

April 23, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR PHIL CAPLAN

FROM: TERRY GOOD 

RE: ENRICO FERMI AWARDS

We found no documentation in our regular files. However, a search of Todd's "Chron Files" turned up the attached copy which is marked as though it was intended for Kitty Higgins.

The information in the computer indicates that Tim Saunders was to have received the original for action with a copy to Higgins.

Might there have been a mix-up? If the Clerk's Office did not receive it could Higgins have received the original?

P.S.

We will file a copy of this back
in Todd's Chron file

copy to Kitty Higgins

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/19/95

October 12, 1995

MR. PRESIDENT:

The attached memo from Secretary O'Leary seeks your approval of the recipients of the 1995 Enrico Fermi award – a Presidential award managed by DOE. The recommended winners are:

- **Dr. Martin Kamen, 81**, whose discovery of Carbon 14 ushered in the modern era of biochemical research and led to the understanding of photosynthesis and metabolism in all organisms;
- **Dr. Ugo Fano, 79**, Fermi's most prominent and last living student in atomic and radiation physics. The range of his contributions during a sixty-year career extend from physical theory to genetics and nuclear physics.

The winners were chosen from among 82 nominees screened by a panel representing the national labs, research universities, private sector research organizations and federal research agencies. Each recipient receives a citation, a gold medal and a \$100,000 honorarium.

Jack Gibbons concurs in DOE's selections.

☒ Approve ☐ Reject ☐ Discuss

Todd Stern *TJS*
Phil Caplan *PC*



Department of Energy

Washington, DC 20585

September 27, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/19/95

95 SEP 30 11:27

MEMORANDUM FOR THE HONORABLE TODD STERN
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
STAFF SECRETARY

FROM:

for ANN LAVIN *AKennedy*
DIRECTOR, EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT

SUBJECT: 1995 Enrico Fermi Award

The attached memorandum from Secretary O'Leary to the President is forwarded for appropriate handling. We have also provided Dr. Henry C. Kelly, Chairman of the Interagency Awards Committee for the Enrico Fermi Awards, with a copy.

Please call me at (202) 586-5230 if I can be of assistance.

Attachment





The Secretary of Energy

Washington, DC 20585

September 27, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

HAZEL R O'LEARY

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Hazel R O'Leary", is written over the printed name.

SUBJECT:

1995 Enrico Fermi Award

- I. **ACTION-FORCING EVENT:** The Department of Energy requests your approval of Dr. Martin D. Kamen and Dr. Ugo Fano to receive the Enrico Fermi Award for 1995. The citations and supporting justifications are attached (Attachment A).

More than 2,500 individuals and organizations were asked to submit nominations for this award. These two individuals were chosen from among 82 nominees by a screening panel representing National Laboratories, universities, private sector research organizations, and an Interagency Awards Committee representing large governmental research agencies.

- II. **BACKGROUND:** The Enrico Fermi Award is a Presidential award managed by the Department of Energy. The award is one of the oldest science and technology awards given by our Government and one of the most prestigious in the world. Presented to Dr. Fermi in 1954, we established the award on a permanent basis in 1956 for "any especially meritorious contribution to the development, use, or control of atomic energy." Atomic energy, having grown and broadened since 1956, now contributes to such diverse fields as nuclear medicine, genetics, astronomy, and archeology. Attached is a list of previous winners (Attachment B).

Each recipient will receive a citation signed by the President and the Secretary of Energy, a gold medal, and a \$100,000 honorarium.

- III. **RECOMMENDATION:** The Department recommends that you approve both Dr. Fano and Dr. Kamen to receive Enrico Fermi Awards for 1995. Dr. Fano published his first paper in 1934 and his latest in 1994. Thus, his scientific career extends over a period of sixty years. An indication of his pervasive influence in physics is the number of phenomena that bear his name: the "Beutler-Fano profile," the "Fano-Lichten mechanism," the "Fano effect," and the "Fano-factor." The range of his contributions extends from physical theory, to genetics, to nuclear physics. Dr. Kamen's discovery in 1940 of the isotope Carbon-14 turned a page in

biochemical research and ushered in the modern era of biochemical investigations using the isotope to elucidate biochemical pathways and mechanisms. At age 81, Dr. Kamen has contributed exceptionally to the development and use of Carbon-14 and is still teaching at the University of California at San Diego and at the University of Southern California. We believe these scientists represent the relevance and the future of science.

If these recommendations meet with your approval, we will hold an appropriate ceremony for the awardees.

IV. DECISION:

☐ Approve ☐ Approve as amended ☐ Reject ☐ No Action

Attachments

MARTIN D. KAMEN

Citation

For his exceptional contributions to the development and use of carbon-14, which has provided an immensely powerful instrument for research in biology, biochemistry, and medicine; and for his work on the problem of photosynthesis, including the discovery of new cytochromes and their role in energy conversion.

Justification

The most well-known of Dr. Martin Kamen's many contributions to science is his discovery in 1940 of the long-lived radioactive carbon isotope carbon-14. (Dr. Kamen's colleague in this discovery was Dr. S. Ruben, who died in 1943.) This man-made isotope, and its use in tracer methodology, ushered in the modern era of biochemical research. Carbon-14 led to the understanding of metabolism in all organisms and photosynthesis, the most fundamental process on our planet. This process is being used to study the distribution and turnover of carbon dioxide in our deteriorating environment.

In recognizing Dr. Kamen's work, we also recognize the development of nuclear chemistry, a major chapter in the history of American science and technology. His own contributions are embedded in the long process from the very early period (represented by his association with Dr. William Draper Harkins), to the great, creative era of the Berkeley Radiation Laboratory in the later 1930s, and extends its influence finally into present day large-scale isotope tracer production and worldwide application.

In 1937, after completing his doctoral research on neutron scattering, Dr. Kamen joined the legendary group under Dr. Ernest O. Lawrence, working as a radiochemist at the University of California at Berkeley cyclotron. Here, in collaboration with Dr. Ruben, he began early tracer studies using carbon-11 that he made in the cyclotron; however, he was limited by the short half-life (21 minutes) of this nuclide. The need for a long-lived radiocarbon was evident. While the existence of the nuclide carbon-14 had been postulated since 1934, it had never been directly observed nor characterized. Dr. Kamen succeeded in preparing C-14 in sufficient amounts to determine its beta-emission energy and lifetime. Then he developed a technique to produce copious amounts of C-14 that, in addition, could easily be swept out and recovered as gaseous CO or CO₂. Remarkably, both the large neutron cross-section and the extraordinarily long half-life (5,700 years) of carbon-14 were strongly at variance with theoretical expectations at that time.

Dr. Kamen applied his expertise directly in research using tracers to study important chemical and biochemical processes. It is noteworthy that two basic themes recur in these pioneering radiocarbon studies: photosynthesis and the related general problem of CO₂ assimilation.

Dr. Kamen's service to tracer technology continued at the Mallinckrodt Institute of Radiology, Washington University School of Medicine, where he supervised cyclotron production of radioisotopes for medical research. In addition, drawing upon his unique background and experience, he wrote what immediately became the primary reference work on the use of radioactive tracers *Radioactive Tracers in Biology: An Introduction to Tracer Methodology*. This work, first published in 1947, has gone through three editions incorporating new techniques, and three reprintings, through 1965. This book remains a classic reference on basic nuclear science, tracer methodology, and technique.

Dr. Kamen continued work on the problem of photosynthesis. With keen scientific intuition, he chose to use bacteria instead of green plants as test organisms. This change, related to his earlier studies on bacteria at Berkeley, was influenced also by his familiarity with the attitudes of comparative biochemistry, a viewpoint that emphasizes general biochemical and evolutionary relationships and guides research accordingly.

Dr. Martin Kamen was born in 1913 in Toronto. He earned his B.S. and Ph.D. degrees in Chemistry and Physical Chemistry, respectively, from the University of Chicago. He began his career in 1938 at the Radiation Laboratory of the University of California. He was Associate Professor of Biochemistry and Chemist to Mallinckrodt Institute of Radiology, Washington University (1945-57); Professor of Biochemistry at Brandeis University (1957-61); Professor of Chemistry at the University of California at San Diego (1961 to the present). From 1967-1970, he spent every six months as Director of Research at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique Laboratoire de Photosynthese in Gif-sur-Yvette, France. He taught at the University of Southern California, was Director of the Chemical-Biological Development Laboratory (1974-1977) and Director of Molecular Biology (1978). Currently he is Professor Emeritus at the University of California at San Diego and at the University of Southern California.

Dr. Kamen has published 300 scientific papers that demonstrate the range and significance of his work. He is author of a widely used standard textbook on tracer methods, *Isotopic Tracer Methods in Biology*, that has been highly influential in introducing tracer methodology to biochemistry. He is also the author of *Primary Process in Photosynthesis* (1963), which is a classic work in this field. He has written an autobiography, *Radiant Science, Dark Politics: A memoir of the Nuclear Age*, which is notable for its portraits of a number of scientific figures with whom Dr. Kamen worked during the 1930s and 1940s. He has received many honorary degrees, including those from the University of Chicago, Washington University, University of Illinois, Brandeis University, University of Freiburg in Germany, and the Weizmann Institute of Science in Israel. His awards include the C.F. Kettering Research Award (1963-1970), the C.F. Kettering Award for Excellence in Photosynthesis (1968), the Merck Award of the American Society of Biological Chemists (1982), and the Einstein Award of the World Cultural Council (1990). Dr. Kamen is a member of the National Academy of Sciences.

UGO FANO

Citation

For his seminal and sustained theoretical contributions to atomic and radiation physics over six decades as exemplified by the phenomena that bear his name: the Fano Effect, the Beutler-Fano Profile, the Fano Factor, and the Fano-Lichten Mechanism.

Justification

Dr. Ugo Fano is Dr. Enrico Fermi's most prominent and last living student in atomic and radiation physics. He published his first paper in 1934 and his latest in 1994. Thus, his scientific career spans a period of sixty years. He is best known for his remarkable predictions and interpretations regarding the interaction of radiation with matter. An indication of his pervasive influence in physics is the number of phenomena that bear his name: the Beutler-Fano profile, the Fano-Lichten mechanism, the Fano effect, and the Fano-factor. It is characteristic of his studies to introduce unifying concepts and procedures that reduce apparently diverse and complex phenomena to a simple and practical description. The following paragraphs describe only a few of Dr. Ugo Fano's many contributions to physics.

One of Dr. Fano's earliest accomplishments was the interpretation of the asymmetric profile of spectral lines of rare gases in the autoionization region. Dr. Fano showed that the peculiar profile arises from an interference between the autoionizing state and the continuum state, a basic electron-electron correlation effect. He derived the famous expression for the line-shape now known as Beutler-Fano Profile. He urged the experimentalists to develop spectroscopy using synchrotron radiation for the observation of doubly excited autoionizing states in rare gases. In order to classify doubly excited states of helium, Dr. Fano discovered a new quantum number. Dr. Fano stimulated the study of resonances and doubly excited states, which was the beginning of the vast knowledge we now have about doubly excited states of atoms and molecules. Fano profiles and Fano parameters are used to describe the interaction of tunable radiation with matter, whether in the atomic, molecular, or solid state.

In 1969 Professor Fano predicted that photoionization by circularly polarized light can yield highly polarized photoelectrons. His prediction, soon confirmed experimentally and known as the Fano effect, had far-reaching consequences. The Fano effect stimulated the development of sources for spin-polarized electrons that were needed for crucial experiments in atomic and elementary particle physics and initiated a new understanding of the photoionization process of atoms and molecules. Photoelectron spectrometry of spin-polarized electrons and the interaction of spin-polarized electrons with atoms, molecules, and surfaces are currently among the most advanced research fields in atomic and solid state physics.

Another important contribution was his concept of state multipoles in the description of angular correlations. This concept forms the basis for virtually all analyses of angular-

correlation experiments in atomic and nuclear physics. In these experiments, events such as the simultaneous detection of decay products are correlated with one another, the correlation being almost transparently expressed in terms of state multipoles. Concurrent with this work was his development of the mathematical techniques for describing angular momentum mechanics.

The Fano-Lichten mechanism for producing excited states where many electrons simultaneously share the energy deposited in atoms and molecules represents a related idea that is now part of the accepted canon of atomic physics. The novel feature is the demonstration that even though electrons behave independently, they independently do almost the same thing; that is, they acquire excess energy under certain circumstances. This produces novel states of matter that have proved to be a fruitful window on new aspects of atomic structure. The Fano-Lichten mechanism now forms the basis for the description of ion-atom collisions in the low-energy regime.

The Fano factor came up early in the development of semiconductor radiation detectors, such as lithium-drifted germanium, and accounted for the observed resolution being better than would be allowed by statistics. Dr. Fano pointed out the importance of the distribution around the mean energy of events arising from ionizing radiation, a rather subtle point at the time. He thus made an important and lasting contribution to radiation physics, based on his unique physical and mathematical insight.

Dr. Ugo Fano was born in Torino, Italy, in 1912. He earned his Sc.D. in Mathematics at the University of Torino in 1934. His postdoctoral work was with Dr. Enrico Fermi at the University of Rome (1934-36) and with Dr. Werner Heisenberg at the University of Leipzig (1936-37). After emigrating to the United States, he worked at Washington Biophysical Institute (1939-40) and at Carnegie Institution, Washington, D.C. (1940-46). From 1946-1966, he worked at the National Bureau of Standards where he was Chief of Radiation Theory and Senior Research Fellow. From 1966 to the present, he has been at the University of Chicago and its James Franck Institute. He has been Professor Emeritus since 1982. Among his many awards are the Rockefeller Public Service Award (1956), Gold Medal of the Department of Commerce for Exceptional Service (1957), Stratton Award of the National Bureau of Standards (1963), and the Davisson-Germer Award (1976). He holds an honorary degree from Queen's University, Belfast, and the Docteur Honoris Causa from the University Pierre et Marie Curie, Paris. Professor Fano is a member of the National Academy of Sciences.

PAST RECIPIENTS OF THE ENRICO FERMI AWARD

1956:	John von Neumann	1980:	Rudolf E. Peierls Alvin M. Weinberg
1957:	Ernest O. Lawrence	1981:	W. Bennett Lewis
1958:	Eugene P. Wigner	1982:	Seth Neddermeyer Herbert Anderson
1959:	Glenn T. Seaborg	1983:	Alexander Hollaender John H. Lawrence
1961:	Hans A. Bethe	1984:	Robert R. Wilson Georges Vendryes
1962:	Edward Teller	1985:	Norman Rasmussen Marshall Rosenbluth
1963:	J.R. Oppenheimer	1986:	Ernest D. Courant M. Stanley Livingston
1964:	H.G. Rickover	1987:	Luis Alvarez Gerald F. Tape
1966:	Otto Hahn Lise Meitner Fritz Strassman	1988:	Richard B. Setlow Victor F. Weisskopf
1968:	John A. Wheeler	1990:	George A. Cowan Robley D. Evans
1969:	Walter H. Zinn	1992:	Harold Brown John S. Foster, Jr. Leon M. Lederman
1970:	Norris E. Bradbury	1993:	Freeman J. Dyson Liane B. Russell
1971:	Shields Warren Stafford L. Warren		
1972:	Manson Benedict		
1976:	William L. Russell		
1978:	Wolfgang K.H. Panofsky Harold M. Agnew		

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 10-10-95

TO: *BRINKER Boules*
GENE Spelman
George Sp —
FROM: Staff Secretary

Fy1.

[Signature]

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4 October 1995

95 OCT 10 AM 1:17

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA
DON BAER

FROM: HAROLD ICKES
JENNIFER O'CONNOR

SUBJECT: SECRETARY JESSE BROWN REQUEST

During the course of a meeting yesterday with Secretary Jesse Brown, he asked that I discuss with you the importance of adding veterans issues to your message on a regular basis, especially in the context of discussions of Republican budget cuts. He cited as an example the opportunity for you to mention, when in California, that you don't appreciate the Republicans rejecting your proposal to build a new Veterans Affairs hospital there. Or, as an alternate example, he stressed the importance of having a strong veto message should you veto the VA/HUD appropriations bill; he urges that the veto message include a discussion of veterans and the pain the bill would cause them.

10-10
original typed note
to Erskine

M

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: October 10, 1995

TO: Erskine Bowles
Gene Sperling
George Stephanopoulos
FROM: Staff Secretary

FYI.

Todd

A story of churches and children

One Church One Child began 15 years ago as just that—when the Rev. George Clements, pastor of Chicago's Holy Angels Catholic Church, adopted a boy named Joey. Today, the organization dedicated to the adoption of African-American children might well be called Thousands of Churches Thousands of Children.

But its goal is still the same—to recruit at least one family from every African-American church in the nation to adopt a child. And its success is a testament to the notion that sometimes solving weighty social problems can start in our own back yard—through community groups, churches, families and individuals who care enough to be part of the solution.

It is quite fitting that the One Church One Child national conference this past week was held in Illinois, where the program has had a remarkable impact. Since 1980, more than 5,000 black children in the state have been adopted through more than 1,000

participating churches, and the numbers grow each year.

African-American children make up about 70 percent of the adoptable children in the United States, and since One Church One Child went national in 1986 it has helped 60,000 of them in 31 states find permanent homes. But the pastors who serve as recruiters and the parents who find it in their hearts to adopt are not just patching a rip in the social fabric, they are salvaging young lives as well.

One Church One Child pastors make recruitment presentations to their congregations, often bringing in children who are available for adoption so prospective parents can see them for what they are—kids who desperately want and need a loving family of their own.

What more appropriate and blessed role for a church can there be than that?

Alexis

Are we involved w/ them
we should be —

Bz

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-9-95



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 6, 1995

10/9/95
Copied
Maureen
Lewis
JRA

Dear Stuart —

I just learned of your
mother's death and wanted to
say our thoughts and prayers
are with you.

She was a wonderful woman
who brightened my life from
childhood through the last time
I saw her.

I will always be grateful
for her friendship to our whole
family — and I wish every child
could have a mother like her.

Sincerely
Bill Clinton

OK
RM

HITE HOUSE
SHINGTON

October 6, 1995

Dr. Stuart Fleischner
113 Whispering Pine Cove
Hot Springs, Arkansas 71901

Dear Stuart:

I was so saddened to hear about your mother's death. She was a wonderful woman and such a good friend of Mother.

Hillary and I hope that the love and support of your family and friends will comfort and sustain you during this difficult time.

You will be in our thoughts and prayers in the days to come.

Sincerely,



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 6, 1995

Dear Mark -

I just learned of your mother's death. She was a truly wonderful woman, who always brightened my life — Going into Laura's was a joyful adventure in my childhood — She and your Dad were always so kind and gracious, even to a young boy like me with no ability to be a really good customer.

After I grew up I cherished your mother's friendship to our family and her brave, sunny outlook on life.

Both of us were blessed with remarkable mothers. I wish every child could be so fortunate. God Bless You —

Sincerely,
Bill Clinton

OK
Pm

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 6, 1995

H. Mark Fleischner
402 Central Avenue
Hot Springs, Arkansas 71901

Dear Mark:

I was so sorry to learn of your mother's death. She was a wonderful woman and such a good friend of Mother. Both of us were truly blessed with remarkable mothers.

I know that the love and support of your family and friends will comfort and sustain you during this difficult time.

Hillary and I will keep you in our thoughts and prayers in the days to come.

Sincerely,

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10-9-95

To: Albert Gore/OVP, Heather M. Marabeti/OVP
cc:
From: Elaine C. Kamarck/OVP
Date: 10/05/95 07:14:09 PM
Subject: President's inquiry on nursing home regulation

You asked for a quick turn around in response to a USA today article the POTUS sent you on nursing home regs. This is a long, painful and convoluted story. The short version is that in October of this year HCFA finally issued enforcement regulations on a nursing home bill passed in 1987. They did this with full involvement of the industry and used lots of performance measures in the regs. You spoke about these changes in general terms in the HCFA reform event you did with the First Lady on July 11. To the surprise of HCFA, the industry got cold feet as the July 1 effective date approached and HCFA struck a compromise with them that effectively delays enforcement (that does not affect health) until October 1. In addition HCFA has agreed to some of the changes in the 1987 law that industry has wanted. Nevertheless, the industry has been very nervous ever since. However, they don't really favor the Bliley approach because they don't want 50 sets of regs.

So, if the purpose of the President's inquiry is to see if we could give a rego response to this debate - the answer is we can and we have. However, unlike some of our changes in other areas, I don't think our changes in this area will settle this debate.

Heather

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-9-95

SS - Fy1
anything to the Cyprus
suggestion
October 10, 1995

President Bill Clinton,

Sorry I missed your call last night, but Linda thoroughly enjoyed speaking with you. She admires and loves you and what you are so much. Thanks..

It was a sad letter and I was feeling very sad. Everything sort of hit me at the same time. My job, my country, my Mom. But I am feeling better. I am the eternal optimist. A day or two latter and I am back after it. It did help to know that you called. You mean a lot to me.

My trip was very special and I want to thank you for a place to stay, the time we spent together and letting me win at Hearts.!!! HA HA My inclusion at the signing ceremony was another once in a lifetime thrill you have afforded me. I am so luck and spoiled rotten. The only thing I ask is to be much closer when you are sworn in January '97. Carolyn and I were so far away last time that I couldn't even see you when I zoomed my Sony in to X12.

Anyway I had a very interesting trip learning more about the Greek issues. Many Congressmen and women and several Senators came buy and updated us on how they felt about the Cyprus issue and the others. They said that it was one thing to be briefed on Cyprus and the enclave, but another when they visited that terrible situation. Lee Hamilton and others really turned me on even more about it.

The Greeks want me to go there to see it for myself. I hesitate to go, because I don't know if you would want me to go. I don't know if it would be of any real use, unless you want my view. I will do whatever you wish. Let me know.

It seems to me that there is no REAL advantage for Turkey to have their troops there. It is probably more of a pain in the you know what than an advantage. I am told that even the Turkish Cypriots are not very happy in the depressed side of the boarder. Turkey has imported Turks from Turkey and they are not happy or even the same types of people the Turks on Cyprus are. The Turkish side of the line is like the 1950's and very depressed while the Greek side is vibrant and alive. Bill, these people just want to go home and live on their land, bury their dead in their cemeteries etc. etc. I get nothing but total sincerity from all these Greeks. They ask me for nothing, just want to educate me. I am very impressed.

I was told that the City of Famagusta (very near the green line) is totally deserted. The Greeks abandoned it during the invasion. The Turks don't want the city and have left it empty. Maybe a first positive step would be for the Turks to let the Greeks back into Famagusta then the next step get their troops. They could act like statesmen. The result would be that Turkey be considered to join the Common Market. Boy I'm a real foreign affairs guru. From a guy that moves from job to job in his last 40's to foreign affairs expert.....are you impressed? Just some thoughts.

Bill, everybody is expecting you to do the same old thing politicians do during an election year. They are expecting you to do nothing. Play it safe. Avoid big decisions so you won't lose votes. Well, I think a good idea would be to go full speed ahead. Try to solve Cyprus, domestic issues, you know all that stuff. The general theme during the Greek meeting was that they had three months before Jan 1st. Then you would not be approachable about anything significant. In my speech to them (one of your staffers was there that night, Rebecca knows who) I told them they don't know Bill Clinton. That you were dedicated to getting things done and that you would continue to function as President.

Enough politics. Linda has made the decision to run the Boston Marathon. It is April 12-14. We will be driving up with Linda. We are trying to make plans now. I thought that we might stop by on the way back to see you so Linda could tell you about her run. I am so proud of her. Maybe if there is not a lot going on we could spend the night that night. The kids have not quit speaking about the last trip to see you.

David Leopoulos

Cc
C. Leopoulos
NH

10/9/95
Original
to Maureen
Lewis.
JRA

Maureen -

10.2-95

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-9-95

birthdays	
Oct. 1	
Mark McGwire, 32	
Julie Andrews, 60	
Jimmy Carter, 71	
Oct. 2	
Lorraine Bracco, 41	
Sting, 44	
Oct. 3	
Fred Couples, 36	
Oct. 4	
Armand Assante, 46	
Susan Sarandon, 49	
Charlton Heston, 71	
Oct. 5	
Scott Weinger, 20	
Clive Barker, 43	
Oct. 6	
Dennis Ray "Oil Can" Boyd, 36	
Oct. 7	
Yo-Yo Ma, 40	
John Mellencamp, 44	
Oliver North, 52	

Birthday
letters to those
checked. Potus
checked.
b

Oct. 2, 1995 5:46PM GSD&M

No. 1603

P. 7/7

Kicking the false economy habit

If there were a government program so effective that every tax dollar devoted to it yielded \$7 in savings by other levels of government, congressional budget-balancers would surely want to know.

Unless, of course, that program was drug and alcoholism treatment.

Spending *your* hard-earned tax dollars to cure other people of *their* bad habits is a notion that runs counter to the new politics of personal responsibility. It's so much easier to "just say no," as though a little willpower will make the addiction problem go away.

Unfortunately for America's 2.5 million drug addicts and 10 million alcoholics, it's not that easy. And just as unfortunately for the rest of us, the cost of ignoring the problem is becoming unbearable.

Consider this: The annual cost of substance abuse in the United States—everything from unnecessary health care to clogged courts and jails, from auto accidents to lost productivity—adds up to more than \$166 billion.

The price of addiction is woven into government budgets at every level, from \$8 billion in extra Medicaid spending by Washington to \$707 million in additional criminal-justice spending in Illinois, much of it in Cook County, where drugs or alcohol are a factor in more than two-thirds of all crimes.

The federal government's \$10 billion-a-year drug

interdiction effort, the so-called "war on drugs," is part of the answer. But another, much smaller, effort has shown itself to be far more cost-effective: Addiction treatment.

A recent study by the State of California, which tracked 1,900 cases, concluded that every dollar spent on treatment yielded a \$7 savings elsewhere in the state budget. Similar results were reported in Minnesota, where it was discovered that 80 cents of every treatment dollar are recovered in the first year. Recovering addicts have far fewer arrests, hospital admissions, job losses and so forth.

Illinois has some of the best private, non-profit drug and alcohol treatment centers in the nation, but it is estimated that the state's 250 programs contain only enough beds to meet about 5 percent of the need. Those centers that treat the uninsured have waiting lists of several months, if not a year or more.

Such centers are funded by the Illinois Department of Alcoholism and Drug Abuse, which gets half its funding from the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services. Funding for the department's main drug-treatment program would be cut by about 18 percent next year under an appropriations bill recently passed by the House.

Senate action is pending, but this much is certain: For every dollar cut, taxpayers will pay seven.

Leah
to be
can be
Sam
Gail
Gail
Luther
N

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-9-95

Todd -

10/9/95

I copied Leon.

Anyone else?

J.

- ✓ Rich
- ✓ Bruce Reed
- ✓ Tyson
- ✓ Baker

To ~~Amber~~ / cc: GS / ^{9/28} ~~Bauer~~
~~Names~~

I thought the ~~Be~~
President would
find this very
interesting.

