

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	12/12/1995	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7694

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files February 4-10, 1996 [1]

2019-0774-S
rs4012

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

*Leon Henry + UP for this
Rubin is against it (think
we need it for AG - B)*

EZ/EC Round II: Overview of Proposal and Update on Process

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Update on Process and Extent of Support: The NEC and OVP, in consultation with HUD, USDA, DOT, EPA, Commerce and other relevant agencies, have developed a draft option, summarized below, for a second round of Empowerment Zones and Enterprise Communities. On Friday, February 9, Laura Tyson will convene a meeting of principals to get their views on whether to pursue a second round and whether they support the proposed option. Currently we expect the Secretaries of HUD, DOT, USDA, Commerce, and the Administrator of EPA to support the proposal. (HUD has indicated a willingness to include funds in its budget for the direct grants to the new EZ/ECs.) We may receive opposition from Treasury Secretary Rubin.

Rationale for Second Round: We believe that the proposed second round would continue the challenge that began in the first round to create economic opportunity for families living in distressed communities. In addition to the approximately 300 applicants that were not funded in the first round, many elected officials (Democrats and Republicans alike) have called for building on the EZ/EC program. For example, in November 1995, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, the National Association of Counties, and the National League of Cities called for a nationwide system of "community partnerships for economic investment" to mirror the positive 1994 EZ/EC application process and stimulate more federal investment for bottom-up, local collaboration. Republican Senators publicly lauded the Clinton-Gore EZ/EC program when they visited the Philadelphia-Camden empowerment zone with Mayor Rendell and supported a bill to add incentives to the program.

Draft Option: Given budgetary constraints and the fact that even modest sums available to ECs in the first round were adequate to stimulate impressive efforts, the second round will focus on achieving the principle objectives of the program -- new jobs and business -- in more cost-effective ways. It would devote approximately \$2 billion (\$1 billion in tax incentives, \$1 billion in direct grants) to 105 new EZs and ECs (40 EZs and 65 ECs). Eligibility would extend to areas with a 25% poverty rate. EZ applicants could also include up to 1000 acres of non-populous, industrial property that will be the focus of job creation for zone residents ("Additional Developable Acreage").

Benefits available to 40 EZs (25 cities and 15 rural or Indian Nation communities): (1) a flexible zone, private activity bond; (2) extension of the Brownfields tax credit to the Additional Developable Acreage; (3) an economic development grant of \$10-\$50 million (amounts based on the size of the applicant city or rural area); (4) a \$3-5 million matching grant from DOL to fund for activities designed to connect residents to jobs; and (5) priority consideration for funding from the President's CDFI Fund.

Benefits available to 65 ECs (40 cities and 25 rural or Indian Nation): Each EC would receive a \$3 million economic development grant, plus the following benefits that will also be available to the new EZs -

- use of the same tax exempt bonding authority available to the first round of EZ/ECs;
- priority consideration from the Community Empowerment Board for additional

funding and technical assistance and for common-sense regulatory flexibility to the full extent authorized, including under the Community Flexibility Bill once enacted;

- eligibility for the new Brownfields tax incentive;
- consideration as a Project XL program, in which increased regulatory flexibility is granted in exchange for superior environmental performance; and
- technical assistance and preference for consideration for credits under the State Implementation Plans for improved air quality.

Mr. President -

Herewith, as promised, the copy of
Seamus Heaney's Nobel Lecture you
wanted.

With the Compliments of

Thomas Caplan

What a genius - a such a pleasant
fellow, too!

30th January 1996

*Happy reading,
Thomas*

cc Tony / Sandra / Nancy Solenberg

DBA - see app p.7

*could apply to ME,
Donna, Revanica, etc
as well as to the law*

Here -

then number (NH)

Doc

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2/6/96

©THE NOBEL FOUNDATION 1995

General permission is granted for the publication in newspapers in any language after December 7, 1995, 5.30 p.m. (Swedish time). Publication in periodicals or books otherwise than in summary requires the consent of the Foundation.

On all publications in full or in major parts the above underlined copyright notice must be applied.

SEAMUS HEANEY

Nobel Lecture

1995

CREDITING POETRY

When I first encountered the name of the city of Stockholm, I little thought that I would ever visit it, never mind end up being welcomed to it as a guest of the Swedish Academy and the Nobel Foundation. At the time I am thinking of, such an outcome was not just beyond expectation: it was simply beyond conception. In the nineteen forties, when I was the eldest child of an ever-growing family in rural Co. Derry, we crowded together in the three rooms of a traditional thatched farmstead and lived a kind of den-life which was more or less emotionally and intellectually proofed against the outside world. It was an intimate, physical, creaturely existence in which the night sounds of the horse in the stable beyond one bedroom wall mingled with the sounds of adult conversation from the kitchen beyond the other. We took in everything that was going on, of course – rain in the trees, mice on the ceiling, a steam train rumbling along the railway line one field back from the house – but we took it in as if we were in the doze of hibernation. Ahistorical, pre-sexual, in suspension between the archaic and the modern, we were as susceptible and impressionable as the drinking water that stood in a bucket in our scullery: every time a passing train made the earth shake,

the surface of that water used to ripple delicately, concentrically, and in utter silence.

But it was not only the earth that shook for us: the air around and above us was alive and signalling too. When a wind stirred in the beeches, it also stirred an aerial wire attached to the topmost branch of the chestnut tree. Down it swept, in through a hole bored in the corner of the kitchen window, right on into the innards of our wireless set where a little pandemonium of burbles and squeaks would suddenly give way to the voice of a BBC newsreader speaking out of the unexpected like a *deus ex machina*. And that voice too we could hear in our bedroom, transmitting from beyond and behind the voices of the adults in the kitchen; just as we could often hear, behind and beyond every voice, the frantic, piercing signalling of morse code.

We could pick up the names of neighbours being spoken in the local accents of our parents, and in the resonant English tones of the newsreader the names of bombers and of cities bombed, of war fronts and army divisions, the numbers of planes lost and of prisoners taken, of casualties suffered and advances made; and always, of course, we would pick up too those other, solemn and oddly bracing words, "the enemy" and "the allies". But even so, none of the news of these world-spasms entered me as terror. If there was something ominous in the newscaster's tones, there was something torpid about our understanding of what was at stake; and if there was something culpable about such political ignorance in that time and place, there was something positive about the security I inhabited as a result of it.

The wartime, in other words, was pre-reflective time for me. Pre-literate too. Pre-historical in its way. Then as the years went on and my listening became more deliberate, I would climb up on an arm of our big sofa to get my ear closer to the wireless speaker. But it was still not the news that interested me; what I was after was the thrill of story, such as a detective serial about a British special agent called Dick Barton or perhaps a radio adaptation of one of Capt. W.E. Johns's adventure tales about an RAF flying ace called Biggles. Now that the other children were older and there was so much going on in the kitchen, I had to get close to the actual radio set in order to concentrate my hearing, and in that intent proximity to the dial I grew familiar with the names of foreign stations, with Leipzig and Oslo and Stuttgart and Warsaw and, of course, with Stockholm.

I also got used to hearing short bursts of foreign languages as the dial hand swept round from BBC to Radio Eireann, from the intonations of

London to those of Dublin, and even though I did not understand what was being said in those first encounters with the gutturals and sibilants of European speech, I had already begun a journey into the wideness of the world beyond. This in turn became a journey into the wideness of language, a journey where each point of arrival – whether in one's poetry or one's life – turned out to be a stepping stone rather than a destination, and it is that journey which has brought me now to this honoured spot. And yet the platform here feels more like a space station than a stepping stone, so that is why, for once in my life, I am permitting myself the luxury of walking on air.

*

I credit poetry for making this space-walk possible. I credit it immediately because of a line I wrote fairly recently instructing myself (and whoever else might be listening) to "walk on air against your better judgement". But I credit it ultimately because poetry can make an order as true to the impact of external reality and as sensitive to the inner laws of the poet's being as the ripples that rippled in and rippled out across the water in that scullery bucket fifty years ago. An order where we can at last grow up to that which we stored up as we grew. An order which satisfies all that is appetitive in the intelligence and prehensile in the affections. I credit poetry, in other words, both for being itself and for being a help, for making possible a fluid and restorative relationship between the mind's centre and its circumference, between the child gazing at the word "Stockholm" on the face of the radio dial and the man facing the faces that he meets in Stockholm at this most privileged moment. I credit it because credit is due to it, in our time and in all time, for its truth to life, in every sense of that phrase.

*

To begin with, I wanted that truth to life to possess a concrete reliability, and rejoiced most when the poem seemed most direct, an upfront representation of the world it stood in for or stood up for or stood its ground against. Even as a schoolboy, I loved John Keats's ode "To Autumn" for being an ark of the covenant between language and sensation; as an adolescent, I loved Gerard Manley Hopkins for the intensity of his exclamations which were also equations for a rapture and an ache I didn't fully know I knew until I read him; I loved Robert Frost for his farmer's accuracy and his wily down-to-earthness; and Chaucer too for much the same reasons. Later on I would

find a different kind of accuracy, a moral down-to-earthness to which I responded deeply and always will, in the war poetry of Wilfred Owen, a poetry where a New Testament sensibility suffers and absorbs the shock of the new century's barbarism. Then later again, in the pure consequence of Elizabeth Bishop's style, in the sheer obduracy of Robert Lowell's and in the barefaced confrontation of Patrick Kavanagh's, I encountered further reasons for believing in poetry's ability – and responsibility – to say what happens, to "pity the planet," to be "not concerned with Poetry."

This temperamental disposition towards an art that was earnest and devoted to things as they are was corroborated by the experience of having been born and brought up in Northern Ireland and of having lived with that place even though I have lived out of it for the past quarter of a century. No place in the world prides itself more on its vigilance and realism, no place considers itself more qualified to censure any flourish of rhetoric or extravagance of aspiration. So, partly as a result of having internalized these attitudes through growing up with them, and partly as a result of growing a skin to protect myself against them, I went for years half-avoiding and half-resisting the opulence and extensiveness of poets as different as Wallace Stevens and Rainer Maria Rilke; crediting insufficiently the crystalline inwardness of Emily Dickinson, all those forked lightnings and fissures of association; and missing the visionary strangeness of Eliot. And these more or less costive attitudes were fortified by a refusal to grant the poet any more license than any other citizen; and they were further induced by having to conduct oneself as a poet in a situation of ongoing political violence and public expectation. A public expectation, it has to be said, not of poetry as such but of political positions variously approvable by mutually disapproving groups.

In such circumstances, the mind still longs to repose in what Samuel Johnson once called with superb confidence "the stability of truth", even as it recognizes the destabilizing nature of its own operations and enquiries. Without needing to be theoretically instructed, consciousness quickly realizes that it is the site of variously contending discourses. The child in the bedroom, listening simultaneously to the domestic idiom of his Irish home and the official idioms of the British broadcaster while picking up from behind both the signals of some other distress, that child was already being schooled for the complexities of his adult predicament, a future where he would have to adjudicate among promptings variously ethical, aesthetical, moral, political, metrical, sceptical, cultural, topical, typical, post-colonial

and, taken all together, simply impossible. So it was that I found myself in the mid-nineteen seventies in another small house, this time in Co. Wicklow south of Dublin, with a young family of my own and a slightly less imposing radio set, listening to the rain in the trees and to the news of bombings closer to home – not only those by the Provisional IRA in Belfast but equally atrocious assaults in Dublin by loyalist paramilitaries from the north. Feeling puny in my predicaments as I read about the tragic logic of Osip Mandelstam's fate in the 1930s, feeling challenged yet steadfast in my non-combatant status when I heard, for example, that one particularly sweet-natured school friend had been interned without trial because he was suspected of having been involved in a political killing. What I was longing for was not quite stability but an active escape from the quicksand of relativism, a way of crediting poetry without anxiety or apology. In a poem called "Exposure" I wrote then:

If I could come on meteorite!
Instead, I walk through damp leaves,
Husks, the spent flukes of autumn,

Imagining a hero
On some muddy compound,
His gift like a slingstone
Whirled for the desperate.

How did I end up like this?
I often think of my friends'
Beautiful prismatic counselling
And the anvil brains of some who hate me

As I sit weighing and weighing
My responsible *tristia*.
For what? For the ear? For the people?
For what is said behind-backs?

Rain comes down through the alders,
Its low conducive voices
Mutter about let-downs and erosions
And yet each drop recalls

The diamond absolutes.
I am neither internee nor informer;
An inner émigré, a grown long-haired
And thoughtful; a wood-kerne

Escaped from the massacre,
Taking protective colouring
From bole and bark, feeling
Every wind that blows;

Who, blowing up these sparks
For their meagre heat, have missed
The once in a lifetime portent,
The comet's pulsing rose.

(from North)

In one of the poems best known to students in my generation, a poem which could be said to have taken the nutrients of the symbolist movement and made them available in capsule form, the American poet Archibald MacLeish affirmed that "Poetry should be equal to/not true." As a defiant statement of poetry's gift for telling truth but telling it slant, this is both cogent and corrective. Yet there are times when a deeper need enters, when we want the poem to be not only pleausurably right but compellingly wise, not only a surprising variation played upon the world, but a re-tuning of the world itself. We want the surprise to be transitive like the impatient thump which unexpectedly restores the picture to the television set, or the electric shock which sets the fibrillating heart back to its proper rhythm. We want what the woman wanted in the prison queue in Leningrad, standing there blue with cold and whispering for fear, enduring the terror of Stalin's regime and asking the poet Anna Akhmatova if she could describe it all, if her art could be equal to it. And this is the want I too was experiencing in those far more protected circumstances in Co. Wicklow when I wrote the lines I have just quoted, a need for poetry that would merit the definition of it I gave a few moments ago, as an order "true to the impact of external reality and ... sensitive to the inner laws of the poet's being."

*

The external reality and inner dynamic of happenings in Northern Ireland between 1968 and 1974 were symptomatic of change, violent change admittedly, but change nevertheless, and for the minority living there, change had been long overdue. It should have come early, as the result of the ferment of protest on the streets in the late sixties, but that was not to be and the eggs of danger which were always incubating got hatched out very quickly. While the Christian moralist in oneself was impelled to deplore the atrocious nature of the IRA's campaign of bombings and killings, and the "mere Irish" in oneself was appalled by the ruthlessness of the British Army on occasions like Bloody Sunday in Derry in 1972, the minority citizen in oneself, the one who had grown up conscious that his group was distrusted and discriminated against in all kinds of official and unofficial ways, this

citizen's perception was at one with the poetic truth of the situation in recognizing that if life in Northern Ireland were ever really to flourish, change had to take place. But that citizen's perception was also at one with the truth in recognizing that the very brutality of the means by which the IRA were pursuing change was destructive of the trust upon which new possibilities would have to be based.

Nevertheless, until the British government caved in to the strong-arm tactics of the Ulster loyalist workers after the Sunningdale Conference in 1974, a well-disposed mind could still hope to make sense of the circumstances, to balance what was promising with what was destructive and do what W.B. Yeats had tried to do half a century before, namely, "to hold in a single thought reality and justice." After 1974, however, for the twenty long years between then and the ceasefires of August 1994, such a hope proved impossible. The violence from below was then productive of nothing but a retaliatory violence from above, the dream of justice became subsumed into the callousness of reality, and people settled in to a quarter century of life-waste and spirit-waste, of hardening attitudes and narrowing possibilities that were the natural result of political solidarity, traumatic suffering and sheer emotional self-protectiveness.



*

One of the most harrowing moments in the whole history of the harrowing of the heart in Northern Ireland came when a minibus full of workers being driven home one January evening in 1976 was held up by armed and masked men and the occupants of the van ordered at gunpoint to line up at the side of the road. Then one of the masked executioners said to them, "Any Catholics among you, step out here". As it happened, this particular group, with one exception, were all Protestants, so the presumption must have been that the masked men were Protestant paramilitaries about to carry out a tit-for-tat sectarian killing of the Catholic as the odd man out, the one who would have been presumed to be in sympathy with the IRA and all its actions. It was a terrible moment for him, caught between dread and witness, but he did make a motion to step forward. Then, the story goes, in that split second of decision, and in the relative cover of the winter evening darkness, he felt the hand of the Protestant worker next to him take his hand and squeeze it in a signal that said no, don't move, we'll not betray you, nobody need know what faith or party you belong to. All in vain, however, for the man stepped out of the line; but instead of finding a gun at his

temple, he was thrown backward and away as the gunmen opened fire on those remaining in the line, for these were not Protestant terrorists, but members, presumably, of the Provisional IRA.

*

It is difficult at times to repress the thought that history is about as instructive as an abattoir; that Tacitus was right and that peace is merely the desolation left behind after the decisive operations of merciless power. I remember, for example, shocking myself with a thought I had about that friend who was imprisoned in the seventies upon suspicion of having been involved with a political murder: I shocked myself by thinking that even if he were guilty, he might still perhaps be helping the future to be born, breaking the repressive forms and liberating new potential in the only way that worked, that is to say the violent way – which therefore became, by extension, the right way. It was like a moment of exposure to interstellar cold, a reminder of the scary element, both inner and outer, in which human beings must envisage and conduct their lives. But it was only a moment. The birth of the future we desire is surely in the contraction which that terrified Catholic felt on the roadside when another hand gripped his hand, not in the gunfire that followed, so absolute and so desolate, if also so much a part of the music of what happens.

As writers and readers, as sinners and citizens, our realism and our aesthetic sense make us wary of crediting the positive note. The very gunfire braces us and the atrocious confers a worth upon the effort which it calls forth to confront it. We are rightly in awe of the torsions in the poetry of Paul Celan and rightly enamoured of the suspiring voice in Samuel Beckett because these are evidence that art can rise to the occasion and somehow be the corollary of Celan's stricken destiny as Holocaust survivor and Beckett's demure heroism as a member of the French Resistance. Likewise, we are rightly suspicious of that which gives too much consolation in these circumstances; the very extremity of our late twentieth century knowledge puts much of our cultural heritage to an extreme test. Only the very stupid or the very deprived can any longer help knowing that the documents of civilization have been written in blood and tears, blood and tears no less real for being very remote. And when this intellectual predisposition co-exists with the actualities of Ulster and Israel and Bosnia and Rwanda and a host of other wounded spots on the face of the earth, the inclination is not

only not to credit human nature with much constructive potential but not to credit anything too positive in the work of art.

Which is why for years I was bowed to the desk like some monk bowed over his prie-dieu, some dutiful contemplative pivoting his understanding in an attempt to bear his portion of the weight of the world, knowing himself incapable of heroic virtue or redemptive effect, but constrained by his obedience to his rule to repeat the effort and the posture. Blowing up sparks for a meagre heat. Forgetting faith, straining towards good works. Attending insufficiently to the diamond absolutes, among which must be counted the sufficiency of that which is absolutely imagined. Then finally and happily, and not in obedience to the dolorous circumstances of my native place but in despite of them, I straightened up. I began a few years ago to try to make space in my reckoning and imagining for the marvellous as well as for the murderous. And once again I shall try to represent the import of that changed orientation with a story out of Ireland.

*

This is a story about another monk holding himself up valiantly in the posture of endurance. It is said that once upon a time St. Kevin was kneeling with his arms stretched out in the form of a cross in Glendalough, a monastic site not too far from where we lived in Co. Wicklow, a place which to this day is one of the most wooded and watery retreats in the whole of the country. Anyhow, as Kevin knelt and prayed, a blackbird mistook his outstretched hand for some kind of roost and swooped down upon it, laid a clutch of eggs in it and proceeded to nest in it as if it were the branch of a tree. Then, overcome with pity and constrained by his faith to love the life in all creatures great and small, Kevin stayed immobile for hours and days and nights and weeks, holding out his hand until the eggs hatched and the fledglings grew wings, true to life if subversive of common sense, at the intersection of natural process and the glimpsed ideal, at one and the same time a signpost and a reminder. Manifesting that order of poetry where we can at last grow up to that which we stored up as we grew.

*

St. Kevin's story is, as I say, a story out of Ireland. But it strikes me that it could equally well come out of India or Africa or the Arctic or the Americas. By which I do not mean merely to consign it to a typology of folktales, or to dispute its value by questioning its culturebound status within a multi-

cultural context. On the contrary, its trustworthiness and its travel-worthiness have to do with its local setting. I can, of course, imagine it being deconstructed nowadays as a paradigm of colonialism, with Kevin figuring as the benign imperialist (or the missionary in the wake of the imperialist), the one who intervenes and appropriates the indigenous life and interferes with its pristine ecology. And I have to admit that there is indeed an irony that it was such a one who recorded and preserved this instance of the true beauty of the Irish heritage: Kevin's story, after all, appears in the writings of Giraldus Cambrensis, one of the people who invaded Ireland in the twelfth century, one whom the Irish-language annalist Geoffrey Keating would call, five hundred years later, "the bull of the herd of those who wrote the false history of Ireland." But even so, I still cannot persuade myself that this manifestation of early Christian civilization should be construed all that simply as a way into whatever is exploitative or barbaric in our history, past and present. The whole conception strikes me rather as being another example of the kind of work I saw a few weeks ago in the small museum in Sparta, on the morning before the news of this year's Nobel prize in literature was announced.

This was art which sprang from a cult very different from the faith espoused by St. Kevin. Yet in it there was a representation of a roosted bird and an entranced beast and a self-enrapturing man, except that this time the man was Orpheus and the rapture came from music rather than prayer. The work itself was a small carved relief and I could not help making a sketch of it; but neither could I help copying out the information typed on the card which accompanied and identified the exhibit. The image moved me because of its antiquity and durability, but the description on the card moved me also because it gave a name and credence to that which I see myself as having been engaged upon for the past three decades: "Votive panel", the identification card said, "possibly set up to Orpheus by local poet. Local work of the Hellenistic period."

*

Once again, I hope I am not being sentimental or simply fetishizing – as we have learnt to say – the local. I wish instead to suggest that images and stories of the kind I am invoking here do function as bearers of value. The century has witnessed the defeat of Nazism by force of arms; but the erosion of the Soviet regimes was caused, among other things, by the sheer persistence, beneath the imposed ideological conformity, of cultural values and

psychic resistances of a kind that these stories and images enshrine. Even if we have learned to be rightly and deeply fearful of elevating the cultural forms and conservatisms of any nation into normative and exclusivist systems, even if we have terrible proof that pride in an ethnic and religious heritage can quickly degrade into the fascistic, our vigilance on that score should not displace our love and trust in the good of the indigenous *per se*. On the contrary, a trust in the staying power and travel-worthiness of such good should encourage us to credit the possibility of a world where respect for the validity of every tradition will issue in the creation and maintenance of a salubrious political space. In spite of devastating and repeated acts of massacre, assassination and extirpation, the huge acts of faith which have marked the new relations between Palestinians and Israelis, Africans and Afrikaners, and the way in which walls have come down in Europe and iron curtains have opened, all this inspires a hope that new possibility can still open up in Ireland as well. The crux of that problem involves an ongoing partition of the island between British and Irish jurisdictions, and an equally persistent partition of the affections in Northern Ireland between the British and Irish heritages; but surely every dweller in the country must hope that the governments involved in its governance can devise institutions which will allow that partition to become a bit more like the net on a tennis court, a demarcation allowing for agile give-and-take, for encounter and contending, prefiguring a future where the vitality that flowed in the beginning from those bracing words "enemy" and "allies" might finally derive from a less binary and altogether less binding vocabulary.

*

When the poet W.B. Yeats stood on this platform more than seventy years ago, Ireland was emerging from the throes of a traumatic civil war that had followed fast on the heels of a war of independence fought against the British. The struggle that ensued had been brief enough; it was over by May, 1923, some seven months before Yeats sailed to Stockholm, but it was bloody, savage and intimate, and for generations to come it would dictate the terms of politics within the twenty-six independent counties of Ireland, that part of the island known first of all as the Irish Free State and then subsequently as the Republic of Ireland.

Yeats barely alluded to the civil war or the war of independence in his Nobel speech. Nobody understood better than he the connection between the construction or destruction of state institutions and the founding or

foundering of cultural life, but on this occasion he chose to talk instead about the Irish Dramatic Movement. His story was about the creative purpose of that movement and its historic good fortune in having not only his own genius to sponsor it, but also the genius of his friends John Millington Synge and Lady Augusta Gregory. He came to Sweden to tell the world that the local work of poets and dramatists had been as important to the transformation of his native place and times as the ambushes of guerrilla armies; and his boast in that elevated prose was essentially the same as the one he would make in verse more than a decade later in his poem "The Municipal Gallery Revisited". There Yeats presents himself amongst the portraits and heroic narrative paintings which celebrate the events and personalities of recent history and all of a sudden realizes that something truly epoch-making has occurred: " 'This is not', I say, / 'The dead Ireland of my youth, but an Ireland / The poets have imagined, terrible and gay.' " And the poem concludes with two of the most quoted lines of his entire oeuvre:

Think where man's glory most begins and ends,
And say my glory was I had such friends.

And yet, expansive and thrilling as these lines are, they are an instance of poetry flourishing itself rather than proving itself, they are the poet's lap of honour, and in this respect if in no other they resemble what I am doing in this lecture. In fact, I should quote here on my own behalf some other words from the poem: "You that would judge me, do not judge alone / This book or that." Instead, I ask you to do what Yeats asked his audience to do and think of the achievement of Irish poets and dramatists and novelists over the past forty years, among whom I am proud to count great friends. In literary matters, Ezra Pound advised against accepting the opinion of those "who haven't themselves produced notable work," and it is advice I have been privileged to follow, since it is the good opinion of notable workers – and not just those in my own country – that has fortified my endeavour since I began to write in Belfast more than thirty years ago. The Ireland I now inhabit is one that these Irish contemporaries have helped to imagine.

Yeats, however, was by no means all flourish. To the credit of poetry in our century there must surely be entered in any reckoning his two great sequences of poems entitled "Nineteen Hundred and Nineteen" and "Meditations in Time of Civil War", the latter of which contains the famous lyric about the bird's nest at his window, where a starling or stare that built in a crevice of the old wall. The poet was living then in a Norman tower which

had been very much a part of the military history of the country in earlier and equally troubled times, and as his thoughts turned upon the irony of civilizations being consolidated by violent and powerful conquerors who end up commissioning the artists and the architects, he began to associate the sight of a mother bird feeding its young with the image of the honey-bee, an image deeply lodged in poetic tradition and always suggestive of the ideal of an industrious, harmonious, nurturing commonwealth:

The bees build in the crevices
Of loosening masonry, and there
The mother birds bring grubs and flies.
My wall is loosening; honey-bees,
Come build in the empty house of the stare.

We are closed in, and the key is turned
On our uncertainty; somewhere
A man is killed, or a house burned,
Yet no clear fact to be discerned:
Come build in the empty house of the stare.

A barricade of stone or of wood;
Some fourteen days of civil war;
Last night they trundled down the road
That dead young soldier in his blood:
Come build in the empty house of the stare.

We had fed the heart on fantasies,
The heart's grown brutal from the fare;
More substance in our enmities
Than in our love; O honey-bees,
Come build in the empty house of the stare.

I have heard this poem repeated often, in whole and in part, by people in Ireland over the past twenty-five years, and no wonder, for it is as tender-minded towards life itself as St. Kevin was and as tough-minded about what happens in and to life as Homer. It knows that the massacre will happen again on the roadside, that the workers in the minibus are going to be lined up and shot down just after quitting time; but it also credits as a reality the squeeze of the hand, the actuality of sympathy and protectiveness between living creatures. It satisfies the contradictory needs which consciousness experiences at times of extreme crisis, the need on the one hand for a truth-telling that will be hard and retributive, and on the other hand, the need not to harden the mind to a point where it denies its own yearnings for sweetness and trust. It is a proof that poetry can be equal to *and* true at the same time, an example of that completely adequate poetry which the Rus-

sian woman sought from Anna Akhmatova and which William Wordsworth produced at a corresponding moment of historical crisis and personal dismay almost exactly two hundred years ago.

*

When the bard Demodocus sings of the fall of Troy and of the slaughter that accompanied it, Odysseus weeps and Homer says that his tears were like the tears of a wife on a battlefield weeping for the death of a fallen husband. His epic simile continues:

At the sight of the man panting and dying there,
she slips down to enfold him, crying out;
then feels the spears, prodding her back and shoulders,
and goes bound into slavery and grief.
Piteous weeping wears away her cheeks:
but no more piteous than Odysseus' tears,
cloaked as they were, now, from the company.

Even to-day, three thousand years later, as we channel-surf over so much live coverage of contemporary savagery, highly informed but nevertheless in danger of growing immune, familiar to the point of overfamiliarity with old newsreels of the concentration camp and the gulag, Homer's image can still bring us to our senses. The callousness of those spear shafts on the woman's back and shoulders survives time and translation. The image has that documentary adequacy which answers all that we know about the intolerable.

But there is another kind of adequacy which is specific to lyric poetry. This has to do with the "temple inside our hearing" which the passage of the poem calls into being. It is an adequacy deriving from what Mandelstam called "the steadfastness of speech articulation," from the resolution and independence which the entirely realized poem sponsors. It has as much to do with the energy released by linguistic fission and fusion, with the buoyancy generated by cadence and tone and rhyme and stanza, as it has to do with the poem's concerns or the poet's truthfulness. In fact, in lyric poetry, truthfulness becomes recognizable as a ring of truth within the medium itself. And it is the unappeasable pursuit of this note, a note tuned to its most extreme in Emily Dickinson and Paul Celan and orchestrated to its most opulent in John Keats, it is this which keeps the poet's ear straining to hear the totally persuasive voice behind all the other informing voices.

Which is a way of saying that I have never quite climbed down from the arm of that sofa. I may have grown more attentive to the news and more alive to the world history and world-sorrow behind it. But the thing uttered by the speaker I strain towards is still not quite the story of what is going on; it is more reflexive than that, because as a poet I am in fact straining towards a strain, in the sense that the effort is to repose in the stability conferred by a musically satisfying order of sounds. As if the ripple at its widest desired to be verified by a reformation of itself, to be drawn in and drawn out through its point of origin.

I also strain towards this in the poetry I read. And I find it, for example, in the repetition of that refrain of Yeats's, "Come build in the empty house of the stare," with its tone of supplication, its pivots of strength in the words "build" and "house" and its acknowledgement of dissolution in the word "empty". I find it also in the triangle of forces held in equilibrium by the triple rhyme of "fantasies" and "enmities" and "honey-bees", and in the sheer in-placeness of the whole poem as a given form within the language. Poetic form is both the ship and the anchor. It is at once a buoyancy and a steadying, allowing for the simultaneous gratification of whatever is centrifugal and whatever is centripetal in mind and body. And it is by such means that Yeats's work does what the necessary poetry always does, which is to touch the base of our sympathetic nature while taking in at the same time the unsympathetic nature of the world to which that nature is constantly exposed. The form of the poem, in other words, is crucial to poetry's power to do the thing which always is and always will be to poetry's credit: the power to persuade that vulnerable part of our consciousness of its rightness in spite of the evidence of wrongness all around it, the power to remind us that we are hunters and gatherers of values, that our very solitudes and distresses are creditable, in so far as they, too, are an earnest of our veritable human being.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 2-9-96

TO: Phil Lader

FROM: Staff Secretary

The attached Presidential note is
forwarded for your information.

ARKANSAS BUSINESS RANKINGS

El Dorado's First Financial Bank Largest SBA Lender

By DAVID SMITH

FIRST FINANCIAL BANK, A federal savings bank in El Dorado, is the largest U.S. Small Business Administration lender in Arkansas, loaning more than \$13 million last year.

That's about \$4 million more than Arkansas Capital Corp. of Little Rock.

