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Metal Trades Department

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations

May 20, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

As we write this letter, a long-overdue increase in the minimum wage is being debated by Congress, and if the noxious TEAM Act rider is dropped from the bill, millions of American workers will see some improvement in their living standards. At the same time, you are preparing, next week, to host a conference on the issue of corporate responsibility. These are just two examples of how your Administration has lived up to its promise to help American families, and to "level the playing field" for American workers.

You also have been a strong advocate for collective bargaining and the rights of American workers to join unions, if they choose. This is reflected in your appointments to the National Labor Relations Board, an Agency that, once again, is fulfilling its statutory mandate to protect workers who seek to organize and to promote the process of collective bargaining. Indeed, the Agency is doing an admirable job, with a reduced staff and budget, and in spite of being singled out for venomous and time consuming attacks by the Republican Congress.

This is the good news. We write today, however, because much of what your Administration has sought to accomplish in the area of worker rights is being undercut by an antiquated and blind system of awarding huge government contracts -- particularly defense contracts -- to companies with abysmal worker rights, health and safety, and collective bargaining records. This makes no policy sense, and, in these times, it certainly makes no fiscal sense.

We would like to relate to you one astonishing example of a company that receives most of its revenue from one federal government agency, the United States Navy, and then spends countless thousands of those same government procurement dollars fighting the orders and complaints of another federal government agency, the National Labor Relations Board.

Avondale Industries, Inc. operates a large shipyard in New Orleans, Louisiana, and is one of the Navy's premier contractors. In 1993, alone, the Navy awarded Avondale over $1 billion in new contracts. Also in 1993, Avondale employees sought union representation, and on June 25, 1993, the National Labor Relations Board conducted a representation election among a unit of Avondale's employees.

Despite an intense and intimidating anti-union campaign run by Avondale officials, approximately 2000 employees voted in favor of being represented by the Metal Trades Department, AFL-CIO. But this overwhelming vote in favor of representation did not deter Avondale officials from their commitment to preventing collective bargaining. Hundreds of ballots where challenged, and the Company filed dozens of objections to the conduct of the election -- a time-tested method by which employers try to defeat employee free choice.

Normally, election challenges and objections are heard in a matter of days at an NLRB hearing, with decisions quickly following. In this case, however, a high-priced team of Avondale attorneys dragged out the process for more than 84 days over a six month period Largely because of the volumes of materials filed by the Company, the NLRB Hearing Officer's Report, overruling Avondale's objections, did not issue for another year.

In the meantime, In July, 1994, the NLRB began prosecuting a series of unfair labor practice complaints against the Company encompassing literally hundreds of unfair labor practice charges. To date, there have been 160 days of trial and over 2000 exhibits introduced concerning charges of unlawful discharge and discrimination against union supporters, interrogations and threats, and other egregious and unlawful conduct. The cost of prosecuting these cases is incalculable but it may well be one of the most expensive cases ever brought by the NLRB.

And, who is financing Avondale's shameless misconduct and "spare-no-expense" resistance to its employees union organizing efforts? The United States Government! Mr. President, there is something seriously wrong with this picture.

Let us be clear. The Metal Trades Department, its affiliated unions, and the Avondale employees we represent are not asking the Navy to withhold contracts won by Avondale after a competitive bidding process. We are painfully aware that any reduction in orders could well result in a loss of work to Avondale employees. But the status quo is unacceptable.

Previous complaints about this situation resulted in a cursory Defense Contract Audit Agency (DCAA) review allowing Avondale to charge its anti-union meetings and activities as an allowable "indirect cost" to be reimbursed by the federal government. At the very least, Avondale should be required to fund its anti-union campaign out of non-federal revenues. This is only one step that should be considered. We implore you to help find others.

We ask that you immediately convene a high level meeting among officials at the Departments of Labor and Defense, the National Labor Relations Board, Avondale's President and CEO, and the leadership of the unions involved. We think the personal involvement of Secretary of Labor Reich is essential.

We also suggest that a Task Force be created to consider the ongoing problem of the federal government awarding taxpayer financed contracts to companies which then use that taxpayer money to fight the orders of other government agencies. In view of the uncertain legal status of executive orders debarring federal labor law violators, other options should be considered. At a minimum, there should be government-wide enforcement of "collection by administrative offset" -- the procedure which permits the federal government to withhold money from a federal contractor if that contractor has failed to comply with an NLRB order to restore wages or benefits.

We appreciate your immediate attention to this problem. Avondale's employees deserve the level playing field that your Administration has begun to achieve for so many American workers. American taxpayers deserve a financially sound and sensible federal contracting system.

Sincerely yours,

John F. Meese, President
Metal Trades Department, AFL-CIO

Mr. Doug McCarron, President
United Brotherhood of Carpenters
and Joiners, AFL-CIO

Mr. John J. Barry, President
International Brotherhood of Electrical
Workers, AFL-CIO

Mr. Jake West, President
International Association of Bridge, Structural
and Ornamental Iron Workers, AFL-CIO

Mr. George J. Kourpias, President
International Association of Machinists and
Aerospace Workers, AFL-CIO

Mr. Frank Hanley, President
International Union of Operating
Engineers, ALF-CIO

Mr. A. L. "Mike" Monroe, President
International Brotherhood of Painters and
Allied Trades, AFL-CIO

Mr. Marvin J. Boede, President
United Association of Journeymen and
Apprentices of the Plumbing and Pipefitting
Industry of the United States
and Canada, AFL-CIO

Mr. Arthur A. Coia, President
Laborers International Union of
North America, AFL-CIO

Mr. Arthur Moore, President
Sheet Metal Workers International
Association, AFL-CIO

Mr. William G. Bernard, President
International Association of Heat and Frost
Insulators and Asbestos Workers, AFL-CIO

cc: Honorable Robert Reich
Honorable William J. Perry
Honorable William Gould
General Counsel Fred Feinstein

JFM/skb

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John B. Yasinsky
Chairman and
Chief Executive Officer

2955004

May 30, 1996

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

Re: Support for the Teamwork for Employees and Managers Act (TEAM Act)

Dear President Clinton:

I am writing to respectfully urge you to reconsider a threatened veto of the TEAM Act legislation. The bill takes a genuine step toward increasing cooperation in the workplace, a concept you have endorsed and encouraged corporations to adopt.

As you indicated in your State of the Union message this year, "when companies and workers work as a team they do better, and so does America." I wholeheartedly agree and that's why I support the TEAM Act. As President and CEO of GenCorp, with 10,000 employees, I recognize that many times employees are in the best position to identify and implement innovative ideas that increase efficiency, boost product quality, and safeguard working conditions. When they are given a greater voice in workplace decisions, employees are also more motivated and find their jobs to be more rewarding. The TEAM Act would empower employees to provide such input in workplace decisions by addressing the legal uncertainty surrounding employee involvement programs. As a participant in the recent White House conference on corporate citizenship, I believe the bill also goes a long way in meeting the five corporate challenges you raised, including: 1) creating family-friendly workplaces; 2) providing economic security; 3) investing in employees; 4) partnering with employees; and 5) providing safe and secure workplaces.

I want to emphasize that the TEAM Act does *not* in any way lessen current protections for employees or lead the nation back to the days of employer-dominated unions. Rather, the bill takes an appropriate approach to clarifying recent NLRB decisions. First, the bill ensures that employee involvement teams would not be allowed to have, claim, or seek authority to negotiate or amend collective bargaining agreements. Second, the bill clearly prohibits employers from blocking the establishment or operation of a union.

Cooperation is fundamental to the success of any workplace -- whether it be a government agency, commercial office, or manufacturing facility -- and, therefore, it is imperative that we eliminate the artificial barriers that prevent employees and management from working together to improve U.S. competitiveness and the lives of employees. I strongly urge you to sign the TEAM Act when it reaches your desk.

Sincerely,

John Yasinsky

172367

PPG Industries, Inc.
One PPG Place Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15272 USA Telephone: (412) 434-2581 Fax: (412) 434-2571

Jerry E. Dempsey
Chairman and
Chief Executive Officer

May 28, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President :

I write to urge you not to veto H. R. 743 (S. 295), the TEAM Act. This legislation is essential to the competitiveness of PPG Industries in the global marketplace of today and the future. Hence, it is a matter of real concern that, to the best of my knowledge, you remain opposed to granting workers in non-union environments the same right to participate with management in cooperative decision-making as that enjoyed by employees in union settings.

Opponents of the legislation contend that it would enable employers to deny employees the right to self-organization and independent representation by setting up "sham" company unions. On the contrary, the bill specifically retains the law's prohibition against "sham" unions. By amending the National Labor Relations Act with regard to Section 8(a) (2), it simply enables employers to do what they are already doing to maintain America's competitive position without having to worry about being ordered by the National Labor Relations Board to shut down an integral component of their workplace culture. Moreover, the TEAM Act continues all of the protections and procedures that currently exist in the law to protect the right of employees to self-organize and elect unions as their independent representatives.

At present, PPG and other successful American businesses are receiving conflicting signals from the Federal Government. In your State of the Union message and other statements, you have encouraged employee participation in workplace decisions and stated that America works better when employees and managers work as a team. Yet, at the same time, in recent cases the NLRB has banned employee involvement dealing with not only conditions of work, but also where to put the plant soft drink machine and the very existence of a company softball team!

Employee involvement is also strongly supported by workers. This was demonstrated by a recent broad Princeton Survey Research study which found that, when workers were presented with a choice between employee involvement teams, unions, or more protective laws, 63% chose teams, 20% chose unions, and 15% chose laws. At PPG, flexible work teams and employee involvement have proven to be popular and effective in both union and non-union environments.

Recently, Senators Daschle (D-SD) and Kennedy (D-MA) have proposed an amendment to S.295, the Senate version of the TEAM Act, which does nothing more than restate existing law, and thus is itself a "sham". It continues the law's patronizing view of American workers by requiring that they have "independent representation" in discussing matters such as health and safety, flexible scheduling, day care, work assignments, training, first aid procedures, length of rest breaks, etc. with employers in non-union settings, unless the dialogues occur only "on occasion". Thus, it appears that Senators Daschle and Kennedy trust workers to express their views and contribute their ideas only infrequently, and "without representation" only on issues of little or no consequence. Clearly, the Daschle-Kennedy amendment is not only impractical in the modern, rapidly changing manufacturing environment, but also unacceptable in that it is demeaning to the American worker.

Companies like PPG Industries are attempting to reestablish the preeminent position of the United States in the global business arena through enhanced employee involvement in workplace decisions By tapping the intellectual and leadership abilities of our employees, we are maximizing our capability to meet the needs of our global customers through the effective use of the total quality management process. The TEAM Act removes a threatening and demotivating legal obstruction to this process and creates a win-win situation for all American workers and employers, as well as the nation's economy.

Please reconsider your position regarding the TEAM Act, and provide your leadership in having this essential legislation enacted into law as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Jerry E. Dempsey

JED/faf

Leon

Let's discuss

Re

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/24/94

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

Christopher J. Dodd
United States Senator

June 6-96

Dear Mr. President,

We have had no movement on the Telecom issue, despite the fact that the industry has stepped forward with a proposal. It's not perfect - but it is a major move in our direction.

Someone in a position to make some decisions needs to pick up the ball.

Best - Chris.

Paid for and authorized by Friends of Christopher Dodd, Frank N. Zullo, Treasurer
P.O. Box 331133, West Hartford, CT 06133-1133

CHRISTOPHER J. DODD
CONNECTICUT

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510

June 6, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

~~Dear Mr. President~~:

Here is another analysis I received on Senator Kyl's proposed Constitutional amendment on victims' rights. This memo is from Paul Gewirtz. He, too, raised serious concerns about the Kyl approach.

My best wishes.

Sincerely,

Chris.

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

BJ Reilly

I do think we should propose
language Chris Nelson and
Paul Gewirtz agree w/ courts. A — Pk

Yale Law School

PAUL GEWIRTZ
Potter Stewart Professor
of Constitutional Law

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

TO: Senator Christopher Dodd

FROM: Paul Gewirtz PG

RE: Proposed Victims' Rights Amendment to the Federal Constitution

DATE: June 5, 1996

As you requested yesterday, here in brief are my thoughts on the proposed amendment to the Federal Constitution to protect the rights of crime victims.

Although I am highly sympathetic to the victims' right movement, I think the proposed constitutional amendment is ill-advised. Opposing this amendment is in no sense opposition to the victims' rights movement, which generally deserves praise. Objection to this proposal rests solely on the fact that it is a constitutional amendment and that it is substantively flawed. If you conclude that the amendment should not be supported, it would clearly be advisable to enlist prosecutors to endorse that position, as I am confident many will do. Also, it might be advisable to propose new legislation that would bring together in a single statute the various victims' rights provisions now scattered through the U.S. Code; make some revisions as appropriate (e.g., add a provision prohibiting employers from ~~dismissing or disciplining people who participate in proceedings because of the rights given them here, as provided in the~~ Uniform Crime Victims Act, § 207); and perhaps generate some additional funds for victims' support programs and victims' compensation funds. This would allow opponents of the constitutional amendment to do something much more practical for victims' rights than a sketchy constitutional provision that will require endless interpretation and litigation.

It is also worth emphasizing that in a basic sense this constitutional amendment is too narrow, and may distract attention from the more basic issues of crime victimization that are now central in the political debate. The best way to protect all victims, present as well as future, is to combat crime as effectively as possible. The focus must remain on promoting people's security, safety, and expectations of commercial fairness--more police, swift sanctions, focussed prevention efforts, and so forth. In this broader political debate, the Democratic Party is in an uncharacteristically strong position and might therefore intimate that a constitutional amendment like this at this time is both unnecessary and a distraction

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from more important victim-protection efforts that some of the amendment's proponents have opposed. I also think that there is a fairly broad sense among the American people that we shouldn't lightly tinker with the Federal Constitution if there are other ways to address a problem--as here there surely are.

My basic reasons for opposing the proposed constitutional amendment are these:

1. Constitutional Amendments Should Be Disfavored: There should be a strong presumption against amending the Federal Constitution--particularly in areas where the political process is already taking steps to address a problem through other avenues.

2. The Proposed Amendment is Unnecessary: In fact, political processes at all levels of government are currently addressing the matter of victims' rights and roles in the criminal process, and are generally doing so in a sensible way--indeed, in a more nuanced way than this proposed amendment, which constitutionalizes particular rights in a problematically absolutist way (see ¶ 5 below). For example, Congress has already passed at least three major pieces of legislation to assure greater protection of victims' interests, the Victim and Witness Protection Act of 1982 [hereafter "VWPA"], the Victims of Crime Act of 1984 [hereafter "VCA"], and the Victims' Rights and Restitution Act of 1990 [hereafter "VRRA"]. A high percentage of state and local governments have enacted similar provisions. And the American Bar Association, reflecting this growing interest in victims' rights protections, in 1992 adopted a Uniform Victims of Crime Act [hereafter "UVCA"] detailing a set of model provisions concerning victims' rights. Many of these initiatives are quite new, and may need fine-tuning as experience shows how they work out in actual practice. A federal constitutional amendment is not simply unnecessary; by imposing a rigid and uniform federal constitutional mandate, it would interfere with the variety of useful approaches being taken by federal and state lawmakers.

3. The Proposed Amendment Invites Disruptive Federal Court Enforcement: The proposed amendment could produce an enforcement nightmare as federal courts are called upon to impose the amendment's provisions on federal, state and local governments. Section 2 says that Congress and the states "shall have the power to implement further" the Section 1 rights, but Section 1 itself creates rights that victims could enforce without any new legislation. This means that there is likely to be a vast amount of new litigation in federal courts to enforce these new "federal rights." By contrast, other federal and state provisions concerning victims' rights often disclaim that any cause of action is created by the victims' rights provisions, thus avoiding the disruptive consequences of private enforcement litigation and federal court activism. See, e.g., VRRA, 42 U.S.C. § 10606 (c), 42 U.S.C. § 10607(d); VWPA, Pub. L. 97-291, § (6) (b) [check cite]. The enforcement problems that would be created by the proposed amendment are compounded by the fact that who counts as a "victim" is utterly undefined---and could include a whole host of people indirectly harmed by the crime, injured co-participants in the crime, etc. Other victims' rights provisions typically define "victim", and do so narrowly.

CHRISTOPHER J. DODD
United States Senator
Washington, D.C. 20510

June 4-96

Dear Mr. President,

Pursuant to the discussion regarding the proposed Constitutional Amendment on Victims' rights the enclosed responses to are worth reading. You'll notice that Tony Tarbe has changed his theme from the first Congressional

Not printed at government expense

Best Wishes

CHARLES ALAN WRIGHT

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TO: SENATOR CHRISTOPHER J. DODD

CITY: Washington, D.C.

DATE: May 29, 1996

TELECOPIER NUMBER: 1 - 202 - 224 - 1083

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING COVER): 1

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Dear Chris,

Your letter, asking my view of Senator Kyl's proposed constitutional amendment concerning the rights of victims of crimes, arrived just as I was about to go out of town. Fortunately the amendment is short. I think the idea is a very bad one. I think that this emphasis on the victim encourages the attitude of retribution as a dominant theme in the criminal process. Of course retribution plays a part, but I think it should be the government, acting on behalf of all of us, that exacts retribution. I certainly think that the victim should be informed of the release or escape of the criminal and that there should be reasonable measures to protect the victim from violence or intimidation, but these are matters for the federal government and the states to deal with by statutes, not by constitutional amendments.

Charlie

If you do not receive all of the pages, please call Miss Bartsch or Mrs. Kieke at the numbers listed above.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
LAW SCHOOL

LAURENCE H. TRIBE
Ralph S. Tyler, Jr. Professor of Constitutional Law

HAUSER HALL 420
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS 02138
(617) 495-4621

Privileged and Confidential

May 30, 1996

The Honorable Christopher J. Dodd
United States Senate
SR-444 Russell Senate Office Bldg.
Washington, D.C. 20510

By Fax and Federal Express

Dear Chris:

As you requested yesterday, I've taken a fairly close look at Senator Jon Kyl's proposed amendment to the Constitution concerning the rights of victims of crime, S.J. Res. 52. I began, as I indicated to you when we spoke this past Sunday, with considerable sympathy for the objectives of such an amendment.

As I mentioned in that conversation, the first Supreme Court case that I ever argued was one in which I relied in part, and successfully, on the theory that the victims of crime have rights under the *existing* Constitution — in that case, a right to attend the trial of the accused even when the accused, the prosecution, and the trial court prefer to conduct the proceedings out of public view. The case was *Richmond Newspapers v. Virginia*, 448 U.S. 555 (1980), where the Supreme Court held for the first time, and partly on the basis of an argument about the rights of victims, that the First and Fourteenth Amendments, supplemented by the Ninth Amendment (which the plurality expressly invoked), create a presumptive right to be present at a criminal trial. The First Amendment alone might not have sufficed to support such a right, which helps explain both why I found it necessary to focus on the rights of victims and why the Court's plurality opinion relied in part on the assumption of the Framers that such rights existed and actually invoked the Ninth Amendment, a provision almost never relied upon in a majority or plurality opinion to support a Supreme Court holding (the only other exceptions being the 1965 birth control decision and the 1992 reaffirmance of *Roe v. Wade*).

Richmond Newspapers, of course, illustrates that the rights of victims and their relatives to be present at critical proceedings involving the accused are not altogether without protection even under the Constitution as it stands at present. Moreover, there is no question that the Tenth

Amendment already "reserve[s] to the States" ample power to enact legislation applicable to any state criminal proceeding, adult or juvenile, to protect every one of the rights of victims that the proposed constitutional amendment, S.J. Res. 52, would embed in the Constitution — including all of the opportunities to be present and to be heard, to be informed of release or escape, to receive restitution from the convicted offender, to assure a speedy trial with a final conclusion free from unreasonable delay, and to reasonable protection from violence or intimidation by the accused or convicted offender. Similarly, there is no doubt that the Constitution already delegates to Congress — through a combination of the Criminal Trial Clause of Article III, §2, Cl.3; the Necessary and Proper Clause of Article I, §8, Cl.18; and whatever substantive provision empowered Congress to criminalize the underlying conduct in the first place (typically, a provision in Article I or in the Enforcement Clauses of one of the Civil War Amendments) — ample authority to protect the same set of rights of victims and their families in connection with any federal criminal proceeding, civilian or military. In a sense, therefore, Section 2 of the proposed constitutional amendment overlaps existing constitutional provisions pursuant to which the several States and Congress, with respect to proceedings in their respective forums, may even now legislate to protect victims' rights beyond those recognized in such decisions as *Richmond Newspapers*.

To be sure, state or federal legislation enacted today, under the existing sources of constitutional authority I have described above, would have to be harmonized, in any given case, both with the Constitution's protections for state sovereignty and with the Constitution's protections for the rights of the accused. Thus, for example, a congressional enactment compelling state prison officials to notify concerned persons when they release a convict into the community — like the statute recently enacted by Congress and signed by the President — remains subject to judicial review if challenged either by state authorities claiming an invasion of their rights under the Tenth Amendment, or by a released convict claiming either a violation of due process or a violation of the ban on ex post facto laws. And a federal or state law purporting to assure a "final conclusion free from unreasonable delay" by cutting off all (or almost all) access to habeas corpus, to suggest another example that bears at least some resemblance to recently enacted legislation, remains subject to constitutional challenge under the Habeas Corpus Clause of Art. I, §9, Cl.2.

Some might argue that the need for a constitutional amendment in this area follows precisely from the uncertainty as to how such challenges would be resolved, and from the desirability of giving to the rights of victims a weightier and more secure place in whatever constitutional calculus is employed. The difficulty with any such argument, however, is that even the proposed constitutional amendment, unless accompanied with a (quite radical and indeed unthinkable) proviso to the effect that the new amendment is meant to override any and all otherwise relevant constitutional constraints on government, would likewise have to be harmonized with exactly the same constitutional provisions that legislation enacted to protect victims must contend with today. In short, the proposed amendment would not add certainty, avoid confusion, or get around the need for potentially protracted litigation to decide just how far various "victims' rights" claims may be pressed when they come into conflict with the constitutional rights of the accused, or of the several States.

I assume, for example, that the language authorizing the States and Congress to take "reasonable measures to protect the victim from violence or intimidation by the accused or convicted offender" would not justify automatic castration as a punishment for any sexual assault by a male, or a "Scarlet Letter" law requiring any violent offender permanently to wear a visible tattoo, and that the language creating a right to "full restitution from the convicted offender" would not justify automatic confiscation of all houses or other property belonging to any member of a convict's family in the many cases where the offender is personally insolvent. Presumably, constitutional litigation would be required in order to ascertain just how far government would be permitted, and indeed in some instances required, to go in fulfilling the duties to victims created by the proposed amendment.

My reference above to how far government would be affirmatively required, and not merely permitted, to go in protecting victims' rights, suggests an area of concern that is perhaps unique to this proposed amendment. Unlike the other questions I have raised — questions that show how the proposed amendment would leave us with essentially the same constitutional puzzles that plague us in the amendment's absence — the question of affirmative government obligations is one that the status quo leaves in the hands of lawmakers, but one that the amendment would put into the hands of state and federal judges.

Supreme Court decisions regularly stress the fact that, given the delicate and discretionary balance government must strike in deciding how much to intervene in family life or other special settings, individuals who claim that government should have expended more resources, or assigned more personnel, or provided more vigilant protection, in order to secure their safety from various offenses are relegated to the political forum and have no basis for a direct federal constitutional attack on the government's alleged inaction. Short of proof that the government has selectively withheld police or other legal protection from individuals or groups singled out for such inattention on some impermissible basis, one who complains that government, and ultimately taxpayers, should have done more to protect him or her is unable, as the law now stands, to "make a federal case out of it."

All of that would change radically if the proposed amendment were to become law. And the change would affect not only claims by whatever individual the amendment has in mind when it speaks of "the victim . . . of a crime of violence" but also claims by the potential multitude of individuals who might, pursuant to Section 2, be defined as victims of "other crimes" such as, say, cases of securities fraud (whose victims number in the millions) or of public corruption (whose victims may reasonably be thought to include us all). This fact alone means that the proposed amendment would be likely to spawn entirely plausible litigation — that is, litigation that could not readily be dismissed at an early stage as frivolous — surrounding such judicially intractable questions as just how much various levels of government should be compelled to spend on protecting the public from criminal offenses of every imaginable description, and on assuring participation in the prosecution and sentencing of the offenders, sometimes in direct conflict with other rights of victims secured by the amendment, such as the right to "a speedy trial" and "a final conclusion free from unreasonable delay." Indeed, there would have to be litigation to resolve even that question — the question of how to "trade off" the rights of victims to speed and efficiency with

their rights to participation and their rights to adequate protection within whatever budgetary constraints the constitutional amendment is thought to permit government to take into account.

A final difficulty seemingly unique to the proposed amendment is that state legislation enacted pursuant to Section 2 — unlike virtually any other category of state legislation I can imagine — would, in cases of conflict with any federal statute (except perhaps a federal statute also enacted pursuant to Section 2), presumably be entitled to some sort of constitutional priority over that federal statute notwithstanding the normal operation of the Supremacy Clause of Article VI, Cl.2. For instance, in any state criminal proceeding, a state law requiring certain forms of cooperation by the FBI — in order to assure speed or otherwise protect the victim's rights proclaimed by Section 1 — would presumably prevail over an Act of Congress purporting to protect the FBI from such state interference, unless that congressional enactment was itself promulgated pursuant to Section 2. This perhaps unintended but plainly unavoidable consequence of Section 2 would create a mind-boggling mess that I suppose would be a litigator's or a law professor's dream but a nightmare from the perspective of a country that many already see as choking on too many laws, too many lawsuits, and too much work for high-priced lawyers.

In sum, it seems to me that the proposed amendment would create a real hornet's nest of problems for law enforcement at all levels, bog the courts down in enormously complex legal conflicts, shift power over resource allocation decisions from legislators and executives to judges, leave unanswered many of the questions in current law that appear to motivate the measure, and achieve no meaningful protection for victims beyond that already attainable without any constitutional change at all.

The fact that the amendment's subject is no doubt a suitable one for constitutional concern, and that the victims of private wrongs ought to be protected by our legal system no less than the victims of government overreaching are protected, makes this a sympathetic effort, one that I think has great moral as well as political appeal. A knee-jerk aversion to amending the Constitution under any circumstances, as though it were a sacred text that is simply too perfect to warrant any change, would be unwise. But one need not embrace any such unthinking opposition to constitutional change in order to conclude, as I have concluded, that the problems this amendment would create outweigh any improvements it would bring about in the responsiveness of our system to the very real plight of the victims of crime.

Please feel free to share these thoughts with your colleagues in the Senate, or with the President and his staff should The White House have any interest in this analysis. I would be glad to discuss the issues with you, or with the President, whenever convenient.

Sincerely yours,



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4/24/96

EKaminski

Some good ideas
interesting that can
be evaluated, but
very key to keep FS
Nec. Meals sun
camp. was his name

Thanks

BK

JIM DORSKIND:
Please coordinate
the reply.

6/24/94

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

P.S. If I may take this opportunity, here's an idea for incentivising major television and radio broadcasters to clean up their acts - virtually overnight.

Establish voluntary guidelines for appropriate programming content and reward broadcasters who meet the guidelines with tax credits. By earning additional credits for quality programs, broadcasters could reduce their taxes by as much as 50%! Whatever the cost to taxpayers, it would be but a small fraction of the savings realized from reducing the anti-social behavior prompted by trashy, inappropriate programming. Might I add that the vast majority of people I've talked to love the idea.

I cannot imagine any other action you could possibly take that would more profoundly and beneficially impact our nation's tragically tattered moral fabric than detrashing our air waves. Whether it ever becomes law or not, voters will appreciate where you stand.

A few other thoughts while I'm at it:

1. Let the federal government share with participating states or school districts the cost to keep schools open until 6 P.M. The savings from improved behavior on the part of kids will more than pay for the program.

2. Set up low cost federal tent prison camps (in warmer climes) for state drug related offenders, with the states paying a per diem charge of 50% of the actual cost. Only states passing tough new anti-drug laws would be eligible for reduced per diem. Such a program would do wonders to keep drug related criminals off the streets.

3. Initiate an "Allstar Kids" achievement and rewards program that would provide an opportunity for any child in the country to qualify for a post high school college or vocational loan on a non-subsidized basis. Additionally, qualifiers could earn special consideration from a huge network of participating employers nationwide.

"Allstar Kids" would have to meet standards based on academic achievement, good citizenship, community service, fitness and personal development (hobbies, sports, skills, etc.). A default factor of perhaps 10% would be built into the loan repayment schedule to avoid the necessity of government or private subsidies to underwrite losses, which would be relatively low due to the quality of borrowers. Participating corporations would form a partnership with a non-profit, federally chartered entity to operate the program and guarantee the loans, the entire cost of which would be covered by the added default factor.

Over 2,000 Y.M.C.A's nationally could be recruited to work with schools and communities to encourage and foster the participation of school

children of all ages in Allstar Kids. Every "Allstar Kid" would also have an opportunity to acquire their own personal computer and software on an extremely affordable basis.

4. Set up a federal/private sector partnership to operate a quasi-public service educational television network to assist viewers in furthering their education, upgrading their job skills or learning new ones, becoming better parents, acquiring healthier living habits, etc.

Once again, the whole program would pay for itself many times over by savings in welfare and other taxpayer subsidized social support systems, not to mention higher tax revenues from resulting bigger paychecks.

5. The single greatest tragedy and economic cost to our nation today is the dismal performance of our schools. But sadly, necessary reforms and changes are not likely to soon occur on a system wide basis unless the active cooperation of a reform resistant educational bureaucracy can somehow be secured. In the near term, I believe there's only one answer:

Let the federal government offer performance bonuses to all teachers and principals in schools wherein at least 75% of the students meet prescribed achievement standards - $10,000 annually for teachers and $20,000 for principals. Superintendents in districts where 75% of the schools met the standards would receive $30,000. For their schools to be eligible, states and school districts must adopt specified reform measures and rules.

I'm confident nothing could do more to align teachers, principals and superintendents on the side of meaningful school reform than my suggested performance bonus approach. And even if one-third of all schools qualified for the bonuses, it would only cost federal taxpayers less than $10 billion a year - a small price to pay for rescuing our schools.

6. Provide Incentives For Employers To Give Mothers With School Children An Unpaid Option To Go Home Two Hours Early.

While all of my proposals are designed to pay for themselves, any up front costs to federal taxpayers could easily be offset by even the most modest of cuts in federal corporate welfare, a tradeoff the vast majority of voters would heartily endorse.