Wendy

THE UNMAKING OF THE MAINSTREAM MEDIA

by S. Robert Lichter and Richard E. Noyes

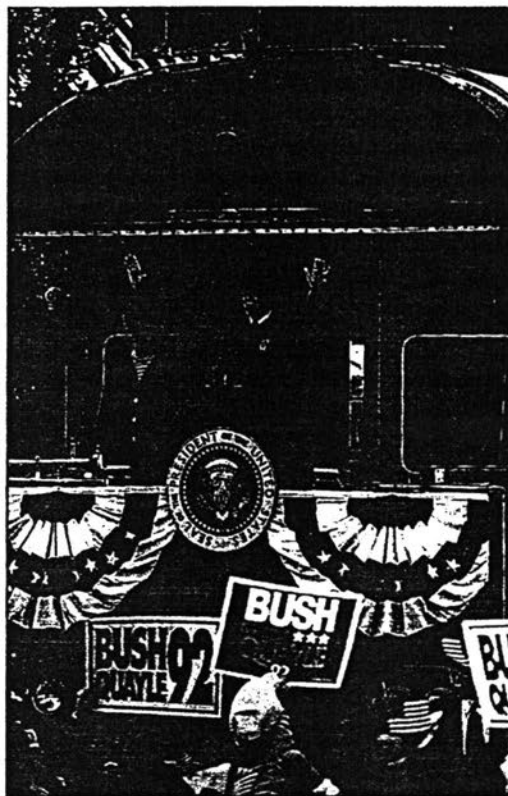
The press had two goals for covering the 1992 campaign: It would force the candidates to focus on issues, and it would enforce fair campaign practices. With the 1996 campaign drawing near, it's not too early to ask whether these reforms improved the coverage.

IN THE SOUL-SEARCHING THAT TOOK PLACE after the 1988 presidential campaign, journalists decided that it was a disaster for which they bore some responsibility. Urged on by prominent in-house reformers including David Broder of *The Washington Post*, Ken Bode now of *Washington Week in Review*, and Tim Russert of NBC's *Meet the Press*, leading news organizations determined well in advance of the 1992 primary season that they must act more aggressively as the public's surrogate. Instead of

transmitting staged visuals and cynically crafted sound bites, they would impose on the politicians a strict diet of substantive issues. And by scrutinizing the candidates' speeches and ads, calling attention to misleading claims or outright falsehoods, they would enforce fair campaign practices. The goal for 1992 was to face down manipulative and trivializing campaign practices with serious, substantive, and even-handed oversight.

The media followed this approach in 1992 and took special pride in the work they did. Four out of five journalists polled by Times Mirror turned thumbs up on the media's performance. Influential media critic Edwin Diamond praised television for its best campaign reporting in 40 years. Seymour Topping, then-president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, proclaimed that "the country owes [the press] a debt for a job well done."

With the 1996 primaries only a few months away, it is reasonable to expect that the news media will take the same approach to presidential campaign coverage that they did in 1992. Look for another round of Ad Watches



and reality checks, aggressive questions, and blunt criticisms of the candidates. After all, it worked in 1992.

But did it? How well did the press corps report on the issues? And did journalists protect the electorate from self-serving politicians and manipulative political consultants?

To find out, we undertook a systematic analysis of 1992 presidential election coverage. We examined all ABC, CBS, and NBC evening news coverage of the campaign "preseason," the primaries, party conventions, and general election battles. For the general election, we added CNN's *PrimeNews*, PBS's *MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour*, and three pillars of the "prestige press"—*The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Wall Street Journal*. We also analyzed the general election speeches given by George Bush, Bill Clinton, and Ross Perot, as well as their campaign commercials and television talk-show appearances.

Our purpose was to determine whether journalists mainly reflected the realities of the campaign trail or added their own "spin" that might have distorted public perceptions of what the candidates said and did. The results of this "reality check" were surprising and sometimes disturbing. During the campaign year, journalists tended to complain that the candidates were shirking their duty to debate the issues. But more often than not, when candidates did address the issues, journalists failed to report what they said.

On September 15, 1992, for example, a CBS *Evening News* report criticized President Bush for talking about his opponent's draft record rather than the nation's economy. After relating some negative economic statistics, anchor Dan Rather said, "Both Clinton and President Bush were in the West today, *not* talking about the economy." But transcripts of speeches made by both candidates that day reveal that both were talking about the economy. Bush delivered a speech in Colorado

Bush (top), Clinton, and Perot. Did journalists reflect the realities of the campaign trail, or add their own "spin"?

defending his economic policies, while in Salt Lake City, Utah, Clinton spoke for several minutes on such economic matters as American competitiveness.

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One week later, Rather's CBS colleague Rita Braver, now chief White House correspondent, said the nominees were ignoring public concerns about violent crime: "Even though Americans are constantly talking about crime, their presidential candidates aren't." But in speeches in Missouri and Louisiana that day, Bush claimed credit for increasing federal anti-crime funding and attacked Clinton for failing to combat rising crime in Arkansas. In fact, the candidates discussed crime and programs to combat it in almost a third of their general-election speeches. Yet, so far as

viewers of the *CBS Evening News* knew, Braver was right. During the fall campaign, her program mentioned the candidates' various crime proposals only four times.

These examples proved all too typical. Less than one-quarter of the media coverage focused on the candidates' proposals or records in public life, matters that occupied the great bulk of the texts of their campaign

speeches. What preoccupied the media were personal foibles, campaign tactics, and, as always, the "horse race"—i.e., who's ahead and by how much, according to the latest poll. Indeed, during the general election, "horse-race" stories outnumbered issue stories. (In 1988, the year the media thought it performed so badly, the opposite was true.) News organizations contributed to horse-race stories by commissioning their own polls (which of course they then had to report), and by covering the presidential debates with furious speculation about who had "won" or "lost." What was really lost were the issues, which proved relevant mainly insofar as they helped journalists decode the candidates' strategies.

Thus, when news reports mentioned the candidates' records and proposals, most references were limited to brief and superficial throwaway lines submerged in discussions of campaign strategy or tactics. Fewer than one in ten men-

tions of the candidates' policies described their details and implications. In general, when the media reported on policy issues they did so in the context of discussing their relevance to who might be ahead. In contrast, the candidates told people why issues were relevant to their lives. The problem wasn't that the candidates avoided substance, but that the substantive debate evidently was not considered as newsworthy as other items about the campaign.

The three presidential contenders also ran more positive campaigns than voters might have guessed, since news reports consistently

selected the most negative rhetoric from the campaign trail. More than 70 percent of every candidate's sound bites on the evening news criticized an opposing candidate. In their actual speeches, however, the candidates spent as much time emphasizing their own positive qualities as they did criticizing their opponents.

The negative tone of the coverage extended beyond evaluations of the candidates

to the campaign itself. On the major networks alone, nearly 300 on-air sources complained about the quality of the fall campaign, the paid political ads, and the choice of candidates. On-air critics outnumbered defenders of the process by a margin of twenty to one. By contrast, post-election polls showed that three in five voters were satisfied with the choice of candidates, three in four said they learned enough from the campaign to make an informed choice, and two in five even rated the much criticized campaign commercials as helpful. These facts raise the question of whether the electorate might have been tuning out the mainstream media and getting their information about the campaign elsewhere. As will be seen, there is evidence suggesting that happened.

The news media's handling of the candidates' campaign spots deserves a closer look. Many journalists regard the "Ad Watches" as their proudest achievement of 1992. But de-

In 1992, less than one quarter of the media coverage focused on the candidates' proposals or records.

spite the false sense of certainty they conveyed, these pieces all too frequently simply replaced the campaigns' ambiguous "facts" with their own.

A March 3, 1992 NBC "Ad Watch" was typical of the genre in terms both of its tone and structure. Consider the following excerpt:

LISA MYERS: The Bush campaign also has taken liberties with ads trumpeting the President's leadership.

BUSH AD: Now he has an agenda to strengthen our economy, and make America more competitive in the world, to change welfare, and make the able-bodied work.

MYERS: That's misleading. Here's why:

BOB GREENSTEIN (Welfare Policy Specialist): In the three years he's been president, he's not submitted a single significant proposal in the welfare reform area.

MYERS: ...And now the Democrats. Paul Tsongas, who preaches honesty, played fast and loose with the truth in attacking his rivals' support for a middle-class tax cut.

TSONGAS AD: And they want to give me a tax credit that they're going to have to borrow from my children.

MYERS: That's misleading. [Again, the word is superimposed on the ad.] Both Bill Clinton and Bob Kerrey would pay for their tax cuts by raising taxes on the rich. KATHLEEN HALL JAMIESON (Political Ads Analyst): That means there's no cost to our children.

MYERS: In this latest round of ads, the theme seems to be distraction, distortion, and deception. And as the stakes get higher, it's likely to get worse.

Myers's critique used broad generalizations that were not unlike those in the political commercials themselves. Consider her refutation of the Bush ad. The statement that Bush had not "submitted a single significant proposal" on welfare in his first three years is hardly proof that he was misleading voters about his future intentions. And although the entire statement is labeled misleading, no questions are raised about Bush's "agenda to strengthen our economy, and make America more competitive."

Additionally, Myers's critique of Tsongas's statement that other candidates will "borrow from my children" does not engage fact. Instead, she rebuts Tsongas's notion that tax cuts divert money away from deficit reduction by accepting at face value Clinton and Kerrey's notion that they could pay for middle-class tax cuts by taxing "the rich." (As president, Clinton found the case to be less cut-and-dried.) The grievance with Tsongas's ad appears to be based on a policy dispute with the former senator, not a factual disagreement.

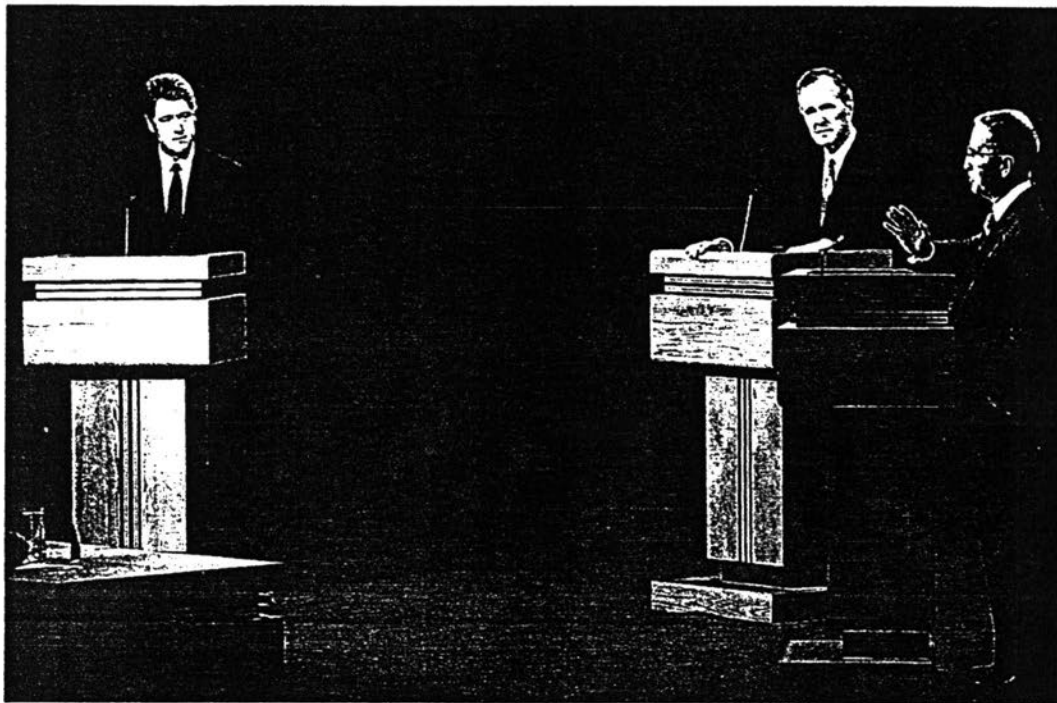
Myers's closing comment, which identifies the "theme" of these ads as "distraction, distortion, and deception," is hardly substantiated by her selected examples. Her use of expert sources is especially troubling. Robert

Greenstein, a registered lobbyist, directs the liberal Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, which rarely praises Republican presidents. And Kathleen Hall Jamieson is an expert on communications, not deficit reduction. Yet their comments were integrated into NBC's story in a manner suggesting that opinions were being countered by undisputed facts. One might label such a claim "misleading."

"Ad Watches" reflected journalists' general disdain for all campaign commercials, but

*Lisa Myers's
critique of Democratic
candidate
Paul Tsongas's
campaign ad did
not engage fact.*





especially attack ads. In late February, CBS's Eric Engberg narrated a contemptuous broad-brush dismissal of the campaign's negative commercials:

"They're back! Negative attack ads, universally deplored as a vile and corrosive force in presidential politics, once again rule the airwaves in key primary states....Four years of 'never again' hand-wringing over an '88 campaign that left voters disgusted has brought forth more of the same."

Engberg didn't challenge the accuracy or fairness of any specific ad. Instead, he went out of his way to remind viewers of the complaints about Bush's 1988 campaign. ("The negative trail, with emphasis on patriotic themes, is a familiar one for Mr. Bush, who used flags and the Willie Horton furlough effectively against Dukakis in '88.")

Like the candidates' spots, Engberg's argument rests not on fact, but on opinions that can neither be validated nor falsified by empirical data. The conceit behind the "Ad Watch" segments was that the campaign trail could be cleansed by network fact-checkers. The truth is that voters must choose between the candidates' competing personas and philosophies.

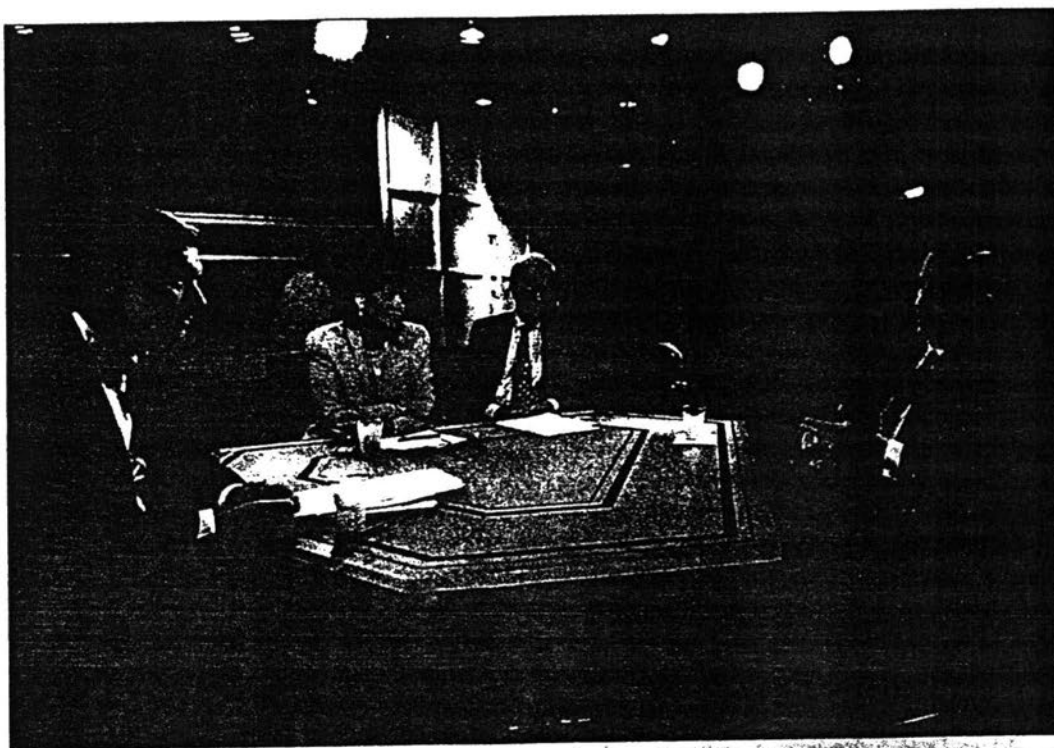
Finally, like the media's overuse of negative sound bites, their attention to negative ads made the candidates' overall advertising campaigns seem more negative than they really were.

Three out of five ads that aired during the general election contained positive messages about the background or proposals of the sponsoring candidate. But negative ads made up three out of every five that were analyzed in print or broadcast news stories.

Horse-race stories covered the presidential debates with furious speculation about who "won" or "lost."

After the 1988 elections, many reporters believed that by "balancing" their stories they had failed to tell the truth about the men who would be president. In 1992, they resolved to call it the way they saw it. Thus, the news went boldly where only editorials had gone before, as news stories regularly contradicted the candidates in order to keep them honest. The result was some of the least balanced, most negative, and most opinionated coverage in recent memory.

The most obvious victim of the new rules was George Bush, who suffered from terri-



Candidates appearing on talk shows bypassed the mainstream media. Top: Perot on Meet the Press. Below: Larry King hosts Clinton and Gore (left), and President Bush.

ble press all year long. During the primaries he got the worst press of any candidate in either party—78 percent negative sound bites about him on the network news shows. Many of these bites were provided by primary and general-election opponents and

their allies. But under the new rules for coverage that permitted reporters to intrude their own opinions into the news, journalists themselves contributed to the negativity. In January,

Lisa Myers offered her own bottom-line assessment of Bush's presidency: "It's tough to lead when you don't know where you want to go. Call it a vision—George Bush doesn't seem to have one."

This remark reflected the tone of the negative press Bush got all year. During the summer, some 70 percent of the sound bites directed at the incumbent on the network news shows were negative, a percentage matched during the fall election. For both periods, a majority of comments about Bill Clinton were favorable. This disparity was even greater in the major newspapers. Vir-

tually every one of Bush's policies came in for heavier criticism than did those of his Democratic opponent.

Bush was further victimized by highly negative and occasionally inaccurate reporting on the economy. During the Republican convention in Houston, ABC's John McWethy reported, "It's going to be hard to make the voters forget what has happened to their standard of living since George Bush became president." Actually, the media's coverage ensured that voters thought ill of the economy under Bush, despite evidence of economic growth.

Throughout the third quarter of 1992, for example, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) grew at the robust rate of nearly four percent. During that same period of time, our research shows, an astounding 97 percent of sources on the evening news gave negative assessments of the economy. Network television correspondents continued to bemoan the "recession" long after it ended in early 1991. Polls

continued to find a majority of the public believing the economy was in recession as recently as last year—the fourth year of the current expansion. Little wonder that the eminent political sociologist Seymour Martin Lipset concluded, "What defeated the Republicans was perception....[M]any people thought conditions were worse than they were."

If Lipset is correct, 1992 was the year that Republican paranoia became reality—the media really did do them in. At the least, our findings argue for greater humility from those journalists who presumed to protect the public against politically inspired misconceptions, all the while creating misperceptions greater than any corrected in an "Ad Watch."

It would be a mistake, however, to conclude that the media were simply biased against Republicans. In fact, the media treated other candidates to hostile and dismissive coverage. As a

group, the candidates received far more negative than positive press.

Moreover, all of Bush's major challengers were themselves victimized at one time or another by the build-'em-up-knock-'em-down syndrome that running the media gauntlet entails. Bill Clinton's candidacy survived the Gennifer Flowers feeding frenzy, but his public reputation never really recovered. And Ross Perot's media image went from that of savior to psycho almost overnight. Proving that they could be equal-opportunity destroyers, Eric Engberg of CBS blasted Perot's

"penchant for...intimidation," while Lisa Myers of NBC used terms such as "notorious," "bizarre," and "distorted" to describe Perot.

Thus, the Bush-bashing hints at something more disquieting than liberal bias. As President Clinton's rough media treatment suggests, it is now common to see journalists' personal feelings appearing in their political coverage. Commentary has been redefined as news and

rationalized as "truth-telling." Mixing news and commentary was hardly an unknown practice in the past, but it was treated as something to be avoided or explained away. Now it appears to be regarded by journalists as a public service.

Whether the public applauds this development is another question. Indeed, the sudden popularity of interactive news formats may reflect widespread disaffection with the national media as the forum for our political discourse.

Today the public revolt against the mainstream media extends from talk radio to cyberspace. During Campaign '92 the main challengers to the traditional media were the so-called "new media" television call-in shows. The formats Larry King and Phil Donahue offered the candidates during the primary season were not popular with mainstream journalists. But so many citizens turned to the talk-show alternatives that the

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networks were forced to join the bandwagon. By early summer the morning news shows and prime-time magazine programs began featuring lengthy interchanges with candidates who meanwhile were limited to nine-second sound bites on the evening news.

Our study reveals a good reason for the new format's popularity: The talk shows provided more substantive information and more positive and balanced portraits of the candidates than the "establishment" media did. During the 34 interview programs televised nationally during the fall of 1992, three out of every four comments concerned the candidates' records or proposals. By contrast, less than a third of the comments on the network evening news shows and half of the discussion on PBS's MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour dealt with these matters.

Toward the end of October, for example, an Atlanta woman called Larry King to ask Bill Clinton about welfare reform. His answer lasted two minutes and seventeen seconds, far more time than he ever received on any evening news show. He supplied statistics on the portion of women who stay on welfare for many years. He discussed the need to offer recipients job training, child care, and medical insurance. And he spoke about the great amount of community-service work that could be accomplished by putting welfare recipients to work. Bush, Clinton, and even Ross Perot all had the chance to explain their programs in detail on the talk shows, giving voters an opportunity not afforded by traditional network programs.

The talk shows have their own limitations. At best they can be nothing more than a complement to political journalism. Their strength lies in their relative lack of "mediation." As demonstrated during the campaign, some shows allowed voters to express their concerns directly and all of them let citizens hear the candidates speak for themselves. In their talk-show appearances, where the candidates had some control over the agenda, most conversations focused on substantive matters, and audiences could evaluate the candidates' responses without depending on journalists to translate for them.

The media's post-1988 attempt to reform their campaign coverage reflected their belief that journalists could best serve voters by forcing the

candidates to conduct cleaner and more substantive campaigns. Voters displayed little gratitude to their "saviors": A survey by the Times Mirror Center shortly before the election found that only 36 percent gave the coverage a grade of "A" or "B." Voters actually gave a slightly higher grade point average to the much reviled campaign consultants. Even more ominous for the media elite were findings that a majority believed the press has too much influence over elections, and a startling 84 percent thought journalists let their own political preferences influence the way they report the news.

The media's reformers correctly perceived the need for change after the '88 campaign. Vast segments of the public had become disconnected from the nation's politics. The problem was that their solutions prescribed a more intrusive and aggressive role for journalists—more mediation at a time when the public desired a more direct view of the candidates. In 1992, as journalists critically reviewed the candidates' ads and campaign conduct, reporters took that much more time away from the issues, and they added that much more negativity to the process. Instead of changing the system, they became more closely identified with it.

Polls show that many voters now doubt the essential fairness and accuracy of the information they receive from the news media. Today's mainstream media is in danger of becoming tomorrow's marginal media. If nothing else forces reconsideration of how the media covers presidential campaigns, the fear of declining influence should. Those journalists who want to recover the media's proper public mandate can begin by rediscovering the values and practices that once set journalism apart from punditry, propaganda, and melodrama. The goal should be to provide an accurate account of the battle over issues and ideas during the campaign, rather than trying to settle it themselves.★

S. Robert Lichter is president and Richard E. Noyes is political studies director at the Center for Media and Public Affairs in Washington, D.C. Their latest book is Good Intentions Make Bad News: Why Americans Hate Campaign Journalism (Rowman & Littlefield, 1995).

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-19-95

October 14, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TS*
PHIL CAPLAN *PC*

SUBJECT: Recent Political Information Items

We have received the following recent political information items:

cc: DM *A* Ickes memo on Celinda Lake presentation. Outlines research by Lake, especially focused on women. Among points she made: mood of country of pessimistic, but there is still a substantial gender gap in your favor. Working women strongly support you -- Medicare and education are two key elements. Women think Republicans are going too far; more men believe Republicans can't get anything done. Dems have advantage over GOP on: helping the middle class, education, protecting children and creating jobs. GOP has advantage on: welfare, controlling the deficit and change and virtually all other economic issues (other than jobs.) Blue collar America "frantic" about jobs and the future. Married, white non-college women and older women are best swing votes to go after.

Agree to Dan, Lue, DM Celinda Lake memo on communicating effectively in current environment.

Voters are extremely cynical and distrustful of politicians, and this has consequences for the kind of discourse that can get through. She urges relying on facts, not rhetoric; not exaggerating; avoiding partisan references (Congress is the enemy, not Democrats or Republicans); always aligning on the side of change; using non-partisan third-party validators.

- (B) Ickes memos on C/G '96 finances. Two memos from Terry McAuliffe/Laura Hartigan via Harold on the status of re-elect finances: 1) The campaign continues to set records. Terry reports that this quarter's FEC filing (July-Sept) will show \$10.1 million cash raised. With the federal match and last quarter's \$9.3 million, the September 30 total is \$30.2 million. Projections through the end of the year show an additional \$11 million raised (including the match) for a year-end total of \$41.2 million. Harold urges you to congratulate both Terry and Laura Hartigan. 2) The fundraising division will spend \$6.6 million for primary fundraising -- \$600,000 under original estimates, but \$400,000 over the estimated fundraising exemption of \$6.2 million. This \$400,000 will come out of the amount available for campaign activity. Terry and Laura have initiated the planning phase of the General Election

MEMORANDUM

To: Lake Research Clients

Subject: Communicating Effectively in the Current Environment

Date: September 29, 1995

Over the past six months, Lake Research has conducted over 100 focus groups among swing voters across the United States, testing messages and materials on a broad range of topics. The following is a summary of our observations, drawn from the whole of our research, on how to best cut through a cynical and angry political environment and maximize the impact of our messages.

- ▶ Just the Facts. In the past, the best political communication has used strong, thematic language, and avoided technical details that seem dry or narrow. In the current political environment, dry is good, and facts are critical to credibility. Voters' profound cynicism and distrust of politics mean that they *assume* political players will lie and intentionally mislead them. More than ever, they demand facts to back up all assertions, they demand a substantial level of detail, and they want to hear the whole story.

Less effective: He voted for huge cuts in education.

More effective: He voted for legislation which would reduce funding for Head Start by \$xxx million, more than one third of its current budget.

- ▶ Less is More, Part I. In this environment, strong language is not always the best. Voters reject headlines and language which seem exaggerated or overblown, and they are quick to label things as "too political," or as "just rhetoric." The most effective language is sober and restrained, and the most effective tone is serious and measured.

Less effective: Medicare slashed!

More effective: Congress scales back Medicare by \$270 billion.

► Less is More, Part II: The amount of information voters have about current proposals is minimal, and they are skeptical that Republicans would go as far as we know they are going. They do not believe, for example, that any member of Congress would want to repeal environmental protections, because public support for these things is too strong. As a result, telling the truth about the GOP agenda can actually backfire, and voters sometimes reject what we tell them, even when it's true, because they think it is exaggerated. Therefore, we should err on the side of understatement.

Less effective: He wants to gut environmental laws and repeal important protections.

More effective: He voted to relax environmental protections and to allow industries to release higher levels of waste into our lakes and rivers.

► Avoid Partisan References. The enemy for voters is Congress -- not Democrats, and not Republicans. Moreover, one of their strongest criticisms of Congress is that Members put partisanship ahead of good policy, and they resent this. Voters believe that debates on the Hill are just partisan bickering, and they want an end to this. As a result, the fact that a vote is split along party lines no longer leads voters to draw conclusions about what Republicans must be for and what Democrats must be for. Instead, they conclude that the vote was just political, just more jockeying for position. In this environment, any mention of partisanship blocks voters' willingness to listen. Specifying the GOP leadership or a specific Member helps mitigate this.

Less effective: Tell your Representative to vote against the Republicans' attempt to raise Medicare costs for seniors.

More effective: Tell your Representative to vote against Newt Gingrich's and Bob Dole's attempt to raise Medicare costs for seniors.

