

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. email	From Dan Rosenthal re: Houston Manifest (4 pages)	01/19/1996	b(7)(C), b(7)(E), b(7)(F), b(6)
001b. email	[Duplicate of 001a] (4 pages)	01/19/1996	b(7)(C), b(7)(E), b(7)(F), b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7693

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files January 1-6, 1996 [4]

2019-0774-S

rs3302

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

B

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THE BRIEFING PAPER AND REMARKS FOR THE
TAPING OF THE RADIO ADDRESS WILL BE
FORWARDED

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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TO: Betty Currie
TO: Paul A. Deegan
TO: Jennifer D. Dudley
TO: DONALD K. DUNN
TO: Anne M. Edwards
TO: Nicole Elkon
TO: Paul K. Engskov
TO: Paul K. Engskov
TO: Janice A. Enright
TO: Karen E. Finney
TO: Andrew Friendly
TO: Jeremy M. Gaines
TO: Jason S. Goldberg
TO: David S. Goodin
TO: Laura A. Graham
TO: Theresa F. Granger
TO: Wendy E. Gray
TO: Julia R. Green
TO: John P. Hart
TO: James A. Hawkins
TO: Susan Hazard
TO: Wendy A. Heistad
TO: Nancy V. Hernreich
TO: Brenda I. Hilliard
TO: Harold Ickes
TO: LeeAnn Inadomi
TO: Marilyn R. Jacanin
TO: Kim Johnson
TO: Jennifer A. Jordan
TO: M. Kay Joshi
TO: Yusuf A. Khapra
TO: Joshua A. King
TO: David J. Lane
TO: Evelyn S. Lieberman
TO: Bruce R. Lindsey
TO: Gordon Li
TO: Michael D. Malone
TO: Julie E. Mason
TO: Michael McCurry
TO: Patricia A. McHugh
TO: Kathy McKiernan
TO: Robert W. McNeely
TO: APRIL K. MELLODY
TO: Cathy L. Millison
TO: Cathy L. Millison
TO: Cheryl D. Mills
TO: Julia Moffett
TO: Linda L. Moore
TO: Ruby G. Moy
TO: Melissa M. Murray
TO: Lucie F. Naphin
TO: Holly B. Nichols
TO: Jennifer M. O'Connor
TO: Thomas O'Donnell
TO: Jennifer Palmieri
TO: Local Addressee
TO: Charles Raderstorf
TO: Darren McDew
TO: David McKinney

TO: Dennis Stump
TO: Elizabeth Vittori
TO: Harold Howell
TO: June Ryan
TO: John Richardson
TO: Michael Mudd
TO: Terry Steele
TO: Terry West
TO: Paige E. Reffe
TO: Seth R. Robinson
TO: Cheryl S. Rodman
TO: Lee A. Satterfield
TO: Marsha Scott
TO: Andrew D. Sens
TO: Janna B. Sidley
TO: Stephen B. Silverman
TO: Wendy L. Smith
TO: Patti Solis
TO: Margo L. Spiritus
TO: Patrick M. Steel
TO: George Stephanopoulos
TO: Todd Stern
TO: Virginia M. Terzano
TO: Jodie R. Torkelson
TO: Sheila D. Turner
TO: Molly Varney
TO: Lisa S. Villareal
TO: Allison Wilkie
TO: Natalie S. Wozniak
TO: Allison M. Wright

V.

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- Organ Prelude
- Processional (you walk in)
- Congregational hymn
- Scripture reading from Old and New Testament
- Prayer by Reverend Ross Cullins
- Reflections
 - Governor Anne Richards
 - Mayor Bob Lanier
 - Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee
 - The President
- Solo
- Resolutions
 - James Douglas
 - Mrs. Dorothy Chimney
 - Dr. Bertha Roddey
- Solo
- Reflections
 - Dr. Thomas F. Freeman
 - Sister Dorothy Tibbs
 - Sister Naomi McQueen
- Special Remarks by Cicely Tyson
- Solo
- Eulogy
- Recessional
- The President bids farewell to the family

VI.

REMARKS

Provided by speechwriting

01/19

the attached is a replacement page that I typed for the 10:00 a.m. 01/20 briefing paper for the Funeral Service of Barbara Jordan.

When I got the final schedule, it was too late to reach Ben Johnson to correct the sequence of events. His and the schedule's did not match, so I redid.

The incorrect page is in the Staff's copies. POTUS and SG got this corrected page.

V.

ORDER OF SERVICE(starts at 10:00 am)

- o Organ prelude
- o Processional (You walk in)
- o Congregational hymn
- o Scripture reading from Old and New Testament
- o Reflections

Prayer By
Row
Collins

Congresswoman Sheila Jackson-Lee 3

2 Marya Laniar

Former Governor Ann Richards 1

Dr. Thomas Freeman, Debate Coach Texas Southern University

THE PRESIDENT 4

- o Solo
- o Resolutions
Governor George Bush
James D. Douglas, President of Texas Southern University
Church Congregation

o Solo

o Eulogy

o Recessional

Reflections

VI.

REMARKS

Provided by speechwriting

RADIO ADDRESS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE NATION

Saturday, January 20, 1996

THE OVAL OFFICE

Good morning. Before I speak with you this morning about our budget, I want to take just a moment to remember someone very special, a national treasure our nation lost this week, former Texas Congresswoman Barbara Jordan, the first African American woman elected to Congress from the South.

In her years in public service, she gave voice to our national conscience and brought reasoned thought and eloquence to even the most emotional debates. After she left the Congress, she went home to Texas to teach at the University of Texas and to continue her work in public service. I appointed her to chair the United States Commission on Immigration Reform. And Barbara Jordan was very instrumental in the progress we have made in tightening our border to keep illegal immigrants out and securing our workplace for American citizens and legal immigrants.

In developing a comprehensive system to keep us both a nation of immigrants and a nation of laws, her work was pure Barbara Jordan -- fair, principled and strong. Our nation has lost a great American, a stateswoman, a representative of the people with a powerful voice, and a great spirit. And many of us have lost a friend and an inspiration. We, the people, will greatly miss her.

01/19

attached are copies that originals were given to Stephen Goodin (in his tripbook) to carry to Houston, Texas on Sat. 1/20 per the President's request.

sew

Copies in SG's
briefing book possibly
for POTUS to sign
and give away
— Phil
1/19/96

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Now I'd like to talk about our efforts to reach common ground on a balanced budget, a balanced budget that also protects Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment, and does not raise taxes on working families. The budget talks are suspended now because the Republican congressional leaders walked away from the table. I wish they hadn't done that, and I hope they'll come back, and soon, because I believe our goal can be met. After all, we've both agreed on enough savings to balance the budget in seven years according to the Congress's own estimates, without having -- without having -- to hurt our economy or sacrifice the values that I've talked about.

That's what we ought to do -- balance the budget, protect the things we're committed to protect. And we ought not to delay in getting on with the people's business. In less than a week now, the Republican Congress could once again shut down our government for the third time in two months. I urge them not to do that. In the last shutdown alone, the Federal Housing Administration was unable to insure single family home loans for tens of thousands of deserving applicants; and many, many

thousands of citizens couldn't get passports; some veterans couldn't get benefits; many Medicare claims couldn't be processed; small businesses -- lots of them -- couldn't get loans to create new jobs; environmental clean-up actions were halted.

The shutdown also put hundreds of thousands of federal workers with families to support under a horrible strain. Like most American workers, most of them live paycheck to paycheck. They simply cannot afford a third shutdown, and they don't deserve it.

Let's remember, since I've been President we have reduced the size of the United States government by 205,000 employees. Your government has closed thousands and thousands of offices, eliminated hundreds of programs. It's now the smallest federal government since 1965. As a percentage of our work force, it's the smallest federal government since 1933. You probably didn't know that. And one big reason is that the federal employees who have been left behind are working harder, working smarter and doing a better job for you. They deserve to be able to do their work and not to be thrown out of work.

Two government shutdowns so far have cost taxpayers about a billion-and-a-half dollars -- a billion-and-a-half dollars. That's not monopoly money. Shutting down the government again would be unbelievably irresponsible. So again I say to the Republican Congress, don't do that. We can't afford to bleed money and productivity at a time when we should be putting all our efforts into saving money, serving the American people, strengthening our economy and moving forward.

I also urge the Congress to deal responsibly with the federal debt ceiling. Congress should never threaten to default on America's debts. I'm encouraged that Republican leaders have acknowledged that Congress should not put the creditworthiness of the United States at risk in our budget negotiations. And we look forward to working with the congressional leadership to draft a clean debt limit increase, to allow the United States to meet our obligations and maintain our integrity.

I am committed -- let me say again, I am committed to finishing the job of balancing the budget. I have gone the extra mile in our talks. The Republicans asked for a seven-year plan to balance the budget; I gave them a plan. They asked that we use the figures from the Congressional Budget Office. Even though I disagreed with them, I did that, too. I tried every way I can to accommodate Republican demands and bargain in good faith. But there are areas of disagreement, and they involve far more than money. They involve our values and different visions about what kind of people we're going to be and how we're going to get to the next century.

The Republicans insist on cuts in Medicare, Medicaid, education and the environment that I believe are unwarranted. I

know they're not necessary to balance the budget. They admit they're not necessary to balance the budget. And I believe they violate our commitment to our children, our parents and our future. Among other things, their proposals would raise Medicare premiums; repeal Medicaid's guarantee of adequate medical coverage for pregnant women, people with disabilities, children and older Americans; cut our efforts to keep drugs and violence out of public schools and to help schools reach high national standards of excellence in learning; and dramatically cut the enforcement of environmental laws to keep our air and water clean. My budget shows we don't need these drastic steps, and we can still give a modest tax cut to people who need it.

We can end this budget stalemate. Both the Republican leaders and I have already agreed to more than \$700 billion in savings. That is more than enough to balance the budget in seven years. We can give the American people their balanced budget and a modest tax cut. They deserve it, and we ought to do that immediately.

So let me say again to the Republicans: We don't agree on everything, but we agree on a lot. And we agree on more than enough to balance the budget, so let's do it. Come on back to the table. Don't shut the government down. Don't make America default on its debt. Let's do the right thing. My door is open. Let's talk. Let's get the job done for the American people.

Thanks for listening.

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Potus SG

Saturday, January 20, 1996

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 19, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DOUG SOSNIK AND RAY MARTINEZ

SUBJECT: TEXAS POLITICS

POTUS

SG

PANETTA

ICKES

~~BOWLES~~ Lieberman

NH

Lindsey
(+travelling)

1992 RESULTS

Bush	2,496,071	41%
Clinton	2,281,815	37%
Perot	1,354,781	22%

Presidential Primary: March 12, 1996

Electoral Votes: 32

POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

- Texas continues to grow at a rapid pace, having had a 19% jump in total population since 1980. According to the 1994 Census update, Texas now has over 18,378,000 residents, making it the third most populous state in the country. Most striking perhaps, is the rapidly changing ethnic demographics of the state -- Texas' current population is 60% White, 26% Hispanic, 12% Black, and 2% Asian or Pacific Islander. The Hispanic population is the fastest growing of all of these groups, with some experts saying that the Hispanic community will be the "majority" community by the year 2015.
- The latest presidential poll, conducted January 2 - 7, shows your approval rating in Texas up slightly. The poll, commissioned by the Dallas Morning News and the Houston Chronicle, surveyed 1,002 registered voters statewide and found:

<u>President Clinton</u>	<u>1/7/96</u>	<u>10/23/95</u>
Favorable	40%	36%
Unfavorable	52%	64%

Head-to-Head Match-ups

Clinton	38%	Clinton	39%	Dole	36%
Dole	44%	Gramm	46%	Gramm	36%

GOVERNOR BUSH

- Both the Texas and national press have reported that Governor Bush's recently concluded first legislative session was largely a success. They note that Bush can point to notable achievements in each of the areas he identified as his priorities when he ran for governor. Bush also won praise from Democrats and Republicans for his handling of the session and for his efforts at establishing good relations with House Speaker Pete Laney and Lt. Gov. Bob Bullock, both Democrats.
- On education, Bush signed legislation that will give significant new authority to local school districts to run their schools as long as their student performance meets basic state standards.
- Regarding welfare reform, new laws passed will impose a 24-month time limit and work requirements on recipients. Bush also won passage of juvenile crime legislation, more than doubling the number of beds in juvenile detention centers and reducing from 15 to 14 the age at which a young person can be tried for murder. The next legislative session will not be until 1997.
- Governor Bush has endorsed Presidential candidate Phil Gramm in this year's race. Bush has been both visible and active in his support for Gramm, and has even traveled out of state, to Arizona, to help shore-up Gramm's support.
- Meanwhile, The latest Texas Poll (10/23/95) shows that Governor George Bush, Jr. remains popular, garnering a 57% approval / 31% disapproval rating.

1996 SENATE RACE

- Texas "LBJ Law" permits incumbent Senator Phil Gramm (R) to seek re-election to his Senate seat, while running for the presidency. Gramm appears to be in a good position for re-election, although recent poll numbers show his support slipping. Most observers believe that Gramm continues to be the favorite for re-election, although a well-financed aggressive Democrat could prove troublesome to his re-election plans, particularly with his attention on the Presidential race and with other Republican Presidential contenders helping to drive up his negatives.

- Three serious Democratic candidates have emerged to challenge Gramm: Rep. Jim Chapman (D-1), Rep. John Bryant (D-5), and Houston attorney and former Democratic Party Chair John Odam. Most political observers in the state believe Bryant to be in the best position to capture the nomination, primarily because of his better statewide name identification and bigger fundraising base. The primary will be held March 12.
- The last Texas Poll, conducted October 12 -23, shows that in a hypothetical race with former Governor Ann Richards (D) for his U.S. Senate seat, Gramm beats Richards by only a 45% - 44% margin.
- The Texas AFL-CIO held their State Convention earlier this week and chose not to endorse any of the Democrats running for the party's Senate nomination. All three major candidates addressed the AFL-CIO convention, however none of the candidates garnered enough support from convention delegates to secure an endorsement.

CONGRESSIONAL POLITICS

- With the announced retirement of seven congressional members, six Democrats and one Republican, the make-up of the Texas delegation will change considerably in 1996. Members who announced their retirements include: Reps. Chapman and Bryant to run for the Senate, Rep. Charlie Wilson (D-2), Rep. Pete Geren (D-12), Rep. Kika de la Garza (D-15), Rep. Ron Coleman (D-16), and Rep. Jack Fields (R-8th).
- Three congressional districts in the state, drawn to help elect more African-Americans and Hispanics to Congress, are being challenged in court by the state Republican party. Those three congressional districts are currently held by Democrats Sheila Jackson Lee (D-18), Gene Green (D-29) and Eddie Bernice Johnson (D-30). The U.S. Supreme Court heard oral arguments on this case in early December and a decision is not expected until this summer.

STATE LEGISLATURE

- The Democrats control the state House 87-63 and the state Senate 17-14. State Representative Pete Laney is the Speaker of the House and Bob Bullock (D) presides over the Senate as Lt. Governor. Bullock is the senior elected statewide Democrat, gathering the most votes of any other statewide candidate in 1994. Other statewide elected Democrats include Land Commissioner Garry Mauro, Attorney General Dan Morales, State Treasurer Martha Whitehead and State Comptroller John Sharp. The legislature convenes for regular sessions only in odd years and adjourned this past May.

- Along with three congressional districts being challenged in the Supreme Court, 17 of 31 state senate districts and 54 of 150 state house districts are being challenged in the 5th Circuit. A decision is expected this summer.

VARIOUS ISSUES

State Democratic Party. Former Deputy Secretary of Energy Bill White was unanimously elected as the new state Democratic Party Chairman on December 9. He ran uncontested in the election.

1998 Gubernatorial Race. Speculation has already begun about who will challenge Governor Bush in 1998, although Bush has not indicated whether he plans to run for re-election. Land Commissioner Garry Mauro (D) and Comptroller John Sharp (D) are the most frequently mentioned Democrats. Sharp is a pioneer of the "reinventing government" issue and has built a base among the more moderate to conservative Democratic activists. Mauro appears to be targeting the more liberal wing of the party and is attracting a fair amount of publicity in Democratic circles for his vigorous defense of the administration and his unflinching support for the President. Mauro has made it known, both privately and publicly, that he plans to run the President's re-election campaign in the state again in 1996, as he did in 1992.