I hope you would agree that these proposals are a step in the right direction. But in my view, the real key to bringing about meaningful change in America lies in the formation of a new grassroots citizens movement, of unprecedented size, scope and strength, to drive this change - from our school boards, to our state legislatures, to the halls of Congress. I would call it "Partners for a Better America".

If we really want to restore our quality of life and regain our once proud virtue as a nation, we the people are going to have to take back control of our country. Meaningful change and true reform are not going to happen unless and until we resolve to make then happen.

Regrettably, we have allowed a multitude of powerful, selfishly motivated special interest groups to hamstring our nation's ability to effectively cope with many of our most pressing problems. Not a single, major organization in America today truly represents the common good - that is, the best interests of the country as a whole. Partners for a Better America can be that organization, and with thousands of local chapters all across the land, it can make good things happen like never before - in our schools, our streets, our communities, our state legislatures and in Washington as well.

Many thanks for your attention and might I look forward to pursuing my "Partners for a Better America" concept with you or your associates.

Help Hospitalized Veterans

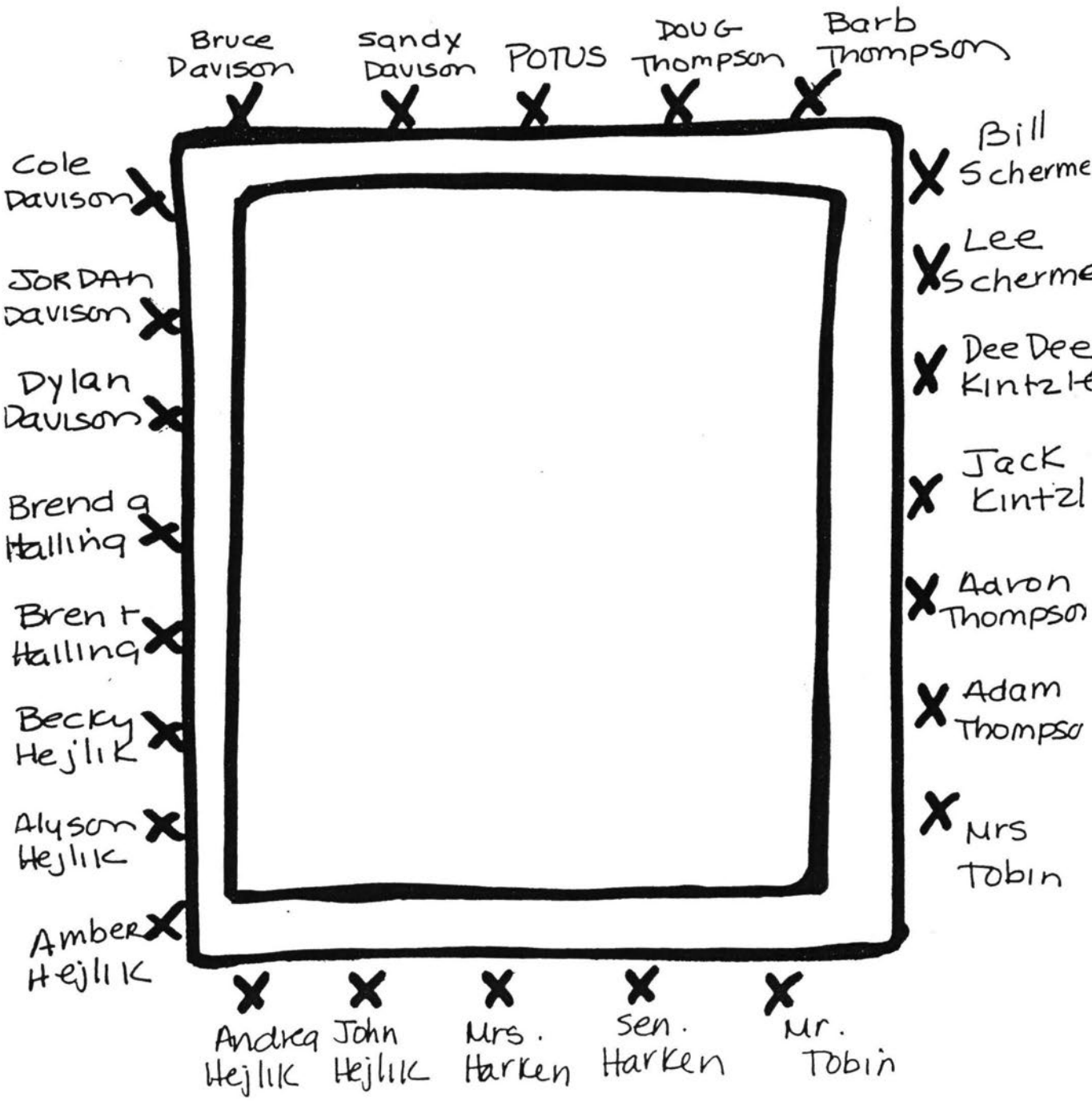
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San Diego, Ca 92110
(619) 291-5846 / FAX • 291-3842

Roger Chapin
Founder/President

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/24/96

Seating Chart
Dinner
Mason City, Iowa
February 10, 1996



ON THE JOB

CENTENARIAN SCENTENARIAN

At 100, Avon lady Rosie Gries has sold her neighbors oceans of lotions

ROSIE GRIES ISN'T TAKING ON ANY new customers. For years she has been content to tap the same loyal shoppers on the farms of central North Dakota, relying on a coterie of 25 customers to buy the Avon products she sells. It's not that she's burned out. It's just that, at age 100, Gries can take life a little easier —up to a point. "I think I'd die if I stopped selling," she says.

The oldest living Avon salesperson (there are 2 million of them worldwide), Gries gets up at 6 a.m. five or six times a month, pays a neighbor $1 an hour "to haul me," as she puts it, and hits the road to her customers' far-flung homes. "I think all her customers buy every time because she's Rosie," says DeLayne Krein, who, with her husband, raises cattle near Gries's hometown, Goodrich, 70 miles northeast of Bismarck. Krein has known Gries since 1943, the year Gries taught in the one-room schoolhouse outside Goodrich. "She's the best student I ever had," says Gries.

For Gries, the daughter of German-Russian immigrant farmer parents, the Avon job came as a way out of the Depression. In 1938 she was 42, with three children (two still survive, and she has three grandchildren and seven great-grandchildren) and a husband, Gus (who died in 1966), who wasn't making much of a living as a groceries salesman. Borrowing $5 from her mother, Gries bought a pack of Avon samples and started out, walking from farm to farm or hitching a ride when she could. She made $1,800 that first year. Twenty years later she bought her first car and expanded her territory, singing hymns to herself to pass the time as she traveled the prairie. For more than 50 years she worked 12-hour days and became one of Avon's top sellers. "I've always had a lot of energy," she says. "I've always been a good worker."

With her hearing and eyesight both failing, Gries—who also has a pacemaker—has cut back but refuses to quit. "My mother always said: 'Keep moving,' " she says. "And this gives me a reason to get up." ■



▲ "After you got 'em once," says Gries (calling on Mildred Kissee), "you always have 'em."

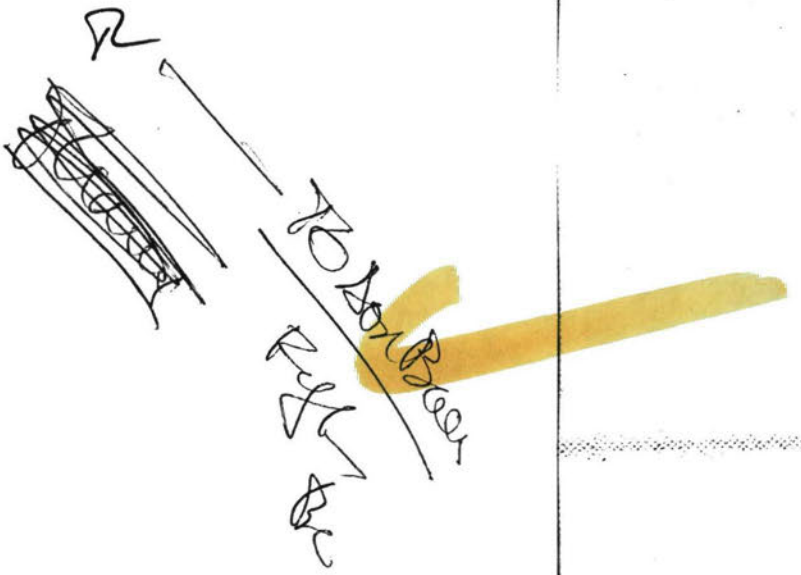
Photograph by Steve Liss

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL 6/24/96

96 JUN 17 P6:11

Mr. President:

A few recent speeches, FYI.



As Prepared for Delivery

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

ANTHONY LAKE
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY
JUNE 14, 1996

Bosnia After Dayton

Six months ago today in Paris, the leaders of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Serbia made a fateful decision: to turn Bosnia from the horror of war to the promise of peace.

Many of you in this room closely followed the Dayton negotiations that produced the peace accord. You know that, literally until the last minute, the outcome was in doubt -- indeed, our negotiators had their bags packed and, in the early morning hours, were ready to head home without an agreement. But the Balkan leaders decided, in the end, to make peace. They did so because, in the cold light of that Dayton dawn, the alternative simply was too terrible to pursue: renewed war, with all the horrors that came with it -- skeletal prisoners... mass graves... endless lines of refugees... economic chaos... international isolation... a wasted future.

Understanding the alternatives makes it easier to take difficult steps -- and since Dayton, that is what has kept the parties moving forward along the path to a lasting peace. Slowly... grudgingly... sometimes two steps forward, one step back. But moving forward. For three and a half years, the people of Bosnia lived the day-in, day-out destruction of war. These past six months, they have begun to enjoy the quiet blessings of peace. The more they understand the choice between war and peace... the starker it seems... the more likely peace will endure.

With that dynamic in mind, I'd like to discuss with you today what we've accomplished since Dayton, what we haven't accomplished, and the hard work that lies ahead. I don't want to play down the disappointments we've encountered so far, or the difficulties we still have to face. Freedom of movement, expression and association are not nearly as free as they should be. Indicted war criminals, most notably Radovan Karadzic and General Mladic, have not been turned over to the War Crimes Tribunal or fully withdrawn from authority. Fewer refugees have returned home than we would like. Economic activity is just resuming.

But I would ask everyone here first to step back for just a moment and look at the central facts. One year ago, war raged in Bosnia -- the worst war in Europe since World War II. Today, there ~~is peace. A very fragile, imperfect peace,~~ to be sure. But peace. That change -- from war to peace -- is the single most important fact of life for the people of Bosnia. It means that killing fields are once again playgrounds. That cafes and marketplaces are full of life, not death. That running an errand doesn't mean running a death race against snipers and shells. That women are no longer prey to systematic campaigns of rape and terror. That the water and lights are on... and

there is shelter from the wind and the cold. Peace means all these very basic things. As we work to make sure peace endures, we must not lose sight of its reality.

Thus far, the peace has held because IFOR, the NATO Implementation Force, has done its carefully defined job -- and done it very well. In the days after Dayton, when President Clinton committed 20,000 American troops to lead a 60,000 strong IFOR force, the skeptics predicted gloom and doom. They warned of terrorism... renewed fighting... American casualties... and embarrassing retreat.

The reality has been the opposite. IFOR has maintained the cease-fire and compelled the parties to pull back their forces and weapons from a 3-mile wide separation zone -- without significant incident. Nearly all heavy weapons have been placed under IFOR supervision and many will be destroyed as part of the arms control agreement to be signed in the next few days. Already, more than 100,000 soldiers not based in barracks have been demobilized. And hundreds of square miles of territory were transferred from one entity to another without a shot being fired.

IFOR also has stopped the widespread killing of civilians and restored security to Sarajevo, where people now walk the streets in safety. Virtually all prisoners of war have been released and those few still in custody are being held as war crimes suspects. IFOR has moved aggressively to take down internal checkpoints and, while far from perfect, freedom of movement has improved -- between ten and fifteen thousand people cross the boundary between the Bosnia-Croat Federation and the Serb Republic every day.

As the climate in Bosnia becomes more secure, humanitarian assistance and reconstruction efforts have begun -- slowly -- to improve the lives of its people. On the American side alone, we've already spent $86 million in "Quick Impact" aid the President announced after Dayton -- restoring heat, hot water and electricity and providing medicine and winter clothing for hundreds of thousands of Bosnians. The recent Donors' Conference in Brussels added $1.2 billion to the $600 million raised earlier for Bosnian economic recovery -- including an American pledge of $200 million in reconstruction aid for this fiscal year, in addition to over $350 million in humanitarian aid, support for elections, demining and other initiatives.

As I speak to you, dozens of projects are underway -- to build new housing... to rehabilitate utilities, schools, community centers... to fix roads and factories -- that will have a tangible impact on the way people live. To cite just a few examples, we have a program up and running to repair 2500 homes for 12,500 people in 44 villages that will also provide 2000 new jobs. Next month, we will begin spending $70 million to rebuild Bosnia's economic infrastructure. And we'll start disbursing an equal amount in loans to small businesses and industrial enterprises to jump-start the economy, create jobs and spur growth.

As President Clinton made clear in committing our troops to IFOR, the point of this extraordinary international effort is straightforward: to give the people of Bosnia the breathing room they need to begin to rebuild their lives and their land... and to give peace a chance to take on a life and logic of its own.

President Clinton has made equally clear what the point is not: it is not to take on responsibilities that are not our own -- and to create in Bosnia an unsustainable dependency instead of giving its people a chance to act independently. The United States is not in the business of building other nations -- but we can help nations build themselves, and give them time to make a start of it.

That's why the next step in the Dayton process -- Bosnia-wide elections -- is so important. Only after elections are held will the Constitution fully take effect... only after elections are held can the structures of a unified Bosnian state be created... only after elections are held will Bosnia have a Parliament, a Presidency and a Constitutional Court that represent the interests of all the people of Bosnia, including the hundreds of thousands of refugees and millions of displaced persons...only after elections are held will government agencies be up and running and able to pursue foreign trade and oversee customs and immigration... only after elections are held can the promise of Dayton be shaped into a political reality.

A few hours ago in Florence, Bob Frowick, the head of the OSCE mission in Bosnia, recommended that the OSCE certify that conditions will be suitable for holding free and fair elections in Bosnia on September 14 -- as called for in the Dayton Agreement. The Clinton Administration strongly supports that recommendation, and we hope and expect the OSCE will endorse it soon.

Some people who share our goals in Bosnia disagree. They would postpone elections beyond the Dayton deadline because the parties have, as of this moment, failed to meet all the necessary conditions. Let me tell you why we believe they are wrong.

If you took a snapshot of Bosnia, would it show that conditions for fair elections exist right now? The answer is no. But that's the wrong picture to look at. Our focus should be on whether those conditions will exist by September 14. And if you switch from still frames to moving pictures and pan three months down the road, very different images of Bosnia will begin to unfold. They would show people taking small, steady steps every day to put in place the mechanisms for free and fair elections -- just as they have for the past six months by opening up new media outlets so more voices can be heard... by forming new political parties representing different points of view... by setting up local election committees to oversee voter registration. I believe those are the images we will see more and more of between now and election day. Here's why:

The very fact of setting an election date is a forcing event. It will concentrate the minds of the parties on the progress they must still make -- and that they committed to in Dayton -- to expand freedom of movement and association... open the news media to opposition candidates and viewpoints... give refugees and displaced persons the ability to vote and run for office in their original places of residence...make sure that war criminals have no part in the electoral process. We will hold them to those commitments. And 3200 international supervisors and monitors will make sure the elections themselves run smoothly and openly.

Some assert that elections risk cementing the hold of extremists on Bosnia and, in effect, partitioning the country. Well, it's a little hypocritical for those of us who wave democracy's banner around the world to say that, just because you fear the possible result of an election, you

shouldn't hold it. Besides, as the campaign proceeds and more voices and viewpoints are heard, the forces of tolerance will grow stronger. We will work hard to return more refugees and organizing absentee voting. The sooner elections are held, the sooner people of different backgrounds will begin to work together and bridge some of the differences that divide them.

The argument that elections will hasten partition fails to explain how delaying them could possibly make things any better. On the contrary, it would make things worse for the Bosnian people. Without the incentive of an election and a deadline, we'd see less progress -- not more -- on freedom of movement, speech and association and on refugee rights. Delay would freeze into place the status quo... prevent practical interaction between the Federation and the Serb Republic... reinforce extremism and promote separatism on all sides. As the Balkan leaders said in Geneva earlier this month: "Delay in the elections risks widening the divisions which continue to exist."

You don't have to take their word for it -- or mine for that matter. Listen to the people who matter most -- the Bosnian people. Polls show that the average Bosnian -- whether Muslim, Croat or Serb -- wants elections. Ninety-three percent of Bosnia's Muslims, 79% of the Croats and an equal number of Bosnia's Serbs said elections are important. The overwhelming majority of each group intends to vote -- 93% of the Muslims, 86% of the Croats, 80% of the Serbs. So instead of making the perfect the enemy of the good, we should heed the will of the Bosnian people and move forward with elections. If they want to vote, we shouldn't stop them.

Some people point to the continued presence of Karadzic as reason enough to postpone elections. We all want him out of power, out of Bosnia -- and in the Hague to stand trial for war crimes. But let me remind you: under Dayton, he can't run for public office. He can't hold public office. So even if he's still there come September, elections would guarantee his removal from official positions of authority. Postponing elections might, ironically, allow him to cling to power.

There's been some confusion about what we've done and what we will do between now and election day to work for the removal of Karadzic and Mladic. First, we will continue to pressure President Milosevic to make good on his commitment in Dayton and strengthen alternative political forces within the Serb Republic.

And, to be very clear: IFOR has not been given the mission of hunting down indicted war criminals -- indeed, the reason IFOR has been so successful so far is that we have insisted on limiting its mandate to clearly achievable military goals. But let there be no mistake: if IFOR comes into contact with Karadzic and Mladic, it will detain them. Now that IFOR has completed most of its military tasks, it will conduct more visible and wide ranging security patrols throughout Bosnia. This will have the added benefit of restricting Karadzic and Mladic's freedom of movement. It will make their active participation in the election campaign extremely risky and extremely difficult.

Elections are a part of the beginning, not the end, of the hard work required to bring democracy to Bosnia. After so much bloodshed and loss, there is no guarantee that Muslims, Croats and Serbs will come together -- and stay together -- as citizens of a shared state with a common

destiny. But the whole point of Dayton is to give them the chance to try. Elections are the necessary next step along the long, difficult road to a unified, peaceful Bosnia. If we let them slip, other crucial provisions of the Dayton plan could slip. And that's a slope we don't want to be on. Thus far, we've held to Dayton with fierce determination. Now, it is our responsibility to bring that same determination to making sure the elections in Bosnia are free and fair.

As we look to the elections and beyond, it is absolutely vital that we avoid the paralysis of pessimism. That's an affliction common to just about every difficult foreign policy initiative. If we had let it overcome us in Haiti, we never would have sent our troops to pave the way for democracy's return. After all, the chorus of Chicken Littles was deafening -- Port au Prince will burn... Aristide will never return... the elections will never be held... Aristide won't step down. And so on. Well, Haiti still has a long way to go. But we can be very proud of what we achieved. The dictators are gone, democracy is back, the flow of refugees to our shores has stopped, and the Haitian people have their best chance ever to build a decent future in freedom.

In Bosnia, it's not hard to find places we've fallen short of our goals. The pace of economic reconstruction is too slow. Not enough refugees have returned to Bosnia and too few people within Bosnia have been able to reclaim their old homes. Political reconciliation has not yet met our expectations -- not just between Muslims and Serbs, but also between Muslims and Croats who have worked together as part of the Federation for two years now.

But instead of throwing up our hands in despair at the problems, we must redouble our efforts -- and solve them. That means seeing the elections through. But it also means making clear that our commitment to Bosnia's future extends well beyond the elections and the withdrawal of IFOR. Not by acting as a guarantor. Not by doing the hard work in place of the Bosnian people. But by doing our part for a lasting peace as long as they do theirs.

In the months ahead, the people of Bosnia can count on us to help them strengthen democratic institutions. To establish a stable military balance of power. To monitor the departure of foreign forces. To train a civilian police force. To help more refugees return. To secure cooperation with the War Crimes Tribunal. To help foster economic reconstruction, growth and prosperity. These are the building blocks of peace. As each one falls into place, the peace will become more and more secure.

That's a lot to accomplish. No one can guarantee we will succeed -- or that the Bosnian people will succeed. But already, in less than a year, we've changed the face of Bosnia. The war is over. The peace is just beginning. If we have faith in its promise while fearing its failure -- and if we work away at its problems -- peace in Bosnia can last, it will last. That's our mission. Not just for those of us in government, but for all those who care so deeply about Bosnia's future, including many people I see in this room today. Some of us have disagreed on tactics in the past. No doubt we'll continue to have our differences in the months to come. So let's keep debating. But above all, let's keep acting, and moving forward, together. We owe at least that to the people of Bosnia.

As Prepared for delivery
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ANTHONY LAKE
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
NATIONAL DEFENSE UNIVERSITY
JUNE 12, 1996

General Rokke... faculty and special guests of the National Defense University... representatives of the diplomatic community... proud families and friends... and especially the members of the combined classes of the Industrial College of the Armed Forces, the National War College, and the School of Information Warfare and Strategy: I am honored to join you today as you celebrate your graduation.

I am very aware of the high expectations associated with commencement speakers. This was a banner year for commencement talent -- President Clinton at the Coast Guard Academy... General Powell at Bowie State... Yogi Berra at Montclair State... Kermit the Frog at Long Island University. I want to assure you that I have stolen ideas from them all in preparing my remarks.

But I also feel the burden of going beyond plagiarism, in speaking to some of the most promising men and women in our military, our government, and from other nations around the world.

As future stewards of your nation's security, you understand the dramatic changes the world has undergone in just the last few years. Superpower confrontation has passed, but the lid has been lifted on simmering ethnic and religious conflicts. Before, rogue states could be restrained by those who armed and supported them. Now, they are freer to gamble on the use of force to achieve their ends. Revolutions in communication and commerce send information, goods, and dollars around the world in the blink of an eye -- yet the openness that brings us closer together also makes us more vulnerable to problems like terrorism and international crime.

I would like to speak today about some of the challenges confronting our military in this new security environment. And I am honored to do so in this setting, with you -- a group that combines years of operational experience with intense intellectual study. On a personal note, let me add that as National Security Advisor, I have had the privilege of meeting and working with America's military men and women every day... and to admire their service and their sacrifice. So as I talk with you of challenges faced by our military, I want to recognize the extraordinary debt that we as a nation owe to them -- and the families who support them.

Over the past three years, as I have worked with the military in facing the demands of this new era, I have often been struck by three fundamental questions. I have discussed them many times with Secretary Perry and General Shalikashvili, and I am sure they have been on your minds as well: How do we maintain efficiency and effectiveness as we manage the post-Cold War

drawdown of our forces? How do we preserve the strength and readiness to fight and win our nation's wars as we conduct increasingly diverse peacekeeping and humanitarian missions? And, how do we attract and retain an all-volunteer force of high standards that is reflective of rapid social change in America?

Today, we know the answer to the drawdown question. Since 1989, we've reduced our force by a third. We've cut our defense budget by some 40 percent in real terms from its Cold War high. Some 700,000 men and women have traded in their uniforms and returned to civilian life. But this time, unlike previous drawdowns, we did it right.

We recall the stories about the drawdown of the 1970s, when sailors on ships waited months for parts to fix broken equipment... when planes became "hangar queens," pillaged for repairs... when the Chief of Staff of the Army declared that America had a "hollow army." Many of you were there. Today, our leaders have learned the lessons of earlier times. They know that we can't cut size at the expense of strength... personnel at the expense of morale... or force at the expense of readiness. In 1994, when Iraq menaced Kuwait... tensions rose in Korea... and trouble in Haiti boiled over... we showed that our military was up to the task -- and more. In my view, Secretary Perry, General Shalikashvili, their immediate predecessors, and our whole military leadership have received far too little credit for one of the greatest management successes in history.

But now that our force posture is right -- and our readiness is as high as ever -- we need to focus on how we employ our Armed Forces. More than any other institution in the world, when America's military is asked to do something, it delivers. It is hard to convey how much it means to policy makers to have an instrument like that at our disposal. It provides a great sense of security and confidence. But it also carries a great responsibility. We must not misuse this extraordinary institution. When we use military force, we must do so unflinchingly. But we must never ask our military to do things it can't, or shouldn't, do. The President has no more solemn responsibility than to decide when to put our armed forces in harm's way. He knows that -- and so do all of us who are privileged to serve him.

In recent years, our military has responded to an unprecedented number and range of contingencies -- nearly 40 since the Gulf War. Many of these operations have involved nontraditional tasks -- distributing food, resettling refugees, providing medical assistance. All Americans are proud of our men and women in uniform for doing this work so well. But the fact remains we depend on them first and foremost to fight and win America's wars. This highlights the second question I raised: How do we guard our military's unparalleled fighting ability, when we call on it increasingly for operations other than war?

In addressing this question, let me briefly review how we approach the decision to commit our Armed Forces. Our nation uses force for one purpose alone: To protect and promote American interests. I believe these interests can be divided into three categories.

The first involves matters of overriding importance to our national security and survival -- like a direct attack on our soil, our people, or our allies. We will do whatever it takes to defend these vital interests, including the use of decisive military force -- with others where we can, and alone

when we must. From our swift response when Iraq moved forces toward Kuwait to our 37,000 troops in Korea, we have shown our unshakable resolve. Vital interests are the raison d'etre of our military force -- and will be so long as nations exist and human nature is unchanged.

More and more often, however, we face situations that do not threaten our nation's vital interests -- yet do still affect our interests and the character of the world in which we live. It might be a conflict, such as Bosnia, that produces terrible suffering and jeopardizes stability in a region of vital importance to our nation. Or it might be a brutal coup, like the one in Haiti, that endangers democracy in our hemisphere and prompts thousands of desperate refugees to seek sanctuary on our shores.

This second kind of case is more difficult to address, because our interests -- though important -- are less immediate, and the threats may be less clear. That is why, before we use force, we must make a careful assessment: Can the use of our military forces advance American interests? Do they have a reasonable chance of success? Are the interests at stake commensurate with the costs and risks? Have other means been tried and failed to achieve our objectives?

And before we send our troops into situations where our interests are less than vital, they need a clear and achievable mission, the means to prevail, and a strategy for withdrawal that is based on the military mission's goals.

In both Haiti and Bosnia, we met those standards, and our troops have performed superbly. Contrast these operations with Vietnam or Lebanon, where clear and achievable military missions were not defined soon enough -- or ever. In Vietnam, our society blamed our soldiers for a defeat that was not theirs. Because we neglected to ask the right questions, the men and women of our Armed Forces paid a terrible price -- both in Vietnam and when they came home. We must never put them in that position again. Never.

There is also a third category for using not force, but the unique capabilities of our forces. This category involves primarily humanitarian interests. Generally, the military is not the best tool to address such concerns. But sometimes a humanitarian crisis -- such as Somalia or Rwanda -- may swamp the ability of relief organizations to respond. Sometimes only our military has the capability to kick-start longer-term disaster response -- before handing the operation back to the relief community.

In considering such cases, we should always keep in mind that the force of our example bolsters our leadership in the world and enhances our ability to achieve our interests. When millions of human lives are at risk, the world's most powerful nation cannot simply sit on the sidelines. The American people would not allow it -- and that is to their credit.

None of this means America should become the world's policeman. We cannot answer every 911 around the globe. But when we have weighed the risks and costs against our interests, and when we can make a difference, we have a responsibility to act.

Over the last three years, I believe our military has risen to these new challenges with extraordinary professionalism and skill -- whether restoring democracy to Haiti or stopping the slaughter and safeguarding the peace in Bosnia on one hand, or saving hundreds of thousands of Somalis from starvation... or delivering nearly 15,000 tons of food, medicine, and supplies to Rwanda's refugees on the other.

But performing peacekeeping and humanitarian missions while preserving warfighting capabilities is more than a conceptual challenge. It is also a challenge to mindset and culture. Is it possible to maintain the ethos of the warrior in servicemen and women who are serving on missions of peace?

The answer was made clear to me last Christmas, when I visited our troops in Haiti with General Shalikashvili. I will never forget how I felt as he addressed those young Americans. He told them they were tough troops, trained to do tough work. "But today," he said, "is Christmas. Take a step back. Look at what you've done. You've saved the lives of thousands of people. Your mothers would be proud." I could see these soldiers look a little embarrassed at the praise, but they also seemed very proud as the General's words sunk in. They were every bit the world's best-trained, best-equipped, best-prepared soldiers that we count on them to be. And yet they were also agents of hope for a nation in need -- in the best tradition of our people. That moment captured unequivocally for me that, yes, we can do both.

It seems to me there are four basic points to keep in mind.

The first is that power matters, even in operations other than war. Our military's successes in Haiti and Bosnia came because they established a secure environment in each through the exercise and example of their military power and prowess.

The second point is that our goals in operations other than war must be practical and limited. We cannot deceive ourselves into thinking that the very presence of our troops will conjure democracy into existence or flip the switch on to prosperity. At best, we can only give others a chance to rebuild their lives themselves. By restricting our engagement to the time and tasks necessary to complete our military mission, we underscore that the core purpose of our military is to fight wars -- not to build nations.

The third point to bear in mind is that peacekeeping and humanitarian missions can also provide valuable experience for when the "big ones" come along. They catalyze innovation -- such as the joint planning among our services that was at the heart of our success in Haiti, or the provision of near real-time intelligence to our field commanders in Bosnia. They can break new ground in our cooperation with other nations -- such as our historic partnership with Russia in Bosnia -- as well as with UN agencies, non-governmental organizations, and the media. And they can help our troops to keep their skills sharp -- though of course not all warfighting skills are put to use in these operations. That is why we must continue to devise new ways for our units to keep their edge -- such as rotating troops out of Bosnia for essential training in Hungary.

Finally, I believe our men and women in uniform are rightfully proud of what they are doing on these missions -- and that from that pride comes power. They show the world an America that is

strong enough to be caring, generous, and humane -- and that reinforces our nation's ability to lead the global march for peace and freedom.

So we are starting to find ways to balance the equation successfully.

I want to underscore that in peacekeeping and humanitarian operations, just as in combat, the President retains and will never relinquish command authority over American forces. But from the Revolutionary War to Korea to Desert Storm, the occasional, temporary placement of our forces under the operational control of foreign commanders has been part of our nation's security structure -- and must remain so.