► Follow the Crowd: Reject the Status Quo. Above all, voters continue to want change. They want reform. And there is no part of government that they do not believe needs to be reformed. Any side aligned with the status quo in this environment will lose. In defending our priorities, whether Medicare or education, it is important to concede that change is needed, and it is important to concede this up front. Before voters will listen to anything we have to say, we must reassure them that we want change as well. The debate must be about what *kind* of change we want, not whether we want change at all.

Less effective: We should not eliminate the Department of Education.

More effective: The Department of Education should be reformed, not eliminated.

- Some Kinds of Third Parties are Good: Validate with Others. Third-party validation is an important part of increasing credibility. The most credible messengers are independent and *non*-partisan (rather than *bipartisan*), with agendas that seem well-intentioned and non-political. The most credible messengers also come from *outside* Washington, D.C. In addition, coalition efforts, particularly when a coalition is diverse and counter to stereotype, add credibility.

Less effective: Feminists and environmentalists agree that this legislation is dangerous.

More effective: The Anytown Times reports that The State Council of Pediatricians, the Association of Concerned Biologists, and the Anytown Civic Responsibility League agree that this legislation is dangerous.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-19-95

October 14, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TS*
PHIL CAPLAN *PC*

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agrees to see, looking over Celinda Lake memo on communicating effectively in current environment. Voters are extremely cynical and distrustful of politicians, and this has consequences for the kind of discourse that can get through. She urges relying on facts, not rhetoric; not exaggerating; avoiding partisan references (Congress is the enemy, not Democrats or Republicans); always aligning on the side of change; using non-partisan third-party validators.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10-19-95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 OCT 12 P2:59

5 October 1995

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
THE VICE PRESIDENT

CC: LEON PANETTA
ERSKINE BOWLES
MAGGIE WILLIAMS
JACK QUINN
DOUG SOSNIK
BETSY MYERS
DON BAER
ANN LEWIS

FROM: HAROLD ICKES *(H)*

RE: POLLING PRESENTATION BY CELINDA LAKE ON 4 OCTOBER
1995

On 4 October Celinda Lake gave one of her periodic presentations regarding some of her most recent research, especially that focused on women.

Attached is a 29 September 1995 memorandum to "Lake Research Clients" regarding communicating effectively in the current environment.

Overall, she says, the mood of the country is pessimistic.

No surprise, there is a substantial gender gap in the President's favor. Working women strongly support the President, with Medicare and education being two key elements. She said that the President is also increasingly strong with "seniors", which is a turn around compared to her prior polling.

With respect to Republicans, women think they are going to far and, interestingly, more men are coming to believe the Republicans can't get anything done.

Education is a very big issue, especially with women. Democrats have the advantage over Republicans on the following issues: helping the middle class, health care, education, protecting children and creating jobs.

By contrast, Republicans have the advantage over Democrats on welfare, controlling the deficit and change.

Other than for jobs, Republicans have the advantage over Democrats on virtually all economic issues.

A majority of the respondents do not think that their economic conditions are any better and that their children will not live as well as they do.

She cautions against spending too much time describing the current economic condition; rather, she strongly urges that the President, Vice President and others focus on how things will be better, i.e., the future.

In her opinion, the economic crises has generated a cultural crises. People say they must work very hard in order to make ends meet which, in turn, deprives them of the ability to care of their children and homes. This view is especially prevalent among women.

She strongly urges that all policies be "value based". Among women, "respect" is now a higher value than "equality". Women complain that they do not get respect from their bosses, their husbands, their co-workers, etc.

Education is a central issue for women because it is translated into a better future for their children.

Violence and the safety of children is now a dominant issue, more so than personal safety.

Congress is seen as the enemy. People believe that Washington DC is controlled by the special interests. A growing number of people believe that government is too intrusive, but women think government can accomplish more compared to what men think government can accomplish.

She urges less focus on analysis of what is wrong with much more focus on what President plan's for a better economic future.

She said that a large number of people do not know what the Democratic "economic plan" is. She cited examples of focus groups where she hands out blank pieces of paper and asks each person to write down the words or phrases that best describe the Republican economic plan and the Democratic economic plan. More often than not, half of the papers describing the Democratic economic plan come back blank compared to papers regarding the Republican plan, all of which are filled out with phrases such as deficit reduction, tax reduction, etc.

She urges that the phrase: "But this is not good enough" should follow recitation of virtually any accomplishment. e.g., "over 7 million new jobs have been created during our administration, but

that is not good enough."

She says that blue collar America is "frantic" about jobs and the future. Married,, white non-college women and older women are the best "swing" votes to go after. Among married white non-college, those who work is the best subset.

On welfare reform, younger women who are working want welfare reform, but, unlike many men, they also want the protective services for children.

In testing phrases describing affirmative action, which she says most people are against, the phrase "equal opportunity to compete" gets the most positive response.

I asked her to draft some key phrases which describe issues and specifics but which are more appealing to women than the typical language that men ordinarily use. For example, she pointed out that the concept of "balancing work and family" works well with college education professional women but does not work at all for non-college educated because the latter don't look at work as something they want to balance with their family, they merely look at work as something to help them get a better life for their family.

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10/19/95

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Thomas V. Mike Miller, Jr.

PRESIDENT OF THE MARYLAND SENATE

Thursday, December 14, 1995 7:00 to 10:00 p.m.

Harbor Court Hotel, Baltimore, Maryland

Cocktails & Hors d'oeuvres \$250 per person

Authority: Marylanders for Miller; Helen Clark, Treasurer



No 00001



Mr President:
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Democrats at
the event..

It's only 35
mils from the
Whitehouse. I'll
write your
scheduler. Please
try and make
it work.

Thanks.
Mike Miller

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President

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(410) 685-1818
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Crano / Jimmy
can't run now - He says
Labor & HHS are
supporting training schools
like he's not so kept
trying to put him out
of business - get him
side - such a big head -
important - BC

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Wednesday, October 18, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/19/95

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LUCIE NAPHIN LN
SCHEDULING

RE: LONDON THEATER GUIDE

CC: ERSKINE BOWLES
PATTI SOLIS

Per your request, attached is a list of all the major theater productions which will be playing while you are in London. As of now, you are scheduled to host a dinner the first night you are in London at the Ambassador's residence for approximately 80 people (this would include US and European businessmen, writers, actors and other prominent Americans living in Europe). Would you rather go to the theater that evening and if so which production would you be interested in seeing?

FIVE GUYS NAMED MOE

By Clarke Peters. The musical tribute to the songs of Louis Jordan comes back to town having left the Lyric on March 4. The story of Nomax, who's feeling blue until five guys named Moe emerge from the radio to teach the gospel according to Louis Jordan. Songs from the show include 'Is You Is Or Is You Ain't My Baby' and 'Push Ka Pi Shee Pie'. **MUSICAL**

E: MON-THUR 8.00 M: FRI-SAT 6.00 & 8.45 R: 120 mins U: Leicester Square



APOLLO Shaftesbury Avenue, W1

A/C

DEAD GUILTY

Jenny Seagrove plays Julia, a professional businesswoman who is seriously traumatised and becomes housebound following a car accident. As friends look after her, a series of events leads her to believe that someone knows that the accident was not quite as it seemed. With Hayley Mills. **THRILLER**

E: MON-FRI 8.00 SAT 8.15 M: THURS 3.00 SAT 5.00 R: 135 mins U: Piccadilly Circus



CAMBRIDGE Earlham Street, WC2

A/C

FAME - THE MUSICAL

Fame follows the antics and traumas of the kids at the New York High School for Performing Arts as they try to prove their worth in the world. **MUSICAL**

E: MON-SAT 7.00 M: WED-SAT 8.00 R: 120 mins U: Piccadilly Circus



CRITERION Piccadilly Circus, W1

A/C

TAKING SIDES

Ronald Harwood's new play leaves the audience to decide on the suggested complicity of William Furtwangler, one of Germany's leading composers, in the Nazi era. Starring Daniel Massey and directed by Harold Pinter. **PLAY**

E: MON-SAT 7.30 M: WED & SAT 2.30 R: 150 mins U: Piccadilly Circus



DUCHESSE Catherine Street, WC2

A/C

DON'T DRESS FOR DINNER

By Marc Camoletti. Adapted by Robin Hawdon. In Marc Camoletti's farce Michael Crawford stars as Robert, invited for a relaxing weekend at his friends' country cottage only to find a chaotic scenario of secret couples. With Royce Mills, Jackie Piper and Deborah Watling. Peter Farago directs. **COMEDY**

E: MON-FRI 8.00 M: WED 3.00, SAT 5.00 & 8.30 R: 135 mins U: Covent Garden



GARRICK Charing Cross Road, WC2

AWAITING NEW PRODUCTION

U: Leicester Square



HER MAJESTY'S Haymarket, SW1

A/C

THE PHANTOM OF THE OPERA

Music by Andrew Lloyd Webber, lyrics by Charles Hart. Andrew Lloyd Webber's romantic musical based on Gaston Leroux's gothic novel of life beneath the haunted stage of the Paris Opera. Directed by Harold Prince. **MUSICAL**

F: MON-SAT 7.45 M: WED, SAT 3.00 R: 150 mins U: Piccadilly Circus



For more information, call 01700 500117

SUNSET BOULEVARD

Music by Andrew Lloyd Webber, book and lyrics by Don Black and Christopher Hampton based on the Billy Wilder film. Elaine Paige stars in Andrew Lloyd Webber's musical, based on the classic 1940's Billy Wilder film about an ageing silent movie actress who plots her comeback with the aid of a younger man. The cast also features John Barrowman and is directed by Trevor Nunn. **MUSICAL**

E: MON-SAT 7.45 M: THUR & SAT 3.00 R: 180 mins U: Charing X



AMBASSADORS West Street, WC2

A/C

AWAITING NEW PRODUCTION

U: Leicester Square

WATCH
THIS
SPACE!

BARBICAN Barbican Centre, EC2

A/C

ROYAL SHAKESPEARE COMPANY

A PATROIT FOR ME - PLAY

A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM - PLAY

HENRY V - PLAY

PLEASE SEE SEPARATE BROCHURE. U: Barbican



COMEDY Panton Street, SW1

A/C

S

MICHAEL FEINSTEIN

Limited three week season from the master of American cabaret whose material includes the songs of Cole Porter, George & Ira Gershwin, Irving Berlin & Jule Styne.

(until 24/09/95)

CABARET

E: TUES-SAT 8.00 M: SAT: 5.00 SUN: 4.00 R: 120 mins U: Piccadilly Circus



DRURY LANE Catherine Street, WC2

A/C

MISS SAIGON

Music by Claude-Michel Schonberg, lyrics by Richard Maltby Jr and Alain Boublil. A latter-day Madam Butterfly meets her GI Joe during the fall of Saigon in 1975. Written by Les Miserables composers Alain Boublil and Claude-Michel Schonberg, and directed by Nicholas Hytner. **MUSICAL**

E: MON-SAT 7.45 M: WED & SAT 3.00 R: 185 mins U: Covent Garden



FORTUNE Russell Street, WC2

A/C

THE WOMAN IN BLACK

By Stephen Mallatrat from the novel by Susan Hill. A keen young solicitor is sent to wind up the affairs of a recently deceased woman. He begins to piece together the details of her strange reclusive life, alone in a remote and mysterious house. Years later, he recounts his experiences, desperate to exorcise the ghosts of the past. **THRILLER**

E: MON-SAT 8.00 M: TUE 3.00, SAT 4.00 R: 110 mins U: Covent Garden



HAYMARKET Haymarket, SW1

BURNING BLUE

American playwright DMW Greer's debut play is based on his own experiences in the U.S. Navy, investigating the continued McCartyite hounding of gay men in the armed forces.

PLAY

E: MON-SAT 8.00 M: WED & SAT 3.00 R: 150 mins U: Piccadilly Circus



INDIAN INK

By Tom Stoppard. In Tom Stoppard's new play, the poet Flora Crewe arrives in India in 1930 to find both British and Indian societies anticipating the onset of Independence. During her visit, Flora's portrait is painted by an Indian artist and fifty years later, her sister and the artist's son meet in London. Felicity Kendal plays Flora, with Margaret Tyzack as her sister and Art Malik as the artist. Directed by Peter Wood. **PLAY**

E: MON-SAT 7.30 M: WED & SAT 3.00 R: 165 mins U: Holborn/Covent Garden



APOLLO VICTORIA Wilton Road, SW1

A/C

STARLIGHT EXPRESS

Music by Andrew Lloyd Webber, lyrics by Richard Stilgoe. Andrew Lloyd Webber's roller-skating musical inspired by the motion of trains has become the second longest running musical in the West End, the show was re-directed and re-choreographed in 1992. Directed by Trevor Nunn. **MUSICAL**

E: MON-SAT 7.45 M: TUE & SAT 3.00 R: 150 mins U: Victoria



COLISEUM St. Martins Lane, WC2

ENGLISH NATIONAL OPERA SEASON

CARMEN / COSI FAN TUTTI

RUSALKA / THE FAIRY QUEEN

PLEASE SEE SEPARATE BROCHURE U: Leicester Square/Charing Cross



DOMINION Tottenham Court Road, W1

A/C

GREASE

Book, music and lyrics by Jim Jacobs and Warren Casey. Additional songs by B. Gibb, J. Farrar, L. St. Louis, S. Simon. Shane Richie stars as Danny with Samantha Janus as Sandy, the high school goody-two-shoes who fancies a bit of rough. This production is based on the hit film, including songs never before performed in a stage version. David Gilmore directs. **MUSICAL**

E: MON-SAT 7.30 M: WED & SAT 3.00 R: 150 mins U: Tottenham Court Road



DUKE OF YORK'S St. Martins Lane, WC2

RAT IN THE SKULL

Ron Hutchinson's 1984 play in which Tony Doyle plays a Royal Ulster Constabulary officer called back from vacation to interrogate a member of the IRA. **PLAY**

E: MON-SAT 7.00 M: THUR & SAT 3.00 R: 100 mins U: Leicester Square/Charing Cross



GIELGUD Shaftesbury Avenue, W1

A/C

COMMUNICATING DOORS

Alan Ayckbourn directs his own new play in which Ms Poopay Dayseer, fleeing for her life, steps through a communicating door in a hotel room to find herself in another time. Julia McKenzie stars. **PLAY**

E: MON-SAT 7.30 M: WED & SAT 3.00 R: 160 mins U: Piccadilly Circus



LYRIC Shaftesbury Avenue, W1

A/C

AIN'T MISBEHAVIN'

Based on an idea by Murray Horwitz and Richard Maltby Jr. Musical revue celebrating the life of 1930's Harlem and based on the songs of Fats Waller. Fats, whose real name was Thomas, has an enduring popularity based on songs such as 'The Joint Is Jumpin'', 'Honeysuckle Rose', and 'What Did I Do To Be So Black and Blue?'. All written in the late '20s and early '30s. **MUSICAL**

E: MON-SAT 8.00 M: THUR 3.00, SAT 5.00 R: 120 mins U: Piccadilly Circus



NEW LONDON Drury Lane, WC2

CATS

Musik: by Andrew Lloyd Webber. This international award-winning musical is now in its 14th year. Based on T. S. Elliot's Old Possum's Book of Practical Cats.

MUSICAL

E: MON-SAT 7.45 M: TUE, SAT 3.00 R: 165 mins U: Holborn/Covent Garden

THE MEMORY WILL LIVE FOREVER!



PALACE Shaftesbury Avenue, W1

LES MISERABLES

By Alain Boublil, Claude-Michel Schonberg and Herbert Kretzmer. Musical adaptation of Victor Hugo's great humanitarian novel of love and courage in the revolutionary struggles of 19th century France. Directed by Trevor Nunn and John Caird. MUSICAL

E: MON-SAT 7.30 M: THUR, SAT 2.30 R: 195 mins U: Leicester Square

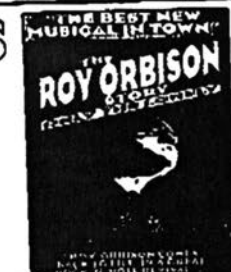


PICCADILLY Denman Street, W1

THE ROY ORBISON STORY

Devised by Bill Kenwright, book by Shirle Roden and Jon Miller. A musical tribute to Roy Orbison. The sombre singer led the most tragic of lives in which many of his close relatives died before his own untimely death in the 1980's. Only the Lonely, Pretty Woman and In Dreams all feature in this stage biography. Directed by Ian Kellgren. MUSICAL

E: TUE-THUR 8.00, M: FRI 5.15 & 8.15, SAT 8.30 & 9.30 SUN 4.00 R: 100 mins U: Piccadilly Circus



PRINCE OF WALES Coventry Street, W1

TOMMY STEELE - WHAT A SHOW!

The ever versatile, all-singing, all-dancing actor and occasional leprechaun Tommy Steele returns to the West End with a compilation of songs from his favourite musicals aided by a company of 23 dancers, singers & musicians. MUSICAL

E: MON-SAT 8.00 M: WED 3.00 SAT 5.00 R: TBA U: Piccadilly Circus



ST. MARTIN'S West Street, WC2

THE MOUSETRAP

By Agatha Christie. Forty-three years on and we still don't know whodunnit. Agatha Christie's classic thriller continues on the world's longest run. WHODUNNIT

E: MON-SAT 7.15 M: TUE, WED, SAT 3.00 R: 105 mins U: Leicester Square



VAUDEVILLE Strand, WC2

DEALER'S CHOICE

By Patrick Marber. Set in a restaurant, the comic drama features the build-up to a poker game where the stakes are of a greater value than money. Marber, a gambler himself, explains how it is secondary to need and also provides a focus of the pathetic but numerous nature of male aspiration. PLAY

E: MON-FRI 7.45, SAT 5.00 & 8.15 M: WED 3.00 R: 145 mins U: Charing Cross



WYNDHAM'S Charing Cross Road, WC2

OLD TIMES Until 20/09/95

THREE TALL WOMEN From 26/09/95

THE DUCHESS OF MALE From 27/10/95

E: MON-SAT 8.00 M: SAT 4.00 R: 120 mins U: Leicester Square



WHAT THE BUTLER SAW
By Joe Orton. COMEDY
THE WAY OF THE WORLD
By William Congreve. COMEDY
LA GRANDE MAGIA
By Eduardo de Filippo. PLAY
WILD OATS
By John O'Keefe. COMEDY
PLEASE SEE SEPARATE BROCHURE U: Waterloo



OLIVIER (National Theatre), South Bank, SE1 A/C

A LITTLE NIGHT MUSIC
MUSICAL

VOLPONE
By Ben Johnson - COMEDY

PLEASE SEE SEPARATE BROCHURE U: Waterloo



PHOENIX Charing Cross Road, WC2

BLOOD BROTHERS

By Willy Russell. Stephanie Lawrence stars in Willy Russell's award-winning musical about Liverpudlian twins, separated at birth, whose paths cross in friendship and anger. Directed by Ron Edwards. MUSICAL

E: MON-SAT 7.45 M: THUR 3.00, SAT 4.00 R: 165 mins U: Tottenham Court Rd



PRINCE EDWARD Old Compton Street, W1 A/C

CRAZY FOR YOU

Music by George Gershwin, lyrics by Ira Gershwin, book by Ken Ludwig. A reworking of Gershwin's 1930's hit Girl Crazy, this is a lavish romantic musical with showstoppers including 'Someone to Watch Over Me' and 'I Got Rhythm'. Tim Flavin and Helen Way star. Mike Ockrent directs the 1993 Olivier Award winner. MUSICAL

E: MON-SAT 7.45 M: THUR, SAT 3.00 R: 165 mins U: Leicester Square/Tottenham Court Road



SAVOY The Strand, WC2 A/C

DEAD FUNNY

Terry Johnson's comedy returns to the West End. The Dead Funny Society gather together to commemorate the death of Benny Hill, the results are farcical. COMEDY

E: MON-FRI 8.00 SAT 8.15 M: WED 2.30 SAT 5.00 R: TBA U: Charing Cross



STRAND Strand, WC2 S

BUDDY From 6th October

By Alan Janes. Over 2,000 performances for the musical based on the rise to fame and untimely death of American rock'n'roll singer Buddy Holly, who died at the tender age of 21. Written by Alan Janes and directed by Rob Bettinson. MUSICAL

E: TUE-THURS 8.00 FRI & SAT 8.30 M: FRI 5.30 SAT 5.00 SUN 4.00 R: 135 mins U: Charing Cross



WHITEHALL Whitehall, SW1 A/C

AWAITING NEW PRODUCTION

U: Charing Cross

**WATCH
THIS
SPACE!**

THE IMPORTANCE OF BEING EARNEST

The Birmingham Repertory Theatre's production of Oscar Wilde's comedy comes to the west end in the 100th anniversary year of its first performance. The comedy follows problems caused when Algernon assumes the identity of Jack Worthing's fictitious younger brother, Earnest, in order to court Jack's ward.

COMEDY
E: MON-SAT 7.30 M: WED & SAT 3.00 R: 155 mins U: Waterloo



PALLADIUM Argyll Street, W1

A/C

OLIVER!

By Lionel Bart. Major revival of Lionel Bart's celebrated 1960 musical version of Dickens' tale of the adventures of an orphan boy. Jim Dale plays Fagin, with Sally Dexter as Nancy. Same Mendes directs.

MUSICAL
E: MON-SAT 7.30 M: WED, SAT 2.30 R: 150 mins U: Oxford Circus



PLAYHOUSE Northumberland Avenue, WC2

A/C

FUNNY MONEY

By Ray Cooney. The master of farce, Ray Cooney, directs his latest play which involves a suitcase of dodgy notes.

COMEDY

TIMES: TBA U: Charing Cross

WATCH
THIS
SPACE!

QUEENS Shaftesbury Avenue, W1

A/C

PRISONER CELL BLOCK H - THE MUSICAL

with Lily Savage
MUSICAL

TIMES: TBA U: Piccadilly Circus

WATCH
THIS
SPACE!

SHAFTESBURY Shaftesbury Avenue, WC2

A/C

EDDIE IZZARD

By Eddie Izzard.
The surreal stand-up comic returns to the West End for his third solo session in as many years. Previews from 10th October.

COMEDY

E: TUES/SAT 8.00 SUN 7.30 R: TBA U: Tottenham Court Rd

WATCH
THIS
SPACE!

VICTORIA PALACE Victoria Street, SW1

BUDDY Transfers to Strand from 06/10/95

JOLSON From 21/10/95

TIMES: TBA U: Victoria



KEY

M: Matinee

E: Evening

R: Running Time - Approx.

U: Underground

A/C

Air Conditioned

AW

An Award Winner

S

Sunday Performances

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

16-Oct-1995 10:10am

TO: Nancy V. Hernreich

FROM: Jock Gill

SUBJECT: 10 million, NOT 20

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/19/95
BUC
JK
R

Mr. President,

A better answer to your question as to how many Americans are on the internet TODAY is 10 million -- not the 20 figure I gave as a quick answer. But please note the 100% per year growth rate, so that a year from now, ie election time, the number may well be 20 million.

The author of the note below is the very famous Marc Andreessen of Netscape fame and fortune.

I concur that the internet will be decisive in the 2,000 election. And it is safe to bet that it will be significant in 1996.

It was great to see you and Hillary last week. Congratulations and thanks.

Regards,

Jock

>X-UIDL: 813850302.003
>Date: Mon, 16 Oct 95 00:19:37 -0700
>From: Marc Andreessen <pmarca@netscape.com>
>To: amr@linus.isoc.org, jgill@penfield-gill.com, penfield@tiac.net
>Subject: RE: Marc: From Tony Rutkowski, re: How Many?

>
>The consumer online services account for five million,
>give or take. There's another five million, give or take,
>on enterprise, educational, or research networks or personal
>ISP accounts. So my guess is about 10 million in the US.
>The Times Mirror center just released a study that generally
>correlates with that guess.

>
>Of course, the other item of interest is the growth rate,
>which is holding at 100% or more annually.

>
>John Doerr, a Netscape board member and the premier venture
>capitalist of his generation, predicts that the Internet will
>be the primary influence for the presidential election in the
>year 2000. We seem to be on track for that to be the case,
>given the annual growth rate and the close match of demographics
>between voters and online users in both business and
>consumer contexts. I hope Mr. Gore is starting to plot
>his Internet strategy already.

Do Mauds
to Peter Brown
Be

Dredging for Success: Clinton's Export Strategy

By PETER A. BOWE

Twenty-five years ago, my company, a large U.S. dredge builder, signed a big export contract with a U.S. multinational corporation for its operations in Dutch Guyana. All seemed well until Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands suggested to our customer that it might be prudent to buy from our Dutch competitor instead. The prince reminded the U.S. company that local tax policies were up for review shortly. Our customer got the message, canceled our order, and bought a Dutch dredge. While that kind of governmental support seems heavy-handed, it proved the effectiveness of export advocacy.

The U.S. government has taken decades to learn that lesson, but it is now prepared to support American exporters aggressively, as has been the norm for our foreign industrialized competitors. The administration has developed the National Export Strategy, the most coherent and effective program in years to create jobs through increased exports. The NES focuses on financing, advocacy and a coordination of efforts by all the agencies involved, such as the Export-Import Bank, the Overseas Private Investment Corp., and the Trade and Development Agency.

Export advocacy is a new concept to many U.S. agencies. I'll never forget asking a senior Commerce Department official some years ago to speak to a foreign government about our interest in a large pending contract. Though we were the only U.S. company involved, he flatly refused, saying if he advocated for one company, he'd have to do the same for others. By contrast, our foreign competitors have enjoyed intercession at the prime ministerial level.

While we don't expect President Clinton to get involved in our potential contracts, the support of cabinet members that is now available can frequently put us on an equal footing with our foreign competitors. Commerce has even formed an Advocacy Office to make sure that companies like mine don't lose out on projects

when foreign governments exert pressure on behalf of national favorites.

We just won a \$10 million order from the Vietnamese government attributable in large part to coordinated advocacy by the State, Commerce and Transportation departments. After a bidder from the Netherlands got a boost when the Dutch transportation minister asked his Vietnamese counterpart to buy Dutch, we asked for similar support. It took the three departments less than a week to review



Ron Brown

our case and to communicate on behalf of us with the Vietnamese minister. Their letters put us back in the running, enabling us to succeed based on normal commercial factors like quality and price. The results? Dozens of jobs at our factory and at our vendors' plants, too.

Commerce Secretary Ron Brown has credited U.S. advocacy for American success on 70 export projects valued at \$17 billion over the past 18 months. Some critics have charged that the Commerce Department pleads the cases of heavy Democratic contributors, but my company's \$1,500 donation to the Democratic National Committee was most unlikely to have been the reason for the government's advocacy. Besides, there is a lot more to the NES than advocacy. Underpinning the NES is the realization that manufactured exports require financing and a commitment to respond in kind when countries such as Germany, France and Japan propose concessionary financing terms to developing countries tied to the purchase of products from the lending country.

Until the NES was adopted, the Ex-Im Bank frequently waited until there was firm evidence in the form of a contract

award to a foreign competitor before agreeing that there was special financing involved and making a reactive loan offer. Obviously that's too late. Now the Ex-Im Bank matches such financing based on a much lower level of evidence. One such loan offer by the Ex-Im Bank, together with strong advocacy from the U.S. Embassy, has enabled us to succeed on a large project in Indonesia, where we previously lost a similar contract three years ago.