**THE TRIP OF
THE PRESIDENT
TO
HOUSTON, TEXAS**

January 20, 1996

Staff Copy

Cover

pg 1

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Houston, Texas

Saturday, January 20, 1996

Visit with the Family of Barbara Jordan

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Distributed
Separately

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 19, 1996

PRIVATE MEETING WITH BARBARA JORDAN'S IMMEDIATE FAMILY

DATE: January 20, 1996
LOCATION: Good Hope Missionary Baptist Church
3015 N. McGregor Way
Houston, TX
TIME: 9:45am
FROM: Alexis Herman
Ben Johnson

I. PURPOSE

Meet and share a private moment with Barbara Jordan's immediate family.

II. BACKGROUND

Prior to the start of the funeral service, you will meet briefly with Barbara Jordan's immediate family to share a few private moments with them. The family members include the five people listed below. The two sisters and their aunt are all retired school teachers and are very active in their community. The uncle is a retired postal worker and the brother in law is a businessman.

III. PARTICIPANTS

- o The President**
- o Rosemary McGowan (sister)**
- o John McGowan (brother in law)**
- o Bennie Creswell (sister)**
- o Mamie Lee (aunt)**
- o Wilmer Lee (uncle)**

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed press.

V. SEQUENCE

- o The President is introduced to the family and holds a brief discussion with them.**
- o The President departs.**

VI. REMARKS

None

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 19, 1996

ATTEND THE FUNERAL SERVICE FOR BARBARA C. JORDAN

DATE:	January 20, 1996
LOCATION:	Good Hope Missionary Baptist Church 3015 N. McGregor Way Houston, Texas
TIME:	10:00 am
FROM:	Alexis Herman Ben Johnson

I. PURPOSE

This is an opportunity for you to lead the nation in mourning the death of former Congresswoman Barbara C. Jordan.

II. BACKGROUND

Barbara Jordan passed away on January 19, 1996 after a long illness. Afflicted with multiple sclerosis, she died from viral pneumonia. Ms. Jordan was born on February 21, 1936 in Houston, Texas. She was the third child born to Rev. Ben Jordan and Arlyne Jordan. She is survived by her mother and two sisters (Rosemary McGowan and Bennie Creswell).

Ms. Jordan, the first black elected to Congress from Texas after Reconstruction, retired from Congress in 1979 after serving three terms, to teach at the LBJ School of Public Affairs in Austin, Texas. In 1966, she was elected as the first black state Senator in Texas history. In 1976, she was the first black women to deliver a keynote address at the Democratic National Convention held in New York's Madison Square Garden. Ms. Jordan received a law degree from Boston University and was known to practice law from her dining room table. She was a fierce debater and won numerous competitions while attending undergraduate school at Texas Southern University in Houston.

As you know, you appointed Ms. Jordan chairwomen of the Commission on Immigration Reform. While serving in that post, she spoke out against a proposal to deny automatic citizenship to the children of illegal immigrants born in this country. She was perhaps best known for her eloquence when she argued for the impeachment of former President Richard Nixon during Watergate. Her political mentor was former President Lyndon Johnson.

The funeral is being held in the church she attended all her life. It is pastored by the Reverend D.Z. Cofield, the officiating minister at the funeral. Prior to the service you will meet privately with five members of the immediate family. Ms. Jordan's mother Arlyne, is bedridden and will not be in attendance at the church. The service will be attended by several dignitaries, including, former Governor Ann Richards, Mayor Bob Lanier and Governor George W. Bush. Congresswomen Sheila Jackson-Lee has invited the entire Texas delegation at the request of the family. You will ^{be} joined on the plane by several guests (see attached list). The service is expected to last approximately two hours and will include personal tributes by you, Congresswoman Sheila Jackson-Lee, Ann Richards and Barbara's debate coach at Texas Southern, Tom Freeman. Afterwards, the family and friends will motor from Houston to Austin for the burial ceremony at the Texas State Cemetery at 4:00 pm. You are not expected to attend.

III. PARTICIPANTS

1500 people including community leaders, elected officials, members and friends of the Jordan family.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press

V. ORDER OF SERVICE(starts at 10:00 am)

- o Organ prelude
- o Processional (You walk in)
- o Congregational hymn
- o Scripture reading from Old and New Testament
- o Reflections
 - Congresswoman Sheila Jackson-Lee
 - Former Governor Ann Richards
 - Dr. Thomas Freeman, Debate Coach Texas Southern University
- THE PRESIDENT
- o Solo
- o Resolutions
 - Governor George Bush
 - James D. Douglas, President of Texas Southern University
- Church Congregation
- o Solo
- o Eulogy
- o Recessional

VI. REMARKS

Provided by speechwriting

TRAVELING PARTY TO BARBARA JORDAN'S FUNERAL
Partial List

- 1-Senator Chuck Robb, Virginia
- 2-Lynda Johnson Robb
- 3-Representative Charles Rangel, New York
- 4-Representative John Conyers, Michigan
- 5-Representative Cardiss Collins, Illinois
- 6-Secretary John Dalton
- 7-Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, Los Angeles County Supervisor
- 8-Antonia Hernandez, MALDEF (DC to TX only)
 Raul Yzaguirre, National Council of La Raza (TX to DC only)
- 9-Linda Acher
- 10-Andy Young
- 11-Bill Gray, United Negro College Fund
- 12-Doris Mizner, INS

Cabinet

- 1-Secretary Cisneros
- 2-Secretary Riley
- 3-AG Reno (pending)

**REMARKS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
THE FUNERAL OF BARBARA JORDAN
GOOD HOPE MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH
HOUSTON, TEXAS
JANUARY 20, 1996**

86 JAN 19 P4:28

[Acknowledgements: Let me begin by recognizing someone who could not be here today, Barbara's mother, Mrs. Arlyne Jordan; I want to also recognize Barbara's sisters, Bennie Creswell and Rose Mary McGowan; her brother-in-law, John McGowan; her Aunt and Uncle Mamie and Wilmer Lee; President Carter; Governor Bush; my good friend Ann Richards; Mayor Bob Lanier; Rev. Cofield and honored guests...]

I last saw Barbara this past October when I delivered my speech on race relations at the University of Texas in Austin. Seeing her in the audience both warmed my heart and quickened my blood. She was a great friend and a great critic. I knew that she would be listening to every word, and that I'd hear about it later if I didn't say the right things.

Though I am saddened by her passing, I am honored to be here today to celebrate the life of one of this century's most eloquent warriors for justice. Through the sheer force of the truth she spoke and the poetry of her words, Barbara Jordan always managed to stir our national conscience and make us sit up and listen.

She made us listen in 1974 when she said of the Preamble to the Constitution, "We, the people. It is a very eloquent beginning. But when the document was completed, on the 17th of September in 1787, I was not included in that 'We the People.'"

She made us listen in 1976 when, as the first black woman to deliver a keynote address at the Democratic National Convention, she spoke of the difficulty of creating a sense of national community. She said, "If each of us remembers, when self-interest and bitterness seem to prevail, that we share a common destiny, I have confidence that we can form this kind of national community."

She made us listen in 1992 when she honored me by giving the keynote address at the convention that nominated me President. "The American dream is slipping away from too many people," she said. "It is slipping away from too many black and brown mothers and their children..."

Barbara Jordan's was among the most outspoken moral voices of our time. Wherever she stood, and whenever she could she jolted the nation's attention in artful and articulate defense of our Constitution, the American Dream, and the commonality we share as American citizens.

Her faith in America was whole and unshakable, in spite of the rigors of growing up poor and black in the segregated South. The source of her optimism -- the things that guided her most along the path of success were family and community. The well-spring of her faith flowed from all of you: a loving family, a caring church, teachers and mentors at Phillis Wheatley High School and Texas Southern University who inspired and required excellence, mentors and role models like Lyndon Johnson, Ann Richards, her debating coach, Tom Freeman, and her many friends.

Barbara Jordan loved all of you and she loved Texas. She felt a deep pride in her state and that pride flowed through her blood. But above all, Barbara Jordan loved America. And she always challenged us to use our great power in the on-going struggle to live up to our highest ideals. Whether the issue was immigration reform or political ethics, she set the highest standards of fairness and decency and challenged us to reach them. In 1994, I had the special privilege of presenting her the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest honor given to civilians by our country. And I am forever grateful for the outstanding job she did as the Chair of the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform. The issue of immigration is sensitive, but as always, Barbara's criteria were fairness, equality, and the rule of law. And she was particularly sensitive to the needs of innocent children.

She once said, "All we are trying to do is make this government of the United States of America honest. We only ask that when we stand up and talk about one nation under God with liberty and justice for all, we want to be able to look at the flag, put our right hands over our hearts, repeat those words and know that they are true."

If Barbara Jordan was not in the Constitution when it was first written, she made sure that once she got in, she was not about to be put out. She was an American and her sense of citizenship -- that each and every American had equal standing -- gave her an enormous determination to protect the power of the Constitution for generations to come. That's what she was doing when she was called home -- working with students at the University of Texas LBJ School of Public Affairs to ensure that the next generation of our public servants would be worthy of the legacy she worked so hard to build.

Barbara Jordan was a classic American individual. She took to heart the advice of her Grandpa Patten who advised her as a little girl, "You just trot your own horse and don't get into the same rut as everyone else." All her life, Barbara Jordan was perfectly willing to stand alone. Her determination to stand apart if need be, had little to do with aloofness, and a great deal to do with her sense that you lived your integrity every day. She was after all Barbara Jordan, a Texan, an American, a citizen who believed and lived the American Dream.

I'd like to close by reading a few lines from a poem by Stephen Spender. It was a favorite of Barbara's, who liked to read it aloud. It could have been written about her:

I think continually of those who were truly great.
Who, from the womb, remembered the soul's history...
Who wore at their hearts the fire's center.
Born of the sun they traveled a short while towards the sun,
And left the vivid air signed in their honor.

Barbara Jordan has left our vivid air signed with her honor.
Barbara, "We, the People" will miss you.

Thank you.

MAKING TEXAS A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE AND WORK

America Is Moving In the Right Direction Under President Clinton

- **Stronger Economy.** The combined rate of unemployment and inflation is at its lowest level since 1968.
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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 19, 1996

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FROM: Julia Chamovitz
National Economic Council

SUBJECT: Background on Recent Developments in the Texas Economy

This memorandum presents background information about current conditions in Texas.

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FROM: DAN COLLINS
RUSSELL HORWITZ

RE: Local Issues Briefing -- Houston

CRIME

1995 Homicide Count Lowest Since 1976

The city's homicide total for 1995 was the lowest in 19 years. Mayor Bob Lanier attributes the decline, in part, to the addition of police officers provided both by local funding and the Crime Bill. Plans for additional officers will be made possible by a \$3.9 million federal grant recently allocated to the city through the Crime Bill.

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City Council Considering Proposals for Convention Center Hotel

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Oilers Poised to Leave Houston

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**THE TRIP OF
THE PRESIDENT
TO
HOUSTON, TEXAS**

January 20, 1996

Staff Copy

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Houston, Texas

Saturday, January 20, 1996

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Former Representative Barbara Jordan**

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- Remarks

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- Political Background

Distributed
Separately

- Economic Background

TAB D

- Local Issues

TAB E

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 19, 1996

PRIVATE MEETING WITH BARBARA JORDAN'S IMMEDIATE FAMILY

DATE: January 20, 1996
LOCATION: Good Hope Missionary Baptist Church
3015 N. McGregor Way
Houston, TX
TIME: 9:45am
FROM: Alexis Herman
Ben Johnson

I. PURPOSE

Meet and share a private moment with Barbara Jordan's immediate family.

II. BACKGROUND

Prior to the start of the funeral service, you will meet briefly with Barbara Jordan's immediate family to share a few private moments with them. The family members include the five people listed below. The two sisters and their aunt are all retired school teachers and are very active in their community. The uncle is a retired postal worker and the brother in law is a businessman.

III. PARTICIPANTS

- o The President
- o Rosemary McGowan (sister)
- o John McGowan (brother in law)
- o Bennie Creswell (sister)
- o Mamie Lee (aunt)
- o Wilmer Lee (uncle)

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed press.

V. SEQUENCE

- o The President is introduced to the family and holds a brief discussion with them.
- o The President departs.

VI. REMARKS

None

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 19, 1996

ATTEND THE FUNERAL SERVICE FOR BARBARA C. JORDAN

DATE: January 20, 1996
LOCATION: Good Hope Missionary Baptist Church
3015 N. McGregor Way
Houston, Texas

TIME: 10:00 am

FROM: Alexis Herman
Ben Johnson

I. PURPOSE

This is an opportunity for you to lead the nation in mourning the death of former Congresswoman Barbara C. Jordan.

II. BACKGROUND

Barbara Jordan passed away on January 19, 1996 after a long illness. Afflicted with multiple sclerosis, she died from viral pneumonia. Ms. Jordan was born on February 21, 1936 in Houston, Texas. She was the third child born to Rev. Ben Jordan and Arlyne Jordan. She is survived by her mother and two sisters (Rosemary McGowan and Bennie Creswell).

Ms. Jordan, the first black elected to Congress from Texas after Reconstruction, retired from Congress in 1979 after serving three terms, to teach at the LBJ School of Public Affairs in Austin, Texas. In 1966, she was elected as the first black state Senator in Texas history. In 1976, she was the first black woman to deliver a keynote address at the Democratic National Convention held in New York's Madison Square Garden. Ms. Jordan received a law degree from Boston University and was known to practice law from her dining room table. She was a fierce debater and won numerous competitions while attending undergraduate school at Texas Southern University in Houston.

As you know, you appointed Ms. Jordan chairwomen of the Commission on Immigration Reform. While serving in that post, she spoke out against a proposal to deny automatic citizenship to the children of illegal immigrants born in this country. She was perhaps best known for her eloquence when she argued for the impeachment of former President Richard Nixon during Watergate. Her political mentor was former President Lyndon Johnson.

The funeral is being held in the church she attended all her life. It is pastored by the Reverend D.Z. Cofield, the officiating minister at the funeral. Prior to the service you will meet privately with five members of the immediate family. Ms. Jordan's mother Arlyne, is bedridden and will not be in attendance at the church. The service will be attended by several dignitaries, including, former Governor Ann Richards, Mayor Bob Lanier and Governor George W. Bush. Congresswomen Sheila Jackson-Lee has invited the entire Texas delegation at the request of the family. You will ^{also} be joined on the plane by several guests (see attached list). The service is expected to last approximately two hours and will include personal tributes by you, Congresswoman Sheila Jackson-Lee, Ann Richards and Barbara's debate coach at Texas Southern, Tom Freeman. Afterwards, the family and friends will motor from Houston to Austin for the burial ceremony at the Texas State Cemetery at 4:00 pm. You are not expected to attend.

III. PARTICIPANTS

1500 people including community leaders, elected officials, members and friends of the Jordan family.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press

V. ORDER OF SERVICE(starts at 10:00 am)

- o Organ prelude
- o Processional (You walk in)
- o Congregational hymn
- o Scripture reading from Old and New Testament
- o Reflections
 - Congresswoman Sheila Jackson-Lee
 - Former Governor Ann Richards
 - Dr. Thomas Freeman, Debate Coach Texas Southern University
- THE PRESIDENT
- o Solo
- o Resolutions
 - Governor George Bush
 - James D. Douglas, President of Texas Southern University
 - Church Congregation
- o Solo
- o Eulogy
- o Recessional

VI. REMARKS

Provided by speechwriting

TRAVELING PARTY TO BARBARA JORDAN'S FUNERAL
Partial List

- 1-Senator Chuck Robb, Virginia
- 2-Lynda Johnson Robb
- 3-Representative Charles Rangel, New York
- 4-Representative John Conyers, Michigan
- 5-Representative Cardiss Collins, Illinois
- 6-Secretary John Dalton
- 7-Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, Los Angeles County Supervisor
- 8-Antonia Hernandez, MALDEF (DC to TX only)
Raul Yzaguiurre, National Council of La Raza (TX to DC only)
- 9-Linda Acher
- 10-Andy Young
- 11-Bill Gray, United Negro College Fund
- 12-Doris Mizner, INS

Cabinet

- 1-Secretary Cisneros
- 2-Secretary Riley
- 3-AG Reno (pending)

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
THE FUNERAL OF BARBARA JORDAN
GOOD HOPE MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH
HOUSTON, TEXAS JAN 10 P4:20
JANUARY 20, 1996

[Acknowledgements: Let me begin by recognizing someone who could not be here today, Barbara's mother, Mrs. Arlyne Jordan; I want to also recognize Barbara's sisters, Bennie Creswell and Rose Mary McGowan; her brother-in-law, John McGowan; her Aunt and Uncle Mamie and Wilmer Lee; President Carter; Governor Bush; my good friend Ann Richards; Mayor Bob Lanier; Rev. Cofield and honored guests...]