Some have proposed that in order to deal with these greater numbers of operations other than war, we should dedicate some of our forces to peacekeeping operations only. There are others who suggest that our servicemen and women be allowed to decide the extent of their participation in such missions. My own view on both issues is no. As I said earlier, we use force for one reason only: To protect and promote our nation's interests. In order to maintain a disciplined fighting force, where morale is high and unity is strong, peacekeeping and humanitarian operations must be a common responsibility -- no less than deterring conflicts or winning wars. And I'll tell you now, as I thought on Christmas Day -- not only can our troops do both, they are. Anyone who has any doubts should ask both Saddam Hussein and the Haitian people.

But to keep our troops the best they can be, we must address the final challenge I posed at the outset: Attracting and retaining an all-volunteer force of high standards and technical skill that is reflective of American society.

Part of why our military has been so successful is that it seeks to employ the best talents that America has to offer, regardless of gender or race. Indeed, I think we can safely say that our military is the most merit-based major institution in American society. Not only does it demand high quality at the outset, it encourages its members to become even better -- and provides opportunities to do so. Our Armed Forces set an example for American society in giving those who take responsibility and work hard a chance to make the most of their own lives.

Almost five decades ago, the integration of our Armed Forces not only strengthened our combat readiness, it helped spur our nation to fight racism at home. Today, because the public still sees itself when it looks to our troops, it expects the military to keep pace with -- and even to be a model for -- the standards that govern the rest of society -- on issues from equal opportunity to sexual harassment.

Our military continues to work hard to improve opportunities for women and minorities. Last month I attended the graduation of nearly 1,000 new sailors at the Great Lakes Naval Training Center, and I was very proud, as I looked out at them, to see that -- in this particular class -- more than a third were women.

In the 1970s and 1980s, I was a skeptic about an all-volunteer American military, primarily because of the concern that there could develop a gap between the military and the rest of our society. Today, after three years' experience, I can see that, quite simply, I was wrong.

* * *

I have discussed some of the challenges our military is meeting for America. But there is also a challenge America must meet for our military. Our servicemen and women put their lives on the line for our country. They must have the resources they need to do their jobs. This demands constant reassessment, as we have done -- increasing the defense budget when we recognized funding shortfalls... seeking additional appropriations for unexpected contingencies... and making sure, as we approach our 4-year strategy review, that our strategy is backed by sufficient resources.

But important as technology and weaponry are, we must always remember that the core of our military strength is the faces behind the force. For me, they are the Rangers I met who had just come home after a terrible (and, too many forget, heroic) firefight in Mogadishu. They spoke first of their willingness to serve anywhere, at any time. Or the troops I have visited in Haiti, who took such pride in what they had done for the people of Haiti. Or the members of Charlie Rock Company at Outpost Lima in Bosnia, setting up camp on a muddy hill to help preserve a hard-won peace -- a peace won in large part through the strength and skill of our Air Force pilots and Navy aviators.

We are all proud of these and the other men and women of America's Armed Forces. And the President and I are grateful that you, the Class of '96, will be among those who lead them... work with them... and support them... as we enter the 21st century. I believe that with your wisdom, vision, and leadership, our military -- and our nation -- will remain the most powerful, successful, and admired the world has ever known.

Congratulations on your graduation, and best wishes to you all.

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ANTHONY LAKE
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR NATIONAL SECURITY
REMARKS TO THE CHICAGO COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
MAY 24, 1996

as prepared for delivery:

I'm glad to be back in Chicago and to see some old friends again. I am something of a baseball fan, and being in the Windy City reminds me of one the game's many good quotations. After a game in rough weather -- probably at Comiskey -- Yankee outfielder Mickey Rivers is reported to have said that it was so bad out there, "it was blowing 360 degrees."

I can sympathize. In Washington -- and in foreign affairs -- it frequently feels like it's blowing 360 degrees. But our nation's interests aren't seasonal. We have to look much farther down the road -- and consider how to ready ourselves for the long-haul and prepare for the storms ahead.

So as we near the end of the Clinton Administration's first term, I want to talk about the key foreign policy challenges America will face in the coming years. Political leaders may change with elections, but America's interests do not. The way these challenges are met -- or ignored -- will affect the lives of each and every American and our prospects for the century ahead.

Halfway between the end of the Cold War and the dawn of a new century, our nation is at peace. Our economy is strong. The tide of market democracy is rising around the world, bringing freedom and prosperity to more people than ever before and new opportunities for us.

Yet this promising new era is not risk-free. Old threats like aggression by rogue states have taken on new and dangerous dimensions. A host of modern threats -- from terrorism to drug trafficking to man-made environmental disasters -- ignores national borders and undermines our security.

In this new world of possibility -- but also peril -- America's global leadership is more important than ever. That great scholar of diplomacy Woody Allen once remarked that 80 percent of life is just showing up. For better or worse, simply "showing up" is not enough in foreign policy. To lead effectively, our nation must do two things at once.

First is the business of managing crises as they arise. Whether dealing with an outbreak of violence in Liberia, trying to secure a Middle East cease-fire, or responding to a global 911 like the Kobe earthquake, managing crises is fast-paced, high-profile work. Its rewards -- or its failures -- are readily visible, and frequently found in the headlines.

This audience knows that such foreign policy challenges don't arise in neat four year cycles. Every Administration inherits problems it must manage; ours was no different. Three of the most urgent were repression in Haiti, the war in Bosnia and the containment of Iraq.

- Because we backed diplomacy with force, the dictators are gone from Haiti, the desperate flow of refugees has ended, and the first-ever democratic transfer of power took place this year. The last of the U.S. peacekeepers came home on time, as promised.
- Because we deployed our troops rapidly and decisively to the Persian Gulf in 1994, Iraq withdrew the troops it massed on Kuwait's border -- and we preserved peace and stability in the region.
- Because we stood up for peace in Bosnia, the slaughter has ended. American troops and their IFOR partners are helping give the Bosnian people the breathing room they need to build the peace they have chosen.

I am proud that our Administration led the world's response to these problems. But it was also important that while managing these emergencies, we also pressed forward with the projects that stretch beyond the crisis of the day and are essential for building the future that we want.

This is the second aspect of leadership: anticipating the problems of the future...making the investments that will pay greater benefits -- or prevent greater costs in the future...and laying the groundwork for the peace and prosperity of tomorrow. Even as we handle day-to-day events, we must devote ourselves to the acts of construction on the core security issues that affect the daily lives of American citizens.

And I believe we <u>are</u> laying the foundation for a post-Cold War world in which our interests are protected and our people prosper. Over the next four years, whoever leads this country will have a chance, and a responsibility, to build on that foundation.

What are these "construction projects?" One is to strengthen and broaden our core alliances as we lay the groundwork for peace in the 21st century. On the President's trip to Asia last month, we signed a new Security Charter with Japan. We joined with South Korea in launching a major initiative that we hope will lead to a permanent peace between North and South and eventually erase the Cold War's last remaining frontier. Those achievements...along with our efforts to engage China in a productive dialogue...aim at fulfilling the President's vision of a peaceful Asia Pacific community built on shared efforts and shared benefits.

Since our policy on Asia is seizing today's headlines, I would like to focus on three other "construction projects" for the next four years: building an undivided, democratic Europe; preparing for the military threats of the future; and building a new global trading system.

<u>Building an Undivided Europe</u>

History has taught us that when Europe is in turmoil, America suffers, and when Europe is peaceful and prosperous, America can thrive as well. Today, with the Cold War over, a peaceful, democratic, undivided Europe is within reach.

We have worked hard to turn that vision into reality by supporting the process of Europe's integration. We have helped the nations of Central Europe and the former Soviet Union to develop the essentials of democracy: fair elections, a free media, and an independent judiciary.

We have helped them to rebuild their shattered economies.

These efforts are paying off. Many Central European nations are moving from aid to trade. Some -- like Poland and the Czech Republic -- are among Europe's fastest growing economies. Today, America is Russia's largest private investor, and our total trade with Russia has grown 65 percent in the last three years. More trade with and investment in Europe's new democracies with their millions of new consumers means more jobs and higher wages at home.

We are also deepening security cooperation with all who share our values and our vision of peace. A key part of this process is NATO's enlargement. NATO can do for Europe's east what it did 50 years ago for Europe's west: prevent a return to local rivalries; strengthen democracy against future threats; and provide the conditions for fragile market economies to flourish.

Two years ago, the United States laid a cornerstone of the new Europe by initiating the Partnership for Peace. From the Black Sea waters of Romania to the bayous of Louisiana, Partners and allies are building bridges of cooperation. For some countries, the Partnership will be the path to NATO membership. For others, it will be an active link to the Alliance. For all, it is a powerful incentive to deepen democracy, establish civilian control of the military, and be responsible members of the global community.

Already, we are seeing results. Right now in Bosnia, soldiers from at least 13 Partner states are standing shoulder-to-shoulder with NATO troops. One of those Partners, Hungary, is the major staging ground for America's contribution to the NATO force.

Over the next four years, we must lock in these gains for the 21st century. This means moving NATO enlargement forward on the same steady, transparent track we have followed since the start. That means resisting calls to move too rapidly, which could undermine our goal by compromising NATO's consensus on bringing in new members. But it also means that those nations that are ready to add to the strength of the Alliance must not be kept in limbo. Delaying enlargement would destroy the momentum we have built and dispirit new democracies that have worked so hard to reform. We will not allow such delays.

As enlargement moves forward, we must also work to make the NATO-Russia relationship a full-fledged partnership. Our teamwork in the Contact Group and between our troops in Bosnia has shown that such a partnership is both possible and productive. It is a harbinger of the undivided Europe that lies before us, if we all have the vision and determination to achieve it.

<u>Preparing for the Military Threats of the Future</u>

Our second act of construction lies in preparing for the real military threats of the post-Cold War era. Superpower confrontation has passed. But the lid has been lifted on numerous simmering ethnic and religious conflicts. Before, rogue states could be restrained by those who armed and supported them. Now, they are more likely to gamble on the use of force to achieve their ends.

The United States has taken these developments to heart -- and we are strengthening our defenses for a world that remains dangerous. Indeed, we may be doing a better job of preparing for the

threats of a new era than did previous post-war generations. Remember, five years after World War II, America's military drawdown had gone so far that we were nearly pushed off the Korean Peninsula. Five years after Vietnam, the Army Chief of Staff declared that we had a "hollow army."

Now, five years after the post-Cold War drawdown began, America's military has completed an extraordinary transformation. Our military leadership has received far too little credit for one of the greatest management successes in history -- a large-scale personnel reduction with no loss in morale or needed capacity. I visited the Great Lakes Naval Training Center this morning, and was very impressed with the morale of the Navy recruits, now becoming sailors.

Following our Bottom-Up Review -- an analysis of unprecedented scope -- our forces have been reshaped for the challenges we face today and those that may confront us tomorrow. America's military readiness has never been higher -- and our forces are prepared and equipped to meet potential crises around the world. Our strategy calls for our forces to deter and, if necessary, fight two major regional conflicts nearly simultaneously. In 1994, when Iraq menaced Kuwait...tensions rose in Korea...and trouble in Haiti boiled over...we showed that our military was equal to the task -- and more. Our troops' rapid, professional deployments deterred possible aggression in the Mideast and Asia -- and brought the people of Haiti a chance for a brighter future. They're also performing the kind of new missions for peace and freedom that our era demands -- as we have seen in Haiti, Rwanda and Bosnia.

To maintain our forces' superiority, the Clinton Administration has made an unwavering commitment to give our troops the resources they need. Because of that pledge, when circumstances change, we adjust and provide what is required. Over the last two years, we added nearly $4 billion to the military budget to cover the costs of unexpected missions. Based on a clear look at what we needed for readiness and modernization, President Clinton decided in December, 1994 to increase funding for our long-term defense plan by $25 billion over six years. As he has said so often, the President is determined that America's military be the best-trained, best-equipped and best-prepared fighting force on earth -- and we will provide the means to keep it that way.

Just as the Administration is committed to preserving our edge in conventional forces, we are also determined to reduce the threat to the American people posed by weapons of mass destruction. When the Iron Curtain fell, a window of opportunity opened for building a world that is safer from chemical, biological and nuclear weapons.

So we have set the most ambitious arms control and non-proliferation agenda in history. And we are meeting it.

Because of our steady engagement with Russia and the new independent states, no Russian missiles are targeted at America's cities and citizens. START I and START II -- which we hope the Russian Duma will soon approve -- will slash by two-thirds the nuclear arsenals that we and Soviet Union held at the height of the Cold War. We are also working to strengthen the

Biological Weapons Convention and pressing for ratification of the Chemical Weapons Convention. We are urging the Senate to approve this vital treaty without delay.

We have secured the indefinite and unconditional extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. We hope to sign a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty this year -- and thereby constrain the next generation of nuclear weapons. And we are working so that all nations abide by the provisions of the Missile Technology Control Regime.

Not too long ago, debate raged over the value of arms control treaties. In the post-Cold War world, the answer is clear: these gains -- the result of determined diplomacy by both Democratic and Republican administrations -- are real and have made the American people safer.

But we will not be truly secure through diplomacy alone. Maintaining our deterrent force -- conventional and nuclear -- remains the best way to keep any state from challenging us with weapons of mass destruction. Any potential enemy must know that our response to an attack using these weapons will be absolutely overwhelming and devastating. This is how we kept the peace for 50 years -- and it is our best guarantee for the next 50 and beyond.

Nonetheless, we must prepare for the unlikely event that our military might, arms control agreements and nuclear deterrent fail to prevent some rogue nation from launching a missile attack against the United States or our armed forces. Our Administration is spending $3 billion a year to develop and deploy missile defenses. Our approach, as the President said this week at the Coast Guard Academy, "is based on real threats and pragmatic responses." It's based on the common-sense notion that before we build a missile defense, we need to know what the threat is.

Today -- and for years to come -- the greatest threat we face is from short and medium-range missile attacks against our troops or our allies. And the regions of greatest peril are the Middle East and Asia. That's why we have made theater missile defense our top priority. We have deployed upgraded Patriot missiles to South Korea. We are working with Japan to upgrade their defenses. And we recently reached an agreement with Taiwan to provide them with an anti-missile capability. We are cooperating with Israel on theater defenses. We are pressing ahead with a range of advanced short and medium range missile defenses, such as Patriot PAC-3, Navy Lower Tier and Army THAAD -- which will be ready for use by 1998 -- and the more capable Navy Upper Tier, which can be fielded a few years later.

Putting Theater Missile Defenses first makes sense. It addresses the threats that exist now. But we also have to look ahead to prepare ourselves for threats down the road. While our Intelligence Community does not believe that a rogue state is likely to acquire a long-range missile capability within the next 15 years, we are committed to developing a National Missile Defense system by 2000 that can, if needed, be deployed by 2003.

This is a rational response to a possibility that is remote -- but whose consequences would be horrifying.

The alternative to our plan, the bill launched by the Senate and House leadership last March, would require that we choose a missile defense system today for certain deployment by 2003.

This is the wrong way to defend America. It would lock us into today's technology -- and deny us the benefit of tomorrow's advances. If some future dictator gets reckless, we don't want to get caught with a Betamax when we could have the latest technology on our side.

Their bill would also violate arms control agreements that are making us safer. It could resurrect many of the technologies of the failed "Star Wars" scheme -- including space-based missiles and lasers -- as well as sea-based and multiple-site anti-ballistic missile defenses. All of these systems would violate the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty. The ABM treaty remains a cornerstone of our arms-control achievements -- and throwing it into question would imperil the ongoing cuts in Russia's nuclear arsenal. Giving up the reduction of thousands of warheads for protection against a threat that doesn't yet exist is a bad tradeoff. It simply doesn't make sense. We can preserve the Treaty while fielding the defenses we need.

Their approach would not only be bad strategy -- it's bad budgeting. Last week, the Congressional Budget Office estimated that the bill's program would cost somewhere between $31 billion and $60 billion by 2010. At that price, our nation would have a hard time sustaining the modernization our conventional forces must have. It's not surprising that when the bill's sponsors heard that estimate, they pulled it from the floor of the House -- though its supporters in the Senate appear determined to press on.

There is a right way and a wrong way to defend America and its citizens from a missile attack. I hope we can come together in a bipartisan fashion behind the right way. The practical way. The prudent way. As Secretary Perry said in an interview yesterday, we should find common ground on this issue, for example along the lines envisioned in the substitute amendment on National Missile Defense policy that Congressman John Spratt of South Carolina intends to offer when the House takes up the Defend America bill. That way, our nation will have the missile defense it needs against the threats that may develop...and our forces will have the best equipment and training for all the missions they will inevitably face, conventional and nuclear.

Trade

The two "construction projects" I've discussed so far -- building an undivided Europe, and building the right defense against military threats we actually face -- have an obvious impact on the security of the American people. But we define "national security" in terms of people's daily lives -- and that means not just the military security of our nation, but our citizens' economic well-being as well, a basis for their personal security. In an era where goods and ideas are traded all over the world and where millions of dollars can flash across the planet at the stroke of a computer key, it is clear that our economic welfare is tied to the rest of the world.

That is why we have worked so hard to build a new global trading system. Through painstaking negotiation and hard-headed persuasion, we are opening markets to American goods and services and creating new opportunities for American companies and workers. Now, with regional efforts like NAFTA, APEC and the Summit of the Americas, global accords such as the Uruguay Round,

and tough bilateral negotiations like the U.S.-Japan auto agreements, barriers are coming down and our exports are going up -- creating more than one million good, high-paying jobs in just the last three years alone.

You can see the results of our strategy in the progress we've made in Japan. There is more hard work ahead, but in the last three years, our two nations have signed 21 separate trade agreements, covering everything from medical supplies to computers. Our exports in those sectors are up about 85 percent -- meaning more jobs and better pay for American workers, and lower prices and greater choice for Japanese consumers.

We also created America's first National Export Strategy, helping our firms walk through the doors we opened with trade agreements. With our support, American firms have won more than $57 billion in foreign business contracts since November 1993.

To sustain this performance and strengthen prosperity into the 21st century, our nation must enforce existing trade agreements, including the more than 180 agreements concluded by the Clinton Administration. We must transform our vision for free trade in the Americas into concrete results, including by expansion of NAFTA to Chile. And we must build on our blueprint for free trade in the Asia-Pacific region -- the fastest-growing market in the world.

Conclusion

Even as we lay the foundation for the new century -- dealing with today's crises, and building tomorrow's framework for stability, security and prosperity -- the tools we rely on are the same as ever: Diplomacy where we can; force where we must. Working with others where we can; and alone when we have to. Keeping our military strong while adapting our alliances to new demands. Maintaining constructive relations with the world's great powers -- those nations that have the greatest ability to help or hinder us in our efforts. And we must have the resources needed to conduct effective diplomacy, use our aid programs to head off future crises, and support our military.

Just as we rely on time-proven tools, so we are fulfilling a timeless mission. In many regions, the roots of the democratic society -- pluralism, tolerance, liberty -- are not yet firm. Now, as before, our special role in the world is to safeguard and strengthen the community of democracies and open markets.

Enlargement of democracy is central to all of the challenges I have mentioned today. A democratic Europe is more likely to remain at peace, and to be a strong partner in diplomacy, security, and trade. Democratic nations are less likely to go to war against one another -- and more likely to join us in promoting arms control, fighting proliferation, and combating the forces of destruction. And democracy undergirds the open markets that promote prosperity because the rule of law helps guarantee that contracts are respected, just as the searchlight of free media helps expose corruption.

Over the next four years, we have a chance to pave the way to a bright new century -- in which Central Europe, where two world wars began, becomes an anchor of stability in an undivided,

democratic Europe. In which we work with our allies and friends in the Asia-Pacific region to sustain our security and build a future of growing prosperity. In which the dark cloud of nuclear destruction gives way to the sunshine of peace. In which open societies flourish, linked and invigorated by open markets. In which our children and children everywhere can therefore make the most of their talents to pursue their dreams.

That is America's challenge on the eve of the millennium. America can -- and must -- meet it. I think we will.

# # #

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 23, 1996 96 JUN 23 P12 : 14

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Jo Ann Emerson,
Wife of Rep. Bill Emerson (R-MO)

DATE: June 23, 1996

RECOMMENDED BY: John Hilley

PURPOSE: Missouri Congressman Bill Emerson who had undergone alternating chemotherapy and radiation treatments since diagnosed with inoperable lung cancer in the fall, died Saturday, June 22 at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Bethesda, Maryland, at the age of 58.

BACKGROUND: Rep. Bill Emerson is survived by his wife Jo Ann and four children. Bill Emerson was a teenage page in the 83rd and 84th Congresses and after graduating from Westminster College in Missouri he returned to Capitol Hill and worked as a lobbyist in the 1960's and 1970's. He was elected to the House of Representatives in 1980. He was running for re-election to a ninth term representing Missouri's 8th District. A member of the Transportation and Infrastructure Committee and in line to become the next chairman of the House Agriculture Committee, a key assignment for his rural district, much of his work focused on food stamps and hunger programs. When House Republicans proposed rule changes to abolish four select panels, Emerson defended the Hunger panel, and pledged $10,000 along with Rep. Tony Hall (D-OH) to create a Congressional Hunger Caucus. The congressman was well-liked by the voters and won in 1994 with more than 70 percent of the vote. The eight-term Republican had expressed pride at not missing a single vote this year.

CONTACT PERSON AND TELEPHONE NUMBER(S): (703)790-0399, wife Jo Ann Emerson

White House Legislative Affairs Contact, Janet Murguia through signal

DATE OF SUBMISSION: June 23, 1996

ACTION: _____

THE WASHINGTON POST

SUNDAY, JUNE 23, 1996

Rep. Emerson Dies of Cancer At Age 58

Lawmaker Sought 9th Term in Missouri

Associated Press

KANSAS CITY, Mo., June 22—Rep. Bill Emerson (R-Mo.), who had inoperable lung cancer, died today at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland, his chief of staff said. He was 58.

Emerson was hospitalized for observation Monday with a respiratory infection stemming from his ongoing cancer treatment. He had been diagnosed with inoperable lung cancer in November and had been undergoing alternating chemotherapy and radiation treatments.

His wife and family were with him when he died, according to Emerson's chief of staff, Lloyd Smith.

Emerson was running for reelection to a ninth term representing Missouri's 8th Congressional District.

His hospital stay was not announced until Thursday evening.

In a written statement, the congressman had said he was admitted to Bethesda Naval Hospital on Monday for "monitoring."

"I am resting comfortably and following doctors' orders," he said.

The eight-term Republican had expressed pride at not missing a single vote this year, despite having to occasionally nap on couches in the House cloakroom during late-night debate.

He also was confident that his illness would not stop his reelection.

"I have not faltered. I expect I'm going to continue doing the job," Emerson had said in a recent interview.

If he had been reelected and the GOP held its majority in the House, Emerson would have been in line to become the next chairman of the Agriculture Committee, a key assignment for his sprawling rural district.

Emerson was a pack-a-day cigarette smoker when he was diagnosed with lung cancer in November. The tumor was too close to his carotid artery to remove surgically.

The matter of Emerson's health was a delicate issue for politicians accustomed to bare-knuckle campaigns. The congressman, who won in 1994 with more than 70 percent of the vote, was well-liked by the voters, a GOP opponent acknowledged.

"I never say I'm running against Emerson. It's made me feel very uneasy," C. John Ritter of Cape Girardeau, one of three Republicans challenging the congressman, had said. "I feel very badly about him being ill."

Emerson had said that having cancer changed his outlook on life, particularly his desire to spend more time with his two younger daughters and his wife, Jo Ann.

"You do have a totally different sense than I've ever experienced in my life," he said. "You say, if I get better, I don't want to do things the old way anymore. I want to do things differently. You have different priorities."

He was vice chairman of the House Agriculture Committee and head of its subcommittee on department operations, nutrition and foreign agriculture. He also was chairman of the House Page Board.

He was born in St. Louis on Jan. 1, 1938, and lived in Cape Girardeau. He earned a bachelor of arts degree from Westminster College in 1959 and a law degree from the University of Baltimore in 1964. He was a member of the U.S. Air Force Reserve and the Presbyterian Church.

Harvard Conference on the Internet and Society

Neil L. Rudenstine

May 29, 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

Good afternoon, and welcome once again. I'm very glad to be with you.

I want to talk about the Internet and higher education: what changes are taking place in universities as a result of this recent advance in information technology? Are the changes significant and are they likely to be long-lasting (as I believe they are)? If so, why?

The questions are obviously important, because our conclusions will determine whether Harvard and other institutions should make very large financial investments in the next five to ten years, at a time when flexible resources are clearly constrained.

But more important than the financial issues are those of substance. Any deep transformation in communications--in our ability to gain access to data, information, and ultimately knowledge, and in processes that can help us to discover, invent, teach, and learn--will necessarily have profound effects on higher education. So as we assess the new information technology--the Internet--we have to make the right bet, because the stakes are high.

When I refer to the Internet in this talk, I mean to use the term as shorthand for a cluster of technologies that includes networked personal computers, hypertext and hypermedia, the World Wide Web, and other adjuncts.

This cluster has, during the past few years, already begun to have a dramatic effect on the ways that many students and faculty are approaching the whole activity of teaching and learning. In the context of Harvard and at least some other universities, these changes are more dynamic and pervasive than any previous breakthrough in information technology during this century--including the introduction of the personal computer itself. The effects are visible in nearly every part of our own campus, as well as elsewhere in higher education.

From one point of view, the Internet marks just one more point on a long continuum of inventions--one that has unfolded over the course of the last century and a half--from the telegraph and cablegram, through the telephone, radio, recorded sound, film, television, early calculating machines, and then the earliest computers.

But we know that certain events along a continuum can represent much more than another simple step in a natural, gradual progression. There are moments of real transformation, and the rapid emergence of the Internet is one them.

Many inventions (such as radio, film, and television) have of course had a massive effect on society--on how people spend their time, entertain themselves, and even gain information. But, in spite of many predictions, these particular inventions have had little effect on formal, serious, advanced education. Why should the Internet be any different? Is there any evidence--or a reasoned explanation--for betting on the Internet, when so many earlier inventions have fallen short of expectations?

Let me start by mentioning a few facts.

In our Faculty of Arts and Sciences, as well as nearly all of our nine professional schools, teachers and students--including freshmen--are on-line, with easy access to the network. E-mail is commonplace. Activity on the Net is heavy at nearly all times of day and night, with the only major slowdown occurring between 3:00 a.m. and 6:00 a.m.

In 1992, we began a retrospective conversion of Harvard's entire library catalogue system--the largest university library system in the world--at a projected cost of $22 million. By next year, full catalogue entries for the (approximately) 12 million volumes, in our 92 libraries, will be on-line and "searchable" in any number of ways. In addition, there are, of course, more and more actual texts, images, and other materials on-line.

The rate of change and growth is exceptionally fast. A year ago, the Arts and Sciences Website (which includes many subsites) experienced about 150,000 "hits" in the single month of March. This March, just one year later, the number of "hits" had increased from 150,000 to 2.3 million. There is no sign of a slowdown.

A year ago, the volume of e-mail traffic on the Arts and Sciences network was about 80,000 transactions per day. Twelve months later, the number had grown by about 170 percent, from 80,000 to about 215,000 per day--or about 6.5 million per month.

These figures, let me stress, are only for Arts and Sciences. They do not include our Schools of Business, Design, Dentistry, Education, Government, Law, Medicine, Public Health--or our central administration and various other units.

So if I am asked whether something very unusual--something qualitatively and quantitatively different--is under way, the answer is a clear "yes." And we are only at the beginning.

In purely economic terms, Harvard has recently committed itself to spend approximately $50 million on new administrative data systems in the next 5 years. In addition, we expect to spend something in the range of $75 million to $100 million on academic-related information technology--above and beyond the substantial investments already made since the early 1990s.

The last time universities experienced such far-reaching change in information processing, along with exponential expenditure growth, was during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first quarter of the twentieth. It was then that the huge information systems that we call university research libraries reached their point of "takeoff" in accelerated development.

At Harvard, the moment of takeoff came during the 1870s and 1880s. When that moment arrived, universities were forced to confront many problems--including that of information overload--similar to several of the "electronic" problems we now face.

In 1876, for instance, Harvard's President Charles Eliot reported that the main library building had become completely inadequate to accommodate the sharp rise in acquisitions. Books, he said, "are piled upon the floors. . . . Alcoves are blocked up. . . . Thousands of [volumes] . . . have been placed in temporary positions." He noted that large numbers of books were being stored haphazardly: "42,000 volumes scattered among twenty-nine [locations] . . . in sixteen different buildings."

The real challenges, however, were not those of space and money. They were organizational and conceptual. How should books be arranged for optimal use? What kind of cataloguing system could be invented to allow rapid access to the huge number of volumes that were now being acquired? How could convenient linkages be created among books and articles in different but related fields? How should library books be integrated into the university's programs of instructionÑespecially if the library owned only one or two copies of a book which fifty or sixty students were asked to read for class discussion?

Finally, what was to prevent students (and even faculty) from disappearing into the stacks for days on end, pursuing a subject from book to book, shelf to shelf, unable to discriminate easily among the unlimited number of volumes, or to absorb more than a small fraction of the information available on a given topic? And what could possibly prevent less industrious students from simply browsing their lives away in sweet procrastination?

Some of these fears were not completely new. Anxieties had been building for some time. As early as the 18th century, Diderot remarked that "a time will come when it will be almost as difficult to learn anything from books as from the direct study of the whole of the universe. . . . The printing press, which never rests [will fill] huge buildings with books [in which readers] will not do very much reading. . . . [Eventually] the world of learning--our world--will drown in books."

Meanwhile, a treatise on public health, published in Germany in 1795, warned that excessive reading induced "a susceptibility to colds, headaches, weakening of the eyes, heat rashes, gout, arthritis, asthma, apoplexy, pulmonary disease, indigestion, nervous disorders, migraines, epilepsy, hypochondria, and melancholy."

People were warned not to read immediately after eating, and only to read when standing up, for the sake of good digestion. Fresh air, frequent walks, and washing one's face periodically in cold water were also prescribed for habitual solitary readers. Most of all, it was feared that excessive reading would make people socially dysfunctional, would take the place of direct human contact, and could well lead to a society composed of certified misfits.

Historical parallels are never exact, but the story of university research libraries, and of the habit of solitary reading, has some obvious relevance to modern information technology--especially to the Internet's ability to give individuals unbounded access to a new universe of information that they do not yet know how to manage at all well.

There is also the serious problem of the very mixed quality of the information available. How do we sort it? How do we gain maximum return on the time and energy invested in searching?