Mercantile Bank of Central Arkansas in North Little Rock leads the state in the number of SBA loans made, with

64 to 38 by First Financial Bank. Mercantile was known as Twin City Bank until a name change in December.

First Financial, a \$160 million asset institution founded in 1934, makes loans primarily in Arkansas, but also in contiguous states, says Steve Cameron, First Financial's president. First Financial and its separate divisions have offices in El Dorado, Little Rock, Hot Springs, Jonesboro, Springdale and Fayetteville, and there is a loan produc-

SBA Loans in Arkansas				
	1995	1994	1993	1992
Number of Loans	874	620	194	194
Loan Production	\$112.7 million	\$105.4 million	\$72 million	\$52.9 million
Jobs Created or Sustained	6,012	5,361		

Source: Little Rock District office of U.S. Small Business Administration

tion office in east Texas.

Even though it is the largest lender of SBA loans, First Financial doesn't

use that as part of its advertising strategy.

One reason, Cameron says, is that its loans are made in several different geographical areas, making it difficult to use just one advertising style. Another reason is that First Financial doesn't specialize in one area.

Besides small business loans, First Financial makes many loans to the poultry and wine industry, many guaranteed by the Farmers Home Administration. Cameron says First Financial probably makes more FmHA-guaranteed loans than SBA loans. The bank also has a large mortgage-lending division.

"We have the area that is a basic community bank profile, but we also look for niches and do other things," Cameron says. "We're not necessarily trying to be secretive, but we're just trying to do our own thing."

The mortgage division, First Financial Mortgage, is the sixth-largest mortgage lender in the state, making almost \$175 million in mortgage loans in 1994. First Financial Mortgage, with its primary office in Little Rock, also services more than \$800 million in mortgages in 40 states, Cameron says.

SBA's Best Year

The SBA had its best year in Arkansas last year, guaranteeing 874 loans, 4.5 times the number in 1992. The loans totaled more than \$112 million, up from almost \$53 million in 1992. SBA officials believe those loans created or sustained more than 6,000 jobs in Arkansas last year.

"What we're experiencing right now is great growth and good cooperation from the banks," says Ted Callaway, assistant director of the SBA's Little Rock District Office. "We're helping more people around the state."

Callaway says one reason the numbers have increased is the advent of low-documentation loans.

Two of the major problems that businesses and banks have expressed about dealing with SBA are the paperwork and the time, he says. "So we came up with the low-documentation loan program of loans of \$100,000 and under."

The plan has only a two-page application form. The lender can fax the application to SBA and have a decision on the loan within two days, Callaway says.



An outstanding trust company runs on outstanding leadership. Which is why Mike O'Brien has joined ours.

To be a trust administrator, you need a knack for business, an eye for the law and a feel for the sensitivities of your clients. Well, meet Mike O'Brien, First Commercial Trust Company's new president and chief executive officer. He has all of the above.

With nearly 30 years in trust management, Mike is one of the top experts in the field. Following the practice of law in Norfolk, Virginia, he began his career in trust administration with a large

Virginia bank. For the past 16 years, he has held management positions with several prominent financial institutions in Arkansas. In addition to trust management, he has gained experience in commercial lending, bank investments and correspondent banking.

As mentioned, a trust administrator should know people as well as numbers, and Mike's people skills are evident in his work with civic groups. In fact, he is presently a director of CARTI

Foundation and the Arkansas Symphony Orchestra and Foundation. He has served as a director of the Little Rock Rotary Club, the Pulaski County Chapter of the American Red Cross and the Metropolitan YMCA.

First Commercial Trust Company is proud to welcome Mike O'Brien aboard as our president and chief executive officer. He's another good reason why we're the company in which to place your trust.

FIRST COMMERCIAL
TRUST COMPANY

2/9/96 7:30 P.M.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/10/96

96 FEB 9 8:02

**PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
WEEKLY RADIO ADDRESS
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.
FEBRUARY 10, 1996**

Copy sent to

Don Baer

2/10/96

cc: Gabrielle Bushman

Good morning. Today I want to talk with you about our
→ a future of great possibilities & strong challenges - a ~~future that~~

future. I want to talk with you about our children.

Challenges that cannot be met by govt alone - but cannot be met if
people are left to fend for themselves - we must go forward together
In my soul, I ~~have~~ outlined our 7 biggest challenges:

A nation is only as good and as strong as its citizens.

Challenges we have to meet if we're going to make

We all know that good citizens don't just happen by

The American dream to all our people & unite our country

accident. We are shaped by the world around us -- by

around our shared values. There are: ① ~~strengthening~~

our communities, our schools, our places of work, our

families and giving all our children better childhoods: ② moving
houses of worship, and, most of all, by our parents.

③ enhancing the security of working
families. ④ access to health care, lifelong education, and skilled
training. ⑤ fighting crime, gangs, & drug, but the crime is the exception
not the rule in America again. ⑥ protecting our environment.

Think about it. The first voice a child hears... the first

⑦ ~~strengthening~~ our family for peace & freedom ⑧ continuing to reform &

love a child gets... the first lesson a child learns... all

these come from our parents.
problems taught.

1st, many way most important challenge, strengthen
families and improve childhood for all our children.

~~Strengthen~~

Our children are shaped by many forces -

1st & foremost by ~~parents~~ parents, also by other education,
schools, places of worship, 2 peers, communities, significant
see forces of
our future

If the first years of a child's life go right, with engaged,
caring parents ^{to love & encourage them,} ~~there~~ to teach right from wrong, it can
mean the difference between a lifetime of ^{fulfillment} ~~security~~ and a
lifetime of ^{frustration & disappointment.} ~~anger~~. It can also mean the difference
between an America prepared to meet the challenges of
the 21st century -- and one that is not.

~~These days, most parents are working harder than~~
~~These days, American parents are working harder than~~
~~to make sure that it's a good challenge that we~~
~~ever to see to it that our children inherit the values that~~
~~to spend the time, the energy, the concentration~~
~~have stood us so well for so long. As we have for more~~
~~necessary to get our children off in the right~~ ^{to a good start}
~~than 200 years, most Americans are doing their best to~~
~~and it's a tougher job, too. Our children are subjects~~
~~raise their kids right. But the fact is, we have to do~~
~~to so many outside forces — that can undermine~~
~~better.~~
~~their growing up.~~

Too many of our children are growing up without
 of 40 parents. Some are abused or neglected by their
 parents. Others are being raised by parents who are
 parents. Some have parents who simply don't know
 actively setting bad examples. Still more are living with
 how to ~~play~~ the strong position for very child need in
 parents who aren't doing wrong -- they just aren't doing
 this or that -- and too often they become
 enough... parents content to be shadows on the outskirts
 of their children's lives.

When parents are absent or abusive, the results are ^{Penalty} tragic. In Chicago, a 5-year-old boy was held 14 stories above the pavement by a 10-year-old and an 11-year-old. And then dropped to his death. The boys who did the killing were essentially parentless, with both fathers in prison. In New York, a six-year-old girl was beaten and tortured to death by her mother.

The fact can be had too - Just this week another survey confirmed the disturbing impact on children. When children are routinely exposed to violence, they are being permitted to watch violence on TV become numb to violence -- or violent themselves. The fact is that while overall crime is going down, ^{of course} for our children outside the family -- we must do better -- crime among juveniles is going up. While overall drug use is going down, cocaine drug use among our children is going up.

~~When we hear these facts, when a child is murdered,~~
~~even when a child is old beyond his years or closed off~~
~~from the world, we should be filled with outrage. When~~
~~we lose a child, we lose not just a precious life, we lose~~
~~love and hope.~~
When we lose our children, we suffer terrible sadness
a piece of our shared future.

I know that today's parents face tough challenges.

With the Information ^{Technology} Revolution and the new global economy, ~~our world is being transformed~~ ^a to a degree ^{by our world} seldom seen in history. ^{Many of the changes are good; but many} These changes have put tremendous stress on America's parents. → final t & review

That's

~~Which is why we have worked hard to help parents and~~
~~in being strong families & brighter futures for their children →~~
~~families do what they have always done -- care for one~~
~~another, help keep each other safe, and pass better lives~~
~~and brighter futures on to their children.~~

W/ We ~~passed~~ the Family and Medical Leave act, ^{so parents won't have} because
to ~~sacrifice their jobs~~ when there is a baby born or a family emergency
Americans deserve the opportunity to be good parents
W/ Is in HD & + unemployment so our kids get off to
a healthy ~~start~~ in developing their minds
and good workers. →

WELC, and EFL
 Plain you are all together
 working from 11 in a room \$7,000
 so no particular full time worker
 involved properly — 6

~~Exhibit A~~

(1) Record book to all support collected
of Supplemental New York Govt to make 80 scholars safe.
(or more not. \$40,000 per.

~~I signed telecom Act of 1996 -~~ ^{create the V-Chip}
This week we gave parents the V-Chip -- ^{the Violence}
~~Chip~~ ^{new opportunity in the future} -- so they can take responsibility for their
children's lives and kick the degrading influences of
televised violence out of the house. ^{Also give parents the V-Chip in the Act, which will enable parents to}

^{now} We are working to pass bipartisan legislation that would
prevent insurance companies from dropping people
when they switch jobs or when ^{or a family member} they have preexisting
conditions. A sick child is enough of a weight on your
shoulders without it threatening a family's insurance.

^{we} ~~we're~~ trying to ^{bring welfare reform legislation -}
^{Providence at Mount St. John}
~~We're seeing to it that fathers pay child support, and~~
~~we ought to maintain the wage - to go on can be~~
~~we're going to do even more to make sure~~
~~a child or a family - millions trying to do just the~~
~~responsibility is a way of life, not an option.~~

Government will continue to do its part. But governments don't raise children, parents do. No program will ever replace parents teaching their children right from wrong.

We ^{can} ~~will~~ give you the V-Chip, but you have to use it --
~~maybe even on those cartoons your child is watching~~
~~this morning.~~

We ^{can} ~~will~~ make dads send checks to support their children, but a check is no substitute for ^{parents} ~~for~~ love and guidance.

We will continue to improve our schools, but what happens in the classroom depends on what happens at home before and after the school day, and on a person's ~~relationship with~~ ^{relationship with} a child in ~~the~~ school & ~~feeder~~ ^{feeder} school.

We will pass laws to help families, but families must help themselves: with parents respecting each other in partnership, keeping violence out of the home, and challenging each other to work harder to stay together.

^{may be easier than staying together for parents, but usually}
Divorce ~~may be tough on parents, but it's more often~~
^{is tougher for the kids}
~~murder on kids.~~

^{Now}
To every parent, I say this: Turn off the TV. Get to
^{read & learn together}
know your child's teacher. Spend time together. Above
all, teach your child right from wrong.

*If parents do their job & the rest of us, we got, do our part,
If we do that, America's future will be assured.
As we work together*

The Bible asks: If your child asks for bread, would you give him a stone? If he asks for fish, would you give him a serpent? If he asks for an egg, would you give him a scorpion?

Our children are what we give them, what we teach them. We dare not forget that basic truth. Their lives -- our future -- depends on it.

Thanks for listening.

Edward S. Gould

16655 Calneva, Drive
Encino, CA 91436
(818) 501-4160
FAX: (818) 906-0766

WHS DB -
No address
info

February 1, 1996

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

stop for
reply

Dear Mr. President:

Both individually and as a member of your HIV Advisory Council, I am deeply distressed that you will sign the defense authorization bill containing the language regarding the dismissal of HIV positive personnel AND the REDUCTION of benefits of these people. This is the most blatant piece of discrimination that has been passed by Congress in a long, long time.

I fully understand that your Administration opposed this provision and worked against it and your certainly have no desire to sign the bill. Under these circumstances, I urge you to veto the bill specifically stating that this provision is the SOLE reason and that discrimination of this kind flies in the face of logic, medical science and common sense. Congress may override such a veto, but the principle of discrimination by singling out one group over all others must not stand.

Dr. Scott Hitt has written you as well suggesting a strategy if your veto is overridden. I endorse each and every one of his suggestions that you and your Administration can take should the veto be overridden.

There is no need to compromise on this issue. The people of the United States fully understand the nature of this provision. Homophobia (a word you used so eloquently in your remarks in December) is the reason for this bill and the author is clearly a hateful man that should not be allowed to succeed with this provision.

Very truly yours,

Ed Gould

Edward S. Gould

cc: Dr. Scott Hitt
Marsha Scott
Patsy Fleming
Jeff Levi

219
TO Doris Kind for reply?

✓ yes — no

sent 2/10/96 per Todd Stern

S

Sent to Clerk 2/10/96
per Todd.

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Today, I have approved H.R. 2029, the "Farm Credit System Reform Act of 1996," which will expand the permissible activities of the Federal Agricultural Mortgage Corporation (Farmer Mac), as well as provide regulatory relief to members of the Farm Credit System. An effective Farmer Mac and Farm Credit System would provide needed financial resources to farmers and ranchers as well as to residents of rural America.

There are some concerns with the wide range of changes that H.R. 2029 makes to Farmer Mac, as it will take on new business responsibilities as a mortgage purchaser and an issuer of securities. These new authorities should be monitored closely to ensure the continued safety and soundness of this government sponsored enterprise. I am pleased that Congress shares this

7 *Similarly,*
~~concern and that~~ the relevant congressional committees have requested the Farm Credit Administration, working with the Treasury, to conduct periodic evaluations of Farmer Mac.

H.R. 2029 also provides for maintaining a common board of directors between the Farm Credit System Insurance Corporation and the Farm Credit Administration, which serves as the regulator of the System. Based on experience with the thrift industry, there is a basis for concern with such an arrangement. As

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

T. S. K. —
esds

Today, I have approved H.R. 2029, the "Farm Credit System Reform Act of 1996," which will reform and expand the activities of the Federal Agricultural Mortgage Corporation (Farmer Mac), as well as provide regulatory relief to members of the Farm Credit System.

This bill should lower the cost of credit for farmers and ranchers by passing along the benefit of Farmer Mac's lower interest rates to local banks. Other changes also will make it more attractive for county and regional banks to participate in the Farmer Mac program, which will link these local banks to national and international credit markets.

This bill is an example of the kind of reinventing government that I have encouraged in all areas of government. Under this new law, banks and farmers will have less paperwork, and the auditing programs will be freer to target areas of major concern.

~~There will be challenges as~~ Farmer Mac takes on new business responsibilities as a mortgage purchaser and an issuer of securities. ~~With the support of the Congress, I will see that~~ the Farm Credit Administration and the Treasury Department ^{to} monitor the use of these new authorities to ensure the continued safety and soundness of this government sponsored enterprise.

^{6/30} I am concerned that H.R. 2029 maintains a common board of directors for the Farm Credit System Insurance Corporation ^{and} its regulator, the Farm Credit Administration. ^{the} Congress should reconsider this structure in the future. ^{To provide more independence for the board}

I am pleased to sign this bill in order to expand opportunities and lower costs for the ranchers and farmers of America.

As previously proposed by the Administration

it will be important for

which serves as a regulator of the system

*been/ect Hader
for VP - we have to do
more going up. BOC*

sent 2/10/96

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/9/96

President's Questions on Naturalizing Citizens

The reason backlogs for naturalization are so long is that between 1994 and 1995 the number of people applying for citizenship more than doubled - from 500,000 to 1,058,981. Most people feel this rise is due to the rise of anti-immigrant politics which has scared many people who have been eligible for citizenship into finally going ahead and getting it done.

To deal with the increase in processing time (from 6 months to 15-18 months in big cities) the INS has: hired 300 extra people, reassigned people from other parts of INS, gotten \$100 million in special funding from the Congress and recruited community groups who get volunteers to help applicants fill out the forms, study for the tests etc.

The actual processing involves a records check with the FBI and an interview which tests people on their English and on their knowledge of American history. This is unlikely to be done by volunteers. However, we will find the names of the Hispanic leaders the President met with and send them information on how they can volunteer or get their community groups to volunteer with the INS.

2/10/96

FAX TRANSMITTAL SHEET

Date:

2/10/96

To:

Macl McInty / Todd Starn

From:

Skip Rutherford

Number of pages, including this transmittal sheet:

5

If you have any problems receiving this facsimile, please contact Sandy Woodward at 501-376-6251 ext. 378.

Thank you.

Comments:

SAT. Ark. clips



Editor's Notes

BY JEFF HANKINS

Alltel & Stephens

INTODAY'S EAT-OR-BE-EATEN world of telecommunications, we can count on more strategic alliances and developments.

My guess is that two Little Rock-based companies, Alltel Corp. and Stephens Group Inc., will be amid the corporate positioning frenzy. Change is in the air.

First, let's consider a few personnel developments.

Scott Ford left his position as assistant to Jack Stephens and is now executive vice president at Alltel. He's been elected to the board of directors, and he's now one of just three people who report directly to his father, Alltel Chairman and Chief Executive Officer Joe Ford.

It's widely assumed in the business community that this is a major step to help Scott Ford prepare to succeed his dad, who has a contract through 2002 and is closely tied to Stephens on several fronts, including membership at Augusta National Golf Course in Georgia. He will be responsible for tele-

phone and cellular services (Carroll McHenry reports to him), accounting, finance, corporate communications and human resources functions.

The other two executives who report to Joe Ford are Tom Orsini, who also becomes executive vice president and will oversee information services operations and strategic planning, and Francis Frantz, who remains senior vice president of external affairs and general counsel. Neither Orsini nor Frantz, however, are on the Alltel board.

Until Jan. 4, 1995, Alltel's top executives — in order of compensation — were Joe Ford, Max Bobbitt, John Steuri, Frantz and Orsini. Bobbitt retired on that date, and Steuri will depart in May.

Bill Cravens, who's been firmly in control of operations for months while Steuri was contemplating retirement at Alltel Information Services Inc., now will report to Orsini. It sounds like Steuri won't even be replaced as the subsidiary's CEO, per se.

Cravens' new right-hand man is Jeff Fox, who will be a senior vice president for corporate development. Fox has been an up-and-comer in the Stephens Inc. corporate finance department.

Synergies Galore

That said, we begin to see a big picture of strategic movements and synergies between the two companies, perhaps in anticipation of the telecommunications revolution and other corporate changes we're amid.

This certainly isn't to say the Stephens-Alltel relationship is something new. Stephens Group owns about 16.6 million shares of Alltel stock, or 8.81 percent, valued last week at \$590 million. Stephens sold Systematics (what is now Alltel Information Services) to Alltel Corp. in 1990.

Clearly the Stephens family has a vested interest in the growth and stock price of Alltel. At the same time, Stephens has at least two other interests that benefit from a strong Alltel: its investment banking business and Donrey Media Group.

Stephens Inc. earned \$509,381 from Alltel in 1994 for investment banking fees and brokerage commissions. That income would skyrocket if Alltel expanded its acquisition and merger efforts.

Among Scott Ford's projects at Stephens was the Donrey acquisition. With Donrey's holdings of newspa-

pers, cable companies and billboard operations, he learned plenty about the communications business. Donrey isn't a major media player nationwide, but it can be built like so many others the Stephens family has owned.

Alltel also could benefit in the telecommunications war from the expertise of board member Ronald Townsend, president of Gannett Television Group.

While Alltel and Stephens have plenty of corporate savvy and experience, it remains to be seen exactly how they will thrive or survive in the telecommunications revolution.

Alltel's biggest growth area these days is in cellular telephones, but stiff competition is on the way with the recent awarding of personal communications services licenses. Its Information Services division, once the cash cow, got caught with its pants down because of bank consolidation and must continue to diversify and grow in other areas — health care appears to be the best opportunity.

One thing is clear: Alltel can't chug along as it has, and it won't. Personnel is in place, strategic planning will continue and Stephens will facilitate a few lucrative deals along the way.

At a time when our major bank companies are headed out of state, Little Rock and Arkansas need Alltel to stay at home and be a star in the new telecommunications world. ■

Jeff Hankins can be reached at abjeffhank@abnews.com via e-mail.

New Right-Hand Man
Scott Ford's recent move to an executive vice president position at Alltel Corp. left a key vacancy at Stephens Group Inc.
Well, a new assistant to Chairman Jackson T. Stephens is on the way. Witt Stephens Jr. soon will step in to work alongside his financial genius uncle and continue to learn the ropes of the business conglomerate.
It's a natural choice. He's an heir to the Witt Stephens Sr. half of the billionaire family empire, and he and cousin Warren Stephens — the chief executive officer of Stephens Inc. — will be working together to build on

the success of their fathers.
By the way, our editor ripped off some other related "Whispers" for his column on Page 7.

Jury agrees Fitzhugh was damaged

Paper's wrong picture
defamed him, suit said

BY DAVE HUGHES
Democrat-Gazette Port Smith Bureau

FORT SMITH — A Sebastian County Circuit Court jury awarded former U.S. Attorney J. Michael Fitzhugh \$50,000 after deciding the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette defamed him by publishing his picture with a 1994 news article about a Whitewater defendant with the same last name.

The jury of eight women and four men deliberated nearly two hours before returning the verdict for Fitzhugh and against Little Rock Newspapers Inc., which owns the Democrat-Gazette.

Democrat-Gazette Managing Editor Bob Lutgen said after the two-day trial that he accepts the verdict but was disappointed by it.

"We are sorry the mistake occurred, and we corrected the error and corrected it in a manner we thought was what Fitzhugh wanted," Lutgen said. He said he did not think the jurors realized the time constraints newspapers work under and that the mistake occurred because of those constraints.

See FITZHUGH, Page 5B

Fitzhugh

• Continued from Page 1B
straints.

Tom Mars of Fayetteville, Fitzhugh's attorney, said after the trial that the verdict satisfied him and his client.

Lutgen said Little Rock Newspapers probably will appeal the verdict.

During testimony Friday, Lutgen said the article that appeared in the June 20, 1994, edition caused "minor damage" to Fitzhugh by embarrassing him. However, Lutgen said the correction that appeared in the next day's edition repaired any damage.

The article was about Little Rock lawyer Eugene Fitzhugh being one of two men going on trial on charges resulting from the Whitewater investigation. A file photograph of J. Michael Fitzhugh mistakenly appeared with the story.

In closing arguments Friday, Little Rock Newspapers' attorney John Tull of Little Rock told the jury that Lutgen's admission was a "gut reaction" and the mistake did not harm Fitzhugh's reputation.

"It was a human mistake," Tull said. "Mistakes will be made as long as people publish newspapers and not computers."

Mars said the correction was as small as the newspaper could make it, that it did not include a statement that J. Michael Fitzhugh was not involved in the Whitewater mat-

ter, and that no one from the newspaper ever apologized to Fitzhugh.

The newspaper contended that the article never implicated J. Michael Fitzhugh in the Whitewater affair and the only mistake it made was in displaying his photograph where Eugene Fitzhugh's photograph should have been.

Tull argued that there was no evidence to prove the mistake damaged Fitzhugh's reputation. He said friends and associates who testified did not shun Fitzhugh after the article appeared and many said they didn't believe he was a Whitewater defendant after reading the article.

Fitzhugh's wife, Ann, testified that her husband made as much

money at his law practice before the article appeared as after.

In testimony Thursday, Fitzhugh said that for the damage to his reputation, he should receive \$1 for each of the approximately 208,000 copies of the June 20, 1994, edition distributed in Arkansas. He also said he should receive 35 cents for each copy to compensate him for his embarrassment and mental anguish.

Tull told the jury that if it decided the Democrat-Gazette damaged Fitzhugh, it should compensate him only for the newspaper's circulation in Sebastian and Crawford counties — about 2,000 copies — because Fitzhugh said that was the area where he got most of his clients.

Lawyers, fees can pile up fast in Washington

BY TERRY LEMONS
Democrat-Gazette Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON — When Susan Strayhorn testified before the Senate Whitewater committee earlier this month, a man sat behind her. Senators assumed it was her attorney. But Strayhorn, James McDon-

gal's former secretary, said the man was her husband; she saw no need for a legal adviser.

"I don't need counsel to tell the truth," Strayhorn said.

Looks of disbelief flashed across the faces of committee members, who have grown accustomed to watching teams of attorneys huddle behind Whitewater witnesses.

It is a fact of life in Washington these days that almost everyone entangled in President Clinton's web of legal troubles must bring

See CLINTON, Page 13A

Clinton

• Continued from Page 1A

in high-priced lawyers. The most vivid illustration comes from the Clintons, whose legal team carries a price tag approaching \$2 million a year.

"It does not seem like an outrageous amount," observed Victoria Toensing, a former deputy assistant attorney general in the Reagan administration. She pointed to her own private work in a two-year lawsuit against the CIA. Her final bill: \$600,000.

And the numbers can shoot up in cases involving an extensive appeal process, such as Paula Corbin Jones' sexual-harassment lawsuit against the president.

A federal appeals court ruled last month that the suit could go to trial. But Clinton is appealing, and the case may end up before the Supreme Court. This is not a time for the president to fret about cost, several lawyers said.

"In a case raising important constitutional issues, it is essential to cross your t's and dot your i's," observed Robert Bennett, the president's attorney in the Jones case.

Bennett already has billed the president for just over \$1 million, \$891,000 of which is covered by one of the president's two legal insurance policies.

Such numbers must seem mind-boggling for many Americans. How can it cost so much?

For starters, there are attorney fees. Bennett's going rate is \$400 an hour. Other lawyers work on the case at lower rates, but the hours mount up quickly.

There's also a daunting amount of legal research, court documents to write, investigative work in Arkansas, travel costs and routine office expenses such as photocopying and telephone calls. In the Jones case, Bennett can spend hours on the phone

Paula Jones fights any delay in suit against Clinton



Paula Corbin Jones

BY PATRICIA MANSON
Democrat-Gazette Federal Reporter

Pointing to a subpoena calling for President Clinton to testify in a criminal case, a woman who contends the president made unwanted sexual advances says Clinton should take the witness stand in her unrelated civil lawsuit.

In a court filing Thursday, Paula Corbin Jones' attorneys said that "there is no support in reason, the common law, the Constitution, or in simple justice" for Clinton's request that Jones' suit be put on hold.

Jones' attorneys — Gilbert K. Davis and Joseph Cammarata, both of Fairfax, Va. — said the suit should be allowed to go forward while Clinton is in the White House.

Davis and Cammarata were responding to Clinton's request that the entire 8th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals at St. Louis reconsider a decision that cleared the way for Jones' suit to go to trial while Clinton is president.

In a 2-1 decision last month, a panel of the court rejected Clinton's argument that activity in the suit should be delayed. Clinton contends that forcing him to defend himself now against Jones' accusations will interfere with his official duties.

Less than a month after the panel issued its decision, U.S. District Judge George Howard Jr. approved requests that Clinton be subpoenaed to testify in an unrelated criminal case.

Those requests were made by James McDougal and his former

wife, Susan. The McDougals were partners in Whitewater Development Corp. with then-Gov. Bill Clinton and his wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton.

The McDougals and a co-defendant, Gov. Jim Guy Tucker, go to trial March 4 on charges that they took part in fraudulent financial transactions.

On Friday, Clinton's personal attorney, Robert S. Bennett of Washington, rejected any comparison between conducting a defense to a civil suit and "providing evidence under very limited circumstances in a criminal action where a defendant has a constitutional right to gather evidence."

Jones filed her suit in federal court in Little Rock in May 1994.

It adds up. And it might have been free. "I offered to do this case for absolutely nothing," Bennett said. The Office of Government Ethics objected.

"I have to charge my full fare," Bennett said.

So is David Kendall, the attorney representing the Clintons on Whitewater. Like Bennett, he is believed to be billing at \$400 an hour.

Part of the lawyers' payments will come from the first family's legal-defense fund. Michael Cardozo, the lawyer overseeing the fund, isn't shocked by the bills he's seeing.

"The president and first lady are being subjected to a need for very substantial legal representation, and it's very expensive," Cardozo said.

The defense fund raised more

1995, sources said. Cardozo noted that the money has flowed in at a "remarkable" rate even though the fund does not directly solicit donations.

But the Clintons aren't the only ones facing skyrocketing legal bills.

The seven White House travel office workers have amassed nearly \$700,000 in legal bills since their May 1993 dismissal. Congress has signaled it may reimburse the workers.

Nothing similar is in the works for presidential aides, a wide

range of whom have been forced to comply with Whitewater subpoenas.

Take Carolyn Huber, whose relatively benign job involves overseeing the Clintons' personnel correspondence. She suddenly faces formidable legal bills after her discovery of Hillary Rodham Clinton's Rose Law Firm billing records last month.

Huber has been answering questions for everyone from the Senate Special Whitewater Committee to a grand jury in Little Rock. Sources familiar with the

case believe her legal bills could hit \$70,000.

Even bigger bills face Margaret Williams, Hillary Clinton's chief of staff, who has been answering questions about the handling of documents inside Vincent Foster's White House office. Observers expect her legal expenses to top \$100,000.

It all seems strangely out of kilter to someone like Little Rock's Strayhorn, who summed it up this way at the Whitewater hearings: "I notice the lawyers have lawyers."

Clinton carried liability policy since mid-'80s

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON — President Clinton, who just received a huge insurance payoff for legal bills, had continuous liability coverage since the mid-1980s, and one policy is still in effect, officials said Friday.

Clinton's lawyer, Robert Bennett, confirmed Thursday that two \$1 million policies had paid nearly \$900,000 to the attorney for his defense of Clinton in a 1994 sexual harassment suit.

The first insurance policy, bought from Pacific Indemnity, was effective for a year beginning Feb. 5, 1991, Bennett said. Former Arkansas state employee Paula Corbin Jones, who is seeking \$700,000, said the sexual harassment occurred in May 1991.

Bennett said a second policy, bought from State Farm Group, was effective for a year beginning Feb. 5, 1994. The lawyer said the policy is relevant because Jones alleges that Clinton and his aides defamed her after the incident.

On Friday, the attorney said Clinton had continuous coverage with Pacific Indemnity since the mid-1980s, until he switched to State Farm in February 1992.

Steve Vogel, spokesman for State Farm in Illinois, said Friday that the policy was renewed every year and is still in effect.

The Lindseys

Perhaps closest to the Clintons is the power couple of Bruce and Beverly Lindsey. As counsel to the president, the sphere of Bruce Lindsey's influence is hard to calculate.

"Anytime you've got someone that close to the president," says a source close to the administration, "you've got to think in international terms. You've got to say he's one of the most influential people in the world."

As director of the state's Department of Heritage, Bev Lindsey's own influence goes beyond that of being Mrs. Bruce Lindsey.

"She's built her own network," the insider says. "Her influence in the areas of the arts and heritage is on a national scale. And she's very active politically. She's definitely broadened her influence over the past two or three years."

"Both established their own careers in the political circles," adds the insider. "They're in the limelight, the public eye so much that when they're out of it, they like the quiet weekends at home, watching TV or spending time with a few good friends."

A No-Brainer

The inclusion of Richard and Kay Arnold among Arkansas' power couples was one of the clearest choices.

Besides being chief justice of the U.S. 8th Circuit Court of Appeals, Richard Arnold is generally recognized as being on the short list of U.S. Supreme Court candidates. If Clinton should win a second term and a Supreme Court vacancy comes up, Arnold's name will be the first to arise as a contender for the nomination.

Kay Arnold is heavily involved in a wide variety of issues, not only because of her current position with Entergy Corp. but because of her background as a member of the Clinton gubernatorial administration and as former head of the Department of Arkansas Heritage.

Still, the Arnolds are known for the way they handle their influential positions.

They may not have always been known as a "fun" couple, but Graham and Meredith P. Catlett were a power couple even when they were students at the University of Arkansas at Fayetteville.