I last saw Barbara this past October when I delivered my speech on race relations at the University of Texas in Austin. Seeing her in the audience both warmed my heart and quickened my blood. She was a great friend and a great critic. I knew that she would be listening to every word, and that I'd hear about it later if I didn't say the right things.

Though I am saddened by her passing, I am honored to be here today to celebrate the life of one of this century's most eloquent warriors for justice. Through the sheer force of the truth she spoke and the poetry of her words, Barbara Jordan always managed to stir our national conscience and make us sit up and listen.

She made us listen in 1974 when she said of the Preamble to the Constitution, "We, the people. It is a very eloquent beginning. But when the document was completed, on the 17th of September in 1787, I was not included in that 'We the People.'"

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File
REMARKS BY

96 JAN 19 P4:29

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GOOD HOPE MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH

HOUSTON, TEXAS

JANUARY 20, 1996

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Barbara's sisters, Bennie Creswell and Rose Mary
McGowan; her brother-in-law, John McGowan; her
Aunt and Uncle Mamie and Wilmer Lee; President
Carter; Governor Bush; my good friend Ann Richards;
Mayor Bob Lanier; Rev. Cofield and honored guests...]

I last saw Barbara this past October when I delivered my speech on race relations at the University of Texas in Austin. Seeing her in the audience both warmed my heart and quickened my blood. She was a great friend and a great critic. I knew that she would be listening to every word, and that I'd hear about it later if I didn't say the right things.

Though I am saddened by her passing, I am honored to be here today to celebrate the life of one of this century's most eloquent warriors for justice. Through the sheer force of the truth she spoke and the poetry of her words, Barbara Jordan always managed to stir our national conscience and make us sit up and listen.

She made us listen in 1974 when she said of the Preamble to the Constitution, "We, the people. It is a very eloquent beginning. But when the document was completed, on the 17th of September in 1787, I was not included in that 'We the People.'"

She made us listen in 1976 when, as the first black woman to deliver a keynote address at the Democratic National Convention, she spoke of the difficulty of creating a sense of national community. She said, "If each of us remembers, when self- interest and bitterness seem to prevail, that we share a common destiny, I have confidence that we can form this kind of national community."

She made us listen in 1992 when she honored me by giving the keynote address at the convention that nominated me President. "The American dream is slipping away from too many people," she said. "It is slipping away from too many black and brown mothers and their children..."

Barbara Jordan's was among the most outspoken moral voices of our time.

Wherever she stood, and whenever she could she jolted the nation's attention in artful and articulate defense of our Constitution, the American Dream, and the commonality we share as American citizens.

Her faith in America was whole and unshakable, in spite of the rigors of growing up poor and black in the segregated South.

The source of her optimism -- the things that guided her most along the path of success were family and community. The well-spring of her faith flowed from all of you: a loving family, a caring church, teachers and mentors at Phillis Wheatley High School and Texas Southern University who inspired and required excellence, mentors and role models like Lyndon Johnson, Ann Richards, her debating coach, Tom Freeman, and her many friends.

Barbara Jordan loved all of you and she loved Texas.

She felt a deep pride in her state and that pride flowed through her blood. But above all, Barbara Jordan loved America. And she always challenged us to use our great power in the on-going struggle to live up to our highest ideals. Whether the issue was immigration reform or political ethics, she set the highest standards of fairness and decency and challenged us to reach them.

In 1994, I had the special privilege of presenting her the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest honor given to civilians by our country. And I am forever grateful for the outstanding job she did as the Chair of the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform. The issue of immigration is sensitive, but as always, Barbara's criteria were fairness, equality, and the rule of law. And she was particularly sensitive to the needs of innocent children.

She once said, "All we are trying to do is make this government of the United States of America honest.

We only ask that when we stand up and talk about one nation under God with liberty and justice for all, we want to be able to look at the flag, put our right hands over our hearts, repeat those words and know that they are true."

If Barbara Jordan was not in the Constitution when it was first written, she made sure that once she got in, she was not about to be put out. She was an American and her sense of citizenship -- that each and every American had equal standing -- gave her an enormous determination to protect the power of the Constitution for generations to come.

That's what she was doing when God called her home -

- working with students at the University of Texas LBJ

School of Public Affairs to ensure that the next

generation of our public servants would be worthy of

the legacy she worked so hard to build.

Barbara Jordan was a classic American individual. She took to heart the advice of her Grandpa Patten who advised her as a little girl, "You just trot your own horse and don't get into the same rut as everyone else."

All her life, Barbara Jordan was perfectly willing to stand alone. Her determination to stand apart if need be, had little to do with aloofness, and a great deal to do with her sense that you lived your integrity every day.

She was after all Barbara Jordan, a Texan, an
American, a citizen who believed and lived the
American Dream.

I'd like to close by reading a few lines from a poem by
Stephen Spender. It was a favorite of Barbara's, who
liked to read it aloud. It could have been written about
her:

"I think continually of those who were truly great.

Who, from the womb, remembered the soul's

history...

Who wore at their hearts the fire's center.

Born of the sun they traveled a short while towards

the sun,

And left the vivid air signed in their honor."

Barbara Jordan has left our vivid air signed with her
honor. Barbara, "We, the People" will miss you.

Thank you.

1/19

The original was
given to Stephen
Goodin

(put in front flap of
his notebook)

—

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Aboud	Monica M.	Confidential Assistant	Office of Scheduling and Logistics	Energy, Department of	C	
Aguilar-Melancon	Lorenzo H	Member		Mental Retardation, Pres Committee on	PA	
Albright	Susan L.	Special Assistant for Women's Issues	ASN (M & RA)	Defense- Navy, Dept of the	C	
Anderson	D. Patrick	Speechwriter	Office of Communications	Office of Personnel Management	C	
Andrews-Smith	E. Michelle	Public Affairs Specialist	Office of Public Affairs	Treasury, Department of the	C	
Arce-Garcia	Sylvia	Special Assistant to the Secretary	Office of the Secretary	Housing & Urban Dev, Dept of	C	
Armstrong	Robert	Asst Secretary	(Land & Minerals Mgmt)	Interior, Department of the	PAS	
Arnold	Anita Ray	Member		JFK Center Board of Trustees	PA	
Atlas	Nancy Friedman	Judge	05 Texas, Southern	Judges, US District Court	PAS	
Barrett	Archie D	Principle Dep Asst Sec of the Army, Manpower & Reserve Affairs		Defense- Army, Dept of the	SES	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Batiste, Jr	Norris	US Marshal	Texas, Eastern	US Marshals	PAS	
Beagle	Gail J.	Assistant for Congressional Relations	Congressional Relations	Housing & Urban Dev, Dept of	C	
Benavides	Fortunato P	Judge	05 Circuit	Judges, US Circuit Court	PAS	
Benavides	Bert	Special Assistant to the Secretary	Office of the Secretary	Housing & Urban Dev, Dept of	C	
Biddy	Rueben Rodolfo	Special Assistant for Administration	Office of Executive Scheduling	Housing & Urban Dev, Dept of	C	
Biery, Jr	Samuel F	Judge	05 Texas, Western	Judges, US District Court	PAS	
Biggs	Glenn	Member	(for-profit business)	Community Adjustment and Investment Program Advisory Cmte	PA	
Blagg	James William	US Attorney	Texas, Western	US Attorneys	PAS	
Bradford	John Michael	US Attorney	Texas, Eastern	US Attorneys	PAS	
Bransom, Jr	D W	US Marshal	Texas, Northern	US Marshals	PAS	
Branson	Debbie	Vice-Chair & Mbr	(public)	Sec Investor Protection Corp	PAS	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

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Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Breedlove	James W.	Regional Administrator	Region VI	Small Business Administration	C	
Brice	Carla Sue	Director of Travel Office	Travel Office	Treasury, Department of the	C	
Briones	David	Judge	05 Texas, Western	Judges, US District Court	PAS	
Brittain	Charlotte A.	Special Assistant to the Commissioner	Office of the Commissioner/SSA	Social Security Administration	C	
Burnett	Kristyn	Assistant to Cmr Bair		Commodity Futures Trading Comm	C	
Burton	Charles William	Mbr, Bd of Dirs		Enrichment Corporation, US	PAS	
Burton	Mary Gay	Special Assistant to the Director of the Mint	Office of the Director of the Mint	Treasury, Department of the	C	
Cabral	Christina J.	Confidential Assistant to the Asst Sec - Aging	AoA	Health & Human Svcs, Dept of	C	
Cain	Sally H.	Secretary's Regional Representative	Region VI (Dallas, TX)(AR;LA;NM;OK;TX)	Education, Department of	C	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Cantu	Norma V	Asst Secretary	Civil Rights	Education, Department of	PAS	
Cantu	Santiago G.	Region VI Secretary's Rep	Office of Congr & Intergov Affairs	Labor, Department of	C	
Carpenter	Liz	Member		White House Conference on Aging, Advisory Committee to the	PA	
Casstevens	Kay L	Asst Secretary	(Legislative & Cong Affairs)	Education, Department of	PAS	
Chater	Shirley Sears	Commissioner		Social Security Administration	PAS	
Childers	Maxine Touchstone	Special Assistant	Office of the Chairman	Farm Credit Administration	C	
Cisneros	Henry G	Secretary		Housing & Urban Dev, Dept of	PAS	
Clark	Wesley K	Member		WH Fellowships, Pres Comm on	PA	
Coggins	Paul E	US Attorney	Texas, Northern	US Attorneys	PAS	
Conwell	Tracey D	Member		Museum Services Board, Natl	PAS	
Coronado	Gil	Director		Selective Service	PAS	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Cortinas	Charlie	Special Assistant	Advance/Security	Housing & Urban Dev, Dept of	C	
Crandall	Robert L	Member		Trade Policy & Negotiations, Adv Cmte for	PA	
Curts	Brenda	Confidential Assistant	Acquisition (OSD)	Defense, Department of	C	
Dalton	John H	Secretary		Defense - Navy, Dept of the	PAS	
de la Garza	Veronica	Confidential Assistant	Science and Education	Agriculture, Department of	C	
Dean	Jack O	US Marshal	Texas, Western	US Marshals	PAS	
Diehl	Philip	Director	Mint	Treasury, Department of the	PAS	
Dillon	Mary K.	Director of Public Information	Office of the Director	Arms Control & Disarm Agency	C	
Diminuco	Steve	Special Assistant - Advance	Office of the Secretary	Labor, Department of	C	
Dorn	Edwin	Under Secretary	Personnel & Readiness	Defense, Department of	PAS	
Elizondo	Carlos E.	Protocol Officer (Visits)	Office of Protocol	State, Department of	C	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