While the more aggressive U.S. financing policy is welcome, it's still a defensive policy against our competitors' offensive strategy. For example, several German ministries, including Finance and Foreign Affairs, meet twice a year with Indonesian officials to determine which Indonesian projects could benefit from German industrial exports and special financing. The resulting government-to-government protocols give German exporters a big advantage on the most attractive projects. The Japanese, French, Italians, Dutch and others do the same thing with many developing countries.

A recent survey by the U.S. Small Business Exporters Association shows how much ground the NES has to regain: Over the five-year period before the NES, Japanese and German programs supported a five to 10 times larger share of exports than U.S. programs did. Only the most competitive American companies and aggressive (but reactive) U.S. government support can overcome these obstacles.

Thus all American exporters must delight in Secretary Brown's words, delivered while he was in China recently on a trade mission, to the effect that the American objective should be not just a level playing field but one tilted in favor of American companies. And why not? Certainly the goal of other industrialized countries is to give their exporters every advantage possible.

Mr. Bowe is president of Baltimore-based Ellicott Machine Corp. International.

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Published since 1889 by

DOW JONES & COMPANY, INC.

Editorial and Corporate Headquarters:
200 Liberty Street, New York, N.Y. 10281.
Telephone (212) 416-2000

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Mr. President.

Thank you for
all your support!
You can't imagine
what an honor it is
to have met you &
Hilary! Thanks for
the letter this year.
Please read this if
you have time!!

Sincerely,

~~Licetia~~ ~~that~~

Todd -

Should this go back
to Maureen Lewis
for re-do?

jet

10-19-95
original to Maureen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

I Don't Think ^{OK}
I Did meet her in ^{Mr}
west house of ~~dispute~~

October 12, 1995

Picabo Street
United States Skiing
Post Office Box 100
Park City, Utah 84060

Dear Picabo:

Thanks so much for the signed copy of the Los
Angeles Times Magazine. It was a great
article and I enjoyed seeing you, in ~~Colorado~~.

Best of luck for the coming season.

Sincerely,

Bin Cuntzen

our fine
on the ~~first~~ US Ski Team.

Wendy, and I hope
to see you again.

Picabo & Crew

UPHILL RACERS



The U.S.

Team Is Burning

the Slopes on the Way to the N

Olympics. Is Recognition in Its Own Coun

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/19/95

95 OCT 16 A 8:18

TO: President Clinton
FROM: Erskine Bowles *EB*
SUBJECT: Meeting with Secretary Christopher
DATE: October 13, 1995

I met with Secretary Christopher at his request on Thursday, October 5. He asked me to relate the following points to you from this meeting.

1. Should we end up with peace between Bosnia, Croatia, and Serbia, there will be a meeting of the three leaders in the U.S. You may be asked at some point to meet with Milosevic in order to close the deal. He suggested that you may want to think about whether or not you would be willing to do such.
2. At your summit with President Yeltsin on October 23rd, Yeltsin will surely bring up Bosnia and how Russia could be involved in the peace process.
3. Secretary Christopher suggested that you go to Spain one day early and have dinner with the King. He believes that would help U.S.-European relations.
4. As it relates to your trip to Japan, the Secretary believes this trip will allow us to take some credit for what you have accomplished, to emphasize the twenty or so agreements we have signed and how they are working to the benefit of both countries, and will allow us to discuss the joint challenges that we face ahead.
5. If we are able to get fast track authority, this would provide a real opportunity for a meaningful trip to Latin America.
6. He was grateful for you making the call to Assad.
7. Secretary Christopher strongly feels that the U.S.'s arrearage in our payments to the United Nations is a real problem. He strongly urges us to have a program as to how to deal with this before you go to the U.N. We currently owe approximately \$1.3 billion. All of our close allies, including Australia and the United Kingdom, are bashing us about this debt. The Secretary is not suggesting that we have to pay what we owe now, we simply need to have a plan as to how we are going to be able to make payment.

*Not if
main problem
can we do
without
without*

Agree

Memorandum to President Clinton
October 13, 1995
Page Two

8. On consolidation of the State Department with other agencies, the Secretary believes that we need to move forward with some approach now. The Secretary believes that we could have gotten more resources had we made an approach to Senator Helms. If we don't make some overture, then Helms will get his de facto re-organization by cutting \$2.5 billion from the foreign affairs operation funding. Such a cut would require the State Department to reduce operations by 30%, close 150 posts, RIF 25% of their employees, and stop all current modernization efforts and technological improvements. Such steps would make it very difficult to conduct foreign policy.

(I have always wondered why USIA wouldn't function well within the State Department.)

agm

agm

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 OCT 19 P6:17

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Sharon Storey -- for delivery to John Podesta, ASAP

Fax Number: 703 482-3064

Phone Number:

FROM: Todd Stern

SUBJECT:

DATE: 10/19/95

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):

4

MESSAGE:

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

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Draft Statement for Hearing on WHTO
House Government Reform and Oversight Committee
(draft 10-19-95)

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Committee, good morning. My name is John Podesta. I am formerly Assistant to President Clinton and Staff Secretary. I served the President in that capacity from the beginning of his Administration until June 30, 1995. I am currently a [Visiting] Professor of Law at the Georgetown Law Center.

From late May to early July, 1993, I worked under the direction of then Chief of Staff Mack McLarty and then OMB Director Leon Panetta on an internal review of the events leading up to the dismissal of seven employees from the White House Travel Office. I was assisted in this effort by my Deputy, Todd Stern. The report we prepared was released to the public on July 2, 1993. My testimony today will briefly explain how we prepared this Report and then summarize the Report's major conclusions. After that I will of course be happy to take questions.

By way of context, let me give you a very brief synopsis of what the Travel Office [did/does]. The Office fulfills two principal functions. First, it takes care of all travel arrangements for the White House press corps. Those arrangements include chartering aircraft, making hotel reservations, getting filing centers set up, getting equipment and baggage moved and chartering ground transportation. Second, the Travel Office makes commercial travel arrangements for staff in the Executive Office of the President. With respect to chartering aircraft for the press corps -- an activity that results in [millions] of dollars of annual expenses -- the Travel Office used a single-source, no-bid system. There was no competitive bidding.

On May 25, 1993, the White House announced that Mr. McLarty and Mr. Panetta would begin an internal management review of the circumstances surrounding the May 19 dismissal of the seven Travel Office employees. Shortly after that, Mr. McLarty asked me and Mr. Stern to help him conduct the review. Both of us are lawyers and neither of us had any involvement in the Travel Office incident.

During the following five weeks, in the course of preparing this Report, we interviewed more than 40 people inside and outside the White House. Mr. McLarty and Mr. Panetta also conducted interviews with a number of the key people involved.

Let me briefly summarize our conclusions.

First, there was a very serious management problem in the Travel Office. The accounting firm of Peat Marwick was brought in to review the operations of the Travel Office and found major financial problems including \$18,000 worth of unaccounted-for checks made out to cash; a lack of basic accountability; billing

by estimate; a cash management system so poor that the Office lacked a general ledger or a cash receipts/disbursements journal; and a lack of minimally adequate documentation.

Nevertheless, although it was appropriate to make management changes in the Travel Office, we found that the White House erred in the way it went about making those changes.

The FBI. We concluded that, given the concerns about possible financial irregularities in the Travel Office, it was not inappropriate for then Associate White House Counsel William Kennedy to make an initial call to the FBI to seek guidance on how to proceed. However, in subsequent conversations with FBI agents, Mr. Kennedy made comments that could have been interpreted as pressing for fast action. The FBI agents involved all stated that they saw Mr. Kennedy as needing guidance and did not feel pressured. FBI Director Sessions echoed this view in a June 30 letter to Senator Dole.

We also found that the White House press office erred inadvertently when it mentioned the FBI's involvement. And in its dealings with the FBI, when trying to ascertain what could accurately be said concerning the FBI investigation, the White House was not sufficiently careful about avoiding even the appearance of trying to influence FBI conduct.

Treatment of employees. We found that although the employees of the Travel Office served at the pleasure of the President, the White House made mistakes in the way it treated them. The biggest mistake is the one I've already alluded to -- disclosing the involvement of the FBI. Beyond that, there was no need to dismiss all the employees so abruptly. As of May 25, 1993, the five employees who did not exercise financial control over the office were put on paid administrative leave and they were subsequently given new positions in other executive branch agencies. The deputy director in the office retired. The director was indicted on charges related to financial irregularities in the office and is currently awaiting trial.

Favoritism. Finally, we found that the White House was insensitive to the appearance of favoritism with respect to certain of the persons and entities involved in the Travel Office incident.

Corrective Measures. In the aftermath of these events, the White House took a number of corrective steps, such as directing that initial contacts with the FBI concerning ongoing FBI investigations or possible criminal activity occur between White House Counsel's Office and top Justice Department officials; issuing guidance for contacts between the White House and FBI press offices; instituting a competitive bidding system for the selection of press charters; and introducing new financial controls in the Travel Office.

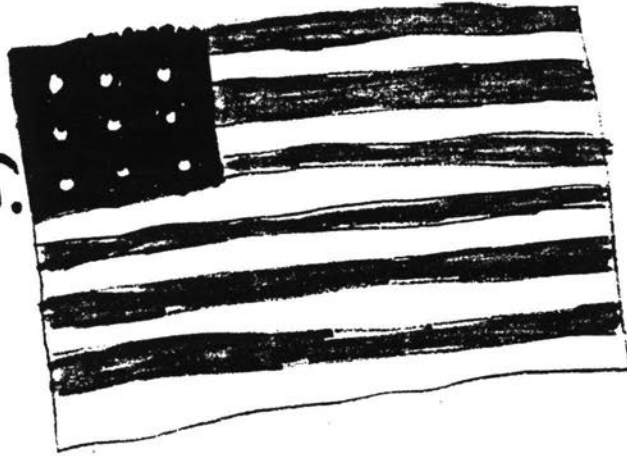
Let me conclude by observing that, despite the short time period in which we did our work and the breadth of our task, the report we prepared was tough and candid and has stood the test of time. None of the subsequent examinations and re-examinations of the events leading to the Travel Office dismissals -- by the GAO, the Office of Professional Responsibility of the Justice Department, [the House Judiciary Committee], [list any others] -- has yielded any significant new findings or facts.

At this time, I would be happy to take questions.

To: President Bill Clinton
From: Katie Hathaway ♥

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/19/96

~~██████████~~
3212 Churchill Dr.
Austin TX.
78703



Do you
want to
live



Todd -
to Jim Dorstine
for reply 7
De: yes
10/19

* // Only thing
agreed on -
wrong about
1/4 - 1/8

To: Betty Currie

MATTOX

Commercial Photography

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/19/95

Dear Betty:

To put it in simple terms, what do you think about the president's aides mentioning that if the government cannot guarantee investors that it will not default, it could push interest rates higher, resulting in Americans paying more to finance the debt?

Sincerely,


C. Warren Mattox, Jr.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 19, 1995

The Honorable Gerry E. Studds
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Gerry:

I am writing in regard to the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, which you and others reintroduced in the current session of Congress.

As you know, discrimination in employment on the basis of sexual orientation is currently legal in 41 states. Men and women in those states may be fired from their jobs solely because of their sexual orientation, even when it has no bearing on their job performance. Those who face this kind of job discrimination have no legal recourse, in either our state or federal courts. This is wrong.

Individuals should not be denied a job on the basis of something that has no relationship to their ability to perform their work. Sadly, as the Labor and Human Resources Committee documented last year, this kind of job discrimination is not rare. Cases of job discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation are seen in every area of our country.

The Employment Non-Discrimination Act, however, is careful to apply some exemptions in certain areas. I understand that your bill provides an exemption for small businesses, the Armed Forces, and religious organizations, including schools and other educational institutions that are substantially controlled or supported by religious organizations. This provision, which I believe is essential, respects the deeply held religious beliefs of many Americans.

Moreover, your bill specifically prohibits preferential treatment on the basis of sexual orientation, including quotas. It also does not require employers to provide special benefits.

The bill, therefore, appears to answer all the legitimate objections previously raised against it, while ensuring that Americans, regardless of their sexual orientation, can find and keep their jobs based on their ability and the quality of their work. The Employment Non-Discrimination Act is designed to protect the rights of all Americans to participate in the job market without fear of unfair discrimination. I support it.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 19, 1995

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Dear Ted:

I am writing in regard to the Employment Non-Discrimination Act, which you and Senator Jeffords have reintroduced in the current session of Congress.

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Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

95 OCT 19 P4: 53

OFFICE OF THE STAFF SECRETARY

Fax Transmittal Sheet

TO: Marsha Scott

Fax Number:

Phone Number:

65558

FROM: Todd Stern

SUBJECT: Kennedy St

DATE: 10-19-95

NUMBER OF PAGES (including cover sheet):

2

MESSAGE:

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 19, 1995

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United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

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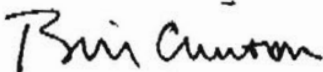
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Sincerely,



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 19, 1995

MARTHA FOLEY:

As we discussed.

Todd Stern



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503
October 18, 1995

95 OCT 19 P4:33

THE DIRECTOR

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Enrolled Bill H.R. 1976 -- Agriculture, Rural
Development, Food and Drug Administration,
and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, FY 1996

Sponsors: Representative Skeen (R), New Mexico
Senator Cochran (R), Mississippi

Last Day for Action

October 30, 1995 - Monday.

Temporary FY 1996 funding for the agencies and accounts covered by this enrolled bill is provided by the continuing resolution (P.L. 104-31), which expires at midnight on Monday, November 13th. Full-year payments for the Department of Agriculture's Conservation Reserve Program (CRP) normally are provided in the first week of October, but have not been made while funding is being controlled by provisions of the continuing resolution. The Department is prepared to mail out CRP checks within a few days of the bill's signing. Therefore, signature is recommended as soon as possible.

Purpose

Provides FY 1996 funding for the Department of Agriculture (except the Forest Service), the Food and Drug Administration, and several smaller agencies.

Agency Recommendations

Office of Management and Budget	Approval (Signing Statement attached)
Department of Agriculture	Approval
Department of Health and Human Services	Approval

Discussion

H.R. 1976 provides \$13.4 billion in discretionary budget authority, \$0.9 billion (seven percent) below your overall request for discretionary programs funded by this bill and \$0.4 billion (three percent) below the FY 1995 level. The enrolled bill also includes a total of \$41.2 billion in budget authority

for the Food Stamp program, the Child Nutrition program, the Commodity Credit Corporation, and other mandatory programs. The conference report on H.R. 1976 passed the House by a vote of 288-132 and the Senate by voice vote.

Investment Proposals

The bill provides \$5.7 billion, or about 90 percent, of the \$6.4 billion requested for your investment proposals, including funding for the special supplemental food program for women, infants, and children (WIC) (an increase of \$280 million, or eight percent, over FY 1995); food safety programs; and the rural development initiative. The appropriation for WIC is \$90 million less than your request. However, due to lower-than-expected food costs, we expect to achieve your participation goal of 7.5 million participants, even at this lower funding level.

Rural Development Programs

While the conferees added \$53 million to the House levels for rural development programs, we remain disappointed by the funding for these programs. H.R. 1976 provides \$488 million for the new Rural Development Performance Partnership Program. However, the Partnership would include only water and wastewater loan and grant programs, rather than the 14 economic development programs requested. The level of funding for the water and wastewater programs is 38 percent below your request and 22 percent below the FY 1995 enacted level. Additional funds may also be made available during FY 1996 through a provision allowing excess WIC carryover balances to be transferred to rural development programs. This provision could result in an additional \$50 million for the water and wastewater or other rural development programs.

H.R. 1976 provides \$146 million in budget authority for single-family housing loans, \$106 million (42 percent) below your request and \$82 million (36 percent) less than FY 1995. However, using revised estimates of subsidy rates for FY 1996, this amount should be sufficient to fund \$1 billion in loans, compared with \$1.2 billion assumed in the request and provided in FY 1995.

Reductions in Mandatory Programs

The Food Stamp program is cut by \$130 million by freezing the standard deduction at the FY 1995 level. A Food Stamp reserve of \$500 million is provided, compared with a \$2.5 billion reserve in FY 1995 and previous years. The bill restricts the Wetlands Reserve Program to 100,000 acres and does not permit new sign-ups for the Conservation Reserve Program (CRP). While the bill prevents new sign-ups for the CRP, which pays farmers to leave idle environmentally sensitive acreage, it does provide \$1.8 billion for the annual rental payments due on the 36 million

enrolled CRP acreage. The full-year's payments normally are provided in the first week of October, but have not been made while funding is being controlled under the continuing resolution. USDA is prepared to mail out CRP checks within a few days of the bill's signing.

Unrequested Items

The bill includes \$57.8 million in unrequested funds for university research buildings and facilities, all of which are earmarked in the statement of managers that accompanies the conference report. In addition, a language provision in the bill would prevent the implementation of a regulation on proper labeling of fresh and frozen poultry. Provisions are also included that will impair the Forest Service's ability to alter water bypass flows from water facilities located on National Forest lands, and suspend for 120 days a regulation implementing a ban on exports of logs from National Forests.

Recommendation

H.R. 1976 represents a compromise between the Administration's priorities for agricultural programs and congressional interests. The enrolled bill substantially funds your priority investment proposals. I join the Secretaries of Agriculture and Health and Human Services in recommending approval of the enrolled bill.

A signing statement is attached for your consideration.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Alice M. Rivlin". The signature is stylized with large, flowing loops.

Alice M. Rivlin
Director

Attachment

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Today I have signed into law H.R. 1976, the "Agriculture, Rural Development, Food and Drug Administration, and Related Agencies Appropriations Act, FY 1996."

I urge Congress to complete action on the remaining regular FY 1996 appropriations bills and to send them to me in acceptable form. Last year, Congress had sent to me -- and I had signed -- all 13 appropriations bills by September 30th. Regrettably, this is only the second bill that I have been able to sign for this fiscal year.

The Act provides \$13.4 billion in discretionary budget authority for programs of the Department of Agriculture and the Food and Drug Administration, including the Special Supplemental Feeding Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC); food safety programs; and various programs to protect and support rural communities.

The Act also provides a total of \$41.2 billion for the Food Stamp program, the Child Nutrition program, the Commodity Credit Corporation, and other mandatory programs.

I am pleased that the Act provides the resources necessary to keep the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC) on the Administration's path to full funding. An estimated 7.5 million women and children will be served. This program provides important nutrition benefits and health-related services.

In addition, the Act does not contain many of the troublesome provisions that would have compromised the ability of Federal nutrition programs to assist low-income Americans. By preserving the Food Stamp benefit reserve, albeit at a lower level, Congress has helped to maintain the Food Stamp program's responsiveness to changing needs. However, I am concerned about the Congress taking steps to reduce food stamp spending in an appropriations bill. This program, which assists almost 27 million low-income children, elderly, and working family members, continues to be the cornerstone of the Federal nutrition safety net.

While funding provided by the Act is an improvement over funding levels in earlier versions of the bill, I am still disappointed by its reductions from my request for rural development spending. For example, funds for water and wastewater facilities are down by nearly \$300 million from my request. As a result, 800 fewer facilities will be built or improved that would have benefited one million rural residents. I also note that the Act includes \$58 million in unrequested funds for earmarked university research facilities. I believe rural Americans would have been better served had these funds

instead been channeled into rural development programs. This would have funded 150 more water and wastewater facilities aiding over 200,000 citizens, or helped 7,000 rural families realize the American dream of owning their own home through USDA's single-family loan program, or funded 100 loans for rural economic development through the Intermediary Relending Program, which would have created nearly 20,000 new jobs.

By signing this bill, I am making it possible for USDA to send promptly full-year payments of nearly \$1.8 billion for the Conservation Reserve Program.

Again, I urge Congress to meet its responsibilities by sending me the remaining regular FY 1996 appropriations bills in acceptable form.

cc: Don BAER
(good story) 10/19/95

cc: w/incoming

Tony Lake 10/19/95

cc:

Schedule
Alison 10/19/95

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 12, 1995

The Honorable George R. Ariyoshi
Watanabe, Ing & Kawashima
745 Fort Street
Honolulu, Hawaii 96813

Dear George:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter of September 27. I appreciate your suggestions regarding recent events in Okinawa and am glad to know about the Wolfhounds' involvement with the Osaka orphanage.

It's always good to have your insight, and I've taken the liberty of sharing your letter with Tony Lake.

Sincerely,

Bill

*I really appreciate
your insight -
Thank you*

cc: Don BAER

(good story)

cc: W/incoming

Tony Lake

*cc: Ebeduleaf
Alison*

WATANABE, ING & KAWASHIMA

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

A PARTNERSHIP INCLUDING LAW CORPORATIONS

HAWAII TOWER, 5th & 6th FLOORS

745 FORT STREET

HONOLULU, HAWAII 96813

TELEPHONE (808) 544-8300

FACSIMILE: (808) 544-8399

September 27, 1995

Jan M. L. Y. Amii
George B. Apter
John R. Aube
Michael C. Bird
Peter L. Fritz
Beth K. Fujimoto
William H. Gilday, Jr.
Lyle Y. Harada
Brian Y. Hiyane
Dennis J. Hwang
J. Douglas Ing
Donna Y. Kanemaru
James Kawashima
Curtis C. Kim
Patsy H. Kirio
John T. Komeiji
Teri Y. Kondo

Wray H. Kondo
Pamela J. Larson
Ronald Y. K. Leong
Michael A. Lorusso
Jeff N. Miyashiro
Lani Narikyo
Kevin H. Oda
Elena J. Onaga
Seth M. Reiss
John S. Sasaki
Marcus B. Sierra
Robert T. Takamatsu
Gregory Y. P. Tom
Jeffrey N. Watanabe
Cynthia Winegar
Randall Y. Yamamoto
Lloyd S. Yoshioka

OF COUNSEL:

George R. Ariyoshi

ASIA PACIFIC CONSULTANT:

Dr. Victor Hao Li

GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS ADVISOR:

Millicent M.Y.H. Kim

PRACTICE GROUPS:

Asia Pacific Consulting Group

Banking and Real Estate Group

Commercial Litigation Group

Construction Management &

Professional Design Group

Corporate, Commercial & Finance Group

Government & Regulatory Affairs Group

Insurance Defense Litigation Group

Labor, Employment &

Employee Benefits Group

Land Use & Environmental Group

Legislative Affairs Group

Non-Profits Group

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
of America
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President,

It was nice to see you at the White House on September 15 in the midst of your busy schedule, and I extend my appreciation for that opportunity.

Upon returning to Hawaii, I received a phone call from a friend, Mr. Hugh O'Reilly, a caring, decent human being, who was the moving force in the adoption of the Osaka orphanage by the Wolfhounds in 1949 that I refer to in this letter. He called out of concern, and I share his concern, over the recent publicity surrounding the rape of a young Okinawan child by several United States military personnel. The reaction of the Japanese has been critical and severe, and rightly so.

Please understand the severity of what happened. Japan is deemed a safe place and so an incident like this is a hellish terrible happening. We must be careful that we don't down play what happened, and the armed forces personnel who were involved should be dealt with swiftly and appropriately.

Our concerns stem from the fact that a totally negative picture is being painted of military personnel generally. We need to have people understand that while there are some bad apples, there are many members of the armed forces serving overseas who have been, and continue to be involved in humanitarian, kind, and generous activities.

One such example is the generosity and kindness of the 27th Infantry Wolfhound in adopting an orphanage in Osaka many years ago, in 1949. The Wolfhounds put money, food, and clothing together, and began helping about 150 children.

The Honorable William J. Clinton
September 27, 1995
Page 2

A few months later the Wolfhounds were fighting in Korea, but the collections to aid the Osaka orphans continued. When the Wolfhounds subsequently returned to the U.S., they started a custom of bringing two children to Hawaii each year. Around that time, they also started to send two Santa Clauses to the orphanage each year.

Then came Vietnam, but the Wolfhounds never forgot the children. Returning to Hawaii, they continued the tradition. Today the program continues, and the project is supported by Wolfhounds, most who were not even born, at the time the orphanage was first adopted by the unit.

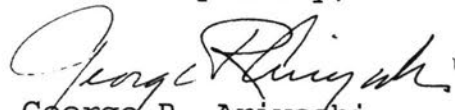
This humanitarian gesture is but one example of the caring attitude of our men and women in uniform. I believe this aspect of the members of our armed forces should also be made known when we condemn bad behavior on the part of some individuals.

I wanted to call this to your attention so that Mr. President, you and others within the government may use this information appropriately.

Let me close by paraphrasing a little blind girl from the orphanage who said of the Wolfhounds, "I feel so sorry for other children who have only one father--I have so many."

My Aloha and best wishes to you. With warm personal regards, I remain,

Yours very truly,


George R. Ariyoshi

give
Rebecca
a copy of info
for her
records 10/19/95

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

16-Oct-1995 09:43am

TO: Maureen F. Lewis

FROM: Rebecca A. Cameron
Office of the President

SUBJECT: Melvin Lapidès

Melvin Lapidès dies this weekend. I'm still waiting for details but I know that a letter will have to be done (to whom I'm not sure...get back to you on that one!)

Thanks.

Linda Dixon
call & find out
→

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1995

Eva Lubin
6390 Candlewood Cove
Memphis, Tennessee 38119

Dear Eva:

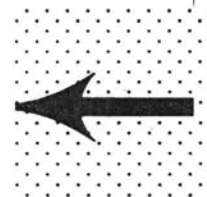
I just heard about your father's death and wanted you to know that I'm thinking of you.

Melvin was a wonderful man and such a good friend to me over the years. I could always depend on his loyal support -- from my early days campaigning for Governor through my inauguration as President. He was one of the best and will be missed.

Hillary and I are keeping you in our thoughts and prayers in the days ahead. God Bless You.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton



**SIGN
HERE**

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 18, 1995

Jane Brown
2089 Kirby Parkway
Memphis, Tennessee 38119

Dear Jane:

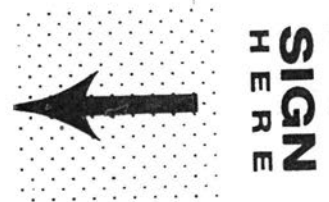
I just learned of your father's death and wanted to tell you that Hillary's and my thoughts and prayers are with you.

Melvin was a wonderful man and such a very dear friend of mine. I will always be grateful for his unconditional support and will cherish our last visit together at my inauguration. He was truly one of the best.

You will be in our prayers in the days ahead.
God Bless You.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton



Mevin Lapid
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

juish - long-time
supporter, good
friend to POTUS

lived in Oseola,
NE Arkansas

→ one of best.

a very special person
to the President.

Lynda getting address

HRC - 5/8/95 - B.

REPUBLICAN "TAX" INCREASES ON WORKING FAMILIES

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/19/95

PROVISION AFFECTING FAMILIES

OUT-OF-POCKET COSTS (SEVEN YEARS)

Reductions in Earned Income Tax Credit \$42 Billion

New Student Loan Fees on Colleges \$2 Billion

Increase in Student Loan Interest Rates
on Parents \$1 Billion

Elimination of Student Loan Grace Period \$3 Billion

Child Support Enforcement Collection Fees \$4 Billion

Phase in Medicare Age to 67 -----

Increase in Medicare Deductibles \$10 Billion

Increase in Medicare Premiums
Beyond Normal Level \$47 Billion

Means Testing of Medicare Premiums \$9 Billion

Repeal of Medicaid Payment of
Medicare Premiums N.A.

Spousal Impoverishment Requirement N.A.

Increase in Federal Employee
Costs for Pensions \$4 Billion

Increase in HUD Rental Payments \$4 Billion

Sunset of Low-Income Housing Tax Credit \$4 Billion

Birmingham Post-Herald, Monday, September 11, 1995

What's key to revival of spirit?

