, earmarks for specific research programs, including those that benefit women such as contraceptive and infertility research and osteoporosis research, were eliminated. Cuts in other Public Health Service agencies—such as the Agency for Health Care Policy Research and the Office of the Surgeon General will lead to fewer studies, guidelines, and advocacy on women's health issues.

Further, Republican welfare reform legislation dealt a blow to women's health when it severed all federal responsibility for the Women, Infants, and Children nutrition program, one of the most effective nutrition programs for pregnant women, and dropped all national nutrition standards and nutritional counseling requirement. In fact, under the Republican bill, states aren't even required to establish a WIC program.

FAMILY

Republicans have talked a good game on being family-friendly, but their actions have not backed up their rhetoric. They have abolished federal commitments to children's safety and well being. Republicans have cut the school lunch program, nutrition programs, summer youth programs, and Head Start. Programs on child abuse, foster care, and adoption have been consolidated and slashed.

Working families that depend on women's economic contributions to family income were particularly hard hit by Republican actions to cut child care assistance. When the House passed H.R. 4, the Republican welfare reform legislation, it cut overall funding for child care by \$1.1 billion over five years. In the year 2000, child care funding would be cut by \$379 million thereby covering 323,000 fewer children. For working poor families, childcare takes more than one fourth of their income--27%--and can be a prohibitive cost to entering the workforce. Poor mothers who will be forced to work because of welfare-to-work requirements will be in a double bind--a situation that puts the Republican pro-family rhetoric to shame.

SAFETY

Republicans reneged on Congress' pledge to fully fund and implement the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), a bill that the House passed unanimously in 1993, initially funding it at half of its authorization. Republicans failed to fund battered women's shelters, programs for victims of child abuse, and training for state judges. In the Republican effort to roll back the Omnibus Crime Control and Safe Streets Act, the House deleted requirements that funds be used for crime prevention programs in communities. This cuts funding for programs that give children and teens a safe place to spend out-of-school time so that they are less like to be affected by violence in their communities. By cutting funding for Safe and Drug Free Schools Act by a whopping 59% (\$286 million), Republicans have just said no to our children's safety.

Lastly, House Republicans refused to pass an amendment that would have clearly allowed local municipalities to use federal funds to upgrade abortion clinic security and build upon the assurance the Democratic House gave women last Congress when it passed the Freedom of Access to Clinic Entrances Act.

ECONOMIC SECURITY

The only bright spot for women in the past 200 days has been the bipartisan support for child support enforcement--a key to women's economic security. Republicans, however, have diluted the strength of this provision by proposing a 15% tax on child support collections for women who are not on welfare --- despite the fact that it is money owed to them and keeps their families off public assistance. The Republican Budget Resolution's cuts to Medicare and Medicaid hit women especially hard since one quarter of all women over age 65 live at or near the poverty line. The Republican Budget Committee in their proposed budget resolution also recommended that the income women can disregard as they compute their eligibility for Social Security payments be lowered by \$5, thereby making some current recipients ineligible for SSI and Medicaid benefits--both economic lifelines for older women.

Women's battles for economic equality and justice in the workplace are among the most difficult faced today and throughout history. To make the already intense workplace problems for women even worse, actions taken in the appropriations bill for the Department of Labor make it even tougher for women to enter the workforce by eliminating the Women in Apprenticeship program which trains women for non-traditional jobs. Throughout the Department of Labor appropriations, women will be directly affected by almost \$1 billion in cuts to programs like the Women's Bureau and job training programs.

Each rollback outlined in this report represents women who are being pushed back from their goals of equity and economic self-sufficiency. Cumulatively, however, these legislative changes and budget cuts represent a complete turnaround from the constant progress women had been making in their quest for equality under the law.

When Congress returns from its August break, it will take up two issues that strike at the pocketbook of American women--affirmative action and Medicare.