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Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Emerson	Abram Joseph	Special Assistant	Office of Administration	Housing & Urban Dev, Dept of	C	
Ferring	Melissa C.	Confidential Assistant/Chairman Newquist	Office of the Chair	International Trade Commission	C	
Fly	Everett L.	Member		Arts & the Humanities, Pres Cmte on the	PA	
Folsom	David	Judge	05 Texas, Eastern	Judges, US District Court	PAS	
Fuentes	Rodolfo	Director of Public Affairs	USTTA	Commerce, Department of	C	
Furgeson, Jr	W Royal	Judge	05 Texas, Western	Judges, US District Court	PAS	
Ganson	Brian C.	Chief of Staff	Civil Rights	Education, Department of	C	
Garcia	Juliet V	Member		Educ Excell for Hisp-Am, Pres Adv Comm	PA	
Garcia	Orlando L	Judge	05 Texas, Western	Judges, US District Court	PAS	
Garcia	Grace A.	Special Assistant	Office of the Secretary	Interior, Department of the	C	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Garza	Ygnacio D	Member	(border state rep)	Border Environment Cooperation Commission, Board of Directors of the	PA	
Garza	Pedro	Deputy Assistant Secretary for Program Operat	Economic Development Administration	Commerce, Department of	SES	
Garza	Trinidad (Trini)	Deputy Secretary's Regional Representative	Region VI (Dallas)(TX;OK;NM;LA;AR)	Education, Department of	C	
Giesen	Claire	Special Assistant	Ofc of Natl Drug Control Policy	Energy, Department of	C	
Gilmore	Vanessa D	Judge	05 Texas, Southern	Judges, US District Court	PAS	
Gonzales	Claire E.	Director	Office of Communications & Leg Affairs	Equal Empl Opportunity Comm	SES	
Goodin	Stephen	The President's Aide	Immediate Ofc of the President	The White House	AD	
Guerrero	Omar V.	Deputy Director	Office of Civil Rights	Health & Human Svcs, Dept of	SES	
Guzman	Ana M	Vice-Chair		Educ Excell for Hisp-Am, Pres Adv Comm	PA	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Hales	David	Deputy Assistant Administrator	Center for the Environment	Agency for Intl Development	SES	
Hall	John L.	Mbr, Bd of Dirs		Air Toxics Research Ctr, M Leland	PA	
Hannah, Jr	John H	Judge	05 Texas, Eastern	Judges, US District Court	PAS	
Hansen, III	Charles Martin	Congressional Liaison		International Trade Commission	C	
Hay	Jess	Member		World War II Memorial Adv Bd	PA	
Heartfield	Thad	Judge	05 Texas, Eastern	Judges, US District Court	PAS	
Helfert	David	Public Affairs Director	Public Affairs	Fed Med & Conciliation Service	C	
Hendricks	Lori Ann	Defense Fellow	Deputy Assistant Secretary(African Aff.)	Defense, Department of	C	
Heredia	Angela P.	Confidential Assistant	US Section	Intrnational Boundry & Water Commission	C	
Hernandez	Sonia	Member		Educ Excell for Hisp-Am, Pres Adv Comm	PA	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Hernandez	Juanita C.	Counsel to the Assistant Attorney General	Civil Rights Division	Justice, Department of	SES	
Hernandez	Richard W.	Counselor to the Administrator	Office of the Administrator	Small Business Administration	SES	
Hernandez	Ida	Director Admin Operations	AS Management	Treasury, Department of the	C	
Herrera	Frank	Member	(appropriate entities w/ relevant expertise)	Community Adjustment and Investment Program Advisory Cmte	PA	
Horn	Stephen	Assistant Night Director	White House Correspondence	The White House	AD	
Houze	Margarite Rivera	Senior Advisor	Refugee Programs	State, Department of	C	
Hrncir	Charlotte J.	Executive Assistant	Congressional Affairs	General Services Administration	C	
Jack	Janis G	Judge	05 Texas, Southern	Judges, US District Court	PAS	
Jackson	Zina G	Member		Physical Fitness & Sports, Pres Cnl On	PA	
Jenkins	Sebetha	Member	(univ pres)	Hist Black Coll & Univ, Pres Bd	PA	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Johnson	Travis C	Member	Public	Border Environment Cooperation Commission, Advisory Council of the	PA	
Johnson	Donald C	Ambassador	Mongolian People's Republic	State, Department of	PAS	
Jones	A Elizabeth	Ambassador	Kazakhstan, Republic of	State, Department of	PAS	
Jones	Gaynelle G	US Attorney	Texas, Southern	US Attorneys	PAS	
Jordan	Michael H.	Member		Pres Export Council	PA	
Julian	Elizabeth K	Asst Secretary	(Fair Housing & Equal Opp)	Housing & Urban Dev, Dept of	PAS	
Junkins	Jerry R	Member		Trade Policy & Negotiations, Adv Cmte for	PA	
Kahler	Kathryn S.	Director	Communications & Public Affairs	Education, Department of	SES	
Kanellos	Nicholas	Member	(public)	Humanities, National Council on the	PAS	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Kellison	Stephen G	Mbr, Bd of Trustees	(public)	Fed Old-Age & Survivors Insurance Trust Fund & Fed Disability Ins Trust Fund	PAS	
Knight	Edward S	General Counsel		Treasury, Department of the	PAS	
Krueger	Robert	Ambassador	Burundi, Republic of	State, Department of	PAS	
Kukis	Heidi	Deputy Press Secretary	Ofc of the Vice President	The White House	AD	
Lake	Joseph E	Ambassador	Albania, Republic of	State, Department of	PAS	
Lay	Kenneth L	Member		Sustainable Dev, Pres Cnl on	PA	
Longuemare, Jr	R Noel	Deputy Under Sec	Acquisition	Defense, Department of	PAS	
Lyle	John E	Member		White House Conference on Aging, Advisory Committee to the	PA	
Martin	Marsha P	Chairman & Member		Farm Credit Administration Board	PAS	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Martin	Merlin Winston	Special Projects Officer	Region 6 (San Antonio Office)	Housing & Urban Dev, Dept of	C	
McClendon	Sarah N	Member		World War II Memorial Adv Bd	PA	
McCullough	Gilda Claudine "Dini"	Executive Assistant	Office of the Managing Director	Natl & Community Svc, Corp for	C	
McReynolds	Allen D.	Special Assistant	Immediate Office of the Secretary	Interior, Department of the	C	
Mead	Dana	Member		WH Fellowships, Pres Comm on	PA	
Mercado	Maria L	Mbr, Bd of Dirs		Legal Services Corporation	PAS	
Mertz	Gregory J.	Special Assistant	OSWER	Environmental Protection Agency	C	
Meza	Choco	Deputy Assistant Secretary/Intergovernmental	Congress & Intergovernmental Relations	Housing & Urban Dev, Dept of	SES	
Montoya	Regina	Mbr, Bd of Dirs		Student Loan Mktg Assoc	PA	
Moore	Michael J.	Special Assistant to the Deputy Sec/Scheduling	Office of Deputy Secretary	Energy, Department of	C	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Moore	Linda Lea	Special Assistant to the President	Ofc of Political Affairs	The White House	AD	
Moore, Jr.	Joe G.	Special Assistant	Management	Treasury, Department of the	C	
Morales	Dan	Member		Presidential Scholars, Comm on	PA	
Morrison	Keith Gregory	Special Assistant	Ofc of Legislative & Intergov Affairs	Commerce, Department of	C	
Munoz	Cipriano	Member		Educ Excell for Hisp-Am, Pres Adv Comm	PA	
Napper	Larry C.	Ambassador	Latvia, Republic of	State, Department of	PAS	
Natalicio	Diana	Member		Natl Science Board, NSF	PAS	
Newman	Richard O.	Deputy Administrator - Farm Programs	CFSA	Agriculture, Department of	SES	
Northington	John Wesley Bigby	Staff Assistant	Fossil Energy	Energy, Department of	C	
O'Donnell	Thomas Patrick	Special Assistant to the Chair	Ofc of Policy Development- NEC	The White House	AD	
Parise	Eileen	Director of Advocacy Center	HA/TD	Commerce, Department of	C	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Parker	Robert M	Judge	05 Circuit	Judges, US Circuit Court	PAS	
Pompa	Delia	Director	Office of Bilingual Education	Education, Department of	SES	
Prabhakar	Arati	Director	NIST	Commerce, Department of	PAS	
Rabago	Karl R.	DAS, Utility Technologies	Office of Energy Efficiency & Renewables	Energy, Department of	SES	
Raffaelli, II	John D	Member		JFK Center Adv Cmte on the Arts	PA	
Reeder	Joseph R	Under Secretary		Defense - Army, Dept of the	PAS	
Reyes, II	Richard A	Member	State Rep	Border Environment Cooperation Commission, Advisory Council of the	PA	
Richardson	Margaret M	Comissioner	Internal Revenue Service	Treasury, Department of the	PAS	
Rieff	Susan Karol	Director	Office of Policy Analysis	Interior, Department of the	SES	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Rios	Rolando L	Member		Gulf War Vets' Illnesses, Pres Adv Cmte on	PA	
Roberts	Susan R	Member		JFK Center Adv Cmte on the Arts	PA	
Rodriguez	Gloria	Member		Educ Excell for Hisp-Am, Pres Adv Comm	PA	
Rosales	John	Assistant Director	Office of Administration	Housing & Urban Dev, Dept of	C	
Rosenbusch	Walter	Special Assistant	Minerals Management Service	Interior, Department of the	C	
Ruckelshaus	William	Member		Sustainable Dev, Pres Cnl on	PA	
Ryan	Mary A	Asst Secretary	Consular Affairs	State, Department of	PAS	
Ryan, Jr	Vincent R	Member	(experienced in labor matters)	Panama Canal Comm, Bd of	PAS	
Saginaw	Jane	Regional Administrator	Region VI	Environmental Protection Agency	SES	
Sarpalius	Bill	Confidential Assistant	Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service	Agriculture, Department of	C	
Saunders	Kevin V	Member		Physical Fitness & Sports, Pres Cnl On	PA	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Schattman	Michael D	Judge	05 Texas, Northern	Judges, US District Court	PAS	
Schechter	Arthur	Member		Holocaust Memorial Council	PA	
Schiff	Debra	Receptionist- West Wing	Immediate Ofc of the President	The White House	AD	
Simmons	Shayta F.	Special Assistant	Bureau of Land Management	Interior, Department of the	C	
Simpson	Kyle C.	Executive Assistant to the Deputy Secretary	Office of the Deputy Secretary	Energy, Department of	SES	
Smith	Michele	Press Advisor	Deputy Director of Public Affairs	Treasury, Department of the	C	
Smith	Wendy	Dep Dir of Sched & Advance & Trip Director	Ofc of Sched and Advance	The White House	AD	
Snyder III	Edward C.	Legal Advisor	Office of the Commissioner	International Trade Commission	C	
Spiller	Reginal	DAS Gas & Petroleum Technology	Office of Fossil Energy	Energy, Department of	SES	
Sullivan	Kathryn D	Chief Scientist	NOAA	Commerce, Department of	PAS	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Sumaya, MD	Ciro V.	Administrator	Health Resources Services Administration	Health & Human Svcs, Dept of	SES	
Sutherland	John Scott	Special Asst to the Secretary of Public Affairs	Office of Public Affairs	Labor, Department of	C	
Swihart Jr	James W.	Ambassador	Lithuania, Republic of	State, Department of	PAS	
Tagle	Hilda G	Judge	05 Texas, Southern	Judges, US District Court	PAS	
Task	Robert B.	Special Assistant	Office of Policy Planning & Program Eval.	Energy, Department of	C	
Tejada	Richard	Special Asst to the Chief Economist	Office of the Secretary	Labor, Department of	C	
Teplitz	Vigdor L	Member		ACDA, Scientific and Policy Adv Cmte of	PA	
Thomas	Shirley	Special Assistant	Office of the Secretary	Housing & Urban Dev, Dept of	C	
Valdez	Robert O.	Dpty Assistant Secretary for Interagency Liaison	Public Health Service	Health & Human Svcs, Dept of	SES	
Valdez	Suzanna	Associate Director	Ofc of the Public Liaison	The White House	AD	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Valencia, Jr.	Jorge	Director	External Affairs	Small Business Administration	C	
Vargas-Baron	Emily	Deputy Assistant Administrator	Center for Human Capacity	Agency for Intl Development	SES	
Vasquez	Juan F	Judge		Judges, US Tax Court	PAS	
Vasquez	Victor	Confidential Assistant, Special Projects	RDA	Agriculture, Department of	C	
Vela	Moises Vicente	Confidential Assistant to Admin./AMS	Agricultural Marketing Service	Agriculture, Department of	C	
Verble	Sedelta	Director	Office of Public Liaison	Agriculture, Department of	C	
Villa, III	Hector	Commissioner		Pecos River Commission	PA	
Villarreal	Jose	Mbr, Bd of Dirs	(Low/moderate income housing rep)	Federal National Mortgage Assoc	PA	
Walters	Anne Therese	Special Assistant	Office of Congressional Affairs	Energy, Department of	C	
Washington	Rose W	Member	(public)	Juv Justice & Del Prevention, Coord Council	PA	

Presidential Appointees from Texas

1/18/96

Last Name	First Name	Title	Designation	Dept/Agency	Type	Comments
Wattley	Cheryl B	Judge	05 Texas, Northern	Judges, US District Court	PAS	
Webb	Robin E.	Confidential Assistant	Office of the Secretary	Treasury, Department of the	C	
Weiler	Todd Alan	Deputy Assistant Secretary	Army-Training	Defense- Army, Dept of the	SES	
Wells	John C	Director		Federal Med & Conciliation Service	PAS	
Wicker	William A.S.	Special Assistant	Office of Public Affairs	Energy, Department of	C	
Williams	J McDonald	Member		Trade Policy & Negotiations, Adv Cmte for	PA	
Wing, Jr	Frank D.	Senior Advisor to Secretary & Asst. to the Sec. for Field Mgt.	Office of the Secretary	Housing & Urban Dev, Dept of	SES	
Youngblood	Kneeland	Mbr, Bd of Dirs		Enrichment Corporation, US	PAS	
Youngblood	Stella G.	Special Assistant to Commissioner	Office of the Commissioner	Commission on Civil Rights	C	

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Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7693

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Chron Files January 1-6, 1996 [4]

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

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b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

TO: Betty Currie
TO: Paul A. Deegan
TO: Jennifer D. Dudley
TO: DONALD K. DUNN
TO: Anne M. Edwards
TO: Nicole Elkon
TO: Paul K. Engskov
TO: Paul K. Engskov
TO: Janice A. Enright
TO: Karen E. Finney
TO: Andrew Friendly
TO: Jeremy M. Gaines
TO: Jason S. Goldberg
TO: David S. Goodin
TO: Laura A. Graham
TO: Theresa F. Granger
TO: Wendy E. Gray
TO: Julia R. Green
TO: John P. Hart
TO: James A. Hawkins
TO: Susan Hazard
TO: Wendy A. Heistad
TO: Nancy V. Hernreich
TO: Brenda I. Hilliard
TO: Harold Ickes
TO: LeeAnn Inadomi
TO: Marilyn R. Jacanin
TO: Kim Johnson
TO: Jennifer A. Jordan
TO: M. Kay Joshi
TO: Yusuf A. Khapra
TO: Joshua A. King
TO: David J. Lane
TO: Evelyn S. Lieberman
TO: Bruce R. Lindsey
TO: Gordon Li
TO: Michael D. Malone
TO: Julie E. Mason
TO: Michael McCurry
TO: Patricia A. McHugh
TO: Kathy McKiernan
TO: Robert W. McNeely
TO: APRIL K. MELLODY
TO: Cathy L. Millison
TO: Cathy L. Millison
TO: Cheryl D. Mills
TO: Julia Moffett
TO: Linda L. Moore
TO: Ruby G. Moy
TO: Melissa M. Murray
TO: Lucie F. Naphin
TO: Holly B. Nichols
TO: Jennifer M. O'Connor
TO: Thomas O'Donnell
TO: Jennifer Palmieri
TO: Local Addressee
TO: Charles Raderstorf
TO: Darren Mcdew
TO: David Mckinney

TO: Dennis Stump
TO: Elizabeth Vittori
TO: Harold Howell
TO: June Ryan
TO: John Richardson
TO: Michael Mudd
TO: Terry Steele
TO: Terry West
TO: Paige E. Reffe
TO: Seth R. Robinson
TO: Cheryl S. Rodman
TO: Lee A. Satterfield
TO: Marsha Scott
TO: Andrew D. Sens
TO: Janna B. Sidley
TO: Stephen B. Silverman
TO: Wendy L. Smith
TO: Patti Solis
TO: Margo L. Spiritus
TO: Patrick M. Steel
TO: George Stephanopoulos
TO: Todd Stern
TO: Virginia M. Terzano
TO: Jodie R. Torkelson
TO: Sheila D. Turner
TO: Molly Varney
TO: Lisa S. Villareal
TO: Allison Wilkie
TO: Natalie S. Wozniak
TO: Allison M. Wright

**THE TRIP OF
THE PRESIDENT
TO
HOUSTON, TEXAS**

January 20, 1996

Staff Copy

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Houston, Texas

Saturday, January 20, 1996

Visit with the Family of Barbara Jordan

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- Political Background

Distributed
Separately

- Economic Background

TAB D

- Local Issues

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 19, 1996

PRIVATE MEETING WITH BARBARA JORDAN'S IMMEDIATE FAMILY

DATE: January 20, 1996
LOCATION: Good Hope Missionary Baptist Church
3015 N. McGregor Way
Houston, TX
TIME: 9:45am
FROM: Alexis Herman
Ben Johnson

I. PURPOSE

Meet and share a private moment with Barbara Jordan's immediate family.

II. BACKGROUND

Prior to the start of the funeral service, you will meet briefly with Barbara Jordan's immediate family to share a few private moments with them. The family members include the five people listed below. The two sisters and their aunt are all retired school teachers and are very active in their community. The uncle is a retired postal worker and the brother in law is a businessman.

III. PARTICIPANTS

- o The President
- o Rosemary McGowan (sister)
- o John McGowan (brother in law)
- o Bennie Creswell (sister)
- o Mamie Lee (aunt)
- o Wilmer Lee (uncle)

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed press.

V. SEQUENCE

- o The President is introduced to the family and holds a brief discussion with them.
- o The President departs.

VI. REMARKS

None

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 19, 1996

ATTEND THE FUNERAL SERVICE FOR BARBARA C. JORDAN

DATE: January 20, 1996
LOCATION: Good Hope Missionary Baptist Church
3015 N. McGregor Way
Houston, Texas

TIME: 10:00 am

FROM: Alexis Herman
Ben Johnson

I. PURPOSE

This is an opportunity for you to lead the nation in mourning the death of former Congresswoman Barbara C. Jordan.

II. BACKGROUND

Barbara Jordan passed away on January 19, 1996 after a long illness. Afflicted with multiple sclerosis, she died from viral pneumonia. Ms. Jordan was born on February 21, 1936 in Houston, Texas. She was the third child born to Rev. Ben Jordan and Arlyne Jordan. She is survived by her mother and two sisters (Rosemary McGowan and Bennie Creswell).

Ms. Jordan, the first black elected to Congress from Texas after Reconstruction, retired from Congress in 1979 after serving three terms, to teach at the LBJ School of Public Affairs in Austin, Texas. In 1966, she was elected as the first black state Senator in Texas history. In 1976, she was the first black women to deliver a keynote address at the Democratic National Convention held in New York's Madison Square Garden. Ms. Jordan received a law degree from Boston University and was known to practice law from her dining room table. She was a fierce debater and won numerous competitions while attending undergraduate school at Texas Southern University in Houston.

As you know, you appointed Ms. Jordan chairwomen of the Commission on Immigration Reform. While serving in that post, she spoke out against a proposal to deny automatic citizenship to the children of illegal immigrants born in this country. She was perhaps best known for her eloquence when she argued for the impeachment of former President Richard Nixon during Watergate. Her political mentor was former President Lyndon Johnson.

The funeral is being held in the church she attended all her life. It is pastored by the Reverend D.Z. Cofield, the officiating minister at the funeral. Prior to the service you will meet privately with five members of the immediate family. Ms. Jordan's mother Arlyne, is bedridden and will not be in attendance at the church. The service will be attended by several dignitaries, including, former Governor Ann Richards, Mayor Bob Lanier and Governor George W. Bush. Congresswomen Sheila Jackson-Lee has invited the entire Texas delegation at the request of the family. You will ^{also} be joined on the plane by several guests (see attached list). The service is expected to last approximately two hours and will include personal tributes by you, Congresswoman Sheila Jackson-Lee, Ann Richards and Barbara's debate coach at Texas Southern, Tom Freeman. Afterwards, the family and friends will motor from Houston to Austin for the burial ceremony at the Texas State Cemetery at 4:00 pm. You are not expected to attend.