More recently, another concern has surfaced: the problem of electronic addiction. A Washington Post article reported that, at MIT, students unable to break the Internet habit, riveting themselves to their computers for days on end, can request that the university simply deny them access, cold turkey, whenever they try to sign on. At Columbia, the university's Center for Research on Information Access noted that there is an increasing number of students who "really drift off into [the Internet] . . . world, at the expense of . . . everything else." Several students have already flunked out, purely electronically.

Given this situation, it is not surprising that many people are now asking some of the same questions that were raised in the early days of research libraries-- and expressing some of the same fears. The Internet is in fact not easy to navigate; much of its available information is trivial; it appears to be hazardous to the health of at least some people; and it also has the capacity to distract many people from following what others regard as more serious pursuits.

Some of these concerns can be alleviated by recalling the story of our research libraries and their evolution. Other concerns--such as the worry that the Internet may turn out to be no more educationally useful than radio or television--need to be answered differently.

Why is the Internet likely to succeed as a vehicle for real education, when so many other inventions have faltered? Why isn't it simply one more in a long train of distractions? Doesn't it, ultimately, take students and faculty further and further away from books, from the hard work of sustained study and thought, and from direct human contact with other students and faculty?

Let me suggest some of the main reasons why I believe that the Internet is fundamentally different from those earlier electronic inventions, and why I believe it is already having--and it will continue to have--such a major effect on higher education.

To begin with, there is the steadily mounting evidence of dramatic change and intensity of use, as I mentioned just a few moments ago. All of this is certainly not a mirage.

More fundamentally, there is in fact a very close fit--a critical interlock--between the structures and processes of the Internet, and the main structures and processes of university teaching and learning. That same fit simply did not (and does not) exist with radio, film, or television. This point is in many respects a remarkably simple one, but--in the field of education, at least--it makes absolutely all the difference.

If I say there is a critical interlock or fit here, I mean nothing more complicated than the plain fact that students can carry forward their work on the Internet in ways that are similar to--and tightly intertwined with--the traditional ways that they study and learn in libraries, classrooms, lecture halls, seminars, informal discussion groups, laboratories, and in the writing and editing of papers or reports.

Some of these activities are more cumbersome and less successful when transplanted to the Internet environment. Others are substantially improved. In most cases, however, the new technology acts primarily as a powerful supplement to--and reinforcement of--the major methods that faculty and students have discovered, over the course of a very long period of time, to be unusually effective forms of teaching and learning in higher education.

Specific examples can be helpful here, so that we can see more clearly how the capacities and processes of the Internet relate so closely to the university's traditional forms of education.

For instance, the Internet--as we know--can provide access to essentially unlimited sources of information not conveniently obtainable through other means. Let's assume for the moment that most of the technical and other problems of the Internet will in time be solved: that there will be, as there are now in the research library system, efficient ways of helping users to find what they want; that there will be procedures for information quality control, and for creating more effective linkages among different bodies of knowledge in different media.

At that point, the Internet and its successor technologies will have the essential features of a massive library system, where people can roam through the electronic equivalent of book stacks, with assistance from the electronic equivalent of reference librarians. In short, one major reason why the characteristics of the Internet are so compatible with those of universities, is that some of the Internet's most significant capabilities resemble, and dovetail with, the capabilities of university research libraries. Just as the research library is an extremely powerful instrument for learning, so too is the Internet--and for much the same reasons.

In fact, the library and the Internet are being viewed increasingly as a versatile unified system, providing an enormous variety of materials, in different formats--so that data, texts, images, and other forms of information can be readily accessed by students and faculty alike. Indeed, we are already well along this path.

If we now shift for a minute from libraries to the formal curriculum, we can see that the Internet has another set of highly relevant capabilities: it can provide unusually rich course materials on-line.

For instance, traditional text-based Business School "cases" are already being transformed. I recently reviewed one of the new generation of multimedia cases, which focused on a small sock-manufacturing plant in China--an American-owned plant plagued by serious production and delivery problems, and losing money much faster than it could make either toes or heels.

The materials for this case began with a video tour of the plant, close-up moving pictures of the workers operating their machines--or not operating them--followed by interviews with several managers at different levels in the company's hierarchy. Interviews with the workers were also available. Detailed production and supply data, financial spread sheets, and a company report containing an official analysis of what was wrong with the plant--all of this and more was obtainable in the electronic course-pack.

What one saw, of course, was that the interviews with different people revealed totally different theories about the plant's problems, and the data was anything but conclusive. The company's official report, meanwhile, only served to complicate the picture further. Students who were taking this course had to analyze not just a text and statistics, but also the whole range of attitudes, expressions, and behavior--recorded on video--of the different executives, as well as the workers.

How many of the plant's problems were basically cultural--since the key American manager spoke no Chinese, and had to communicate with the workers through interpreters? How many problems were the result of a more general human systems failure, given the fact that the plant was embedded in a larger surrounding bureaucracy? How much of the difficulty stemmed from internal inefficiency, bad organization, and managerial blundering?

What is so effective about cases that are presented in this way, is that far more of the entire human and social--as well as operational and financial--situation can be revealed, and this requires students to deal with a vivid dramatization that is much closer to the complicated reality of an actual company that is functioning in a particular culture. Suddenly, the case becomes three-dimensional or multidimensional. The viewer has to bring to bear all the skills of a careful observer of human nature, along with those of an operations analyst, a financial analyst, and a scholar of organizational behavior.

In short, the Internet turns out to be an exceptionally fine tool for the creation of densely woven, multilayered, and highly demanding new course materials, that are in several respects superior to traditional case studies. Once again, an important component of university learning, the course and its texts, can now be reinforced--in this instance, it can be considerably enhanced--by the introduction of Internet technology.

Another point of compatibility between the processes of the Internet, and those of the university, concerns the basic activity of communication. We know that the constant exchange of ideas and opinions among students--as well as faculty--is one of the oldest and most important forms of education. People learn by talking with one another, in classrooms, laboratories, dining halls, seminars, and dormitories. They test propositions, they argue and debate, they challenge one another, and they sometimes even discover common solutions to difficult problems.

The Internet allows this process of dialogue--of conversational learning--to be transferred easily and flexibly into electronic form. Communication can be carried on at all hours, across distances, to people who are on-campus or off-campus. Student study groups can work together on-line; faculty members can hold electronic office hours, in addition to their "real" office hours; and teaching fellows can make themselves available for after-class electronic discussions.

In all these ways, the Internet works to create a significant new forum--a limitless number of electronic rooms and spaces--where one of the most fundamental educational processes--energetic discussion and debate--can be carried on continuously.

It's also worth noting that recent experience suggests that student participation levels tend to rise in the electronic forum. Students who are consistently reticent in actual classrooms are more likely to speak out, regularly and confidently, on the network.

No one should believe that electronic communication can be--or should be--a substitute for direct human contact. But the

electronic process has some features that do permit an actual extension of the scope, continuity, and even the quality of certain forms of interaction, even though communication over the network lacks other absolutely essential aspects of "real" conversations in the presence of "real" people.

Finally, the Internet may well be having--it's not altogether easy to tell--a subtle but significant effect on the relationships among students, faculty members, and the subject or materials that are being studied in a course.

Let me oversimplify for a moment. The direction of movement in teaching and learning has, for more than a century, been shifting away from a previously established model that viewed the faculty member (or an authoritative text, or a canon of text) as the dominant presence--as the transmitter--with the student as a kind of receiver.

Since at least the 1870s, the emerging theories of education have stressed not so much the authority of the faculty member as a teacher, but the role of the student as an active agent, an energetic learner: someone who asks questions, searches for information, discusses ideas with others, and generally moves ahead as if he were an investigator, discoverer, or adventurous scholar-in-the-making.

In this model, the faculty member retains "residual" authority; but the faculty role, more and more, is to draw students out, to steer but not actually direct the discussion unless it becomes necessary to do so. The faculty also organizes the structure of the curriculum, of courses, and class assignments. But the course materials are not likely to be treated as "authoritative texts" that offer definitive solutions. They're intended to be approached critically, and they are usually arranged in a point-counterpoint way. This arrangement inevitably suggests that many or even most of the important questions in a course are still open and unresolved, waiting to be discussed and addressed and answered.

As a result, it's perfectly natural for us now, in the 1990s, to assume--something that would have been quite radical just a little more than a century ago--that students should conduct much of their education on their own: with constant guidance and the right kind of Socratic teaching from the faculty, but with a very large part of the positive charge coming from the students themselves.

We don't have to agree fully with this theory of education in order to see that it has in fact produced very potent results in colleges and universities. We can also see why the structure and basic processes of the Internet technology appear to be so closely linked to--so compatible with--the approach to education that I've just been describing.

The Internet virtually requires or even demands that the user be an engaged agent, searching for information and then managing or manipulating whatever is found--solving problems, buttressing arguments with evidence, and exploring new, unknown terrain. Students are beguiled into tracing linkages from one source to another. They can easily share ideas with others on e-mail. They ask for comments and criticisms. Their posture or attitude, seated in front of the computer, is to make something happen. And they generally act or pursue, rather than merely react and absorb.

So, if we step back and look at the full picture that I've tried to sketch, we can, I think, start to understand why the Internet and its successor technologies will not only have a profound effect on society in general--as radio, film, and television previously did--but why it has so quickly and dramatically begun to transform significant aspects of higher education, in a way that previous inventions simply did not.

As I've tried to suggest, the cluster of technologies that we call the Internet has very distinctive powers--a unique ability to complement, to reinforce, and to enhance many of our most powerful traditional approaches to university teaching and learning.

The Internet is new, it is different, and there is always reason for caution when things are changing so quickly. We need to find the right pace in order to achieve the best possible results for education--and those results will require an intense focus on the substance of what the new technology can deliver, as much as on the process.

It takes time and money to create superior course materials. It also takes considerable faculty expertise--technical as well as scholarly. It will take time before the Internet and the Web are easily navigable, and before they possess a large enough store of rich material to rival our greatest research libraries.

But these things will happen, and as they do, education will be enriched. Meanwhile, I believe that universities have a special responsibility to exert real leadership in this sphere: not so much in the development of the technology itself, but in the imaginative and thoughtful uses of the best technology for the purposes of better teaching and learning.

We must be prepared to do now--over the course of the next ten to twenty years--what our predecessors achieved during the

late 19th century, when they made a conscious decision to create unrivaled university research libraries, new curricula, and new teaching methods. It can be done, and now is the time to begin.

Is there a cautionary note on which to end? Only one: good data, new information, and excellent communications are all critical to virtually everything that we do, in universities and in life. But they are not self-justifying, and they obviously do not in themselves constitute the essential stuff of education.

All the information in the world will be of no avail, unless we can use it intelligently and wisely. In the end--as we know--education is a fundamentally human process. It is a matter of values and significant action, not simply information or even knowledge. The Internet will not tell us what to do about individuals and societies that cannot afford to be on the Net. It will not tell us how to pay attention to those who are left out of the race--or who appear to have already lost the race. It will not show us--any more than our libraries full of books will show us--how to create a humane and just society.

So, as we think in this conference about the effects of the Internet on society, let us not forget what we mean by a "society": what it is that we want to have an effect on--and what kind of an effect we want to have. It is how we address these questions--of values, of aspirations, of the consequences of our choices on real human lives, all lives--that will finally determine the effectiveness of our new technologies for education, and for people and communities around the world.

Rasco

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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Join Voyager

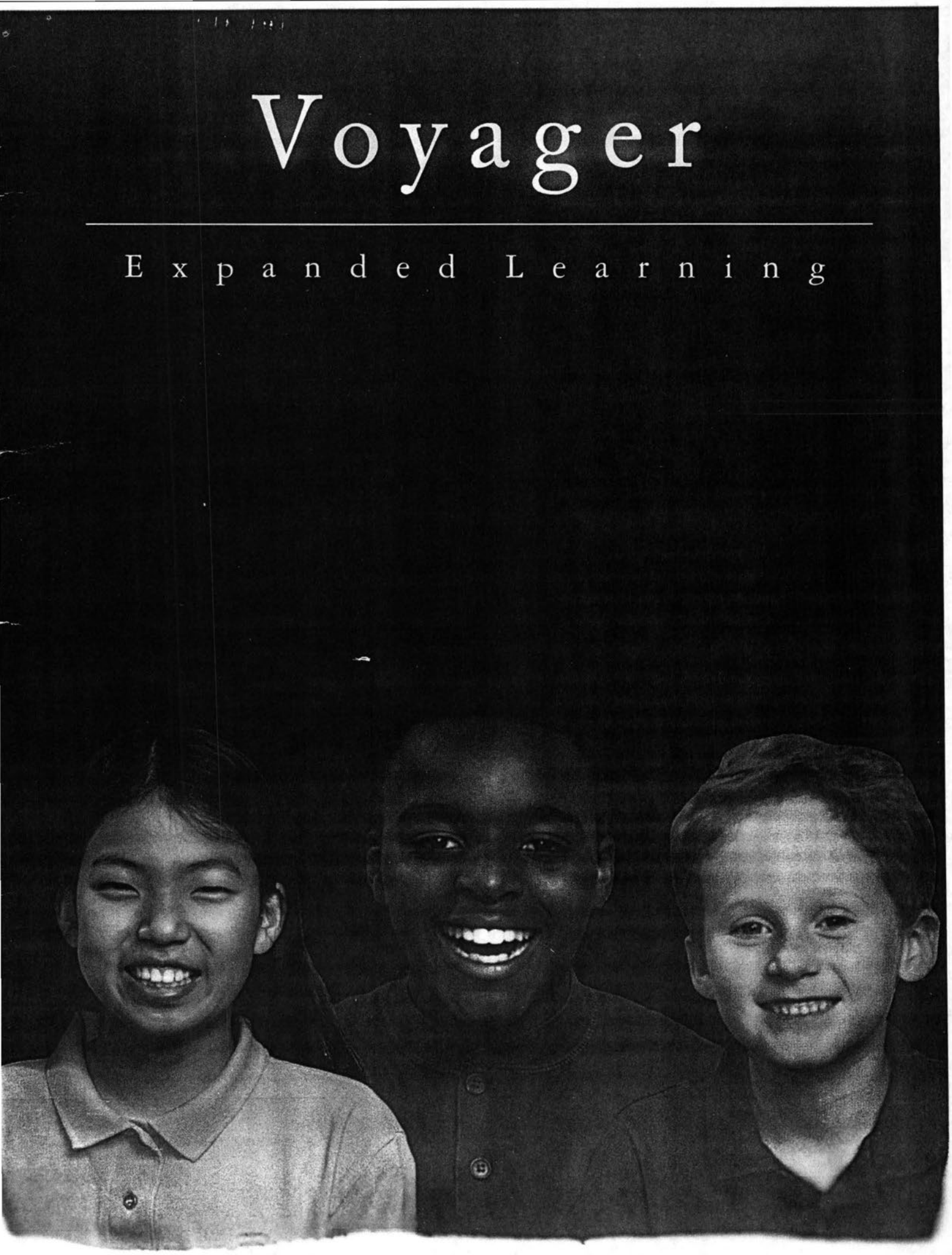
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Voyager

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Voyager

Expanded Learning



Dallas Public Schools

January 19, 1995

Mr. Randy Best
Voyager Expanded Learning
2200 Ross Avenue
Dallas, Texas 75201

Chad Woolery
General Superintendent

Dear Mr. Best,

VOYAGER is one of the most exciting programs I have ever encountered for children. It uses two concepts that are critical in today's society - learning and childcare. VOYAGER has combined learning and childcare in a dynamic manner which provides children with expanded learning at its finest.

The program takes children on "voyages" of different types providing experiences, learning and connections with the outside world. These "voyages" consist of exploring space and space travel, entrepreneurship and participating in the American economic system, creative expression with emphasis on the creative arts and cyberspace, exploring telecommunications via computers.

Our students have the opportunity to be an active participant in these adventures which are held after school at the same school site. Our VOYAGER students are acquiring the attitude that learning is both exciting and fun. Children are highly motivated by their active participation as evidenced by their constant questioning about the topic at hand. Thanks to VOYAGER, we will probably have astronauts, business people, writers, poets and telecommunicators among our soon-to-be alumni.

Though most of our students come from impoverished homes, they are among the brightest and most inquisitive of the young people around. I believe VOYAGER is exactly what they need to help them over that threshold -- it builds self-esteem and will catapult them into a world of learning that will make them highly successful, not just in school, but in life.

Am I excited about this program? You bet!!
Why? Because my students deserve this!!!

Sincerely,

Gloria Gutierrez

Gloria Gutierrez
Principal

Gabe P. Allen School
5220 Nomas St.
Dallas, TX 75212

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN: February, 1996

My son is a survivor of three years of day 'care'. He has been herded, ignored, and baby-sat by the TV while his caregivers gossiped among themselves in a corner. He has at various times received a black eye, a bruised kidney, and a human bite on his shoulder from his fellow inmates- but no one 'saw' anything. When Forestridge sent home a questionnaire regarding on-site after-school care, I figured it couldn't be any worse than what my son had already been through, so I answered in the affirmative.

Voyager is not just after-school care. Mrs. Pierce and Mrs. Barnes are teaching professionals- not daycare workers. The children are well-supervised, enlightened, and enriched during the time they are at Voyager. They are excited about learning, and by doing projects geared to their level of interest, they are encouraged to pursue independent thought. The two to three hours after school officially ends for the day that would otherwise be 'lost' to TV or the situations I mentioned earlier are now filled with wonder and discovery. My first-grader comes home with a bounce in his step that indicates high self-esteem and the excitement of something 'new' every day. He also gets more time to explore the computer lab than what is available during the normal school day, and at a fraction of the cost of a comparable "computer camp".

Voyager is a proactive, win-win adventure in learning for everyone involved, especially the students. They are already in an environment conducive to learning (their own school). They are taught by professionals who strive to enrich the knowledge and learning power of their students. The children do not merely 'mark time' until their parent comes to retrieve them; they learn how to make a working spaceship out of a cardboard tube, an empty film canister, and an Alka-Seltzer tablet, among other projects. Stand in the hallway when the kids are leaving for the day with their parents, and you will hear excited chatter not only about what they did in Voyager today, but eager anticipation of what's to come tomorrow.

My son loves Voyager: he loves the experiments, the interactive games, and the extra computer time. He likes the structured nature of it and knowing he will be treated fairly and with respect. The first week he was in it, he asked me every day if he could 'come back again tomorrow'.

I love Voyager: it's convenient, conducive to learning, and comparably priced with 'regular' afterschool care, although to tell the truth, I'd pay more after seeing the positive effect it has had on by son's self esteem and interest in learning. I also get the satisfaction of knowing my tax dollars are working harder since the school can be used for more than eight hours a day.

Voyager is well worth the minimal cost. I urge you to try it and see if you don't agree. If your child is already in an after-school program, and it doesn't compare to the Voyager experience, then you have nothing to lose by giving a try. If you have been looking for an alternative to whatever after-school option you currently use, look into Voyager: your kids will be the richer for it.

Karen L Mendoza

The Dallas Morning News
Sunday, February 25, 1996

TEXAS SCHOOLS

Voyager program offers hands-on learning

Juston Johnson beams. "I was president of Fuzzy Friends, " the Colonial Learning Center sixth-grader says proudly. Classmate Tamara Chatmon stands nearby, speaking with noticeable confidence: "Success City was a challenge to be on our own. We now know what it's like to be in the real world."

What exactly are Fuzzy Friends and Success City?

Part of a learning alternative offered by Voyager, a Dallas for-profit firm operating programs before and after school in several area schools. The Colonial Learning Center in South Dallas is one of eight Dallas schools in which Voyager now operates. The program also operates in four Richardson schools.

The initiative is hardly the area's only before-school or after-school program. But its philosophy stands out. Voyager president Randy Best grows passionate in explaining that students need to learn on their own, not just from instruction.



Take Voyager's "Success City, U.S.A." program. Colonial students split up into different companies. Juston Johnson's Fuzzy Friends operation made toy bears. They then advertised their products, using computers, phones, letters, fliers. Money started coming in. Earnings from Colonial's "companies" were reinvested. One Success City company financed landscaping at Colonial.

"Success City, U.S.A." is just one of eight "modules" in Voyager's yearlong curriculum. A "Spaceship of the Imagination" section is another module. Mary Kennedy, a Colonial teacher who directs the school's Voyager program, says that a colleague remarked how enthusiasm for the had carried over into his

That's Voyager's point. Learning can be enjoyable. Kids do well when they participate. Involvement improves how they learn.

Yes, the Voyager concept has not been fully tested. The program is only in its first year. But the program will be in about 20 Dallas schools next year. School districts around Texas and the country also are considering it.

Since Voyager is a for-profit business, it also must make sure poor students are not left behind. Parents with means pay for their child's attendance. Parents without sufficient means pay a small sum per week. Scholarships assume the rest. Mr. Best hopes to have 500 scholarships awarded in Dallas next year.

That goal is important. Local foundations, corporations and individuals could help meet it, too. Sponsoring Voyager students can expand a young child's universe. As one Colonial Learning Center Voyager says, she no longer is home after school watching television. Instead, she was explaining Greek mythology to visitors last week. Creating new ways to learn evidently pays off.

(Texas Schools is a series of editorials about what's working in Texas

The Dallas Morning News

EDITORIALS

A better way to learn



RENA PEDERSON

This is a story about human beings making a difference. Kind of a cross between *Mr. Holland's Opus* and *To Sir, With Love*. Believe it or not, it shows how a Dallas businessman with a skyscraper office is trying to change the future for youngsters in harm's way.

The businessman is named Randy Best. As a youngster growing up in Beaumont in the 1950s, he struggled with dyslexia before most people knew about such learning disabilities. "I couldn't read or spell," he remembers. "I was so *embarrassed* all the time."

But thanks to patient help from his mother, who was a teacher and principal, he kept at it. "That woman read to me a million hours," he recalls.

He went on to make his first business coup while a student at Lamar University. He sold his class ring manufacturing company to Beatrice Foods. From there he acquired companies in health care, magazine publishing, agribusiness and computer hardware.

Later, as a partner in the Mason-Best merchant bank in Dallas, he helped oversee a portfolio that ranged from aviation to art galleries.

Now fate has brought Randy Best back to learning challenges, from the board room to the blackboard.

Mr. Best has become the driving force behind the "Voyager Expanded Learning Program." It could make a revolutionary difference in the lives of youngsters around the country.

Not surprisingly, Mr. Best is motivated by the belief that ALL children can learn. Poor children. Minority children. Children in homeless shelters. Children in single-parent families. Children David Kearns, former astronaut Jim Lovell and Norman Augustine, the president and chief executive officer of the Lockheed Martin Corp. He recruited Tom Haywood, the former chief of naval operations, to work out the start-up logistics.

They brought in nationally recognized educators to create a unique "enrichment" curriculum. "It includes *terrible* things like physics, biology, math and geography," Mr. Best says with a grin. "But we call it things like 'Dragonfly,' 'Kaleidoscope' and 'Spaceship.'"

The emphasis is on hands-on learning rather than traditional rote drills. In the "Success City" segment, for example, pint-sized students formed their own corporations. They made budgets, bought materials, manufactured stuffed bears, sold them and used the profits to buy things for their schools.

On one recent afternoon, you could find Voyager students making wall-sized drawings of Greek gods and learning a Greek dance. It was 5 p.m., and many of the students had been at school since 7 a.m., but they were dancing around the room on one foot to music from *Zorba the Greek* — and laughing with exhilaration. So was the middle-aged teacher.

The teacher explained that most of the students come from low-income, single-parent or no-parent families. Many live with a relative like a grandmother or sister. Some have been in homeless shelters.

One proud little girl — with a smile that Colgate should capture — talked excitedly about the connection between the winged horse Pegasus and the recent photos of a planet near the star Pegasus. When asked what her family thought about the program, she said her mother was gone, but she expected her back in June sometime, maybe.

Others, asked what they would be doing in the afternoon if they were not in the Voyager class, [illegible] they would be watching TV. [illegible] nothing. Or getting in education, it's oxygen. Teachers report that attendance and grades have gone up since the program was started on a pilot basis last fall.

The added beauty of the concept is that youngsters get a safe oasis for those hazardous after-school hours. Keep in mind that 44 percent of children under the age of 13 have NO after-school care. And a recent Justice Department study showed that most crimes committed by juveniles occur in the hours after school, not at night.

So, yes, getting latchkey kids off the street may not only help their grades, it may keep them out of crime or save their lives.

The catch is that there is a price. Voyager is a for-profit company, so there's a $3-an-hour charge per pupil. That's less than warehouse-style day care would cost. But that's more than some parents can afford. That's why 55 percent of the Dallas Voyager students are on scholarship.

Since the program has won rave reviews from school administrators in Dallas and Richardson this year, plans are under way to expand in September to cities like Seattle, Atlanta, Houston and Austin. The biggest problem for the Voyager staff now is that it is being inundated with requests from educators to come to their schools.

True, some other private efforts to improve public education have foundered, like the once-vaunted Educational Alternatives Inc. But Voyager differs in that it does not try to compete with existing curricula, it provides extra enrichment. The program only goes to schools where a principal promises strong support. And, rather than bring in outside teachers, Voyager trains teachers already in the school.

So far, it looks like a win-win deal: teachers like getting extra pay for working longer, the students think learning can be fun. And if it catches on, Randy Best will get the satisfaction of proving that all children can learn with the right help.

Voyager finds after school is prime time

Kiddies go Wall Street, apply TQM to stuffed bears

By HEATHER MARTINSEN
Staff writer of the Dallas Business Journal

For most kids, three o'clock in the afternoon means cartoon-and-cookie time. But for preschool and elementary-school children enrolled in the Voyager Expanded Learning program, it is a time to learn about business meetings, finances and marketing stuffed animals.

The business exposure is just one wrinkle in an curriculum aimed at making kids more aware of and better prepared for the adult world around them. And it is helping to propel privately held, for-profit Voyager beyond start-up status at a handful of Dallas and Richardson schools to what its owners hope will be rapid national expansion.

The company uses school facilities and works with teachers and college students to supervise the children. On one recent afternoon, a visitor saw the children perform traditional Greek dances, decorate holiday door covers to sell to teachers, outline their bodies on butcher paper for their own imaginary greek gods, listen to a real astronaut's experience in space and more.

The Voyager program began with a little idealism from community members. Barbara Nichols, vice president of development at Voyager, said businesses and educational and volunteer organizations met to discuss what influence they could have on their community. "They wanted to affect some of the negatives in society and in the at-risk population," she said. "They were also concerned with the schools, their needs, and how it felt to have to deal with these problems."

Eventually, the company decided the best course was to form a sort of partnership with the schools and create a business that would provide for children what the public sector could not offer.

Voyager founder Randy Best was motivated by the belief that he could apply successful business principles to education, inspired by his mother, who was a teacher and principal for 43 years. "There have been immediate results," he said.

See Voyager, Page 20

Voyager learning program founders want to expand

Continued from Page 17

Best is not the only one who is pleasantly surprised by the results of Voyager. Mary Kennedy, a teacher and site director for Voyager at Colonial Day Learning Center, is very enthusiastic about the program. She said Voyager exposes small children to new vocabulary and keeps easily distracted kids on task for hours.

Most importantly, Kennedy noted, it keeps the latchkey kids off the streets.

Voyager also impressed the principal of Colonial Day Learning Center, Beatrice Vickers. "The children have gotten to be better risk-takers," she said. "Their self-esteem has really grown. And all this has spilled over into the regular classroom."

Voyager offers the three-hour afternoon program to any child whose parent wishes them to enroll. The monthly charge is $205. For families that can't afford it, scholarships are available.

Best said 55% of the Dallas students are on scholarship. Executives from Dallas corporations come to the schools to see the program and offer the scholarship money to the students, leaving a weekly five-dollar fee to the parents. This helps the parents in the low-income bracket because they need supervision for their children while they work, Vickers noted. "Five dollars a week is much cheaper than other care for children," she said.

However, the demand for scholarship money is high. Kennedy said the company would like to expand even more, but "the only thing tying our hands is funds."

The waiting list for scholarship recipients at Colonial Day Learning Center is growing. And although Voyager supplies the schools with computers, there don't seem to be enough.

Kennedy said, "We would like more computers. The children take turns sitting at the computer for 15-minute intervals and when their turn is over, they don't want to get up."

Vickers said that because of their involvement with computers during the extended-day learning program, the children worked better with computers during their regular classes.

Besides computer experience, Voyager also teaches a wide range of subjects. Voyager is comprised of eight sections, two of which it covers each semester. The students at Colonial Learning Center recently finished the Success City U.S.A. curriculum.

The children participated in activities such as conducting mock business meetings, balancing checkbooks and running their own business, where the children stuffed and sold teddy bears. Vickers especially liked the program because it taught the children "the economics they don't really learn till high school or college."

"We have a professional writing staff drawn from the best talent available," Nichols said of the curriculum. "This is unique to an educational content program, as opposed to entertainment or activity based programs."

Nichols believes Voyager is "really about interest building, as well as increasing a knowledge base."

Since the Voyager program began in August, immediate expectations are cautious. Said Best: "This is a pilot program, so the revenue (for this year) will only be a few million, very small. Next year it will be much bigger, almost 20 or 30 times as big. We are going from 11 to 300 schools."



Voyager students learn business basics in the Success City U.S.A. curriculum.

Voyager first opened in six Dallas and four Richardson public schools and one private school, but plans to start programs nationwide come September. Some of the cities that Best mentioned would be included were Houston, Seattle, Phoenix and Memphis. Barbara Nichols explained that the privately owned Voyager does not plan to franchise, but will be controlled from headquarters in downtown Dallas. When the program grows, Voyager simply will add new area directors for additional schools, officials said.

A Voyage in Learning

New Program Boosts Test Scores and Self-Confidence

by Colleen Stead

Imagine how you would react if your child came home from elementary school with proof that he and his friends had developed, manufactured and sold a line of teddy bears that yielded a profit in just two months.

What would you think if that same child came home speaking a foreign language after another two months went by?

Sound like the Twilight Zone? Well, it's definitely a new dimension in learning, but not one that's out of this world. In fact, it's a concept that's quite real and could be coming soon to a school near you.

Voyager Expanded Learning is a new before- and after-school program for children in grades K-8, designed to support public education by enhancing the lessons and subjects already taught in the classroom.

Ranging from subjects such as economics (known as "Success City, USA," in Voyager terminology) to astronomy (better known in Voyager as "Spaceship of the Imagination"), the Voyager curriculum offers new educational experiences to students while acting as their primary before- and after-care provider at their regular schools.

"This is an academic-rich program. It is an extension of their school day," says Randy Best, founder of Voyager Expanded Learning. "We want to build a child's interest in a subject so they are knowledge-seekers for the rest of their lives." Voyager accomplishes this through a hands-on approach to learning that attempts to transform core subjects into intriguing adventures and show children that learning is fun.