Affirmative action goes to the heart of America's commitment to equal opportunity. Nearly three out of 10 (29.9%) lower and middle managerial positions in private industry are now filled by women, almost triple the percentage in 1966, before affirmative action policies were first enacted. Republicans have introduced legislation to undo the federal government's role in promoting equal employment opportunities and to prohibit the use of racial and gender preferences by the federal government in awarding and administering federal contracts, in hiring and promoting federal workers and in administering federally conducted programs and activities--even court-ordered affirmative action remedies for proven, intentional discrimination. In other words, the old boy who-you-know network will prevail even if more qualified women are available for the job.

Republicans are mounting this effort at a time when for many women sex discrimination in the workforce is still a big problem that keeps them from equal pay and equal jobs. In 1994, women filed 39,990 sex discrimination charges against their employers with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission--the most ever filed in one year.

If affirmative action helps women to survive economically in their working years, Medicare helps them to survive physically in their older years. Women make up the majority of Medicare beneficiaries. Nearly 20 million older women are Medicare beneficiaries. A typical older woman, age 75 and older, has an annual income of just \$9,170 with an average of out-of-pocket health expenses of more than \$1,500. For these women, any boost in Medicare out-of-pocket expenses could mean economic disaster for her and her family. Under the proposed Republican Medicare cuts, the average Medicare beneficiary would pay approximately \$3,400 more per year in out-of-pocket expenses. The cuts will also result in an additional 20% copay in Home Healthcare and skilled nursing facility care. These "sick taxes" would disproportionately affect women--the predominant beneficiaries of this type of care.

On this 75th anniversary of women's suffrage, Democrats celebrate women's right to vote, a key milestone in achieving equality. Gaining that right was crucial to making the government more responsive to women. Today, it is equally important to restore to American government the steadiness and common sense required to respond to the needs of ALL of its people.

As Democrats, we pledge to rededicate ourselves to the principles of equity for women in our society and ask that women use the power of the vote to do the same.

CHOICE

The House took the following actions since January 1995:

HOUSE VOTED TO:

- *Ban funding to organizations that privately finance abortion counselling or procedures, organizations that participate in abortion-related lobbying activities and to the United Nations Fund for Population Assistance.

- *Reduce by 50% the amount of money available for international family planning programs. In addition, family planning programs must compete for funds with other development assistance programs.

- *Ban allowing federal employees to choose health insurance which covers abortion.

- *Ban abortions for women in the military stationed overseas, paid for with their own money.

- *Ban abortions for women inmates in federal prisons.

- *Ban Legal Services Corporation, which provides legal aid to the poor, from taking up any abortion issue.

- *Provide bonus grants to states that reduce the number of abortions, thus rewarding states for making abortion services more difficult to obtain.

HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE VOTED TO:

- *eliminate the country's 25 year old family planning program that provides family planning services, pelvic exams, Pap tests, screenings for sexually transmitted diseases, and other health tests for women.

- *prohibit federal funding of research on human embryos, an effort that could hamper medical research on safer contraception, as well as research to find out what causes and how to cure birth defects and other diseases.