III. PARTICIPANTS

1500 people including community leaders, elected officials, members and friends of the Jordan family.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open Press

V. ORDER OF SERVICE(starts at 10:00 am)

- o Organ prelude
- o Processional (You walk in)
- o Congregational hymn
- o Scripture reading from Old and New Testament
- o Reflections
 - Congresswoman Sheila Jackson-Lee
 - Former Governor Ann Richards
 - Dr. Thomas Freeman, Debate Coach Texas Southern University
- THE PRESIDENT
- o Solo
- o Resolutions
 - Governor George Bush
 - James D. Douglas, President of Texas Southern University
 - Church Congregation
- o Solo
- o Eulogy
- o Recessional

VI. REMARKS

Provided by speechwriting

TRAVELING PARTY TO BARBARA JORDAN'S FUNERAL
Partial List

- 1-Senator Chuck Robb, Virginia
- 2-Lynda Johnson Robb
- 3-Representative Charles Rangel, New York
- 4-Representative John Conyers, Michigan
- 5-Representative Cardiss Collins, Illinois
- 6-Secretary John Dalton
- 7-Yvonne Braithwaite Burke, Los Angeles County Supervisor
- 8-Antonia Hernandez, MALDEF (DC to TX only)
 Raul Yzaguirre, National Council of La Raza (TX to DC only)
- 9-Linda Acher
- 10-Andy Young
- 11-Bill Gray, United Negro College Fund
- 12-Doris Mizner, INS

Cabinet

- 1-Secretary Cisneros
- 2-Secretary Riley
- 3-AG Reno (pending)

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
THE FUNERAL OF BARBARA JORDAN
GOOD HOPE MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH
HOUSTON, TEXAS
JANUARY 20, 1996 JAN 19 P4:20

[Acknowledgements: Let me begin by recognizing someone who could not be here today, Barbara's mother, Mrs. Arlyne Jordan; I want to also recognize Barbara's sisters, Bennie Creswell and Rose Mary McGowan; her brother-in-law, John McGowan; her Aunt and Uncle Mamie and Wilmer Lee; President Carter; Governor Bush; my good friend Ann Richards; Mayor Bob Lanier; Rev. Cofield and honored guests...]

I last saw Barbara this past October when I delivered my speech on race relations at the University of Texas in Austin. Seeing her in the audience both warmed my heart and quickened my blood. She was a great friend and a great critic. I knew that she would be listening to every word, and that I'd hear about it later if I didn't say the right things.

Though I am saddened by her passing, I am honored to be here today to celebrate the life of one of this century's most eloquent warriors for justice. Through the sheer force of the truth she spoke and the poetry of her words, Barbara Jordan always managed to stir our national conscience and make us sit up and listen.

She made us listen in 1974 when she said of the Preamble to the Constitution, "We, the people. It is a very eloquent beginning. But when the document was completed, on the 17th of September in 1787, I was not included in that 'We the People.'"

She made us listen in 1976 when, as the first black woman to deliver a keynote address at the Democratic National Convention, she spoke of the difficulty of creating a sense of national community. She said, "If each of us remembers, when self-interest and bitterness seem to prevail, that we share a common destiny, I have confidence that we can form this kind of national community."

She made us listen in 1992 when she honored me by giving the keynote address at the convention that nominated me President. "The American dream is slipping away from too many people," she said. "It is slipping away from too many black and brown mothers and their children..."

Barbara Jordan's was among the most outspoken moral voices of our time. Wherever she stood, and whenever she could she jolted the nation's attention in artful and articulate defense of our Constitution, the American Dream, and the commonality we share as American citizens.

Her faith in America was whole and unshakable, in spite of the rigors of growing up poor and black in the segregated South. The source of her optimism -- the things that guided her most along the path of success were family and community. The well-spring of her faith flowed from all of you: a loving family, a caring church, teachers and mentors at Phillis Wheatley High School and Texas Southern University who inspired and required excellence, mentors and role models like Lyndon Johnson, Ann Richards, her debating coach, Tom Freeman, and her many friends.

Barbara Jordan loved all of you and she loved Texas. She felt a deep pride in her state and that pride flowed through her blood. But above all, Barbara Jordan loved America. And she always challenged us to use our great power in the on-going struggle to live up to our highest ideals. Whether the issue was immigration reform or political ethics, she set the highest standards of fairness and decency and challenged us to reach them. In 1994, I had the special privilege of presenting her the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest honor given to civilians by our country. And I am forever grateful for the outstanding job she did as the Chair of the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform. The issue of immigration is sensitive, but as always, Barbara's criteria were fairness, equality, and the rule of law. And she was particularly sensitive to the needs of innocent children.

She once said, "All we are trying to do is make this government of the United States of America honest. We only ask that when we stand up and talk about one nation under God with liberty and justice for all, we want to be able to look at the flag, put our right hands over our hearts, repeat those words and know that they are true."

If Barbara Jordan was not in the Constitution when it was first written, she made sure that once she got in, she was not about to be put out. She was an American and her sense of citizenship -- that each and every American had equal standing -- gave her an enormous determination to protect the power of the Constitution for generations to come. That's what she was doing when she was called home -- working with students at the University of Texas LBJ School of Public Affairs to ensure that the next generation of our public servants would be worthy of the legacy she worked so hard to build.

Barbara Jordan was a classic American individual. She took to heart the advice of her Grandpa Patten who advised her as a little girl, "You just trot your own horse and don't get into the same rut as everyone else." All her life, Barbara Jordan was perfectly willing to stand alone. Her determination to stand apart if need be, had little to do with aloofness, and a great deal to do with her sense that you lived your integrity every day. She was after all Barbara Jordan, a Texan, an American, a citizen who believed and lived the American Dream.

I'd like to close by reading a few lines from a poem by Stephen Spender. It was a favorite of Barbara's, who liked to read it aloud. It could have been written about her:

I think continually of those who were truly great.
Who, from the womb, remembered the soul's history...
Who wore at their hearts the fire's center.
Born of the sun they traveled a short while towards the sun,
And left the vivid air signed in their honor.

Barbara Jordan has left our vivid air signed with her honor.
Barbara, "We, the People" will miss you.

Thank you.

MAKING TEXAS A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE AND WORK

America Is Moving In the Right Direction Under President Clinton

- **Stronger Economy.** The combined rate of unemployment and inflation is at its lowest level since 1968.
- **7.8 Million New Jobs.** The economy has created more than 7.8 million new jobs under President Clinton. Private sector job growth rate 8 times greater than during previous Administration.
- **Renewed Growth in Key Industries.** After a decade of enormous job losses in construction, manufacturing, and autos, these industries have made a remarkable recovery -- nearly one million new jobs combined under President Clinton.
- **Deficit Cut in Half.** The President's economic plan cut the deficit for three years in a row for the first time since Harry Truman was President -- the largest reduction in history.
- **Keeping Guns Away from Criminals.** More than 45,000 fugitives and felons blocked from buying handguns because President Clinton fought to pass the Brady Bill.
- **Safer Communities.** The crime rate is down and the number of murders reported dropped 12%--the largest decline in 35 years.
- **Stronger Families.** Teen pregnancy is falling, the poverty rate is decreasing, and the number of people on welfare is declining.

Texas Is Moving In The Right Direction Under President Clinton

- **Unemployment Rate in Texas Has Declined from 7.6% to 6.4%.**
- **Consumer Confidence Is Up 60%, After Dropping During the Prior Four Years.**
- **739,800 New Jobs in 33 Months -- More than the Entire Previous Administration.**
- **Crime Is Down.** In *Dallas*, the number of reported robberies fell 20% in the first half of 1995. In *Houston*, the number of reported murders dropped 30% in the same period.
- **\$15,000 of Reduced Federal Debt for Every Family of Four in Texas** The President's economic plan is reducing the federal debt for each family of four by about \$15,000.
- **1,441,104 Working Families Receive a Tax Cut.** The President's expanded Earned Income Tax Credit is helping 1,441,104 working families make ends meet.
- **1,703 New Police Officers in Texas.** The President's Crime Bill puts 1,703 new police officers on the street, strengthens drug courts helping keep adult and juvenile offenders from cycling through the legal system, and helps protect women and children from domestic violence and sexual offenders.
- **2,812,000 Workers Protected by Family and Medical Leave.** The Family and Medical Leave Act allows workers to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave for the birth of a child or to care for a sick family member. This law covers about 2,812,000 workers in Texas.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 19, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Julia Chamovitz
National Economic Council

SUBJECT: Background on Recent Developments in the Texas Economy

This memorandum presents background information about current conditions in Texas.

- ***Texaco Restructures, Makes Oil Discoveries in Gulf of Mexico***-- Houston-based Texaco Inc. will be laying off 1,500 employees world-wide by the end of 1996. The corporation expects the impact on Houston to be minimal. Texaco also made three new oil discoveries in the Gulf of Mexico in the fall of 1995, augmenting the company's presence in the region. (Source: Texaco)
- ***Continental Makes Comeback*** -- Houston-based Continental Airlines has posted a profit in 1995 for the first time since 1986. The company credits its success to its new focus in improving on-time performance, as well as the elimination of their money-losing Continental Lite flights. (Source: Continental Airlines)
- ***Overview of the Houston Economy*** -- While energy-related industries are traditionally considered the cornerstone of the Houston economy, there has been considerable diversification into manufacturing, computers, finance, and health care. Both the expanding area economy and the large influx of new corporations have helped strengthen the real estate market, once known as "space city." Buoyed by these trends, Houston has ranked among the top metropolitan areas in construction growth. Houston has also developed an international flavor, as foreign governments and trade associations maintain a significant presence in the area. The proximity of Houston to Latin America has made international trade an important part of the area's economy. While job growth has been concentrated outside of the energy sector, the Houston-Gulf Coast area still accounts for almost half of the nation's manufacturing capacity for petrochemicals. Houston is also the home of NASA's Johnson Space Center. (Source: Department of Treasury)

- ***Progress Report on Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities in Texas*** -- Rio Grande Valley, Texas has been designated as a Rural Empowerment Zone (EZ). As a Rural EZ, Rio Grande Valley has received \$40 million in flexible block grant assistance as well as tax incentives. Houston has been designated as an Urban Enhanced EC. As an Urban Enhanced EC, Houston has received \$25 million in economic development grants and social service grants. Dallas, El Paso, San Antonio and Waco have been designated as Urban ECs. As Urban ECs, they have received \$3 million each in social service block grants and tax exempt bond financing for EC businesses. (Source: CEB)
- ***EITC Benefits Over 1.4 Million Families in Texas*** -- This information comes from 1993 Treasury estimates.

<u>Rep.</u>	<u>EITC Benefits</u>	<u>\$ (millions)</u>	<u>% Families</u>	<u>Higher Taxes</u>
Archer	28,7000 families	50.4	19.1	11,300 taxpayers
Jackson Lee	60,900 families	106.9	46.0	1,700 taxpayers
Bentsen	46,100 families	80.9	31.6	3,000 taxpayers
Green	58,200 families	102.1	44.6	500 taxpayers
STATE	1.4 million families	2,527.6	32.9	90,000 taxpayers

- ***The Federal Reserve on the Eleventh District (Dallas)*** -- The District's economy expanded at a slightly slower pace in late November and December, restrained in part by weak retail sales and sluggish orders in several manufacturing industries. Construction activity continued to increase, due to lower mortgage rates and strong demand for commercial space. Demand for business services accelerated, with strong demand from high-tech, real estate, and lending companies. Energy markets improved as cold weather caused a surge in prices; however, the higher prices are not expected to be permanent. Farm income improved slightly as prices for crops and beef cattle rose. (Source: Federal Reserve Beige Book, 1/17/96)

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 19, 1996

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: DAN COLLINS
RUSSELL HORWITZ

RE: Local Issues Briefing -- Houston

CRIME

1995 Homicide Count Lowest Since 1976

The city's homicide total for 1995 was the lowest in 19 years. Mayor Bob Lanier attributes the decline, in part, to the addition of police officers provided both by local funding and the Crime Bill. Plans for additional officers will be made possible by a \$3.9 million federal grant recently allocated to the city through the Crime Bill.

Drug Kingpin Deported

Alleged Mexican drug kingpin Juan Garcia Abrego was deported to the United States on Monday and is being held without bail, following his arrest by Mexican drug agents in Monterrey, Mexico. Abrego's attorneys say that he plans to plead not guilty to charges of drug trafficking, conspiracy and bribery when he is arraigned on February 6. Prosecutors claim that Abrego's cartel served as the shipping arm for the Cali cartel and was responsible for smuggling a third of the cocaine consumed in the country.

DEA Cocaine Seizure

On Thursday, the Drug Enforcement Agency arrested two men and seized 2,824 pounds of cocaine with an estimated street value of \$25 million. David Guadalupe Salinas-Lopez and Nolberto Zuniga-Contreras were captured at a restaurant in southeast Houston by DEA agents who were following a lead from an undercover operation in south Florida. The bust stemmed from a collective law enforcement effort known as the Southwest Border Initiative which targets major Colombian and Mexican drug cartels on both sides of the border

DEVELOPMENT

City Council Considering Proposals for Convention Center Hotel

The City Council is considering two proposals to build a new \$150 million convention center hotel. Council members have indicated that deciding factors will be levels of minority participation in the project proposals, and the risk to taxpayers. Mayor Lanier and the City Council are expected to make a decision on the project by January 29. City officials believe the new facility will produce a significant gain in convention business.

SPORTS

Oilers Poised to Leave Houston

After Mayor Lanier rejected Oilers owner Bud Adams' request for a new stadium, Adams announced plans to move the team to Nashville, Tennessee. As part of the court settlement, the Oilers will play in the Astrodome until the lease expires in 1997. In return, city and county officials have promised not to impede the Oilers' move to Nashville. Mayor Lanier, who heads a committee for the U.S. Conference of Mayor's on team relocation, believes that if the Oilers leave, Houston would get another professional football team. The NFL plans to consider the Oilers' move as early as March 15.

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

SUNDAY, JANUARY 21, 1996

FINAL

APPOINTMENT SCHEDULER:

STEPHANIE STREETT

HOME: 202-332-5651

OFFICE: 202-456-7560

WHCA PAGER: 4033

CELL PHONE: 202-494-9855

PRESS DESK:

ANNE EDWARDS

HOME: 202-565-3101

OFFICE: 202-456-7560

WHCA PAGER: 4208

WEATHER:

Washington, DC

Partly to mostly cloudy with flurries late.

Wind east to southeast at 8 to 12 knots.

Low 18 to 23. High 30 to 35.

**SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
SUNDAY, JANUARY 21, 1996
FINAL**

tba

MORNING RUN

tba

CHURCH

tba

**BRIEFING/SPEECH PREP FOR STATE OF THE UNION
ADDRESS****OVAL OFFICE/RESIDENCE**

Staff Contact: Don Baer

BC AND HRC RON**THE WHITE HOUSE**

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

MONDAY, JANUARY 22, 1996

FINAL

APPOINTMENT SCHEDULER:

STEPHANIE STREETT

HOME: 202-332-5651

OFFICE: 202-456-7560

WHCA PAGER: 4033

CELL PHONE: 202-494-9855

PRESS DESK:

JEREMY GAINES

HOME: 202-362-5475

OFFICE: 202-456-5771

WHCA PAGER: 4194

WEATHER:

Washington, DC

Partly cloudy. Wind northeast at 8 to 12 knots.

Low 23 to 28. High 45 to 49.

**SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
MONDAY, JANUARY 22, 1996
FINAL**

tba	MORNING RUN
9:00 am- 12:00 pm	PHONE/OFFICE TIME OVAL OFFICE
12:00 pm- 2:00 pm	BRIEFING/SPEECH PREP FOR STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS OVAL OFFICE Staff Contact: Don Baer
2:00 pm- 2:05 pm	BRIEFING OVAL OFFICE Staff Contact: Tony Lake
2:05 pm- 2:25 pm	BRIEF MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER EHUD BARAK OF ISRAEL OVAL OFFICE Staff Contact: Tony Lake POOL SPRAY (At the top) (2 Waves)
2:30 pm- 2:45 pm	MEETING OVAL OFFICE Staff Contact: Leon Panetta
2:45 pm- 6:45 pm	BRIEFING/SPEECH PREP FOR STATE OF THE UNION ADDRESS OVAL OFFICE Staff Contact: Don Baer
	EVENING OFF
BC AND HRC RON	THE WHITE HOUSE

1/8/96

Nat Hentoff

One of Us

When speaking recently at Princeton University on the controversy-that-will-not-go-away, I tried to indicate to the students and faculty members that the fetus is not only human life—an assertion denied by several pro-choicers there—but is indeed a human being. A gentle, thoughtful graduate student had great difficulty with the latter claim, following me out to the car. And so will some voters confronted by pro-life candidates making that assertion this election year.

Most voters, will, however, have long since made up their minds about the personhood, if any, of the fetus. For instance, Northwestern University Prof. Adolph Reed Jr. states unequivocally in the Village Voice, a fortress of pro-choice sentiment:

"A fetus is not a human being, it's an organism growing inside a woman's body, albeit an organism with the potential to become a human being."

And as a majority of the Supreme Court stated in *Roe v. Wade*, potentiality is not enough to qualify the fetus for the right to due process, equal protection under the laws and other saving privileges of being a person under the Constitution.

The Human Rights Amendment, long proposed in the Republican party platform—and now somewhat diminished by presidential candidate Bob Dole—would have placed fetuses under the protection of the Constitution. But that amendment has no more chance of passage, with or without Bob Dole, than a law mandating that all FBI agents, including the director, take ACLU courses in the Bill of Rights—with particular attention to the Fourth Amendment.

Politics, therefore, will continue to be the primary terms of engagement for both sides in the abortion wars. Nevertheless, there is a small augury that the combatants could begin to speak to each other with more than epithets.

In a remarkable move toward not only civility but also empathy, Naomi Wolf, an influential feminist pro-choicer, has written in the New Republic: "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. . . . How can we charge that it is vile and repulsive for pro-lifers to brandish vile and repulsive images if the images are real?"

Or, as Barbara Newman, a feminist pro-lifer has said, "Euphemism kills."

Naomi Wolf has been treated as a turncoat by some of her pro-choice comrades, but pro-lifers with whom I've spoken are encouraged. They regret, to say the least, that she is still for abortion rights, but are pleased that she understands at least part of their language.

My own attempts at dialogue in this minefield have taken me to Harvard, Princeton, Brown, Columbia University Law School and other campuses. I'm invariably invited by a small, hardy group of student pro-lifers who present me as a surprising, atypical ally of theirs—a nonreligious, civil libertarian pro-lifer whose mentors have included Justice William

Brennan and Duke Ellington—and decidedly not Ralph Reed.

During these talks, I focus on whether the fetus is indeed human, not just potentially human. I cite the beginning of a standard medical textbook, "The Unborn Patient: Prenatal Diagnosis and Treatment" (W. B. Saunders Co.):

"The concept that the fetus is a patient, an individual, whose maladies are a proper subject for medical treatment as well as scientific observation is alarmingly modern. . . . Only now are we beginning to consider the fetus seriously—medically, legally and ethically."

And I tell of a comment in the Journal of the American Medical Association by Dr. Joel Hylton in Thomasville, N.C.:

"Who can say that the fetus is not alive and is not a separate entity? Its humanity also cannot be questioned scientifically. It is certainly of no other species. That it is dependent on another makes it qualitatively no different from countless other humans outside the womb."

I also report on interviews I've done with physicians specializing in prenatal development. They point out that human life is a *continuum* from implantation of a fertilized egg in the uterine lining to birth and death. So, in abortion, it is the life of a developing human being that is killed. At whatever stage, he or she is human, not merely potentially human.

Naomi Wolf quotes from "The Well Baby Book," which is not a pro-life manual: "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."

Adolph Reed, however, remains convinced that a fetus is not a human being. He ought to look at a sonogram. He will see one of us.

SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-19-96

Late Term Abortion

- State Restrictions on Late-Term Abortions
- Story of Vicki Wilson, San Jose Sunday Magazine
- Story of Coreen Costello (Pro-life Republican), *New York Times* Editorial
- Remarks: Congressman Zoe Lofgren

to
Jack Quinn
for her decision

Be

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-19-96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 6, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR GEORGE STEPHANOPOULOS

FROM: Debbie Fine

SUBJECT: State Restrictions on Late-Term Abortions

State Restrictions on Late-Term Abortions

Following is a list of states where post-viability (usually defined between 24 and 28 weeks) abortions are not allowed, with certain exceptions that are identified below. Please note that (1) these are not absolute bans, but limits on the availability of these services; and (2) the Attorney General has issued opinions on several of these laws stating that they are unconstitutional for varying reasons. (i.e. the restriction could apply to pre-viability cases when a specific week of pregnancy written into the law, or the law does not account adequately for health. See attached for details.) The total listed here is 41 (if you include Alabama.)

Alabama	(only applies to certain facilities; with life and narrow health exceptions)
Arizona	(with life and health exceptions)
Arkansas	(with life and health exceptions, and when result of rape or incest of a minor)
California	(applies to all cases after the 20th week; no exceptions)
Connecticut	(with life and health exceptions)
Delaware	(applies to all cases after the 20th week; life exception)
Florida	(applies to all cases in the third trimester; life and health exceptions if certified in writing by two physicians)
Georgia	(applies to all cases after the 2nd trimester; life and health exceptions if certified by three physicians)
Idaho	(with exceptions to preserve the woman's life or if fetus would be unable to survive)
Illinois	(with life and health exceptions)
Indiana	(with narrow life and health exceptions)
Iowa	(applies to cases after the end of the second trimester; life and health exceptions)
Kansas	(with narrow life and health exceptions)
Kentucky	(with life and health exceptions)
Louisiana	(with life and health exceptions)
Maine	(with life and health exceptions)
Maryland	(with life, health and serious fetal abnormality exceptions)
Massachusetts	(applies after the 24th week, with life and narrow health exceptions)
Michigan	(applies 'after quickening'; life exception)

Minnesota	(applies after 20 weeks; life and health exceptions)
Missouri	(with life and health exceptions)
Montana	(with life and health exceptions)
Nebraska	(with life and health exceptions)
Nevada	(applies after the 24th week; narrow life and health exceptions)
New Hampshire	(applies 'after quickening'; life exception)
New York	(applies after the 24th week; life exception)
North Carolina	(applies after 20 weeks; narrow life and health exceptions)
North Dakota	(with narrow life and health exceptions; requires concurrence from 2 physicians)
Ohio	(with narrow life and health exceptions; see below for details)
Oklahoma	(with life and health exceptions)
Pennsylvania	(applies after 24th week; narrow life and health exceptions)
Rhode Island	(life exception)
South Carolina	(applies after 24th week; narrow life and health)
South Dakota	(applies after 24th week; life and health exceptions)
Tennessee	(with life and health exceptions)
Texas	(with narrow life and health exceptions, and where severe fetal abnormality)
Utah	(applies after 20 weeks; life and narrow health exceptions, and where grave fetal defect)
Virginia	(applies post-second trimester; life and narrow health exceptions)
Washington	(with life and health exceptions)
Wisconsin	(with life and health exceptions)
Wyoming	(with life and narrow health exceptions)

Note on Ohio

In August, an abortion law in Ohio was enacted with the following provisions:

- (1) bans the Dilation and Extraction (D&X) procedure for all abortions (Note: it refers to the procedure as 'D&X' unlike H.R. 1833);
- (2) bans all post-viability abortions, except when the physician is acting, "...to prevent the death of the pregnant woman or to avoid a serious risk of the substantial and irreversible impairment of a major bodily function...;"
- (3) imposes a viability testing requirement and several other conditions before an abortion may be performed after the 22nd week of pregnancy; and
- (4) creates civil and criminal liability for violations of the D&X ban or the post-viability ban, and criminal liability for violations of the viability testing requirement.

On December 13, in response to a request from the Women's Professional Medical Corporation, a preliminary injunction was issued against the law. The Judge found that there is a "substantial likelihood of success" of proving that the law is unconstitutional on the following grounds:

- The definition of D&X is unconstitutionally vague. The legislation could be interpreted to include Dilation and Evacuation (D&E), the procedure commonly used in the second trimester; therefore, it lacks clear guidelines for physicians as to what will result in a liability.
- This ban on use of the D&X procedure could pose an undue burden on women seeking abortions in pre-viability stages, because D&X may be the least risky method available for some women.
- This ban on post-viability abortions could be found unconstitutional because of the threat it poses to the right of a woman to an abortion in order to preserve her life or health. (The Judge outlines several different reasons for this in his opinion, including an overly narrow definition of health.)

State-by-State Summary

Attached is a more complete summary compiled by NARAL that details all restrictions on post-viability abortions on a state-by-state basis.

cc: Carol Rasco
Jeremy Ben-Ami

NARAL Promoting Reproductive Choices**STATES WITH POST-VIABILITY RESTRICTIONS****ALABAMA**

No abortion may be performed after viability at an abortion or reproductive health center unless immediately necessary to preserve the woman's life or physical health. Admin. Code r. 420-5-1-.03(2)(c) (Supp. 1990).

ARIZONA

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. A second physician must be in attendance at a post-viability abortion to provide medical attention to the fetus. § 36-2301.01 (1993).

ARKANSAS

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health or the pregnancy is the result of rape or incest perpetrated on a minor. A second physician must be in attendance at a post-viability abortion to provide medical attention to the fetus. §§ 20-16-705, -707 (Michie 1991).

CALIFORNIA

No abortion may be performed after the 20th week of pregnancy. Health & Safety § 25953 (West 1984). The Attorney General has issued an opinion stating that this provision is unconstitutional as applied to pre-viability abortions and abortions necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. 65 Op. Att'y Gen. 261 (1982).

CONNECTICUT

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. § 19a-602(b) (West Supp. 1993).

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DELAWARE

No abortion may be performed after the 20th week of gestation unless continuation of the pregnancy is likely to result in the woman's death. Tit. 24, § 1790 (1987 & Supp. 1992). The Attorney General has issued an opinion stating that this provision is invalid and inconsistent with *Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113 (1973).

FLORIDA

No abortion may be performed in the last trimester of pregnancy unless two physicians certify in writing that the abortion is necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. § 390.001(2) (West 1993). This provision is unconstitutional as applied to pre-viability abortions. A state may not prohibit abortion prior to viability, a point which varies with each pregnancy and may not be declared to occur at a particular gestational age. *Colautti v. Franklin*, 439 U.S. 379, 388-89 (1979).

GEORGIA

No abortion may be performed after the second trimester unless three physicians certify that an abortion is necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. § 16-12-141(c) (Michie 1992). This provision is unconstitutional as applied to pre-viability abortions. A state may not prohibit abortion prior to viability, a point that varies with each pregnancy and may not be declared to occur at a particular gestational age. *Colautti v. Franklin*, 439 U.S. 379, 388-89 (1979).

IDAHO

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or unless the fetus, if born, would be unable to survive. §§ 18-608(3), 18-604(6) (1987). This law unconstitutionally prohibits post-viability abortions in cases in which an abortion is necessary to preserve the woman's health. *See Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 165 (1973).

ILLINOIS

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. A second physician must be in attendance at a post-viability abortion to provide medical attention to the fetus. Ch. 720, act 510, §§ 5,6 (Michie 1993).

INDIANA

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to prevent a substantial permanent impairment of the life or physical health of the woman. A second physician must be in attendance at a post-viability abortion to provide medical attention to the fetus. §§ 16-34-2-1(3), 16-34-2-3(b) (West Supp. 1993). This law unconstitutionally prohibits some post-viability abortions that are necessary to preserve the woman's health. *See Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 164-165 (1973).

IOWA

No abortion may be performed after the end of the second trimester unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. § 707.7 (West 1979). This provision is unconstitutional as applied to pre-viability abortions. A state may not prohibit abortion prior to viability, a point which varies with each pregnancy and may not be declared to occur at a particular gestational age. *Colautti v. Franklin*, 439 U.S. 379, 388-89 (1979).

KANSAS

No abortion may be performed after viability unless the attending physician and another, financially independent physician determine that an abortion is necessary to preserve the woman's life or the fetus is affected by a severe or life-threatening deformity or abnormality. § 65-6703 (1992 & Supp. 1993). The Attorney General has issued an opinion stating that abortion cannot be prohibited at any time when a woman's health is at risk, and has filed a lawsuit requesting a court order stating that this law is unconstitutional and enjoining its enforcement. Op. Att'y Gen. No. 91-130 (Oct. 15, 1991); *Stephan v. Finney*, No. 93-CV-912 (Kan. D. Ct. filed Aug. 4, 1993).

KENTUCKY

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. § 311.780 (Michie/Bobbs-Merrill 1990).

LOUISIANA

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. A second physician must be in attendance at a post-viability abortion to provide medical attention to the fetus. § 40:1299.35.4 (West 1992).

MAINE

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. Tit. 22, § 1598 (West 1992 & Supp. 1993).

MARYLAND

Abortion may be prohibited after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health or unless the fetus is affected by genetic defect or serious deformity or abnormality. Health-Gen. § 20-209 (Supp. 1993).

MASSACHUSETTS

No abortion may be performed after the 24th week of pregnancy unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or to prevent a substantial risk of grave impairment to her physical or mental health. Ch. 112, § 12M (West 1983). This provision is unconstitutional as applied to pre-viability abortions. A state may not prohibit abortion prior to viability, a point that varies with each pregnancy and may not be declared to occur at a particular gestational age. *Colautti v. Franklin*, 439 U.S. 379, 388-89 (1979). This law also unconstitutionally prohibits some post-viability abortions that are necessary to preserve the woman's health. *See Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 165 (1973).

MICHIGAN

Any person who intentionally causes an abortion that is not necessary to preserve the woman's life is guilty of manslaughter if the abortion occurs after quickening. § 750.323 (West 1991) (enacted 1931). A court has ruled that this law is not unconstitutional as applied to viable fetuses. *Larkin v. Cuhalan*, 208 N.W.2d 176 (Mich. 1973). This law is unconstitutional as applied to pre-viability abortions. A state may not prohibit abortions prior to viability, a point that varies with each pregnancy and may not be declared to occur at a particular gestational age. *See Colautti v. Franklin*, 439 U.S. 379, 388-89 (1979). This law is also unconstitutional as applied to post-viability abortions necessary to preserve the woman's health. *See Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 165 (1973).

MINNESOTA

No abortion may be performed after the second half of the gestation period (20 weeks) unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. A second physician must be immediately accessible at a post-viability abortion to take all reasonable measures to preserve the life and health of the fetus. §§ 145.412(sub. 3), 145.411(sub. 2), 145.423(sub. 2) (West 1989). A court has ruled that the provision restricting abortion after 20 weeks is unconstitutional. *Hodgson v. Lawson*, 542 F.2d 1350 (8th Cir. 1976).

MISSOURI

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. A second physician must be in attendance at a post-viability abortion to provide medical attention to the fetus. § 188.030 (Vernon 1983).

MONTANA

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. § 50-20-109(1)(c) (1993).

NEBRASKA

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. § 28-329 (1989).

NEVADA

No abortion may be performed after the 24th week of pregnancy unless there is a substantial risk that continuance of the pregnancy would endanger the woman's life or gravely impair her physical or mental health. § 442.250 (1991). This law is unconstitutional as applied to pre-viability abortions. A state may not prohibit abortions prior to viability, a point that varies with each pregnancy and may not be declared to occur at a particular gestational age. *See Colautti v. Franklin*, 439 U.S. 379, 388-89 (1979). This law is also unconstitutional as applied to some post-viability abortions necessary to preserve the woman's health. *See Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 165 (1973).