Although Voyager is academically based, it's not activity-free. Kids are scheduled for 45 minutes of snack, homework and /or playground exercise time in the afternoons. The learning elements also involve activities that keep kids out of their chairs and moving around.

Child-development experts say it's vital for care providers to focus on both mental and physical aspects of child's growth. "It's so importa



University of North Texas in Denton.

Landreth, although unfamiliar with Voyager specifically, says he applauds any child-care program "that encourages and allows children's own creativity and resourcefulness to emerge and be developed."

Voyager launched its pilot program last August at 11 schools in Dallas and Richardson.

At all 11 schools, groups of students, regardless of age, manufactured a product and made a profit during their pilot two-month course of study. The process included borrowing money from the Voyager company, purchasing supplies, keeping track of receipts and bank records, selling the product, calculating interest and repaying the loan. And instead of being burned out after all of that, the students were ready to start again with a new product.

"I think it's so fun because we're kids and we're just starting out in the business world," says excited fourth-grader Prince Elliot, a student at Colonial Learning Center in Dallas. "I learned how to do telecommunications and write receipts and all that good stuff."

The excitement for other subjects was equally enthusiastic. "[illegible] astronauts eat, they have to [illegible] a plastic bag or else it

Best says. "Innovation like this changes their whole attitude toward school."

Parent Linda Gillaspie couldn't agree more. She says Voyager has served as a sense of motivation for her son, who once had to be prodded for several hours just to begin his homework at night. Now, she says, he has new appreciation for school that makes him want to do his homework.

"It's amazing what the program is giving him and that he is taking it in. He's learned about things that I would never think to give him on my own," she says.

A school must provide one volunteer for every 25 students to be eligible for the program. Intrigued by her son's improvement, Gillaspie quickly signed up as a volunteer. Interested teachers at each school are trained and paid a stipend by Voyager. The company also supplies the necessary computers and other materials used in the program.

Beatrice M. Vickers, principal at Colonial, says Voyager already has worked wonders for her students in



terms of self-confidence and learning capacity, not to mention their performance on standardized tests.

Although results for the latest Texas Assessment of Academic Skills have not yet been reported by the state, Vickers says pretest scores for the children in Voyager indicated overwhelming improvements.

In addition to the Dallas and Richardson schools where it began, Voyager Expanded Learning has signed schools in Arlington and Laredo for the 1996-97 school year.

Similar to most child-care settings, students participating in Voyager are asked to pay tuition. Fees are comparable to other child-care facilities in [illegible] scholarships

TEXAS EDUCATION AGENCY

1701 NORTH CONGRESS AVENUE ★ AUSTIN, TEXAS 78701-1494 ★ 512/463-9734 ★ FAX: 512/463-98

MIKE MOSES
COMMISSIONER OF EDUCATION

January 24, 1996

Mr. Randy Best, Chairman of the Board
and Chief Executive Officer
Voyager Expanded Program
2200 Ross Avenue
Dallas, Texas 75201

Dear Randy:

Thank you for the opportunity to see first hand the Voyager program at the Colonial Learning Center in Dallas Independent School District. It was a real pleasure to see such a quality extended day program in action. It is apparent that a great deal of thought and research has gone into the implementation of this outstanding program.

The children in the Dallas Voyager program are obviously excited about their opportunities to learn. These young people are being provided outstanding activities designed to increase their critical thinking skills and to help engage them in mind-extension activities.

The role of the teacher in this program has been carefully designed. It is obvious that teachers are there to guide instruction, to facilitate and to coach. The concept of having the children in charge of their own learning does two things. It makes the children responsible for their own learning and therefore motivates them. Secondly, it enhances the role of the teacher as one who is able to lead rather than push.

The by-products of this program are also encouraging. There is a sense of excitement and enthusiasm in the building. There is a great spirit among those who are working with the children and it is contagious.

It is my pleasure to commend you on the partnership that you have forged with the Dallas Independent School District for this type of program. It is the most outstanding example I have seen of what can be done in a quality extended day program. If there is any way that I can be of assistance to you, please feel free to let me know.

Sincerely yours,

Mike Moses
Commissioner of Education

nc

Dallas Public Schools

January 17, 1996

Mr. Randy Best
Voyager Expanded Learning, Inc.
3800 Texas Commerce Tower
2200 Ross Avenue
Dallas, Texas 75201

Dear Mr. Best:

This letter serves as Dallas Public Schools endorsement of Voyager Expanded Learning, Inc. We are pleased to have the Voyager After-School program established in seven of our elementary schools. The program has been quite successful in our schools. It is perfect for our kindergarten through sixth grade children. It teaches them self-confidence, along with a desire to learn, an increased knowledge base and it is an encouraging tool to teach our children how to become successful in life.

Voyager is a program of enrichment for the District's own curriculum. It is hands-on and highly participatory. The program which is presented in eight core subjects is enacted as an adventure in a hands-on setting. The teachers are considered facilitators and there are three adults in the classroom who serve in that role.

I appreciate the District's relationship with Voyager Expanded Learning, Inc. We are committed to this project and will recommend this program without any reservations to other school districts.

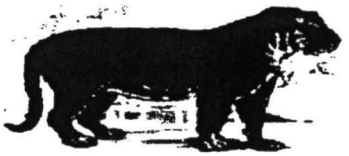
Sincerely,

Chad Woolery

Chad Woolery
General Superintendent

CW:jh

COLONIAL LEARNING CENTER



1817 Warren Ave.
Dallas, Street 75215
(214)565-6480
fax (214)565-6508

January 17, 1996

To Whom It May Concern:

As Principal of an inner city school where there are many things missing in the lives of my students, parents and the neighborhood, one of the miracles which has come our way is the Voyager Program.

The Voyager Expanded Learning Program has and is giving the students experiences, exposure and a knowledge base, they may never have had the opportunity to receive without it. The students seem to get a second wind at the end of the regular school day when they begin a different learning experience. We have seen students who had problems in regular class change to students eager to learn. Students who have become more self-confident, more verbal, as they make use of an increased vocabulary which they are able to utilize even in their other daily classes.

The teachers who work with these students have expressed their delight in the academic change in them each day.

I have no reservations in recommending the Voyager Expanded Learning Program to any school or school district.

Sincerely,

Beatrice M. Vickers
Principal

Dallas Public Schools

Chad Woolery

General Superintendent

January 19, 1996

To Whom It May Concern:

As educators, we are constantly challenged to find strategies and programs which will motivate our students to greater achievement. Each one introduced to us has strengths in working with specific types of students. Sadly, budgets and training of teachers play a role in which programs we choose.

As a principal, the Voyager Program has answered the quest for excellence in programs.

In Voyager, students can explore and discover through their natural curiosity of the world around them. The multi-sensory approach allows for all Voyagers to expand their horizons through high-interest topics. The joy of true learning is evident in the excitement shown by each student participating.

And, as an administrator, I know you will ask yourself, "How will this program help my students perform on standardized tests?" When creativity is unleashed, learning occurs. Good test scores, inevitably, follow.

My thanks and gratitude to the Voyager Program for having this vision and opportunity for our children.

Sincerely,

Suzee Oliphint

Suzee Oliphint, Principal
V. H. Hexter Elementary
Dallas Public Schools
9720 Waterview Road
Dallas, Texas 75218
214 / 319-0220

Advisory Board

Mr. Norman Augustine
President and CEO
Lockheed Martin Corporation

Mr. Terrell H. Bell
U.S. Commissioner of Education,
1974-1976
U.S. Secretary of Education,
1981-1985

Admiral Thomas B. Hayward
Chief of Naval Operations
United States Navy (ret.)

Dr. Paul D. Houston
Executive Director
American Association of
School Administrators

Dr. Manuel J. Justiz
Dean, College of Education
The University of Texas at Austin

Mr. David T. Kearns
Former Chairman and CEO
Xerox Corporation

Captain James Lovell
Former Apollo 13 Astronaut
United States Navy (ret.)

Dr. Floretta Dukes McKenzie
President
The McKenzie Group, Inc.

Dr. Barry Munitz
Chancellor
California State University System

THE COMPANY

Overview and Offering

Based in Dallas, Texas, Voyager Expanded Learning, Inc. is a Texas subchapter S corporation. Voyager will begin operating pilot programs in the Dallas and Richardson Independent School Districts in August 1995. Voyager is closely affiliated with R. Best Associates, Inc. ("Best" or "Best Associates") and primarily owned by Randy Best who is the Chairman of the Company.

This Memorandum pertains to the offer and sale of shares in the Company to accredited investors ("Investors") who are deemed acceptable to the Chairman. Officers and management of the Company will be pleased to answer any questions prospective Investors may have.

Management Biographies

Randy Best, Chairman

Mr. Best's background and experience distinguish him from most financial investors. Randy Best has founded more than thirty companies, successfully managed numerous other businesses and invested in many start-up projects.

Mr. Best began his business career in college by founding several companies, one of which he later sold to Beatrice Foods. Subsequently, in 1973 he founded a holding company to own and operate niche publishing companies; later he created Surgicare Corporation which completed a public offering within two years, ultimately merging with Medical Care International.

In 1984, Mr. Best co-founded a large merchant banking firm, which acquired both public and private companies valued in excess of $1.5 billion. In 1989 he established Best Associates, a private merchant banking firm, which has made several acquisitions and is responsible for the creation of Voyager Expanded Learning.

Dr. Vernon Johnson, Chief Executive Officer

Dr. Johnson's innovative and business-like approach to running public schools has won him national acclaim. Several times he has been named one of America's Top 100 School Executives by the American Association of School Administrators. He earned his specialist and doctorate in school administration from Indiana University.

Before accepting the leadership position at Voyager, Dr. Johnson served as Superintendent of Richardson Public Schools, a very progressive North Dallas School District with over 4,000 employees and 34,000 students. He previously has served as Superintendent of Rochester Public Schools and Assistant Superintendent for Instructional Support Services with the Indianapolis Public Schools. Twice he has been selected for the Annual Congress for Exemplary Superintendents and was selected as Indiana University's first recipient of the Dean L. Berkeley Emerging Leadership Award.

Dr. Johnson has actively participated in many civic organizations and activities including Rotary Club, United Way Board of Directors, the YMCA Boards, Chamber of Commerce Boards of Directors, Advisory Board of the Youth Services Council, Executive Committee of the University Interscholastic League and other worthy community activities and organizations.

Dr. Lee Smith, Chief Operating Officer

Dr. Lee Smith has a varied and successful career in education and business. He holds B.S. and Ph.D. degrees from Texas A & M University and a M.S. degree from Southern Methodist University. In academia, Dr. Smith has seventeen years of experience including eight years as president of Southwest Texas State University and multiple-year assignments in three other major universities. Academically, he served as assistant, associate and full professor. In an administrative capacity, he has held positions of associate dean of a school of business, chairman of a department of quantitative management science, dean of faculties, and vice president for academic affairs.

In business, Dr. Smith has eighteen years of experience. He has served twelve years as president of Travelhost, Inc. and Standard and InterContinental Life Insurance Companies. Other business experiences include service with major corporations in engineering, systems and operations analysis, and other technical capacities.

Admiral Thomas B. Hayward (ret)., Strategic Advisor

Admiral Thomas B. Hayward retired from the United States Navy as Chief of Naval Operations in July 1982 after almost forty years in uniform. His distinguished military career included Commanding Officer of the aircraft carrier USS AMERICA; Commander, United States Seventh Fleet; and Commander in Chief of the United States Pacific Fleet prior to his assignment in 1978 as Chief of Naval Operations and member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

On retirement from the military, Admiral Hayward established Hayward Associates, a consulting firm specializing in business development. The Admiral serves on the boards of

directors of Litton Industries, Maxwell Laboratories, PurePulse and, until recently, Bancorp Hawaii and Bank of Hawaii. He also serves as an Associate Fellow at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, as a member of the U.S.-Japan Leadership Council, and has served as Chairman of the National Security Advisory Council of Stanford Research Institute (SRI), Chairman of the Ethics Resource Center and as a member of the National Advisory Board of the Private Sector Council.

Barbara Nichols, Vice President of Development

A professional in the education field for thirty years, Barbara Nichols has designed programs and taught in public and private schools, for public service organizations and in the corporate sector. She founded Guides to Understanding, an educational media distribution company, and a Texas Education Agency-accredited training program for teachers. In addition, she was a fund-raising executive and consultant for seven years for a university and other non-profit organizations. Experienced in building private/public partnerships, Ms. Nichols has initiated and facilitated collaborations among schools, businesses and non-profit organizations. She serves on numerous boards and advisory committees for educational and cultural institutions, including the National Association of Independent Schools (NAIS) and the Texas Commission on the Arts and Young Audiences. Ms. Nichols received her Bachelors in Education and pursued graduate studies at Southern Methodist University.

Dr. Manual J. Justiz, Education Consultant

Dr. Manual J. Justiz, a former director of the National Institute of Education, was named dean of the College of Education at The University of Texas at Austin in January of 1990. He holds a doctorate in higher education administration from Southern Illinois University in 1976, a B.A. degree in political science and an M.S. in education from Emporia State University in Emporia, Kansas.

Appointed by President Reagan as director of the National Institute of Education in Washington, D.C., Dr. Justiz served from 1982 to 1985 under former Secretary of Education, Terrel Bell. While in Washington, Dr. Justiz worked with the National Commission on Excellence in Education to produce the celebrated study *A Nation at Risk.*

From 1985 to 1989, Dr. Justiz was a chaired professor of educational leadership and public policies at the University of South Carolina in Columbia, and was the 1988-1989 Martin Luther King-Rosa Parks / Distinguished Scholar-in-Residence at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.

Dr. Betty Ann Fults, Director of Training

Dr. Fults earned her doctorate of Education from the University of North Texas where she specialized in administrative leadership. She also earned a Masters in education from Southern Methodist University. Dr. Fults' accomplishments include Assistant Superintendent of Organizational Development, Assistant Superintendent of Pearce High School & Feeder Schools Area, Executive Director of Program Development and Evaluation, Principal of Mohawk Elementary School and other appointments all within the Richardson Independent School District.

Lisa Brady Gill, Director Special Events

In addition to eleven years of classroom experience as a kindergarten and third grade teacher in the Richardson Independent School District, Lisa Gill has four years experience with the *Dallas Times Herald* as Education Services Coordinator and Manager, and four years with *The Dallas Morning News* as Newspaper In Education Coordinator. She holds a B.S. in Education from the University of Texas and a Master of Education from East Texas State University, where she was an Honor's Graduate.

With *The Dallas Morning News*, Ms. Gill has been responsible for all operations, budgeting, planning and staff functions of the Newspaper In Education Department, establishing curriculum and training needs of students and educators, directing the production and marketing of curriculum and training materials, and developing corporate sponsorship and partnerships with businesses and associations. Ms. Gill is responsible for The Stock Market game which currently involves over 6,000 students. She teaches a Newspaper In Education Graduate Course through the University of North Texas and is past president of Texas Professionals for Newspaper and Education.

Dr. Sandra McCown, Curriculum Analyst and Specialist

Dr. Sandra McCown has a distinctive and successful career in the educational profession and the corporate sector. She has earned B.S., M.A. and Ph.D. degrees, as well as Curriculum Design, Reading Specialist, Early Childhood, and K-12 teaching and administration and supervision certificates in eight states. Dr. McCown has twenty years of experience in public education as a classroom teacher, college professor, principal, technology and training director, and curriculum and instruction director. In addition, Dr. McCown is an educational consultant for Macmillan/McGraw-Hill. Dr. McCown has been recognized for educational leadership throughout her career. Dr. McCown established the McGraw-Hill Teacher Education Center in Washington, D.C., to provide inservice training to teachers in the northeast. She has consulted on curriculum issues, technology implementation, school improvement plans, and textbook design and appropriateness nationally and internationally. Dr. McCown currently resides on the board of directors for Enhancements International and Advanced Communication Instruction.

Dr. Kathy Wohlgehagen

For twenty-six years Dr. Kathy Wohlgehagen has been involved with curriculum development and science education with prekindergarten through undergraduate students in Illinois, Texas, and Lesotho, Southern Africa (Peace Corps). She has supervised student teachers for the University of Texas at Dallas and the University of North Texas. For two years she developed science curriculum for Project ABCD (Alterative Blueprint for Curriculum Development) sponsored by Texas ASCD. Additionally, Dr. Wohlgehagen has served as a Curriculum Specialist with an educational computer software company working in conjunction with the Plano Independent School District, developing a K-5 integrated curriculum. She earned a B.S. in Education at Western Illinois University, a M.S. in Education from Central State College, and a Ph.D. in Curriculum and Instruction with a minor in Computer Education from the University of North Texas.

Dr. Lucy Long, Area Director

Dr. Lucy Long has focused on public school education for thirty-five years, having earned her B.A. and M.A. in English in Louisiana and Ph.D. in Secondary Education Curriculum and Instruction from North Texas State University. After spending twenty-seven years in the classrooms and libraries of Louisiana, Texas, and Oklahoma, she moved into school administration in Richardson Independent School District where she served as assistant principal of Parkhill Junior High School and J. J. Pearce High School before becoming principal of North Junior High School in 1991. She has served on two district committees in Richardson: the committee to study the development of magnet schools in the district and the committee to define how to measure progress toward the goal of world class academic and behavioral standards. She is also president of the Richardson Association of School Principals.

Gilbert Barrera, Area Director

Gilbert Barrera comes to Voyager from an extensive career in education as teacher, assistant principal and principal in Chicago, Corpus Christi, and Dallas, commencing in 1969. He received a B.A. at Stephen F. Austin State University and Masters in Education (Curriculum and Instruction/Bi-Lingual) from Loyola of Chicago. Following assignments as teacher in several elementary schools, he became assistant principal, Bourde Storey Middle School, and later principal of Herbert Marcus and James Fannin Elementary Schools in Dallas. He has been honored as "Teacher of the Year" in 1983, "Outstanding Teacher" at Preston Hollow School in 1985, and "Outstanding Educator" in 1994.

6/27

Phil

Should

Stacy

Forster get

this to do

reply?

M-

Dorsted --

campaign finance reform

is regular issue.

PRESIDENT

6/24/96

May 13, 1996

Dear Mr. President,

It has always been difficult for me to express my feelings in public situations such as a dinner like this. You are my president and I support you and am proud of you.

There is a subject that I feel compelled to challenge your emotions on - campaign reform. It has been painful for me as an American to watch hundreds of millions of dollars being spent on political campaigns that could have been spent on critical social programs. By limiting the length of campaigns and the amount of money spent, the leaders of our nation could truly embody the ideals they profess.

It must start with you Mr. President. What if each candidate directs a percentage of their campaign funds to the very issues and causes they profess to stand for? In this way, even the losers have won. So how could all this happen? Simply, the greatest leader in the nation must be the leader of this reform. Mr. President, put conscience in campaigns by not waiting for committees to change regulations but by following your heart.

My husband accuses me of being too idealistic but I believe this is the kind of idealism that made Bill Clinton our president. I believe that if you lead on this topic, the political arena and all of America will follow. My specific ideas are too numerous to mention. What is more important are what are your ideas? I am extremely interested in hearing them.

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate the reply.

original to Jim D.

It is my honor and joy to be with you here tonight and it would mean a great deal to me if you would take the time to personally respond to my thoughts.

God Bless you Mr. President,

Marleen M. Alhadeff

Marleen M. Alhadeff
6435 N.E. Windermere Road
Seattle, Washington 98105

BC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

96 JUN 14 P12:10

June 14, 1996

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Mr. Pat Taylor, 504-581-5491
of HOPE Scholarships program in Louisiana.

DATE: When convenient.

RECOMMENDED BY: Carol H. Rasco CHR

PURPOSE: Thank you.

BACKGROUND: I've heard from a couple of people that it would be a nice gesture if you would call Pat Taylor in Louisiana who really started the first HOPE Scholarships program. Bruce Reed confirms that Louisiana first implemented the idea, although the program there hasn't done as well as in Arkansas. This is in part because they capped eligibility at something like $20,000 or $25,000 in family income. I believe that our Arkansas legislature had Taylor come speak to a Joint Session of the Arkansas legislature as the bill was being debated.

CONTACT PERSON: Pat Taylor's assistant is Adm. Jack Smith, 504-581-5491.

DATE OF SUBMISSION: June 14, 1996

ACTION: _____

_____

JIM DORSKIND
Please coordinate the reply.

Carol
Pls do a nice letter – I haven't called I'll try but do a nice letter & thank him etc. soon –

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate the reply.

FEDERAL COMMUNICATIONS COMMISSION
Fax Cover Sheet

Phone 202-418-0515 Fax 202-418-0398

TO: Phil Caplan

FROM: **Don Gips --- Alan Cohn**

DATE: **June 24, 1996**
NUMBER OF PAGES: 4
MESSAGE:

Phil --

Thank you so much for taking time out of your busy schedule to help get condolences notes sent to the two families of my employees who recently passed away.

If you have any questions or need any more information, please call Alan Cohn at 202-418-0515. Again, thanks for all your help.

The Wife of Wendell Harris:
Mrs. Ansonia Harris
1622 Juniper Street, NW
Washington, DC 20012-1110

The Son of Doug Davis:
Mr. Will Davis
6 Creek View Trail
Carroll Valley, PA 17320.

Don

FOR BARBELY

Doug DAVIS died very suddenly on Friday afternoon, June 14, at his home.

Doug was a beloved friend and colleague to many of us, on the US delegation as well as to many of his colleagues at the ITU, especially in the ITU-T.

Doug was a key member of the Federal Communications Commission, representing FCC in many international organizations, such as the OECD, the OAS/CITEL committees and of course the ITU. He participated in many US delegations and in many cases was the leading spokesman for the delegation of the United States.

During Doug's 18 year career in the international sector, he led US delegations to CCITT Study Groups 1 and 8. He was a lead spokesman, representing the US Department of State, at the 1989, 1992 and 1994 ITU Plenipotentiary Conferences. Doug was a lead advisor to the US delegation on the CCITT Plenary Assembly of Torremolinos in 1984, Melbourne 1988 and the first World Telecommunication Standardization Conference of Helsinki in 1993. He played a leading role in the US delegation activities in the TSAG, the ITU's High Level Committee and the Review Committee. He had attended the last 15 ITU Council sessions and was expected to be the FCC advisor to the US delegation at the present Council session.

He will be greatly missed for his talent, his expertise and his sage advice. His friendship, understanding, and as a dear friend of his said, his good old fashioned common sense, will be impossible to replace.

Let me, dear Councillors and friends, express to the US delegation our sincere and heartfelt condolences in this irreparable loss, on behalf of the Council, on my own behalf and that of all my ITU colleagues.

May I also ask the US delegation to convey our sympathy and condolences to his family and, Mr. Chairman, dear friends, let us pay tribute to Doug Davis memory by observing a minute of silence.

155 00 11

From
Rod
Porter
ITU

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

WENDELL R. HARRIS

Wendell R. Harris is Assistant Bureau Chief/International, Common Carrier Bureau, Federal Communications Commission. His office is responsible for all international policies, facilities and other activities involving communication common carriers. Prior to his present job, he served as Chief, International Conference Staff; Deputy Chief, Policy and Program Planning Division; technical advisor to the Bureau Chief; Senior Electronics Engineer in the Policy and Rules Division; and as Chief of the Mobile Radio Branch, Common Carrier Bureau.

He is international Chairman of the ITU Study Group on Network Reliability.

He served as the principal technical advisor for the 1989 Trade Talks with Japan on cellular and third party mobile services.

He was a U.S. Delegate and the Principal Spokesman for Future Conferences at the 1989 Nice Plenipotentiary Conference.

He served as U.S. Vice-Chairman of the 1988 World Administrative Telegraph and Telephone Conference.

He was Co-Chairman of the United States Preparatory Committee for the 1988 World Administrative Telegraph and Telephone Conference.

He is the United States Head of the Heads of Delegation for the North Atlantic Consultative Working Group consisting of the U.S., CEPT and Canada.

He serves as a United States representative on INTELSAT Assembly of Parties Delegations.

He served as Vice-Chairman of the United States ITU-T Joint Working Party on ISDN and Chairman of the FCC's Intra-Agency Coordinating Committee on ISDN.

He was Chairman of 1979 World Administrative Advisory Committee for Domestic Land Mobile (CC).

He was U.S. Delegate to the 1979 World Administrative Radio Conference in Geneva.

He served as U.S. Delegate on ITU-T matters dealing with ISDN, mobile, tariff and related matters. He has also negotiated between the U.S., and Canada and Mexico for frequency sharing of cellular and other radio services along the common borders.

He serves on numerous ITU-T and ITU-R International Committees.

He is former international Chairman of ITU-R Working Group on Land Mobile Services.

He was a U.S. Delegate to Special Preparatory Meeting for 1979 WARC held in Geneva, Switzerland, October 1978.

He was U.S. Delegate to ITU Regional Seminar Preparatory to WARC 1979 for developing countries held in Nairobi, Kenya, February, 1979.

He holds an engineering degree from Howard University and has been with the FCC for more than 30 years.

Draft Condolence Letter from the Chairman to Ansonia Harris

Dear Ansonia,

I write to convey my shock, sadness and sympathy to you and your family upon the sudden passing of Wendell last night.

Wendell was a premier ambassador for international telecommunications services, who was known, respected and admired around the world and at home. He represented the United States with great effectiveness and helped advance telecommunications policy in scores of international conferences and meetings during his long and remarkable career. He was a master negotiator, who successfully promoted the interests of the United States in international negotiations. As you know, Wendell held top leadership positions within the FCC, including Deputy Assistant Bureau Chief for international affairs in the Common Carrier Bureau and most recently Associate Bureau Chief for negotiation and planning for the International Bureau, which he helped to create in 1994. Wendell never refused any assignment or professional challenge. Among his many achievements, he was also instrumental in developing policy for cellular and mobile communications. Somehow he also found time to be involved in community activities.

Wendell was a friend and a mentor to countless Commission staff. He surrounded himself with good people and personally trained dozens of young government professionals who went on to become international telecommunications experts. He seemed to know everyone.

Former colleagues and others outside the Commission who worked with Wendell have informed us of their wish to express their gratitude for his service to the nation. They have established the Wendell Harris International Travel Fund in his honor. This Fund will provide urgently needed resources to allow FCC staff to participate in overseas conferences and negotiations -- the fora in which Wendell negotiated invaluable benefits for the American people. The fund will honor Wendell by ensuring that his work endures.

Wendell will be fondly and widely remembered within the U.S. and abroad for his long and illustrious career at the Commission, and for his warmth, kindness, sense of humor, intelligence and humanity. We mourn with you today after this great loss.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

21-May-1996 03:18pm

TO: Robert B. Johnson
TO: Alexis M. Herman
TO: Cheryl S. Rodman

FROM: Nancy V. Hernreich
Office of the President

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

SUBJECT: Bishop James call

Bishop Fred James has asked for a call from the President to encourage him to attend his church convention in Kentucky on June 29. When I told him the President would be in Europe, he pressed me on availability of other dates. I told him nothing really looked good right now though I knew the president would want to attend the meeting. He still wants the President to call and has not given up on him coming either July 1 or 2.If the Presidnet cannot attend his convention he wants a really good letter explaining why.
He also inquired about the President's availability on June 14 the date of his retirement party here in DC. The president has 2 dinners and a reception that evening so I doubt that he can attend that either.

Any comments on any of this?

Have asked VP to attend

Agree

Shall I do this?
Can I? - sort of
think I should
Tho' cannot know
activity may cover
us—

BC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/94

Leon / Jack / cc Bill

I have invested a lot in
negotiation enforcement of RCRA
we should consider making
a big issue / battle out of this
It's important to us, esp
to a lot of Americans

BC

- **Religious Freedom Restoration Act (RFRA) Held Unconstitutional By Maryland District Court:** On June 10, in Cardinal William H. Keeler, et al. v. Mayor and City Council of Cumberland, et al., Judge Frederic N. Smalkin ruled that the RFRA is unconstitutional and certified the decision for interlocutory appeal. On May 1, the United States had intervened to defend RFRA's constitutionality in this action, which was brought by the Archdiocese of Baltimore challenging a city's denial of a permit to demolish a monastery and chapel that had been vacant, but which were part of an historical district created by the city. Judge Smalkin rejected the United States' argument that RFRA constitutes a valid exercise of Congress' enforcement authority under section 5 of the Fourteenth Amendment.

- **White House Drug Testing Plan:** On June 12, a complaint and motion for a temporary restraining order (TRO) were filed in Arthur W. Stigile and Ellen Balis v. President William J. Clinton and John B. Arthur, Associate Director for Administration, OMB. Plaintiffs are OMB employees who, under the Executive Office of the President Drug-Free Workplace Plan (Plan), are subject to random drug testing because their positions provide them with access to areas frequented by the President and Vice President. Plaintiffs claim that their inclusion in the drug testing pool on that basis violates the Fourth Amendment and constitutes an abuse of discretion under the Administrative Procedure Act. Plaintiffs moved for a TRO to prevent defendants from testing plaintiff Stigile, who had been notified the morning of June 12, that he would have to report for testing by day's end. A hearing was held before Judge Bryant who granted the TRO.

- **Alabama Housing:** On June 13, the Justice Department filed a complaint and a consent decree in United States v. Mitchell Brothers, Inc., et al. The consent decree settles the Department's housing discrimination lawsuit, as well as a pending class action suit filed last year by seventeen named plaintiffs. Defendants must pay a record amount of monetary relief totaling $1.8 million.

- **Sexual Harassment Claim Filed Against NYC Police Department:** On June 7, the Department filed a complaint in United States v. New York City, New York, Police Department. The suit alleges that the New York City Police Department subjected Sheryll L. Goff, a female police officer, to hostile environment sexual harassment while she was assigned to the 110th Precinct.

- **Affirmative Action:** On June 10, the Department filed a brief as *amicus curiae* supporting the defendant-appellant in Cornelius v. Los Angeles Cty. Metropolitan Transportation Authority. A state appeals court affirmative action case involving a constitutional challenge to the Los Angeles County, CA, Metropolitan Transportation Authority's (MTA) implementation of federal statutes that require recipients of Transportation funds to establish goals for participation of DBE's. The state superior

6/24/96

Rahm

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

We need to get this out to COTW people — last paragraph a bit whiney should feel Republican GOP don't make me do anything (started in '93 soon as) & cont'd —— BC

PERSPECTIVE ON GOVERNMENT

Waivers Change the Face of Welfare

LA Times June 20th



In letting states go their own ways, Clinton has already made relief more a privilege than an entitlement.