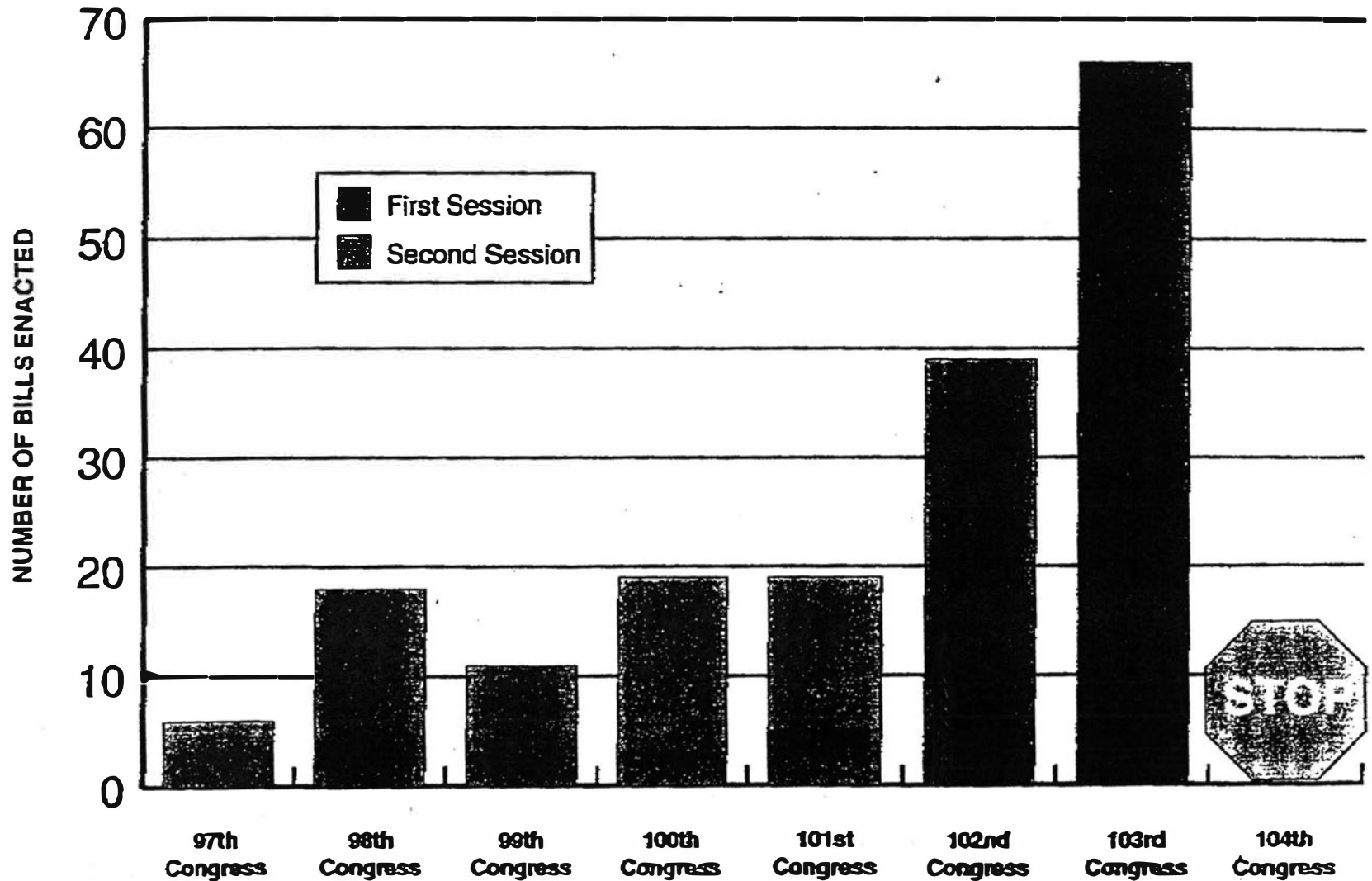
*reverse the current requirement that ob-gyn residency programs must provide training in abortion procedures in order to meet accreditation standards.

*reverse the requirement that states must cover abortions for victims of rape and incest under Medicaid..

THE HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE, IN A STRAIGHT PARTY LINE VOTE, REPORTED OUT LEGISLATION TO:

*Ban late term abortion procedures, even if the life and health of the woman is in jeopardy. The legislation, H.R. 1833, is the first bill the House Judiciary Committee has ever reported that directly unravels the constitutional rights of women as ruled in Roe v. Wade. It is also the first bill in the history of Congress that bans a particular medical procedure. The House will vote on the bill when they return in September.

BILLS ENACTED HELPING WOMEN AND FAMILIES: 1981-1995



9/6

original ltr

sent to NSC

—

Dear Mr. President,

Congratulations on your recent actions on Bosnia.