A longtime friend recalls that they were "very dignified and stately," to the point that a photo of Graham Catlett kissing his future wife at a fraternity party was circulated just to show that they did that sort of thing.



in Arkansas and nationally.

LINDSEY

BRUCE LINDSEY
Counsel to the President
BEVERLY LINDSEY
Director
Heritage Department
of Arkansas

Sphere of Influence: From the Governor's Mansion to the presidential campaign trail to the White House, Bruce has been at President Clinton's side. Need we say more? He's also a former partner of the prominent Wright Lindsey & Jennings law firm in Little Rock. Bev is also politically active and a state agency department head who can get things done in Arkansas and nationally.

Sen. David Pryor's office maintains an office in Rome, Italy. Sen. David Pryor's office are somewhat closer to the female partner of one of Arkansas' Big Brothers and Big Sisters United Way of Pulaski County.

Arnold

RICHARD S. ARNOLD
Chief Judge
U.S. 8th Circuit Court
KAY S. ARNOLD
Vice President
Entergy Corp.
closely tied to President Clinton
U.S. Sen. Dan Claitor
Sen. David Pryor
missed by
Supreme Court
a front-runner if another seat comes open, it's hard to place. He's a
Associate Justice
Bismarck
lobbyist
vice president
historical organization
Conservancy of

Clinton

JOHN D. CLINTON
Governor
Tyson Food Inc.
DIANE CLINTON
Political Science Professor
University of Arkansas
at Fayetteville
Sphere of Influence: Among Bill and Hillary Clinton's closest friends, John's counsel has helped lead Tyson to a \$1 billion increase in the poultry industry, from complex acquisitions and home takeovers. He also serves on the U.S. Board of Trustees for the regular "The Best Longhorn in America." Diane's academic interests extend beyond the classroom. She was a prominent figure in the Clinton Educational Foundation, the Arkansas Educational Television Board of the 90s.

POWER
couples

CECILE & KATHLEEN ALEXANDER
RICHARD & KAY ARNOLD
DAVID & DIANE BLAIR

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*As follows on
this - I want to give
scholarship to
our friends -
B*

2/10/96

February 1, 1996

Chaplain (Major) Lionel D. Robinson
Post Office Box 305
Fairfield, Idaho 83327

Dear Dan:

Thanks so much for your letter, which David
Leopoulos passed on to me. It was great to
hear from you and to get an update on all
you've been doing in recent years.

I certainly respect your desire to resume your
full-time ministry to soldiers and their
families, and I've asked Alan Sullivan,
Director of the White House Military Office, to
look into your request.

I hope you are well and send my very best
wishes for a happy and healthy 1996.

Sincerely,

B. Clinton

2/10/96
cc w/ incoming
Alan Sullivan
2 FL/KW
also send copy some
of prayer breakfast, etc

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. letter	[Personally Identifiable Information] [partial] (1 page)	12/12/1995	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 7694

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files February 4-10, 1996 [1]

2019-0774-S

rs4012

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

CH (MAJ) Lionel D. Robinson

(b)(6)

**P. O. Box 305, Fairfield, Idaho 83327
(208) 764-2005 (h) / (208) 764-2472 (o)**

December 12, 1995

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

*Minister
KSC may help
need to help
in prison*

Dear Mr. President:

My family and I have watched with great admiration your leadership of the country for the past three years. Thanks especially for all you are doing to make sure that service people and their families are well cared for. It has been a number of years since we have communicated, but I have many great memories of our growing up years in Hot Springs. I enjoy sharing them with my sons. They especially enjoy hearing stories involving their President.

Most of my civilian ministry has been in Idaho. In 1982 I joined the Idaho Army National Guard as a chaplain. In 1986 I went on active duty with the Army. I served in several places, including the deployment to Desert Shield/Desert Storm. My army career has gone very well. I was promoted to major in 1993. At that time I was offered a Regular Army Commission. I chose to decline this commission since my children were coming into their teenage years. We thought it would be good to come back to Idaho and let them be a part of turning our small ranch here into a Christian retreat center. I left active duty in September 1994. I have been serving the Idaho Army National Guard for over a year now.

We truly miss the Army. I have a great desire to get back to full-time ministry to soldiers and their family members. David Leopoulos has been so gracious in his willingness to help me get this special request before you. For this I am indebted to him. Mr. President, I respectfully request that you, as my Commander-in-Chief, order me back to active duty with a Regular Army Commission. I would count it a privilege and an honor to serve you and our country in this way.

Thank you so much for your consideration of this request. Best wishes, also, for a blessed Christmas season.

Sincerely,



Dan Robinson

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Cinny:

I sent T.J's

~~I~~

I sent T.J's crop info to
DOTUS last night with his
trip book and he already
returned it to our office. I
assume he read it, but if he
asks for it, ~~send~~ Stephen ^{has} ~~here~~
^{a copy}
~~of it~~. Phil

TIME OF TRANSMISSION

TIME OF RECEIPT

**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**

96 FEB 10 A 9:18

PRECEDENCE: IMMEDIATE
PRIORITY
ROUTINE

RELEASER: _____

DTG: _____

MESSAGE NO. _____ CLASSIFICATION UNCLASSIFIED PAGES _____

FROM PHIL CAPLAN 62702 Gr. Fl. WW
(NAME) (PHONE NUMBER) (ROOM NO.)

MESSAGE DESCRIPTION FYI Note

TO (AGENCY)	DELIVER TO	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBER
AF1	Ginny Terzano		

REMARKS: Ginny:
I sent T.J.'s crop info to POTUS last night with his tripbook and he already returned it to our office.
I assume he read it, but if he asks for it, Stephen has a copy. - Phil

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
21919

96 FEB 6 09:51

Good

February 5, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: RAHM EMANUEL

SUBJECT: GENERAL MCCAFFREY

Attached please find a positive piece on General McCaffrey from this week's U.S. News and World Report. Also, I thought you may want to see some of the documents we have circulated to provide background information on the General.

A general joins the war on drugs

The intensity of Gen. Barry McCaffrey's eyes betrays him as a driven man. And whether commanding a cavalry company through the jungles in Vietnam, leading an infantry division over the desert sands of Iraq or—most recently—running the U.S. Southern Command in Panama, the 53-year-old general has come to be known as a take-charge kind of guy. What isn't clear, in his new assignment as America's drug czar, is just what there is to take charge of.

Created in 1988, the job of director of national drug control policy has gradually melted into irrelevancy. The drug czar was supposed to create order from chaos in the nation's disjointed war on drugs. But the post has little real authority. The previous officeholder, former New York Police Commissioner Lee Brown, didn't have the commanding presence to make the position work. And until recently, the drug issue wasn't apparent on President Clinton's radar screen, though teenage drug use—especially of marijuana—was rising to alarming levels.

Tapping McCaffrey—and doing it publicly during his State of the Union address—allowed Clinton to protect his political flank in the approaching campaign, while sending a message that the general is in fact going to be the man giving the orders. A peek at McCaffrey's résumé leaves little doubt he has the ambition, smarts and leadership skills for a determined grab at the reins.

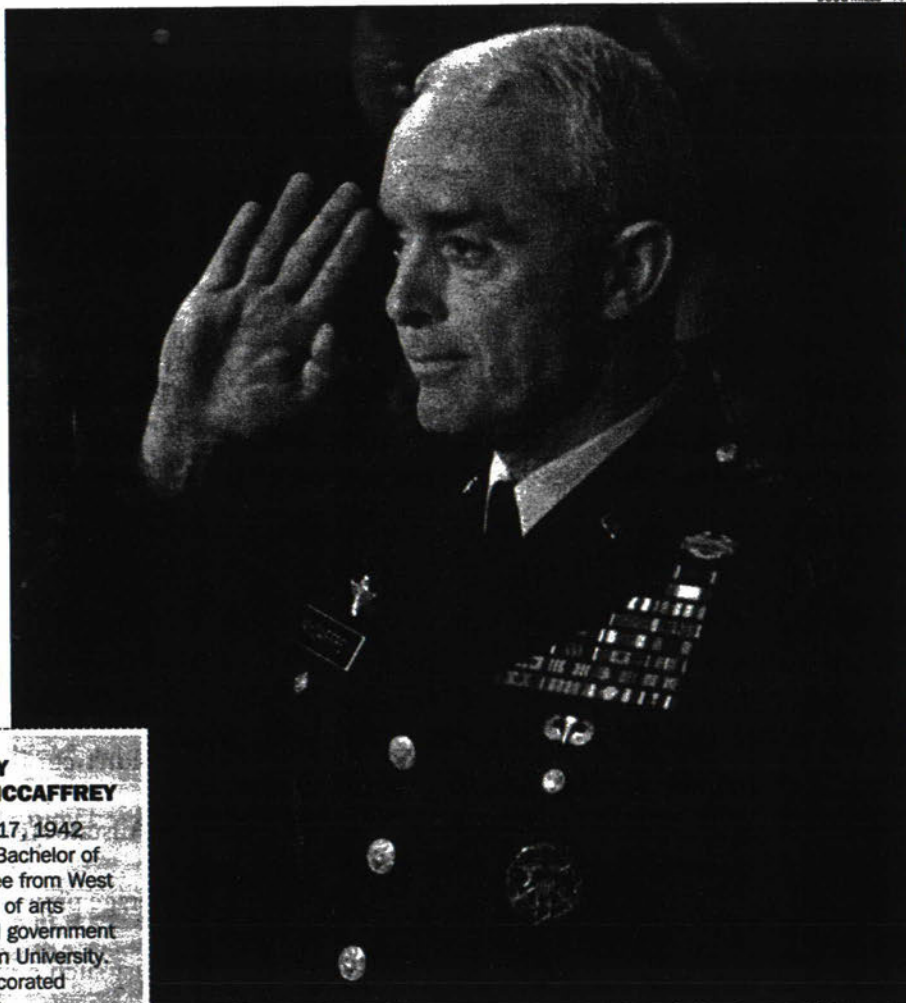
McCaffrey is known as a taskmaster with a quick temper, who is already said to be scouring the Pentagon for bright, young military aides to bring with him. A general's son, McCaffrey was on his way to Johns Hopkins University as a premed major when he heard the call of a military career. He served two tours in Vietnam, the second ending when point-blank enemy gunfire tore his left arm so severely it was "hanging by a strip of bloody meat," according to one account. Several operations were required to repair it. Some 22 years later, McCaffrey led his men and tanks on a 200-mile charge that delivered the now-famed

GEN. BARRY RICHARD MCCAFFREY

■ **Born:** Nov. 17, 1942

■ **Education:** Bachelor of science degree from West Point. Master of arts degree in civil government from American University.

■ **Honors:** Decorated for valor twice with Distinguished Service Cross; two Silver Stars, three Bronze Stars and three Purple Hearts.



Hero in a new war? McCaffrey is Clinton's State of the Union choice.

"left hook" to the remnants of Saddam Hussein's armed forces.

Like any Washington appointment, McCaffrey's is meeting its share of sniping. Interest groups worry that he knows little of drug treatment and prevention or local law enforcement, and that he will re-emphasize the kind of costly, militarized programs he had been involved with in Panama. But Rahm Emanuel, an assistant to the president, says McCaffrey was picked in part for his ability to marshal diverse resources toward a single goal. If his past record is any indication, the general has a flair for reaching a broad array of constituencies: In 1973, long before it was generally accepted, McCaffrey deliv-

ered a paper saying women should be allowed to compete for most Army jobs. And at the Pentagon, a copy of Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech hung on his wall.

Still, in the war on drugs, getting along with everyone is never easy. One drug enforcement insider says the Southern Command's "idea of coordination was to brief you after their plan was a *fait accompli*." And McCaffrey has knocked heads before with State Department ambassadors over who controls military attachés at the embassies. So the road is likely to be a bumpy one. But Barry McCaffrey has been down such roads before.

BY GORDON WITKIN WITH BRUCE AUSTER

GENERAL BARRY R. MCCAFFREY
PRESIDENT CLINTON'S NOMINEE FOR DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY

- On January 23, 1996, in his State of the Union Address, President Clinton stated: "Tonight I am nominating a hero of the Persian Gulf War and the commander-in-chief of the United States Military's Southern Command General Barry McCaffrey, as America's new drug czar. Tonight I ask that he lead our nation's battle against drugs at home and abroad. To succeed, he needs a force far larger than he has ever commanded before. He needs all of us—every one of us has a role to play on this team."
- General McCaffrey led the famous "Left Hook" maneuver in the Persian Gulf War that permitted the central attack which defeated Iraqi ground troops. He earned three Purple Hearts for wounds received in combat during his two tours in Vietnam, and was decorated twice with the Distinguished Service Cross and twice with the Silver Star for extraordinary heroism in action.
- Barry R. McCaffrey, a Four Star General, is Commander-in-Chief, U.S. Southern Command, United States Army, since February of 1994, comprising the Western Hemisphere south of Mexico. He currently supervises 22 percent of the DoD drug budget. The principal task of the U.S. agencies involved in the counternarcotics struggle in Latin America is to reduce the amount of cocaine (and increasingly heroin) being illegally smuggled to the U.S.
- Under General McCaffrey's leadership, SOUTHCOM's exercises have shifted from bi-lateral events featuring conventional combat scenarios to multi-lateral projects such as project Green Clover, a landmark effort by our Latin American partners from October-December, 1995 which shot down or interdicted twenty-seven drug smuggling planes, forced a ninefold increase in the cost of transporting cocaine, and caused a serious disruption of the South American cocaine "air bridge."
- "A man of action who can think", emerging threats analyst Ralph Peters says of General McCaffrey in Army Times. Reviewing a book detailing McCaffrey's career, Prodigal Soldiers, Peters adds, "He fought his way back from a crippling wound to lead the most ferocious mounted assault in U.S. Army history."
- General McCaffrey believes in a balanced drug control strategy: "The President's National Drug Control Strategy recognizes the cost of drugs on the American society and correctly addresses both the domestic problem of demand and the international problems of drug manufacturing and smuggling." (Testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee on February 21, 1995.)
- "The drug war is not going to be won by anybody's armed forces, to include the U.S. Armed Forces. It's an enormously complex problem. It will be won by police, prosecutors, judges, legislators who pass intelligent laws and where we have state justice working with source countries. It's also a matter, it seems to me, of the family, the school, etc. on demand reduction." (General McCaffrey at a Department of Defense briefing, September 7, 1995)
- When General McCaffrey received his SOUTHCOM appointment, knowing his responsibilities would include counternarcotics, he rode for an entire night with a New York City narcotics unit in the 46th Precinct, to see firsthand the impact of drugs on the streets of America and the challenges faced by law enforcement officers.
- McCaffrey has also gone deep into Latin American jungles where the coca leaf is grown to learn the realities and study the efficacy of our current tactics.
- General McCaffrey compares "the fight against drugs to fighting cancer, never surrendering to the pain, requiring long term and constant countermeasures, and taking a holistic approach—a principled approach—and having the family cooperate." (Speech to the Heritage Foundation, January 11, 1996.)

STATEMENTS BY GROUPS AND NEWSPAPERS ABOUT GENERAL BARRY R. MCCAFFREY

THE MIAMI HERALD:

- An editorial in the Miami Herald, endorsing McCaffrey as President Clinton's choice for the nation's drug czar (January 19, 1996) says, "General McCaffrey is a decisive, analytical, candid, soldier's soldier, the Army's most decorated officer. He says what he thinks, and he thinks with great clarity. As Southcom's commander, he is responsible for the U. S. military's role in drug interdiction efforts in Latin America, so he knows more about the drug source aspects of controlling drugs than almost any other potential appointee one could think of."

COMMUNITY ANTI-DRUG COALITIONS OF AMERICA:

- In a January 25, 1996 letter to President Clinton, James E. Copple, President and CEO of the Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America, on behalf of the 3,500 organizations of Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America, had this to say about General McCaffrey: "I wish to offer our enthusiastic support of General Barry R. McCaffrey as the nation's next Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy. Our country needs a leader who can advocate for a balanced and reasoned approach to the harms and dangers associated with substance abuse. General McCaffrey understands the need for prevention, treatment and a comprehensive approach to address issues of both the supply of drugs and the demand for drugs."

DRUG ABUSE RESISTANCE EDUCATION (D.A.R.E.):

- In a January 25, 1996 letter to President Clinton, Glenn Levant, Executive Director of Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.), on behalf of 25,000 D.A.R.E. police officers said this about General McCaffrey: "Your nomination of General Barry McCaffrey as the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy was an excellent choice. His leadership qualities and knowledge of the drug situation will ensure a dynamic approach to solving the drug epidemic."

PARTNERSHIP FOR A DRUG-FREE AMERICA:

- "Your testimony last year before the Senate Armed Services Committee indicates how strongly you are committed to solving this issue. The Partnership and I are equally dedicated to this task, and to assisting you," said James E. Burke, Chairman of the Partnership For A Drug-Free America in a letter to General McCaffrey on January 24, 1996.

PRIDE:

- Thomas J. Gleaton, Ed.D., President of PRIDE said in a January 25, 1996 letter to President Clinton: "On behalf of the men, women and children who comprise the PRIDE family, I congratulate you on the nomination of General Barry McCaffrey. Placing a decorated war hero in command of drug control policy sends a strong and clear message that drug use and drug trafficking is a real threat to the health, safety and democratic way of America."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE ALCOHOL AND DRUG ABUSE DIRECTORS, INC.

- "General McCaffrey's skills and background have prepared him well for the position of Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy. He has spent his career engaged in coordinated campaigns designed to win," wrote John S. Gustafson, Executive Director of the National Association of State Alcohol and Drug Abuse Directors, Inc. (NASADAD), on Jan. 26, 1996.

THE SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER:

- "An expert on narcotics trafficking to head the government's anti-drug program." San Francisco Examiner (January 24, 1996)

COLIN POWELL:

- From My American Journey, by Colin Powell: "General Barry McCaffrey's 24th Infantry Division punched sixty miles into Iraqi territory on the first day. The initial penetrations were so swift and so deep that Schwarzkopf was able to move up the left-hook timetable by fifteen hours."

**ADDITIONAL BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION:
GENERAL BARRY R. MCCAFFREY**

- Served as Director for Strategic Plans and Policy, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1993 to 1994.
- Served as Assistant to the Chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, 1992 to 1993.
- Commanded the 24th Infantry Division, 1990 to 1992.
- Deployed 24th Infantry Division to Saudi Arabia in August, 1990. Led division on combat operations during Desert Storm. Awarded the Distinguished Service Medal.
- Served as Director for Strategy, Plans, Policy and Joint Affairs at Headquarters, Department of the Army, 1989 to 1990.
- Served as Deputy U.S. Military Representative to the NATO Military Committee, 1988 to 1989.
- Taught American Government, National Security Studies and Comparative Politics at West Point, 1972 to 1975.
- Graduated from United States Military Academy at West Point. Earned a Master of Arts in Civil Government from American University.
- Decorated for valor twice with the Distinguished Service Cross.
- Received the NAACP Roy Wilkins Renown Service Award in 1991, while serving as the Commanding General of the 24th Infantry Division (Mech) and Fort Stewart, Georgia. The award was in recognition of the installation's outreach program.
- Received two awards of the Silver Star for heroism, a Bronze Star with Valor Device and three oak leafs clusters, three awards of the Purple Heart for wounds received in combat.
- Extensive troop service includes four combat tours.
- Foreign service includes: Dominican Republic, Vietnam, Panama, Germany, Belgium, Saudi Arabia and Iraq.
- Married with three children.

Drug Czar Nominee Gen. Barry McCaffrey

A Unique American Soldier

+ McCaffrey's core character is best described in the book Prodigal Soldiers by James Kitfield who described in rich detail how even after taking devastating enemy fire in Vietnam, McCaffrey continued to lead until he passed out from the shock and pain. The book narrates McCaffrey's recovery, how he fought back from wounds which would have side-lined most men to lead the triumphant "Left Hook" of the Liberation of Kuwait.

+ Closeup and personal is McCaffrey's style of intelligence gathering and leadership under fire. In Vietnam and in Operation Desert Storm, McCaffrey's troops never had to wonder where the boss was--he was driving them hard at the enemy--from the front! To learn exactly what big city cops are up against in the drug fight, McCaffrey arranged to accompany New York City cops on night operations against street level narcotics.

+ The first human rights office of any American military command was created by Gen. Barry McCaffrey as part of SouthCom to set an example for his own commanders as well as for allied militaries. In a region known for massive human rights abuses by soldiers acting against their own people, McCaffrey understood the power of role models and example, so he created the human rights office, sending a clear message to the region as to what is acceptable conduct in American eyes.

+ Aggressively pursuing opportunities for improved race relations has been another hallmark of McCaffrey's career. Evidence of his success was his receiving the coveted Roy Wilkins Reknown Service Award from the NAACP.

+ Integration of Women into all but combat roles in the U.S. military was a important concept, new to the thinking of most of America's military leaders when it was first proposed by young Army Captain Barry McCaffrey in 1973. Following his presentation of his paper to a conference on the future of the Army, Captain McCaffrey's ideas triggered outrage among many in the Army General Staff who heard about what the decorated and badly wounded Vietnam combat veteran had suggested. Barry McCaffrey had studied and researched carefully before making his proposal. He believed that denying women full access to military life's opportunities and challenges was morally wrong, foolish and against the national security interests of the United States. Ultimately, his proposal would become national policy.

Drug Czar Nominee Gen. Barry McCaffrey In His Own Words

* "The drug war is not going to be won by anybody's armed forces, to include the U.S. armed forces. It's an enormously complex problem. It will be won by police, prosecutors, Judges, legislators who pass intelligent laws and where we have State and Justice working with the source countries. It's also a matter, it seems to me, of the family, the school, etc. on demand reduction." (Department of Defense briefing, Sept. 7, 1995)

* "The fight against drugs is like fighting cancer, never surrendering to the pain, requiring long term and constant countermeasures, and taking a holistic approach -- a principled approach -- and having the family cooperate." (Speech to the Heritage Foundation, Jan. 11, 1996)

* "Illegal drugs, cocaine in particular, exact a frightful toll in America. Drugs kill 10,000 Americans each year. The cost to American society exceeds \$66 billion each year. Crack babies require expensive treatment to survive, and then face the prospect of impaired lives. Drug fueled crime, violence, and corruption affect us all. The President's National Drug Control Strategy recognizes these costs and correctly addresses both the domestic problem of demand and the international problems of drug manufacturing and smuggling." (Testimony before Senate Armed Services Committee, Feb. 21, 1995)

* "Throughout the Andean ridge, our allies in this cause have shown great courage and tenacity. Tactical successes can be seen everywhere. The challenge is to link these successes into an overarching operational scheme that supports a regional strategy." (Testimony before Senate Armed Services Committee, Feb. 21, 1995)

Endorsements for Drug Czar Nominee McCaffrey From the Prevention and Treatment Community

COMMUNITY ANTI-DRUG COALITIONS OF AMERICA:

- In a January 25, 1996 letter to President Clinton, James E. Copple, President and CEO of the Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America, on behalf of the 3,500 organizations of Community Anti-Drug Coalitions of America, had this to say about General McCaffrey: "I wish to offer our enthusiastic support of General Barry R. McCaffrey as the nation's next Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy. Our country needs a leader who can advocate for a balanced and reasoned approach to the harms and dangers associated with substance abuse. General McCaffrey understands the need for prevention, treatment and a comprehensive approach to address issues of both the supply of drugs and the demand for drugs."

DRUG ABUSE RESISTANCE EDUCATION (D.A.R.E.):

- In a January 25, 1996 letter to President Clinton, Glenn Levant, Executive Director of Drug Abuse Resistance Education (D.A.R.E.), on behalf of 25,000 D.A.R.E. police officers said this about General McCaffrey: "Your nomination of General Barry McCaffrey as the Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy was an excellent choice. His leadership qualities and knowledge of the drug situation will ensure a dynamic approach to solving the drug epidemic."

PARTNERSHIP FOR A DRUG-FREE AMERICA:

- "Your testimony last year before the Senate Armed Services Committee indicates how strongly you are committed to solving this issue. The Partnership and I are equally dedicated to this task, and to assisting you," said James E. Burke, Chairman of the Partnership For A Drug-Free America in a letter to President Clinton on January 24, 1996.

PRIDE:

- Thomas J. Gleaton, Ed.D., President of PRIDE said in a January 25, 1996 letter to President Clinton: "On behalf of the men, women and children who comprise the PRIDE family, I congratulate you on the nomination of General Barry McCaffrey. Placing a decorated war hero in command of drug control policy sends a strong and clear message that drug use and drug trafficking is a real threat to the health, safety and democratic way of America."

NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF STATE ALCOHOL and DRUG ABUSE DIRECTORS (NASADAD):

- "I wish to offer our enthusiastic support of the nomination of General Barry R. McCaffrey as the Nation's next Director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy. General McCaffrey has demonstrated his leadership and ability to analyze and find solutions to difficult problems. In his testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee last year he demonstrated his commitment to a balanced national drug strategy of enforcement, prevention, and treatment. NASADAD, and its members, look forward to working hand-in-hand with General McCaffrey," said John S. Gustafson, Executive Director of the National Association of State Alcohol and Drug Abuse Directors (NASADAD) in a January 26, 1996 letter to President Clinton.

WOMEN IN THE ARMY

General McCaffrey's views contained in his thesis *We are Soldiers All - An Analysis of Possible Roles for Women in the Army* were revolutionary at the time they were written. Here are a few excerpts that may be useful to you. They are snapshots into the historical context of how then Captain Barry McCaffrey's initially controversial ideas manifested themselves through the passage of time.

For all its proud and stubborn adherence to tradition, however, West Point had been buffeted by changes that were sweeping the country in the early 1960s. The year McCaffrey had graduated, the sweeping Civil Rights Act of 1964 had been passed into law. McCaffrey's father was one of the white officers who had led a division of black soldiers in World War II, and since then the Army had slowly been integrating. Barry could still remember black soldiers coming to the back door of their house and being told by his father to use the front door in the future. Yet only two black cadets were in his graduating class, and in its 160-year history West Point had graduated only fifty black cadets. The idea of a female cadet was still laughable.

-- Excerpt from *Prodigal Soldiers*
Page 33

In his presentation, McCaffrey had had the audacity to suggest the obvious, or at least what passed for it in his eyes. From his earlier work with the office of the special assistant to the Modern Volunteer Army, he knew that all of the services were committed to dramatically increasing the recruitment of women to help fill the ranks of an all-volunteer force. Of course they did it at the persistent arm-twisting of civilian Defense Department officials, but it was a commitment none the less. For the Army, that translated into plans to double the number of women between 1972 and 1977.

In addition to his library research for the paper, McCaffrey had interviewed the director of the Women's Army Corps (WAC), as well as a number of social science experts. His recommendations to the conference included discontinuing the WAC, integrating women into the Army mainstream, and allowing them to compete for jobs in all military occupations save those related to direct combat, which he defined as anything at the combat brigade staff or lower.

-- Excerpt from *Prodigal Soldiers*
Page 132

The number of women joining the Army continued to increase as well, and just three years after McCaffrey had been chewed out by the superintendent at West Point over his paper on integrating women into Army ranks and abolishing the WAC, 118 female cadets had entered the Academy with the plebes of 1976, the first women cadets in West Point's history.

-- Excerpt from *Prodigal Soldiers*
Page 186

Though at times it seemed as if the public at large had taken scant notice, the role of women in the all-volunteer force had continued to evolve in the 1980s to the point where they accounted for 11 percent of the active-duty Army, compared to just 1.5 percent at the end of the Vietnam-era draft. In all, 223,000 women were in the active-duty armed forces, and 41,000 women service members would eventually deploy to the Persian Gulf.

-- Excerpt from *Prodigal Soldiers*
Page 354

Recognizing that readiness is enhanced by eliminating unnecessary barriers to service, the Army has expanded opportunities for Army women. Women comprise almost 13 percent of the active Army, almost 8 percent of the National Guard, and over 21 percent of the Army Reserve. As of October 1, 1994, 91 percent of the Army's career fields and 67 percent of Army positions are open to women. Eighty-seven percent of the Army's enlisted military occupational specialties, 97 percent of warrant officer specialties, and 97 percent of officer specialties are open to women.

-- Excerpt from the *United States Army*
Posture Statement - FY 1996
Page 83

NAACP

- General McCaffrey is a member of the Liberty County Chapter of the NAACP located in Hinesville, Georgia.
- **Roy Wilkins Renown Service Award:** General McCaffrey received the Roy Wilkins Renown Service Award from the NAACP in 1992 while serving as Commanding General, 24th Infantry Division (Mechanized), Fort Stewart, Georgia. This was the first time a commander at Fort Stewart had been bestowed this honor.

The Roy Wilkins Renown Service Award was instituted in 1980 by the NAACP Armed Services and Veterans Affairs Department in recognition of the distinguished service of Roy Wilkins, the fifth NAACP Executive Director who established the NAACP Armed Services and Veterans Affairs Department in 1969. Roy Wilkins recognized that the same strides that were being made for procurement of civil and human rights for African Americans in the civilian populace must also encompass those who serve in the military. He understood that it was up to organizations like the NAACP to ensure that Executive Order 9981 was enforced and that its call for desegregation of our military population was strictly adhered to. This award salutes those who continue the struggle for equality in the Armed Services.

- **Description of General McCaffrey's Involvement with the NAACP:** The following statement was provided by the Reverend J.C. Shipman, Pastor of the Bolton Street Missionary Baptist Church, 821 Martin Luther King, Jr. Boulevard, Savannah, Georgia 31401.

Note: Reverend Shipman served as Equal Employment Opportunity Officer (1988-1991), and later Director, Equal Employment Opportunity Directorate (1991-1995), Fort Stewart, Georgia. He was the principal author of General McCaffrey's nomination for the NAACP Roy Wilkins Renowned Service Award.

General McCaffrey was personally involved in all facets of military and civilian life in the Liberty County, Hinesville, and Fort Stewart Communities. His accessibility and concern in spite of his busy schedule resulted in him receiving the Liberty County Branch of the NAACP Outstanding Citizen Award. This was the first time this award was given to any commander at Fort Stewart at any level.

General McCaffrey was also the first and only commander of the 24th Infantry Division (Mechanized) and Fort Stewart to join the local branch of the NAACP. He also purchased a sufficient number of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s *I Have A Dream* speech on suitable-for-framing parchment to distribute to all of his brigade and battalion commanders. He displayed his copy in his office just below President Abraham Lincoln's *Gettysburg Address*.

General McCaffrey is fair to all regardless of race, creed, color, religion, or national origin. He worked tirelessly to increase the visibility of minorities at Fort Stewart. In 1991, the Fort Stewart Equal Employment Opportunity Office was upgraded to directorate status, and the first African American in the history of Fort Stewart was appointed as director. Under General McCaffrey's leadership the first African American female was selected as a general manager within the Fort Stewart Directorate of Information Management. Additionally, at one point during his command, two battalion commanders, the Division Command Sergeant Major, the Secretary of the General Staff, and his aide-de-camp were African Americans. General McCaffrey also served as Grand Marshal of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Parade in 1992, the first commanding general in Fort Stewart history to do so.

General Barry McCaffrey is truly an outstanding American.

-- The Reverend J.C. Shipman
February 6, 1996



CENTER ON BUDGET AND POLICY PRIORITIES

To: George Stephanopoulos

From: Bob Greenstein

Subject: Governors' Welfare Proposal

Date: February 5, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/9/96

On the Democratic side, the negotiations appear to have involved largely Gov. Tom Carper, with little involvement of other governors. Roy Romer told me this morning he had not been involved, had little idea what was included, and that Gov. Carper was handling it.