By Brandt Ayers

The Anniston Star

In a speech last week, President Clinton urged Americans to regain a sense of national purpose that fueled the post-World War II economic boom — an appropriately presidential theme. But he didn't tell us what has gone wrong or how to fix it.

Some huge errors of policy and other great events beyond our control have altered the economic and political geography of America and the world in the past 20 years — change on a scale to render current campaign rhetoric puny indeed.

Someone needs to tell Sen. Phil Gramm that we want to reform welfare, not punish the poor; whisper to Bob Dole that we don't care how mean he is to Republican homosexuals; remind Pat Buchanan that we can't resign from membership in the world community; and yes, tell the president he needs to regulate that perpetual fountain of words, keeping himself and the country focused on two or three crucial issues.

Our major challenge as a nation is to revive American strength that was squandered through bipartisan complicity in the crime of the century — the Reagan-Bush budgets pushed through a Democratic Congress.

The legacy of a 12-year binge of borrow-and-spend politics — conceived by a Republican president and endorsed by a bipartisan majority in Congress — has been an immobilizing debt, a loss of confidence in government and a decline in optimism about the future among average Americans.

Median wages in constant dollars have fallen in the past 20 years from \$34,048 to \$30,407, a drop that has made many angry or afraid. More and more solid working-class families have fallen down into the underclass. A growing underclass pressures surrounding neighborhoods, increases the level of fear in urban America and triggers the flight of the upper-income overclass to the

safety of walled and guarded private communities.

The greatest looming threat to domestic tranquility in America is not that laundry list the platoon of Republican presidential candidates talks about: abortion, immigration, welfare and that blessed, vaguely defined nirvana of family values.

No. Real danger comes from uncontrolled growth at both ends of the economic spectrum — the very poor and the very rich — with a consequent shrinkage in the great stabilizing plane of civic life, the middle class.

That is happening in America today. Poverty is growing, and more members of the rich overclass are retreating to gilded islands. In these gated communities, with their own security force, every resident is just like his neighbor — and totally unconcerned with conditions outside.

Already there are more private security officers than municipal police, and the number of community associations (not including condominiums and cooperatives) have increased from 4,000 in 1970 to 66,000 in 1990. Two Californians who are writing a book about the phenomenon have conducted focus groups to determine the attitudes of people who have moved to these communities.

"What we heard again and again were people saying they're tired of paying taxes that went to somebody or something else, and they just wanted to take care of themselves," the authors report. "In that sense, they probably aren't that different than most Americans these days."

The calculus for civil disorder goes like this: Start with a talented and wealthy class, indifferent or hostile to the condition of the larger community, to which is added a growing number of children whose jobless parents are abusive, absent or addicted, who give them no sense of right and wrong. Such children become moral androids who kill and steal without guilt.

Given all that has happened in Amer-

ica and the world, wouldn't it be refreshing to hear the candidates talk about the family value of jobs — the indispensable adhesive of the family unit that provides a living wage, a sense of self-respect and an example to the children?

How exciting it would be to hear these accomplished, intelligent men realistically describe plans to push back the ranks of the poor, reduce the levels of fear and inexorably spread the order and safety of middle-class life wider and wider.

To his credit, Clinton has talked about growing the middle class and shrinking the underclass. But he hasn't told us how his programs will do that, and the thought too often drowns in the Niagara of his speeches.

Restoring middle-class economic vitality is a national goal worth debating, but this greedy, me-first age also needs a spiritual challenge. Each of the American tribes needs to be reminded that the highest title in a democracy is not hyphenated by race, class or ethnicity.

That title is "Citizen" and the act of citizenship is a transaction in which citizens suppress their own egos and interests for the sake of the country. Heard anything like that lately?

Brandt Ayers is publisher of The Anniston Star.

FROM
IDEAS

DON BAER

Don Baer

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/19/95

Radio Address

Theme: Race/Community/Crime

Enough about O.J. What matters are the divisions. The issue is not to harp on divisions but to decide what to do about them.

Recognize that racism, hatred, and extremism on one side drives same on other side.

Responsibility of leaders: refrain from venomous attack.

Responsibility of citizens: Reject those who would divide us.

Farrakhan as much a part of this vicious cycle as our extremist white leaders. (Sample quotes.)

Without responsibility, result is deep fraying of bonds that connect community with law enforcement. We see on all sides: inner city hostility to local police; right-wing hostility to federal law enforcement. Racism in some places begets mistrust. Must repair all distrust or risk breakdown. Community policing works. Must make right conditions possible.

Austin Speech

Theme: Family and Fathers

Recently, seen reasons for division in our society. Most profound division is breaking apart our families. As men march in Washington, it is time to talk to the men of America. Many key social problems in America grow out of absence of fathers. Need for fathers as role model -- child support not enough. I speak as a son, a husband, a father, and a man who is a fatherless child.

To good fathers, I say thank you.

To those who have not gotten there yet -- take responsibility.

As men, we agree never to lift a hand against a woman.

Women have moved into the workplace; men must move toward the homeplace.

What public and private sectors must do to encourage families and help avoid breakdown.

Note: Dallas event will likely be community policing.

Lin

*From Don Baer
Thoughtful memo
on Lee Grant*

October 12, 1995

Mr. President,

I know the decision to speak about race is a difficult one which requires serious consideration. But I thought it might help you to play your thoughts off of this sketchy outline (for one unified speech, not divided into Radio Address and separate Texas speech).

Outline

1. The issue is not O.J., but what our different perceptions tell us about ourselves as Americans facing a crucial moment of change in our history.

2. This tells us that we do not know each other -- across lines of race, gender, ethnicity -- as well as we must if we are to succeed as one nation moving into a new century full of vast potential but deep problems.

3. We have learned that we must work harder to understand one another -- the rages, the fears and the concerns, no matter whether we are black or white, men or women. This moment in time is not a mere snapshot on which to base judgments of one another; we are all part of a great moving picture of influences and forces that make up our perceptions.

4. A large part of that picture is one of progress given where we were when a quarter of a million people heard MLK, Jr. 32 years ago. (Describe that progress.)

5. But we must remember that we all bring our pasts into this present, and that what black or white Americans perceive in our American experience is influenced by the remnants of the past in our own times.

6. Especially given our concerns of recent weeks, we must remember:

A. The concerns of black Americans that our system of justice is not just are not baseless.

i. A litany of abuses, such as Scottsboro case, Emmett Till case (wouldn't hurt to remind all Americans about the sad truths in that case).

ii. Police forces across the country -- especially in major urban areas -- with histories of racism and, despite great progress, persistent vestiges of bad old days.

B. The concerns of white Americans are not all baseless either.

i. Fear of crime

ii. Fear of some black leaders -- despite many great examples to the contrary -- who want to play on fear and venom, not unity and inspiration.

iii. Distrust that perhaps justly aggrieved blacks will ever be able to see all whites as anything more than an enemy with whom peace and shared future is remotely possible.

7. Crucial pivot of speech: We must understand all this. But understanding is not enough if we are not willing to act on what we understand. The question is not just how differently we perceive the American experience. The question is what are we going to do about it. All of these outrages matter. But in the end, we all face a choice, right now:

A. One way lies separation, anger and disaster

B. The other way, the way I want us to take, lies maintaining our pride, dignity and our ethnic identity, drawing unique American strength from our diversity (L.A. county), but remembering that we are all in this together and we are all going up or down together.

C. The choice is not to be a white person in America or a black person in America. The choice is to be an American. It is to confront our problems together. And to come out of this experience stronger for our willingness to understand the truth about ourselves and to live as better, more responsible neighbors because of the truth.

8. Given the concerns of this day, we must apply that conviction on three fronts.

A. Responsibility of police and community: The only way to deal with crime is to come together as community and to have police who are part of, not estranged from that community.

i. Wipe out racism from forces (much as white and black police together have worked to do in many forces across the country)

ii. But must stand behind our police and not let what are thankfully now rogue influences drive us from the support and solidarity with law enforcement that this administration has demonstrated are crucial to cutting crime.

B. Responsibility for family, especially among men: (This section would be Dick's section about what it means to be a good father and to make the sacrifices necessary. And the pledge to never lift a hand to woman.)

C. Responsibility to reject voices of division: (This would go to Farrakhan and the Million-Man March)

i. Leaders must turn aside the impulse to lead with anger, rage and contempt. Must build up, not tear down. Must bring together, not drive apart.

ii. Citizens, no matter our color, must reject any leader who would take the low road. The past, no matter how venomous it was, is no excuse for poisoning America's future. That is true of whites (examples?). And that is true of blacks (Farrakhan as example).

Even those gathered this very day in Washington in the name of taking up more responsibility for their lives and those they must care for.

A million men are not wrong when it comes to the crying need to take more responsibility for every aspect of our lives. But a million men do not make one man right if that man has led with hate instead of love, with division instead of understanding.

9. Conclusion: Call all Americans to move on from a moment of division and to remember everything we have in common -- these things you have discussed and the greater hopes and dreams of Americans in all ages which are our hopes and dreams today.

Don

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/19/95

ON ABORTION: A LINCOLNIAN POSITION

by GEORGE McKENNA

*Principled yet pragmatic, Lincoln's stand on
slavery offers a basis for a new politics of civility that is
at once anti-abortion and pro-choice*

cc: HRE
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WENTY-TWO years ago abortion was made an individual right by the Supreme Court. Today it is a public institution—one of the most carefully cultivated institutions in America.

It is protected by courts, subsidized by legislatures, performed in government-run hospitals and clinics, and promoted as a "fundamental right" by our State Department. As Supreme Court Justice Sandra Day O'Connor observed in the 1992 *Casey* decision, which reaffirmed *Roe v. Wade*, a whole generation has grown up since 1973 in the expectation that legal abortion will be available for them if they want it.

Today our nation's most prestigious civic groups, from the League of Women Voters to the American Civil Liberties Union, are committed to its protection and subsidization. The Accreditation Council for Graduate Medical Education now requires that abortion techniques be taught in all obstetrics-and-gynecology residency training programs. Influential voices in politics and the media are now demanding the assignment of U.S. marshals to protect abortion clinics against violence, and a federal law passed last year prescribes harsh criminal penalties for even non-violent acts of civil disobedience if they are committed by demonstrators at abortion clinics. Some private organizations that administer birth-control programs and provide abortions, notably Planned Parenthood, are closely tied to government bureaucracies: Planned Parenthood receives one third of its income from the federal government. Abortion today is as American as free speech, freedom of religion, or any other practice protected by our courts.

With this difference: unlike other American rights, abortion cannot be discussed in plain English. Its warmest supporters do not like to call it by its name.

Abortion is a "reproductive health procedure" or a "termination of pregnancy." Abortion clinics are "reproductive health clinics" (more recently, "women's clinics"), and the right to obtain an abortion is "reproductive freedom." Sometimes the word "abortion" is unavoidable, as in media accounts of the abortion controversy, but then it is almost invariably preceded by a line of nicer-sounding words: "the right of a women to choose" abortion. This is still not enough to satisfy some in the abortion movement. In an op-ed piece that appeared in the *The New York Times* shortly after a gunman killed some employees and wounded others at two Brookline, Massachusetts, abortion clinics, a counselor at one of the clinics complained that the media kept referring to her workplace as an abortion clinic. "I hate that term," she declared. At the end of the piece she suggested that her abortion clinic ought to be called "a place of healing and care."

The Clinton Administration, the first Administration clearly committed to abortion, seems to be trying hard to promote it without mentioning it. President Bill Clinton's 1993 health-care bill would have nationalized the funding of abortion, forcing everyone to buy a "standard package" that included it. Yet nowhere in the bill's 1,342 pages was the word "abortion" ever used. In various interviews both Clintons acknowledged that it was their intention to include abortion under the category of "services for pregnant women." Another initiative in which the Clinton Administration participated, the draft report for last year's United Nations International Conference on Population and Development, used similar language. Abortion, called "pregnancy termination," was subsumed under the general category of "reproductive health care," a term used frequently in the report.

Why, in a decade when public discourse about sex has become determinedly forthright, is "abortion" so hard to say?



No one hesitates to say "abortion" in other contexts—in referring, for example, to aborting a plane's takeoff. Why not say "abortion of a fetus"? Why substitute a spongy expression like "termination of pregnancy"? And why do abortion clinics get called "reproductive health clinics" when their manifest purpose is to *stop* reproduction? Why all this strange language? What is going on here?

The answer, it seems to me, is unavoidable. Even defenders and promoters of abortion sense that there is something not quite right about the procedure. "I abhor abortions," Henry Foster, President Clinton's unconfirmed nominee for Surgeon General, has said. Clinton himself, who made no secret of his support for abortion during his 1992 campaign, still repeats the mantra of "safe, legal, and rare" abortion. Why "rare"? If abortion is a constitutional right, on a par with freedom of speech and freedom of religion, why does it have to be "rare"? The reason Clinton uses this language should be obvious. He knows he is talking to a national electorate that is deeply troubled about abortion. Shortly before last year's congressional elections his wife went even further in appealing to this audience by characterizing abortion as "wrong" (though she added, "I don't think it should be criminalized").

Sometimes even abortion lobbyists show a degree of uneasiness about what it is they are lobbying for. At the end of 1993 Kate Michelman, the head of the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, was interviewed by the *Philadelphia Inquirer* about NARAL's new emphasis on the prevention of teen pregnancies. The reporter quoted Michelman as saying, "We think abortion is a bad thing." Michelman complained that she had been misquoted, whereupon she was reminded that the interview had been taped. Nevertheless, NARAL issued a statement a few days later declaring that Michelman "has never said—and would never say—that 'abortion is a bad thing.'" Michelman, who had reason to know better, sought only to "clarify" her remark in a letter to the *Inquirer*. "It is not abortion itself that is a bad thing," she wrote. "Rather, our nation's high rate of abortion represents a failure" of our system of sex education, contraception, and health care. But a month later Michelman herself, testifying before a House subcommittee on energy and commerce, insisted that "the reporter absolutely quoted me incorrectly," and she later told a *Washington Post* reporter, "I would never, never, never, never, never mean to say such a thing." Not until the *Post* reporter showed her the transcript did Michelman finally acknowledge—somewhat evasively—that she had said it: "I'm obviously guilty of saying something that led her to put that comment in there."

Whatever else Michelman's bobbing and weaving reveals, it shows how nervous abortion advocates can get when the discussion approaches the question of what abortion *is*. Even if we accept Michelman's amended version of her remark, which is that it is not abortion but the "high rate" of abortion that is a bad thing, the meaning is hardly changed. If one

abortion is not a bad thing, why are many abortions bad? What is it about abortion that is so troubling?

The obvious answer is that abortion is troubling because it is a killing process. Abortion clinics may indeed be places of "healing and care," as the Planned Parenthood counselor maintains, but their primary purpose is to kill human fetuses. Whether those fetuses are truly "persons" will continue to be debated by modern scholastics, but people keep blurting out fragments of what was long a moral consensus in this country. Once in a while even a newscaster, carefully schooled in *Sprachregelungen*, will slip up by reporting the murder of "a woman and her unborn baby," thus implying that something more than a single homicide has taken place. But that "something" must not be probed or examined; the newscaster must not speak its name. Abortion has thus come to occupy an absurd, surrealistic place in the national dialogue: It cannot be ignored and it cannot be openly stated. It is the corpse at the dinner party.

DOUGLAS AND THE DEMOCRATS

ONLY one other institution in this country has been treated so evasively, and that is the institution that was nurtured and protected by the government during the first eighty-seven years of our nation's existence: the institution of slavery.

The men who drafted the Constitution included representatives from slave states who were determined to protect their states' interests. Yet they were all highly vocal proponents of human liberty. How does one reconcile liberty with slavery? They did it by producing a document that referred to slavery in three different places without once mentioning it. Slaves were "persons"—or, sometimes, "other persons"—in contrast to "free persons." The slave trade (which the Constitution prohibited Congress from banning until 1808 was referred to as "the Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit." Free states were required to return fugitive slaves to their masters in the slave states, but in that clause a slave was a "person held to Service or Labour" and a master was "the party to whom such Service or Labour may be due."

At least the founders recognized the humanity of slaves by calling them "persons"; but in the next generation the status of slaves, and of blacks in general, steadily declined. By the end of the 1820s slaves were reduced to a species of property to be bought and sold like other property. Thomas Jefferson, who in 1776 had tried to insert into the Declaration of Independence a denunciation of the King for keeping open "a market where MEN should be bought & sold," now agonized only in private. Publicly all he could say on the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration (the last year of his life) was that the progress of enlightenment had vindicated the "palpable truth, that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, &

a favored few booted and spurred, ready to ride them legitimately, by the grace of God," adding vaguely, "these are grounds of hope for others."

Jefferson often shied away from public controversy, but even the most flamboyant political leaders of the early nineteenth century could become suddenly circumspect when the talk turned to slavery. Andrew Jackson left office in 1837 blaming the South's secession threats on those northerners who insisted on talking about "the most delicate and exciting topics, topics upon which it is impossible that a large portion of the Union can ever speak without strong emotion." Such talk, he said, assaulted "the feelings and rights" of southerners and "their institutions." Jackson, usually a plainspoken man, would not mar the occasion of his last presidential address by saying the words "abolitionist" and "slavery." When slavery was discussed during the antebellum period, it was usually in the language of "rights"—the property rights of slaveholders and the sovereign rights of states. In 1850 the famous Whig senator Daniel Webster defended his sup-

port for a tough fugitive-slave law on such grounds. What right, he asked, did his fellow northerners have "to endeavor to get round this Constitution, or to embarrass the free exercise of the rights secured by the Constitution to the persons whose slaves escape from them? None at all, none at all."

Webster supported the Compromise of 1850, which attempted to settle the question of slavery in the territories acquired from Mexico by admitting California as a free state and Utah and New Mexico "with or without slavery as their constitution may provide at the time of their admission." This last principle was seized upon by Stephen A. Douglas, the "little giant" of the Democratic Party, and made the basis of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which Douglas pushed through Congress in 1854. Nullifying the Missouri Compromise of 1820, it opened the remaining territories to slavery if the people in them voted for it. Douglas's rationale was "popular sovereignty," a logical extension of states' rights. The premise of states' rights was that any institution a state wanted to have, it should have, so long as that didn't conflict with the Constitu-

THE LATHER

"20 Mule Team Boraxo . . . Cleans Dirty Hands"

On the tin stowed under the upstairs sink
The mule team circulates in silhouette:
Yeoman hand-scrub of workingmen and sons
Going back to before his father was born.

And so he pictures vast bleached dunes
Shimmering to the vanishing point.
The chalky powder heaped in mounds
And hauled to the city by wagon train

To meet demand, a grand procession.
So let tar bleed from telephone poles.
Let engine blocks ooze rainbow slicks
And bike chains jam with caked-up gunk—

He's heard his father say one scoop will cut
Through any crap, no matter what.
Just work the lather good, keep at it.
He's fallen into rhythm now, a little remote.

A little dreamy: the team marches round
The tin like ants, his wrists turn and turn
In a reaming motion, and his head spins
To think of all the pitch-black hands

Squelching away at this dinner hour.
Filling washbasins with oily rivers.
And now his suds froth even darker.
His skin's on fire. He feels certain

The storied mines can't last forever:
The dunes will dwindle into moon dust.
The mules will litter the desert floor
With hollow skulls. He knows in his bones

He's turning into the kind of upstart
Who never misses a chance to flout
A father's orders about what not to touch
Or take apart. In the fogging mirror

He sees himself far older, doubled over
Fiendish smears that won't rinse out
(Some industrial taint? Indelible ink?)
Faithfully, furiously, though he scours.

—DAVID BARBER

tion. Since slavery not only did not conflict with the Constitution but was protected by it, Douglas said, it followed that each state had "a right to do as it pleases on the subject of slavery," and the same principle should apply to the territories. Douglas's appeal was not to the fiery pro-slavery minorities in the South, who insisted that slavery was morally right, but to the vast majority in the North, who simply felt uncomfortable talking about the subject. He assured them that they didn't have to—that they could avoid the subject altogether by leaving it to the democratic process. Let the people decide: if they "want slavery, they shall have it; if they prohibit slavery, it shall be prohibited." But what about the rights of slaves? That, Douglas said, was one of those issues that should be left to moralists and theologians. It did not belong in the political or legal realm. In speaking of the right to own slaves, he said,

I am now speaking of rights under the Constitution, and not of moral or religious rights. I do not discuss the morals of the people of Missouri, but let them settle that matter for themselves. I hold that the people of the slaveholding States are civilized men as well as ourselves, that they bear consciences as well as we, and that they are accountable to God and their posterity and not to us. It is for them to decide therefore the moral and religious right of the slavery question for themselves within their own limits.

Looking back today on Douglas's words, now 137 years old, one is struck by how sophisticated and "modern" they seem. He ruled out of order any debate on the morality of slavery. That was a "religious" question. It had no place in a constitutional debate, and we had no right to judge other people in such terms. In one of his debates with Lincoln in 1858, Douglas scolded his opponent for telling the people in the slave states that their institution violated the law of God. "Better for him," he said, to cheers and applause, "to adopt the doctrine of 'judge not lest ye be judged.'"

The same notions and even some of the same language have found their way into the abortion debate. In *Roe v. Wade*, in 1973, Justice Harry Blackmun observed that philosophers and theologians have been arguing about abortion for centuries without reaching any firm conclusions about its morality. All "seemingly absolute convictions" about it are primarily the products of subjective factors such as one's philosophy, religious training, and "attitudes toward life and family and their values." As justices, he said, he and his col-



leagues were required to put aside all such subjective considerations and "resolve the issue by constitutional measurement, free of emotion and of predilection." As the abortion debate intensified, particularly after Catholic bishops and Christian evangelicals entered the fray in the 1970s, the word "religious" was increasingly used by abortion defenders to characterize their opponents. They used it in exactly the same sense that Douglas used it in the slavery debate, as a synonym for "subjective," "personal," and thus, finally, "arbitrary." In this view, religion is largely a matter of taste, and to impose one's taste upon another is not only repressive but also irrational. This seems to be the view of the philosopher Ronald Dworkin in his book *Life's Dominion* (1993) and

in some of his subsequent writings. What the opposition to abortion boils down to, Dworkin says, is an attempt "to impose a controversial view on an essentially religious issue on people who reject it."

The approach has served as useful cover for Democratic politicians seeking to reconcile their religious convictions with their party's platform and ideology. The most highly publicized use of the "religious" model was the famous speech given by Mario Cuomo, then the governor of New York, at the University of Notre Dame during the 1984 presidential campaign. Characterizing himself as an "old-fashioned" Catholic, Cuomo said that he accepted his Church's position on abortion, just as he accepted its position on birth control and divorce. But, he asked rhetorically, "must I insist you do?" By linking abortion with divorce and birth control, Cuomo put it in the category of Church doctrines that are meant to apply only to Catholics. Everyone agrees that it would be highly presumptuous for a Catholic politician to seek to prevent non-Catholics from practicing birth control or getting a divorce. But the pro-life argument has always been that abortion is different from birth control and divorce, because it involves a nonconsenting party—the unborn child. At one point in his speech Cuomo seemed to acknowledge that distinction. "As Catholics," he said, "my wife and I were enjoined never to use abortion to destroy the life we create and we never have," and he added that "a fetus is different from an appendix or a set of tonsils." But then, as if suddenly recognizing where this line of reasoning might lead, he said, "But not everyone in our society agrees with me a Matilda." In other words, it was just a thought—don't bother with it if you don't agree. *De gustibus non est disputandum*.

Cuomo's speech received considerable press coverage, because it was perceived as a kind of thumb in the eye of New York's Cardinal John O'Connor, who had been stressing the Church's unequivocal moral condemnation of abortion. The argument, then, was newsworthy but not at all original. New York Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, another pro-choice Catholic, had been saying much the same thing since the mid-1970s, and by the 1980s it had become the standard argument. One hears today from the Clintons, from spokespeople for the American Civil Liberties Union, and from the philosopher Ronald Dworkin, the journalist Roger Rosenblatt, and the celebrity lawyer Alan Dershowitz, and from legions of others that opposition to abortion is essentially religious, or private, and as such has no place in the political realm. There is a patient philosophical response to this argument, which others have spelled out at some length, but it finds no purchase in a mass media that thrives on sound bites. There is also a primal scream—"Murder!"—that is always welcomed by the media as evidence of pro-life fanaticism. But is there a proper *rhetorical* response, a response suited to civil dialogue that combines reason with anger and urgency? I believe there is, and the model for it is Abraham Lincoln's response to Stephen Douglas.

LINCOLN AND THE REPUBLICANS

LINCOLN had virtually retired from politics by 1854, having failed to obtain a much-coveted position in the Administration of Zachary Taylor. Then came the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act, Stephen Douglas's masterwork, which permitted the extension of slavery into the territories. Lincoln was horrified. In his view, slavery was like a cancer—or a "wen," as he called it. It could be eliminated only if it was first contained. If it ever metastasized, spreading into the new territories, it could never be stopped. He viewed the Kansas-Nebraska Act as a stimulant to the growth of the cancer because it invited slave-owning "squatters" to settle in the new territories, create electoral majorities, and establish new slave states. One of the longest and most passionate of Lincoln's speeches was his 1854 address on the act, which rehearsed many of the themes that would reappear in his debates with Douglas.

Douglas had boasted that the Kansas-Nebraska Act furthered democracy by leaving the question of whether or not to adopt slavery up to the people in the territories. Lincoln quickly homed in on the critical weakness in this "self-government" argument: "When the white man governs himself, that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also governs *another* man, that is *more* than self-government—that is despotism." It would not be despotism, of course, if slaves were not human; "That is to say, inasmuch as you do not object to my taking my hog to Nebraska, therefore I must not object to you taking your slave." This,

Lincoln said, "is perfectly logical, if there is no difference between hogs and negroes." Lincoln kept returning to the question of the humanity of slaves, the question that Douglas ruled out of bounds as essentially "religious." Everywhere, Lincoln said, even in the South, people knew that slaves were human beings. If southerners really believed that slaves were not human, why did they join in banning the international slave trade, making it a capital offense? And if dealing in human flesh was no different from dealing in hogs or cattle, why was the slave-dealer regarded with revulsion throughout the South?

You despise him utterly. You do not recognize him as a friend, or even as an honest man. Your children must not play with his: they may rollick freely with the little negroes, but not with the "slave-dealers' children. If you are obliged to deal with him, you try to get through the job without so much as touching him.

People's moral intuitions could not be repressed: they would surface in all kinds of unexpected ways: in wincing and unguarded expressions, in labored euphemisms, in slips of the tongue. Lincoln was on the lookout for these, and he forced his opponents to acknowledge their significance: "Repeal the Missouri Compromise—repeal all compromises—repeal the declaration of independence—repeal all past history, you still can not repeal human nature. It will still be the abundance of man's heart, that slavery extension is wrong; and out of the abundance of his heart, his mouth will continue to speak."

Douglas tried to evade the force of these observations by insisting that he didn't care *what* was chosen: all he cared about was the freedom to choose. At one point Douglas even tried to put his own theological spin on this, suggesting that God placed good and evil before man in the Garden of Eden in order to give him the right to choose. Lincoln indignantly rejected this interpretation. "God did not place good and evil before man, telling him to make his choice. On the contrary, he did tell him there was one tree, of the fruit of which, he should not eat, upon pain of certain death. I should scarcely wish so strong a prohibition against slavery in Nebraska."