Like you, I flew in from a vacation in the west, to participate in the Memorial Service for Bob Frasure, Joe Kruzel, and Sandy Drew ten days ago. I had worked closely with Bob and Joe the past 2 years, and I was deeply saddened by their deaths.

I was particularly moved by your closing words, that our sadness could help us remember the suffering they were in Sarajevo to alleviate. In Vienna, I spend many hours every week not only with the political leaders involved in this crisis, but also the victims of the aggression. That suffering you named has a human face for us there.

I believe we must stand firmly behind the initiative Dick Holbrooke is now leading. I know Dick well: he understands this issue, and the importance of seizing the momentum of the moment — born of new tragedies — to resolve this dark chapter of European history.

Incidentally, I've also spent considerable time with some of our highest military leadership — on eleven occasions in five different venues. In both their briefings as well as in private conversations, many of them have been remarkably reluctant to admit moral distinctions among the parties in this conflict. Easy generalizations such as "there are no white hats," and "these people have been fighting for centuries" become thinly veiled excuses for non-involvement. And a thousand and one reasons for complacency are recited like a litany, with little regard to the consequences of not acting.

I believe those military leaders have been wrong. Our current NATO actions are very late; and the delay has cost that alliance (and us) a significant amount of credibility globally. And as we've waited for unanimous concurrence from our allies, we've also learned that, for a host of current and historical reasons, Europe is unable to act without strong U.S. leadership.

Now a window has been created by the Croatian success against the Serbs in the Krajina. By all means we must not back down now. U.S. leadership in NATO to stand by our word is essential. This is one of those ironic situations where the most violent choice would be to soften our military response.

For four years, we have watched a barbaric trampling of the multi-cultural ideals we say we hold dear. The U.S. must stand for more than humanitarian relief for the refugees.

Thank you for your leadership. You are wise to focus on this conflict — for domestic political, humanitarian, foreign policy, and, yes, military reasons. And it's an honor for me to represent you.

My very best to Hillary, and, of course, to you, my friend.



Swanee

September 5, 1995

Bony

Pls. do reply

*cc Jim
Dorland*

TO: REBECCA CAMERON

FAX 202 456-6703

FROM: Amb. Swanee Hunt

RE: Confidential letter to the President

DATE: September 5, 1995

1 of 2 pages

Thanks, Rebecca! SH

Black Students Live Down to Expectations

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/7/95

By Claude M. Steele

The debate over affirmative action on college campuses has become dangerously distanced from facts. The issue has taken on such an ideological fervor that votes, Presidential and otherwise, are hanging in the balance. In the fray, the image of African-American college students has taken a beating.

Opponents of affirmative action claim that it pushes African-American students into schools where they can't compete and where, with the stigma they bear as "special admits," they get lower grades and drop out more than other students.

It is true that these students have their troubles, suffering a college dropout rate hovering near 70 percent (against 40 percent for other students), with lower grades to match. Given such statistics, even supporters of affirmative action have faltered, too unsure themselves about the students' abilities to rise quickly or publicly to their defense.

In fact, most black college students are in school on the same terms as anyone else, not as a result of any racial preference. Still, as their fate goes, so goes our faith in affirmative action and in the ability of public policy to address racial and social problems. So a few facts and some new evidence can help in addressing some central questions.

• Do the academic troubles of black students stem from their being underprepared for the competition?

This is a common complaint that has turned into conventional wisdom. But in fact there isn't much evidence of it. Very few minority students are admitted to any college beneath that school's cut-off for other students.

It is true that blacks have lower S.A.T. scores than other entering students. But the deficit in test scores —

Claude M. Steele is professor of psychology at Stanford University and president elect of the Western Psychological Association.

which are certainly flawed as predictors anyway — doesn't begin to explain why black students are more likely to drop out and get bad grades once they begin college. Besides, this "underperformance" is just as common among black students entering with very high test scores and grades as it is among those with weaker credentials.