By DOUGLAS J. BESHAROV

As Bill Clinton and Bob Dole jockey for position as the candidate who is tougher on welfare reform, a larger point has been missed. Clinton's permissive approach to granting states waivers from the strictures of federal law has set in motion forces that are transforming welfare in ways that even Ronald Reagan would envy: In more and more states, welfare is looking more like a privilege to be earned than an entitlement.

The Social Security Act gives the executive branch authority to waive many of the requirements embedded in federal welfare law—a power that Clinton has used liberally. His administration has granted more than 60 waivers to 37 states. Before Clinton, waivers of major programmatic components were extremely rare.

During the administration's first three years in office, waivers were usually modest in scope. The most common allowed recipients to keep more of their earnings or to stay on Medicaid longer. Others reduced benefits if welfare mothers failed to send their children to school, keep their immunizations up to date and so forth. Beneficial as they were, these waivers amounted to little more than tinkering with the basic program.

But in recent months, 25 states have received waivers that go to the very heart of the program: They end the absolute and unconditional entitlement to long-term benefits (five more states have similar waivers pending). About half completely terminate cash benefits and about half trigger a work requirement after a specific period on the rolls, usually 24 or 36 months. Three others terminate benefits after a period of mandatory work.

Don't assume that the only states making these fundamental changes are small ones with minimal welfare caseloads. Included are California, Illinois, Ohio and Texas. (New York will probably join the list soon.)

Many of the waiver requests submitted by states initially proposed an absolute termination of benefits after the time limit. So far, however, the Clinton administration has insisted that there be some sort of protection for long-term recipients, even when the state did not want one—although there is no telling what the Clinton White House might do in the heat of the campaign. According to congressional testimony by the assistant secretary in charge of the program, "Time limited benefits must be followed by jobs, supported work or some other continuing support for those who have played by the rules."

Hence, all approved state waivers have some sort of safety-net-like exception at the end of the time limit. The most common exceptions are personal hardship (14 states), inability to find a job (13), the caretaker's age (10) and the child's age (nine).

Although some critics argue that such exemptions eviscerate the effectiveness of a time limit, most Americans will welcome the apparent assurance that the truly needy are still being protected. More important, it looks like such exemptions will not prevent states from throwing people off welfare—especially those who do not comply with new requirements to look for a job, participate in job training or accept a public service job.

Since Iowa's toughened requirements took effect in October 1994, an average of 165 families a month have been subjected to six-month suspensions of cash assistance. In the last six months, hundreds have been thrown off the rolls in Virginia for various forms of noncompliance.

As these numbers suggest, the states are unlikely to turn the screws and suddenly throw a high proportion of current recipients off welfare. Even the most conservative politicians will not want tens of thousands of homeless families in the streets. Nevertheless, this new round of waivers has the practical effect of ending the unconditional entitlement to welfare and, in its stead, has given administrators and caseworkers vast new discretion in deciding who gets welfare.

The state-by-state waiver process is an unexpected and unintended way to reform welfare, at least partially. The federal government gets reform on the cheap, without an up-front appropriation of vast new funding for job training and child care. The states get a measure of the flexibility they want, without the financial risks inherent in the Republican block grants, although also without their financial advantage as caseloads decline. And Bill Clinton gets a credible claim that he did, indeed, reform welfare.

But there is also a downside to using such an informal policy instrument to make these momentous changes: Many important issues go unaddressed or are hidden from public view. One troubling example is the vague standards being established for exempting families from the time limits (and the potential for arbitrary application). Ohio's provision is typical: "Extensions of welfare payments will be provided after reaching a time limit if the family shows good cause—which includes the inability, through no fault of the individual, to obtain or retain employment."

What does it mean to be unable to work "through no fault of the individual"? Does it mean that welfare mothers must leave their children with relatives, must work at the minimum wage without medical benefits, must spend many hours traveling to a low-paid job? How are such crucial decisions to be made? And by whom? Anyone who, like this old veteran of the civil rights struggles, remembers when racial minorities were routinely denied welfare or hassled about staying on will wish that such issues had been more thoroughly addressed.

In 1992, candidate Clinton promised to "end welfare as we know it." By effectively ending the welfare entitlement, that is just what he has done. To his liberal supporters, Clinton may claim that the Republicans made him do it. For the general electorate, however, he will be sure to claim that he kept his promise. And, for better or worse, he has.

Douglas J. Besharov is a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research and a visiting professor at the University of Maryland School of Public Affairs.

Arabs Ponder How to Salvage Peace

▪ **Middle East:** Netanyahu's
send Israel down a

In a flagrant
indeed, of
adopted
doc

Base data
Interesting - BC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

Back to the Future

If you want to know where Newt Gingrich is headed, you have to understand two things: (1) He wants the Republicans to be the party of capitalism's cutting edge, and (2) his role model, William McKinley, tried the same thing a hundred years ago

By E.J. Dionne Jr.

Illustration by Stephen Kroninger

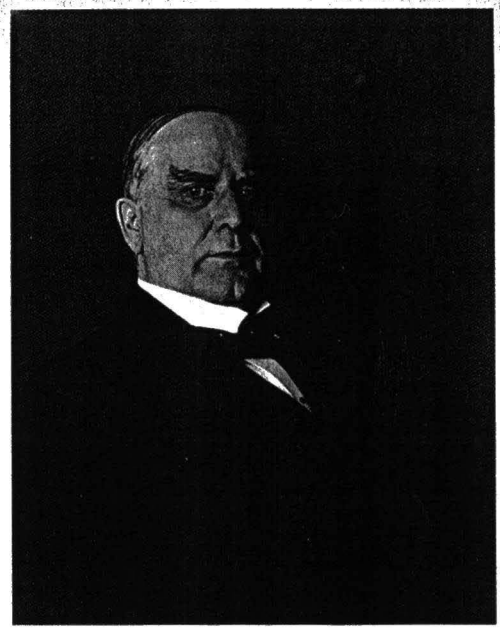
"People are not in general stupid," wrote Newt Gingrich in 1984, "but they are often ignorant. In their ignorance, they often tolerate ignorant news reporters who in turn tolerate ignorant politicians. The result is an ignorant politician making an ignorant speech to be covered by an ignorant reporter and shown in a 40-second clip on television to an ignorant audience."

Gingrich's central political mission is to stand athwart mass ignorance and shout, "Listen to me!" Nothing so defines his leadership style as a profound belief that he has unlocked the secrets of history and the meaning of the future. "I am a transformational figure," Gingrich declared shortly before the 1994 elections. "I think I am trying to effect a change so large that the people who will be hurt by the change, the liberal machine, have a natural reaction." Nor did he stop there. "I think because I'm so systematically purposeful about changing our world," he said, "I'm a much tougher partisan than they've seen . . . much more intense, much more persistent, much more willing to take risks to get it done." Gingrich spoke like that long before he was close to the real political power. "I have an enormous personal ambition," he said in 1985. "I want to shift the entire planet. And I'm doing it."

Gingrich's confidence, central to his ability to perceive a Republican opportunity that so many others missed, grows from a sense that he has developed the right critique of American culture, the right solution to the

country's political impasse and the right strategy to advance the country's interests in the 21st century. At its worst, this intellectual certainty can convey itself as a remarkable arrogance impervious to outside views. But it has also allowed Gingrich to offer his Republican followers and the country a sense that he knows precisely where he is leading them.

Because Gingrich first came to wide public attention only in the late 1980s with his attacks on the ethics of House Speaker Jim Wright, it was widely assumed that his main purpose was bomb-throwing partisanship, that he was far more interested in disrupting the Democrats than in moving the country in any particular direction. But this was precisely wrong. For Gingrich, bomb-throwing was a means, not an end. By being confrontational, he once said, "you get attention; when you get attention, you can educate." And if Gingrich seemed ready to talk and talk and talk, that, too, was a method. "The trick is persistence," he asserted. "If you are prepared to talk about ideas long enough, the ideas filter out."



McKinley *hitched the Republicans' wagon to industrialism, writing off "backward" sectors.*

It's clear, even to Gingrich, that this strategy has not always worked. His comments last year blaming a couple of hideous murders on, respectively, the Democratic-controlled Congress and the welfare state, seemed utterly strange. In keeping with the more accepted form of conservatism, most people hold individuals, not abstractions, responsible for such evil acts. But Gingrich's method has worked more often than it has not, transforming him into the very sort of historic figure he has longed to be. Whoever heard of a presidential election that will turn not only on the voters' response to the president, but also on their view of the speaker of the House of Representatives? Not since Congress seized control of federal policy from President Andrew Johnson during Reconstruction has a congressional figure loomed quite so large.

Gingrich's importance as a political strategist is obvious enough. But his greatest, if most problematic, contribution to the Republican cause has been his effort to work out a set of ideas and goals that move beyond Reaganism and the neo-Reaganism of such Republican thinkers as William Kristol. Many Republicans believed that to revive their party, they needed only to abandon what they saw as the vacillation of the Bush years and return to an updated version of the Gipper's creed. But Gingrich has something bigger in mind.

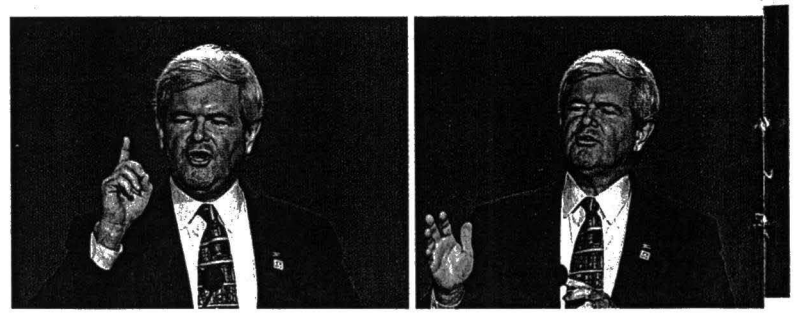
Ronald Reagan, after all, brought to center stage an older conservatism, one that had been routed by the New Deal but regrouped because of the exertions of the Goldwater movement and the intellectuals and activists around William F. Buckley Jr.'s magazine, National Review. As often as not, Reagan sounded like the old pro-business conservatives of the anti-Roosevelt Liberty League, which declared in 1934 that its purpose was "to foster the right to work, earn, save and acquire property and to preserve the ownership and lawful use of property when acquired." Reagan could sound almost antique when he talked of the progressive income tax as a Marxist invention, and he dropped such rhetoric when it began to hurt him. (It's a sign of the new radicalism that many conservatives have again begun to talk of abolishing the progressive income tax altogether.)

Gingrich, by contrast, wants to give conservatism a powerful forward-looking spin. The real purpose of dismantling government, he insists, is not to foster old virtues or return to some golden day of free enterprise but to get bureaucrats out of the way of a new future, a future that is inevitable and irresistible and will certainly be better than the present. It is a future involving space and computers and fiber optics and unimaginable medical advances. Liberals, he insists, are the enemies of this future and therefore have to be routed.

Within conservatism, Gingrich is one of the few leaders other than Patrick Buchanan willing to confront the meaning of the new global economy directly. Unlike Buchanan, who preaches economic nationalism and protective tariffs, Gingrich embraces the new economic order. For him, the central issue of politics is not to take the rough edges off the new economy or to ensure that its effects will be felt only gradually, but to push the country as rapidly as possible into the new age. Gingrich, the uncompromising partisan, surprised some Democrats with the eagerness and diligence he showed in working with the Clinton administration to pass the North American Free Trade Agreement and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. But those who were surprised did not understand Gingrich's strategy or his fervor for economic change. NAFTA and GATT could only accelerate the economic transformation he seeks. Anything that did this, he felt, would strengthen his cause in the long term. The more the United States was locked into the global market, the harder it would be for "reactionary liberals" to resist the imperatives of competition and change.

Much of the neo-Reaganites' approach complements Gingrich's own vision of a technologically oriented, individualist society where government would recede and private institutions would bear the burdens of philanthropy and moral uplift. But the roots of Gingrichism are radically different from the moral and intellectual inspirations behind the more accepted brands of conservatism. Intellectuals such as Kristol and William Schambra, a key conservative thinker at the Bradley Foundation in Milwaukee, are moved morally and intellectually by the philosophy of the ancient Greeks. Jack Kemp and Bill Bennett are especially inspired by Christian sources. For Gingrich, inspiration comes from futurists such as Alvin and Heidi Toffler and from management experts such as Peter Drucker and W. Edwards Deming. These differences in sources are not trivial. They point conservatism in very different directions.

GINGRICH WORKED OUT many—perhaps most—of the ideas that now define him more than a decade ago. His 1984 book, *Window of Opportunity*, is chock full of concepts, notions, predictions and sermons that he has since repeated over and over again. The specific policy recommendations in the book foreshadow many elements in



Gingrich's *"Third Wave" politics are a 1990s version of th*

the "Contract With America," and it is in many ways a more candid statement of Gingrich's view than last year's more cautious best-seller, *To Renew America*. Especially striking is that while Gingrich's agenda is routinely cast as "conservative," his own emphasis is quite the opposite—his strongest enthusiasms are futuristic and technological, and he often speaks and writes with disdain for those who warn of the perils and problems of change. In the first chapter of *Window of Opportunity*, Gingrich opens with page after page on how information technology, satellites, microelectronics, space exploration, advances in telephonic communication, biotechnology and "advanced health care" will transform the world for the better. He waits for 27 pages before finding a moment to talk about conservative values ("old values"), and even then he links them to change. "Male and female roles will be redefined and old values rediscovered," he says. There is sociological detachment in Gingrich's discussion of religion; he speaks mostly of its social function and describes "the reemergence of religion as a legitimate vehicle for explaining the world." Even when talking about faith, Gingrich cannot resist the high-tech angle. "Presently there will be religious software for home computers," he writes, "and a host of modern high-tech efforts to spread a new, electronic gospel, an outreach building not only in Christianity today, but in Orthodox Judaism and Islam as well."

Gingrich's strongest criticisms of liberals focus less on radical or revolutionary tendencies in their creed than on their resistance to change, especially of the technological variety. "The forces of special-interest unionism and special-interest industries are combining with the Liberal wing of the Democratic Party to avoid change, to hide from competition, and to delay technology," he writes. "If they are successful, America's future becomes bleaker." Gingrich finds an anti-technological thrust in both the British and the American left that he traces to British writer John Ruskin's "romantic rejection of high technology." Again and again in his political pronouncements, Gingrich has returned to the idea that his main enemies are those who resist the drive for technological improvement and the coming of the "information age" economy. The left, he says, "has rejected any hope of salvation through technological innovation."

Salvation through technological innovation. Without question, this idea is central to the Gingrich creed. His fascination with outer space and the marvel of new worlds is underscored repeatedly in *Window of Opportunity*, beginning with the front cover, which notes that Gingrich is "chairman of the Congressional Space Caucus." The preface is written by Jerry Pournelle, a science fiction writer, and another science fiction writer, David Drake, is listed as a co-author of the book. Of its 13 chapters, one is devoted to space exploration and describes space as "the greatest frontier." Two others are devoted to the importance of the "Star Wars" missile defense system, the only issue that merits two chapters of its own. Here is one area where Gingrich is all for government spending. He proposes giving the National Aeronautics and Space Administration funding equal to its "peak budget" of 1965, which would have been a major increase over 1984 levels. On the issue of space, as on so many other questions, Gingrich's sharpest attacks focus on the alleged refusal of the left to understand the enormous potential of technology. Accusing the left of helping to create "the anti-technology movement," he declares: "In a very real sense, our hippies overshadowed our astronauts and the anti-technology bias of the Left overshadowed the possibilities of the Computer Age." Citing C.P. Snow's essay on the distance between the culture of science and the culture of the humanities, Gingrich laments the aggressive articulateness of those skeptical of technological change. "Those who know how to speak and write have been technophobic," he says. "Those who understood technology's promise for the future have generally been inarticulate."

Gingrich's technological hopes lead him to a profoundly non-conservative critique of those who would resist the transformation that is coming. "Rather than whining that change is frightening (which it is), that change often disassociates us from our roots (which it does), and that change sometimes has undesirable side effects (which is true)," he writes, "our grandchildren will accept these caveats as facts of life." He adds: "They will ask their culture to teach them how to rise above these difficulties rather than hide from them." Gingrich here accepts in parentheses the theoretical legitimacy of some of the most powerful conservative impulses, but ultimately dismisses them as "whining."

It cannot be stressed enough that Gingrich's goal is not to avoid change but to speed it up. His staple sound bite refers to 'forcing the scale of change necessary to be successful in the 21st century.'

It cannot be stressed enough that Gingrich's goal is not to avoid change but to speed it up, as he makes clear on the first page of *Window of Opportunity*. "The optimistic future will necessitate accepting the possibilities inherent in our emerging technologies and accelerating the transition to a high-technology, information-based economy," he writes. The key words here are "accelerating the transition." Gingrich's objective is to push the United States as rapidly as possible into the "Third Wave" of history, as described by his intellectual heroes, Alvin and Heidi Toffler. In 1994 the Progress and Freedom Foundation, a think tank founded by Gingrich the year before, brought out a 97-page booklet containing excerpts from the Tofflers' work under the title "Creating a New Civilization: The Politics of the Third Wave." In a foreword to the book, Gingrich again underscores his impatience with "columnists and academics" who "all seem confused by the scale of change." Their problem, as ever, is that they are too worried about the costs of the Great Transition. Gingrich tries to cast his complaints in populist terms by insisting that critics of change are simply trying to protect failing elites. "There is an inevitable focus on the pain of those who have been dominant and the disorientation of those who have been powerful," he contends. "The agony of the past is outweighing the promise of the future." Neatly, Gingrich thereby moves attention away from the impact of the transition on those who are neither dominant nor powerful.

What must be understood about Gingrich is that his sense of mission cannot be defined or limited by the Reaganite past. Other Republicans might be content to paper over internal party fights and philosophical differences in order to keep the old faith alive. Gingrich, however, brings an unusual mixture of ideas, visions and obsessions to the task of building a new *continued on page 28*



the Hanna-McKinley strategy.

GINGRICH PHOTOGRAPHS BY LES STONE/SYGMA; MCKINLEY FROM MUSEUM OF MODERN ART

The triptych of state conventions sent fresh rumbles of dissatisfaction through a party that still had vivid memories of the 1992 Houston convention. As he circulated among contributors and other party regulars, Republican National Committee Chairman Haley Barbour absorbed complaints that the party's hopes in November 1994 were threatened by a religious takeover. "The first thing out of people's mouths was abortion and the Christian Coalition," recalls Scott Reed, Barbour's chief of staff at the time. "He was getting hammered. Hammered!" But Barbour, like other party leaders, believed much of the criticism was off the mark. He also knew the religious conservatives were essential to a winning coalition, and rather than shun them, he looked for ways to demonstrate the party's fealty to them. When Rep. Vic Fazio, a California Democrat, attacked the role of religious conservatives within the GOP, Barbour quickly rushed to their defense. "We wanted them to know we weren't going to run from them," says Don Fierce, who served as the director of strategic planning for the RNC. But first, Fierce recalls, Barbour called Robertson and Falwell and asked them not to reply to Fazio. Barbour and other Republicans wanted this to be a fight between Democrats and Republicans, not Democrats and two divisive, evangelical lightning rods.

As the Republicans swept to control of Congress in 1994, the coalition distributed 40 million voter guides, including 33 million in the final weeks of the campaign. By one account, the coalition involved itself in 120 House races and its candidates won an estimated 55 percent of them. Thirty of those contests were decided by 5 percentage points or less, which allowed religious conservatives to justifiably claim that their mobilization determined the outcome.

Reed's prophecy about a "Field of Dreams" movement—"Build it, and they will come"—proved correct. After the 1994 elections, Republican presidential candidates, particularly Sen. Bob Dole of Kansas, tacked right in hopes of winning the support of religious conservatives, and the candidates competed for bragging rights over who had snared the best of the coalition's organizers. Congressional leaders eagerly sought the coalition's blessing as they waded through the votes on their "Contract With America," while the coalition poured $1 million into a campaign to rally support for the contract's pledges. Dole negotiated directly with Reed over the outlines of a compromise on welfare reform, hoping that would bridge differences between Senate moderates and conservatives, while House leaders, seeking to head off a revolt within their ranks over their own welfare bill, sought to persuade the coalition to announce in advance that it would use a crucial procedural vote on the issue as an item on its congressional scorecard, which is distributed by the millions. (The coalition demurred, scoring instead the vote on final passage.) And Marshall Wittmann not only received responses to his letters, he found congressional staffers carefully analyzing their every word.

The measure of the coalition's new standing within the party—and the role it will play in 1996 and for the foreseeable future—came last May at a news conference in the Mansfield Room of the Capitol. Fifteen television cameras lined the back wall, and at the front, a spindly lectern groaned under the weight of two dozen microphones.

Reed acted as impresario for the event, and behind him stood a legion of coalition state directors silently testifying to the organization's grass-roots network. They had come to the Capitol to unveil a contract of their own, called the "Contract With the American Family," a knockoff of the GOP's campaign document, but tilted to the social and cultural issues that had been excluded from that original, 100-days manifesto—precisely because Newt Gingrich and his colleagues felt they were too risky and divisive.

Reporters and other guests packed the room like a rush-hour subway, all sweltering under the hot television lights. Republican elected officials milling behind Reed constituted a virtual Who's Who of the new GOP. House Speaker Gingrich headed the list, but Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas, bidding for the support of religious conservatives in his presidential campaign, also had elbowed his way into the front row. Others included Senate Majority Whip Trent Lott of Mississippi, House Majority Whip Tom DeLay of Texas, House Budget Committee Chairman John Kasich of Ohio and Rep. J.C. Watts of Oklahoma, a former college football star and one of only two black Republicans in the House. Dole was the only big name missing from the ceremony, but, in penance for a schedule conflict, he had invited Reed and the coalition leaders to his office for a private meeting immediately after the news conference.

"We have finally gained what we have always sought," Reed said that day. "A place at the table, a sense of legitimacy and a voice in the conversation that we call democracy." ■

Dan Balz covers national politics for The Post. Ronald Brownstein is a political reporter and columnist for the Los Angeles Times. This article is adapted from their book, Storming the Gates: Protest Politics and the Republican Revival, *published this month by Little, Brown and Company.*

GINGRICH

continued from page 17

Republican Party. He shares with Bill Clinton an understanding that the United States is passing through a profoundly disorienting period of transition. His staple sound bite refers to "forcing the scale of change necessary to be successful in the 21st century." This might be dismissed as normal politician future-speak but for the telltale word "forcing." Politicians rarely speak openly about "forcing" anything to happen, usually preferring a language that emphasizes consensus and persuasion. Gingrich, however, does not shy away from this candid description of his style of leadership. Certain as he is about where the country needs to go, he is quite prepared to force it to get there.

ALL THIS FORCEFUL rhetoric, however, serves to conceal a large irony. For in a fundamental and deliberate way, Newt Gingrich's futurism would take us *back* a hundred years.

When Gingrich envisions the Republican Party as representing the forces of the future—those who are doing well in the new economy, or expect or hope to, and are therefore willing to take the risk of accelerating the transition into the Third Wave—he is consciously echoing the Republican gambit of William McKinley in 1896. One of the speaker's heroes is Mark Hanna, the man who organized McKinley's triumph. The 1896 Republicans had made a fundamental choice: to represent the rising forces of industrialism, to organize the emerging captains of industry as the party's financial arm and to write off the country's "backward" rural sectors. It was left to William Jennings Bryan and a coalition of Democrats and Populists to speak for those hurt by the injustices the new order was inflicting on small farms and small towns—for the people losing out in the triumph of modern capitalism. The strategy worked well for McKinley and Hanna in 1896. The Republicans lost in the South, the farm states and the Rockies. But they swept the big industrial states of the Northeast and Midwest, with businessmen voting to defend their interests and industrial workers voting to preserve their jobs.

When Gingrich speaks of "the politics of the Third Wave," he is describing the 1990s version of the Hanna-McKinley strategy. Just as Hanna and McKinley embraced industrialism (the "Second Wave"), the new Republican Party needs to become the conscious agent of the new, global, information age economy. Its geographical base may be different: The Third Wave is surging through the Sun Belt and in the suburbs and exurbs, not in the big cities. But Gingrich, like Mark Hanna, believes he

sees the future clearly, and he intends to organize and master it.

There are important substantive differences between Gingrich and Hanna (and, for that matter, between Gingrich and McKinley), notably that the 1896 Republicans were protectionist and that Hanna later had considerable sympathy for the efforts of the Progressives of Theodore Roosevelt's era to use government to regulate capitalism and reform it. But the similarities between Gingrich's crusade and Hanna's are important for understanding both why Gingrich's proposals sound so radical and also why, despite their trappings of high technology and space, they actually mark a *reversion* to the Republicanism of the pre-Progressive period, the particular form of conservatism that dominated the Gilded Age before the turn of the century. The radicalism of Gingrich's agenda lies in its effort to overturn the fundamental achievements of Teddy Roosevelt's Square Deal, Woodrow Wilson's New Freedom, Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal and Harry Truman's Fair Deal. At times, Gingrich has made this quite clear, as in his enthusiasm for the social policy theories of Marvin Olasky.

Olasky, the author of *The Tragedy of American Compassion*, argues that almost every trend in social policy since the emergence of Progressivism has been wrong: In general, almost any form of compassion sponsored by government is destined to atrophy into bureaucratized sustenance for bad values on the part of the poor. The only proper way to raise up the poor is though private efforts, mostly connected to churches, which can demand that, as the price for charity, poor people must live by very strict rules imposed by the charity giver. Olasky explicitly attacks reformers of the Progressive period for "utopian" efforts to routinize charity through government. Among other things, he argues, this undermined the private, mostly religiously based charities, reduced the "affiliation" and "bonding" between the poor and those who helped them, made it harder to "categorize" the poor to determine who was "worthy of relief," reduced the employment demands placed on the poor and, ultimately, cut the link between religion and uplift. Olasky acknowledges that some government intervention might have been necessary to ease suffering during the Great Depression and sees the Work Projects Administration programs as better than most social programs. He also disassociates himself from (and criticizes) turn-of-the-century "social Darwinists" such as William Graham Sumner, who scorned charity as a useless interference in a "natural" process through which the fittest survived and prospered. But Olasky's broad conclusion is that the bulk of government-led social welfare efforts in the 20th century have been failures, and that the lessons that most need to be learned are those from the voluntaristic charities of the 1800s. "It's time to learn from the warm hearts and hard heads of earlier times, and to bring that understanding into our own lives," he concludes. Olasky has joined Gingrich's Progress and Freedom Foundation, and Gingrich repeatedly praises Olasky's book, declaring flatly: "Olasky has the right sense of where we have to go as Americans."

Even more importantly, Gingrich, at least implicitly, endorses a version of the philosophical materialism of Gilded Age conservatism. He asserts that a natural evolutionary process (represented by the Third Wave) is inevitable, that it will bring with it enormous technical progress, and that those who resist the change ("the anti-technology movement") are sentimentalists. That was exactly how conservatives who championed Second Wave industrialism felt about social reformers, agrarian rebels, church leaders and others who challenged the authority of the industrial giants. They, like Gingrich, were concerned with removing the barriers to industrial innovation and achievement, and did not shy away from such steps even if they led to economic concentration or significant inequalities. In the long run, they argued, the process of change would immensely strengthen the country since countries, too, went through their own "natural" patterns involving rise and fall. "What is true," said Sumner, "is that there are periods of social advance and periods of social decline, that is advance or decline in economic power, material prosperity and group strength for war."

Compare this with Gingrich's celebration of "a new generation which reasons that *if* we are the most creative society on the planet, *if* we have the most advanced technology, *if* we continually shoulder the monetary burdens of other nations, *if* we provide the umbrella under which the freedoms of others are protected, and *if* we disproportionately finance the United Nations, then maybe other countries ought to listen to us at least as closely as they expect us to listen to them."

Gingrich elaborated on this position in a speech to the National Association of Manufacturers last May:

"We want to communicate a vision of America which is the decisive economic power on the planet, which is the most competitive nation, which is capable of leading the human race and which has reestablished here at home a culture that works and has reestablished physical safety so that people get up in the morning knowing they have a terrific opportunity to pursue happiness and an economic structure that works and a neighborhood that's safe. Now that's our general positive vision."

It should be noted here that Gingrich's formulation of Republican goals has the potential to speak powerfully to some who are drawn to Patrick Buchanan's nationalism. Gingrich's vision is also a nationalist conception, seeing the United States as "the decisive economic power on the planet" and "capable of leading the human race." But unlike Buchanan, Gingrich rejects protectionism, seeing the rigors of world competition as good for a United States amply capable of dominating the new information age. Their difference in approach is fundamental and has deep historical roots. Buchanan is in some ways closer to the protectionist nationalism of McKinley and Hanna, Gingrich to the fiercely competitive nationalism espoused by Sumner. Yet both Buchanan and Gingrich repeatedly use strongly nationalistic language about the United States' destiny to be the planet's premier power.

Sumner was unapologetic about the need to achieve his ends by rewarding the most powerful and productive. "If we should set a limit to the accumulation of wealth," he wrote, "we should say to our most valuable producers, 'We do not want you to do us the services which you best understand how to perform, beyond a certain point.' It would be like killing off our generals in war."

Gingrich is equally willing to allow those with the wherewithal to invest to set many of the terms, not only in economics but in politics itself. Gingrich declares frankly that his goal is to make the United States more attractive to investors who are searching

What kind of democracy leaves its policies on 'regulation, taxation, litigation, education, welfare, the structure of the bureaucracy' to the dictates of multinational investors?

the globe for low taxes, few regulations and few lawsuits. In his speech to the manufacturers, for example, Gingrich declared that he would ask Congress's Joint Economic Committee to pose the following question to the heads of multinational companies: "Tell us under what circumstances you'd put the next thousand high value-added jobs in the U.S. What do we need to do to regulation, taxation, litigation, education, welfare, the structure of the bureaucracy? You tell us how to make this the best place on the planet to invest."

Rarely has a politician been so explicit in laying out the meaning of the old phrase "the business of America is business." Critics of Gingrich's view could reasonably see it as involving a wholesale surrender to the forces of the global marketplace. What kind of democracy leaves its policies on "regulation, taxation, litigation, education, welfare, the structure of the bureaucracy" to the dictates of multinational investors? But Gingrich, following the Gilded Age view, sees government regulation and government-sponsored welfare as weakening society and the natural process of competition.