Lincoln's depiction of slavery as a moral cancer became the central theme of his speeches during the rest of the 1850s. It was the warning he meant to convey in his "House Divided" speech, in his seven debates with Douglas in 1858, and in the series of speeches that culminated in the 1860 presidential campaign. In all these he continually reminded his audience that the theme of choice without reference to the *object* of choice was morally empty. He would readily agree that each state ought to choose the kind of laws it wanted when it came to the protection and regulation of its commerce. Indiana might need cranberry laws; Virginia might need oyster laws. But "I ask if there is any parallel between these things and this institution of slavery." Oysters and cranberries were matters of moral indifference; slavery was not.

The real issue in this controversy—the one pressing upon every mind—is the sentiment on the part of one class that looks upon the institution of slavery *as a wrong*, and of another class that *does not* look upon it as a wrong. The sentiment that contemplates the institution of slavery in this country as a wrong is the sentiment of the Republican party.

Lincoln has been portrayed as a moral compromiser, even an opportunist, and in some respects he was. Though he hoped that slavery would eventually be abolished within its existing borders, he had no intention of abolishing it. Although he said, in his "House Divided" speech of 1858, that "this government cannot endure, permanently half *slave* and half *free*," Lincoln made it clear in that speech, and in subsequent speeches and writings, that his intention was not to abolish slavery but to "arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in course of ultimate extinction. . . ." In his first inaugural address, desperate to keep the South in the Union, he even hinted that he might support a constitutional amendment to protect slavery in the existing slave states against abolition by the federal government—a kind of reverse Thirteenth Amendment. The following year he countermanded an order by one of his own generals that would have emancipated slaves in South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida. In that same year he wrote the much-quoted letter to Horace Greeley stating that his "paramount object" was not to free slaves but to save the Union, and that if he could save the Union without freeing a single slave, he would do it. But when it came down to the commitment he had made in the 1850s, Lincoln was as stern as a New England minister. Slavery, he insisted, was an evil that must not be allowed to expand—and he would not allow it to expand. He struggled with a variety of strategies for realizing that principle, from gradual, compensated emancipation to outright abolition, but he never for a moment swerved from the principle. A month after his election Lincoln replied in this way to a correspondent who urged him to temper his opposition to slavery in the territories: "On the territorial question, I am inflexible. . . . You think slavery is right and ought to be extended; we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted."

A LINCOLNIAN POSITION ON ABORTION

I SUGGESTED that we can find in Lincoln's anti-slavery rhetoric a coherent position that could serve as a model for pro-life politicians today. How would this rhetoric sound? Perhaps the best way to answer this is to provide a sample of what might be said by a politician devoted to a cause but no less devoted to building broad support for it. With the reader's indulgence, then, I will play that politician, making the following campaign statement:

"According to the Supreme Court, the right to choose abortion is legally protected. That does not change the fact that

abortion is morally wrong. It violates the very first of the inalienable rights guaranteed in the Declaration of Independence—the right to life. Even many who would protect and extend the right to choose abortion admit that abortion is wrong, and that killing 1.5 million unborn children a year is, in the understated words of one, 'a bad thing.' Yet, illogically, they denounce all attempts to restrain it or even to speak out against it. In this campaign I *will* speak out against it. I will say what is in all our hearts: that abortion is an evil that needs to be restricted and discouraged. If elected, I will not try to abolish an institution that the Supreme Court has ruled to be constitutionally protected, but I will do everything in my power to arrest its further spread and place it where the public can rest in the belief that it is becoming increasingly rare. I take very seriously the imperative, often expressed by abortion supporters, that abortion *should* be rare. Therefore, if I am elected, I will seek to end all public subsidies for abortion, for abortion advocacy, and for experiments on aborted children. I will support all reasonable abortion restrictions that pass muster with the Supreme Court, and I will encourage those who provide alternatives to abortion. Above all, I mean to *treat it as a wrong*. I will use the forum provided by my office to speak out against abortion and related practices, such as euthanasia, that violate or undermine the most fundamental of the rights enshrined in this nation's founding charter."

The position on abortion I have sketched—permit, restrict, discourage—is unequivocally pro-life even as it is effectively pro-choice. It does not say "I am personally opposed to abortion"; it says abortion is evil. Yet in its own way it is pro-choice. First, it does not demand an immediate end to abortion. To extend Lincoln's oncological trope: it concludes that all those who oppose abortion can do right now is to contain the cancer, keep it from metastasizing. It thus acknowledges the present legal status of "choice" even as it urges Americans to choose life. Second, by supporting the quest for alternatives to abortion, it widens the range of choices available to women in crisis pregnancies. Studies of women who have had abortions show that many did not really make an informed "choice" but were confused and ill-informed at the time, and regretful later. If even some of those reports are true, they make a case for re-examining the range of choices actually available to women.

Would a candidate adopting this position be obliged to support only pro-life nominees to the Supreme Court? To answer this, let's consider Lincoln's reaction to *Dred Scott v. Sandford*, the 1857 Supreme Court ruling that Congress had no right to outlaw slavery in the territories. Lincoln condemned the decision but did not promise to reverse it by putting differently minded justices on the Court. Instead his approach was to accept the ruling as it affected the immediate parties to the suit but to deny its authority as a binding precedent for policymaking by the other branches of the federal government. If he were in Congress, he said in a speech delivered in July of 1858, shortly before his debates with

Douglas, he would support legislation outlawing slavery in the territories—despite the *Dred Scott* decision. In our analogy we need not follow Lincoln that far to see the valid core of his position. Yes, he was saying, the Supreme Court has the job of deciding cases arising under the Constitution and laws of the United States. But if its decisions are to serve as durable precedents, they must be free of obvious bias, based on accurate information, and consistent with "legal public expectation" and established practice, or at least with long-standing precedent. Since *Dred Scott* failed all these tests, Lincoln believed that it should be reversed, and he intended to do what he could to get it reversed. But he would not try to fill the Court with new, "catechized" justices (a process to which he thought Douglas had been party regarding the Illinois state bench). Instead he would seek to persuade the Court of its error, hoping that it would reverse itself. Lest this seem naive, we must remember that *he intended to conduct his argument before the American people*. Lincoln knew that in the final analysis durable judicial rulings on major issues must be rooted in the soil of American opinion. "Public sentiment," he said, "is every thing" in this country.

With it, nothing can fail; against it, nothing can succeed. Whoever moulds public sentiment, goes deeper than he who enacts statutes, or pronounces judicial decisions. He makes possible the enforcement of these, else impossible.

The lesson for pro-life leaders today is that instead of trying to fill the Supreme Court with "catechized" justices, a strategy almost certain to backfire, they should content themselves with modest, competent justices who are free of ideological bias, and all the while keep their eyes on the real prize: "public sentiment." *Dred Scott* was overturned within a decade by the Civil War, but *Plessy v. Ferguson*—the 1896 ruling validating state-imposed racial segregation—darkened the nation for fifty-eight years before it was overturned in *Brown v. Board of Education*. Yet during that long night civil-rights advocates were not silent. In thousands of forums, from university classrooms and law-school journals to churches and political conventions, they argued their case against American-style apartheid. In the end they not only won their legal case but also forged a new moral consensus.

It took time—time and patience. The lesson for pro-life advocates is that they need to take the time to lay out their case.



certainly have a First Amendment right to ask for it, but their emphasis, I believe, should be on making it clear to others why they have reached the conclusions that they have reached. They need to reason with skeptics and listen more carefully to critics. They need to demand less and explain more. Whatever the outcome, that would surely contribute to the process of reasonable public discourse.

The "campaign statement" I presented above is my own modest contribution to that process. It seeks common ground for a civil debate on abortion. It does not aim at a quick fix: it is based on the Lincolnian premise that nothing is possible without consensus. At the same time, it suggests that some measures can be taken here and now, and with broad public sup-

port, to contain the spread of abortion.

Would either party, today, endorse such an approach? Probably not.

It is easy to see why Democrats would run from it. Since 1972 pro-choice feminists have become increasingly important players in Democratic Party councils. In 1976 abortion lobbies got the Democratic platform committee to insert a plank in the party platform opposing a constitutional amendment banning abortion, and since then they have escalated their demands to include public funding of abortion and special federal protection of abortion clinics. No Democrat with serious national ambitions would ever risk offending them. A long list of Democrats who were once pro-life—Edward Kennedy, Jesse Jackson, even Al Gore and Bill Clinton—turned around in the seventies and eighties as the lobbies tightened their grip on the party. In 1992 Robert Casey, the pro-life governor of Pennsylvania, a liberal on every issue except abortion, was not even permitted to speak at the Democratic National Convention.

What is more puzzling—at first glance, anyway—is the tepid reception the pro-life position has received over the years from centrist Republican leaders. In the present, heated atmosphere of Republican presidential politics, most Republican candidates have been wooing pro-life voters, obviously anticipating their clout in next spring's primaries. But in the day-to-day management of party affairs few Republican leaders have shown much enthusiasm for the cause. Among the ten items in Newt Gingrich's Contract With America there is no reference to abortion (in fact, there is no reference to any of the social-cultural issues that the Republicans once showcased, beyond demands for tougher chil-

pornography laws and "strengthening rights of parents"). The Republican national chairman, Haley Barbour, is at odds with pro-life Republicans who accuse him of trying to scuttle the party's pro-life position. The party's leading spokespeople include vocal abortion supporters like Christine Todd Whitman, the governor of New Jersey, and William Weld, the governor of Massachusetts, and its most prominent candidates in last year's elections—Mitt Romney in Massachusetts, Michael Huffington in California, George Pataki in New York—all declared themselves pro-choice.

It would be hard to find any Republican seriously seeking national office today who would say of abortion what Lincoln said of slavery: "The Republican Party think it wrong—we think it is a moral, a social, and a political wrong." Why? Wasn't it the Republicans who first promised to support a "human-life amendment" outlawing abortion? Didn't Ronald Reagan often use his bully pulpit to speak out in behalf of the unborn? Yes—but that was then. In 1980 the Republicans set out to woo those who were later called Reagan Democrats, and one of the means was a pro-life plank, designed to counter the plank the Democrats had put in their platform four years earlier. The wooing worked all too well. Many of the conservative Catholics and evangelical Protestants who streamed into the Republican Party in 1980 were ex-New Dealers, and they retained elements of the old faith. They may have cooled toward the welfare state, but they were not opposed to the use of government to promote social goals. Their primary goal, the outlawing of abortion, would itself involve the use of government; but even beyond that, these new "social conservatives" never really shared the Republicans' distrust of an activist government. Republican leaders thus greeted them warily. These Democrats-turned-Republican were seen to be useful during elections but a nuisance afterward. During the Reagan years they were given considerable verbal support, which at times greatly helped the pro-life cause (as, for example, at the UN International Conference on Population in Mexico City in 1984, when Reagan officials helped push through a final report stating that "abortion in no way should be promoted as a method of family planning"), though it never got beyond lip service. During the Bush Administration even lip service faltered as Republican officials decided that their party's "big tent" needed to accommodate the pro-choice view. "Read my lips," Bush said, but he was talking about "no new taxes." Bush's failure to keep his tax promise was seen as a major cause of his defeat in 1992, but in the ashes of this defeat lay what Republican leaders took to be a new sign of hope: they figured they could win elections on tax-and-spend issues as long as they kept their promises; they didn't need the "social issues" people anymore.

The Republicans have thus returned to where they feel most comfortable. Back in the 1880s William Graham Sumner used to say that the purpose of government is "to protect the bases of women." Modern Re-

publicans would hasten to add "the property of women" to this meager agenda, but the philosophy is the same. It sees the common good as the sum of individual private satisfactions. Its touchstone is the autonomous individual celebrated by John Locke in *Of Civil Government* (1690): "free, equal, and independent" in the state of nature, the solitary savage enters society only to protect what is his—or hers. Here is a philosophy radically at odds with pro-life premises. If a woman has an absolute, unqualified right to her property, and if her body is part of her property, it follows that she has a right to evict her tenant whenever she wants and for whatever reason she pleases. This "despotic" concept of individual ownership is Republican, not Democratic. If Democrats are pro-choice for political reasons, Republicans are pro-choice in their hearts. Talk radio's greatest Republican cheerleader, Rush Limbaugh, has also been an outspoken pro-lifer, but even Limbaugh has been softening that part of his message lately—and small wonder. Here is Limbaugh castigating the environmental movement: "You know why these environmentalist wackos want you to give up your car? I'll tell you the real reason. They don't want you to have freedom of choice." There it is. Freedom of choice: the philosophical center of modern-day Republicanism.

Well, the reader asks impatiently, if Democrats are pro-choice politically and Republicans are pro-choice philosophically, what's the point of that pro-life "campaign state ment"? Who is going to adopt it? Perhaps the good folks is some little splinter party, but who else? I answer as follows: American party politics is very tricky, at times seemingly unpredictable. Who, in the early sixties, would have dared predict that the Democrats would become the abortion party? But there was a subtle logic at work. By 1964 it was clear that the Democrats were about to become the civil rights party. The feminism of the sixties rode into the reform agenda on the back of civil rights (by the end of the decade "sexism" had entered most dictionaries as a counterpart "racism"), and high on its agenda was not just the legalization but the moral legitimization of abortion. Nevertheless, it took a dozen years for the full shift to occur. I think within the next dozen years the shift could be reversed. I explain why. I must take a long look backward, to the parties' respective positions in Lincoln's time.

PRO-LIFE DEMOCRATS

IN the 1850s it was not the Republicans but the Democrats who were the champions of unbridled individualism—the heirs of Andrew Jackson's entrepreneurialism—and, more importantly, of Jefferson's distrust of "energetic government." Democrats were wary not only of national action but of any concept of the common good that threatened individual local autonomy. It was the Republicans, heirs of Whig individualism and New England transcendentalism, who succeeded under Abraham Lincoln's tutelage—in constructing a

ent philosophy of national reform. In *The Lincoln Persuasion* (1993), a brilliant, posthumously published study of Lincoln's political thought, the political scientist J. David Greenstone traced the roots of that thought to the communitarian "covenant theology" of seventeenth-century Puritanism. Lincoln combined this theology, with its emphasis on public duty and public purpose, with the nationalism and institutionalism of Henry Clay and other leading Whigs, arriving at a position of "political humanitarianism." Lincoln's synthesis, Greenstone noted, did not deny the importance of individual development, but it did assert that "the improvement of individual and society were almost inseparably joined." Combining moral commitment with political realism, Lincoln arrived at a concept of the public good that resonated deeply among northerners, especially those large segments steeped in the culture of New England. At the time of the Civil War, then, the Democratic and Republican parties were divided not only on the slavery question but also on the larger philosophical question of national responsibility. The Democrats adopted a position of economic and moral laissez-faire, while the Republicans insisted that on certain questions the nation had to do more than formulate procedural rules; it had to make moral judgments and act on them.

This philosophical alignment, persisting through the Civil War and Reconstruction, was blurred during the Gilded Age. Then, over the course of the next forty years, something surprising happened: the parties reversed positions. Populist Democrats in the 1890s weakened their party's attachment to laissez-faire, and after "progressive" Republicans (whose model was Lincoln) failed to take over their party in 1912, many started moving toward the Democrats. Woodrow Wilson welcomed them—and so, twenty years later, did Franklin Roosevelt. By 1936 it was the Democrats who were sounding the Lincolnian themes of national purpose and government responsibility, while the Republicans had become the champions of the autonomous individual. Since then both parties have veered and tacked, sometimes partly embracing each other's doctrines, but today the congressional parties stand as far apart as they were at the height of the New Deal. President Clinton may have muddied the waters with his "me, too, but more moderately" response to Republican retrenchment, but in Congress the programmatic differences between the parties are spelled out almost daily in party-line votes reminiscent of the late 1930s. Now as



then, Republicans emphasize the role of government as a neutral rule maker that encourages private initiative and protects its fruits. Now as then, Democrats emphasize the role of government as a moral leader that seeks to realize public goals unrealizable in the private sphere.

If this analysis is correct, it follows that the proper philosophical home for pro-lifers right now is the liberal wing of the Democratic Party. To test this, go back to that "campaign statement" I sketched earlier and make one simple change: substitute the word "racism" for "abortion." Without much editing the statement would be instantly recognizable as the speech of a liberal Democrat. Democrats know that racism, like abortion, cannot be abolished by governmental fiat. But they also know that it is wrong to subsidize racist teachings publicly or to tolerate racist speech in public institutions or to permit racist practices in large-scale "private" enterprises. Democrats also insist that government has a duty to take the lead in condemning racism and educating our youth about its dangers. In other words, the same formula—grudgingly tolerate, restrict, discourage—that I have applied to abortion is what liberal Democrats have been using to combat racism over the past generation. With abortion, as with racism, we are targeting a practice that is recognized as "wrong" (Hillary Clinton) and "a bad thing" (Kate Michelman). With abortion, as with racism, we are conceding the practical impossibility of outlawing the evil itself but pledging the government's best efforts to make it "rare" (Bill Clinton *et al.*). When it comes to philosophical coherence, therefore, nothing prevents Democrats from adopting my abortion position. Indeed, there is very good reason to adopt it.

It is, however, politically incorrect. Any liberal Democrat taking this stance would incur the wrath of the abortion lobbies. Protests within the party would mount, funding would dry up, connections with the party leadership would be severed, and there might be a primary challenge. Because politicians do not court martyrdom, the intimidatory power of these lobbies is formidable.

But no power lasts forever, and power grounded more in bullying than in reason is particularly vulnerable in our country. Within the liberal left, from which the Democrats draw their intellectual sustenance, there is increasing dissatisfaction with the absolutist dogma of "abortion rights." N. Hentoff, a columnist in the left-liberal *Village Voice*, wonders why those who dwell so much on "rights" refuse to consid-

the bare possibility that unborn human beings may also have a few rights. Hentoff, who is a sort of libertarian liberal, sees a contradiction between abortion and individual rights, but the socialist writer Christopher Hitchens may actually be more in tune with the communitarian bent of post-New Deal liberalism in his critique of pro-choice philosophy. Hitchens caused an uproar among readers and staffers of *The Nation* in 1989 when he published an article in which he observed with approval that more and more of his colleagues were questioning whether "a fetus is 'only' a growth in, or appendage to, the female body." While supporting abortion in some cases, he insisted that society has a vital interest in restricting it. What struck him as ironic, and totally indefensible, was the tendency of many leftists suddenly to become selfish individualists whenever the topic turned to abortion.

It is a pity that . . . the majority of feminists and their allies have stuck to the dead ground of "Me Decade" possessive individualism, an ideology that has more in common than it admits with the prehistoric right, which it claims to oppose but has in fact encouraged.

Hitchens's critique of the pro-choice position comes from his socialist premises, but even some liberal critics closer to the center have adopted a similar view. *The Good Society* (1991), by the sociologist Robert Bellah and his associates, reads like the campaign book of a decidedly liberal Democratic politician, someone who might challenge Bill Clinton from the left in 1996. The root of what is wrong in America, it says, is our "Lockean political culture," which emphasizes "the pursuit of individual affluence (the American dream) in a society with a most un-Lockean economy and government." When the authors get to the topic of abortion, they again see Lockeanism as the culprit: it has turned abortion into an "absolute right." In place of this kind of extreme individualism they suggest we consider the practices of twenty other Western democracies.

There is respect for the value of a woman's being able to choose parenthood rather than having it forced upon her, but society also has an interest in a woman's abortion decision. It is often required that she participate in counselling; she is encouraged to consider the significance of her decision, and she must offer substantial reasons why the potential life of the fetus must be sacrificed and why bearing a child would do her real harm.

Despite its use of the strange term "potential life" (a usage favored by Justice Blackmun) for a living fetus, Bellah's formulation expresses coherently what modern liberalism points toward but usually resists at the last minute: a responsible communitarian position on abortion. It is not the same as my campaign statement, but it is within debating distance, and setting the two statements side by side might bring together in civil debate reasonable people from both sides.

Of course, neither position would pass muster with NARAL, NOW, the ACLU, and other pro-choice absolutists. But at

some point, I think, sooner rather than later, the grip of these lobbies will have to loosen. One lesson of last year's congressional elections is that the Democratic Party will suffer at the polls if it is perceived by the public as the voice of entrenched minority factions. For better or worse, the Republicans articulated a philosophy in 1994, while the Democrats, by and large, believed that all they had to do was appeal to "their" people. The party needs to rediscover the idea of a common good, and the abortion issue may be as suitable a place as any to start. But the Democrats will first have to break free of the abortion lobbies. That will be a formidable challenge, though not an impossible one. As the political scientist Jeffrey Berry has observed, one of the most startling features of modern American politics is how quickly political alliances can shift. National politics, Berry writes, no longer works by means of "subgovernments"—cozy two-way relationships between particular lobbyists and politicians. Today we live in a world of "issue networks," in which many lobbies vie for attention. Something like this, I believe, is starting to happen on women's issues. One of the fast-growing feminist groups in the country right now is Feminists for Life (FFL), which has offices nationwide and has recently moved its headquarters to Washington, D.C. Founded in the 1970s by former now members who had been expelled for their pro-life views, FFL supports almost the entire agenda of feminism—except "abortion rights." Citing the pro-life stands of the founders of American feminism, including Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, they view themselves as reclaiming authentic feminism. Gay-rights groups, usually allied with the abortion lobbies, now include PLAGAL, the Pro-Life Alliance of Gays and Lesbians. In issue networks, Jeffrey Berry observes, alliances can be composed "of both old friends and strange bedfellows"; there are "no permanent allies and no permanent enemies." The new pragmatic alliances of gays and straights, religious believers and secularists, feminists and traditionalists, may soon be demanding seats at the Democratic table. It would not be surprising if they were welcomed as liberators by many Democrats who have been forced to endorse a Me Decade ideology at odds with the spirit of their party.

PRO-CHOICE REPUBLICANS

WHAT about the Republicans? Where are they headed? It is hard to say. As already noted, on a range of domestic issues the party seems to have embraced a philosophy of possessive individualism that has a distinctly pro-choice ring to it, and in this respect is no longer the party of Lincoln. Lincoln's Republicanism, as Greenstone pointed out in *The Lincoln Persuasion*, combined a Whiggish sense of national responsibility with a New England ethic of moral perfection. Then as now, Republicans believed in capitalist enterprise and fiscal prudence—but in

those days they put them in the service of broader humanitarian goals. "Republicans," Lincoln said, "are for both the man and the dollar; but in cases of conflict, the man before the dollar." This was true for a long time in the Republican Party. Theodore Roosevelt's notion of "stewardship" had traces of the Lincolnian synthesis of humanitarianism and institutional responsibility: early in this century many of the Progressives came from Republican backgrounds. Even in the 1950s Eisenhower's brand of "modern Republicanism" faintly echoed the old tradition of active government and moral leadership. Someday, I think, it will be rediscovered. It is a noble tradition.

Right now, though, it is out of season. The Republicans are on a *laissez-faire* roll. The strategy of their leaders is to marginalize right-to-lifers, get their plank out of the platform, and avoid any more messy debates over social issues. They see a golden opportunity to win more recruits by appealing to yuppies and other libertarians who hate taxes and welfare but like "abortion rights." What can be said to these shrewd Republican leaders? In shrewdness and wiliness it would be hard to match Abraham Lincoln. Let us, then, listen to Lincoln as he warned against weakening his party's anti-slavery plank in order to win the votes of "moderates." "In my judgement," he wrote to an Illinois Republican official in 1859, "such a step would be a serious mistake—would open a gap through which more would pass out than pass in." And so today. Many Reagan Democrats came to the Republicans in the 1980s because their own party deserted them on social issues. If the Republicans do the same, many will either drift back to the Democratic Party (many of these, remember, are former New Deal Democrats, rather liberal on economic issues) or join a third party or simply drop out (many evangelicals were apolitical before Reagan came along). For every pro-choice yuppie voter the Republicans won, they might lose two from the "religious right."

In truth, however, no one can be sure about the gains and losses resulting from one position or another on abortion, and such considerations are beside my main point, which is this: It is time at last in America for the abortion issue to be addressed with candor and clarity by politicians of both major parties. There needs to be *engagement* on the topic. Right now, as the philosopher Alasdair MacIntyre puts it, the arguments pro and con on this issue are "incommensurable"—they sail past each other: the two sides are talking about different things. Part of the blame for the mindless "emotivism," as MacIntyre calls it, can be attributed to the more extreme elements in the pro-life movement, who have stifled reasoned argument with their cries of "Murder!" But much of it results from the squeamishness of pro-choicers, who simply refuse to face up to what abortion is. Nervousness, guilt, even anguish, are all hidden behind abstract, Latinate phrases. Only rarely does reality intrude. That is why Christopher Hitchens caused such a howl of pain when he published his *Nation* article on abortion. His crack about the

"possessive individualism" of pro-choicers undoubtedly caused discomfort, but what must have touched a raw nerve was his description of abortion itself. After sympathizing with the emotions of rank-and-file members of the pro-life movement—with their "genuine, impressive, unforced revulsion at the idea of a disposable fetus"—Hitchens added,

But anyone who has ever seen a sonogram or has spent even an hour with a textbook on embryology knows that emotions are not the deciding factor. In order to terminate a pregnancy, you have to still a heartbeat, switch off a developing brain and, whatever the method, break some bones and rupture some organs.

Here, then, is the center of it all. If abortion had nothing to do with the stilling of heartbeats and brains, there would be no abortion controversy.

Suppose, now, I were to define the controversy in this manner: It is a fight between those who are horrified by the above-mentioned acts, considering them immoral, and those who are not horrified and do not consider them immoral. "Unfair," most pro-choicers would say. "We are also horrified. Have we not said that we abhor abortion? Have we not called it wrong? Have we not said it should be rare?" All right, then, let the debate begin: How rare should it be? How can we make it rare? In what ways, if any, can public institutions be used to discourage abortion? If abortion means stilled hearts and ruptured organs, how much of that can we decently permit?

In this debate I have made my own position clear. It is a pro-life position (though it may not please all pro-lifers), and its model is Lincoln's position on slavery from 1854 until well into the Civil War: tolerate, restrict, discourage. Like Lincoln's, its touchstone is the common good of the nation, not the sovereign self. Like Lincoln's position, it accepts the legality but not the moral legitimacy of the institution that it seeks to contain. It invites argument and negotiation; it is a gambit, not a gauntlet.

The one thing certain right now is that the abortion controversy is not going to wither away, because the anguish that fuels it keeps regenerating. Some Americans may succeed in desensitizing themselves to what is going on, as many did with slavery, but most Americans feel decidedly uncomfortable about the stilled heartbeats and brains of 1.2 million human fetuses every year. The discomfort will drive some portion of that majority to organize and protest. Some will grow old or weary, and will falter, but others will take their place. (I have seen it already: there are more and more young faces in the annual "march for life.") Pro-life protest will continue, in season and out of season, with political support or without it. Abortion, a tragedy in everyone's estimation, will continue to darken our prospect until we find practicable ways of dealing with it in order to make it rare. But before we can even hope to do that, we have to start talking with one another honestly, in honest language. ☛

PRESS RELEASE

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Reilly - Feyl
a White House doc

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/19/95

The Verdict Is In - The Truth Is Out - The Jury - All Twelve
"Declares"

"IT DIDN'T FIT - WE MUST ACQUIT"

O.J. Simpson did not commit the crime

O.J. Simpson will not do the time.

No eye witness - No weapon found - No true evidence

A weak case did the prosecution make - A rush to judgement is indeed evident
it seems.