One thing is clear: If affirmative action is failing by not producing more successful black college students, it is not because they have been placed where they can't compete.

• If it isn't a lack of preparation, then what is depressing their performance?

Colleges must deal frankly with perceptions of inferiority.

Recent research by my colleagues and me points to a disruptive pressure tied to racial stereotypes that affects these students. The pressure begins simply enough, with a student's knowledge that negative stereotypes about his group could apply to him — that he could be judged by this perception, treated in terms of it, even that he could fulfill it.

Black students know that the stereotypes about them raise questions about their intellectual ability. Quite beside any actual discriminatory treatment, they can feel that their intelligence is constantly and everywhere on trial — and all this at a tender age and on difficult proving ground.

They may not believe the stereotype. But it becomes a threatening hypothesis that they can grow weary of fending off — much as a white student, for example, can grow weary of fending off the stereotype that his group is racist.

Everyone is subject to some form of what I call "stereotype vulnerability." The form that black students suffer from can hurt them where it matters, in academic performance. My research with Joshua Aronson shows that "stereotype vulnerability"

can cost these students many points on exams like the S.A.T.

Over time, the pressure can push the students to stop identifying with achievement in school. They may even band together in doing this, making "disidentification" the pattern. For my money, the syndrome is at the root of black students' troubles in college.

If affirmative action contributes to this problem, it is less from the policy itself than from its implementation, often through a phalanx of "minority support" programs that, however well intended, reinforce negative stereotypes. Almost certainly, there would be persistent, troubling underperformance by minority students even if affirmative action programs were dismantled, just as there was before they existed.

• Is there any reason to believe that affirmative action programs can alleviate this problem?

In the diagnosis may lie the seeds of a cure: Schools need to reduce the burden of suspicion these students are under. Challenging students works better than dumbing down their education. Framing intelligence as expandable rather than as a set, limiting trait makes frustration a signal to try harder, not to give up. Finally, it is crucial that the college convey, especially through relationships with authoritative adults, that it values them for their intellectual promise and not just because of its own openness to minorities.

My colleagues (Steven Spencer, Mary Hummel, David Schoem, Kent Harber and Richard Nisbett) and I incorporated these and other principles into a program at the University of Michigan for the last four years. The students, both white and minority, were selected randomly for the project and as freshmen were housed in the same dorm.

Through workshops and group study, all placing emphasis on the students' intellectual potential, the

program eliminated the differential between black and white students' grades in freshman year for the top two-thirds of the black students.

It helped others as well: 92 percent of all the students in the group, white and black, were still in school after four years.

The successes of comparable programs — Urie Treisman's math workshops at the University of Texas, Georgia State's pre-engineering program, John Johnides's faculty mentoring project, also at Michigan — show that this approach can work.

• But what about reverse discrimination? How much does this policy of inclusion cost in exclusion of others?

To know if affirmative action is displacing whites in admissions, you have to know if, among comparably qualified applicants, more minorities get in than whites.

Thomas Kane of Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government found that this seems to happen only in elite colleges, where the average S.A.T. score is above 1,100. These schools make up only 15 percent of our four-year colleges. There was no evidence of preference in admissions among the rest.

Moreover, in the elite schools, blacks don't often use the preference they get, choosing schools closer to home, perhaps, for various reasons. They rarely exceed 7 percent of the student body at the top schools. Overall, affirmative action causes little displacement of other students — less

by far than other forms of preferences, like the one for children of alumni.

In our society, individual initiative is an indisputable source of mobility. But a stream of resources including money, education and contacts is also important. After all this time, even the black middle class has only tentative access to this stream. Affirmative action in college represents a commitment to fixing this, allowing those with initiative a wider aperture of opportunity.

If its opponents prevail and affirmative action is dumped, will the same people, so ostensibly outraged by the racial injustice of it, then step forward to address the more profound racial injustices?