"The fatal problem of the welfare state," Gingrich once said, is that "the welfare state creates losers." He went on: "You didn't have losers in immigrant America of the 1800s. You had future winners. You had people who worked extra hard and they sent their kids to school and they took two or three jobs and they saved like crazy and it was very hard. But within a generation, they were winning. And we've replaced that with a system that says we're going to help you so much your grandchildren are going to be exactly where you are."

Gingrich, of course, would deny any affiliation with 19th-century social Darwinism, and he could cite his own strongly stated opposition to racism, along with his affection for Olasky, in support of this claim. But the core similarity between Gingrich and the main line of Gilded Age conservative thinking, including social Darwinism, is clear. One can see this by going back to a brilliant book published in the early 1950s, *American Conservatism in the Age of Enterprise*, by Robert McCloskey. In Gilded Age conservatism, McCloskey wrote, "civilization was equated with industrialization, and progress was defined as the accumulation of capital and the proliferation of industrial inventions." Change "industrialization" to "the Third Wave" and "industrial" to "high-tech," and one has a fair description of the Gingrich creed. McCloskey also understood how radically this view transformed traditional American notions of democracy and personal liberty. "Classical economics and the concept of organic evolution," he wrote, "conspired to change the old doctrine of the moral improvement of man into a theory of material progress."

Gingrich, with considerable subtlety and intelligence, is proposing a drastic rewrite of a social contract that is a hundred years old. But beneath his talk of the new are some very old ideas that were, until very recently, thought obsolete. Gingrich's "revolution" might just as properly be seen as a counterrevolution built on an old evolutionary materialism that many conservatives themselves have rejected. Gingrich does bow to "traditional values" and is certainly aware of the importance of the Christian conservatives to his coalition. But what most interests him about cultural questions is not the fostering of "traditional values" as such, but whether the United States can build a culture that could function on behalf of the information age. As he told the manufacturers, he wants "a culture that works."

At times Gingrich's obsessions lead him to sound like a parody of himself, as when he proposed what he admitted was the "nutty idea" of providing a tax credit so poor people could buy computers. But beneath the high-tech jargon lies a sophisticated strategy that seeks to transform the Republican Party into the advance guard of the economy, and leave the Democrats to defend the "obsolete" sectors. This time those sectors represent not rural America but decaying big cities, unionized manufacturing and other institutions and groups destined, in Gingrich's view, to be swept aside by the Third Wave.

SO FAR, Gingrich's achievement has been discussed mostly in electoral terms, and it is certainly true that the Republican takeover of the House in 1994 was a monumental accomplishment of practical politics. But Gingrich's long-term impact will go well beyond one election. In decisive ways he has been seeking to reshape the Republican Party, American conservatism and the choice facing the American electorate.

He has done so by trying to resolve many of the contradictions within contemporary conservatism on the side of a radical vision. This vision sees American progress as depending upon a large-scale dismantling of the federal apparatus, including functions related to welfare and income support, consumer and environmental protection, economic regulation and management. He is, as a matter of principle, unconcerned about rising income inequality created by the new economy because he is as unabashed as his 19th-century conservative forebears were in seeing rewards for the wealthy, the productive and the innovative as the key to technological advance and economic improvement. By tearing down governmental barriers to change, Gingrich believes, he will accelerate the arrival of a high-tech information age with unparalleled possibilities for American society. By building a disciplined and highly competitive society, Americans will be able to leap into the global marketplace and fulfill their destiny of "leading the human race."

Understanding the next phase of American politics depends on understanding how radically Gingrich is seeking to transform the nature of the decisions American voters will be asked to make. In the Reagan and Bush years, even very conservative Republicans accepted the need to preserve institutions bequeathed them by the Progressive and New Deal eras. There was a reluctance to tamper with welfare, food stamps, Medicare and other basic components of the social safety net. There was much deregulatory rhetoric, and the regulatory agencies were led by administrators with a more sympathetic view toward business; but for all that, the necessity of government intervention, especially on behalf of the environment, the elderly and the poor, was broadly accepted. The deficit itself stood as testimony to conservative reluctance to take on the task of a radical dismantling of the federal government.

The new Republicans, pushed by Gingrich, have no such reluctance. Theirs is unabashedly a revolt against the New Deal and Progressive traditions—and it is a revolt not limited to partisans of Gingrich's Third Wave. On the contrary, it is also part of the neo-Reaganite synthesis put forward by Bill Kristol, William Schambra and their allies. The revolt against Progressivism is

Paradoxically, Gingrich's premier achievement may be the opposite of what he has worked for. Far from routing America's Progressive tradition, his rise may be the precursor of its renewal.

becoming the dominant political project of the Republican Party.

But will it work? The trouble the Republicans have encountered in the budget fight reflects the country's uneasiness with Gingrich's full-fledged effort to roll back the Progressive achievement. Whether the issue was environmental protection, consumer legislation or health care for the poor and the elderly, Americans demonstrated in poll after poll that they may want reform of the government that Progressives built, but do not seek its outright repeal. Indeed, Republicans ran into difficulty precisely because their 1994 victory was built with votes from economically distressed voters who were angry at the Democrats as much for what they had failed to do as for what they had done. These voters had no more faith in the working of the unfettered market than they had in government. In seeing their votes as a mandate to dismantle Progressivism, the Republicans misread their intentions—and suffered when the budget fight clarified the issues at stake.

Paradoxically, Gingrich's premier achievement may thus be the opposite of what he has hoped for and worked for. Far from routing America's Progressive tradition, Gingrich's rise may be the precursor of its renewal. For two decades, Progressives have been timid in defending their project. Distracted by cultural politics, Progressives have often forgotten about defending government's legitimate role as a balancing force against the workings of the market.

The declining support for the House Republicans suggests that many voters are looking for more from government than Gingrich wants to offer. *Especially* if Gingrich is right about the vast technological changes that are coming, it is highly unlikely that the central thrust of American politics will be toward dismantling the buffers that ease change and the social protections that ease suffering. By moving American conservatism toward a rendezvous with 19th-century laissez-faire doctrines, Gingrich and his allies will force their opponents to grapple with the task of constructing new alternatives to laissez-faire.

The Gingrich Revolution gives Progressives no choice but to battle to preserve the achievements of their tradition and to renovate their program. In Gingrich's terms, the upholders of American Progressivism will now be required to make it relevant to the 21st century. For that reason, Progressives, even more than conservatives, will owe Gingrich a large debt. ■

E.J. Dionne Jr. is a columnist for The Post. This article is adapted from his new book, They Only Look Dead: Why Progressives Will Dominate the Next Political Era, *published by Simon & Schuster.*

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6/24/96

June 21, 1996

MEMORANDUM TO HAROLD ICKES

THROUGH: Laura Tyson

FROM: Gene Sperling

SUBJECT: Work and Family Proposals

Attached is a memo that reflects what the people working on this proposal believe is the key decisions that the President and Vice President must make as soon as possible for the Vice President's Monday conference.

The memo has been explicitly vetted with John Hilley, Laura Tyson, Ron Klain, Jen O'Connor, Elaine Kamarck, and John Angell and reflects discussion with Leon as well as comments from the Labor Department, CEA and others. The Vice President was not able to reach John Sweeney tonight but will try to reach him in the morning. Clearly, any decision to do a major proposal will require phone calls to Sweeney and probably others.

One important reason to reach a decision as soon as possible, is so the Press office could start alerting the networks to the subject matter of the proposals so that they could be ready if they had set-up pieces they were already working on flextime issues.

OPTIONS FOR WORK AND FAMILY PROPOSAL

OPTION 1: EXPAND FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE PURPOSES: FMLA currently helps families only with a medical crisis or special limited care-giving needs, such as a birth or adoption. But working families often have to care for children or parents in circumstances for which they cannot use family and medical leave. More and more workers have elderly parents or other relatives with special needs living nearby or at home. This option would be designed to say we need to do more to help working families care for their children and their elderly relatives without sacrificing their work obligations. On the other hand, because of concerns that such a proposal could be abused -- or that it could be portrayed as capable of abuse -- we would limit it to very **narrow exceptions with an overall cap of 24 hours a year.** The new purposes would be

- Participating in school activities directly related to the educational advancement of children, such as parent-teacher conferences or interviewing for a new school;

- Accompanying a child to routine dental or medical appointments, such as annual checkups or vaccinations;

- Accompanying an elderly relative to routine medical appointments or other professional services related to the care of the elderly relative, such as interviewing nursing homes or group homes.

Pros:

- Popular with working parents and addresses more ordinary but real work-family pressures;

- Shows needs of family members to care for elders as well as children on a regular basis;

- Responsible employers would already allow this.

Cons:

- Small business will find it difficult to administer proposals and monitor proper uses: (how can they tell whether it is really a parent-teacher conference);

- Businesses that were happy with your corporate responsibility message might feel that this reflects a "signalling" of more regulations in the future;

- Potential for "midnight basketball stories." [Restrictions should reduce this].

- CEA points out the need to move with caution because of unforeseen potential for disruption.

OPTION 2. EMPLOYEE CHOICE FLEXTIME; EXPANDED FAMILY & MEDICAL LEAVE AND A VETO THREAT: This is the fullest flextime proposal. If we do such a proposal we would have to give out some detail -- not just principles -- so that it would be clear how our proposal differed from the Republican proposals and so that it would be seen as a specific, newsworthy proposal. Following that, legislative language would have to be developed.

Family & Medical Leave Expansion: The above expansion of the purposes for Family and Medical Leave, with tight classifications and a 24 hour yearly cap.

Employee Choice Flextime: In response to the Ballenger bill on comp-time, a working group at the White House and Labor Department has developed an alternative comp time proposal that would better ensure worker flexibility and guard against abuses by unscrupulous or unstable businesses. This proposal could be explicitly promoted as "employee choice flextime" with protections against coercion. It would say that workers and employers could mutually agree to allowing overtime of up to 80 hours a year, that could be taken as paid flex-time (at time and half) so that both employers and employees would have the flexibility needed to allow more Americans to have the time they need to accommodate their duties as parents and as adult children to elderly parents. Employees could always choose to take straight overtime pay.

Veto Threat On Any Bill That Reduces Worker Choice: In announcing a Flextime proposal -- and opening up the Fair Labor Standards Act -- the President could also use the occasion to draw a line in the sand: he would announce that if Congress passed a bill like the Ballenger bill, he would (oppose or veto?) any bill like the Ballenger bill that allowed for coercion and used phrases like "comp-time" as a cover for giving workers less choice in the workplace. ?

Pros:

- As Republicans are proposing comp-time bills, Democrats will need to have an alternative, and it makes more sense to get out in front and define the debate the right way -- as "employee choice vs. employer coercion," instead of as "family flexible workforces vs. Special interest Democrats."

- Three House Republicans, Sue Myrick, Jennifer Dunn, Tillie Fowler -- have just proposed a comp-time bill --- "Working Families Flexibility Act." Republican leadership staff say the bill will be in mark-up next week. House Democratic leadership staff now say that the horse is out of the barn, and Democrats will undoubtedly be looking for an alternative. On Friday, the RNC put out a statement from these Republican women members of Congress -- plus Enid Greene -- challenging the President to support their bill, stating the federal government had the flexibility to give comp-time.

• Other reports from the Hill suggest that Republicans may bring the bill to the floor over the next few weeks -- and that Republican strategists are particularly looking for proposals to appeal to women voters that could be presented by female Republican members of Congress.

• John Hilley believes that if there is a Republican comp-time bill, Democrats will need a serious alternative to hold them together and enable you to veto an unsatisfactory Republican proposals. John feels strongly that this is easier to do if we are out in front of the issue instead of reacting to Republican legislation.

• Flex-time plus Family & Medical Leave expansions is a big proposal and could break-through.

Cons: • Even if a bill is coming to mark-up, many supporters will feel that our proposal gave the entire idea momentum and will blame us for making it a certainty that FLSA was opened up legislatively.

• This proposal will be bitterly received by some supporters who have felt that we have taken pro-trade or pro-business positions in the past -- particularly concerning NAFTA. There would likely be a strong negative reaction from many -- though not all -- in the labor movement, and the proposal could be vigorously and publicly opposed even on the day of the announcement. In particular, the UAW, Machinist, Teamsters and Steelworkers will argue that their members' wages will be cut.

• Labor believes their surveys reveal that most workers do not find this option attractive; that workers are more concerned about protecting the 40 hour work week, and getting direct overtime pay, while having little belief that workers can truly be protected from coercion. Essentially, they believe this could be the start of the slippery slope for more fundamental reforms of FLSA.

• Even with the best protection we can design, some experts believe that there will be no effective way to protect workers from being coerced into accepting comp-time instead of wages, that many workers will never be able to collect the comp-time at the end of the year, and that low wage workers will end with less money in their pockets.

• In some industrial mid-western states, overtime pay is important to the life style of some high-wage blue collar workers. Some feel that this puts overtime pay in jeopardy and is likely to be poorly received.

• While it may irritate many in the labor movement, it may also upset many in the business community, because even though it modifies FLSA, it contains serious penalties for violations not contained in current law that business may object to.

(5)

ADDITIONAL OPTIONS: Below are options that were supported by only a few of the people participating, but are shown to you so that you can consider all options.

(1) **NO MANDATORY OVERTIME OPTION:** One proposal that had been discussed in the drafting of an alternative to Ballenger, was a quid-pro-quo that companies could only use comp-time or flextime if they gave their workers the right to refuse overtime.

Pros:

- This is a significant empowering of workers, and is strongly favored by the Labor Department. It would help ensure that parents were not forced to miss key family responsibilities because they were forced to work overtime.

Cons:

- Most others -- including John Hilley -- feel this is a non-starter legislatively. As business would likely feel that our flextime proposal is way too heavily weighted toward workers, and this would be seen as a poison pill.

- Many simply feel that we have not come anywhere near vetting this enough or working through the details. What about the Christmas season? Would employers not be able to require overtime a week prior to Christmas.

Note: We can be silent on this issue and consider it at a later time.

(2) **48 HOURS FOR FAMILY AND MEDICAL LEAVE:** Our proposal above is at 24 hours. Most people working on this proposal felt this was at the high end -- some felt it should be lower. This proposal would expand this to 48 hours.

Pros:

- Dick Morris believes that most Americans would be more than willing to allow Americans 4 hours a month for taking time with their children for education and health reasons.

Cons:

- Most people working on this proposal, including Laura Tyson, and several key Congressional staffers, however, are worried that if too many hours are allowed, it would allow for abuse and would make it easier for opponents to find "stairmaster exception" type lines to mock the proposal.

- Most people working on the proposal felt that 24 hours would be more than enough time per year to ensure that parents would be able to utilize the expanded family and medical leave expansions.

(4)

APPENDIX: DETAILS ON EMPLOYEE CHOICE FLEXTIME

1. Written Agreement

Labor: The comp time plan must be written. Employee must request comp time in writing before performing overtime work. Comp time cannot be a condition of employment for public or private sector employees.

Ballenger: No written agreement is necessary, only an understanding. As under current law, comp time can be a condition of employment for public sector employees.

2. Use/Payout of Comp Time

Labor: Employees can use comp time for any purpose with two weeks+ notice or with less notice if employer not unduly disrupted. In addition, employees may use comp time for Family & Medical Leave Act purposes at any time.

Private sector employees may elect to cash out their comp time (for cash due) with a minimum of two weeks+ notice to their employer.

Ballenger: Employees can use comp time only if reasonable notice and employer not unduly disrupted. Payout for private sector employees must occur within thirty days of notice.

3. Comp Time Bank

Labor: Employees can accumulate up to 80 hours of comp time. Additional overtime work must be paid in cash.

Ballenger: Employees can accumulate up to 240 hours of comp time, consistent with current law for public sector employees.

4. Protects workers from pay cuts and coercion: Exceptions for Vulnerable Employees

Labor: Temporary, seasonal, part-time and low-wage employees would be excluded, as well as employees in the construction industry. The Secretary would have the authority to exclude additional occupations or industries.

Ballenger: No comparable provision.

5. Bankruptcy Protection

Labor: To ensure employees receive banked comp time even when thinly capitalized businesses collapse, moneys for accumulated comp time would be kept in an escrow account and given protection in bankruptcy. Unpaid comp time would have the same priority as wages in bankruptcy proceedings. If the employee cannot recover from the employer, an action may be filed against the business benefiting from the employee+s work.

Ballenger: No comparable provisions.

6. Additional Protections

Labor: Unused comp time cannot be used against an employee in unemployment compensation proceedings. Comp time pay-outs are treated as wages for health and pension benefit plans. Comp time used is treated as hours worked.

Ballenger: No comparable provisions on unemployment proceedings or benefit plans. Comp time used is not treated as hours worked.

7. Enforcement and Anti-Discrimination Provisions

Labor: Strong anti-discrimination provisions prohibit employers from coercing employees into taking comp time or making it a condition of employment. Improved remedies for violations, including double damages for overtime that would have been worked by an employee who was not permitted to work because the employee did not want to earn comp time. Civil money penalties for violations of comp time and mandatory overtime prohibition, and for willful or repeated recordkeeping violations.

Ballenger: No anti-discrimination protection for public sector employees. Double damages only for willful violations of anti-discrimination provisions. Civil money penalties only for willful violations.

8. Sunset

Labor: Comp time provision expires in 4 years. Bipartisan Commission will study and report to Secretary and Congress prior to sunset.

Ballenger: No comparable provision.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6 24.96

BUSINESS, CONSUMER, AND REGIONAL ROUNDUP

Beige Book Positive on Growth and Inflation. New reports from Federal Reserve district banks paint a picture of continued moderate growth with tame inflation during May and June. Nearly all regions report expanding activity, and several report that growth has accelerated recently. Although several regions saw increasing prices for some raw and intermediate products like building materials and grain, there was little evidence of rising retail prices. Retail sales strengthened and generally exceeded year-ago levels, and manufacturing and construction picked up in most regions. Agriculture was hurt in several regions by the weather and low cattle prices. Production of natural gas and oil increased. Labor markets remain tight, but with little indication of upward pressure on wages. Business sentiment is increasingly optimistic about national and regional economic growth. The San Francisco Fed reports, for example, that 90 percent of businesses surveyed expect national growth to match or exceed its long-run average pace over the next four quarters–up from 40 percent in February.

Good News for Auto Buyers, Sellers and Drivers. Sticker shock may not be so bad for new car buyers, according to the Commerce Department. Car prices are still going up, but at only a 1.4 percent pace. This is well below the 3.4 percent pace of 1994 and half the overall inflation rate. Meanwhile, auto manufacturers are taking unusual steps to boost production, especially of light trucks and minvans, during the normally slower summer months. GM, for example, cancelled one week of its planned vacation shutdown in three midwestern plants. Whether in a car or truck, drivers (and vacationers) this summer should have good news at the pump. According to the Department of Energy, nationwide average retail gas prices should fall 10 cents a gallon below their May peak this summer.

Golden Outlook for Golden State. Two forecasts released this week lauded the recovery of California's economy. The UCLA Business Forecast reports that employment growth in California is the best it has been since the late 1980s, and will stay strong into 1998 fueled by gains in business services, computer software, multimedia and entertainment. The California economy looks strong, as retail spending is up and house prices appear to have bottomed out, with sales picking up. At the national level, UCLA does not foresee either inflation or recession as a problem, prompting them to predict that the current expansion "could become the best expansion in history." The Commerce Department's forecast for metropolitan areas paints a similarly sunny picture in California. They predict employment to grow 35 percent, twice the national rate, from 1993 to 2005 in many California metropolitan areas.

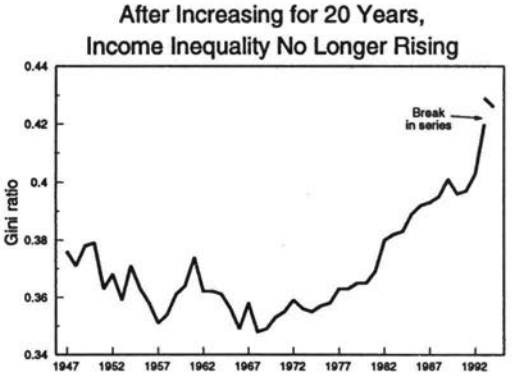
Michael Waldman

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

CURRENT DEVELOPMENT

Income Inequality Update

Income inequality among families fell between 1993 and 1994 (see chart), though it would be hard to tell from press reports of a just-released Census Bureau study. The reports ignored important changes in survey procedures and therefore erroneously concluded that income disparities increased sharply during the first 2 years of the Clinton Administration.



Analysis. Beginning with the March 1994 survey, which records income data for 1993, the Census Bureau raised the upper limit at which it records high earnings from $300,000 to $1 million. That is, before 1993 a family with earnings of $1 million would be reported as receiving $300,000; beginning in 1993 that same family would be reported as receiving $1 million. Not surprisingly, this change sharply increases inequality by raising reported incomes in the top quintile.

Paying proper attention to these changes in survey procedures, Census data show for families:

- overall inequality (as measured by the Gini index of inequality) declined between 1993 and 1994;
- incomes increased across the board in 1994 for the first time since 1989, with average income growth highest in the bottom quintile;
- the share of income received by the lowest quintile increased for the first time since 1973, while the share going to the top quintile fell a little–a sharp reversal of previous trends.

One final note: Contrary to those who thought the increase in taxes on upper income individuals would adversely affect incentives, the Census report shows that income growth of the top 5 percent averaged 2.5 percent per year between 1992 and 1994, faster than in any year since the mid-1980s.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

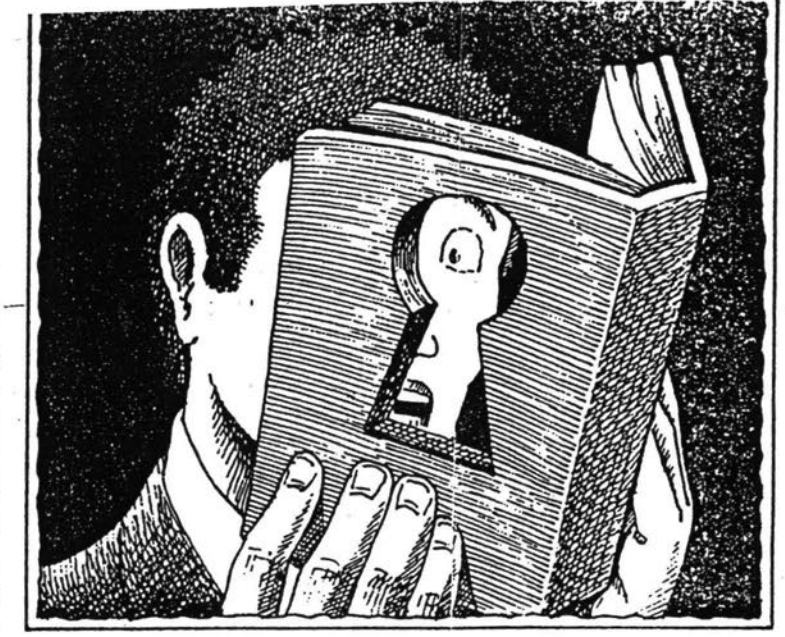
Mac Cully / Bob Thurber
Sorry I missed you
this below Brinkley
Has good news - Mulgur
is willing to work
Summit
BC

Trashing the White House

CLINTON CONFIDENTIAL
The Climb to Power
The Unauthorized Biography
Of Bill and Hillary Clinton
By George Carpozi Jr.
Emery Dalton. 544 pp. $23.95

THE DYSFUNCTIONAL PRESIDENT
Inside the Mind of Bill Clinton
By Paul Fick
Birch Lane. 288 pp. $19.95

By Douglas Brinkley



ILLUSTRATIONS BY JEAN-FRANCOIS ALLAUX- FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

ROLLING STONE journalist Hunter S. Thompson, in his recent, comical *Better Than Sex: Confessions of a Political Junkie*, said of Bill Clinton: "He has the sense of loyalty of a lizard with its tail broken off and the midnight taste of a man who might go on a double-date with the Rev. Jimmy Swaggart." Now, two trashy anti-Clinton books—George Carpozi Jr.'s *Clinton Confidential* and Paul Fick's *The Dysfunctional President*—feebly follow in Thompson's gonzo footsteps, spewing venom in more than 800 pages of gibberish without ever penning a memorable line, shamelessly dissecting the Clintons' private lives like voyeuristic buzzards swooping down to eat and regurgitate previously discredited stories from such tabloids as the Star and the Globe.

Carpozi, the former editor of the New York Post and author of biographies of Brigitte Bardot and Cher, delights in writing lewd Little Rock stories where the color of an Arkansas woman's bikini and the size of her breasts are important but general accuracy is not. (For example, he refers to George McGovern, who is from South Dakota, as a "North Dakotan.") With raunchy chapter subheadings such as "Oral Sex Behind the Hedges" and "He Watched Us Girls Make Love," Carpozi reaches new gall in the field of sordid sensationalism. His dubious conspiratorial treatments of Whitewater money-laundering, Roger Clinton's past drug abuses and Vincent Foster's suicide are National Enquirer material parading as Barbara Tuchman. Without footnotes to divert the reader's attention, Carpozi lambasts the Clintons for improprieties and deceits which if true would spell impeachment. I hate to admit that, despite all this, *Clinton Confidential* is a page turner. Therein lies its power to plague the Clinton White House.

Paul Fick, a practicing California psychologist, attempts to clinically evaluate President Clinton, even though he has never met the man. His medical background information comes instead from such sources as the Orange County (California) Register and the Washington Times. In the prose style of an educationally challenged 10-year-old, Fick tries to convince the reader of his ultimate diagnosis: that the president's unhealthy penchant for lying stems from his status as an "adult child of an alcoholic." All the mistakes of the Clinton presidency, from indecision in Bosnia to foolish cabinet appointments, are the result of the president's stormy childhood, the implied prescription being for the patient to flee the White House at once and enter a psychiatric ward, where through intensive therapy he can learn to deal with his boyhood traumas. "The belief that all presidents fudge the truth will not work with this president," Fick writes. "Clinton lies to the public not only for political expediency but also because lying is what he knows. He cannot help but lie." One does not have to be a fan of the Clinton presidency to deplore the lack of professionalism Fick displays in this quacky treatise.

Since there is nothing of any redeeming value in either of these cash-for-trash books, the more interesting question at hand is why there is such an embarrassing proliferation of Clintoniana. At last count there were over 20 Clinton books on the market, outpacing even O.J. Simpson and the current British royal family. While there have been a few intelligent critical studies of Clinton—Elizabeth Drew's *On the Edge: The Clinton Presidency*, Bob Woodward's *The Agenda*, David Maraniss's *First in His Class*—the majority have been puerile gossip tracts full of bogus facts. Most of these scandalous studies center on the Clintons' sex life. At a historical moment when dignity and civility are at a low ebb, these crass profiteers run amok under the free-market mantra that "sex sells." Somehow these intercourse-obsessed, "Hard-copy"-style "investigative journalists" have gained some degree of credibility. Clinton holds a press conference in response to their allegations, a TV reporter asks whether the newest sexual rumor is true, the president is forced to deny it, and "the character issue" is once again on everybody's lips.

"LIKE IT OR NOT," Fick writes, "the reality is that a presidential candidate's, and certainly a president's sexual behavior is now open for discussion." But it shouldn't be that way; presidents are not Hollywood celebrities (even though Ronald Reagan blurred those lines for us decades ago), and it would be irresponsible, if not downright destructive, for Clinton to sue the slanderers. This leaves the First Family stuck with vile exposes, smears, just part of the price of power in tabloid America, where the new governing ethic is guilt by innuendo. But these relentless personal attacks on Clinton—many orchestrated by the Republican Right—are likely to have a boomerang effect in the 1996 election. When the smoke clears, what will be left is Clinton's presidential performance record, which, despite being an unmitigated public-relations disaster, is brimming with domestic and economic policy accomplishments. With a steady flow of unsubstantiated allegations being churned out with startling regularity, the Clintons may have found a new constituency: the sympathy vote. ■

Douglas Brinkley is director of the Eisenhower Center at the University of New Orleans, and the author of biographies of Dean Acheson and James Forrestal.

THE WASHINGTON POST
SUNDAY, MAY 28, 1995

VP/Meese/Baker/

Have to decide
What to do about
This

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
01/24/86

3RD STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

HEADLINE: SOME DEMOCRATS OPPOSE ABORTION, TOO ;
FIGHT FOR PARTY PLATFORM CLAUSE

SOURCE: Wire services

BYLINE: KEVIN MERIDA, Washington Post News Service

DATELINE: WASHINGTON

BODY:
Although the Republican fury over abortion has been dominating the news, a smaller battle over the issue is quietly taking shape in the Democratic Party.

Last week, 10 House Democrats who oppose abortion met with Don Fowler, Democratic National Committee chairman, to argue for including a"conscience clause"in the party's platform this summer that would acknowledge there are Democrats who remain uncomfortable with the party's traditional pro-choice position.

"What we want is our own language, kind of a sense that there are a lot of pro-life people in this party, and they have not been represented in this platform as long as I can remember,"said nine-term Rep. Tony P. Hall, D-Ohio, one of the leaders of the antiabortion group.

"We just think we lose a lot of Democrats who go over to the other side because they can't stomach that this is the party of abortionists."

Hall added:"We're not looking for a fight. We're looking for a peaceful resolution."

Fowler was noncommittal at the meeting, according to participants.

Party spokeswoman Amy Weiss Tobe said the chairman felt the session was "positive and productive"and looks forward to future meetings.

But some of the party's pro-choice stalwarts worry that any declaration of tolerance in the abortion plank, the very matter dividing Republicans, might dilute the sizable advantage Democrats have among women.

"I don't think we've been intolerant, so I don't think we have to state the obvious,"said Rep. Patricia Schroeder of Colorado, a prominently pro-choice Democrat."It sounds really redundant to me. I don't know what we gain by it."

Schroeder added that it was almost as if the Hall group were saying, "Republicans are having a fight; why don't we?" But antiabortion Democrats disagree with Schroeder's idea that they have been included. In 1992, Robert Casey, who was governor of Pennsylvania and a passionate abortion foe, was denied an opportunity to address the national convention.

Although they are often dismissed as insignificant by pro-choice activists, Democratic abortion foes are taken more seriously in the House, where 35 to 40 of them routinely vote with Republicans on abortion-related measures.

In the 1992 Democratic platform, abortion is discussed in four sentences under the heading,"Choice," which is included in a larger section titled, "Responsibility."The language calls for Democrats to "stand behind the right of every woman to choose"an abortion, consistent with the 1973 Roe vs. Wade Supreme Court decision, "regardless of ability to pay, and support a national law to protect that right."

The plank also calls for supporting research on contraceptives, family planning, and other policies that lead to "healthy childbearing."