The Republicans, led by Engler, are stealing the Democrats' pants. In most (but not all) areas, the proposal is well to the right of the Senate welfare bill and of the tentative agreements reached in budget negotiations between the White House and Republican leaders.

- *The governors worked from the welfare conference agreement, not the Senate welfare bill. In all areas where specific changes to the conference agreement aren't identified, the conference agreement would be ratified. Large numbers of objectionable provisions in the conference agreement would be swallowed whole.*
- The one main improvement in the agreement is the addition of \$4 billion for child care.
- In the other principal area where there is an improvement — more welfare "contingency" funding for states in which poverty increases — the improvement is a disappointment; it is smaller than the improvement the Administration and Democratic Congressional leaders would likely get in direct negotiations with Republican leaders of Congress. The governors' proposal increases the contingency fund from \$1 billion (in the conference report) to \$2 billion over five years. This is inadequate. In the recession of the early 1990s, federal AFDC funding rose nearly \$6 billion in just three years.

In numerous other areas, the proposal is very unfortunate.

Food Stamps

- The conference report contains over \$27 billion in food stamp cuts. The proposed agreement accepts all of them. The President has said he doesn't want more than \$22 billion in cuts here.
- The proposal accepts in full the food stamp cut that hits hard at families with children which pay over half their income for rent and utilities. This cut would significantly increase child poverty. It wasn't in the Senate welfare bill. Gingrich and Dole agreed to drop most of this cut in a budget negotiations session with the President.
- The proposal accepts the conference proposal that throws unemployed adults who aren't raising minor children off of food stamps after four months *without offering them a work slot*. The President made clear to Gingrich and Dole we can't deny food stamps to indigent people who are willing to work without offering them a work slot. I'm told Gingrich and Dole agreed the President was right about that. Democrats on the Hill — including the Coalition — have been firm all year on this issue. But Carper would give it away.
- Perhaps most serious of all in the food stamp area, it retains the state option for a food stamp block grant. Furthermore, there is a report that the governors agreed to substitute the Senate welfare bill provision in this area for the conference provision; this is one of the few areas where the Senate bill is much worse than the conference bill. The Senate block grant provision would effectively allow states taking the food stamp block grant to use federal food stamp money for various *non-food stamp* costs now borne by states. As a result, a majority of states indicated last fall they'd take the block grant if the Senate version prevailed.

The food stamp program can't survive as a national program if half or more of the states take the block grant. If large numbers of states take the block grant, Members of Congress from block-grant states would have a "free vote" to cut the national food stamp eligibility and benefit structure anytime that mandatory budget savings are needed.

The tentative agreement would mean that over time, the entitlement would largely be lost in *both* AFDC and food stamps. The effect on child poverty of losing both entitlements would likely be quite severe.

Legal Immigrants

- The proposal swallows all of the conference agreement cuts on legal immigrants except that it exempts some elderly and disabled legal immigrants who don't have "sponsors" (usually relatives) from loss of benefits.
- The proposal does nothing to prevent loss of any benefits for legal immigrant children, an issue the President mentioned to me he is concerned about.
- It includes Medicaid among the programs from which most legal immigrants would be barred for some period of time, thereby increasing the ranks of the uninsured and shifting costs. Cities would be hit hard by this cost shift. The Administration has always exempted Medicaid from its legal immigrant restrictions.
- It fails even to pick up the Senate welfare bill provision, dropped in conference, that exempts child nutrition programs and WIC from the immigrant restrictions. Many immigrant children attending school would be refused school lunches. Some poor pregnant women who are immigrants would be refused WIC, thereby increasing the likelihood that their children — who will be U.S. citizens — will be born at a low birthweight or with a disability.

Welfare

- The proposal maintains the very weak conference provisions on "maintenance-of-effort" that allow states to cut state funding by 25 percent, allowing states to withdraw \$28 billion in state funds over seven years, compared to current law. The Senate welfare bill was inadequate here, too, but was a bit stronger than the conference agreement.
- The proposal does not fix the conference provision that allows states to transfer up to 30 percent of welfare block grant funds to various other programs, including services for the elderly (a more powerful constituency). A likely result is deeper benefit cuts for children and inadequate resources for work programs.
- The proposal maintains the more restrictive conference version, rather than the Senate version, regarding the number of families to whom states are allowed to grant a hardship exemption from the five-year lifetime time-limit. Here, also, the certain result is more poverty.

EITC

The proposal agreement calls for \$10 billion in EITC cuts. This is outrageous; EITC cuts aren't a part of the Senate or House welfare bills or of the welfare conference report. Moreover, governors don't administer the EITC; it's part of federal tax law. EITC cuts shouldn't be here.

It's one thing to include \$10 billion in EITC cuts as part of an overall budget package that gets you all the way to budget balance, that contains a child tax credit which offsets the EITC cuts so low-income working families do not face a tax increase, and that contains \$10 billion in EITC cuts *in return for* lessening other cuts affecting poor families with children. But this is not what the governors' proposed agreement would do. The governors propose to cut the EITC as part of a stand-alone welfare agreement that does *not* get to budget balance and that asks for no sacrifice from anyone else.

Under this proposal, millions of low-income working families would have their taxes raised. Yet no other revenue-raising provisions that have been proposed by the White House and Congress — such as proposals to close some egregious corporate loopholes — would be included. Only the working poor would have their taxes increased.

SSI

- The tentative agreement fails to fix a provision of the conference agreement that, over time, raises the age at which the elderly poor can qualify for SSI from 65 to 67. This provision would primarily affect poor elderly women who live alone, effectively cutting a hole in the safety net insofar as they are concerned. This provision would disadvantage states; many of these poor elderly women would undoubtedly turn to their states for help.

Republican Congressional negotiators agreed to drop this provision in the budget negotiations. But it apparently has not been dropped in the proposed governors package.

Child Nutrition

- The conference agreement is left unchanged here. It contains more onerous cuts in several child nutrition programs than the Senate welfare bill did, including the program that provides nutrition assistance for children in child care. The Senate welfare saved as much in this area as the conference report but did so with less harm to children. Various

Senate Republicans have indicated they would like to see changes made in this area as a result of negotiations with Democrats.

Medicaid Coverage for Children

Left unresolved is whether poor children and families who would be eligible for AFDC under current law will be assured of health care coverage through Medicaid. Both the Senate and House welfare bills maintained coverage for these families. By contrast, the conference report allowed states to drop coverage. The document indicates the governors have not yet resolved this issue.

Conclusion

If approved by governors on a bipartisan basis, the proposed agreement would represent a master strategic stroke by Republicans, as they would have enlisted Democratic governors in supporting a proposal to the right of the Senate welfare bill in numerous areas and even farther to the right of the agreements that had begun to be worked out by the White House and Congressional leaders during the budget negotiations.

2/2/96

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 2/9/96

Boy Smith asked if
he could come see you
about this marketing
position he discussed
with you —

N

Twelve

Fisher / Sorin

need to discuss
this — PLS need
consider we should get him
to help in camp — anyway
let's discuss

Bc

1. Dec 1995 / 1-31
2. Pres / 1-31

30Jan96

MEMORANDUM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2/9/96

TO: The President

FROM: Guy L. Smith

SUBJ: Marketing the Clinton Presidency

Dear Mr. President:

The attached article by Congressman Charles Schumer of New York (from today's editions of The Wall Street Journal) makes numerous key points about the success of the Clinton Presidency. It also puts these successes into stark contrast with the other party. And, this article lists but a few of the literally hundreds of key reasons why your Administration has been successful and good for the country. All these examples and others need to be more fully exploited.

Too few audiences important to your continuing success are adequately aware of all the accomplishments. This is certainly not a criticism of existing efforts to position the Administration. Rather, it is to urge you to take another step to further take advantage of the successes.

As we discussed at Renaissance, you need somebody to look a week or a month out and think not just how to position or choreograph your actions and activities, but also how to fully exploit them, using the full and coordinated resources of the White House, the DNC, and the campaign.

Right now a solid job is being done with surrogates from cabinet departments. The White House focus on key messages is far better than a year ago. And, clearly you are on a roll. So, let's take even more advantage of all this.

Here are just a few specific additional steps that can be taken with any particular position or action to more fully exploit and merchandise it:

1. Generate op-ed pieces around the country
2. Stimulate letters-to-the-editor of support in key geographic locations or within key groups (e.g. police trade publications)
3. Enhance events to provide more and better news coverage
4. Looking a week or a month into the future permits time to add a level of creativity to an event, or a speech, or an appearance that will enhance key message delivery
5. Deeper penetration with key messages not just to major surrogates, but also to important Clinton partisans at the state and local level (coordinated through the DNC or campaign)
6. Further marketing the work of the various WH offices to advance the Administration (public liaison, intergovernment affairs, drug czar, NSC)

Mr. President, these are just a few examples. But there is so much that can be taken advantage of for the benefit of the Administration, ranging from the major events, actions, and positions to the areas that get less attention on the network news but are nevertheless critical to the continuing success of your Administration. And, there is also the need for continuing damage control (and, as you know, I have many years experience in major damage control).

Also, when activities, events, and policy positions are more fully exploited and communicated to wider and deeper audiences, it has an important impact on both the receiving audience and on all the talking heads of Washington's media elite.

As you know, I'd like to take on this assignment. And in the absence of any indication from you to the contrary, I respectfully submit these additional ideas. I do not envision this marketing assignment as stepping onto any current operation's turf. Rather, it would serve as a value-added function. May I suggest a further conversation between us on the subject? Let me know and I'll be there.

Let's just do it!

Sincerely,

Guy

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL TUESDAY, JANUARY 30, 1996

Strange Bedfellows

By CHARLES E. SCHUMER

Let's play a game: Guess the political party.

In one party, the president begins his fourth year in office with the stock market at a historic high after climbing by one-third in value the previous year. Economic growth, as measured by the gross domestic product, is steady, sustainable and secure. Corporate profits are generally high with two-thirds of the Dow 30 posting greater-than-expected earnings. Major trade agreements have been signed with Japan, Canada, and including GATT, much of the world.

The misery index, the combination of the nation's unemployment rate and inflation, is at 8.3%, the lowest in 30 years. Long-term interest rates are hovering at a comfortable 6% and drifting lower.

The budget deficit has been cut in half after declining for three consecutive years for the first time since Martin and Lewis knocked 'em dead in the Catskills. And to a standing ovation, this great communicator proclaims "the era of big government is over" in his State of the Union address.

The other party controls Congress. When the silver-haired speaker of the House makes economic statements, the bond market plummets. When he reaches an agreement with the president and Senate majority leader on funding the government, he fails to deliver the vote and is jeered by his own caucus.

His party has walked out of negotiations with the president to balance the budget.

His rank and file have joined with the House majority leader in threatening to bring the nation into its first-ever default, putting the U.S. on its first credit watch in 220 years.

And in response to the president's State



Bill Clinton

of the Union address, his party paints dark and dour picture of the U.S. economy and state of America's mental health.

Ronald Reagan and Tip O'Neill, right Wrong.

The characters are, of course, Bill Clinton as the fiscally responsible Democratic president preaching hope and prosperity, and Newt Gingrich as the Republican leader of a reckless band willing to shut down the government and default on the debt.

To paraphrase a somewhat successful advertising slogan, "[T]his is not your father's Democratic Party... nor Republican Party for that matter." The GOP is far from the middle of the road Chamber of Commerce party it once was. It is defined by the whims of 73 freshman officeholders who prove time and again that they are clearly not ready for prime time ("Please don't boo, hiss, or throw things at the president," warned party elders before the State of the Union address).

Proving that old habits are hard to break, nearly all of the nation's business publications still loathe the Democrats and laud the Republicans. Maybe it's because recent events have made them appear so... inaccurate. They warned that the 1993 budget deal would cause a recession. It didn't. They wrote that the same budget deal would result in bigger deficits, not smaller ones. They were wrong. They predicted higher interest rates and higher inflation. That turned out to be faulty and erroneous.

But many Republicans from Wall Street to Main Street must secretly hope that Democrats continue to succeed. While keenly aware that the Democrats might never have tried to balance the budget without a push from the right, they still must wonder what happened to their Grand Old Party. Why is the GOP giving bondholders a heart attack? Why are they putting forth the party's most extreme positions? Maybe these Democrats ain't so bad.

Mr. Schumer is a Democratic congressman from New York.

SECTION
B

TUESDAY
FEBRUARY 6, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

WASHINGTON EDITION

CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles Times

Comment ON CALIFORNIA

The Gipper Celebrates a Birthday

By George Skelton

On her 85th birthday about 11 years ago, my mother was sitting alone in her tiny Ojai home when the telephone rang. A voice said, "This is the White House operator calling."

Her son was The Times' White House correspondent, but he never called through an operator. What's going on? she wondered.

"Is this Effie Skelton?"

"Yes."

"The President would like to talk with you."

Somebody's kidding around.

"Mrs. Skelton?"

"Yes."

"This is Ronald Reagan."

"It is?"

"I'm just calling to wish you a happy birthday."

"Well . . . haven't you got better things to do?"

That's my mom—and that's Ronald Reagan. Even on a Sunday evening, the President had a lot better things to do. But he enjoyed making people happy. And, of course, he also was doing a favor for a reporter who had covered him for 20 years.

Reagan always was pushing volunteerism, and I had cited that as a rationale for the birthday call. He and mom chatted briefly about her long volunteer work for the Ojai Valley Museum.

"The essence to understanding Ronald Reagan is that he genuinely likes people," says Mark Weinberg, the press aide who had set up the call. "He took great pleasure in brightening their day."

"There was nothing insincere about him. He may have been an actor, but he wasn't a fake."

And now, on Tuesday, it's Ronald Reagan's 85th birthday.

"He's doing real good. The disease is a bitch," says daughter Maureen Reagan. "Nearly half the people 85 and older have some kind of Alzheimer's."

Reagan and his wife Nancy have lent their names to an Alzheimer's research institute. They're trying "to



Tremayne Davis, 13, says he wishes police could stop criminals without bothering bystanders like himself.

A Balm Rather Than a Cure

■ Law: Civil court order brings relief to an area of Pasadena. But critics, and even police, say it alone can't stop crime.

By ABIGAIL GOLDMAN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Life is less frightening these days along the tree-lined streets of northwest Pasadena, a neighborhood of stately old homes with graying paint, boxlike apartment buildings, lovingly tended cottages and a complex of low-income housing.

The community once notorious for its vicious gang violence and virulent drug trade has arrived at better times. Loud all-night parties are almost a relic. Children who roamed Summit Avenue at night are now in their homes after 10 p.m. The nightly gunshots that rained down on the neighborhood have been all but silenced, and

outside the community argue, it just might be.

"You want to stop gang activity on Summit Avenue? Bring in the National Guard," said Bert Voorhees, a civil rights attorney in Pasadena. "But when the National Guard leaves, you still have bad lighting and an overgrown street. And the criminal activity that you said you were interested in stopping has just picked up and moved a few blocks."

Many residents, however, are content to leave the questions of constitutionality and long-term effectiveness to the academics. Their neighborhood is quieter, and that's enough for them.

"When I see the ACLU and all opposing us, well, what about the civil liberties of the victims?" asked Rudy Partida, a resident of the area for 12 years. "The shooting has dropped down to nothing. The gang members may be taking their trouble down the street, but I'm happy for us."

Before the measures can be upheld or overturned by higher courts—including the

independent review of the program, anecdotal success stories and promises of victory over gangs have become a regular part of the pitch.

"Huntington Park residents are here asking for help," Garcetti told the crowd. "We can give it to them with gang injunctions."

Before the injunction, the area north of Old Pasadena each month logged hundreds of calls for police assistance.

Since October, calls for police service in the area have fallen 35%, said Deanne Ancker Castorena, the deputy district attorney who helped craft the injunctions in Norwalk and Pasadena. There have been only six arrests for injunction violations.

The district attorney's office maintains that the injunction is designed not to increase arrests but to stop certain kinds of behavior.

"It's much more effective to say, 'Your name is on this court order and we're not going to put up with your crap anymore,'"

Explosion Threat Shuts I-15 Again

■ Derailment: Tank car overturned in last week's fatal train accident in Cajon Pass begins rumbling from chemical reaction.

By TOM GORMAN
and ERIC MALNIC
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

A 20-mile stretch of Interstate 15 through the Cajon Pass was shut down again Monday after a chemical reaction in a tank car that overturned in last week's fatal train derailment threatened to explode.

"This tank started to rumble and gurgie," said Bill Peters, a spokesman for the California Department of Forestry. Officials said the car was so hot that water sprayed on it evaporated in a hiss of steam.

They said the pressurized car was filled with butyl acrylate, a noxious, highly flammable gas used in the manufacture of paints and caulk.

"We are in a definite go-slow, go-safe mode," Peters said. He said fears that the tank car might explode—hurling flaming debris onto the highway; several hundred yards away—had prompted the decision to close the highway Sunday night.

"It's an indefinite closure," he said. "We're aware of the inconvenience, but public safety is the primary concern."

The 49-car Burlington Northern-Santa Fe freight train hurtled off the tracks on a curving stretch of the treacherous downhill grade through the Cajon Pass before dawn Thursday, killing the conductor and a trainman and seriously injuring the engineer.

The derailed train burst into flames upon impact and the fire continued to burn fiercely for a day and a half, closing I-15 for

A Balm Rather Than a Cure

Law: Civil court order brings relief to an area of Pasadena. But critics, and even police, say it alone can't stop crime.

By ABIGAIL GOLDMAN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Life is less frightening these days along the tree-lined streets of northwest Pasadena, a neighborhood of stately old homes with graying paint, boxlike apartment buildings, lovingly tended cottages and a complex of low-income housing.

The community once notorious for its vicious gang violence and virulent drug trade has arrived at better times. Loud all-night parties are almost a relic. Children who roamed Summit Avenue at night are now in their homes after 10 p.m. The nightly gunshots that rained down on the neighborhood have been all but silenced, and many of the hoodlums who held the residents hostage have moved on.

Since October, Pasadena has joined a growing list of communities—including Norwalk, Long Beach, Burbank and San Jose—trying to curb gang problems by using civil court orders. Within a 12-square-block zone in Pasadena, specific individuals are barred from a variety of gang-associated activities—some of which are otherwise legal, such as talking on a cellular phone, and some of which are illegal in any instance, such as dealing drugs.

Early crime statistics demonstrate that when police use the injunctions to crack down on the loitering, gambling, drug dealing, drinking and partying of the defendants, many either get in line or get out—at least for the time being.

But if it all seems too simple, some in and

outside the community argue, it just might be.

"You want to stop gang activity on Summit Avenue? Bring in the National Guard," said Bert Voorhees, a civil rights attorney in Pasadena. "But when the National Guard leaves, you still have bad lighting and an overgrown street. And the criminal activity that you said you were interested in stopping has just picked up and moved a few blocks."

Many residents, however, are content to leave the questions of constitutionality and long-term effectiveness to the academics. Their neighborhood is quieter, and that's enough for them.

"When I see the ACLU and all opposing us, well, what about the civil liberties of the victims?" asked Rudy Partida, a resident of the area for 12 years. "The shooting has dropped down to nothing. The gang members may be taking their trouble down the street, but I'm happy for us."

Before the measures can be upheld or overturned by higher courts—including the state Supreme Court, which has agreed to hear an injunction case from San Jose—plans to expand the program throughout the county and the state are barreling ahead.

Los Angeles Dist. Atty. Gil Garcetti, whose Strategy Against Gang Environment's program is behind several of the Los Angeles County injunctions, including Pasadena's, is working on still more court orders for East Los Angeles, Lennox, Inglewood, Huntington Park and additional areas of Pasadena.

Gov. Pete Wilson, at a media event with Garcetti in Huntington Park last month, threw his support behind the initiatives, outlining a provision in his state budget proposal that would funnel \$2.5 million to smaller communities that want injunctions but cannot afford their hefty price tags.

Although there has yet to be an

independent review of the program, anecdotal success stories and promises of victory over gangs have become a regular part of the pitch.

"Huntington Park residents are here asking for help," Garcetti told the crowd. "We can give it to them with gang injunctions."

Before the injunction, the area north of Old Pasadena each month logged hundreds of calls for police assistance.

Since October, calls for police service in the area have fallen 35%, said Deanne Ancker Castorena, the deputy district attorney who helped craft the injunctions in Norwalk and Pasadena. There have been only six arrests for injunction violations.

The district attorney's office maintains that the injunction is designed not to increase arrests but to stop certain kinds of behavior.

"It's much more effective to say, 'Your name is on this court order and we're not going to put up with your crap anymore,'" Castorena said, "than to say, 'Obey the penal code.'"

Each injunction is tailored to address the problems of the community it covers.

In Long Beach, the order governs violence and narcotics; the Norwalk rules go after loud partying and graffiti. In Pasadena, the injunction was designed to combat the drug trade of the Pasadena Denver Lanes, an offshoot of the Bloods gang.

That means that in the target zone, those named in the injunction are forbidden to approach passing cars, carry pagers or phones, hang out on rooftops, signal that police are approaching, drink in public, gamble, sell drugs or be with anyone selling drugs.

Those younger than 18 must be inside between 10 p.m. and sunrise unless they are

Please see INJUNCTION, B4

Shootings Shatter Safety Program at Dorsey

By JOHN L. MITCHELL and AMY PYLE
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

When Los Angeles school officials were trying to make the neighborhoods around inner-city high schools safer for students, their first target was Dorsey High, which had suffered several shootings near the campus in past years.

Extra school police and Los Angeles Police Department officers were deployed around Dorsey before and after class in the hopes of discouraging attacks on students. Eventually the school became a model for the district.

But Monday, despite those precautions, the Southwest Los Angeles school became a model of the district's frustration.

Shortly before 8 a.m. around the corner from the front of the school, a gunman wounded two Dorsey students and shot a third teenager. The suspect then jumped into a car with three companions and sped off, police said.

A school police officer who was part of the special off-campus patrol had come on duty minutes before the shooting. But he was several blocks away when the attack occurred.

The Dorsey students, Eddie Gamez, 14, and Aldo Dominguez, 16, were in guarded and serious condition, respectively, at UCLA Medical Center. Alberto Ruiz, 14, who school district officials said does not attend Dorsey, was treated for a minor gunshot wound to his arm at Midway Hospital and released.

Detectives noted that because the victims were Latino and the suspects black, it was



GARY FRIEDMAN / Los Angeles Times
Police investigators at scene of the shooting across from Dorsey High School.

a recent shooting of black gang members by Latino suspects two miles away. However, they said there were no indications that the

"They were just walking to school. They were innocent victims," Det. Paul Mize said. As word of the shooting spread, parents began coming to the high school.

"I heard about the shooting on the news and came right over to take my daughter out. I'm scared she might get hurt if someone decides to retaliate," said Luz Loya, a preschool teacher with a 15-year-old child at Dorsey.

Efforts to make the streets outside the school safer began in 1993 after two shootings near Dorsey and two others on the campuses of Fairfax and Reseda high schools.

The Reseda and Fairfax shootings—the latter of which occurred in a classroom—prompted school officials to begin installing metal detectors on some campuses. The Dorsey shooting that same year raised a thornier question of school district accountability for off-campus crime.

Previously, in an effort to distance itself from the issue, the district had maintained that school officials should not be held accountable for problems outside their doors.

But after two youths were shot on their way to Dorsey—one as he stepped off the bus, another as he bought food from a catering truck—Supt. Sid Thompson formed the Dorsey Safe School Project.

"The district felt it could not fight this ... violence alone," said Wesley Mitchell, the school district police chief.

The resulting liaison among school police, the LAPD's Southwest Division and various

See Dorsey p4

They said the pressurized car was filled with butyl acrylate, a noxious, highly flammable gas used in the manufacture of paints and caulk.

"We are in a definite go-slow, go-safe mode," Peters said. He said fears that the tank car might explode—hurling flaming debris onto the highway, several hundred yards away—had prompted the decision to close the highway Sunday night.

"It's an indefinite closure," he said. "We're aware of the inconvenience, but public safety is the primary concern."

The 49-car Burlington Northern-Santa Fe freight train hurtled off the tracks on a curving stretch of the treacherous downhill grade through the Cajon Pass before dawn Thursday, killing the conductor and a trainman and seriously injuring the engineer.

The derailed train burst into flames upon impact and the fire continued to burn fiercely for a day and a half, closing I-15 for more than 30 hours and forcing highway and rail traffic to detour as much as 100 miles around the canyon, which is one of the few gateways through the mountains that ring the Los Angeles Basin.

The highway reopened Friday afternoon as the flames died down enough for cleanup crews to start mopping up. The work proceeded

Please see TRAIN, B4

Elizabeth Taylor Files for 8th Divorce

By MILES CORWIN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

After Elizabeth Taylor and Welsh actor Richard Burton divorced in 1973, she offered a lofty explanation for the breakup: "We have loved each other too much."

After she filed for divorce Monday from her seventh husband, construction worker Larry Fortensky, her explanation was prosaic: "Irreconcilable differences."

"The whole thing will be worked out amicably between Elizabeth and Larry," said Taylor's attorney, Neil Papiano. "They are both very sorry matters didn't work out, but they still have great respect and love for each other."

While the situation may appear grim to Fortensky, he could take heart from events that followed Taylor's 1973 split from Burton. Sixteen months after the divorce, they remarried and Burton, once her fifth husband, then became her sixth.

They did not, however, stay married long. They re-divorced eight months later.

Taylor recuperated quickly from the trauma of two marriages and two divorces from the same man. Six months after the second

Malcolm Klein, a sociology professor at USC and author of the 1995 book "The American Street Gang," said there is a good chance the injunctions can do more harm than good.

And at a series of community forums, the NAACP has argued that this method of dealing with gang behavior goes too far. Charles Bereal, the NAACP's branch president and a resident of

stashed in his jeans. "Everybody knows me and everybody should know him," said Georgia Hall, Tremayne's grandmother and a 33-year resident of the area. "Can you imagine, asking a clean-cut, well-dressed young

can't participate in the related behavior, the goes, you can't deal drugs. In addition to worrying injunction's effects on residents, the Americanerties Union and other

DORSEY

Continued from B1

community groups began with high-level meetings of bureaucrats and politicians downtown. More valuable, Mitchell said, were subsequent school-based meetings, where Dorsey students talked openly about gang and drug hot spots along their routes to school.

"The kids talked about passing through gang hangouts, we detailed officers to make those less desirable," Mitchell said. "They told us about crack houses and drug-dealing locations. With information from those kids and narcotics officers, we all began to focus in on those areas, clear out the traffic."

The plan of attack included erecting wrought-iron fences around three sides of the school to keep students in and nonstudents out. It also called for increasing LAPD patrols in nearby neighborhoods before and after school and moving a school police officer from on-campus patrol to a car in the neighborhood during those periods.

As a result, officials said, crimes against students at and around Dorsey dropped from 19 in 1993 to one in 1994. By last spring, the district was requiring all 50 high schools and 600 other campuses to adopt at least a part of the Dorsey strategy for off-campus peace.

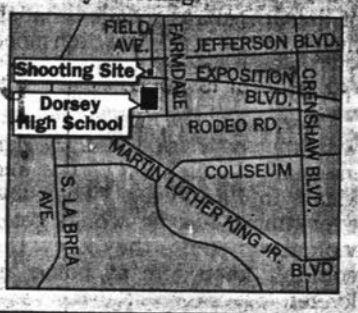
Monday's shooting once again cast a negative spotlight on Dorsey, where 1,800 students combine a regular high school curriculum with two magnets, one specializing in law, another in math and science. About three-quarters of the students are African American, and a quarter are Latino.

For some, the shooting was eerily reminiscent of the 1993 incident in which a 15-year-old Dorsey student—an innocent bystander to an argument—was shot and critically wounded as classes were resuming for the new school year.

Parents expressed resentment to reporters about the massive presence of TV news crews and early incorrect reports that Monday's

Shooting Near Campus

Three teenagers were shot near Exposition Boulevard, across from Dorsey High School, in the Crenshaw district Monday morning.



Los Angeles Times

shooting had taken place on campus.

"Here we go again with more negative publicity!" complained Rosalyn Gant, the mother of a 16-year-old, standing outside the school entrance. "This is a safe campus. The school is doing positive things and it has a fine curriculum, but no one wants to talk about that."

Only last week, the California Interscholastic Federation's rules committee banned the Dorsey boys basketball team from this season's playoffs and handed out sanctions that will run through 1999. Officials said the school allowed an ineligible athlete to compete.

For many on the campus Monday, however, it was business as usual. Students were hurrying off to new classes with little sense of the distraction going on outside, where police had taped off the crime scene and were busy gathering evidence.

A school crisis team was offering counseling to Dorsey students. Some students, upset about the tragic disruption, sought help.

Times correspondent Michael Krlikorian contributed to this story.

for drug treatment. Fortensky's stay at the clinic, reportedly covered under his Teamsters insurance policy, followed a drunk-driving conviction. In 1991, Taylor announced: "I

TRAIN: Explosion

Continued from B1

smoothly until about 10:30 p.m. Sunday, when someone heard an ominous rumbling from within the overturned tank car.

Peters said hazardous-materials experts from Rohm and Haas Co., which owns the car, warned that there was potential for an imminent explosion that could hurl debris up to three-quarters of a mile. The experts recommended that the area be cleared immediately.

"We didn't have to be told twice to leave," Peters said.

Firefighters turned off their hoses, dropped their gear and ran, deputy state Fire Chief Paul Benson said. "Their eyes were as big as saucers," he said.

The California Highway Patrol quickly reclosed I-15.

Jack Coe, a public affairs officer with Rohm and Haas, said that Thursday's crash had left the tank car sitting atop a pile of burning wreckage. He said the fire from the wreckage apparently heated the contents of the car, setting off a chemical reaction inside.

Coe said that as the reaction continued, the pressurized gas in the 20,000-gallon tank probably "cooked" until it resembled a soft-boiled egg, rubbery on the outside, soft and liquid at the core.

Temperatures mounted to hotter than boiling water and internal pressures soared, threatening to burst the car open in an explosion of searing chemicals and shattered debris. By Monday afternoon, temperatures within the car began to

Interstate 15, looking south

cool. Coe said the chemical apparently was playing its. Officials said the danger explosion was diminishing.

A demolition team was in to study the possibility of ing the pressure inside the t

Doctor Agrees to Stop

■ **Medicine:** State Medical Board says urologist Rosenst operations pose 'an immediate danger' to public health. I admits no fault but will temporarily suspend performing advertising penis enlargement procedures.

By DOUGLAS P. SHUIT
TIMES STAFF WRITER

Dr. Melvyn Rosenstein, perhaps the nation's busiest practitioner of controversial penis enlargement operations, has been temporarily

some other form of discipl action.

Among the allegations a Rosenstein are claims that h misleading statements reg his ability to increase the len penis, misrepresented t

TAYLOR

Continued from B1

W. Warner. They divorced in 1982, after which Taylor stayed single

INJUNCTION: Civil Court Action Against Gang Brings Relief

Continued from B1

working or with a parent. Adults named in the order cannot be out after midnight unless going to or from a "legitimate" activity.

Violating the injunction can bring a maximum penalty of six months in jail and a \$1,000 fine.

Of the 35 young men named in the injunction, only a few actually live in the area. By making the neighborhood an undesirable place to be a gang member, authorities hope that those who don't live there will stop visiting.

Six months after Norwalk instituted its gang order across 20 square blocks, police had made five arrests for violations.

"You see people walking around more, you don't have the gang-bangers out there shooting or intimidating people like you used to," said Kevin Gano, Norwalk's director of public safety. "We need to look at implementing it in other gang areas which are experiencing similar problems."