NEW HAMPSHIRE

No abortion may be performed after quickening, unless necessary to preserve the woman's life. § 585:13 (1986). This provision is unconstitutional as applied to pre-viability abortions. A state may not prohibit abortion prior to viability, a point that varies with each pregnancy and which may not be declared to occur at a particular gestational age. *Colautti v. Franklin*, 439 U.S. 379, 388-89 (1979). This law also unconstitutionally prohibits post-viability abortions that are necessary to preserve the woman's health. *See Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 165 (1973).

NEW YORK

No abortion may be performed after the 24th week of pregnancy unless necessary to preserve the woman's life. When an abortion is performed after the 20th week of pregnancy, a second physician must be in attendance to provide medical attention to the fetus. Penal Law § 125.05(3) (McKinney 1987); Pub. Health § 4164 (McKinney 1985). These provisions are unconstitutional to the extent they prohibit pre-viability abortions. A state may not prohibit abortion prior to viability, a point that varies with each pregnancy and which may not be declared to occur at a particular gestational age. *Colautti v. Franklin*, 439 U.S. 379, 388-89 (1979). This law also unconstitutionally prohibits post-viability abortions that are necessary to preserve the woman's health. *See Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 165 (1973).

NORTH CAROLINA

No abortion may be performed after 20 weeks of pregnancy unless there is a substantial risk that continuance of the pregnancy would threaten the woman's life or gravely impair her health. § 14-45.1(b) (1986). These provisions are unconstitutional as applied to pre-viability abortions. A state may not prohibit abortion prior to viability, a point that varies with each pregnancy and may not be declared to occur at a particular gestational age. *Colautti v. Franklin*, 439 U.S. 379, 388-89 (1979). This law also unconstitutionally prohibits some post-viability abortions that are necessary to preserve a woman's health. See *Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 165 (1973).

NORTH DAKOTA

No abortion may be performed after viability unless the attending physician and two other licensed physicians who have examined the woman concur that the procedure is necessary to preserve the woman's life or continuation of the pregnancy would impose on her a substantial risk of grave impairment to her physical or mental health. A second physician must be in attendance at a post-viability abortion to provide medical attention to the fetus. §§ 14-02.1-04, 14-02.1-05 (1991). This law unconstitutionally prohibits some post-viability abortions that are necessary to preserve the woman's health. See *Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 165 (1973).

OHIO

No abortion may be performed after viability unless two physicians certify in writing that it is necessary to preserve a woman's life or to prevent a serious risk of substantial and irreversible impairment of a major bodily function. The physician must use the abortion method most likely to result in fetal survival, a second physician must be in attendance to provide medical attention to the fetus, and the abortion must be performed in a health care facility with access to neonatal services for premature infants. This law is scheduled to become effective on November 15, 1995. A lawsuit has been filed challenging the constitutionality of these provisions. *Women's Medical Professional Corp. v. Voinovich*, (S.D. Ohio filed Oct. 27, 1995).

OKLAHOMA

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. A second physician must be in attendance at a post-viability abortion to provide medical attention to the fetus. Tit. 63, § 1-732 (West 1984).

PENNSYLVANIA

No abortion may be performed after the 24th week of pregnancy unless the attending physician and another physician who has examined the woman concur that the procedure is necessary to preserve the woman's life or to prevent a substantial and irreversible impairment of a major bodily function. A second physician must be in attendance at a post-viability abortion to provide medical attention to the fetus. Tit. 18, § 3211 (Supp. 1994). This law is unconstitutional as applied to pre-viability abortions. A state may not prohibit abortion prior to viability, a point that varies with each pregnancy and may not be declared to occur at a particular gestational age. *Colautti v. Franklin*, 439 U.S. 379, 388-89 (1979). This law also unconstitutionally prohibits some post-viability abortions that are necessary to preserve the woman's health. See *Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 165 (1973).

RHODE ISLAND

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life. § 11-23-5 (1981). This law unconstitutionally prohibits post-viability abortions that are necessary to preserve the woman's health. See *Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 165 (1973).

SOUTH CAROLINA

No abortion may be performed after the 24th week unless the attending physician and another independent physician certify that the abortion is necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. §§ 44-41-20(c), -10(k), (l) (Law. Co-op. 1985 & Supp. 1990). A court has ruled that this provision is unconstitutional as applied to pre-viability abortions. *Floyd v. Anders*, 440 F. Supp. 535 (D.S.C. 1977), *vacated without opinion on other grounds*, 440 U.S. 445 (1979).

SOUTH DAKOTA

No abortion may be performed after the 24th week of pregnancy unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. § 34-23A-5 (1986). This provision is unconstitutional as applied to pre-viability abortions. A state may not prohibit abortion prior to viability, a point that varies with each pregnancy and may not be declared to occur at a particular gestational age. *Colautti v. Franklin*, 439 U.S. 379, 388-89 (1979).

TENNESSEE

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. § 39-15-201(c)(3) (1991).

TEXAS

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to prevent the death or a substantial risk of serious impairment to the physical or mental health of the woman or if the fetus has a severe and irreversible abnormality. Art. 4495b, § 4.011(b), (d) (West Supp. 1994). This law unconstitutionally prohibits some post-viability abortions that are necessary to preserve the woman's health. *See Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 165 (1973).

UTAH

No abortion may be performed after 20 weeks unless necessary to preserve the woman's life, to prevent grave damage to the woman's medical health, or to prevent the birth of a child that would be born with grave defects. §§ 76-7-302(3) (1990 & Supp. 1993). A court has ruled that this provision is unconstitutional. *Jane L. v. Bangerter*, 61 F.3d 1493 (10th Cir. 1995).

VIRGINIA

No abortion may be performed subsequent to the second trimester unless the attending physician and two other physicians certify that continuation of the pregnancy is likely to result in the woman's death or substantially and irretrievably impair the woman's physical or mental health. § 18.2-74 (Michie 1988). This provision is unconstitutional as applied to pre-viability abortions. A state may not prohibit abortion prior to viability, a point that varies with each pregnancy and may not be declared to occur at a particular gestational age. *Colautti v. Franklin*, 439 U.S. 379, 388-89 (1979). This law also unconstitutionally prohibits some post-viability abortions that are necessary to preserve the pregnant woman's health. *See Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 165 (1973).

WASHINGTON

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to protect the woman's life or health. §§ 9.02.110, 9.02.120 (Supp. 1994).

WISCONSIN

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to preserve the woman's life or health. § 940.15 (West Supp. 1993).

WYOMING

No abortion may be performed after viability unless necessary to protect the woman from imminent peril that substantially endangers her life or health. § 35-6-102 (1988). This law unconstitutionally prohibits some post-viability abortions that are necessary to preserve the woman's health. *See Roe v. Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 165 (1973).

State Restrictions on Late-Term Abortions

San Jose Sunday Magazine Article

Story of Vicki Wilson's partial birth abortion

Viki Wilson made a choice that saved her health and perhaps

The Death of

In one set of photographs Baby Abigail is adorable.

A sweet newborn, swaddled in pink and blue flannel, she has a flume of black hair peeking from under a white cap, tiny interlocking fingers, serene face, eyes gently closed. Her grandma, sister, brother and parents are taking turns holding the 3-pound, 8-ounce, 17-inch-long bundle.

"She looks like a perfect little baby," says her mother, Viki Wilson. "She looks like my father, like my son, Jon, when he was born."

In another set of photographs, Baby Abigail is disturbing.

Floating over an inky backdrop, the nude newborn is the color of concrete, with skin tightly wrapping her miniature rib cage. The closed eyelids are puffy and the pursed mouth hints dubiously at a smile. Abigail's skull is bare and from its rear hangs a large dark sac of rubbery flesh. It contains her brain.

"Sometimes I get tangled up in the rhetoric," her mother says. "She was born? She was born dead?" I guess I prefer to say she was born and then died because she definitely had a life inside my belly. I never had an aversion to hands and faces touching my belly to feel her kick. In that way she was connected to this family."

A little more than a year ago, Viki and her husband, Bill, a physician, were parents to two children—Jon, 10, and Kaitlyn, 8—and planning for a third. Early tests revealed a healthy girl was due May 8, Mother's Day 1994.

But in the eighth month of pregnancy, an ultrasound showed that the fetus had a fatal condition called encephalocele with microcephaly: Her brain was growing outside her skull. On April 8, 1994, a doctor induced labor and aborted Abigail.



Abigail was to have been born on Mother's Day 1994.

For more than a year afterward, Viki and her family endured a hell of guilt and depression, wondering, "Why Abigail? Why us?"

What did we do wrong?"

Viki couldn't release her grief, partially because she had trouble talking about it. And one haunting question rocked her center and shook her faith: "What was all for?"

Then, in early June 1995, the Wilsons were contacted by James McMahon, the doctor who performed the abortion. He told them that Republican conservatives in Congress—a majority for the first time since Roe vs. Wade became law in 1973—were making aggressive legislative assaults against abortion.

They were intending to limit funds for family planning, have outlawed abortion for military personnel overseas, eliminate the service from federal employee health plans. And they were proposing to outlaw the medical procedure used in late-term abortion.

B Y D A V I D E . E A R L Y

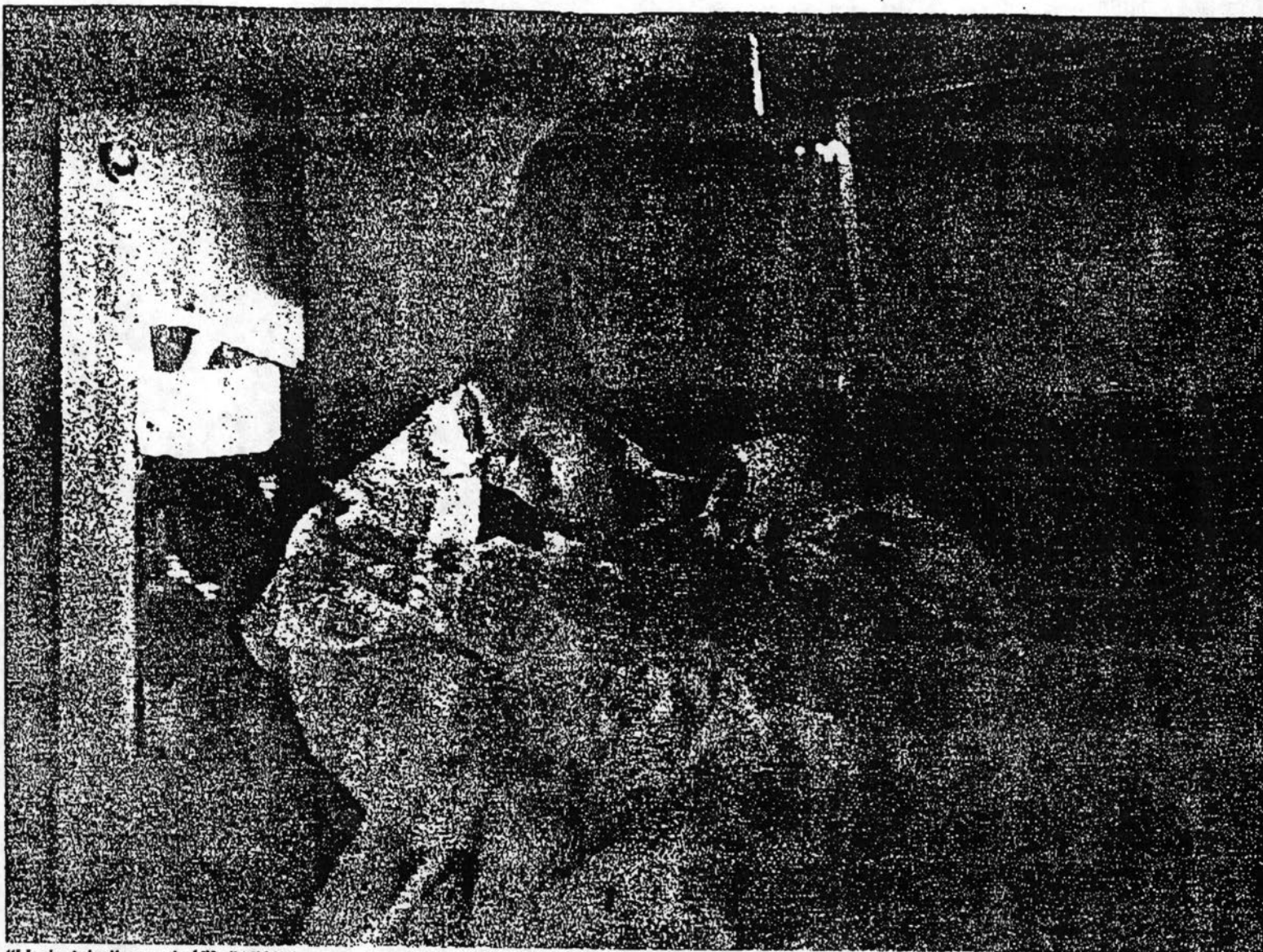
...r life. Is it right to deprive someone of that choice?

Baby Abigail



...thyn, Vikki and Bill Wilson were able to spend two hours with Baby Abigail, who was born dead.

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE WILSON FAMILY



"I look at death as part of life," Viki Wilson says, here holding Abigail for the first and last time. "We needed that tangibility that she did exist."

like the one Viki Wilson had.

The bill was introduced by Rep. Charles T. Canady, a Republican from Lakeland, Fla., and chairman of the subcommittee on the Constitution. Canady was quickly pulling together a June 15 hearing on the procedure he had tactically dubbed "partial-birth abortion."

The doctor asked if he could pass Viki's name to the National Abortion Federation in Washington, D.C. Would she be willing to talk publicly about Baby Abigail? Although Wilson, a homemaker and part-time nurse, says she was a "non-political know-nothing" who barely watched television news and read the newspaper only casually, she agreed.

"I didn't know much but I knew this doctor was a hero," Wilson says. "If there was going to be legislation trying to make the procedure

illegal then I wanted to fight it. It gave my daughter death with dignity instead of subjecting her to a process that would have taken away all her dignity."

And so Viki Wilson, a practicing Catholic, agreed to enter the violent legal, ethical and medical fray where politicians challenge physicians and where organizations from the National Right to Life Committee, to Planned Parenthood, from the Christian Coalition to the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy continuously clash. At that moment, she found the answer to the question—"What was it all for?"—that had haunted her.

"I hate that Abigail had to die," says Wilson, 39, who lives in Fresno, in a warm, sprawling house that used to be a convent. "God put me through this because he knew I would be strong enough to be an advocate against

this bill. This has given me whole new justification for why I went through what I did."

REP. CANADY'S voice drips with disdain when he recalls how he first heard about the late-term procedure. It was during "that last Congress," he says.

Today when he talks about his controversial bill, H.R. 1833, which would charge physicians who perform a specific abortion technique with a felony, he says, "In this Congress we knew we could move it forward."

Canady's bill (and S. 939, the Senate version) marks the first time that Congress has attempted to outlaw a particular medical technique. It is no surprise that the legislation involves the most discomforting of all abortions—late term or after approximately 20 weeks.

The anti-abortion forces contend that thousands of late-term abortions are done each year, many on healthy fetuses. They say the fetuses feel pain and are usually alive until the abortionist kills them using the "partial birth" technique: The lower body of the fetus is pulled from the birth canal, then the doctor suctioned the contents of its head to complete the removal.

"This procedure should not be allowed to take place in this country," Canady says. "It is barbaric and offends the conscience of people who understand what is happening."

According to pro-choice backers, fewer than 100 such late-term abortions are done annually in this country and most are to protect the health of the mother or because the fetuses have severe, often fatal abnormalities.

Intact dilation and extraction is the medical term for what conservatives are calling "partial birth" abortion, and reducing the size of the head is often necessary to complete removal of an intact fetus from the birth canal. Pro-choice lawyers say that if the doctor believes that is the most efficient medical technique to protect the health of the woman, it is within the law as established by the Roe decision and reaffirmed in 1992 by Planned Parenthood vs. Casey.

"I had hoped that members who took an oath of office would respect Supreme Court case law," says Kathryn Kolbert, vice president of the Center for Reproductive Law and Policy in New York. "But what is going on is politics and not responsible lawmaking. Therefore the medical to keep this issue in the news has not only resulted in an unprecedented intervention into medical decision-making but bad law as well. Never in history has Congress ever told a doctor what he or she can do within their examining room."