I wouldn't bet on it and, in the meantime, let's talk about this policy frankly and pragmatically: how to improve it, when it should be more inclusive, and how it should be made fairer.

To dump it now would be to hold some people, just beginning to experience a broader fairness in society, to a tougher standard than the rest of us have had to meet.

Group Study
had their
results as
Berkeley as
well

U. of Michigan
for

Economic Scene

Peter Passell

Possible gold for the G.O.P. in a plan to cut auto insurance costs.

IS a revamping of the civil justice system another one-day wonder, an issue that lets politicians tut-tut over waste, fraud and abuse before it is nibbled to death by lobbyists?

It certainly is looking that way, as Congressional Republicans shuffle toward unambitious limitations on shareholder suits and product liability and President Clinton threatens to veto almost any change of substance that hits his desk. But there is one area of civil justice that could win political points for Republicans long after the public has moved on to fresher outrages: auto insurance overhaul.

Indeed the potential political gain is magnified by evidence of the link between auto insurance revisions and medical care costs. As a new study by the Rand Corporation's Institute for Civil Justice suggests, changes in incentives to overuse medical care after auto accidents could prove crucial in meeting the Republican commitment to balance the Federal budget.

While accident rates are stable, there are still lots of reasons why auto insurance premiums have gone through the roof in the last two decades. Cars cost more to fix and medical care is costlier. And on the whole, Americans are more inclined to sue each other. But the monster in the auto insurance box is the growth in successful claims for intangible injuries — what lawyers call pain and suffering.

Newly published estimates by Rand break down by state the potential savings from prohibiting the recovery of damages for pain and suffering. Drivers in Connecticut, Hawaii and Massachusetts would see their premiums fall by 40 percent or more. Even New York, which limits access to juries by means of a tough "no fault" law, stands to save 35 percent. Over all, the potential saving is 31 percent of auto insurance



Nicolas Asciou

premiums — some \$26 billion annually.

Pain and suffering suits have an unintended side effect that has only recently been highlighted by Michael Horowitz of the Hudson Institute and Jeffrey O'Connell of the University of Virginia Law School. In less-than-catastrophic injury cases, they argue, claimants often run up big medical bills because their lawyers have learned that settlements for pain and suffering are generally figured as a multiple of medical expenses. Rand estimates that in 1993 more than one-third of claimed medical costs were fraudulent, adding \$4 billion to the nation's health care bill and \$9 billion to \$13 billion to payouts for pain and suffering as well as legal fees.

Rand is not alone. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has been devoting considerable attention to the connection between medical costs and auto insurance fraud, pursuing what it calls Operation Sudden Impact. In May, along with announcing the latest series of arrests, Louis J. Freeh, the F.B.I. Director, estimated that "every American household is burdened with over \$200 annually in additional premiums to make up for this type of fraud."

States could simply bar pain and suffering claims in auto accidents. But in most legislatures

that is out of the question, partly because trial lawyers are bitterly opposed and partly because it seems intuitively unfair to lock the courthouse door to claimants and throw away the key.

That is where the "choice" concept, offered by Mr. Horowitz and Mr. O'Connell, fits in. They would allow people to buy auto insurance with or without the right to sue for pain and suffering. Those who opted out to save money could still make claims for full economic losses. But they could neither sue nor be sued for intangible losses unless the defendant was drunk or intended to do injury. Those who want to retain the right would pay for it: If they are injured by someone who had opted out they could collect pain and suffering damages from their own insurance companies, much the way claimants now collect from their own insurers when they are harmed by an uninsured motorist.

Apart from decimating the ranks of ambulance chasers and putting tens of billions of dollars in consumers' pockets, the legal scholars note two other advantages. According to Rand, the biggest winners would be the poor, who would no longer pay insurance premiums that reflect the pain and suffering claims of affluent drivers. Equally important, there would be more incentive to link auto premiums to the safety features of automobiles since the bulk of compensation for injury would be paid by one's own insurance company.