A year after Norwalk's injunction was in place, the Sheriff's Department checked to see if their named gang members had been arrested elsewhere in the state. Only three had, Castorena said.

"If we can break them up, they are easier to arrest through regular, traditional law enforcement," Castorena said. "It alleviates the problem in that neighborhood and lessens the problem as a whole. Yes, some of those guys are going to go somewhere else; some of those guys are going to stop."

Not everyone is so sure. Malcolm Klein, a sociology professor at USC and author of the 1995 book "The American Street Gang," said there is a good chance the injunctions can do more harm than good.

By attacking the gang as a unit—including naming the gang in media accounts and court papers—authorities may well be enhancing the gang's image among members and potential members, said Klein, who has studied gangs and gang culture for more than 30 years.

And even when the injunction is successful in alleviating the problems of a specific area, Klein said, it can only do so much.

"They don't solve the gang problem," Klein said. "The gang problem is going to be solved by trying to deal with the things that spawn gangs in the first place, not by dealing with gang behavior once there already are gang members."

Even Pasadena police say the injunctions only serve a limited purpose.

"Many of those individuals who were a problem for that neighborhood have now become problems in adjoining neighborhoods," said Pasadena Police Cmdr. Wayne Hiltz. "Clearly this is one step in a long road to working on the gang problems."

Klein also questioned whether the injunctions are a good use of limited funds. In addition to the salary of the deputy district attorney who creates and argues for the injunction, the orders necessitate additional policing, criminal processing and court time.

Among the opponents of the program is the Pasadena chapter of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, which has questioned authorities' focus on punishing young minority men, rather than helping them stay out of trouble in the first place.

And at a series of community forums, the NAACP has argued that this method of dealing with gang behavior goes too far.

Charles Bereal, the NAACP's branch president and a resident of

the target zone, does not deny that life there is quieter. But for some, he says, it's also harder than ever.

Bereal has heard more than a few complaints such as the one issued by 13-year-old Tremayne Davis, who says the injunction has given police carte blanche to harass innocent residents—especially younger ones who, like the defendants, are African American.

Tremayne, who has never been in trouble with authorities, was headed home from his aunt's convenience store just before dusk one

man a question like that?"

As Tremayne sees it, his behavior the day he was stopped was no different than any other day, the rules for stopping him were.

"I see both sides," Tremayne said. "They're trying to do their job and get the bad people off the street. But on the other hand, they mess with other people who aren't doing nothing. . . I wish they'd get people off the streets who are doing bad and leave the other people alone."

Police and prosecutors say they

Tremayne, who has never been in trouble with authorities, was headed home from his aunt's convenience store just before dusk one day when police trained their car's headlights and a flashlight on him and asked the baby-faced teenager one question: "You selling dope?"

day when police trained their car's headlights and a flashlight on him and asked the baby-faced teenager one question: "You selling dope?"

The boy, who has watched the ravaging effects of drugs on members of his family, adamantly declared that he had never been mixed up with drugs.

But the officers said they wanted to be sure and made him empty his pockets, Tremayne said. He dutifully deposited on the ground the pens and Snickers wrappers he had stashed in his jeans.

"Everybody knows me and everybody should know him," said Georgia Hall, Tremayne's grandmother and a 33-year resident of the area. "Can you imagine, asking a clean-cut, well-dressed young

wish it were that easy.

Normally, by the time police respond to a complaint of drug dealing, the perpetrators have been warned of their arrival by people giving signals, so the dope is stashed, the customers have fled and the dealers are standing around, knowing police are powerless to arrest them.

With the injunctions, congregating in a group with other defendants and violating any part of the court order is enough to bring on the police. And if you can't participate in the dealing-related behavior, the argument goes, you can't deal drugs.

In addition to worrying about the injunction's effects on innocent residents, the American Civil Liberties Union and others worry

about what they call the vague, over-broad restrictions limiting the otherwise legal behavior of those named in the order.

Beepers, phones and parties, they say, are used for more than just drug deals.

"It's just like putting these defendants on probation, with very restrictive conditions, without bothering to convict them of a crime," said Mark Silverstein of the ACLU. "If you're going to put people on probation, charge them with a crime, prove it beyond a reasonable doubt and let them have an attorney."

Said Curtis Price, who is named in the injunction: "Hold me accountable for what I do, not what you think I'm going to do."

But when it comes to constitutional issues, Castorena maintains that the city is on solid ground. Carrying a beeper, she said, is not protected by the Founding Fathers.

The ACLU and civil rights attorney Voorhees disagree and will leave that question to the courts.

Meanwhile, there are other concerns. By putting what are essentially criminal charges into the civil court realm, those named in the injunction are accused of serious infractions and yet have no right to an attorney. Voorhees also objected to naming minors in the injunction and not appointing an adult to speak on their behalf.

Most important, Voorhees said, he questions why some people are named in the injunction.

"At least half the people named in this thing simply do not have the evidence against them," Voorhees said. "They're members or associates or hangers-on with [the gang] and because of that, the city argues the judge has a right to restrict what they do. It's totally guilt by association."

Angel Clark, who sat on her front porch watching her two toddlers chase around the yard, said she wasn't worried about the rights of the people named in the injunction. Nor would she care if her sons or husband were erroneously stopped and questioned by police if it were part of an effort to make her neighborhood livable again.

Before the injunction, Clark said, residents often weren't allowed into their own driveways without paying off gang members. People couldn't sleep because of the gunshots.

"I'm sure [gang members] don't like these rules but something has got to be done," said Clark, who lives just off Summit Avenue.

But allowing anecdotal evidence and short-term police statistics to serve as proof of the plan's success concerns USC's Klein, who said more research is needed to determine whether the injunctions are stemming the gang problem. Satisfied residents, he said, are not data.

"If I were a repeated victim, I might take that attitude too," Klein said. "That doesn't mean they're right; it means they're fed up."

At a recent community meeting in the Jackie Robinson Park gym, there was not much talk about the injunction. Rather than another debate, more than 100 residents of northwest Pasadena came to talk about what they see as the core issue: the gang problem.

Pasadena's acting police chief, a former gang member, a minister and other neighborhood leaders spoke about the need to guide the community's children. The rag audience clapped its approval.

At the start of the meeting, the neighbors prayed for help for their community and their young people.

When the meeting was over, they prayed again.

DORSEY

Continued from B1

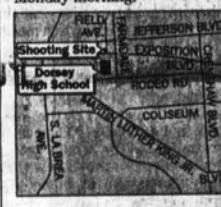
community groups began with high-level meetings of bureaucrats and politicians downtown. More valuable, Mitchell said, were subsequent school-based meetings, where Dorsey students talked openly about gang and drug hot spots along their routes to school.

"The kids talked about passing through the gang, and how it was detailed officers to make those less desirable," Mitchell said. "They told us about crack houses and drug-dealing locations. With information from those kids and narcotics officers, we all began to focus in on those areas, clear out the traffic."

The plan of attack included erecting wrought-iron fences around three sides of the school to

Shooting Near Campus

Three teenagers were shot near Exposition Boulevard, across from Dorsey High School, in the Crenshaw district Monday morning.



Los Angeles Times

shooting had taken place on campus.

TRAIN: Explosion Threat Shuts I-15 Again

Continued from B1

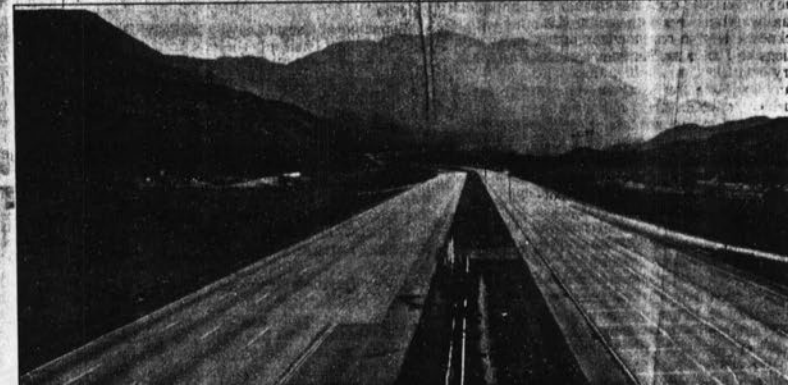
smoothly until about 10:30 p.m. Sunday, when someone heard an ominous rumbling from within the overturned tank car.

Peters said hazardous-materials experts from Rohm and Haas Co., which owns the car, warned that there was potential for an imminent explosion that could hurl debris up to three-quarters of a mile. The experts recommended that the area be cleared immediately.

"We didn't have to be told twice to leave," Peters said.

Firefighters turned off their hoses, dropped their gear and ran, deputy state Fire Chief Paul Benson said. "Their eyes were as big as saucers," he said.

The California Highway Patrol



WASHINGTON—A federal judge on Monday ruled that President Clinton could be subpoenaed to testify at an upcoming criminal trial in Little Rock for Arkansas Gov. Jim Guy Tucker and two other defendants on charges stemming from Independent Counsel Kenneth W. Starr's investigation of the Whitewater scandal.

The President promptly indicated that he will comply with the order. In response to the ruling by U.S. District Judge George Howard Jr., Clinton attorney David E. Kendall issued a statement saying that "it is the president's intention to cooperate in an appropriate fashion."

Clinton's lawyers decided not to resist a subpoena, according to White House sources, because they did not want the president to be accused of failing to cooperate in the primary criminal trial growing out of his joint investment with defendants Susan and James B. McDougal in Whitewater. The trial begins March 4.

While neither the president nor First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton has been charged in connection with the couple's investment in the Whitewater land venture, both have previously been interrogated by Starr. Mrs. Clinton recently obeyed a subpoena from a grand jury hearing the case.

The judge told defense lawyers that the president would not necessarily be required to testify in

Please see TRIAL, A5

stated the evidence against him and have misled the public into thinking that he committed the June 12, 1994, murders of Nicole Brown Simpson and Ronald Lyle Goldman.

Simpson has always maintained
Please see SIMPSON, A8

"Magic" Johnson to open a movie theater complex in the development.

The \$100-million project, expected to create about 2,000 full-time jobs, will include 300,000

Please see DEVELOP, A8

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 2/19/96 GOP Presidential Hopefuls Step in Sync on Most Issues

■ **Politics:** The ascent of Forbes sets off some conflict. But more convergence is seen than divergence.

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

WASHINGTON—All of the leading contenders for the Republican presidential nomination agree that the existing tax code should be scrapped and replaced with something radically different.

So naturally the debate over the flat tax has provoked the sharpest disagreements in the race.

In its disproportion, the squall over tax reform illuminates two basic truths about the 1996 Republican presidential campaign. One is that all of the GOP contenders have coalesced around a broadly similar message of shrinking the federal government and devolving power outside of Washington. As a result,

they must fight loudly about relative details to distinguish themselves from another.

The second truth, as the sound

■ RELATED COVERAGE A7

and fury over the flat tax shows, is that the struggle to precisely define that broad consensus is being driven less by the ostensible front-runner—Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole—than by Steve Forbes, the neophyte politician with the bottomless checkbook and the rising poll numbers.

It is Forbes' relentless touting of the flat tax that has forced the issue to center stage. And it is Forbes'

Please see ISSUES, A6

CALIFORNIA

PEOPLE

Divorce Filing for Liz Is a Routine One

For Elizabeth Taylor, Monday's filing for divorce was a familiar



Where They Stand

A comparison of how the major candidates for the Republican nomination stand on key issues:

ISSUES	ALEXANDER	BUCHANAN	DOLE	FORBES	GRAMM
Abortion	Opposes abortion but says federal government should "stay entirely out of" the issue; would not seek constitutional amendment to ban it.	Supports constitutional ban, with no exceptions.	Supports constitutional ban, except for cases of rape or incest or the mother's life is in danger.	Would support prohibition of partial birth and sex-selection abortions, but would not seek constitutional ban; most recently he said he would ultimately support banning abortion "except in cases of genuine, life-threatening emergency, or rape and incest."	Supports constitutional ban, with life-of-mother exception.
Expand NATO?	Yes, adding Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic.	No	Yes, adding Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic.	Yes, adding Poland, Hungary, Czech Republic, Slovakia.	Yes, adding Poland, Czech Republic.
Immigration	Opposes cut in legal immigration; opposes national version of California's Proposition 187; opposes constitutional amendment denying citizenship to children of illegal immigrants born in U.S.	Supports five-year moratorium on legal immigration; supports national version of California's Proposition 187; supports constitutional amendment denying citizenship to children of illegal immigrants.	Supports "modest, temporary reduction" in legal immigration; no position on citizenship amendment or national version of California's Proposition 187, but backed the state initiative.	Would not "severely cut" legal immigration; would speed deportation of illegal immigrants; opposes citizenship amendment or national version of California's Proposition 187.	Would cut legal immigration, double border patrol; opposes national version of California's Proposition 187 or citizenship amendment.
Tax reform	Would establish two-rate structure; no tax on capital gains; tax on interest income; maintain mortgage interest and charitable deduction.	Supports 25% flat tax; tax interest income and capital gains; maintain mortgage and charitable deductions.	Calls for "flatter, simpler" tax, but has not specified plan; sees "nothing wrong with single-rate concept"; would protect mortgage and charitable deductions.	Supports 17% flat tax on income with no tax on capital gains or interest income for individuals; would eliminate mortgage and charitable deduction.	Supports 18% flat tax; would tax capital gains and interest income; maintain mortgage and charitable deductions.
Trade	Backs North American Free Trade Agreement; would expand it to South America and Asia; supports world trade treaty known as GATT.	Opposes NAFTA, GATT; would impose "social tariff" on Third World imports and increase tariffs on imports from China and Japan by 10% and 20%, respectively.	Supports GATT and NAFTA; opposes NAFTA expansion for now.	Supports GATT and NAFTA; would expand NAFTA to South America and Asia, seek free-trade treaty with Japan.	Supports GATT and NAFTA; would expand NAFTA to South America.
Welfare reform	Would eliminate federal welfare, food stamps and nutrition programs; would send money back to states to form nonprofit corporations to assist the poor in new ways.	Supports block grants to states, with only requirement that no funds be spent on abortion services.	Supports block grants to states, with federal requirements for five-year limit on aid, no additional benefits to women who have children while on rolls.	Would "ultimately" return welfare entirely to "states, municipalities and private charities."	Supports block grants to states, with federal requirements for five-year limit on aid, no additional benefits to women who have children while on welfare, no benefits to unwed mothers under age 18.
Repeal federal affirmative action programs?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Overturn assault weapon ban?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Eliminate Education Department?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Other Ideas	Would establish \$500 tax credit to encourage donations to charitable organizations; urges that Congress become "part-time citizen legislature."	Would end lifetime appointment for federal judges, including Supreme Court justices; allow voter "recall and removal" of district and appellate federal judges; allow national referendums "to uphold or reject" Supreme Court decisions.	Would support legislation to establish English as the official language of the U.S.	For younger workers, would divert portion of payroll tax from Social Security trust fund into private investment accounts similar to IRAs.	Pledges not to seek reelection unless he balances federal budget in four years; would freeze federal spending at inflation rate for four years after balancing budget.

A summary of the views of the long-shot candidates:

SEN. RICHARD G. LUGAR

Would replace the income tax with a national sales tax; would ban abortion except in cases of rape, incest or when life of mother is in danger; would maintain ban on assault weapons; would review affirmative action programs but does not promise to repeal them; opposes efforts to reduce legal immigration; and supports expansion of NAFTA.

ALAN KEYES

Would ban abortion except when life of mother is threatened; would replace income tax with "a retail sales tax"; opposes expanding, but would not reduce, legal immigration; opposes affirmative action programs; would overturn assault weapon ban.

REP. ROBERT K. DORNAN

Would replace income tax with a consumption tax; supports elimination of federal affirmative action programs; supports reductions in legal immigration; would repeal the assault weapon ban; would ban abortion, with life-of-mother exception.

MORRY TAYLOR

Would tax income up to \$20,000 at 2%; from \$20,000 to \$35,000 at 10%; and incomes above \$35,000 at 17%. Supports legalized abortion; opposes cutting number of legal immigrants; would repeal assault weapon ban; calls for reciprocity in trade relations.

Eliminate Education Department?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Other Ideas	Would establish \$500 tax credit to encourage donations to charitable organizations; urges that Congress become "part-time citizen legislature."	Would end lifetime appointment for federal judges, including Supreme Court justices; allow voter "recall and removal" of district and appellate federal judges; allow national referendums "to uphold or reject" Supreme Court decisions.	Would support legislation to establish English as the official language of the U.S.	For younger workers, would divert portion of payroll tax from Social Security trust fund into private investment accounts similar to IRAs.	Pledges not to seek reelection unless he balances federal budget in four years; would freeze federal spending at inflation rate for four years after balancing budget.
A summary of the views of the long-shot candidates:					
SEN. RICHARD G. LUGAR		ALAN KEYES		REP. ROBERT K. DORNAN	
Would replace the income tax with a national sales tax; would ban abortion except in cases of rape, incest or when life of mother is in danger; would maintain ban on assault weapons; would review affirmative action programs but does not promise to repeal them; opposes efforts to reduce legal immigration; and supports expansion of NAFTA.		Would ban abortion except when life of mother is threatened; would replace income tax with "a retail sales tax"; opposes expanding, but would not reduce, legal immigration; opposes affirmative action programs; would overturn assault weapon ban.		Would replace income tax with a consumption tax; supports elimination of federal affirmative action programs; supports reductions in legal immigration; would repeal the assault weapon ban; would ban abortion, with life-of-mother exception.	
				MORRY TAYLOR	
				Would tax income up to \$20,000 at 2%; from \$20,000 to \$35,000 at 10%, and incomes above \$35,000 at 17%. Supports legalized abortion; opposes cutting number of legal immigrants; would repeal assault weapon ban; calls for reciprocity in trade relations.	

Researched by ROB CIDE, MALLOY MOORE and D.J. SALEM / Los Angeles Times

Los Angeles Times

ISSUES: GOP Presidential Hopefuls Speak Mostly in Sync

Continued from A1
perceived vulnerability on social concerns that is suddenly raising the profile of issues like abortion and immigration which had virtually vanished from the campaign's radar.

"It is remarkable," says Peter Wehner, policy director at the conservative think tank Empower America. "He is driving the agenda on a whole range of issues."

Even with the heated dispute over the flat tax—and the rising argument over abortion—the areas of convergence between the leading Republican candidates are still far more significant than the disagreements.

With the exception of Patrick J. Buchanan, who has stressed a bristling economic nationalism that repudiates the party's recent history of support for free trade and military engagement abroad, none of the leading contenders propose to significantly shift the philosophical center of the party from the anti-government message that powered the Republican sweep of Congress in 1994. All promise to cut federal spending; all would eliminate the Education Department and institute private school vouchers; all say they would roll back federal affirmative action programs, repeal the ban on assault weapons and dramatically streamline the tax code.

Distinctions Exist

Important distinctions still exist—particularly in emphasis. Texas Sen. Phil Gramm puts more priority on cutting spending than Forbes; former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander is more enthusiastic about congressional reform than is Dole; Forbes, representing the Jack Kemp tradition, is warier than most of his rivals about policies that present a hard edge toward immigrants, the minorities or the poor.

But in 1996, Republicans face nothing like the fundamental arguments that divided Democrats in the 1984, 1988 and 1992 primaries over whether to stick with traditional liberalism or move toward the center, as contenders from Gary Hart to Bill Clinton urged. Nor do Republicans face anything approaching the ideological division they would have confronted had their presidential field included former Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Colin L. Powell, who expressed support for abortion rights, gun control, and affirmative action.

"There is not a whole lot of ideological diversity among the Republican candidates," says Mark Merritt, the communications director for Alexander.

Balancing the budget, flattening the tax code, shifting control of social programs to the states, enlarging the role of private charities in delivering services to the poor and rolling back federal affirmative action programs: these are all common themes of the leading GOP

contenders now and are likely to play a major role in the Republican campaign next fall.

"There is general convergence about the theme of moving more resources and power outside of Washington," says Adam Meyerson, editor of the Heritage Foundation's Policy Review. "On the issue that is the great debate of the mid-1990s—what should be the size and scope of the federal government—all of the Republican candidates agree."

But as they battle among each other for the nomination, the candidates have been compelled—as they are every four years—to accentuate and even exaggerate their differences.

Just like marketing campaigns, political campaigns demand product differentiation, and relatively small differences have been magnified precisely because there is so much agreement on the big questions. For instance, in radio advertisements running in Louisiana,

"On the issue that is the great debate of the mid-1990s—what should be the size and scope of the federal government—all of the Republican candidates agree."

ADAM MEYERSON
Heritage Foundation

Buchanan is attacking Gramm as insufficiently committed to the anti-abortion cause—even though Gramm has a 100% lifetime voting record from the National Right to Life Committee.

But the debate over issues is sharpening also because of Forbes' ascent. During 1995, when Dole was the fulcrum of the race, the leading candidates spent relatively less time attempting to distinguish themselves on specific issues than on personal characteristics.

That dynamic was a direct result of Dole's strategy. After repeated run-ins with "movement" conservatives during the 1980s, Dole in 1995 consciously sought to prevent his opponents—particularly Gramm, who he thought would be his main rival—from outflanking him on the right. During the early months of the campaign, Dole signed a pledge not to raise taxes in office—the same pledge he had rejected at considerable political cost in 1988; wooed Christian conservatives with sharp denunciations of Hollywood; aligned himself with anti-immigration and English Only movements, and pledged to repeal the assault weapon ban.

Though Gramm argued that Dole had been too prone to raise taxes in the past, Dole's maneuvering prevented any of his rivals from effectively labeling him a moderate and creating a sharp ideological comparison. As a result, they devoted their energies mostly to establishing more personal contrasts with Dole. Gramm has portrayed him as a compromiser too quick to make a deal with Democrats on issues from the budget to welfare reform; Forbes has bombarded Dole with television ads labeling him an insider with "Washington values" and Alexander has painted the 72-year-old majority leader as a man lacking the "vision" to lead the GOP into the next century.

As the candidates shift their focus toward Forbes—who now leads in several polls of New Hampshire, the critical first primary state—they are employing some of this same broad positioning. In his speeches, Dole has unveiled a Republican version of class warfare, contrasting his experience growing up in "hardcrabble" Russell, Kan., during the Depression with Forbes' life of inherited wealth. In a form of jujitsu against Forbes' portrayal of himself as an outsider, Alexander has repeatedly declared that Forbes lacks the experience to be president.

But as Forbes rises, he is driving the campaign focus onto specific issues—both those that he is emphasizing and those on which his opponents believe him vulnerable.

The most obvious example is the flat tax—an idea that most conservatives expected to be part of the GOP's 1996 general election message, but which played almost no role in the primary campaign until Forbes joined the race last fall. Now, the flat tax is unarguably the most visible and hotly debated issue in the race.

All of the leading GOP contenders have staked out positions that express broad support for the concept, but reject key components of Forbes' specific flat tax plan. And all of them are likely to continue talking about the flat tax more than any other subject at least through the New Hampshire primary on Feb. 20. "It will dominate the debate," says Merritt.

Resurrecting Issues

Forbes' rise is shifting the dialogue in other respects too. Buchanan and Gramm are now working feverishly to portray Forbes as a faux conservative, whose "slick TV commercials" hide a moderate "Rockefeller Republican" pedigree, as Gramm put it in a television interview Sunday.

In that effort, they are resurrecting issues that were consigned to the shadows through 1995. After an early flurry of interest, the candidates said little about immigration last year. But now, Gramm, Buchanan and

Dole are reviving the issue—because they believe that Forbes' support for high levels of legal immigration and opposition to California's Proposition 187 could cost him with culturally conservative voters.

Even more dramatic has been the revival of abortion as a campaign dispute. During 1995, the candidates discussed the issue so rarely that many social conservatives accused them of walking away from it. But suddenly, abortion is back in the footlights.

Last Saturday in Dubuque, Dole announced that if elected, he would make the first day of his presidency "American Family Day" and repeal a series of abortion-related executive orders President Clinton has issued. Buchanan has moved the issue to the forefront of his advertising campaign. And, after indicating early last year that he would not seek to overturn Roe vs. Wade, Gramm has sent out mailings in Iowa touting his "100 Percent Pro-life record."

This renewed focus partly reflects the prominence of social conservatives in several of the key early primaries—particularly Louisiana, which holds its caucus today, and Iowa, which will conduct its caucus next Monday. But it also demonstrates the belief of the other major candidates that the moderate views Forbes has expressed on some social issues may represent his Achilles' heel in a party where Christian conservatives are a vital electoral bloc.

Yet, Forbes is moving purposefully to narrow his differences with the prevailing party consensus on both social and economic issues. Forbes has said that he would not seek to ban abortion now because public opinion would not support such a step; but last week he told The Times that he would ultimately support a ban on abortion, except in cases of rape, incest and danger to the life of the mother.

Changing Ways

After initially indicating support for Clinton's "don't ask, don't tell" policy on gays in the military, he has more recently said he would be open to repealing it. Similarly, after repeatedly denouncing a constitutional amendment to balance the budget as a magazine columnist, Forbes recently indicated he could support it.

These maneuvers may not be enough to prevent a backlash against Forbes from some conservative leaders. But, like Dole's moves in 1995, Forbes' tactical shifts now illuminate the larger trend. After rejecting the "kinder, gentler" moderation of the George Bush years, the GOP has reached a broad, militantly conservative consensus on both economic and social issues—and no one seeking the nomination is willing to bet his candidacy on challenging it.

16 N Penn

CTS

KO'Keefe

Frank Penn

Craig T. Smith

Kevin O'Keefe

Suburban Chicago

Boe

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2.9.96

Government not living up to suburban residents' expectations

BY AMY CARR
with staff reports

President Clinton may be calling on Americans to do more for themselves, but suburban residents overwhelmingly said Tuesday they still expect big things from their government.

In his State of the Union address Tuesday night, Clinton told millions of American television viewers that "the era of big government is over" and that the nation must pull together to resolve its problems.

Suburban residents may be willing to do their part. But first, they say, the president and Congress have to do what they were sent to Washington to accomplish.

We talked to a cross-section of people, and they agree that America still is the greatest country in the world, but the state of the union can always be improved. Here's a sampling of what they had to say.

Robert R. Bonneville, 55, Prospect Heights police chief:

"The state of the union is better than we think but not as good as it could be."

"I wish they'd get the budget straightened out. I'd like to see the omnibus crime



Robert R. Bonneville

bill maintained.

"Crime is a problem we need to get grip on. But there are also a lot of good people out there. The news we hear — and we hear it every half-hour — is always negative. You never hear any positive news. Yeah, we have some problems. But we have a lot of things going right."

Rachel Rosenblum, 18, senior at Buffalo Grove High School, Arlington Heights:

"Getting the budget balanced is really important ... (and) coming up with a budget for next year."

"I am optimistic. I think good things are being done."

"I also think the Bosnia thing is an important issue now. We have a vital interest. Being Jewish, with the Holocaust, people always said we can't let that happen again. But it was starting to happen."

Gerald Cushing, 55, social studies teacher at Hersey High School, Buffalo Grove: "Well, I think we're still by far the most powerful nation in the world. I don't think there is any nation I would rather live in than the United States of America."

"I think our economy is very, very strong. I think our enterprise



Rachel Rosenblum

system, with all its faults, still works very well."

"It seems like our government is becoming very partisan and I think that hurts us. But maybe that's just our checks and balances system."

Rev. John Smyth, 61, director, Maryville Academy in Des Plaines: "My world is social services. In my world, I think there are going to be tremendous cutbacks on the federal level and tremendous repercussions."

"What's not working is the war against drugs. I don't know if it ever started. Economically, we're in good shape. I think it's an exciting time with all that's happening with technology and communications."

Mitch Tarzian, 47, president of Tarcom Inc. in Elk Grove Village, Barrington Hills: "From our standpoint, businesswise, we're still seeing things kind of tight."

"But there seems to be a lot more work out there than there was a year ago."



Gerald Cushing



Rev. John Smyth

"I still don't think we have a handle on the crime situation. It's getting worse. I think the laws need to be overhauled. I keep getting the feeling that people who are convicted are getting out early."

Marie Cullen, 43, mother/part-time teacher, Bartlett: "The state of the union is OK, not great, just OK. I'm really concerned about health care. I don't think that's working as well as it could."

"Taxes are always an issue, especially around here. ... I'm very concerned about Mrs. Clinton, more than the president, but I don't know how much that has to do with the state of the union, except that she seems to be calling the shots and she's not doing it very well."

Doug Whitley, 46, president of Ameritech Illinois, Batavia: "From a clearly self-interest and speaking for our industry, it has been disappointing that the congress has not



Mitch Tarzian



Marie Cullen

moved quickly to get a telecommunications bill rewrite."

"I want to see a compromise between Congress and the president that will bring about a balanced budget in seven years."

Rich Benson, 44, auto service technician, Algonquin: "I think the state of the country is in pretty sad shape."

"I know my spending power isn't what it used to be and I have to keep sacrificing."

James Adair, 72, semi-retired, Wheaton: "We probably have the best of all nations, but the union is in an unsettled state because there are too many cooks in the kitchen with too many different recipes."

"I'm glad to see a trend toward a more conservative leadership."



Doug Whitley



Rich Benson

Beginning at the top, we need a moral revival."

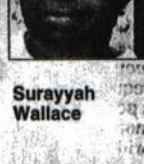
Surayyah Wallace, 44, staffing program assistant at the North Chicago VA Medical Center, Waukegan:

"Right now things are not going too well. Jobs are up in the air. Most government employees are wondering what's happening with the budget."

"Is anything going well? I don't know. I'm concerned as a parent about what's going on with the middle class."



James Adair



Surayyah Wallace

Asian Health Spa
851 S. Roselle Road
Schaumburg, IL
(708) 980-5887
Steam • Whirlpool • Sauna
• Body Shampoo • Massage
We now accept Visa & Mastercard
OPEN MON-SAT 9am-9pm
SUNDAY 12pm-9pm

"WE TURN PAGES ON"
APPLE BEEPERS
MOTOROLA PAGER
\$6.95 Per Month
Air time
(312) 478-7755
(708) 430-7990
Chicago • 3701 W. Irving • Elk Grove • 2300 E. Higgins
Oak Lawn • 6615 W. 95th

ARKANSAS BUSINESS RANKINGS

El Dorado's First Financial Bank Largest SBA Lender

BY DAVID SMITH

FIRST FINANCIAL BANK, A federal savings bank in El Dorado, is the largest U.S. Small Business Administration lender in Arkansas, loaning more than \$13 million last year.

That's about \$4 million more than Arkansas Capital Corp. of Little Rock.

Mercantile Bank of Central Arkansas in North Little Rock leads the state in the number of SBA loans made, with

64 to 38 by First Financial Bank. Mercantile was known as Twin City Bank until a name change in December.

First Financial, a \$160 million asset institution founded in 1934, makes loans primarily in Arkansas, but also in contiguous states, says Steve Cameron, First Financial's president. First Financial and its separate divisions have offices in El Dorado, Little Rock, Hot Springs, Jonesboro, Springdale and Fayetteville, and there is a loan produc-

SBA Loans in Arkansas				
	1995	1994	1993	1992
Number of Loans	874	620	277	194
Loan Production	\$112.7 million	\$105.4 million	\$72 million	\$52.9 million
Jobs Created or Sustained	6,012	5,361	3,951	3,495

Source: Little Rock District office of U.S. Small Business Administration.

tion office in east Texas.

Even though it is the largest lender of SBA loans, First Financial doesn't

use that as part of its advertising strategy.