Freshman Rep. Zoe Lofgren, who like Canady is a member of the House Judiciary Committee, sees the bill as a frightening first maneuver with a broader goal.

"What is really going on is that the majority in Congress opposes all abortion under all circumstances and they are making it illegal where there will be the least public uproar or outrage," says the San Jose Democrat, whose interest is also personal. Bill Wilson's mother is Susanne Wilson, a former Santa Clara County supervisor who served in local government with Lofgren for a dozen years.

"They are portraying it as if women in their ninth month are saying, 'Oops, maybe I don't want this kid after all,'" Lofgren says. "In most all these kind of cases they are wanted children and the families have gone from one doctor to another desperately looking for something to save the baby. These are women who are facing that nothing can be done to help their very sick babies."

But Doug Johnson, federal legislative director of the National Right to Life Committee, says such decisions are not valid just because

"This procedure should not be allowed to take place in this country," says Canady. "It is barbaric and offends the conscience of people who know what is happening."

the fetuses are flawed.

"Usually they involve women who are carrying babies with genetic disorders, babies who are going to be born alive with poor long-term prognosis," Johnson says. "The purpose then is not to save the mom but to terminate the life of a baby with profound disabilities. To get it over with. That is infanticide. That is prenatal euthanasia."

Lofgren calls that view ridiculous.

"It's not even an issue of whether to have a child," she says. "It's how is the child going to die?"

Canady's bill passed the Judiciary Committee July 18, and any day now will come up for consideration by the full House.

"As I heard that super-heated, ugly rhetoric being aimed at good people like Viki and Bill Wilson I realized that all these politicians have is a policy position against abortion," Lofgren says. "They don't have real stories like these people do."

VIKI AND BILL Wilson's real story began in August 1993 when they decided to get pregnant.

"I wanted a lot of kids," Viki says. "We have

this convent with all these rooms to fill. When I found myself 37 years old I figured I better get on the ball."

As a nurse since 1977, she knew that after the age of 35 the risks—of Down's syndrome, for example—increased. But her main concern was about her energy level. "A new baby means you are up around the clock," she says.

Nevertheless, Viki wanted as much early information as possible about the health of the fetus. She had worked as a nurse in a child rehabilitation ward, and knew as well anyone what can go wrong.

"I've seen kids born with congenital anomalies, with things like spina bifida and encephalitis," Viki says. "I had seen babies with defects so severe that they would never get off a respirator. The quality of life for this kind of child is not very pretty. And I also saw the strain between the parents of such children."

In her eighth week of pregnancy, Viki had a chorionic villus study. It showed that a healthy baby girl was on the way. In her 18th week, Viki had the alpha-fetoprotein test, a blood test, which looks for neural tube defects such as encephaloceles. An initial reading came back high, but a retest was normal.

While medical science has developed a vast, sophisticated prenatal technology, even massive abnormalities are sometimes not detected until the latter stages of pregnancy.

At 36 weeks, when Viki was "as big as a house," she went for a routine checkup. Dr. Alfred Peters found she had lost a little weight and that a previous measurement, from her belly button to her pubic bone, was off. He figured nothing was wrong but he wanted her to take an ultrasound a few days later.

Every year Viki's side of the family has a traditional Easter party at her house with about 50 guests. That she was due to have a baby the following month created heightened excitement at the party.

"Lots of people were coming up and touching my belly and laughing because the baby was moving around really strong and they could feel her," Viki recalls. "She was a big baby and everybody was putting in their two cents on what I should name her."

Viki's sister was in town from Santa Maria for the party and the following Tuesday the two women and their mom went for "the good time" of seeing the baby on a digital screen.

They laughed and talked as the bubbly technician rubbed transducer gel on Viki's stomach. When the image of the fetus came on the screen, the technician began pointing out each clear feature—beginning with perfect toes and feet and legs. She gave a good-natured hoot when she noted that it was definitely a girl.

"She said there is her heart and her liver and then, at the head, she went dead silent," Viki recalls. "Nothing."

The technician asked Viki's mom and sister

to move into a waiting room. A few minutes later Viki entered Peters' office. "How bad is it?" she asked.

"Bad," he said. He pointed at the pictures. "Here is her brain. But this is her head."

"It looked like she had two heads," Viki recalls. "I fell over."

Two-thirds of the brain was in a separate sac and the tissue remaining inside her head was improperly formed. "You could not discern a cerebrum from a medulla," Viki says. "You could not do a proper anatomy lesson with Abigail's brain."

Viki phoned Bill. "Tears were flooding out of every orifice of my face," she says. Bill, an emergency room physician, responded to the news with utter silence.

"I knew my child was going to die and I realized my biggest fear was coming to life," Viki says. "I was having one of those children like the ones I saw in the rehab-neonatal unit. I thought, 'Oh my God, it has happened to me.'"

In the waiting room Viki told her mother, "She is not going to make it."

Her mother fainted and Viki lost her footing. "My sister, the smallest of all of us, was trying to hold both of us up," Viki recalls. "It's a funny sight in retrospect, but that day it wasn't funny at all."

Peters sent Viki to a perinatologist. On the way over, in her brother-in-law's car, anger and sadness collided and filled Viki's head with questions: Can't we just get all of that brain and put it back in her head? Why did I have to go so long? Why can't I be pregnant for the rest of my life with her? Why did all those tests come back negative?

The perinatologist told the Wilsons it was the biggest encephalocele he had seen. When Bill saw the screen he wept, gripped Viki's hand and caressed her belly with his face.

"I kept telling myself this was in God's hands," says Bill, 45. "That was the only way I could go on. It was the toughest thing I ever went through. I thought I was going to break apart from sadness."

Later that day they met with Jamie Fisher, a genetic counselor who was seven months pregnant. "I kept praying that somebody would tell me, 'Oh, that was the wrong belly. That was the lady next to you,'" Viki says. "Though I wouldn't wish what I was going through on anybody."

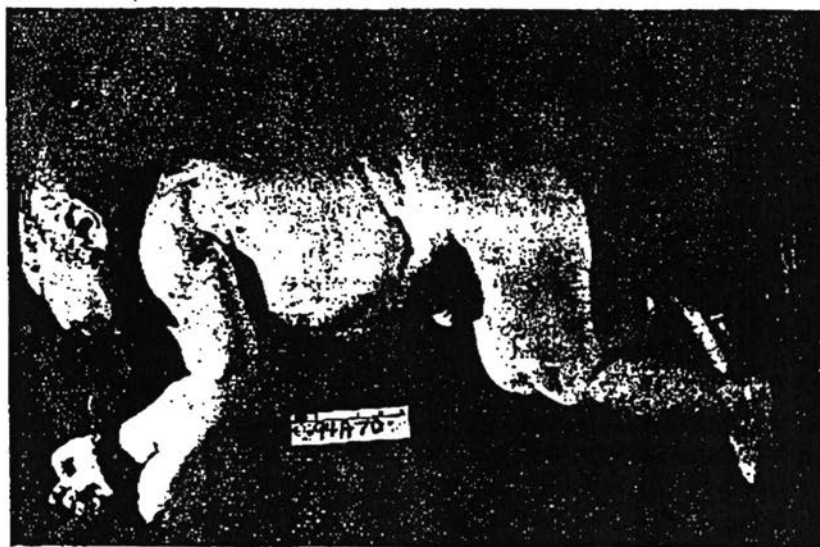
The couple got an intensive lesson about the 400 fetal anomalies, about encephaloceles, about grieving when, as one pamphlet put it, "Hello Means Goodbye." They were

also told about the dire percentages of mortality even if some of the pregnancies make it to term. They were told that massive abnormalities increase the chances of something going wrong before or during birth that could cause hemorrhaging or a ruptured uterus. Bill asked medical questions. The answers clarified their options.

The Wilsons had held two baby showers and had finished a nursery for a girl. Now they cried. For hours, they talked about what they should do "as if we knew what the other was thinking and feeling," Bill says.

Finally, they agreed to end the pregnancy, finding it unbearable to go another month

*"I wanted to
stand on a cliff
and scream
to the world,
I am
Viki Wilson.
My daughter
died."*



Baby Abigail's encephalocele is shown in clinical photograph McMahon took at autopsy.

knowing their baby had no chance of survival. "I'd seen the devastation from the death of a child, and I was thinking of my two older children and how it would affect them," Viki says. "Bill delivered both our kids, and Katie and Jon were going to help deliver this baby. So our dreams of a healthy, happy family in a delivery room came crashing in on us because our child was going to die."

THE GENETIC COUNSELOR told the Wilsons about Dr. James McMahon, a Los Angeles, one of only three doctors in the United States who specialize in late-term abortions. McMahon, who has been doing abortions since 1972, primarily treats patients referred by other doctors.

That night Viki and Bill headed down Highway 5 with Viki at the wheel. "I needed focus, some distance from being with myself," she says. They talked about the aunt at the Easter party who said her mom had always wanted a grandchild named Abigail. At the time Bill and Viki had said no.

But now they decided if the baby was named Abigail, her grandmother would recognize her in heaven. They also gave her the middle name, Jozette, of the godmother to the Wilson children.

In the passenger seat Bill wrestled with demons by sketching out poems. One began, "The possibilities are gone, the dreams undreamed..."

In Los Angeles they checked into a Radisson hotel and called home to ask Bill's mother if she would drive their children down from Fresno by Friday morning. The couple spent a sleepless night worrying about going to an "abortion clinic," where they might have to pass through a posse of angry protesters.

"Here I am 36 weeks along," Viki said. "How will I make them listen to me and understand?"

The West Los Angeles clinic turned out to be an oasis with high, ivy-covered walls surrounding an atrium with tropical plants. There were no protesters.

"From the first I felt a blanket of warmth over me," Viki says. "I had an inner feeling that everything was going to be OK somehow. I was no longer a nurse but a scared, vulnerable mother coming to terms with the reality that her child was going to die."

As soon as Viki and Bill met McMahon, 57, that sense of relief deepened. He was confident and unhurried, with a beard and gentle blue eyes. Almost all the patients who come to Eve Surgi-

Centers are married women who want a child but have passed the 22-week point when severe genetic damage is discovered, he says. While Bill and McMahon discussed the clinical details Viki was soothed by McMahon's wife, Gail, a nurse at the clinic.

Viki recalls the doctor telling her: "This was nothing wrong you did. This is just a pregnancy gone terribly wrong and I am here to help you. I don't mean to sound harsh but the baby is not the issue. My concern is you. You are my only patient here. I am going to do everything in my medical expertise and knowledge to get you through this physically and emotionally. If you decide to have a subsequent pregnancy you will be able to do it because this is the safest method known to medicine today."

McMahon explained that the movements by Abigail, celebrated by family and friends, had been seizures. He said that because of the anomaly, her head was stuck in Viki's pelvis. If she had gone into spontaneous labor, with the uterus contracting, the size and position of the anomaly could have ruptured Viki's uterus or caused a massive infection that could have left her unable to have more children.

IN LATE-TERM abortions, McMahon writes, "the risk is based on geometry. Something large must pass through something small. Specifically, the fetus must be brought out through a small, very vascular canal. Also in late pregnancy, the tissue integrity of the fetus is quite substantial compared to that of the cervix. This poses an increasing threat to the cervix as the gestation gets larger."

In simple terms McMahon floods the cervix with a laminaria, a seaweed fluid that gently enlarges the canal while shrinking the fetus. This process takes several days until the fetus can be slipped out of the lower uterus intact.

Usually the head of a late fetus is too large to fit through the cervix so he uses a needle to extract just enough fluid from the head to slip it out.

"The fetus feels no pain through the entire series of procedures," McMahon has written. "This is

The movements by Abigail, celebrated by family and friends, had been seizures. Her condition could have ruptured Viki's uterus.

because the mother is given narcotic analgesia at a dose based upon her weight. The narcotic is passed, via the placenta, directly into the fetal bloodstream. Due to the enormous weight difference, a medical coma is induced in the fetus. There is a neurological fetal demise. There is never a live birth."

At 9 a.m. Wednesday, April 6, 1994, McMahon began the intact dilation and extraction. He repeated it that afternoon. He did it twice more Thursday and again Friday morning. McMahon told Viki on Friday afternoon she would be ready to deliver.

On the afternoon of April 8 Abigail was cleaned up, dressed in pajamas and wrapped in blankets with yellow and pink cartoons. A white cap was placed over her head before she was presented to the couple, Susanne Wilson, Katie and Jon.

"There were 12 to 14 people in the room when Jon was born," Viki says. "Just a few days before we

had been thinking of that same happy scene. Instead here are our kids coming in to see their dead sister."

The doctor hugged Viki and cried with her family. A Catholic, McMahon used holy water to perform a baptism before leaving the Wilsons to hold their child for the first and last time.

"People thought we were nuts to take pictures of us with Abigail," Viki says. "They thought it was sort of sick, asking, 'Why would you want to take pictures of a dead child?' I look at death as part of life. I know as my kids get older and I get older we'll want to remember. We need that tangibility that she did exist."

After two hours Gail McMahon came into the room to retrieve Abigail.

"When she reached out for the baby I suddenly thought, 'I'm going to bolt. I'm going to run out the door and take her and just run away from here. I've got her in my arms. I know she's dead but I want to take her and keep her,'" Viki says. "There is a picture of me holding her and when you look at that picture you can feel how much I didn't want to give her back. I knew that was it."

WHEN THE WILSONS returned to Fresno the following day, Viki's arms ached from being empty.

"I didn't sleep for three days. I went into the nursery room and sat there, not sobbing, but with so many tears flooding out I thought I would dehydrate. I wasn't eating or drinking anything. When the pictures came I held them against me. I pressed my nose in the clothes she had been dressed in and when that smell hit me, I felt total devastation and grief, like a pain in my chest. I couldn't breathe. I'd sit there staring at the crib thinking, she is never going to see this stuff everybody got for her."

When Viki tried to sleep she'd drift off for only a few minutes and dream about how she never heard the sound of a baby crying. She was in pain because her breasts continued to be engorged with milk. A cousin brewing herbal teas helped some, but mostly she lay down with bags of frozen peas on her chest.

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For four months she sat on her living room couch and fingered things she had collected that were part of Abigail. "That is how I got through the day." Sometimes she felt as if she was failing as a mother to her two children because it was so hard for her to be strong and loving, to give them the hugs and kisses they needed to get through their pain.

And though she and Bill are very close, she had trouble talking to him. He was open with his grief, but able to push through it.

"As an emergency room doctor I see, all the time, how easy it is to be here one day and gone the next," Bill says. "Most of the time it's due to pure circumstance and you can't do anything about it. You just have to say this is terrible but we will have good days again."

Viki, on the other hand, couldn't shake the feeling of doom. "So many times I wanted to stand on a cliff and scream to the world, I am Viki Wilson. My daughter died. See me. Hear me. Feel me."

But looking back, Viki says Bill's way of being both emotional and strong gave her something solid to hold on to. Finally, she

A playground fund raised thousands of dollars in Abigail's memory and named it after her.

got back on her feet knowing, "I am forever a changed individual."

Some good things have come from the loss. A local school playground fund raised thousands of dollars in Abigail's memory and named it after her. And the Wilsons deeply value the friendships forged in sadness with many other families who have been trekking up Capitol Hill, fighting lawmakers trying to block a woman's right to choose.

"It has really been a life-affirming experience," Viki says, "a huge catharsis to meet women who have been through this and who truly know what I'm talking about."

Viki has flown to Washington twice. She walked the hallways of Congress, chasing down anyone willing to listen to her story. She says she has been trans-

formed from "some little woman in Fresno" into a pro-choice warrior.

For a time she thought something else good had happened. Viki got pregnant while they were in Washington.

"We want this baby just as much as we wanted Abigail," Viki said in early summer. "God forbid anything should happen. But if it does I want to have the right to make whatever choices are best for all of us."

No one knows better than the Wilsons that stories don't always end happily. In late August Viki had a miscarriage.

"I feel like I've been in a constant two-year battle with fate," she says. "Bill and I talked about it long and hard and we are going to try again."

DAVID E. EARLY is a staff writer for West.

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