Fuhrman and his team hurriedly left the bloody scene on Gretna Green to plant
the bait on O.J.'s estate. "Let the dead bury the dead," said Fuhrman to his
friends. "We must make haste this glove will seal O.J.'s fate. Guilty or not
we're gonna make this "Nigger" pay. When we're done, he will squirm like a
worm and crawl like a snake. We'll teach him and teach him good to stay in a
"Nigger's" place, marry a woman of his own race. We'll throw him in jail,
shrink his image and watch him suffer to no avail.

We'll put him on display for all the world to see what happens to a black man in
America who reaches a peak and thinks he's equal to me!"

This trial - a display of injustice - on parade!!! - A mockery. What a shame!
America, What a shame!!

Unfortunately, Brother Darden chose to join the prosecution "scheme team"
Marcia Clark, Garcetti, Fuhrman, and all the rest, whose aim it is to defame,
destroy, demoralize, criticize and make up lies - "Be sure your sins will find you
out." God frowns on distasteful behavior in any form or style.

It's no surprise! The prosecutions schemes did not survive - an inevitable
defeat was with out a doubt their prize.

THE VERDICT IS IN - THE TRUTH IS OUT - THE JURY - A JOB WELL
DONE. Holding fast to the rules and regulations, The Bill of Rights - The law
of the land - weighting all of the evidence relying and ruling only on facts.

"Verdict"

"IT DIDN'T FIT - WE MUST ACQUIT."

I say to you -

America's lawmakers and citizens too - And now, you cry Nay! Nay!

Too long has white America buried it's head in the sand - threw a rock and hid
it's hand. We must not, cannot and will not permit the ugly faces of hate, deceit
and deception to destroy us - for we are a great nation.

"TOGETHER WE STAND - DIVIDED WE FALL."

Let us all come together - Hold the banner high for all the world to see "Our
Country Tis of Thee - Sweet land of liberty -" "One Nation under God
indivisible with liberty and justice for all."

"ONE FOR ALL - ALL FOR ONE"

GOD BLESS AMERICA

James K. Glassman

'A Program Gone Bonkers'

The road to a \$5 trillion national debt is paved with good intentions.

Look at the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC). Launched by Gerald Ford, lauded by Ronald Reagan, expanded by George Bush and Bill Clinton, it's based on welfare principles that even a Republican (or a professed New Democrat) can love. The only problem is that, like many other good ideas in Washington, it's gotten completely out of hand.

Currently, the EITC is the fastest-growing program in the federal budget. It will cost the Treasury \$24 billion this year, up from less than \$2 billion 10 years ago.

In their giant reconciliation bill—the final budget measure of the year—the Republicans are trying to restrain this growth. Under the Senate version, EITC costs will rise to \$32 billion in 2002. In the budget language of Washington, that's a cut. In any other language it's an increase—although not so large as projected under the current law, which has costs rising to \$36 billion by 2002.

The EITC is a sort of negative income tax. If you fall into a certain earnings bracket, you don't pay the government; the government pays you.

The idea of the EITC is to put more money in the pockets of low-income working families. If you don't work, you don't qualify. Since the benefits are paid in cash and the rules are simple, the Internal Revenue Service can administer the EITC easily and cheaply.

Believers in the free market like the notion that the EITC doesn't force recipients to use funds for a particular purpose like other federal programs (housing, food stamps). Instead, it gives them money and lets them make their own choices.

The EITC is not only the fastest-growing entitlement program, it's the broadest. In 1986 some 7 million families were covered by the EITC, and the average outlay by the government was \$281. This year 18 million families are covered at an average of \$1,265.

In 1936 the maximum credit a taxpayer could receive was \$550; today, it's \$3,111.

In Mississippi, a whopping 39 percent of families receive the EITC; in Texas, 26 percent; California, 22 percent. With this kind of penetration, the EITC follows a welfare tradition invented by Franklin Roosevelt: To keep a program alive, make sure money flows not just to the poor but to the middle class. That's been the key to success for Social Security, Medicare, student loans and farm subsidies.

The EITC was begun as a modest program to help offset the burden of payroll taxes on the poor and, through its unique structure, to encourage them to work more. But the philosophy soon became: "Hey, if a little bit is good, then more is better," says Bruce Bartlett, an economist who served in the Bush Treasury Department.

Today, the EITC is enjoyed by families making as much as \$26,672 a year, and that doesn't include outside income. Under the tax law that President Clinton promoted and signed two years ago, by 2002 families making \$34,612 will qualify for EITC benefits. The Senate wants to scale that figure back to \$30,200—which seems pretty sensible for a government that already owes its creditors \$4.9 trillion.

At its core, the EITC is a massive income transfer scheme. New IRS figures show that in 1993 the top 5 percent of American earners paid 47 percent of the federal income taxes, up from 37 percent in 1981. Meanwhile, the bottom 50 percent of earners—thanks in large measure to the EITC—paid 5 percent of the taxes.

The EITC, in other words, has created a veritable tax holiday for about half the families in America.

Many would say that's fair. But there's another question raised by the EITC: Does it really encourage work? There's doubt.

For 1996, families with two or more children will earn credits of 40 percent of their income until they reach earnings of \$8,910 annually. Then, they max out

at a credit (in nearly all cases, a cash payment) of \$3,564. So far, so good. Clearly, there's a big incentive to work, since a dollar paid on the job becomes \$1.40 in the pocket (minus modest payroll taxes).

If you earn between \$8,910 and \$11,630, you still receive the maximum credit. Then the disincentive begins—you start losing 21 cents of credits for every additional dollar you earn. When your income reaches \$28,533, your credits hit zero.

Again, this sounds fair. But the problem is that the EITC forces lower-income Americans to face marginal tax rates that are higher than those faced by the richest Americans.

As Bartlett wrote recently in a brief for the National Center for Policy Analysis: "Families with incomes between \$11,000 and \$26,000 are being taxed at the rate of 60 percent on each additional dollar earned. . . . This total tax rate includes federal, state and local taxes plus the reduction in the EITC."

And these high marginal taxes definitely discourage work. Economist Edgar Browning of Texas A&M reported in the *National Tax Journal* that nearly half of all families receiving the EITC had less income than they would have had without the tax credit—because the credit enticed them to work less. And a University of Wisconsin study found that "on balance the EITC reduces the total hours worked."

Is there a solution to the EITC conundrum? One answer is to remove the phase-out of benefits: Simply give all taxpayers an extra 40 percent credit for the first \$10,000 or so of income. But that would be hugely expensive. Another answer is to kill the EITC entirely. But that would be politically impossible.

The third course is to try to restrain a program gone bonkers. That's what the Republicans are doing. At the same time, however, they should admit that the EITC isn't quite so glorious as they once thought. Maybe luring people out of poverty is something that government just can't do.

THE WASHINGTON POST
THURSDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/19/95
Lauded
Reagan
didn't undo
Reagan
138

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

TIME OF RECEIPT

**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**

25 OCT 16 49:33 *[Signature]*

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

RELEASOR: *[Signature]*
DTG: 161406Z

MESSAGE NO.: 11 CLASSIFICATION: Unclassified TOTAL: 3
PAGES INCLUDING COVERS

FROM: Phil Caplan 62702 Gd Fl WW
(NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: Bob Nash re Deborah Kastrin

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBER
Austin, TX	Bruce Lindsey (For the President) Information		

REMARKS: Bruce: For the President at your discretion. Phil

*Get this outlined
Deborah*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/19/95

October 13, 1995

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BOB J. NASH, Assistant to the President and
Director of Presidential Personnel

BN

RE: DEBORAH KASTRIN, ADVISORY COUNCIL OF THE BORDER
ENVIRONMENT COOPERATION COMMISSION (PA)

I. BACKGROUND

On Sunday October 8, 1995, *60 Minutes* ran a story on the Las Colonias Housing Project located in Brownsville, Texas. The story revealed that housing units are being sold which do not contain adequate drainage, sewage facilities or a sufficient water supply. Dan Morales, Attorney General for the State of Texas and a Presidential Appointee to the Joint Public Advisory Committee of the Commission on Environmental Cooperation, was interviewed. Mr. Morales stated that in his capacity as attorney general, he was investigating this potentially fraudulent situation.

Also interviewed was Deborah Kastrin, a Presidential Appointee to the Border Environment Cooperation Commission. Ms. Kastrin is an investor in the Las Colonias project. During her interview with Ed Bradley, Ms. Kastrin was questioned directly about the conflict of interest between her Presidential appointment to a board that handles environmental clean-up on the border and her role as an investor in Las Colonias. In response, Ms. Kastrin stated that she believed that this was not a conflict of interest. She went on to state purchasers are aware of what they are buying. The information we have at this point is that there is no legal conflict of interest; however, White House Counsel's Office is working with HUD, State Department and the Department of Justice to make certain. PPO staff will begin a political vetting on Ms. Kastrin's resignation or removal.

II. RESPONSES TO INQUIRIES ON THE ISSUE

Listed below are potential inquiries on the issue from specific individuals and the media and suggested responses:

Dan Morales, State Attorney General, Texas - "Mr. President we need to be doing something to help the residents of the Las Colonias Housing Project. It is developers like Ms. Kastrin that are profiting from the pain and suffering from the residents of Las Colonias."

Your response, "Dan, several Departments (HUD, Justice, State, and USDA) are looking into these issues. We are aware and sensitive. As soon as we have information my staff will get back to you."

Congressman Coleman (D-TX) - "Mr. President, someone who is very close to me, Deborah Kastrin, (her brother is my campaign manager, her father is the treasurer of my campaign, she has raised and donated money to my campaign) could have a issue that we need to address regarding her appointment to the BECC Board."

Your response, "My staff is working on this issue and we will be as fair as we can regarding her appointment on the BECC. As soon as we have information we will get back to you."

Media - "Why are you appointing Deborah Kastrin to the BECC and don't you see her investment in the Las Colonias Housing Project as a conflict of interest?"

Your response, "We are working on this issue. I understand Justice, HUD, State, and the Attorney General for the State of Texas are also looking into this issue. It would be inappropriate for me to comment at this time."

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

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**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**

OCT 17 8:00 PM

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

RELEASOR: CB Wooten

DTG: 180030Z

MESSAGE NO.: 8 CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL TOTAL: 2
PAGES INCLUDING COVERS

FROM: TODD STERN 62702
(NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION: BAILY MEMO RE GOODS AND SERVICES EXPORTS AND
IMPORTS IN AUGUST, COMMERCE DEPARTMENT RELEASE, WEDNESDAY, 8:30 A.M.

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBER
<u>Houston</u>	<u>STEPHEN GOODIN (FOR THE PRESIDENT)</u>	<u>INFORMATION</u>	

REMARKS:

UNCLASSIFIED UPON REMOVAL
OF CLASSIFIED ATTACHMENTS
Initials: KBH Date: 7/3/19
2019-0774-S

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

10/19/95

October 17, 1995

95 OCT 17 P7:04

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

MARTIN N. BAILY

Mart. N. Baily

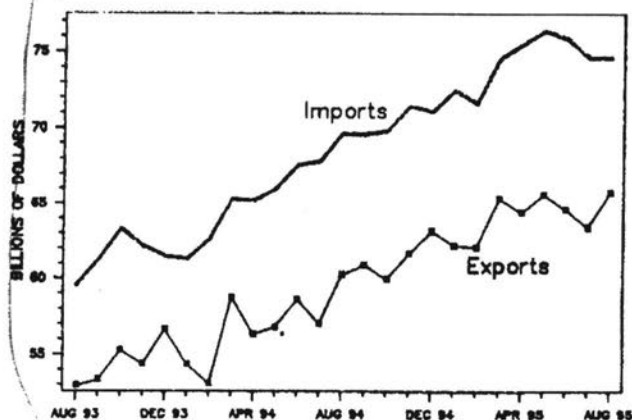
SUBJECT:

Goods and Services Exports and Imports in August,
Commerce Department Release, Wednesday, 8:30 a.m.

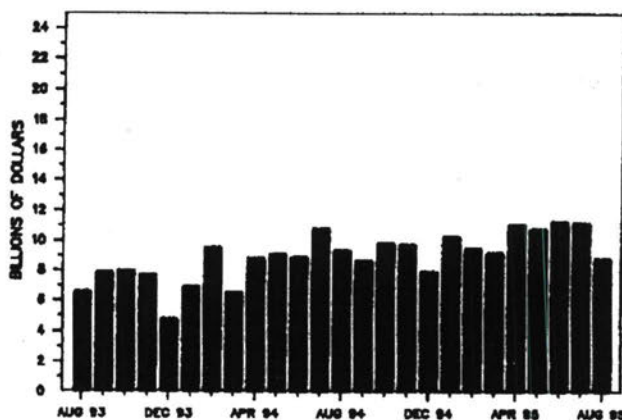
The deficit on trade in goods and services was \$8.8 billion in August, much lower than market expectations. The July deficit was revised downward to \$11.2 billion; with the revised figures, the deficit has fallen for 2 months in a row. August exports of \$65.7 billion are the highest monthly exports on record.

- Exports of goods rose 5 percent in August, reaching \$48.7 billion. There were large increases in exports of capital goods and automotive vehicles, parts, and engines. Monthly exports of foods, feeds, and beverages, capital goods, and consumer goods all established new record highs.
- Imports of goods were almost unchanged in August. A decline in imports of industrial supplies and materials was offset by an increase in imports of automotive vehicles, parts, and engines.
- The merchandise trade deficits with Mexico, Japan, and Europe improved in July. The deficit with Mexico fell to \$1.1 billion, its lowest level since January 1995. The deficit with Japan fell slightly, the fifth consecutive monthly decline. The deficit with Western Europe dropped sharply, from \$3.1 billion in July to \$0.8 billion in August.
- The merchandise trade deficit with China rose from \$3.3 billion in July to \$3.9 billion in August.

Exports and Imports of Goods and Services



Trade Deficit for Goods and Services



*This is worth getting out
to our "sumo side"*

✓/Hear/GS-Fy'-My speech'

10/19/95

THE PRESS HAS SEEN
SHOCK Employees of an Orange County shopping mall listening to the verdict last Tuesday

Everyone agrees that the answer lies in talk and more talk, but the conversation has to be candid. If the reactions to the O.J. verdict proved anything, it was that the polite niceties shared and the dirty little secrets kept in recent years do nothing but infect the wounds. In future conversations it might be said by whites that some part of them reluctantly believes the accusation of genetic intellectual inferiority leveled at African Americans. It might be said by African Americans that they are as fearful, and perhaps as ashamed, of the black underclass as whites are. Both might speak of anti-Semitism, the white responsibility as well as the black. Some Jews might speak of prejudices of their own.

Blacks might be reminded that a flawed judicial system will not be corrected by lowering penalties for, say, drug crimes—even though there is clearly a double standard for sentencing. Whites might be reminded that every day mostly black juries send criminals, black and white, to jail. It might be said too by whites that they have been speaking in code (their own secret language and knowledge) for too long, about everything from welfare to real estate. It might be said by blacks that rap lyrics that advocate cop killing are abhorrent to them or even that they have known a few honorable policemen in their lives. Both might tell each other that they are tired of posturing about victimization, pro and con, or that they are sick to death of talking about race, though they acknowledge its usefulness. Those who do not think about race at all might explain why.

It might be said that relations are, in fact, more comfortable than they have been portrayed; that some polls before the Simpson trial showed a considerable lessening of tension and a growing respect among races. It might even be said, or discovered, that deep in their newly pained hearts, blacks and whites know that they do not really live in different countries after all, that they have together made the same country, which has always been a complex of heaven and hell, as alert to its failings as it has been intent on repeating them. The black American Dream shares much with the white American Dream; one could never be realized without the other. That might be said. And it might be added that a shaky economy frightens everybody into behaving badly. And that a difference of generations may be as significant as a difference of color. And that more than a few blacks are ambivalent about affirmative action. And that most people

think in more subtle and nuanced terms than the heat of any moment reveals.

By the end of last week, television was beginning to run dry of experts, and there was less talk of what had happened, not more. One could hear the creak of the hinges again, as the old, heavy doors were starting to close. If that should occur once more, the country will wait for the next occasion to demonstrate its division by symbolic action, and the form of the demonstration may be far less benign than Tuesday's.

But perhaps something else will happen this time—a change of direction, a pilgrimage together toward another country—undertaken by the great majority of blacks and whites, who, beneath the skin, know perfectly well that hatred destroys the one who hates, and this is an immutable law. ■

HATRED DESTROYS THE ONE WHO HATES

matically overwhelms" such other considerations, he writes, "strikes me as untenable." Fredrickson would probably agree that most middle-class blacks would not understand the *Clockers* language either.

The problem America faces, however virulent race hatred remains, is how not to bury it again. A black young woman walks down a Lincoln, Nebraska, street, and she believes the whites she passes are thinking the worst of her. The white young man who passes her believes she is thinking the worst of him. If they were to tell each other what was really on their mind, they might both be surprised, or at any rate instructed. Each has the capacity to make another country, which was as much Baldwin's theme as his condemnation of the existing one. America is still another country from the one it seeks to be, and that ideal always hovers within reach.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/19/95

I had an abortion when I was a single mother and my daughter was 2 years old. I would do it again. But you know how in the Greek myths when you kill a relative you are pursued by furies? For months, it was as if baby furies were pursuing me.

At its best, feminism defends its moral high ground by being simply faithful to the truth: to women's real-life experiences. But, to its own ethical and political detriment, the pro-choice movement has relinquished the moral frame around the issue of abortion. It has ceded the language of right and wrong to abortion foes. The movement's abandonment of what Americans have always, and rightly, demanded of their movements—an ethical core—and its reliance instead on a political rhetoric in which the fetus means nothing are proving fatal.

But we are also in danger of losing something more important than votes; we stand in jeopardy of losing what can only be called our souls. Clinging to a rhetoric about abortion in which there is no life and no death, we entangle our beliefs in a series of self-delusions, fibs and evasions. And we risk becoming precisely what our critics charge us with being: callous, selfish and casually destructive men and women who

share a cheapened view of human life.

Any doubt that our current pro-choice rhetoric leads to disaster should be dispelled by the famous recent defection of the woman who had been Jane Roe. What happened to Norma McCorvey? To judge by her characterization in the elite media and by some prominent pro-choice feminists, nothing very important. Her change of heart about abortion was relentlessly "explained away" as having everything to do with the girlish motivations of insecurity, fickleness and the need for attention, and little to do with any actual moral agency.

To me, the first commandment of real feminism is: when in doubt, listen to women. What if we were to truly, respectfully listen to this woman who began her political life as, in her words, just "some little old Texas girl who got in trouble"? We would have to hear this: perhaps Norma McCorvey actually had a revelation that she could no longer live as the symbol of a belief sys-

tem she increasingly repudiated.

Norma McCorvey should be seen as an object lesson for the pro-choice movement—a call to us to search our souls and take another, humbler look at how we go about what we are doing. For McCorvey is in fact an American Everywoman: she is the lost middle of the abortion debate, the woman whose allegiance we forfeit by our refusal to use a darker and sterner and more honest moral rhetoric.

McCorvey is more astute than her critics; she seems to understand better than the pro-choice activists she worked with just what the woman-in-the-middle believes: “I believe in the woman’s right to choose. I’m like a lot of people. I’m in the mushy middle,” she said. McCorvey still supports abortion rights through the first trimester—but is horrified by the brutality of abortion as it manifests more obviously further into a pregnancy. She does not respect the black-and-white ideology on either side and insists on referring instead, as I understand her explanation, to her conscience. What McCorvey and other Americans want and deserve is an abortion-rights movement willing publicly to mourn the evil—necessary evil though it may be—that is abortion. We must have a movement that acts with moral accountability and without euphemism.

With the pro-choice rhetoric we use now, we incur three destructive consequences—two ethical, one strategic: hardness of heart, lying and political failure.

Because of the implications of a Constitution that defines rights according to the legal idea of “a person,” the abortion debate has tended to focus on the question of “personhood” of the fetus. Many pro-choice advocates developed a language to assert that the fetus isn’t a person, and this, over the years, has developed into a lexicon of dehumanization. Laura Kaplan’s *The Story of Jane*, an important forthcoming account of a pre-*Roe* underground abortion service, inadvertently sheds light on the origins of some of this rhetoric: service staffers referred to the fetus—well into the fourth month—as “material” (as in “the amount of material that had to be removed...”). The activists felt exhilaration at learning to perform abortions themselves instead of relying on male doctors: “When [a staffer] removed the speculum and said, ‘There, all done,’ the room exploded in excitement.” In an era when women were dying of illegal abortions, this was the understandable exhilaration of an underground resistance movement.

Unfortunately, though, this cool and congratulatory rhetoric lingers into a very different present. In one woman’s account of her chemical abortion, in the January/February 1994 issue of *Mother Jones*, for example, the doctor says, “By Sunday you won’t see on the monitor *what we call the heartbeat*” (my italics). The author of the article, D. Redman, explains that one of the drugs the doctor administered would “end the growth of the fetal tissue.” And we all remember Dr. Joycelyn Elders’s remark, hailed by some as refreshingly frank and pro-woman, but which I found remarkably

brutal: that “We really need to get over this love affair with the fetus....”

How did we arrive at this point? In the early 1970s, Second Wave feminism adopted this rhetoric in response to the reigning ideology in which motherhood was invoked as an excuse to deny women legal and social equality. In a climate in which women risked being defined as mere vessels while their fetuses were given “personhood” at their expense, it made sense that women’s advocates would fight back by depersonalizing the fetus.

The feminist complaint about the pro-life movement’s dehumanization of the pregnant woman in relation to the humanized fetus is familiar and often quite valid: pro-choice commentators note that the pro-life film *The Silent Scream* portrayed the woman as “a vessel”; Ellen Frankfort’s *Vaginal Politics*, the influential feminist text, complained that the fetus is treated like an astronaut in a spaceship.

But, say what you will, pregnancy confounds Western philosophy’s idea of the autonomous self: the pregnant woman is in fact both a person in her body and a vessel. Rather than seeing both beings as alive and interdependent—seeing life within life—and acknowledging that sometimes, nonetheless, the woman must choose her life over the fetus’s, Second Wave feminists reacted to the dehumanization of women by dehumanizing the creatures within them. In the death-struggle to wrest what Simone de Beauvoir called transcendence out of biological immanence, some feminists developed a rhetoric that defined the unwanted fetus as at best valueless; at worst an adversary, a “mass of dependent protoplasm.”

Yet that has left us with a bitter legacy. For when we defend abortion rights by emptying the act of moral gravity we find ourselves cultivating a hardness of heart.

Having become pregnant through her partner’s and her own failure to use a condom, Redman remarks that her friend Judith, who has been trying to find a child to adopt, begs her to carry the pregnancy to term. Judith offers Redman almost every condition a birth-mother could want: “‘Let me have the baby,’” she quotes her friend pleading. “‘You could visit her anytime, and if you ever wanted her back, I promise I would let her go.’” Redman does not mention considering this possibility. Thinking, rather, about the difficulty of keeping the child—“My time consumed by the tedious, daily activities that I’ve always done my best to avoid. Three meals a day. Unwashed laundry...”—she schedules her chemical abortion.

The procedure is experimental, and the author feels “almost heroic,” thinking of how she is blazing a trail for other women. After the abortion process is underway, the story reaches its perverse epiphany: Redman is on a Women’s Day march when the blood from the abortion first appears. She exults at this: “‘Our bodies, our lives, our right to decide.’... My life feels luxuriant with possibility. For one precious moment, I believe that we have the power to dismantle this system. I finish the march,

borne along by the women...." As for the pleading Judith, with everything she was ready to offer a child, and the phantom baby? They are both off-stage, silent in this chilling drama of "feminist" triumphalism.

And why should we expect otherwise? In this essay, the fetus (as the author writes, "the now-inert material from my womb") is little more than a form of speech: a vehicle to assert the author's identity and autonomy.

The pro-life warning about the potential of widespread abortion to degrade reverence for life does have a nugget of truth: a free-market rhetoric about abortion can, indeed, contribute to the eerie situation we are now facing, wherein the culture seems increasingly to see babies not as creatures to whom parents devote their lives but as accoutrements to enhance parental quality of life. Day by day, babies seem to have less value in themselves, in a matrix of the sacred, than they do as products with a value dictated by a market economy.

Stories surface regularly about "worthless" babies left naked on gratings or casually dropped out of windows, while "valuable," genetically correct babies are created at vast expense and with intricate medical assistance for infertile couples. If we fail to treat abortion with grief and reverence, we risk forgetting that, when it comes to the children we choose to bear, we are here to serve them—whomever they are; they are not here to serve us.

Too often our rhetoric leads us to tell untruths. What Norma McCorvey wants, it seems, is for abortion-rights advocates to face, really face, what we are doing: "Have you ever seen a second-trimester abortion?" she asks. "It's a baby. It's got a face and a body, and they put him in a freezer and a little container."

Well, so it does; and so they do.

The pro-choice movement often treats with contempt the pro-lifers' practice of holding up to our faces their disturbing graphics. We revile their placards showing an enlarged scene of the aftermath of a D & C abortion; we are disgusted by their lapel pins with the little feet, crafted in gold, of a 10-week-old fetus; we mock the sensationalism of *The Silent Scream*. We look with pity and horror at someone who would brandish a fetus in formaldehyde—and we are quick to say that they are lying: "Those are stillbirths, anyway," we tell ourselves.

To many pro-choice advocates, the imagery is revolting propaganda. There is a sense among us, let us be

frank, that the gruesomeness of the imagery belongs to the pro-lifers; that it emerges from the dark, frightening minds of fanatics; that it represents the violence of imaginations that would, given half a chance, turn our world into a scary, repressive place. "People like us" see such material as the pornography of the pro-life movement.

But feminism at its best is based on what is simply true. While pro-lifers have not been beyond dishonesty, distortion and the doctoring of images (preferring, for example, to highlight the results of very late, very rare abortions), many of those photographs are in fact photographs of actual D & Cs; those footprints are in fact the footprints of a 10-week-old fetus; the pro-life slogan, "Abortion stops a beating heart," is incontrovertibly true. While images of violent fetal death work magnificently for pro-lifers as political polemic, the pictures are not polemical in themselves: they are biological facts.

We know this.

Since abortion became legal nearly a quarter-century ago, the fields of embryology and perinatology have been revolutionized—but the pro-choice view of the contested fetus has remained static. This has led to a bizarre bifurcation in the way we who are pro-choice tend to think about wanted as opposed to unwanted fetuses; the unwanted ones are still seen in schematic black-and-white drawings while the wanted ones have metamorphosed into vivid and



ULTRASONOGRAPHIC IMAGE OF A FETUS
AT APPROXIMATELY SEVEN WEEKS GESTATION

moving color. Even while Elders spoke of our need to "get over" our love affair with the unwelcome fetus, an entire growth industry—Mozart for your belly; framed sonogram photos; home fetal-heartbeat stethoscopes—is devoted to sparking fetal love affairs in other circumstances, and aimed especially at the hearts of overscheduled yuppies. If we avidly cultivate love for the ones we bring to term, and "get over" our love for the ones we don't, do we not risk developing a hydroponic view of babies—and turn them into a product we can cull for our convenience?

Any happy couple with a wanted pregnancy and a copy of *What to Expect When You're Expecting* can see the cute, detailed drawings of the fetus whom the book's owner presumably is not going to abort, and can read the excited descriptions of what that fetus can do and feel, month by month. Anyone who has had a sonogram during pregnancy knows perfectly well that the 4-month-old fetus responds to outside stimulus—"Let's get him to

continued on page 32

look this way," the technician will say, poking gently at the belly of a delighted mother-to-be. *The Well Baby Book*, the kind of whole-grain, holistic guide to pregnancy and childbirth that would find its audience among the very demographic that is most solidly pro-choice reminds us that: "Increasing knowledge is increasing the awe and respect we have for the unborn baby and is causing us to regard the unborn baby as a real person long before birth...."