One reason, Cameron says, is that its loans are made in several different geographical areas, making it difficult to use just one advertising style. Another reason is that First Financial doesn't specialize in one area.

Besides small-business loans, First Financial also makes many loans to the poultry and swine industry, many guaranteed by the Farmers Home Administration. Cameron says First Financial probably makes more FmHA-guaranteed loans than SBA loans. The bank also has a large mortgage-lending division.

"We have one area that is a basic community bank profile, but we also look for niches and do other things," Cameron says. "We're not necessarily trying to be secretive, but we're just trying to do our own thing."

The mortgage division, First Financial Mortgage, is the sixth-largest mortgage lender in the state, making almost \$175 million in mortgage loans in 1994. First Financial Mortgage, with its primary office in Little Rock, also services more than \$800 million in mortgages in 40 states, Cameron says.

SBA's Best Year

The SBA had its best year in Arkansas last year, guaranteeing 874 loans, 4.5 times the number in 1992. The loans totaled more than \$112 million, up from almost \$53 million in 1992. SBA officials believe those loans created or sustained more than 6,000 jobs in Arkansas last year.

"What we're experiencing right now is great growth and good cooperation from the banks," says Ted Callaway, assistant director of the SBA's Little Rock District Office. "We're helping more people around the state."

Callaway says one reason the numbers have increased is the advent of low-documentation loans.

"Two of the major problems that businesses and banks have expressed about dealing with SBA are the paperwork and the time," he says. "So we came up with the low-documentation loan program for loans of \$100,000 and under."

The plan has only a two-page application form. The lender can fax the application to SBA and have a decision on the loan within two days, Callaway says.



An outstanding trust company runs on outstanding leadership. Which is why Mike O'Brien has joined ours.

To be a trust administrator, you need a knack for business, an eye for the law and a feel for the sensitivities of your clients. Well, meet Mike O'Brien, First Commercial Trust Company's new president and chief executive officer. He has all of the above.

With nearly 30 years in trust management, Mike is one of the top experts in the field. Following the practice of law in Norfolk, Virginia, he began his career in trust administration with a large

Virginia bank. For the past 16 years, he has held management positions with several prominent financial institutions in Arkansas. In addition to trust management, he has gained experience in commercial lending, bank investments and correspondent banking.

As mentioned, a trust administrator should know people as well as numbers, and Mike's people skills are evident in his work with civic groups. In fact, he is presently a director of CARTI

Foundation and the Arkansas Symphony Orchestra and Foundation. He has served as a director of the Little Rock Rotary Club, the Pulaski County Chapter of the American Red Cross and the Metropolitan YMCA.

First Commercial Trust Company is proud to welcome Mike O'Brien aboard as our president and chief executive officer. He's another good reason why we're the company in which to place your trust.

**FIRST COMMERCIAL
TRUST COMPANY**

Leon
Fyl- BM

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2/9/96

✓ **President's Question about Customs and why Diane Feinstein wants George Weise fired.**

The lead in the LA Times story was just plain misleading. From '94 to '95 cocaine seizures nationwide did drop but on the Southwest border they increased during that same period. In the first quarter of '96 seizures are up nationwide but they are down at the Southwest border and have tripled in Miami.

The point is that the statistics on seizures are misleading since this is a cat and mouse game with the smugglers. When the Southwest border tightens up (as it did between '94 and '95) due to the very operation that Feinstein is critical of - then the smugglers move to other places - like Miami.

The program she criticizes is called "line release". It was started in 1987 (under Bush) and it involved an investigation of regular importers. Importers have to apply and then are checked by INS. These are mostly big businesses and repeat shippers. Our Administration added an extra element of scrutiny to this program by requiring the trucking companies who moved the merchandise to go through the same sort of pre-clearance process that the importers do. Even with this clearance, however, Customs agents are told to stop the trucks if they notice anything suspicious which would cause them to stop a non pre-cleared vehicle.

Feinstein has been on this for months now. George has been trying his best to win her over but she has "a thing" about this. At one point he was trying to explain to her that Customs needed to make some sort of risk assessment; that if they inspected every truck that crossed the border in seven days the traffic backup would stretch from the border to Mexico City. Feinstein's response was "So back 'em up. That's your job."

Customs directors have come traditionally from two communities: law enforcement or commerce. Since Weise comes from the latter he feels that no matter how hard he tries to emphasize enforcement he will always be suspect.

DATE: 2-9

TO: Leon
JACK

FROM: Staff Secretary

Eli evidently had never
resigned as an Assistant.
Because he is about to go on
some private Board, he feels
this too should be cut.

I'll send you a
letter to the President.

Todd

96 FEB 9 P5:36

Fax Cover Sheet**DATE:** February 9, 1996**TO:** Todd Stern**FAX:** 456-2215**FROM:** Eli J. Segal**PHONE:** 202/337-2562**FAX:** 202/333-1638**Number of pages including cover sheet:** Two**Message:**

I enclose a FAX of the letter we discussed earlier today. I will put the original in the mail for your permanent files.

Should you need to discuss this further, please don't hesitate to call me at (202) 332-0108 (H) or (202) 337-2562 (O).

Thanks for your counsel.

ELI J. SEGAL
2315 Bancroft Place, N.W.
Washington, DC 20008

February 9, 1996

Dear Mr. President:

I hereby resign as Assistant to the President.

I am confident that your national service initiative, AmeriCorps, will be part of your enduring legacy. It has been the highest honor of my life to help you transform your vision of service into reality.

As a member of the Board of Directors of the Corporation for National Service, I will continue to be engaged with AmeriCorps. Our AmeriCorps members will "get things done," reawaken a sense of citizenship and convert a skeptical public to the notion that a non-bureaucratic government can partner well with locally driven efforts to improve our neighborhoods.

Should you deem it useful, I would welcome the opportunity to serve you and our country again.

Sincerely,



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 2-9

TO: Andy Saus

FROM: Staff Secretary

As we discussed,

OK with you
guys?

indy

SPECIAL SCHEDULING REQUESTS
HONORARY CHAIR, HONORARY PATRON, HONORARY MEMBERSHIP

Today's Date: February 9, 1996

96 FEB 9 P2:50

Date of Request: 1/10/96
Request for: POTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Chair
Requestor Name: Mr. Rocco C. Siciliano
Title: Chairman
Organization: The Eisenhower World Affairs Institute
918 16th Street, N.W.
Suite 501
Washington, D.C. 20006
Contact Tel. #: 202/223-6710
Event Date: 5/22/96
Event Description: 1996 Eisenhower Leadership Prize Dinner
Notes: The group will honor former President George Bush. Past honorees have been Generals Scowcroft and Powell, Senator Dole, and Secretary Bentsen. Kenneth Lay, Chairman of Enron Corporation, is the General Dinner Chairman. Former Presidents Ford, Carter, and Reagan have agreed to serve as Honorary Chairs.

Recommendations:

TS _____ EL _____

Please return to Room 457

THE
EISENHOWER
 WORLD AFFAIRS INSTITUTE
 AN AFFILIATE OF GETTYSBURG COLLEGE

January 10, 1996

Rocco C. Siciliano
 Chairman

Paul T. O'Day
 President

Larry A. Jobe
 Treasurer

Jane L. Kratovich
 Executive Director
 & Secretary

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

Mary Eisenhower Atwater
 Joshua R. Bollen
 David A. Brady
 William L. Bryson, Jr.
 William D. Clark
 Andrew J. Demetriou
 Chris P. Dialynas*
 D. David Eisenhower II
 John D. Evans
 James R. Galbraith*
 Ernest Gellhorn
 Robert B. Giese
 Vartan Gregorian
 Gordon A. Halland*
 Charles T. Hagel
 Rita E. Hauser
 Larry A. Jobe*
 Thomas W. Kelly
 Henry Kormer McPhee*
 E. James Morton
 Paul T. O'Day*
 George R. Packard
 Terrence J. Roberts
 Eugene T. Rossides*
 Frederick H. Settelmeyer
 Rocco C. Siciliano*
 John K. Van de Kamp
 Paul R. Verkuil
 M. Christine Vick
 Leigh Warner
 Abbott M. Washburn
 C. Langhorne Washburn

*Executive Committee

Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster
 Chairman,
 Advisory Board

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
 The White House
 Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

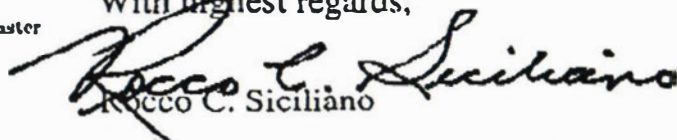
On behalf of the Eisenhower World Affairs Institute and Gettysburg College, I would like to invite you to join as an Honorary Chair for the 1996 Eisenhower Leadership Prize Dinner honoring former President George Bush.

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Leadership Prize recognizes a leader who has assumed increasingly influential roles in national and international arenas. The recipient demonstrates a lifelong commitment to leadership through a clear vision that affirms basic human values, an ability to articulate that vision persuasively, and an ability to motivate others to implement that vision. A group of distinguished citizens selected President Bush to honor his decades of public service and leadership to our nation. The past award recipients were Generals Brent Scowcroft and Colin Powell, Senator Robert Dole, and Secretary of the Treasury Lloyd Bentsen.

Mr. Kenneth Lay, Chairman of Enron Corporation is the General Dinner Chairman. This invitation is also being extended to the other former Presidents. Enclosed is last year's dinner program, as well as the Institute newsletter *Dateline* for your information.

The black-tie dinner dance will be held May 22, 1996, at the Washington Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C. The is expected to attract 1,000 business, political, and academic leaders from around the country. We, of course, would be honored if you could attend the event.

With highest regards,


 Rocco C. Siciliano

Enclosures

2/8 Toop To NSC for response

w/cc to scheduling

yes

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 02/08/96

TO: NSC

FROM: Staff Secretary

Please prepare a response for
the President.

Thanks.

cc: Scheduling

original ltr sent
to NSC
S.



*Pras has
no pen*

96 FEB 8 P 6 : 35

भारत का राजदूत
वाशिंगटन, डी० सी०
AMBASSADOR OF INDIA
2107 MASSACHUSETTS AVE. N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008

February 5, 1996

Dear *Mr. President*

I am resigning from my post as Ambassador about 8 months before my tenure ends since I shall be having to run for the Lok Sabha (the Lower House of the Indian Parliament) from West Bengal in the General Elections to be held some time in April this year.

Maya and I have had an extremely happy, rewarding and purposeful stay here for nearly three-and-a-half years and we shall be failing in our duty if we do not thank Mrs. Hillary Clinton and you immensely for the great interest that you had taken in us, our work and our country.

While we look forward eagerly to taking part in the coming elections, we are extremely sad at the prospect of leaving the United States and our numerous friends here. It will be a terrible wrench.

It has been a tremendous experience seeing you get elected and listening to you from time to time making some of the most brilliant speeches that I had ever heard in my life. Your 'State of the Union' Addresses were elevating and they mesmerised us, particularly the last one, which showed clearly how much you appreciated and understood the problems that faced not only the United States but the world as a whole today.

I know it will be extremely difficult for you to give us an appointment but Maya and I would be delighted to see you even for five minutes before we finally leave on the 24th February.

May Maya and I wish you the best of everything. May God be with you,

Very Best wishes

Yours sincerely,

Siddhartha Ray

(SIDDHARTHA SHANKAR RAY)

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 2/8

TO:

Lern
Rony

FROM: Staff Secretary

How do you want
to handle?

will



EYES ONLY

U.S. AGENCY FOR
INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT

96 FEB 8 P6:16

FEB 8 1996

The Administrator

PRESIDENT
HAS NOT
SEEN

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

Dear Mr. President:

In the almost three years I have served you as Administrator of USAID, I have tried not to burden you with the travails of defending foreign aid in a difficult budgetary environment. We have thus far managed to preserve a crucial program against the fiercest attacks possible while reengineering the agency to the point where it has become a model for government reinvention. Now I need your help.

Upon my return yesterday from South Africa and Angola -- countries where our aid is making a real difference -- I learned that OMB is proposing reducing our development assistance request by \$559 million. This is \$120 million below what Congress enacted in FY 96. They also propose reducing our operating expense budget to a point wherein we would be unable to function without drastic reductions of personnel. This would take us far beyond our own reductions in spending and below the severe cuts in the FY 96 budget the Congress forced upon us.

Mr. President, I fear that submitting such a budget request to Congress would signal to the world that both American political parties are retreating from engagement. At the behest of the Europeans, this year's G-7 meeting will focus on development assistance. Because of Congressional cuts, we will already be on the defensive. If we submit this proposed budget, you may have a difficult time separating your position from that of our isolationist Congress as you did so well during President Chirac's visit. In addition, most importantly, Mr. President, this budget would deny you the tools to engage the USG in effective crisis prevention and transition management efforts in Haiti, Bosnia, Cambodia, Rwanda/Burundi, and Angola, and seriously undermine your initiative in the Greater Horn of Africa initiative.

Congress will cut at least 10 percent from the budget, so I cannot conceive of protecting a straight-lining of even the FY 96 level unless we get at least that much leeway in your request. Moreover, if the OMB passback proposal is sustained, the important constituency that supports international population, environment and democracy programs will see this as a retreat by this Administration from supporting a sensible and effective aid program crucial to achieving our foreign policy goals.

I urge you to step in to assure that this foreign aid request reflects the values and approaches you have so forcefully and effectively enunciated over the past three years. I would be pleased to discuss this with you in more detail.

Best personal regards.

Sincerely,



J. Brian Atwood

*Mr President, your personal support
saved us, now OMB has to give
us enough to show we were worth
saving!*

Charles Smith knows the score, but he's trying to ignore it, page B15.

Chasing an image: Nike's competitors fight for their share, page B15.

Forgotten staff intend: than trivial,

The Metro Section

THURSDAY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2 8 96

JOYCE PURNICK

Metro Matters

Few but Forbes Could Survive Petition Ordeal

WHAT if Steve Forbes wins, becomes the Republican Presidential nominee? Where will New York's Republicans be then?

This thought occurred in Brooklyn this week, where lawyers for Bob Dole's campaign spent days trying to get Forbes nominating petitions disqualified, so the magazine magnate couldn't run statewide in the March 7 primary. Witnesses ranged from a handwriting expert who testified about petition signatures to an assistant city clerk who explained all about the arcane role of a commissioner of deeds.

So it went for 10 days until yesterday morning, when Justice William J. Garry of State Supreme Court completed his rulings. He found that Mr. Forbes could run in all but 2 of the 11 Congressional districts located wholly in New York City. The two are District 9, in Queens and Brooklyn, and District 15, in Harlem.

As of now, Forbes petitions have qualified statewide in 27 of 31 districts. Patrick J. Buchanan will run delegates in only one city district — the one that spans Staten Island and part of Brooklyn; his campaign did not answer telephone calls to clarify the status of his petitions outside the city. Mr. Dole, whose petitions were not challenged, will run delegates in all 31. But that's not the end of it. Appeals are pending and won't be resolved until mid-February, at the earliest.

All of which is business as usual in New York, which has the most arduous election laws in the country, controlled by the party hierarchy. Under the leadership of Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, every leading Republican in the state is supporting Mr. Dole — except for Mr. D'Amato's archrival, Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani. He is still fence-sitting.

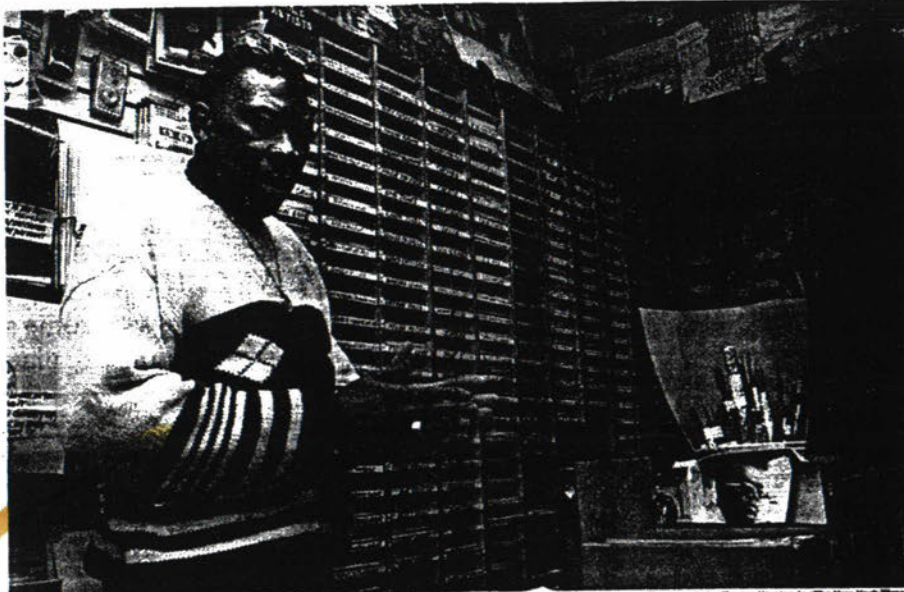
THE state's Republicans devised this all-for-one strategy when the Senate majority leader looked like a shoo-in. But various polls in New Hampshire now show Mr. Forbes ahead of Mr. Dole or in a statistical dead heat. It is plausible that the enthusiastic advocate of a flat tax could have some victories under his belt by March, and after that, who knows?

If Mr. Forbes does well in New York, he will probably not feel much gratitude to the state's Republican leaders. And if he goes all the way, they will be pretty much irrelevant. The candidate's lawyer in New York, Thomas J. Spargo, says Mr. Forbes is a big New York booster and would never carry a grudge. But it is hard to believe that Mr. Forbes isn't a bit miffed at his fellow Republicans, especially Mr. D'Amato. And an unhappy politician, in a profession built on debits and credits, can be a dangerous thing.

Not to worry, said Representative Susan Molinari of Staten Island, a strong Dole supporter. "If Forbes were to win, which I don't think is going to happen, we lose the general election," she said yesterday. "He re-elects Clinton."

Even if Mr. Dole ultimately prevails, why force any candidate to negotiate such forbidding election laws that only a multimillionaire like Mr. Forbes stands a chance of getting himself some democracy — by buying it. Most Republican Presidential candidates are taking a pass on New York, figuring it isn't worth the time, effort and money to get thousands of petition signatures, and then defend them against court challenges.

"It's a very sad commentary," Mr. Spargo said. "None of the other candidates could get in here." They couldn't afford to. Mr. Spargo said that merely gathering the petition signatures for Mr. Forbes cost \$1 million, and that does not count the additional legal cost of defending against the Dole



"Where are we going without consumers?" asked Joe Long at Birdy's Record Shop in Bedford-Stuyvesant, Brooklyn.

The Trickle-Up Economy

Poor Blocks Fear a Disaster if Welfare Is Cut



Fulton Street and Nostrand Avenue, where more than a third of the residents receive public aid.

By JOE SEXTON

Shortly after 9 A.M., the security screens roll up at a handful of discount furniture stores at the intersection of Fulton Street and Nostrand Avenue in Brooklyn. At the Krusty Bakery, coffee is sold through a bulletproof glass partition, and elsewhere, mothers roam the aisles of cut-rate clothing stores. A closed bank building has become a big billboard for a 99-cent sale. Veteran street vendors hawk hats and perfume.

The engine that drives much of the energy of this intersection's fragile mini-economy is welfare money, for more than a third of the neighborhood's residents receive public assistance.

For that reason, the various proposals for cutting welfare benefits now under active discussion in New York City, Albany and Washington have sent a shiver of fear through the network of shops and businesses at Nostrand and Fulton. One recent study by advocates for the poor projected that Gov. George E. Pataki's plan to cut welfare benefits would remove \$33 million

from the neighborhood. Whether or not the estimate is accurate, the study illustrates a little-discussed fact: changes in welfare policy can affect local economies independently of the debate about the morality or social wisdom of welfare.

"Bob Perot would miss \$33 million," noted Robert Brown, an employee of S & S Discount Furniture on Nostrand Avenue.

Economists and other analysts say it is difficult to measure the full economic life of a neighborhood. And so no one can really say how big a part of that economic activity stands to be erased or compromised by Mr. Pataki's proposed rollback of welfare spending.

But in this section of Bedford-Stuyvesant, where more than 40,000 of the 115,000 residents receive public assistance, where pizza parlors advertise that they accept food stamps and nearly

Continued on Page B9

Surprise Hits 8 In Brooklyn

10,000 Students In Privatization

By JACQUELINE

The Giuliani administration has private companies of New York's first big snag: helpers at eight. E surprise four-hour than 10,000 students and sent many home.

The labor dispute over the Wisconsin Board of schools' custodial workers and parents, who, they arrived yet schools in Fort Green and Brooklyn Heights.

In a day of extra efforts for the day after a no heat because of schools' boilers (bused to nearby huddled en masse) nastiness.

School officials contingency plan: would remain open another job action.

Several board members said that the implementation of the potential pitfall: Giuliani's push to parities perform well long been overseas.

"It shows the danger," William Thompson representing Brooklyn.

As a way to seal a dismal record of Mayor announced contractors would custodians at 52 responsibility for sweep the floors and take the boilers. have since reached unions representatives at 44 schools.

But talks between contractor hired eight schools, Joe Tuesday night, per day morning. Let

Contin

New York Guidelines

The State Board of school districts intended to improve education, an early plan to revamp them across the state. The guideline help schools provide new, tougher curriculum offered a glimpse under consideration: critical thinking, analysis of mathematics, science

Article

Poor Neighborhoods Fear Drain if Welfare Is Cut

Continued From Page B1

10 percent of the members of a local credit union make deposits from their welfare checks, no one much disputes the notion that they will feel the impact.

"Almost all of our customers are from the neighborhood," said Barbara Smith, an employee at DLW Travel. "I would think the stores in the neighborhood would be leaving if that kind of money is taken out of it."

Thomas Diaz, the manager of the Bravo supermarket on Fulton Street, is not so sure the results will be all bad if benefits are cut.

"If people can't shop, it can't be good for me," Mr. Diaz conceded. "But maybe they will change the way they have led their lives. Maybe they will work."

Mr. Diaz, though, did concede the risk. Welfare recipients, after all, are almost exclusively local customers. They generally use their limited benefits to pay rent to landlords and to spend cash at clothing outlets and grocery stores.

"They are talking about taking millions of dollars out of an already underdeveloped neighborhood," said Margo Butts, an official with the Bedford-Stuyvesant Community Conference, a local economic planning organization. "I think you have to consider, then, that what they might be talking about is economic devastation."

The recent study by a nonprofit advocacy group for the poor offers what it says is a frank formula for figuring the potential economic challenge many neighborhoods would face as a result of the state's proposed welfare reductions. Basing its projections on Mr. Pataki's plan to cut the basic welfare grant by 26.5 percent, eliminate other emergency benefits and set limits on home relief, the study by the Community Food Resource Center Inc. estimates that tens of millions of dollars will be taken from individual neighborhood economies across the city.

"We decided to take a different route from what poverty advocates usually do," said Liz Krueger, executive director of the organization. "We decided to follow the money."

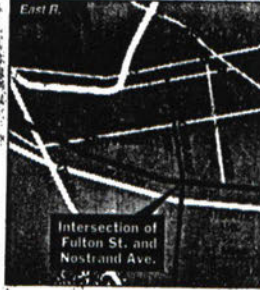
Examining the city by State Assembly districts — roughly 120,000 people live in each one — the study calculated how many people in each district received public assistance. Then it used the state's own figures for average welfare payments to estimate how much less would be paid

out to people in those districts.

As an example, in Ridgewood, Queens, a mostly working-class neighborhood, the reductions would remove \$15 million in disposable income; in Washington Heights, and Inwood in Manhattan, where greater numbers of welfare recipients live, the total would be more than \$28 million; in the South Bronx, where more people live on public assistance than anywhere else in the city, \$47 million would be gone.

But Ms. Krueger and other economists note that it is impossible to know how large the total community economies might be, and so understand how damaging the cuts would be over all.

It is easier to see the potential effects at street level. At the intersection of Nostrand and Fulton, in a district that receives nearly \$110



"People can refill the gap with work," Mr. Wing said. "The money will be lost permanently only to those people who take no steps to take care of themselves."

But that argument is the subject of dispute.

The Pataki administration says job training and development programs will be enhanced as part of the welfare reform effort. It claims that 100,000 new private jobs were created across the state last year. Legislators and other labor analysts, though, say the job gains were in fact half that number, and note that unemployment in the state rose to 6.4 percent from 5.7 percent during 1995, the Governor's first year.

In the 56th Assembly District in Bedford-Stuyvesant, only 12.8 percent of the residents 25 years or older have more than a high school education. Albert Vann, the Democratic Assemblyman who represents the 56th, said the unemployment rate for black men ages 17 to 24 is 37 percent.

"People suddenly working in this neighborhood — that's a farce," Mr. Vann said. "There is no such job creation."

Some economic analysts say counting the welfare reductions as lost income to communities is an important way of fully appreciating the economic fallout of a policy decision. Others call it nonsense.

"We can all have biases about certain parts of the debate on welfare, but the argument that there is going to be an economic ripple effect for certain neighborhoods is real," said Russell Sykes, an official with the State Communities Aid Association, a research organization that has advocated welfare reform. "You can count on one truth: welfare benefits are spent in the neighbor-

hood. And you are not replacing those dollars instantly."

But Abe Lackman, the former budget director for Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani who is now secretary to the State Senate Finance Committee, disagreed.

"The argument that the money is drained and forever lost, by its nature, is specious," Mr. Lackman said. "The welfare money, in a sense, is coming from taxes in those neighborhoods. And so the key question people should be asking themselves is, Are they receiving proper return on their tax dollars that fund welfare and other programs?"

Still, the prospect of radical welfare reductions' damaging the city's struggling, discrete neighborhood economies has caused all sorts of people to ask questions.

At Nostrand and Fulton, most people seemed convinced of the potential peril. Joe Long, who has run Birdy's Record Shop since 1969, winced when he theorized about the loss of \$33 million in his district.

"Where are we going without consumers?" he said. "It's going to be rough. If money isn't back in circulation quick, you can wrap it up here as a neighborhood by the year 2000."

Meyer Sakkal, staring out over the rows of bins of discount clothing at the Ray department store, which he manages, said the city's tightening of welfare benefits had already hurt his business.

"We've had days, he said, "where more is stolen from here than bought."

Priest From Yonkers Is Named a Bishop

Pope John Paul II has named Msgr. Edwin F. O'Brien, a native of the Bronx and a former Army chaplain in Vietnam, as an auxiliary bishop for the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York.

John Cardinal O'Connor, the Archbishop of New York, announced the appointment on Tuesday at St. Joseph's Seminary in Yonkers, the archdiocese's seminary, of which Monsignor O'Brien is rector.

Monsignor O'Brien, 57, headed the seminary from 1985 to 1989. He took up the post again in September 1994 after serving five years as rector of the Pontifical North American College in Rome.

The Qantas Family Fare Sale

	New Zealand	Australia
Adult	\$574*	\$624*
Child	\$317*	\$317*

* One way based on round trip purchase from New York, Newark and Washington D.C.

Turn your dreams into reality with Qantas Family Fares! A vacation full of adventures that your whole family will love.

To take advantage of these amazing fares, each adult has to be accompanied by a child. Book your ticket by February 29* for travel between June 1* and August 31*, 1996.

You can also earn mileage on your choice of Alaska Airline, American Airlines*, British Airways, Canadian Airlines, Continental Airlines, SAS, USAir or our own Frequent Flyer program. As always, consult your preferred program for details.

For more information call your travel agent or Qantas at 1-800-227-4500.

QANTAS
THE AUSTRALIAN AIRLINE



These fares available for each adult and child traveling together. Prices for additional children (per adult) are available at higher discounted prices. One adult round trip Economy Class ticket purchase of \$1348 from New York, Newark and Washington D.C. to Sydney, Brisbane, Melbourne or Cairns or \$1448 to Auckland, plus a child (aged 2-11) round trip Economy Class ticket purchased for \$633 to the same destination. Tickets must be issued within 72 hours of reservation confirmation but not later than February 29, 1996. All passengers must travel on the same itinerary. Minimum stay of 7 days and maximum of 1 month. Travel must commence between June 1 and August 31, 1996. Add-on charges apply from other US originating cities. Stopovers offered for an additional fee. All prices subject to change, seats for this offer are limited and may not be available on every flight. Fares do not include US taxes, passenger facility charges and fees of \$19.00 per person and up to \$12 in airport facility charges depending on itinerary; do not include foreign departure fees of \$12.00. Additional restrictions may apply. American Airlines is a registered trademark of American Airlines, Inc. © 1996 Qantas Airways.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2.8.96

February 4, 1996

MEMORANDUM

To: THE PRESIDENT

From: Nancy Hernreich
Andrea Whitney

Re: Edwin Yoder Column: February 5, 1996

Edwin Yoder writes that Steve Forbes' core message in his New Hampshire and Iowa speech is that Americans are being manipulated by "Washington politicians" and a flat tax would end this abuse. He says that Forbes' speech is more notable for what it leaves out: tax cutting has recently been tried and it failed, politicians in Washington do not control our lives through the tax code, and tax simplification bills rarely simplify.

cc: Ann Leary

YODE01▼tn--i

r k

●

^bc-yoder-column adv05<

^EDWIN YODER COLUMN<

^(Advance for Monday, February 5, 1996, and thereafter)<

^(For Yoder Clients Only)<

^By EDWIN M. YODER, JR.=

WASHINGTON--It seems to be an unwritten rule of presidential primary politics that candidates may, with impunity, spout unmitigated flapdoodle in remote places like Iowa and New Hampshire.

But I found myself wondering, as I watched Steve Forbes' basic stump speech the other night on the PBS NewsHour with Jim Lehrer, whether the usual rule of forgiveness applies to self-styled outsiders and amateurs whose core message is that we are being manipulated and abused by ''Washington politicians.'' Forbes, like Ross Perot before him, seems to assume so--at least to judge by his sophomoric spiel.

Forbes, who's spending millions of dollars of his own money, is the premier advocate of a pure ''flat tax.'' Everyone would pay at the same basic rate. There would be no deductions. A family of four earning about \$32,000 a year would, says Forbes, pay no taxes at all under his plan.

If everyone's taxes were cut, it follows that federal revenues would fall and the deficit would swell. Unless spending were cut more sharply than either party has managed to cut it since the recent tax revolt began with Prop 13 in California and swept eastward with Ronald Reagan. Or unless a new round of tax cutting spurred economic growth to rates unseen in the modern era. Unless, unless! Forbes' flat tax plan has more exit strategies than the late Benito Mussolini's army.

But the red meat in Forbes' basic speech is his proposition that the tax code needs to be dumbed down because it is the device by means

(more)

of which ``Washington politicians`` shove us around. Take this device away, Forbes says, and you bring this manipulation to a halt.

Like all political speeches, and more so than usual, Forbes' basic speech is more notable for what it leaves out than for what it puts in:

1. Both tax cutting and so-called ``tax simplification`` have been tried--recently. The tax cut was the Kemp-Roth bill, a huge three-stage cut in marginal income tax rates passed by Congress in 1981. To date it has cost some \$3 trillion in new federal borrowing and equivalent interest charges. Its sponsors claimed that it would stimulate savings and so energize the economy as to make up for the lost revenues because excessive marginal tax rates were discouraging work. They were flat wrong. It did neither. Revenues shrank and savings fell.