Initial efforts to include an auto insurance "choice" requirement in the Republicans' civil justice changes were tarred as just another attempt to subvert the will of the states, and there is hardly a groundswell for trying again soon. But two Republican Senators, Spencer Abraham of Michigan and Mitch McConnell of Kentucky, think they have found a way around the objection that may put it back on the political agenda: give each state the option of eliminating choice by an affirmative vote of the legislature.

Mr. Horowitz likes the compromise and almost hopes a few states would deny their residents the right to choose in order to highlight the size of the windfall. "Premiums in adjacent states would be lower by a third or more," he exalts.

Would this cut auto insurance costs?

Welfare, School Are Linked in Bill for D.C.

Parent-Teacher Meetings Are Focus of Proposal

By DeNeen L. Brown and David A. Vise

Washington Post Staff Writers

District residents who are on welfare and have children in the public schools could be required to attend parent-teacher conferences every three months or have their benefits cut off under a legislative proposal circulated yesterday on Capitol Hill.

The plan, drafted under the direction of a House Republican who heads a task force on the D.C. schools, would authorize Mayor Marion Barry to link public assistance payments to parents' involvement in the education of their children. Barry would be able to cut off money from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program to anyone who does not attend regular parent-teacher conferences.

The proposal is the work of Rep. Steve Gunderson (R-Wis.), who is drafting a broad legislative program to overhaul D.C. schools. It was made available to other lawmakers yesterday and has not been endorsed by either House GOP leaders or city officials. But the plan could come before the House next month as part of D.C. budget legislation.

Gunderson's proposal also would establish a new five-member school panel for the District, the members of which would be appointed by House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), Senate Majority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) and President Clinton. The panel would make decisions regarding the city schools' curriculum, teacher training and scholastic evaluation next year.

Sources familiar with the welfare proposal said D.C. teachers asked for a new policy that would encourage parents who receive public benefits to get more involved in their children's education.

Even if Congress approves the idea, it also would have to win support from Barry and the federal secretary of health and human services.

Similar ideas have been proposed in other

See DISTRICT, C2, Col. 3

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9/7/95

THE WASHINGTON POST
THURSDAY, AUGUST 31, 1995

DISTRICT, From C1

jurisdictions. Under a Virginia law that took effect July 1, parents of students in trouble at school can be fined as much as \$500 if they don't show up for disciplinary hearings and cooperate in the punishment of their children. Laurel Weir, policy director for the National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty, a non-profit legal advocacy organization for homeless and poor people, voiced skepticism yesterday about the plan.

"I think it is a good goal to ensure parent involvement in education," Weir said, "but there might be barriers that are not immediately obvious. For homeless parents, transportation might be an issue. . . I don't think it's a good idea to cut benefits outright without looking at why they missed a conference."

D.C. Board of Education member Linda Moody (Ward 8) said she thinks welfare benefits should be linked to something more substantive than parent-teacher conferences. "As far as I'm concerned, having parents see that their child is at school every day, on time, is a better reason to withhold," Moody said. "Yes, we want them to come to meetings, but we also want them to have that child come to school."

Gunderson's draft legislation also would make scholarship funds available for some poor students to attend private schools and would permit the establishment of new so-called charter schools that could operate outside standard city policies. The charter schools could be sponsored by organizations such as the Smithsonian Institution.

Gingrich has said he hopes the education measures will be voted on as part of D.C. budget legislation in September. Congress also could consider a package of public safety initiatives being developed by Rep. Frederick K. Heineman (R-N.C.) then, but no decision has been made.

A draft of the Heineman proposal, which would cost in excess of \$40 million, includes restoring D.C. police pay cuts imposed this year.

Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.) said, "The Heineman proposal contains many good ideas, and includes some that some in the District, including myself, do not support."

*Parents
need to
know about this
& when
to sign it*