So, what will it be: Wanted fetuses are charming, complex, REM-dreaming little beings whose profile on the sonogram looks just like Daddy, but unwanted ones are mere "uterine material"? How can we charge that it is vile and repulsive for pro-lifers to brandish vile and repulsive images if the images are real? To insist that the truth is in poor taste is the very height of hypocrisy. Besides, if these images *are* often the facts of the matter, and if we then claim that it is offensive for pro-choice women to be confronted by them, then we are making the judgment that women are too inherently weak to face a truth about which they have to make a grave decision. This view of women is unworthy of feminism. Free women must be strong women, too; and strong women, presumably, do not seek to cloak their most important decisions in euphemism.

Other lies are not lies to others, but to ourselves. An abortion-clinic doctor, Elizabeth Karlin, who wrote a recent "Hers" column in *The New York Times*, declared that "There is only one reason I've ever heard for having an abortion: the desire to be a good mother."

While that may well be true for many poor and working-class women—and indeed research shows that poor women are three times more likely to have abortions than are better-off women—the elite, who are the most vociferous in their morally unambiguous pro-choice language, should know perfectly well how untrue that statement often is in their own lives. All abortions occupy a spectrum, from full lack of alternatives to full moral accountability. Karlin and many other pro-choice activists try to situate all women equally at the extreme endpoint of that spectrum, and it just isn't so. Many women, including middle-class women, do have abortions because, as one such woman put it, "They have a notion of what a good mother is and don't feel they can be that kind of mother at this phase of their lives." In many cases, that is still a morally defensible place on the spectrum; but it is not the place of absolute absolution that Dr. Karlin claims it to be. It is, rather, a place of moral struggle, of self-interest mixed with selflessness, of wished-for good intermingled with necessary evil.

Other abortions occupy places on the spectrum that are far more culpable. Of the abortions I know of, these were some of the reasons: to find out if the woman could get pregnant; to force a boy or man to take a relationship more seriously; and, again and again, to enact a rite of passage for affluent teenage girls. In my high school, the abortion drama was used to test a boyfriend's character. Seeing if he would accompany the girl to the

operation or, better yet, come up with the money for abortion could almost have been the 1970s Bay Area equivalent of the '50s fraternity pin.

The affluent teenage couples who conceive because they can and then erase the consequences—and affluent men and women who choose abortion because they were careless or in a hurry or didn't like the feel of latex—are not the moral equivalent of the impoverished mother who responsibly, even selflessly, acknowledges she already has too many mouths to feed. Feminist rights include feminist responsibilities; the right to obtain an abortion brings with it the responsibility to use a contraceptive. Fifty-seven percent of unintended pregnancies come about because the parents used no contraception at all. Those millions certainly include women and men too poor to buy contraception, girls and boys too young and ill-informed to know where to get it, countless instances of marital rape, coerced sex, incest, and couplings in which the man refused to let his woman use protection.

But they also include millions of college students, professional men and women, and middle- and upper-middle-class people (11 percent of abortions obtained by people in households with income higher than \$50,000)—who have no excuse whatsoever for their carelessness. "There is only one reason I've ever heard for having an abortion: the desire to be a good mother"—this is a falsehood that condescends to women struggling to be true agents of their own sexuality even as it dishonors through hypocrisy the terminations that are the writer's subject.

Not to judge other men and women without judging myself, I know this assertion to be true from my own experience. Once, I made the choice to take a morning-after pill. The pregnant doctor looked at me, as she dispensed it, as if I were the scum of the earth.

If what was going on in my mind had been about the well-being of the possible baby, that pill would never have been swallowed. For that potential baby, brought to term, would have had two sets of loving middle-income grandparents, an adult mother with a college education and even, as I discovered later, the beginning of diaper money for its first two years of life (the grant or fellowship I was on forbade marriage but, frozen in time before women were its beneficiaries, said nothing about unwed motherhood). Because of the baby's color, even if I chose not to rear the child, a roster of eager adoptive parents awaited him or her. If I had been thinking only or even primarily about the baby's life, I would have had to decide to bring the pregnancy to term, there been one, to term.

No: there were two columns in my mind—"Me" and "Baby"—and the first won out. And what was in it for something like this: unwelcome intensity in the relationship with the father; desire to continue to "develop" a person before "real" parenthood; wish to encounter an eventual life partner without the off-putting embarrassment of a child; resistance to curtailing the natural

the time remaining to me in Europe. Essentially, this column came down to: I am not done being responsive only to myself yet.

At even the possibility that the cosmos was calling my name, I cowered and stepped aside. I was not so unlike those young louts who father children and run from the specter of responsibility. Except that my refusal to be involved with this potential creature was as definitive as a refusal can be.

Stepping aside in this way is analogous to draft evasion; there are good and altruistic reasons to evade the draft, and then there are self-preserving reasons. In that moment, feminism came to one of its logical if less-than-inspiring moments of fruition: I chose to sidestep biology; I acted—and was free to act—as if I were in control of my destiny, the way men more often than women have let themselves act. I chose myself on my own terms over a possible someone else, for self-absorbed reasons. But “to be a better mother”? “*Dulce et decorum est...*”? Nonsense.

Now, freedom means that women must be free to choose self or to choose selfishly. Certainly for a woman with fewer economic and social choices than I had—for instance, a woman struggling to finish her higher education, without which she would have little hope of a life worthy of her talents—there can indeed be an obligation to choose self. And the defense of some level of abortion rights as fundamental to women’s integrity and equality has been made fully by others, including, quite effectively, Ruth Bader Ginsberg. There is no easy way to deny the powerful argument that a woman’s equality in society must give her some irreducible rights unique to her biology, including the right to take the life within her life.

But we don’t have to lie to ourselves about what we are doing at such a moment. Let us at least look with clarity at what that means and not whitewash self-interest with the language of self-sacrifice. The landscape of many such decisions looks more like Marin County than Verdun. Let us certainly not be fools enough to present such spiritually limited moments to the world with a flourish of pride, pretending that we are somehow pioneers and heroines and even martyrs to have snatched the self, with its aims and pleasures, from the pressure of biology.

That decision was not my finest moment. The least I can do, in honor of the being that might have been, is simply to know that.

Using amoral rhetoric, we weaken ourselves politically because we lose the center. To draw an inexact parallel, many people support the choice to limit the medical prolongation of life. But, if a movement arose that spoke of our “getting over our love affair” with the terminally ill, those same people would recoil into a vociferous interventionist position as a way to assert their moral values. We would be impoverished by a rhetoric about the end of life that speaks of the ill and the dying as if they were meaningless and of doing away with them as if it were a bracing demonstration of our personal independence.

Similarly, many people support necessary acts of warfare (Catholics for a Free Choice makes the analogy between abortion rights and such warfare). There are legal mechanisms that allow us to bring into the world the evil of war. But imagine how quickly public opinion would turn against a president who waged war while asserting that our sons and daughters were nothing but cannon fodder. Grief and respect are the proper tones for all discussions about choosing to endanger or destroy a manifestation of life.

War is legal; it is sometimes even necessary. Letting the dying die in peace is often legal and sometimes even necessary. Abortion should be legal; it is sometimes even necessary. Sometimes the mother must be able to decide that the fetus, in its full humanity, must die. But it is never right or necessary to minimize the value of the lives involved or the sacrifice incurred in letting them go. Only if we uphold abortion rights within a matrix of individual conscience, atonement and responsibility can we both correct the logical and ethical absurdity in our position—and consolidate the support of the center.

Many others, of course, have wrestled with this issue: Camille Paglia, who has criticized the “convoluted casuistry” of some pro-choice language; Roger Rosenblatt, who has urged us to permit but discourage abortion; Laurence Tribe, who has noted that we place the fetus in shadow in order to advance the pro-choice argument. But we have yet to make room for this conversation at the table of mainstream feminism.

And we can’t wait much longer. Historical changes—from the imminent availability of cheap chemical abortifacients to the ascendancy of the religious right to Norma McCorvey’s defection—make the need for a new abortion-rights language all the more pressing.

In a time of retrenchment, how can I be so sure that a more honest and moral rhetoric about abortion will consolidate rather than scuttle abortion rights? Look at what Americans themselves say. When a recent *Newsweek* poll asked about support for abortion using the rare phrasing, “It’s a matter between a woman, her doctor, her family, her conscience and her God,” a remarkable 72 percent of the respondents called that formulation “about right.” This represents a gain of thirty points over the abortion-rights support registered in the latest Gallup poll, which asked about abortion without using the words “God” or “conscience.” When participants in the Gallup poll were asked if they supported abortion “under any circumstances” only 32 percent agreed; only 9 percent more supported it under “most” circumstances. Clearly, abortion rights are safest when we are willing to submit them to a morality beyond just our bodies and our selves.

But how, one might ask, can I square a recognition of the humanity of the fetus, and the moral gravity of destroying it, with a pro-choice position? The answer can only be found in the context of a paradigm abandoned by the left and misused by the right: the paradigm of sin and redemption.

It was when I was four months pregnant, sick as a dog, and in the middle of an argument, that I realized I

could no longer tolerate the fetus-is-nothing paradigm of the pro-choice movement. I was being interrogated by a conservative, and the subject of abortion rights came up. "You're four months pregnant," he said. "Are you going to tell me that's not a baby you're carrying?"

The accepted pro-choice response at such a moment in the conversation is to evade: to move as swiftly as possible to a discussion of "privacy" and "difficult personal decisions" and "choice." Had I not been so nauseated and so cranky and so weighed down with the physical gravity of what was going on inside me, I might not have told what is the truth for me. "Of course it's a baby," I snapped. And went rashly on: "And if I found myself in circumstances in which I had to make the terrible decision to end this life, then that would be between myself and God."

Startlingly to me, two things happened: the conservative was quiet; I had said something that actually made sense to him. And I felt the great relief that is the grace of long-delayed honesty.

Now, the G-word is certainly a problematic element to introduce into the debate. And yet "God" or "soul"—or, if you are secular and prefer it, "conscience"—is precisely what is missing from pro-choice discourse. There is a crucial difference between "myself and my God" or "my conscience"—terms that imply moral accountability—and "myself and my doctor," the phrasing that Justice Harry Blackmun's wording in *Roe* ("inherently, and primarily, a medical decision") has tended to promote in the pro-choice movement. And that's not even to mention "between myself and myself" (Elders: "It's not anybody's business if I went for an abortion"), which implies just the relativistic relationship to abortion that our critics accuse us of sustaining.

The language we use to make our case limits the way we let ourselves think about abortion. As a result of the precedents in *Roe* (including *Griswold v. Connecticut* and *Eisenstadt v. Baird*), which based a woman's right to an abortion on the Ninth and Fourteenth Amendments' implied right to personal privacy, other unhelpful terms are also current in our discourse. Pro-choice advocates tend to cast an abortion as "an intensely personal decision." To which we can say, No: one's choice of *carpeting* is an intensely personal decision. One's struggles with a life-and-death issue must be understood as a matter of personal conscience. There is a world of difference between the two, and it's the difference a moral frame makes.

Stephen L. Carter has pointed out that spiritual discussion has been robbed of a place in American public life. As a consequence we tend—often disastrously—to use legislation to work out right and wrong. That puts many in the position of having to advocate against abortion rights in order to proclaim their conviction that our high rate of avoidable abortion (one of the highest in developed countries, five times that of the Netherlands, for example) is a social evil; and, conversely, many must pretend that abortion is not a transgression of any kind if we wish to champion abortion rights. We have no

ground on which to say that abortion is a necessary that should be faced and opposed in the realm of science and action and even soul; yet remain legal.

But American society is struggling to find its way forward to a discourse of right and wrong that brings together a common ethic for the secular and the religious. When we do that, we create a moral discourse that can exist in its own right independent of legislation and we can find ground to stand upon.

Norma McCorvey explained what happened to her in terms of good and evil: she woke in the middle of the night and felt a presence pushing violently down on her. "I denounce you, Satan," she announced. This way of talking about evil is one of the chief class divisions in America: working-class people talk about Satan, those whom Paul Fussell calls "the X group"—those who run the country—talk instead about neurotic guilt. While the elite scoff at research that shows that most Americans maintain a belief in the embodiment of evil—"the devil"—they miss something profound about the human need to make moral order out of chaos. After all, the real difference between the experience described by Clare, the Cornell-educated pro-choicer, and McCorvey, the uneducated ex-alcoholic, is a classical allusion.

There is a hunger for a moral framework that pro-choicers must reckon with. In the *Ka* "Hers" column, the author announced that pregnant women are asked by the counselor in the office, "So, how long have you been in choice?" Dr. Karlin writes that "Laughter and the answer 'About ten minutes,' is the healthiest response. 'I don't believe in abortion,' some women say, unaware that refusal to take responsibility for the decision means that I won't do the procedure."

How is this "feminist" ideological coercion any different from the worst of pro-life shaming and coercion? The women who come to a clinic that is truly feminist—that respects women—are entitled not only to abortions but also to their sense of sin.

To use the term "sin" in this context does not necessarily mean, as Dr. Karlin believes, that a woman who she must go to hell because she is having an abortion may mean that she thinks she must face the realization that she has fallen short of who she should be; and she needs to ask forgiveness for that, and atone for it. I understand such a woman's response, she is trying to take responsibility for the decision.

We on the left tend to twitch with discomfort at that word "sin." Too often we have become religiously illiterate, and so we deeply misunderstand the notion of sin, and then our atonement for it, bringing God's compassion and our redemption. In many religions, justice is linked, as it is in medieval Judaism and Buddhism, to compassion. From Yom Kippur and Ash Wednesday-to-Easter cycle to the Hindu idea of karma, the individual's confrontation with her own culpability is the first step toward ways to create and receive more light.

How could one live with a conscious view that abortion is an evil and still be pro-choice? Through acts of redemption, or what the Jewish mystical tradition calls *tikkun*; or "mending." Laurence Tribe, in *Abortion: The Clash of Absolutes*, notes that "Memorial services for the souls of aborted fetuses are fairly common in contemporary Japan," where abortions are both legal and readily available. Shinto doctrine holds that women should make offerings to the fetus to help it rest in peace; Buddhists once erected statues of the spirit guardian of children to honor aborted fetuses (called "water children" or "unseeing children"). If one believes that abortion is killing and yet is still pro-choice, one could try to use contraception for every single sex act; if one had to undergo an abortion, one could then work to provide contraception, or jobs, or other choices to young girls; one could give money to programs that provide prenatal care to poor women; if one is a mother or father, one can remember the aborted child every time one is tempted to be less than loving—and give renewed love to the living child. And so on: *tikkun*.

But when you insist, as the "Hers" column writer did, on stripping people of their sense of sin, they react with a wholesale backing-away into a rigid morality that reimposes order: hence, the ascendancy of the religious right.

Just look at the ill-fated nomination of Dr. Henry Foster for Surgeon General. The Republicans said "abortion," and the discussion was over. The Democrats, had they worked out a moral framework for progressivism, could have responded: "Yes: our abortion rate is a terrible social evil. Here is a man who can help put a moral framework around the chaos of a million and a half abortions a year. He can bring that rate of evil down. And whichever senator among you has ever prevented an unplanned pregnancy—and Dr. Foster has—let him ask the first question."

Who gets blamed for our abortion rate? The ancient Hebrews had a ritual of sending a "scapegoat" into the desert with the community's sins projected upon it. Abortion doctors are our contemporary scapegoats. The pro-lifers obviously scapegoat them in one way: if pro-lifers did to women what they do to abortion doctors—harassed and targeted them in their homes and workplaces—public opinion would rapidly turn against them; for the movement would soon find itself harassing the teachers and waitresses, housewives and younger sisters of their own communities. The pro-life movement would have to address the often all-too-pressing good reasons that lead good people to abort. That would be intolerable, a tactical defeat for the pro-life movement, and as sure to lose it "the mushy middle" as the pro-choice movement's tendency toward rhetorical coldness loses it the same constituency.

But pro-choicers, too, scapegoat the doctors and clinic workers. By resisting a moral framework in which to view abortion we who are pro-abortion-rights leave the doctors in the front lines, with blood on their hands:

the blood of the repeat abortions—at least 43 percent of the total; the suburban summer country-club rite-of-passage abortions; the "I don't know what came over me, it was such good Chardonnay" abortions; as well as the blood of the desperate and the unpreventable and accidental and the medically necessary and the violently conceived abortions. This is blood that the doctors and clinic workers often see clearly, and that they heroically rinse and cause to flow and rinse again. And they take all our sins, the pro-choice as well as the pro-life among us, upon themselves.

And we who are pro-choice compound their isolation by declaring that that blood is not there.

As the world changes and women, however incrementally, become more free and more powerful, the language in which we phrase the goals of feminism must change as well. As a result of the bad old days before the Second Wave of feminism, we tend to understand abortion as a desperately needed exit from near-total male control of our reproductive lives. This scenario posits an unambiguous chain of power and powerlessness in which men control women and women, in order to survive, must have unquestioned control over fetuses. It is this worldview, all too real in its initial conceptualization, that has led to the dread among many pro-choice women of departing from a model of woman-equals-human-life, fetus-equals-not-much.

This model of reality may have been necessary in an unrelenting patriarchy. But today, in what should be, as women continue to consolidate political power, a patriarchy crumbling in spite of itself, it can become obsolete.

Now: try to imagine real gender equality. Actually, try to imagine an America that is female-dominated, since a true working democracy in this country would reflect our 54-46 voting advantage.

Now imagine such a democracy, in which women would be valued so very highly, as a world that is accepting and responsible about human sexuality; in which there is no coerced sex without serious jailtime; in which there are affordable, safe contraceptives available for the taking in every public health building; in which there is economic parity for women—and basic economic subsistence for every baby born; and in which every young American woman knows about and understands her natural desire as a treasure to cherish, and responsibly, when the time is right, on her own terms, to share.

In such a world, in which the idea of gender as a barrier has become a dusty artifact, we would probably use a very different language about what would be—then—the rare and doubtless traumatic event of abortion. That language would probably call upon respect and responsibility, grief and mourning. In that world we might well describe the unborn and the never-to-be-born with the honest words of life.

And in that world, passionate feminists might well hold candlelight vigils at abortion clinics, standing shoulder to shoulder with the doctors who work there, commemorating and saying goodbye to the dead. •

Observer

RUSSELL BAKER

Time To Cool Down

It may be forward of me to offer advice to O. J. Simpson. We are different in so many ways. He owns a Ferrari and a Bentley and until recently was kept freshly supplied with Ford Broncos by a large corporation.

Large corporations keep me freshly supplied only with bills, and my single car is a two-year-old Detroit job. I do not cite the car score to claim the high ground of humility, but only to illustrate a difference between Mr. Simpson and me.

Squirring around the Prince of Wales, which is the task of the world's Bentleys, is not my dream of glory. Taking Alpine curves at 130 miles per hour, which is the function of the world's Ferraris, is something I pray never to do.

For me, motoring paradise is setting the cruise control at 65 on a lightly traveled Interstate, tucking some music into the CD player and dozing lightly for the next 350 miles.

There are other differences. Mr. Simpson has been a top-drawer football player and has heard thousands cheer. My sport was high school track. I was fast enough to qualify as fifth man on the four-man mile relay team. If one of the regulars had shin splints, I took his place.

The track team played to audiences of dozens, most of them our parents. The dozens never cheered, and girls did not offer their comforts even to the speediest.

I am drawing a self-portrait of being mired helplessly in the low-profile life. Mr. Simpson's profile

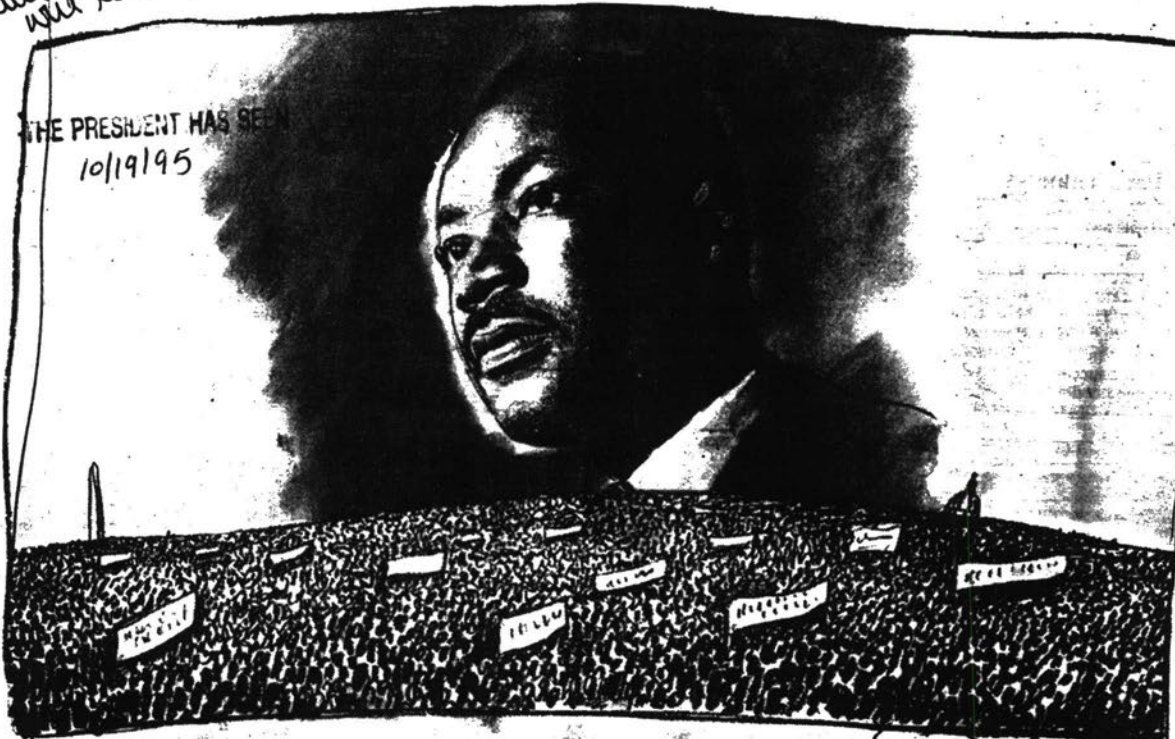
A word of advice from one profile to another.

seems always to have been high. Recently it has risen to Mount Rushmore heights.

With the difference between us so vast, it may be silly for me to counsel him. Still, no one in his publicity-drenched squadron of lawyers who ought to be telling him the virtues of the low profile seems to have done so. Maybe lawyers of such dazzling kilowattage are too devoted to the high profile to know the merits of the low.

My guess is that Mr. Simpson, a robust physical specimen, did not have to live with the threat of someone like Buster O'Hara and his zany

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
10/19/95



Why I'm Marching in Washington

By Cornel West

On Monday, maybe a million black men will march on Washington. Coming after the O. J. Simpson verdict, the march promises to be a pivotal moment in our nation's life. As the writer Greg Tate has rightly noted, the verdict "may represent the first time in history that a majority black jury has wielded an apparatus of state power against the will of the nation's white citizenry."

Our fragile civic and legal order, with its precious jury system that does not guarantee justice, must now contend with a level of white rage unprecedented in American history. Needless to say, black rage has risen exponentially since bullets ripped through the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968. Can our deeply

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divided society wrestle with this challenge without exploding?

For most whites, the Million Man March called by Minister Louis Farrakhan can only worsen race matters. For them, he not only embodies black rage but also black hatred and contempt for whites, Jews, women, gay men and lesbians. Building on a long and diverse tradition of black nationalism — Marcus Garvey, Elijah Muhammad, Queen Mother Moore, Malcolm X — Minister Farrakhan is white America's worst nightmare.

Why am I supporting the march? After all, I am a radical democrat devoted to a downward redistribution of wealth and a Christian freedom-fighter in the King legacy — which condemns any xenophobia, including patriarchy, homophobia and anti-Semitism.

First, unlike "color-blind" neo-liberals and conservatives who cheaply invoke Dr. King's words even as they kill the substance and spirit of his radical message, I take his last efforts seriously. When Dr. King was killed, not only was he working on the multiracial poor people's campaign, he was also meeting with Elijah Mu-

hammad and Amiri Baraka — black nationalists demonized by the white media — to promote black operational unity.

Dr. King sought to use moral and political means to transform the capitalist structure of society while deepening its democratic one. But he realistically assessed the true depth of white supremacy. In short, Dr. King, the integrationist, had no fear of a black united front and no hatred of black nationalists.

King's legacy is more important than Farrakhan.

The second reason I march: Although Minister Farrakhan — with whom I have deep disagreements — initiated this demonstration, the demonstration is about matters much bigger than he is. I have in mind the general invisibility of, and indifference to, black sadness, sorrow and social misery, and the disrespect and disregard in which blacks are held in America and abroad. We agree on highlighting black suffering.

In casting the demonstration as

"Farrakhan's march," the mainstream media want to shift the focus from black pain to white anxiety. The media distort and disparage the motivations of most blacks who will march — men who are deeply concerned about black suffering and are outraged at the nation's right-wing turn yet are neither Nation of Islam members nor Farrakhan followers. No one man is the leader of black America — and most of its best leaders are black women.

Third, I must march because the next major battle in the struggle for black freedom involves moral and political channeling of the overwhelming black rage and despair. To stand on the sidelines and yield the terrain to Minister Farrakhan and other black nationalists would be to forsake not only my King legacy but, more importantly, my love for black people. Young blacks are hungry for vision, analysis and action; radical democrats must go to them and be with them.

I believe that if white supremacy can be reduced to a minimum, then patriarchy, homophobia and anti-Semitism can be lessened in black America.

If I am wrong, America has no desirable future. If I am right, black operational unity need not preclude multiracial democratic movements that target all forms of racism and corporate power. Whether right or wrong, I must fight. So I march. □

Cutting Class

By Barbara Nevins Taylor

high school diploma. Students taking that extra year cost the city an estimated \$200 million, according to the

Leon / Smolens / Loh

This is of critical
substantive and
pol. importance
(see his map attached)
Must discuss soon
As part of follow up
to Chaul's US speech
BC.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 13, 1995

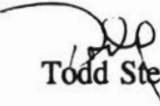
MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a lengthy thought piece from Sec. Cisneros, who may well raise it with you when you see him during your upcoming trip to Texas. I have copied Leon, Laura, Carol, George and Don.

The first part of the memo (pp 3-4) argues that we pursue a broader, "re-emphasized" community empowerment strategy; that the public thinks Congress is going too far in budget cuts that will hurt distressed communities; that conditions in central cities are "worse than I can describe"; that the public knows things are profoundly wrong and would respond to a larger, more emphatic strategy. He emphasizes your phrase "we can do this."

Next (pp. 5-8) are various observations about letting community leaders lead; working with grassroots organizations; emphasizing that the public in inner cities endorses a balancing of rights and responsibilities; supporting mayors who fear they'll be the losers in devolution.

The rest (pp. 8-17) concerns general recommendations on the subjects of attracting capital, linking inner city people to jobs in suburbs and edge cities, cleaning up brownfields, improving safety and quality in schools, fighting drugs, restructuring the federal role so that agencies can provide more fully integrated aid to cities in need.


Todd Stern