2. It is a myth, a ruse, a joke, to claim that politicians in Washington control our lives through the tax code. There never was a policy-neutral tax code, of course. Any tax plan contains debatable preferences and produces winners and, maybe, losers. But what aspects of the tax code does Forbes have in mind? Accelerated depreciation of business investment? Deductions for capital losses? The popular home mortgage deductions (which his plan would eliminate)? Deductions for charitable contributions (also eliminated), which have the effect of inducing us to give money to causes and institutions of our own choosing, while claiming a tax break for doing so? Where, exactly, in the present tax code is the shoving?

3. Tax simplification bills rarely simplify. The reason is itself simple. However intended, they become legislative Christmas trees. The public tires of following them at an early stage, while special interests with the needed stamina and long attention spans stay the course. Why does anyone imagine that a President Forbes, a rank amateur, would achieve what no other president has?

Why is Forbes giving this speech, over and over? Because he knows it goes over well with voters in Iowa and New Hampshire who thrill to improbable scenarios of tax avoidance? If so, it is hard to see what separates him from the cynical ``Washington politicians`` he blasts.

(more)

Because he's a rich kid staking himself to a quixotic quest for self-financed notoriety? Or a greedy fellow who knows a flat tax would benefit him personally, to the tune of millions? I think not.

More probably, he is saying these things because he believes them. That is alarming. Should so credulous a person be elected to any office of honor, trust or profit under these United States, still less the presidency? When Bob Dole says Forbes' ideas are ``risky,'' he commits generous understatement.

(c) 1996, Washington Post Writers Group

2/7/96

SMALL VS. BIG PRODUCERS

Pollution funds a new snag in U.S. farm bill

By GEORGE ANTHAN

OF THE REGISTER'S WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington, D.C. — A new environmental program to help livestock producers meet anti-pollution rules has become entangled in the growing dispute over bigness in the hog and cattle industries, and is adding another snag to reaching agreement on a new farm bill.

The move to provide some federal money to help livestock producers meet federal and state pollution requirements, especially in the disposal of manure, began as a way by the industries to recapture some federal conservation assistance that in recent years has been shifted toward crop farmers.

Now, however, environmental activists have joined with small-farm advocates in seeking to channel these federal funds to smaller hog and beef producers.

Giving larger feed lots federal aid, according to the Center for Rural Affairs at Walthill, Neb., "equals a subsidy to absorb the environmental costs of large industrial livestock operations."

The center, a non-profit organization that promotes family-size farms, asks, "If these (larger) operations are highly efficient and profitable, as widely claimed, why should the public pay the cost of controlling their environmental damages, which clearly exceeds those of less-concentrated systems of raising livestock?"

Water Quality

But officials of the National Pork Producers Council and the National Cattlemen's Beef Association emphasize the focus should be on helping preserve water quality, not on the size of the operations getting assistance.

The Livestock Environmental Assistance Program (LEAP) would commit \$100 million a year in cost-sharing funds.

An early Senate version would have limited federal environmental aid to producers of 2,500 or fewer hogs and 1,000 or fewer cattle.

In the House, the GOP's overall farm bill, the Freedom to Farm Act, included a LEAP feature, but it made producers of up to 15,000 hogs and 10,000 cattle eligible for funds.

The House LEAP version was accepted in the farm bill sent to President Clinton as part of an overall budget measure, which he vetoed.

Back Before Congress

Now, the farm bill — including LEAP — is back before Congress.

One new farm bill version backed by Senate Agriculture Committee Chairman Richard Lugar of Indiana and ranking Democrat Patrick Leahy

CHANCES FOR BIPARTISAN COMPROMISE DIM

FROM THE REGISTER'S WASHINGTON BUREAU

Washington, D.C. — Fourteen Republican senators, including Iowa's Charles Grassley, on Monday told Majority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas they'd oppose a farm bill compromise backed by many Democrats, further dimming prospects for a bipartisan measure.

The Senate is scheduled to attempt to pass a farm bill today, and some senior aides of farm-state senators, including Dole, have been trying to fashion a compromise that would meet objections to the GOP's Freedom to Farm Act from many Democrats and President Clinton.

But the letter to Dole says one compromise plan would eliminate 60 percent of the "transition" payments, placing the remaining farm subsidies under a formula based on market prices, as demanded by the Democrats. The letter states, "Farmers, groups representing farmers and government reform advocates have endorsed (Freedom to Farm), not 40 percent of it."

of Vermont would give LEAP aid to producers of up to 15,000 hogs and 10,000 cattle.

Another measure advanced by Senate Minority Leader Thomas D'Amico of South Dakota would target the aid to producers of 2,500 hogs and 1,000 cattle.

Sen. Charles Grassley, R-Ia., backs the lower LEAP limit; Grassley said if a farm bill with higher limits is debated on the Senate floor, he'll try to amend it.

Grassley said, "We need to target it (aid) to the independent producer who is forced to compete directly with large factory farms."

Sen. Tom Harkin, D-Ia., also backs lower LEAP limits, saying large hog facilities "should be able to afford complying" with pollution rules.

The 1992 Census of Agriculture indicates that 85 percent of farms with hogs had fewer than 1,000 head, and that 50 percent of all hogs were on farms with fewer than 1,000 head.

Large Operations, Too

But at the same time, the census showed that more than one-third of all hogs were in operations with more than 2,000 head (there was no 2,500-head category) and some operations now market more than half a million hogs a year.

The census said 92 percent of farms with beef cattle had fewer than 100 head. But the USDA recently noted also that 90 percent of cattle sold come from lots with more than 1,000 head.

Larger hog operations have been involved in several spills from waste-holding facilities in Iowa and North Carolina, provoking opposition to these operations from environmentalists and small-farm advocates.

cates.

The issue of large-vs.-small hog operations has become heated in Iowa politics as well as among Republican presidential candidates in the Iowa caucus campaign.

Alan Tank, an official here of the National Pork Producers Council, said LEAP "should have no (size) caps at all. The issue of size and structure should not play. To the contrary, if the program is to enhance the environment ... that must be the issue, not size."

Tank emphasized that under all versions of the LEAP plan, no producer could get more than \$10,000 a year in federal aid, and no one could receive more than \$50,000 over the life of the program.

Already Comply

Tank said most large hog operations already comply with federal and state pollution rules and that beneficiaries of LEAP would tend to be smaller producers.

Chandler Keys, the cattlemen's lobbyist here, echoed Tank. "Most of our really big guys are already in compliance."

Keys said medium-size lots especially need help in building stock ponds, improving range quality and building waste-disposal lagoons and systems.

Keys added, "It bums me that this program is what the environmental community has been calling for all along, to switch money (from crop subsidies) to conservation. And here's a segment that has not used government money, and we try to do this and we still get criticized."

Keys said some cattle producers don't even want the pollution aid. "Many just don't trust government," he said.



VANGUARD VALVES, INC.

AUTOMATIC SEISMIC GAS VALVES

*Please give to
the President.
J. R. Witt*

534 Lewelling Blvd., Suite F
San Leandro, CA 94579-1846
Phone: (510) 357-5038
Fax: (510) 357-2592

96 FEB 8

4/0: 17 Dec. 22, 1995

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20025

Dear Mr. President,

I would like to take a moment of your time to thank you for your support of the First National Biennial Mitigation Conference held on Dec. 6-8, 1995 in Alexandria, Virginia. You and Mr. James L. Witt, will make the difference between life and death, safety and calamity, for untold numbers of people who live in areas hit by a natural disaster. You have taken a bold step in the thinking of disaster relief. If a fireman saves one life in a fire, he is rightly hailed as a hero. However, for the men and women who expend themselves tirelessly to stop disasters from happening in the first place, will never be recognized, even though they will save tens, hundreds, or possibly thousands of lives. To mitigate disasters is to take a long range view of a problem that will not go away by itself. We can spend a few dollars now or millions later.

Mr. President, this convention was very important to us. We are a very small, family run business. My father, Homer Nowell, developed a gas valve that automatically turns off the gas to building in case of an earthquake. This is critical, since earthquakes cause major fires, as was the case in the recent Kobe, Japan earthquake. We have had many obstacles to overcome to get to this point. Even to attend the Convention was a major accomplishment for us. However, we strongly believe in our product and our abilities to overcome any difficulties that may lie ahead. We recently received a Small Business Administration loan that is allowing us to develop larger valves for commercial use. We were able to exhibit our valves to the conventioners. We made numerous contacts with federal, state and local government, universities, insurance companies and other businesses related to ours. Since then, we have been in touch with a firm that wishes to export our valves to Canada and another that wishes to export to Mexico. The convention gave us the opportunity that we had been seeking.

Please, Mr. President, feel free to accept an invitation to see our humble shop. It is nothing to brag about, other than the fact of what we have been able to accomplish with creativity and hard work. Again, we would like to thank you for supporting FEMA and disaster mitigation.

2/8/96

Send to Donskind
for reply?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Respectfully yours,

Philip Nowell
Vanguard Valves, Inc.

C.
Coordinate w/ Cabinet

Staff Secy -
Replied
delivered

by
James Lee Witt

2-7-96

LAW OFFICES
HILFMAN & FOGEL, P.C.

LOUIS HILFMAN
ROBERT L. FOGEL
PATRICK J. SULLIVAN
WILLIAM F. MARTIN
MICHAEL I. STARKMAN
STEVEN C. FUOCO
DANIEL C. HOFERT

OF COUNSEL
JEFFREY M. GOLDBERG

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2/8/96

Leah CP

Rec'd from M. Scott
2/7/96 p.m.
DND

33 NORTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60602

TELEPHONE
(312) 236-5207
FAX
(312) 236-2321

96 FEB 7 P6:18

January 29, 1996

Marsha Scott
The White House

RE: Military Budget Bill

Dear Marsha:

Enclosed is a copy of my fax to Harold Ickes from January 27, 1996, and today's letter to the President. I respectfully ask that you be sure that it reaches the President as soon as possible.

I hope that my thoughts and suggestions will be seriously considered, especially given the considerable disruption that enactment of this legislation will have on an essential political community whose support has been rejuvenated in recent months. I do not need to tell you how critical their enthusiastic support will be for the re-election effort in such important electoral states as California, New York, Illinois, New Jersey, and Florida.

Warm regards,

Bob

Robert L. Fogel

RLF:kes

LAW OFFICES

HILFMAN & FOGEL, P.C.

LOUIS HILFMAN
ROBERT L. FOGEL
PATRICK J. SULLIVAN
WILLIAM F. MARTIN
MICHAEL I. STARKMAN
STEVEN C. FUOCO
DANIEL C. HOFERT

OF COUNSEL
JEFFREY M. GOLDBERG

33 NORTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60602

TELEPHONE
(312) 236-5207
FAX
(312) 236-2321

January 29, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House

RE: Military Budget Bill

Dear Mr. President:

I was dumbfounded when I read in Saturday's New York Times that you were considering signing the military budget bill despite blatantly ignorant and discriminatory provisions requiring the discharge of HIV+ individuals. While I am sure that there are important reasons to sign the Bill, I also believe that your integrity with the HIV/AIDS community, in particular, and the nation, generally, demands a veto.

The Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS has provided a number of significant recommendations to you, which you have followed by committing significant time and political resources. Your efforts in this regard have resulted in intelligent federal actions and mobilized millions of supporters without whom success in the presidential and Congressional elections will be difficult, if not impossible.

Many people thought that the White House Conference on HIV/AIDS was an election year ploy. Your participation and remarks convinced them otherwise. You declared: "AIDS-related discrimination unfortunately remains a problem that offends America's conscience. We simply cannot let our fears outweigh our common sense or our compassion". However, the enactment of the military budget bill couldn't be more offensive to America's conscience. I know it is offensive to yours as well.

The signing of the Bill sends the wrong message to America. If it is acceptable for the military to discharge healthy and productive troops solely because they are HIV+, then what may happen in millions of schools and work places to other HIV+ individuals today and in the years to come? HIV+ children, women, and men may have to face discrimination in their employment, schools, and perhaps even in maintaining health care insurance. If this is acceptable for the military and federal government for HIV+ people, then what may happen to those living with AIDS?

HILFMAN & FOGEL, P.C.

President William J. Clinton

Page Two

January 29, 1996

All of America has watched and admired you as you have blocked the Republicans' efforts to destroy Medicare, Medicaid, educational programs, children and family programs, as well as environmental goals. Everyone has been impressed by your perseverance in standing up for what is right, and refusing to buckle despite incredible pressures. To sign this military budget bill will put all of those interests at risk, because if you are willing to compromise on the moral and discriminatory issue of HIV+ soldiers, then what security can these other constituents enjoy on their issues? The public perception that you will not stand up for principle will be rejuvenated.

Veto the Bill with a message that you will sign the identical legislation without that particular provision. Challenge Congress to show the same compassion and courage as you have. Congress can strike that section and repass the Bill within days. We will all see who in Congress is willing to defend that singular provision.

A veto will send the correct message to the community and to American people that you will not so quickly compromise on such a critical value that is wrongheaded, ignorant, and discriminatory. It will convey to America that such discrimination is unjustified and unacceptable to all of us. It will demonstrate the leadership that all of your supporters expect and love. It is the right thing to do.

I urge you to seriously consider these thoughts and veto the military budget bill.

Warmest regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Robert L. Fogel". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Robert" and last name "Fogel" clearly legible. There is a small mark to the right of the signature.

Robert L. Fogel

RLF:kes

ROBERT L. FOGEL
33 North Dearborn Street
Suite 1700
Chicago, IL 60602

FAX: 202-456-2464
Mr. Harold Ickes
White House
Washington, D.C.

Re: Military Budget Bill

Dear Harold:

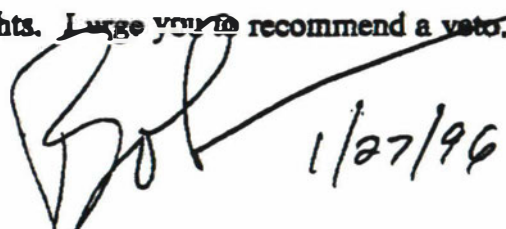
I was dumbfounded when I read in Saturday's New York Times that the President may sign the Military Budget Bill despite its blatantly ignorant and discriminatory provisions requiring discharge of HIV+ individuals. It is obvious that there will be significant negative ramifications if he does, and it will not be limited to the gay/lesbian/HIV/AIDS communities.

The White House has committed significant time and political resources in an effort to recultivate the above mentioned communities. The government's AIDS policies have been dramatically improved. The Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS was initiated, and all of its recommendations have been pursued, including the primary one calling for Presidential Leadership in the fight to end the epidemic. A White House Summit was held, and the President dramatically spoke, inter alia, about the need to end discrimination in this nation against those suffering from HIV and AIDS. These efforts have resulted in not only intelligent government actions, but the political mobilization of millions of supporters WITHOUT WHOM success in the presidential AND Congressional elections will be difficult, if not impossible.

Over the past few months, the nation has seen and perceived the President stand up against Republican extremism which would have devastated Medicare, Medicaid, educational programs, children and family programs, as well as environmental goals. I attended a dinner of important supporters and fund raisers at the Vice President's home a couple of months ago at the outset of the first shutdown, and the group unanimously supported the clear evidence of Presidential backbone and endorsed it as an essential element of electoral success.

Harold, to sign the Military Budget Bill would undo these very important accomplishments. To veto the Bill may delay its ultimate passage, but it would cement those accomplishments at this critical time. A new Bill without that single provision could be proposed, and the President's effort in opposition to it would demonstrate to the country that he will stand on principle opposed to discriminatory ignorance. The public is afraid that he folds those principles too often in compromise. He will further undo that perception by standing firm and fighting in this instance. He will also help identify targets in Congress for the community to fight this fall.

I urge you to seriously consider these thoughts. ~~Large you to~~ recommend a veto.



1/27/96

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2/8/96

THE CITY OF CORAL GABLES



OFFICE OF MAYOR

CITY HALL 405 BILTMORE WAY
CORAL GABLES, FLORIDA 33134

*CC: Mark/Sally
Scheduling
per our detour
Bo*

February 6, 1996

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

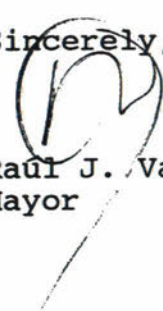
Mr. President:

Presidents Carlos S. Menem of Argentina, Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil, Juan Carlos Wasmosy of Paraguay, and Julio Sanguinetti of Uruguay will gather at the Biltmore Hotel in Coral Gables on Friday, April 26 and Saturday, April 27, for the MERCOSUR FORUM. Closing ceremonies will be conducted at a luncheon on Sunday, April 28th, at the hotel.

On behalf of the City of Coral Gables and the MERCOSUR FORUM it is my pleasure to invite you to join in the closing luncheon ceremonies scheduled for 1 p.m. on Sunday.

Your attendance at this historic event will be appreciated by the participants and the countries they represent.

Sincerely,


Raúl J. Valdés-Fauli
Mayor

He has been seen 2/6/96

FAX from ...

Senator Dianne Feinstein
of California

331 Hart Senate Office Building
Washington, DC 20510
(202) 224-3841

DATE: 06 February 1996

TIME: _____

TO: President William J. Clinton

FROM: Senator Dianne Feinstein

COMMENTS:

If all pages are not received, please call Menda Fife at
202-224-2743.

- was faxed to Mr. Panetta's ofc 2/6
- Sent to NSC / Hilleg P
1/2

TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUI

NOTE: The information contained in this facsimile is confidential. If you receive this message in error, please notify the sender immediately.

DIANNE FEINSTEIN
CALIFORNIA



COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY
COMMITTEE ON RULES AND ADMINISTRATION

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20540-04 P 6 : 40
(202) 224-3841

February 6, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am pleased that you have directed the National Security Council to re-examine the Administration's position on the B-2 bomber. As you know, eight Democratic advocates of the B-2 program and I had the opportunity to brief your Chief of Staff, Leon Panetta, about our strong support for the aircraft and to request that you include \$800 million in your Fiscal Year 1997 budget request for the procurement of additional bombers. I would like to summarize the main points of this meeting for you and once again urge you to support additional B-2 bomber procurement by including \$800 million in your FY97 budget request.

The B-2 bomber has unique military advantages over other bombers in the fleet which combine a long-range, stealthy strike with decreased risk to American military personnel, and operational cost savings. The B-2's stealth allows it to penetrate enemy airspace without escort fighter aircraft, airborne radar jammers, and air-to-ground defenses. This places fewer of our military personnel in harm's way. The aircraft uses an inexpensive, \$18,000 per unit, near-precision weapons which can hit multiple, moving targets less than 30 feet in size. While the B-52 and B-1 bombers have near-precision capability with the use of cruise missiles, these weapons cost nearly \$1 million each and can only be targeted on fixed objects.

The B-2's effectiveness was analyzed in 1991 by RAND. Their study found that three B-2s with near-precision weapons could "kill" 46% of an enemy's mechanized division. With kill ratios like this, the B-2 serves as our nation's airborne conventional deterrent. I believe that rouge nations like North Korea and Iraq, knowing the capabilities of the B-2, would think twice before moving their Army's into neighboring countries.

At this time, however, the U.S. not only lacks the number of B-2s necessary to achieve this deterrence, but also is 100 bombers short of fulfilling the Bottom's Up Review's (BUR) requirement of 184 deployable bombers deemed necessary to fight two nearly simultaneous major regional contingencies (MRCs). When this fact is combined with the inability of most of these bombers to independently penetrate enemy airspace, the conclusion of the Department of Defense's Heavy Bomber Force Study -- that more B-2s are not necessary -- is questionable.

FRESNO OFFICE:
1130 "O" STREET
SUITE 2A48
FRESNO, CA 93721
(202) 224-7430

LOS ANGELES OFFICE:
11111 SANTA MONICA BLVD.
SUITE 915
LOS ANGELES, CA 90025
(213) 214-7300

SAN DIEGO OFFICE:
750 "B" STREET
SUITE 1030
SAN DIEGO, CA 92101
(619) 231-9712

SAN FRANCISCO OFFICE:
525 MARKET STREET
SUITE 3670
SAN FRANCISCO, CA 94105
(415) 538-8888

The Honorable William J. Clinton
February 6, 1996
Page 2

The Heavy Bomber Force Study does not, for example, take into account the fact that the US has fewer overseas air bases. With fewer bases overseas, the U.S. must allow time for the movement of bomber escort aircraft and radar-jamming aircraft into the theater before our B-52s and B-1s can attack targets safely. Although the Study relies on a 14-day notice by intelligence sources as warning time for US forces to move aircraft, personnel, and supplies into the area of hostilities, one has to question how many of the dozens of potential conflicts in the world today will present us with such a timely warning.

Our conclusion to Mr. Panetta was clear: the B-2 unquestionably enhances our national security through its ability to strike at long range with stealth, to attack multiple moving targets at near-precision range, and to protect the lives of our men and women in uniform by placing fewer of them at risk with each mission.

The meeting was then focused on the economic impact of the B-2, particularly on California. As you know, California would be severely affected by the termination of the B-2 production line. The last subcontract deliveries for the production on the current order of B-2s will be complete by the end of 1996. This means that in California alone, 2,262 B-2 subcontractors, vendors, and suppliers would have to begin winding down in preparation for the end of the B-2 line with the delivery of the last B-2 in 1998.

When the B-2's production was at its peak, there were 4,209 B-2 subcontractors in California. 2,779 were small businesses, 228 disadvantaged small businesses, and 319 women-owned small businesses. Now, however, there remain just over 1200 small business subcontractors, and only 125 disadvantaged and 171 women-owned small business subcontractors. The impact is already being felt.

If no additional B-2s are procured, the last B-2 will roll off the Palmdale assembly line in 1998. All modernization of the current B-2 fleet will be completed in 2000. The B-2 assembly facility in Palmdale, CA will be forced to lay off 3,600 workers by the end of 1996 and nearly 9,000 by the year 2000. Conversely, if additional B-2s are ordered, a study by the UCLA Business Forecasting Project concludes that nearly 25% more manufacturing jobs would be added to Southern California's job market after the year 2000.

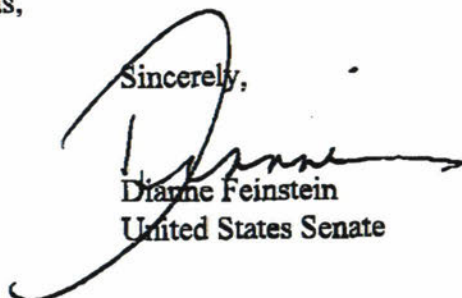
It is facts like these that lead the California Democratic Party's Finance Committee, the fifteen mayors of communities around the Palmdale facility, and the Chair of the California Senate's Democratic Caucus to send letters urging you to supports more B-2s.

The Honorable William J. Clinton
February 6, 1996
Page 3

Mr. President, if you believe that more B-2 bombers are the right choice, the Pentagon will do as Congress did and find the funding to build additional B-2s. We argued our message as strongly to Mr. Panetta as I do to you now. Additional procurement of the B-2 bomber is the right choice. Thank you for your kind attention to my arguments. I look forward to your decision.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Dianne", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Dianne Feinstein
United States Senate

DF:msf

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 2-7

TO:  Harold

FROM: Staff Secretary

Are you all
with this
going forward?



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 FEB 7 P3:23

February 7, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE R. LINDSEY 
DEPUTY COUNSEL

RE: FEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION

Several months ago you tentatively signed off on Karen Shepherd for the Federal Election Commission. After your approval, it was decided that we should reappoint John McGarry, whose term has expired, to that Commission. Harold then spoke with Karen about the Federal Trade Commission, and she expressed interest. At the same time, Bob Nash had been speaking with Sheila Anthony about the FTC. Upon learning of Harold's discussions with Karen, Bob tried to steer Sheila to another position. He offered her the general counsel position at the Federal Highway Administration, which she rejected. While saying that she will do whatever you want her to do, Sheila continues to express strong interest in the FTC. In addition, Senator David Pryor has called both Bob and me on Sheila's behalf.

We need to make a decision one way or the other. Right now, everyone is unhappy with us.

_____ Nominate Sheila Anthony

_____ Nominate Karen Shepherd

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

DATE: 2-7

TO:

✓
Leon
Harold ✓

FROM: Staff Secretary

Mr. & Mrs. Scott is
asking that this letter
(regarding veto of OOD bill)
go to POTUS tonight. Are
you ok with that?

✓
JRH

LAW OFFICES
HILFMAN & FOGEL, P.C.

LOUIS HILFMAN
ROBERT L. FOGEL
PATRICK J. SULLIVAN
WILLIAM F. MARTIN
MICHAEL I. STARKMAN
STEVEN C. FUOCO
DANIEL C. HOFERT

OF COUNSEL
JEFFREY M. GOLDBERG

*Rec'd from M. Scott
2/7/96 p.m.
DAD*

33 NORTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60602

TELEPHONE
(312) 236-5207
FAX
(312) 236-2321

96 FEB 7 P6:18
January 29, 1996

Marsha Scott
The White House

RE: Military Budget Bill

Dear Marsha:

Enclosed is a copy of my fax to Harold Ickes from January 27, 1996, and today's letter to the President. I respectfully ask that you be sure that it reaches the President as soon as possible.

I hope that my thoughts and suggestions will be seriously considered, especially given the considerable disruption that enactment of this legislation will have on an essential political community whose support has been rejuvenated in recent months. I do not need to tell you how critical their enthusiastic support will be for the re-election effort in such important electoral states as California, New York, Illinois, New Jersey, and Florida.

Warm regards,



Robert L. Fogel

RLF:kes

LAW OFFICES
HILFMAN & FOGEL, P.C.

LOUIS HILFMAN
ROBERT L. FOGEL
PATRICK J. SULLIVAN
WILLIAM F. MARTIN
MICHAEL I. STARKMAN
STEVEN C. FUOCO
DANIEL C. HOFERT

OF COUNSEL
JEFFREY M. GOLDBERG

33 NORTH DEARBORN STREET
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS 60602

TELEPHONE
(312) 236-5207
FAX
(312) 236-2321

January 29, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House

RE: Military Budget Bill

Dear Mr. President:

I was dumbfounded when I read in Saturday's New York Times that you were considering signing the military budget bill despite blatantly ignorant and discriminatory provisions requiring the discharge of HIV+ individuals. While I am sure that there are important reasons to sign the Bill, I also believe that your integrity with the HIV/AIDS community, in particular, and the nation, generally, demands a veto.

The Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS has provided a number of significant recommendations to you, which you have followed by committing significant time and political resources. Your efforts in this regard have resulted in intelligent federal actions and mobilized millions of supporters without whom success in the presidential and Congressional elections will be difficult, if not impossible.

Many people thought that the White House Conference on HIV/AIDS was an election year ploy. Your participation and remarks convinced them otherwise. You declared: "AIDS-related discrimination unfortunately remains a problem that offends America's conscience. We simply cannot let our fears outweigh our common sense or our compassion". However, the enactment of the military budget bill couldn't be more offensive to America's conscience. I know it is offensive to yours as well.

The signing of the Bill sends the wrong message to America. If it is acceptable for the military to discharge healthy and productive troops solely because they are HIV+, then what may happen in millions of schools and work places to other HIV+ individuals today and in the years to come? HIV+ children, women, and men may have to face discrimination in their employment, schools, and perhaps even in maintaining health care insurance. If this is acceptable for the military and federal government for HIV+ people, then what may happen to those living with AIDS?

HILFMAN & FOGEL, P.C.

President William J. Clinton
Page Two
January 29, 1996

All of America has watched and admired you as you have blocked the Republicans' efforts to destroy Medicare, Medicaid, educational programs, children and family programs, as well as environmental goals. Everyone has been impressed by your perseverance in standing up for what is right, and refusing to buckle despite incredible pressures. To sign this military budget bill will put all of those interests at risk, because if you are willing to compromise on the moral and discriminatory issue of HIV+ soldiers, then what security can these other constituents enjoy on their issues? The public perception that you will not stand up for principle will be rejuvenated.

Veto the Bill with a message that you will sign the identical legislation without that particular provision. Challenge Congress to show the same compassion and courage as you have. Congress can strike that section and repass the Bill within days. We will all see who in Congress is willing to defend that singular provision.

A veto will send the correct message to the community and to American people that you will not so quickly compromise on such a critical value that is wrongheaded, ignorant, and discriminatory. It will convey to America that such discrimination is unjustified and unacceptable to all of us. It will demonstrate the leadership that all of your supporters expect and love. It is the right thing to do.

I urge you to seriously consider these thoughts and veto the military budget bill.

Warmest regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Robert L. Fogel". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Robert" being larger and more prominent than the last name "Fogel".

Robert L. Fogel

RLF:kes

ROBERT L. FOGEL
33 North Dearborn Street
Suite 1700
Chicago, IL 60602

FAX: 202-456-2464
Mr. Harold Ickes
White House
Washington, D.C.

Re: Military Budget Bill

Dear Harold:

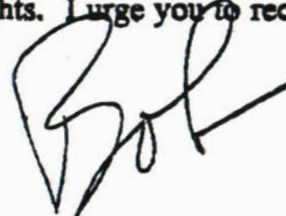
I was dumbfounded when I read in Saturday's New York Times that the President may sign the Military Budget Bill despite its blatantly ignorant and discriminatory provisions requiring discharge of HIV+ individuals. It is obvious that there will be significant negative ramifications if he does, and it will not be limited to the gay/lesbian/HIV/AIDS communities.

The White House has committed significant time and political resources in an effort to recultivate the above mentioned communities. The government's AIDS policies have been dramatically improved. The Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS was initiated, and all of its recommendations have been pursued, including the primary one calling for Presidential Leadership in the fight to end the epidemic. A White House Summit was held, and the President dramatically spoke, inter alia, about the need to end discrimination in this nation against those suffering from HIV and AIDS. These efforts have resulted in not only intelligent government actions, but the political mobilization of millions of supporters WITHOUT WHOM success in the presidential AND Congressional elections will be difficult, if not impossible.

Over the past few months, the nation has seen and perceived the President stand up against Republican extremism which would have devastated Medicare, Medicaid, educational programs, children and family programs, as well as environmental goals. I attended a dinner of important supporters and fund raisers at the Vice President's home a couple of months ago at the outset of the first shutdown, and the group unanimously supported the clear evidence of Presidential backbone and endorsed it as an essential element of electoral success.

Harold, to sign the Military Budget Bill would undo these very important accomplishments. To veto the Bill may delay its ultimate passage, but it would cement those accomplishments at this critical time. A new Bill without that single provision could be proposed, and the President's effort in opposition to it would demonstrate to the country that he will stand on principle opposed to discriminatory ignorance. The public is afraid that he folds those principles too often in compromises. He will further undo that perception by standing firm and fighting in this instance. He will also help identify targets in Congress for the community to fight this fall.

I urge you to seriously consider these thoughts. I urge you to recommend a veto.

 1/27/96

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

217196

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

96 FEB 8 A 7:13

February 6, 1996

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT & ANNE WALLEY

SUBJECT: SCHEDULING DECISIONS

Accept:

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

2/7/96

Congratulatory Phone Call to President
Preval of Haiti

2/8/96

Telecommunications Bill Signing
(The location of the bill signing will be the
Library of Congress Reading Room)

2/8/96

OPTION: Drop by Going Away Party
For Steve Ricchetti (Indian Treaty Room)

2/13/96

Computer Training (1 hour)

2/29/96

White House Media Conference

Feb.

Medal Presentation to Bernice
Young Jones of Arkansas

**We are going to work with the Staff
Secretary to find a date ASAP.**

3/29/96

Meeting w/ Prime Minister Suleyman
Demirel of Turkey

Pending:

Date of Event:

2/9/96

*Shud do
the lunch.*

2

3/14/96

4/1/96 - 4/12/96

Description of Event:

Louisiana Economic Development Lunch
@ the Department of Commerce

Senator Breaux has put in this request. Political Affairs and Congressional don't feel that this lunch is critical. It also falls on your only day off this week. We are looking into some other options for this group possibly bringing them here for the Saturday helo departure. We will consult you on this before final decisions are made.

Address the National Gala of the American Ireland Fund

Meeting w/ German Opposition Leader
Oskar Lafontaine

Regret:

Date of Event:

3/8/96 - 3/11/96

*Can UP do? They're
going to see?*

4/2/96

Description of Event:

National Convention of National Farmers
Unions

You are currently scheduled to be in California, Washington and Florida during these three days. We are looking for a surrogate.

Metropolitan Washington YMCA
Annual Banquet

This is the day of the Italian State Visit.

Speech to the Television Bureau &
National Association of Broadcasters

You will be in Japan and Russia during this time. We are currently looking for an appropriate surrogate.

4/15/96 - 4/19/96

*Must be in?
UP, Shud do - this
is Greg*

cc: Stephanie Streett
w/mx: Craig Smith
Mack McLarty
Nancy Herrreich

This has been ~~me~~ ^{my} ~~un~~ ^{un} ~~shown~~ ^{shown} ~~common~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 5, 1996

The Honorable Dennis Ramsey
Post Office Box 667
Hope, Arkansas 71801

Dear Dennis:

Thanks for your letter of January 22 and for your kind invitation to join you for the dedication of my grandparents' home and of the Union Pacific depot. While I'd be honored to attend, I don't yet know what my schedule will hold this spring, but I have let my schedulers, Stephanie Streett and Anne Walley, know of your request.

I hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

CITY OF HOPE

P. O. BOX 667
HOPE, ARKANSAS 71801

January 22, 1996

*Not in
Computer*

Handwritten notes and signatures in the top right corner, including "Mack McLarty" and "Dennis Ramsey".

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear President Clinton:

Greetings from all of your friends in Hope, Arkansas. Since your election as the 42nd President of the United States, Hope has been engaged in several initiatives proclaiming our pride as your birthplace. Later this Spring, two of these efforts will be available for public use.

The Clinton Birthplace Foundation should complete the restoration of your grandparents' home by April of this year. The Union Pacific depot utilized in your campaign has been completely restored and converted into a visitor information center and museum. In addition to themes concerning Hope's early days, the museum features memorabilia and information accenting your family ties and childhood. The conference room in the depot has been named in honor of Mack McLarty.

Mr. President, with the completion of these facilities imminent, and on behalf of the people of Hope, I am honored to invite you to join us for the dedication of your birthplace home and the depot. Given the demands of your schedule, the time and date of these activities certainly would be at your convenience. We also hope to have Mack present for the activities.

We look forward to your visit with great anticipation. Thank you very much for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Dennis E Ramsey
DENNIS RAMSEY
MAYOR

DR/na

cc: scheduling.
Anne Walley E.
Stephanie
Streett.

weird
worth
considering

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 5, 1996

Michael D. Eisner
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
The Walt Disney Company
500 South Buena Vista Street
Burbank, California 91521-1010

Dear Michael:

Thanks for your letter of January 26 and for your kind invitation to join you in celebrating the 25th anniversary of Walt Disney World. Hillary, Chelsea, and I have such wonderful memories from Donald Duck's 50th birthday. While I'm not yet sure what my schedule will hold next October, I have shared your letter with Stephanie Streett and Anne Walley, my schedulers, to let them know of your personal request.

Hillary and I were so glad you and Jane were able to join us last week for the State Dinner honoring President Chirac. Please send our best to the boys.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", written in dark ink.



The **WALT DISNEY** Company®

Michael D. Eisner
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer

January 26, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

October 1, 1996, will mark the most significant celebration in the history of Walt Disney World in Florida. That day will signify the 25th anniversary of what has become the world's most popular destination and an American icon.

To commemorate the occasion, we would be honored to have you, Mrs. Clinton, and Chelsea in attendance for the official rededication of the Magic Kingdom. We fondly remember your family's visit with us that celebrated Donald Duck's 50th birthday back in June of 1984 when you were still Governor of Arkansas.

The 25th anniversary ceremony will be covered by a huge contingent of the worldwide media who plan on attending with over 10,000 members anticipated. An ABC network television special commemorating this occasion will also air to many of the over 100 million people who have visited us since opening.

We have embarked on a most worthwhile program with the Boys and Girls Clubs of America that will feature as our honored special guests over 2,500 underprivileged children who will be accompanied by individual volunteers from their organization. Too, we hope to honor all of our country's Olympic athletes in a patriotic ceremony that will properly commemorate their accomplishments from this summer's Games held in Atlanta, which will have concluded only a few weeks prior.

We would be most honored with your acceptance. Thank you for your consideration, and we await hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Michael D. Eisner

MDE:bh

Handwritten notes:
Museum
Fishes
He's come
Pleasure
de Sch...

Gurichron

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Bohner / Dir. Riley

Pls follow up
w/ him -

Bo

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

January 24, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-6-96

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

Dear Mr. President:

I join my fellow Americans in commending you on your State of the Union speech of yesterday evening. I am confident that your leadership will see us through the enormous challenges that we face as a nation.

I also want to express my appreciation for your inclusion of the Character Education initiative in your remarks. I have been an advocate of Character Education for some time, and as you may recall, I had the honor of speaking at the White House Conference on Character Education. It is my hope that your words of inspiration will spark a nationwide effort to promote basic human values in our schools.

I would like to take this opportunity to offer my services in pursuit of this issue. I have enclosed a packet on values in education, including materials on the Character Education measures which I sponsored in previous sessions of Congress.

I hope that you will find this information useful. Please do not hesitate to call on me if I can be of assistance on this or any other matter.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Tony P. Hall
Member of Congress

TPH:mlm

SPONSOR..... Hall (OH)

DATE INTRODUCED... May 11, 1994

HOUSE COMMITTEE... Post Office and Civil Service

OFFICIAL TITLE.... A joint resolution to proclaim the week of October 16
through October 22, 1994, as "National Character Counts
Week".

CO-SPONSORS..... 218 CURRENT COSPONSORS -- 1 Deleted
May 11, 94 Referred to House Committee on Post Office and Civil
Service.

COS CO-SPONSORS..... 218 CURRENT COSPONSORS -- 1 Deleted

AS INTRODUCED..... Wolf, Hamilton, Hyde, Moakley, Emerson, Hughes,
Smith (MI).

Jun 30, 94 Allard (Deleted Aug 3, 94), Andrews (NJ), Applegate,
Bacchus (FL), Baker (CA), Barca, Barrett (NE), Bartlett,
Bilirakis, Bliley, Boehlert, Borski, Bryant, Byrne,
Callahan, Canady, Cardin, Clement, Coble, Coleman,
Collins (MI), Conyers, Cooper, Coppersmith, Cox, Coyne,
Cunningham, Darden, Dickey, Doolittle, Dornan, Dunn,
Eshoo, Evans, Filner, Flake, Foglietta, Fowler, Frost,
Gibbons, Gilman, Glickman, Gunderson, Hefley, Herger,
Hochbrueckner, Holden, Hoyer, Kanjorski, Kleczka, Klink,
Knollenberg, LaFalce, Lancaster, Lazio, Lewis (CA),
Lipinski, Lloyd, Lucas, Martinez, Mazzoli, McCollum,
McHale, McInnis, McKeon, Menendez, Michel, Moran,
Morella, Murphy, Myers, Packard, Rahall, Rangel, Reed,
Rohrabacher, Romero-Barcelo, Roth, Sangmeister, Sawyer,
Serrano, Sharp, Shays, Sisisky, Skeen, Slaughter,
Smith (NJ), Smith (TX), Solomon, Spence, Synar, Talent,
Thompson, Traficant, Upton, Vento, Visclosky, Walsh,
Wheat, Wilson, Wise.

Jul 28, 94 Abercrombie, Ackerman, Andrews (ME), Baesler,
Barrett (WI), Bateman, Beilenson, Bentley, Berman,
Bilbray, Blute, Brewster, Bunning, Buyer, Calvert,
Cramer, Crapo, Danner, Deal, DeLauro, DeLay, de Lugo,
Deutsch, Diaz-Balart, Dixon, Duncan, Engel, Fingerhut,
Furse, Gephardt, Gillmor, Gingrich, Goodlatte, Gordon,
Hastings, Hefner, Hoagland, Hobson, Hutto, Jacobs,
Johnson (SD), Sam Johnson, Kaptur, Kasich, Kennedy,
Lantos, LaRocco, Leach, Lightfoot, McDade, Meehan, Meek,
Montgomery, Murtha, Neal (NC), Oberstar, Olver, Oxley,
Pallone, Payne (NJ), Peterson (FL), Petri, Pickett,
Price (NC), Ramstad, Ravenel, Regula, Roemer, Sabo,
Sarpalius, Saxton, Schenk, Schiff, Schumer, Shaw,
Skelton, Slattery, Snowe, Spratt, Stump, Sundquist,
Swett, Thurman, Torricelli, Volkmer, Vucanovich, Wynn,
Young (FL).

Aug 4, 94 Becerra, Fazio, Fields (TX), Gejdenson, Greenwood,

Hastert, Horn, Hutchinson, E. B. Johnson, Kim,
Margolies-Mezvinsky, McKinney, McNulty, Meyers,
Miller (CA), Minge, Moorhead, Quillen, Richardson,
Stokes, Tanner, Valentine, Young (AK).

BD BILL DIGEST..... May 11, 94: Designates October 16 through 22,
1994, as National Character Counts Week.

BRIEF TITLE..... Civic and Character Values-In-Schools Act of 1991
SPONSOR..... Hall (OH)
DATE INTRODUCED... April 29, 1991
HOUSE COMMITTEE... Education and Labor

Rules

OFFICIAL TITLE.... A bill to establish a commission to examine the issues associated with the teaching of values in elementary and secondary schools and to amend the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 to establish a demonstration program of grants to innovative projects relating to civics and character values in education.

CO-SPONSORS..... 32 CURRENT COSPONSORS

Apr 29, 91 Referred to House Committee on Education and Labor.

Jun 17, 91 Referred to Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary and Vocational Education.

Apr 29, 91 Referred to House Committee on Rules.

Jul 12, 91 Referred to Subcommittee on Rules of the House.

COS CO-SPONSORS..... 32 CURRENT COSPONSORS

AS INTRODUCED..... Borski, de Lugo, Doolittle, Gordon, Hall (TX), Henry, Hutto, Jenkins, Kaptur, Lancaster, McEwen, McMillen (MD), Mavroules, Miller (OH), Moorhead, Moakley, Murphy, Skeen, Staggers, Solomon, Tallon, Wolf.

Jun 26, 91 Bonior, Lagomarsino, Lipinski, Owens (UT), Roe, Smith (TX).

Aug 3, 92 Rangel, Towns, Walsh, Hughes.

BD BILL DIGEST..... Apr 29, 91. Civic and Character Values-In-Schools Act of 1991 - Title I: Commission on Values Education - Establishes the Commission on Values Education.

Directs the Commission to report, with recommendations, to the Congress and the President within one year after enactment of this Act.

Authorizes appropriations.

Terminates the Commission 30 days after its final report to the Congress.

Directs specified congressional committees, within 90 days after submission of the Commission's report, to conduct hearings on such report, and to report to their respective houses on results of such hearings within 30 days after their completion.

Title II: Ethics and Values Demonstration Program - Amends the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to provide for an ethics and values demonstration program under the Secretary's Fund for Innovation in Education. Authorizes the Secretary of Education to make grants to State educational agencies, local educational agencies, institutions of higher education, and other public and private organizations to conduct activities designed to stimulate understanding of ethics, civic and character values, and the principles of democracy as a means of enhancing and

improving elementary and secondary education. Sets forth authorized uses of such grant funds. Sets forth application requirements.

With a population of 3.6 million people, 4 people are diagnosed with AIDS and 3 others die of AIDS-related complications every day.

The San Juan AIDS Institute reports that annual patient costs—in 1987 dollars—average \$15,118; just to provide a patient with AZT costs \$5,000 per year. If hospital use continues to grow at the same rate as it has during the past 5 years, by the year 2000 each public hospital in Puerto Rico will have to dedicate more than half of its budget to the care of HIV and AIDS patients.

Even before the AIDS epidemic, Puerto Rico's public health system was overburdened and underfunded. Now the system is truly under pressure to guarantee access to routine health care to the more than 1.2 million Puerto Rican Medicaid beneficiaries, nearly 1 out of 3 people or on the island. More than half of those eligible are children.

This year alone, Puerto Rico's Medicaid Program will cost nearly \$600 million. The \$79 million Federal contribution accounts for only 13 percent of the total; the Commonwealth must provide the balance.

The last time Congress considered the issue of the Medicaid cap was in the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987, which increased the Medicaid cap for Puerto Rico and the territories. In 1987—when Puerto Rico received \$63.4 million—the ceilings were set to increase as follows:

Fiscal year:	Millions
1988	\$73.4
1989	76.2
1990 and subsequent years	79.0

Mr. Speaker, there is no question regarding Puerto Rico's need for additional Medicaid funds. I believe that many of my colleagues in Congress agree with me that the dire need for additional Medicaid funds is more than well documented. The report on the concurrent resolution on the budget for fiscal year 1992 included language stating Puerto Rico's need to receive additional Federal funds to enable its Medicaid Program to continue providing its citizens access to basic health care.

My bill indeed provides the opportunity to address this and other problems regarding the Medicaid issue in Puerto Rico. I am aware that this bill has room for improvement. For example, not included in this bill, but of vital importance to the Medicaid Program in Puerto Rico, is the need to address the issue of the absence of an allowance to provide for inflationary adjustments in Puerto Rico's Medicaid Program. I strongly believe that, like many programs in health and other areas, the Medicaid Program in Puerto Rico should be increased by percentage increase in the medical care component of the consumers price index

for all urban consumer, as published by the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

I feel that if we address this issue, there will be a humane and more appropriate adjustment to the already low amount the Puerto Rico Medicaid Program receives.

Another issue that interests me is including the territories in this legislation. I believe that while we consider this legislation in the Energy and Commerce Committee, we can include an increase in the Medicaid Program for American Samoa, Guam, and the Virgin Islands.

Mr. Speaker, I thank you for your support and interest in this issue and look forward to your continued support, as well as that of other Members, as we move to consider this issue in Congress.

CIVIC AND CHARACTER VALUES: TEACH THEM

HON. TONY P. HALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1992

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, some time ago, I introduced legislation calling for a national commission to examine the teaching of commonly held civic and character values in our schools. Educators and public officials told me to stay away from the subject. It was allegedly too controversial and would open up a can of worms.

Mr. Speaker, thanks to Bill Clinton and DAN QUAYLE, the can is now open. Values is on the table, and people want to discuss the subject.

This country has a tradition of values including honesty, respect, tolerance, and love of country. Let's be proud of these values, and let's start promoting them.

Children are not born with values, but they need to be taught. An article in the Washington Post of June 17, 1992, entitled "Children of the Tuned-In Find Politics a Turnoff," described how children of the sixties generation are generally bored by government and do not vote. It said,

In less than 20 years, the percentage of all 18- to 24-year-olds who said they only occasionally followed politics and civic affairs has nearly doubled, with six out of 10 young adults now saying they pay scant attention to what's going on in government.

Mr. Speaker, we cannot expect children to act responsibly as adults if we are afraid to teach them as children. Age-old values are integral to the foundation of this country. If we want good citizens who know the difference between right and wrong, we need to teach commonly accepted values in our schools.

CONGRESSMAN KILDEE CON-
GRATULATES NEW MOUNT
MORIAH MISSIONARY BAPTIST
CHURCH

HON. DALE E. KILDEE

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, June 18, 1992

Mr. KILDEE. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pride that I rise before you today to congratulate the members of New Mount Moriah Missionary Baptist Church and their pastor, Rev. William H. Murphy, Jr., upon the dedication of their new church edifice which will be celebrated this Sunday, June 21, 1992 at 4 p.m. in Pontiac, MI.

On April 9, 1989, the New Mount Moriah Missionary Baptist Church was formally organized with approximately 100 members. The ceremony was conducted at the Bowen Community Center in Pontiac, MI. William H. Murphy, Sr., pastor of the Greater Ebenezer Missionary Baptist Church of Detroit was the moderator.

On Sunday, April 16, 1989, the New Mount Moriah Missionary Baptist Church held its first official order of worship service at the Offender Aid and Restoration [OAR] building at 210 North Perry Street. After 1 month the congregation moved to 67 Oakland Avenue, Pontiac, MI. The church will hold its first service in its new home at 68 West Walton Boulevard, this Sunday, June 21, 1992.

Over the past 3 years the membership of New Mount Moriah, under the leadership of Pastor William H. Murphy, has grown physically and spiritually. From a group of 100 people meeting in a community center, the congregation has grown to 350 active members. New Mount Moriah's official staff include Pastor William H. Murphy, Jr.; Deacon Conway Thompson, chairperson of the deacon board; Sister Elaine Miller, trustee chairperson; Deacon Leon McDonald, Jr., treasurer; Sister Phillis Williams, church clerk and Sister Juliette Cotton, secretary.

Mr. Speaker, without a doubt, the Pontiac community is a much better place to live because of the service, love, and spiritual support from New Mount Moriah Missionary Baptist Church. Because their hard work strengthens my commitment to the role of government to promote, protect, defend, and enhance human dignity, I urge my House colleagues to join me in congratulating this outstanding parish on the occasion of their wonderful milestone.

Congressional Record

CIVIC AND CHARACTER VALUES- IN-SCHOOLS ACT OF 1991

HON. TONY P. HALL

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, April 29, 1991

Mr. HALL of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing the Civil and Character Values-In-Schools Act of 1991, legislation to promote the teaching of commonly held values in our

schools. Mr. Speaker, I am afraid that the national debate on how to improve education in our country ignores one crucial element: how to prepare students to make judgments of right and wrong. Mr. Speaker, educating our students in our commonly held values, such as honesty, integrity, self-respect and justice, is integral to preparing young people to function in our complex world.

Teaching values is not a new idea. Our country was founded on a set of values upon which a consensus of people practice today. Throughout history they have been taught in our schools. Thomas Jefferson taught that civic virtue is an integral part of public education, and that only virtuous citizens can work toward the private good. He said, "An honest heart being the first blessing, a knowing head is the second."

While educators promoted basic values in the past, the 1960's and 1970's saw a move toward "values free" teaching in which students were given options but no guidance toward answers to ethical problems. Now many educators agree that civic and character values help students become prepared to make judgments of right and wrong. In calling for a return to civil and character values, I am not talking about imposing one set of values upon another; rather, I believe we should promote our commonly held, age-old values on which we already have agreement.

Mr. Speaker, there are many proposals and goals on how to improve education today. I argue that we must have a values component to any comprehensive approach. Last year the President and the Nation's Governors announced six national goals for public education. The Congress is currently working on these goals. Goal three of the National Education Goals highlights "Student Achievement and Citizenship." Goal six calls for "Safe, Disciplined, and Drug-Free Schools."

I believe a foundation of sound values is necessary to implement these goals. Students need self-respect, respect for others, and love of country before we can expect them to improve their scores, be good citizens, and remain drug-free.

I am concerned when I see surveys of college students who put "being very well off financially" as their top personal goal. I am concerned when surveys show that "developing a meaningful philosophy of life" is a low goal for most college entering freshmen. I am also concerned with the symptoms of a values-free education, increasing drug abuse, crimes against teachers, and teen suicide.

Preparing children to become contributing citizens who know the difference between right and wrong should not be controversial. This should be something we are proud to do. Perhaps we can avoid things like Irangate, Abscam, savings and loan scandals, drug wars, and hate crimes, down the road if we address the problem instead of treating the symptoms.

Mr. Speaker, my bill is carefully crafted. It will do two things: Title I will establish a Commission on Values Education to "identify those values supported by a consensus of Americans as essential to a complete education and preparation for becoming productive members of society." The Commission will hold hearings around the country and consider the widest range of values including honesty, integrity, tolerance, and self-discipline. It will then make specific recommendations to

Congress on the teaching of commonly held values in American schools.

Title II of the bill will establish an Ethics and Values Demonstration Program to allow the Department of Education to fund activities designed to help stimulate understanding of ethics, civic and character values, and the principles of democracy as means of enhancing and improving elementary and secondary education.

The Demonstration Program would be authorized under the Secretary's Fund for Innovation in Education and require no new authorization of funds. Grants under the demonstration program would be available for a variety of services including teacher training, curricula development, clearinghouses, and follow-up studies on the effects of values and ethics education.

Education is, and always should be, a local issue. My bill recognizes that only local school districts can actually teach our age-old values. However, the Federal Government should develop a Federal policy on these civic and character values. It can set the tone; it can have a national discussion of this issue and, it can lend support services.

I am submitting a copy of the bill and I urge my colleagues to join me in cosponsoring it:

H.R. 2125

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Civil and Character Values-In-Schools Act of 1991".

SEC. 2. PURPOSE.

The purposes of this Act are—

(1) to establish a commission to examine the issues associated with the teaching of values in elementary and secondary schools and to stimulate research in ethics and values;

(2) to recommend to the President and to Congress how the Federal Government, through executive action and legislation, can promote the teaching of values in American schools, including encouraging the offering of independent courses on values, and the integration of values into existing courses;

(3) to explore, assess, and stimulate a variety of approaches to teaching values;

(4) to identify civic and character values that are supported by a consensus of the people of the United States as essential to a complete education and preparation for becoming productive members of society and that may be appropriately endorsed and promoted by the Federal Government; and

(5) to identify the ways in which judgments of values and of right and wrong are implicated in matters of public and private concern.

SEC. 3. FINDINGS.

The Congress finds that—

(1) many Americans of all economic and social levels, religious persuasions, and ages, no longer make determinations of right and wrong as to their own actions or the actions of others in matters of both public and private concern;

(2) educational institutions, which have traditionally played a role in assisting students to make such determinations, no longer receive explicit authority or proper assistance necessary to fulfill this responsibility;

(3) the Nation has witnessed a national moral recession in governmental and political activities, scientific research, and business and commerce, in which individuals

have failed to consider the ethics governing their behavior;

(4) statistics show alarming increases in individual and gang violence, drug and substance abuse, and suicide among both young people and adults;

(5) polls show that Americans overwhelmingly prize values such as honesty, but believe that people are less honest today than in the past;

(6) leaders representing a broad spectrum of political, social, and religious beliefs believe that education in moral issues contributes to good citizenship and have called for strengthening the teaching of democratic values;

(7) training in ethics is an ongoing concern in business and industry and in public service; and

(8) while education remains the responsibility of local and State governments, the Congress and the Federal Government may appropriately provide assistance to educational agencies and institutions attempting to promote civic and character values.

TITLE I—COMMISSION ON VALUES EDUCATION

SEC. 101. ESTABLISHMENT.

There is established the Commission on Values Education (in this Act referred to as the "Commission").

SEC. 102. DUTIES: REPORT.

(a) DUTIES.—The Commission shall—

(1) consider the widest range of values for inclusion in the consensus of values that should be taught, including honesty, integrity, tolerance, self-discipline, self-respect, civility, importance of family, justice, equality, the rule of law, individual rights, the common good, love of country, love of knowledge, responsibility and accountability, protection of oneself and others from degradation and abuse;

opinions of a wide variety of individuals, including educators and educational administrators, students, parents, philosophers and theologians, civic, religious, and professional leaders, business leaders, social service professionals, political leaders, persons prominent in the arts, entertainment, and sports, and concerned citizens;

(3) seek the cooperation, advice, and assistance of the Department of Education and such other Federal, State, and local agencies, and private and religious organizations, institutions, and associations, as may be helpful in carrying out its purposes and duties; and

(4) recognize individuals and institutions who have demonstrated outstanding success in teaching values; and

(5) identify the potential of values education for reducing the incidence of problems such as those described in section 3(4).

(b) **REPORT.**—The Commission shall report its findings and recommendations to the Congress and the President not later than 1 year after the enactment of this Act. Such reports shall include—

(1) its recommendations for specific legislation or executive actions and broad policy goals and objectives;

(2) a recommendation as to the establishment within the Federal Government of a clearinghouse for programs and ideas relating to values education; and

(3) in the case of the report to the Congress, a recommendation as to the appropriateness of institutional changes in the House of Representatives and the Senate, including the establishment of a Select Committee on Values Education.

SEC. 103. MEMBERSHIP AND APPOINTMENT OF COMMISSION.

(a) **MEMBERSHIP.**—The Commission shall be composed of 17 members as follows:

(1) Seven members each appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives and the majority leader of the Senate, in consultation with the respective minority leaders, from among individuals who are broadly representatives of, but not restricted to—

(A) professional educators and educational administrators;

(B) parents of students at elementary, secondary, and postsecondary levels;

(C) students at secondary and postsecondary levels;

(D) philosophers, theologians, and religious leaders;

(E) State and local elected and appointed government officials, including members of State and local boards of education;

(F) individuals prominent in sports, the arts, and entertainment;

(G) individuals active in business, the professions, or civic activities;

(H) social service professionals; and

(I) the general public.

(2) One member each of the House of Representatives and the Senate, designated by the Speaker of the House and the majority leader of the Senate, respectively.

(3) The Secretary of Education or a designee of the Secretary.

(b) **VACANCIES.**—A vacancy in the Commission shall be filled in the manner in which the original appointment was made.

(c) **TERMS.**—Each member shall be appointed for the life of the Commission.

(d) **CO-CHAIRS OF COMMISSION.**—The Speaker of the House and the majority leader of the Senate shall each designate a co-chair of the Commission from members appointed under subsection (a)(1) or (a)(2).

SEC. 104. COMPENSATION.

(a) **PAY.**—Members of the Commission shall serve without compensation.

(b) **TRAVEL EXPENSES.**—Members of the Commission shall receive travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in accordance with sections 5702 and 5703 of title 5, United States Code.

SEC. 105. POWERS.

date on which the last member is appointed to the Commission and thereafter upon the call of either co-chair or a majority of the members.

(b) **HEARINGS AND SESSIONS.**—The Commission may, for the purpose of carrying out this title, hold hearings, sit and act at times and places, take testimony, and receive evidence as the Commission considers appropriate. The Commission may administer oaths or affirmations to witnesses appearing before it.

(c) **ACCESS TO INFORMATION.**—The Commission may secure directly from any Federal agency information necessary to enable it to carry out this title. Upon the request of co-chair of the Commission, the head of such agency shall furnish such information to the Commission.

(d) **DIRECTOR.**—The Commission shall have a Director, who shall be appointed by the co-chairs. The Director shall be paid at a rate not to exceed the maximum rate of basic pay payable for grade GS-18 of the General Schedule.

(e) **STAFF.**—The Director shall appoint such staff members as may be necessary to perform the work of the Commission. In allocating authorized, appropriated, and contributed funds, priority shall be given to those activities, such as hearings and conferences, designed to elicit the broadest

public participation in the Commission's deliberations, rather than to the payment of professional staff.

(f) **USE OF SERVICES AND FACILITIES.**—Upon the request of the Commission, the head of any Federal agency may make available to the Commission any of the facilities and services of such agency.

(g) **PERSONNEL FROM OTHER AGENCIES.**—Upon the request of the Commission, the head of any Federal department or agency may detail, on a reimbursable basis, any of the personnel of such department or agency to the Commission to assist it in carrying out its duties.

SEC. 106. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.

There are authorized to be appropriated to carry out this title \$500,000 for the fiscal year 1992, and such sums as may be necessary for the fiscal year 1993. Amounts appropriated pursuant to this section shall remain available until expended.

SEC. 107. TERMINATION.

The Commission shall terminate 30 days after the date of the submission of its final report to the Congress.

SEC. 108. CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS REQUIRED.

Within 90 days after the submission of the Commission's report to the Congress, the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives and the Committee on Labor and Human Resources of the Senate shall conduct hearings on such report and the recommendations contained therein and shall report to their respective houses on the results of those hearings within 30 days after the completion of the hearings.

TITLE II—ETHICS AND VALUES DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM

SEC. 201. AMENDMENT TO SECRETARY'S FUND FOR INNOVATION IN EDUCATION.

(a) **PROGRAM AUTHORIZED.**—Paragraph (2) of section 4601(a) of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 3151(a)) is amended—

(1) by striking "and" at the end of subparagraph (C);

(2) by striking the period at the end of subparagraph (D) and inserting "; and"; and

(3) by adding at the end the following:

"(E) help stimulate understanding of ethics, civic and character values, and the principles of democracy as a means of enhancing and improving elementary and secondary education in accordance with section 4609."

tary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 (20 U.S.C. 3151 et seq.) is amended—

(1) by redesignating section 4608 the second place it appears as section 4610; and

(2) by inserting before section 4610 (as redesignated by paragraph (1) of this subsection) the following:

"SEC. 4609. ETHICS AND VALUES DEMONSTRATION PROGRAM.

"(a) **GENERAL AUTHORITY.**—The Secretary is authorized to make grants to State educational agencies, local educational agencies, institutions of higher education, and other public and private agencies, organizations, and institutions to conduct activities designed to help stimulate understanding of ethics, civic and character values, and the principles of democracy as a means of enhancing and improving elementary and secondary education.

"(b) **USES OF FUNDS.**—Grants made under this section may be used for—

"(1) the development of teaching materials;

"(2) teacher training and seminars;

"(3) the establishment of clearinghouses for values education programs;

"(4) proposals seeking to involve the whole school environment;

"(5) research and follow-up studies of existing programs of values and ethics education;

"(6) civic and character values education projects demonstrating a beneficial effect on individual ethical behavior and on the incidences of individual and gang violence, drug and substance abuse, and suicide;

"(7) projects that assist in identifying a consensus of values within a community that may be appropriately promoted in schools of the community;

"(8) projects that seek to develop model programs to promote values and ethics; and

"(9) projects examining values and responsible citizenship.

"(c) **APPLICATION.**—Each applicant desiring to receive a grant under this section shall submit an application in such form, in such manner, and containing or accompanied by such information as the Secretary may reasonably require. Each such application shall—

"(1) identify values and ethics that receive widespread support from a consensus of individuals in the United States;

"(2) describe the school population intended to benefit from the proposed activities;

"(3) demonstrate how the proposal fulfills the purpose described in subsection (a);

"(4) describe the methods to be used to evaluate the results of the proposed activities; and

"(5) provide assurances that the applicant will appoint an advisory board to assist the applicant in conducting the proposed activities, which board shall consist of individuals representative of—

"(A) parents;

"(B) educators;

"(C) community leaders;

"(D) social service professionals;

"(E) business leaders; and

"(F) the general public."

Cosponsors of H.R. 2125 Civic and Character Values-in-Schools Act of 1991

Mr. Bonior (MI)
Mr. Borski (PA)
Mr. de Lugo (VI, DEL)
Mr. Doolittle (CA)
Mr. Gordon (TN)
Mr. Hall of Texas
Mr. Henry (MI)
Mr. Hutto (FL)
Mr. Jenkins (GA)
Ms. Kaptur (OH)
Mr. Lagomarsino (CA)
Mr. Lancaster (NC)
Mr. Lipinski (IL)
Mr. McEwen (OH)
Mr. McMillen of Maryland
Mr. Mavroules (MA)
Mr. Miller of Ohio
Mr. Moorhead (CA)
Mr. Moakley (MA)
Mr. Murphy (PA)
Mr. Owens of Utah
Mr. Roe (NJ)
Mr. Skeen (NM)
Mr. Smith of Texas
Mr. Staggers (WV)
Mr. Solomon (NY)
Mr. Tallon (SC)
Mr. Wolf (VA)