The group that met with Fowler, including Reps. Glenn Poshard of Illinois and Bart Stupak of Michigan, has no pretense of changing the party's platform position on abortion. Abortion foes don't control any of the Democratic Party apparatuses and have demonstrated little influence over national party affairs.

But the lawmakers could cause embarrassment for a party that has been snickering at the Republican fisticuffs over abortion. If a public skirmish were to break out among Democrats, it could take the sting out of Democratic charges that the GOP is controlled by its right wing and is not open to diverse viewpoints.

Antiabortion Democrats are working behind the scenes to try to win a concession. Over the past three months, they've been meeting privately with state and national party leaders and have begun talking to President Clinton's aides at the White House.

"We want to make sure pro-life Democrats are comfortable in this party,"Hall said."We just want a few sentences in there."

Joe Lockhart, spokesman for the Clinton-Gore campaign, said no decisions had been made on how to handle the concerns of antiabortion Democrats."Right now,"he said,"we are willing to listen to their point of view."

GRAPHIC: PHOTO - REP. PATRICIA SCHROEDER, "I don't know what we gain by it."

LANGUAGE: English

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Tony Lake
(talked to
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96 JUN 14 P2:11

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
June 14, 1996

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO:	Representative William Goodling
DATE:	June 14, 1996, as soon as possible
RECOMMENDED BY:	Anothony Lake
PURPOSE:	To return Representative Goodling's call regarding his concern about INS detainees in York County, Pennsylvania
BACKGROUND:	Representative Goodling called you to discuss the continued detention by INS of roughly 50 Chinese nationals in York County, Pennsylvania. The NSC staff tried to contact Representative Goodling but was told by his Chief of Staff that Representative Goodling would only speak to you.
TOPICS OF DISCUSSION:	1. Administrative relief 2. Conditions of detention 3. Administration position on protection for those who fear return to abusive family planning practices
CONTACT:	Anthony Lake, x69491
DATE OF SUBMISSION:	June 14, 1996

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

ACTION June 14, 1996

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ANTHONY LAKE
JOHN HILLEY

SUBJECT: Representative Goodling's Concerns About Chinese Detainees in York County, Pennsylvania

Purpose

To provide background and talking points for a phone conversation with Representative Goodling.

Background

Representative Goodling is concerned about the continued detention by INS of roughly 50 Chinese nationals in York County, Pennsylvania. According to his staff, Representative Goodling would like the Administration either to release or deport the migrants. They have been the subject of considerable publicity in the York-area media, where advocates have sought their release.

Background: The detainees were passengers on the merchant vessel *Golden Venture,* a smuggling ship that ran aground on Long Island in June 1993. All current detainees were found excludable and ineligible for asylum. Deportation has been delayed while the detainees seek judicial review of their cases. Among other things, petitioners have alleged that improper interference by White House officials prejudiced the substantive adjudication of their cases. After extensive court-ordered discovery lasting two years, the district court ruled that the petitioners *had not* presented sufficient evidence of impropriety in the administrative process to warrant an evidentiary hearing. Petitioners have now filed habeas corpus petitions, which the INS is seeking to have dismissed. A decision by the court is pending.

Administrative Relief: In addition to the ordinary opportunities for relief from exclusion and deportation that the law affords, these cases have been reviewed under special INS procedures for an extraordinary form of relief outside the context of asylum. The procedures, instituted at your direction in 1994, provide for release from detention and protection from deportation for

cc: Vice Presider
Chief of S

asylum-seekers who credibly claim that they 1) face imminent danger of forced abortion or involuntary sterilization; 2) have suffered or would suffer severe harm for refusing to submit to an abortion or sterilization; or 3) have suffered or would suffer severe harm because they violated other unreasonable family planning restrictions. Prior to deportation of these individuals, INS intends to review their files yet again to ensure proper implementation of the administrative guidance.

Several dozen Chinese asylum-seekers (including a number who arrived on the *Golden Venture*) were granted relief under this policy and were released from custody. Those remaining in custody were determined not to be eligible for this relief.

Conditions of detention: INS is confident that these aliens are being detained in humane and appropriate conditions.

Conversations with Representative Goodling: NSC tried to contact Representative Goodling, but his Chief of Staff took the call and stated that Goodling insisted on only talking to you.

RELATED ISSUES: NEW ADMINISTRATION POSITION ON PROTECTION FOR THOSE WHO FEAR RETURN TO ABUSIVE FAMILY PLANNING PRACTICES

At your direction, we have now announced that the Administration will support a provision in the House Immigration bill that provides statute-based protection to those who are now afforded administrative relief under the 1994 guidance.

RECOMMENDATION

That you call Representative Goodling and make the points attached at Tab A.

Attachment
Tab A Points to be Made

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH REPRESENTATIVE GOODLING

- Agree these cases should proceed expeditiously, consistent with petitioners' right to appeal their cases.

- Long delay in cases is product of petitioners' efforts to appeal in federal courts.

- Petitioners had full opportunity to apply for asylum and have been deemed excludable.

- Beyond normal asylum process, cases further reviewed under special INS procedures for extraordinary form of relief.

- Procedures provide for release of those who credibly claim they have suffered or would suffer severe harm due to opposition to abusive family planning practices.

- Several dozen Chinese claimants have been released under these procedures over past year, including some from Golden Venture.

- INS will review files one more time prior to any deportation to ensure we are providing protection against abusive family planning practices.

If asked to release claimants pending final disposition of cases:

- Immigration and Nationality Act provides for detention of claimants in exclusion cases like these.

- Alien smuggling is violent practice we need to deter, in part by being tough on enforcement.

- Absent credible claim for asylum, it is our general policy aliens smuggled through criminal syndicates should be detained pending final determination of their status so as to ensure repatriation if asylum status denied.

- Our policy is working: this form of alien smuggling by boat has diminished markedly since we initiated our enforcement policies.

[illegible] said, INS has [illegible]

If asked about safety of return of any persons to China:

- Our procedures are designed to ensure those who risk persecution are not returned, and many hundreds of Chinese have been protected in recent years through asylum and special procedures INS has implemented.

- But those who do not merit protection and who have arrived without documentation can and should return home.

If asked about Administration position on protection for those who fear return to abusive family planning

- As you may know, Administration supports provision in House Immigration Bill that would provide asylum to persons who fear return to abusive family planning practices.

If asked about why we resettle others, such as Bosnians:

- Provide asylum and resettle people of many different nationalities, including Chinese.

- Bosnians we have resettled have suffered terrible abuses -- these are people who experienced killings of their wives, children and neighbors and suffered indescribable trauma based on their ethnicity and religion.

- They clearly met our refugee criteria -- as have many Chinese.

If asked about allegations of political interference in these cases:

- Government denies these allegations.

- District Court ruled that after extensive discovery, claimants had not made requisite showing of impropriety to justify an evidentiary hearing into these allegations.

If asked about conditions of detention:

- Aliens are being detained in humane and appropriate conditions.

UNIVERSITY of ARKANSAS
1871

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RBLEFLAR@MERCURY.UARK.EDU

SIERRA CLUB CENTENNIAL 1892-1992

10 NC County
Bad (Resolution to him?
ARKANSAS CHAPTER
Is USDA slowing up?
DC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

TO: President Clinton
FROM: Rob Leflar
DATE: June 6, 1996
RE: Buffalo River Logging

The Sierra Club would welcome your directing Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman's attention to the importance of preserving the Buffalo National River from pollution caused by logging and roadbuilding activities permitted by the U.S. Forest Service in the Buffalo National River watershed. Please consider having Secretary Glickman order the Forest Service to stop logging in the Buffalo watershed until pending litigation is resolved.

The Forest Service has recently signed contracts with private loggers for intensive logging in the Buffalo River watershed. The Arkansas Chapter of the Sierra Club, joined by the Newton County Wildlife Association and the State of Arkansas, has filed an action in federal district court to enjoin the USFS-permitted timber sales until the Forest Serivce prepares the legally required management plans under the National Wild & Scenic Rivers Act. Fishery and forestry experts have testified that the planned logging has the potential to foul the river.

We had a half-win, half-loss in Judge Bill Wilson's court in April. Judge Wilson found that the USFS had violated the National Wild & Scenic Rivers Act, and stated that there could be a substantial likelihood of irreparable harm from logging in the Buffalo River watershed, but he declined to issue a preliminary injunction against the timber sales. His decision is on appeal to the 8th Circuit. (The attached two memos from U of A environmental law professor John Harbison set out the basic issues in the lawsuit for your reference.) Now the Forest Service is proceeding with the logging projects. Local citizens last week peacefully sat in front of bulldozers at a logging site; one was arrested; and a local botanist was beaten and hospitalized.

Please ask Secretary Glickman to consider directing the Forest Service voluntarily to suspend the Buffalo River watershed timber sale program until the agency complies with the law. This action would provide further proof of your Administration's commitment to protection of the nation's beloved natural treasures.

Feel free to contact me, Professor Harbison (501/575-7642), Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund attorney Steve Volker (415/627-6700), or Arkansas assistant attorney general Charlie Moulton (501/682-8090) for further information.

Memorandum

To: Rob Leflar
From: John Harbison
Re: Buffalo Watershed Litigation
Date: June 3, 1996

This is an update on my memorandum of May 10th concerning *Newton County Wildlife Ass'n v. U.S. Forest Service* and *Arkansas v. U.S. Forest Service*. Judge Wilson's temporary stay of his decision not to issue a preliminary injunction expired on May 3rd. Final briefs in the appeal to the Eighth Circuit of Judge Wilson's decision on the preliminary injunction request are due July 23rd.

Immediately after the expiration of the stay, the Forest Service signed contracts for the sale of timber on approximately 300 acres in the Buffalo headwaters, the first of a series of proposed sales from the Junction and Sandy Springs projects. Around May 15th, the purchaser entered the sale area and started logging operations. The prediction in my earlier memorandum that the Forest Service would move quickly to get timber out of the woods has proven to be accurate. In the transcript of the evidentiary hearing on the preliminary injunction request, Judge Wilson states that the Forest Service is in violation of the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act and that there could be a substantial likelihood of irreparable harm from logging in the Buffalo watershed. I suspect that the Forest Service wants to log as much as possible before Judge Wilson converts these findings to a formal order.

On May 30th, about 20 people sat in front of bulldozers and skidders at the site of the West Fork sale, a part of the Sandy Springs project. The Newton County sheriff came to the scene, arrested Herb Culver, a member of the Newton County Wildlife Association, and charged him with criminal trespass, a misdemeanor. He has been released on his own recognizance. On May 31st, the Forest Service published a closure order for all uses except logging for approximately 16 square miles in the Buffalo headwaters area and brought in federal law enforcement personnel. There have been no additional arrests, though one demonstrator has filed an assault charge against a federal officer with regard to an incident that occurred that morning. I do not know the details. I have been told that the Newton County Wildlife Association plans to continue its protests.

SIERRA CLUB



ARKANSAS CHAPTER

TO: Hillary Rodham Clinton

FROM: Rob Leflar

DATE: May 11, 1996

RE: Buffalo River

The Sierra Club would welcome your directing Agriculture Secretary Dan Glicksman's attention to the importance of preserving the Buffalo National River from pollution caused by logging and roadbuilding activities permitted by the U.S. Forest Service in the Buffalo National River watershed.

The Forest Service still allows intensive logging in the Buffalo River watershed, which has the potential to foul the river. The Arkansas Chapter of the Sierra Club, joined by the Newton County Wildlife Association and the State of Arkansas, has filed an action in federal district court to enjoin the USFS-permitted timber sales until the Forest Serivce prepares the legally required management plans under the National Wild & Scenic Rivers Act.

We had a half-win, half-loss in Judge Bill Wilson's court in April. Judge Wilson found that the USFS had violated the National Wild & Scenic Rivers Act, but he declined to issue a preliminary injunction against the timber sales. His decision is on appeal to the 8th Circuit. The attached memo from U of A environmental law professor John Harbison sets out the basic issues in the lawsuit for your reference.

Please ask Secretary Glicksman to consider directing the Forest Service voluntarily to suspend the Buffalo River watershed timber sale program until the agency complies with the law. Feel free to contact me, Professor Harbison (501/575-7642), Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund attorney Steve Volker (415/627-6700), or Arkansas assistant attorney general Charlie Moulton (501/682-2007) for further information.

TO: Rob Leflar
FROM: John Harbison
DATE: May 10, 1996
RE: Buffalo Watershed Litigation

Newton County Wildlife Ass'n v. U.S. Forest Service and *Arkansas v. U.S. Forest Service* are consolidated actions to protect the Buffalo River watershed from logging proposed by the U.S. Forest Service. The Buffalo is of incalculable value to the people of Arkansas and the nation. The Buffalo National River was made the nation's first National River by an Act of Congress in 1972 "for the purpose of conserving . . . an area containing unique scenic and scientific features." In 1991, it was designated an Extraordinary Resource Water by the State of Arkansas, the highest ranking of stream quality under Arkansas law. In 1992, Congress included reaches of the Buffalo River and Richland Creek, the Buffalo's largest tributary, in the National Wild and Scenic River System.

The statute required the Forest Service to adopt comprehensive management plans to protect these stream segments by September 30, 1995. To date, USFS has not done so. Instead, the Forest Service has proposed several large timber sales in the Buffalo watershed. These lawsuits seek to enjoin four of these timber sales[1] until the Forest Service prepares the required management plans and remedies other alleged violations of federal and state law, including claims brought under the National Environmental Policy Act, the Clean Water Act, and the National Forest Management Act. In addition to these four sales, there are several others on the planning horizon under the Forest Service's Buffalo Headwaters Project.

The gravamen of the plaintiffs' complaint is that these sales threaten to harm the Buffalo watershed before the required planning takes place. The National Wild and Scenic Rivers Act requires the Forest Service to administer each designated stream segment "in such manner as to protect and enhance the values which caused it to be included" in the Wild and Scenic Rivers System. Instead, the Forest Service seems determined to log as much of the watershed as posible before adopting the required management plan intended by Congress to ensure that these values are protected. The complaint and accompanying affidavits allege that the proposed logging would substantially impair the scenic beauty, high water quality, solitude and other outstanding natural values of the Buffalo watershed.

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[1] The Sand Gap timber sale is a proposal to log 418 acres in the Upper Richland Creek watershed adjacent to the Richland Creek Wild and Scenic River and upstream of the Richland Creek Wilderness and Buffalo National River. Similarly, the Round Hill sale would log 282 acres in the Richland Creek watershed; the Sandy Springs sale would log 1,892 acres in the Little and Big Buffalo watersheds, near the Buffalo headwaters; and the Junction sale would log 440 acres in three contiguous drainages in the watershed: Smith, [illegible] and [illegible].

After a hearing on the preliminary injunction, Judge Bill Wilson agreed with the plaintiffs that the Forest Service was in violation of the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act. He nevertheless declined to issue an injunction, noting that the timber industry would be harmed and that he felt constrained to defer to the agency's expertise. Subsequently, however, he issued a stay, *sua sponte*, allowing the plaintiffs to appeal to the Eighth Circuit his decision not to enjoin the logging activities.

The case is in an unusual posture. Judge Wilson has indicated that he believes that the Forest Service's derelictions are unlawful and his stay has much the same effect as the preliminary injunction sought by the plaintiffs. However, the plaintiffs must now persuade the Eighth Circuit that equities favor cessation of logging until the Forest Service has complied with Wild and Scenic Rivers Act planning requirements. If this fails, my understanding, from talking with Forest Service officials, is that the agency intends immediately to resume logging in the watershed, despite being clearly in violation of the Wild and Scenic Rivers Act's planning requirements. I surmise that the Forest Service's impatience to proceed may be driven by the fact that they would be hard pressed to justify timber sales of the volume proposed under a Wild and Scenic Rivers management plan that takes wild and scenic river values seriously. I have advised the plaintiffs that if the Eighth Circuit lifts Judge Wilson's stay (and a preliminary injunction does not issue), they should publicly appeal to the Forest Service to voluntarily suspend the Buffalo timber program until the agency complies with the law.

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(From Newton County Wildlife Association newsletter, May 1996)

BUFFALO NATIONAL RIVER HEADWATERS UNDER ASSAULT

In 1973 the NPS designated the Buffalo River of the Arkansas Ozarks as our nation's first National River (the BNR). Approximately 140 miles of the BNR, from its mouth at the White River up to the BNR headwaters are currently federally protected. Five wilderness areas around the River provide further protection for the corridor. However for the past 10 years the USFS has been actively involved in clearcutting, herbiciding, and roading throughout the entire BNR Headwaters.

Presently, the BNR headwaters are home to thousands of species of plants and animals, old growth forests, springs, and sparkling mountain streams. Rare and endangered plants and animals seek shelter and habitat within the lush headwaters forests. surrounding the highest point in the Ozarks.

Now the USFS is planning more timber sales (around 900 acres), and more roads (around 15 miles), in the BNR headwaters. We do not believe that the USFS has been managing these lands in the best interests of the public, nor in the best interests of these headwaters themselves. Our concerns include:

- **Management plans must analyze past activities within the watershed including estimates of accumulated tons of sediments that have run off into the BNR from past roading and timbering activities in the headwaters.** (See attached map)
- **Biological inventories must be completed prior to any more watershed disturbances. The American people have the right to know, and the USFS has the responsibility to inform us, what the present public resources are before they are irreversibly altered.**
- **The USFS plans include the 11,000 acre Upper Buffalo Wilderness area as well as ONF lands out of the headwaters watershed as part of the project area study. By including these outside lands, expected impacts are averaged over a larger area and appear to be diminished. *The actual project area is the entire watersheds of the three creeks which come together to form the Buffalo River and consists of no more than 12,000 acres.***
- **These proposed USFS plans call for *12.8 miles of road reconstruction* and 2.2 miles of new roads in this 12,000 acre study area. The 12.8 miles of road reconstruction is actually about 12.8 miles of new roads, since the USFS claims as roads old overgrown tracks that have not been used for 60 years. USFS regulations allow classification as reconstructed if the new road is anywhere within *1/4 mile of the original roadbed*! Management plans must study road density and environmental impacts from such expanded human access and examine alternatives to decrease the *actual* headwaters road densities.**
- **Presently there is widespread illegal motorized access, (around the Buffalo Creek Wild and Scenic River corridor), as well as illegal trash disposal, and uncontrolled grazing in the BNR headwaters. Present management plans must viably address these continuing watershed problems.**
- **Management plans for the BNR headwaters must be compatible with, and add value to, NPS BNR management plans. Present headwaters recreational activities of hiking, backpacking, mountain biking, horseback riding, camping, and hunting should be expanded and must not be compromised.**
- **Management plans must include old-growth protected habitat in conjunction with buffers and corridors for interior forest species protection, migration, and expansion.**
- **An Environmental Impact [illegible] be conducted examining various management alternatives**

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/96

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 21, 1996 96 JUN 21 P5:55

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO: Senator Edward Kennedy

DATE: June 21, 1996

RECOMMENDED BY: John Hilley JH

PURPOSE:

To discuss the status of negotiations on a Medical Savings Account compromise and strategy to get the Kennedy/Kassebaum bill enacted.

BACKGROUND:

There have been ongoing negotiations with Republicans in an attempt to achieve an acceptable compromise on MSAs. This issue is the primary road block to getting a bill passed through the Congress with the support of both Democrats and Republicans.

TOPICS OF DISCUSSION:

1. The Senate passed Kennedy/Kassebaum bill is very good for the country and for the Democrats. Obviously, it looks like the price of getting this bill through both houses of Congress is some version of MSAs. However, even though the Republicans will get some credit for the MSAs, the Democrats will get the lions share of the credit.

2. The major challenge for us is to come up with an MSA option both sides can live with. We want to resolve this to get a bill I can sign. Based on discussions with your staff, I am trying to push Senator Lott into agreeing to the following four issues:

   a. **Limit Enrollment During Experiment.** We need to limit the number of people that can have an MSA during the experiment period. The Department of Treasury estimates that the caps we are proposing will limit the participants to between 500,000 and 1 million people.

   b. **Require Affirmative Vote.** We want an affirmative vote to expand the program beyond the initial limited number of people. I believe Senator Lott will agree to this as long as there is no need for an affirmative vote for those already in the

program to continue after the experiment period. If we could get the Republicans to agree to caps and vote to expand, I would not object to having a vote to continue the program for those enrolled.

c. **Guard Against Adverse Selection.** We need to agree on a deductible and out-of-pocket limit to protect against adverse selection. (The higher the deductible the more potential for major problems with healthy populations selecting MSAs and people staying in traditional plans and seeing their premiums increase significantly.)

We are starting the discussion with a $2,000 limit per individual. The Republicans are at a $5,000 deductible limit, but they also have no protection against additional out-of-pocket costs above the deductible. I want your feelings on where we should end up and how we get there.

d. **Ensure Fair Tax Treatment.** We want to ensure a level playing field between the tax treatment of MSAs and traditional health plans. Currently, the Republican plan is giving a tax advantage to MSAs because it allows for a higher tax deductible contribution than what the employee would save in premiums for the purchase of a catastrophic versus a traditional health plan. They are at a $2,000 limit and we are at a $1,000 limit.

3. My staff recently met with the House and Senate Republican policy staffs and David Nexon of your staff participated. Senator, I need your help. I want to work with you to achieve a health care bill we can all be proud of.

CONTACT PERSON AND TELEPHONE NUMBER(S): White House Operator

DATE OF SUBMISSION: June 21, 1996

ACTION:_____

Baptist Joint Committee
PROCLAIM LIBERTY

200 Maryland Avenue, N.E., Washington, D.C. 20002-5797
202-544-4226 FAX: 202-544-2094

CompuServe: 70420,54 • Internet: Baptist_Joint_Committee.parti @ Eunet.org

JAMES M. DUNN
Executive Director

Helen -

6-25-96

Back from oval - to Dorskind for reply?

✓ yes — no

original to Jim

Jim

June 19, 1996

William Jefferson Clinton
The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I am a "recovering Southern Baptist" who is proud to identify with you, profoundly sad, at the state of the Southern Baptist Convention today. I'm grateful for your courage and intelligence in standing up to the hate, fear and ignorance that has taken over our denomination. (The depth of which is seen in this year's resolutions, enclosed).

Everywhere I go (and I go everywhere) Baptists say, "Tell President Clinton we're praying for him," (as if I saw you every few days).

Your response to the former presidents of the SBC was strong, clear, honest and compassionate. In working with Carl Bates, Wayne Dehoney and Jimmy Allen, I discovered the depth of their passionate support for you and the biblical righteousness of their convictions.

As a sort of watchdog (I'm called that), I and our staff are fanatically faithful to your many initiatives and trusting of your and Mrs. Clinton's moral judgment, character and spiritual integrity. An illustration is our appreciation for the unnoted dimensions of the anti-terrorism bill. Here's an editorial from Foy Valentine's journal.

The Southern Baptist Convention is lost. Lowest attendance in 30 years. Reasonable people no longer attend. They elected a severely limited little man to be their new president. Beware!

Alas, we do have something to answer for as Baptists. Seven of the eight persons at the top of the political pecking order are Baptists:

Clinton	Gore	Lott
Gingrich	Gephardt	Thurmond
Byrd	only Daschle is not	

We pray for you. We work for you. Holler when we can help.

Sincerely,

James M. Dunn

The Mysterious "Taggant"

Few readers will remember, but the Anti-Terrorism Bill that recently cleared Congress included one arcane but highly important clause. That clause was the requirement that ammunition carry identification ("finger-prints").

Although police and public safety officials had tried for many years to get the provision enacted into law, manufacturers of explosives had until now succeeded in de-railing every effort for socially responsible control. They had used their well-financed "front," the National Rifle Association (NRA), to defeat the sensible requirement that explosives carry identification.

That method of identification, which has been available for decades, makes use of markers called "taggants." Through the insertion of "taggants" it becomes possible to trace the path of an artillery shell, machine gun bullet, handmade bomb, or other such killing weapon. From the point of impact back through the middle man to the explosives factory, the arc of responsibility can be discerned.

The "taggant" is a tiny plastic dot, available in many different hues. A pattern can be implanted in explosives without affecting their power, dependability, or accuracy. By that "finger-print" a recovered bullet or shell, landmine or grenade or amateur bomb can be identified and traced to its source.

Until now, the National Rifle Association has been able to block legislation to slow down traffic in anonymous anti-personnel weapons. The NRA's favorite device to appeal to public opinion has been to publicize the happy scene of some young father teaching his son to plink rabbits. (With light artillery? with machine guns? with hand grenades?) The NRA has also been one of the earliest and most lavish lobbies in the use of cash outlays to Representatives and Senators, helping to give us today "the best Congress money can buy."

The "taggant," a device long available for finger-printing explosives, will not directly limit the anarchic mass distribution of tools for killing but will rather make it possible to identify the chain of responsibility after the damage is done. Still, American companies that have been engaged in the sub rosa and enormously profitable shipment of arms to the Muslim forces in "Bosnia," in breach of the UN embargo, will have to think twice about the possibility that their misconduct may become known to citizens at large, both in America and around the world.

tridge manufacturers that have produced

After the lawyers on the court floors get through with their financially profitable delaying tactics, and after the lawyers on the bench ("judges") play their accustomed role in the delay of law and justice, and after the NRA has used its subventions to pay for another excruciatingly banal series of TV shows about juvenile rabbit hunters to disguise what is really going on, the common sense of the public may win out. The concern of citizens for police safety and lives may unite with the moral outrage of true American patriots, who resent seeing their country play the part of a duplicitous trader, to get the use of "taggants" enforced.

"Taggants" are part of an effective answer to terrorism and rogue military actions, both foreign and domestic. Their use should be expected to also sharply reduce the mayhem in American cities and in the countryside, helping to staunch the flow of explosives to individual criminals, companies of terrorists, and private armies.

One of the major factors in destroying a republic is by fraud, bribery, and false "fronts" to cause the voters to lose faith in the democratic process.

Lest we forget, the fighting in the streets between private armies was one of the destructive forces that undermined the Weimar Republic and made the Führer's promises attractive to a substantial percentage of sober and hard-working Germans. Hitler never won a democratic election or a majority vote, but his minority machine was strong enough that the President, General Hindenburg, appointed him, and prominent industrialists supported him, in establishing a government of centralized violence to replace the anarchy of dispersed violence.

One of the major factors in destroying a republic is by fraud, bribery, and false "fronts" to cause the voters to lose faith in the democratic process. The Anti-Terrorism Act restores hope in America, that in their Constitutional mandate to secure the general welfare the Congress and the President will identify and curtail the illicit manufacture, distribution, and misuse of anti-personnel weaponry.

Vulgarity and Civility in Politics

Following the State of the Union Address of the President of the United States, the watching public had an appalling demonstration of incivility. It was also a demonstration of a lack of patriotism, of disrespect for the highest office in the land.

While a noisome claque of ill-mannered fraternity boys and

g poor white trash sat on their hands, a few

2. RESOLUTION ON DISNEY COMPANY POLICY

WHEREAS, Southern Baptists and their children have for many decades enjoyed and trusted The Disney Company's television programming, feature-length films and theme parks which have reinforced basic American virtues and values; and

WHEREAS, The virtues promoted by Disney have contributed to the development of a generation of Americans who have come to expect and demand high levels of moral and virtuous leadership from The Disney Company; and

WHEREAS, In recent years, The Disney Company has given the appearance that the promotion of homosexuality is more important than its historic commitment to traditional family values and has taken a direction which is contrary to its previous commitment; and

WHEREAS, In recent years, we have watched the world's largest family entertainment company with growing disappointment as Disney Company's moral leadership has been eroded by a variety of corporate decisions, which have included but are not limited to:

(1) Establishing of an employee policy which accepts and embraces homosexual relationships for the purpose of insurance benefits;

(2) Hosting of homosexual and lesbian theme nights at its parks;

(3) Choosing of a convicted child molester to direct the Disney movie *Powder* through its subsidiary Miramax Productions;

(4) Publishing of a book aimed at teenage homosexuals entitled *Growing Up Gay: From Left Out to Coming Out* through its subsidiary Hyperion, connecting Disney to the promotion of the homosexual agenda;

(5) Producing, through its subsidiary corporations, objectionable material such as the film *Priest* which disparages Christian values and depicts Christian leaders as morally defective;

I hear it's a great movie

WHEREAS, These and other corporate decisions and actions represent a significant departure from Disney's family-values image, and a gratuitous insult to Christians and others who have long supported Disney and contributed to its corporate profits; and

WHEREAS, Previous efforts to communicate these concerns to The Disney Company have been fruitless; and

BE IT RESOLVED, That we as Southern Baptist messengers meeting in annual session on June 11-13, 1996, go on record expressing our deep disappointment for these corporate actions by The Disney Company; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we affirm the employees of The Disney Company who embrace and share our concerns; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we encourage Southern Baptists to give serious and prayerful reconsideration to their purchase and support of Disney products; and to boycott Disney companies, stores and theme parks if they continue this trend.

Richard Land

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we encourage the Christian Life Commission to monitor Disney's progress in returning to its previous philosophy of producing enriching family entertainment; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we encourage state Baptist papers and national Southern Baptist publications to assist in informing the Southern Baptist family of these issues; and

FINALLY, BE IT RESOLVED, That the Convention requests the Executive Committee to send a copy of this resolution to Michael Eisner, CEO of The Disney Company, and to encourage the Southern Baptist family to support this resolution with our purchasing power, letters, and influence.

~~(Continued on next page)~~

(Continued from previous page)

not so before 1980 — if you'd like earlier resolutions let me know

3. RESOLUTION ON THE PARTIAL-BIRTH ABORTION BAN

WHEREAS, The Southern Baptist Convention has consistently and overwhelmingly adopted resolutions affirming the declarations of Scripture that all human life is a sacred gift from our sovereign God and therefore that all abortions, except in those very rare cases where the life of the mother is clearly in danger, are wrong; and

so-called by them

WHEREAS, A specific technique known as partial-birth abortion is a particularly grisly procedure wherein a doctor uses forceps and hands to deliver an intact baby, feet first, until only the head remains in the birth canal, whereafter the doctor pierces the base of the baby's skull with surgical scissors, whereafter he or she then inserts a canula into the incision and suctions out the brain of the baby so the head collapses; and

WHEREAS, The Congress of the United States has passed legislation which would make this inhumane procedure, which the American Catholic cardinals have correctly characterized as "more akin to infanticide than abortion," illegal except to save the life of the mother; and

WHEREAS, The President of the United States vetoed this legislation and offered as justification for his action that he had prayed about the matter and determined that he could not sign the legislation unless it contained an exception for cases where there might be "serious health consequences to the mother;" and Amen!

WHEREAS, "The mother's health exception" has been completely discredited as a catch-all loophole which has been demonstrated to include any reason the mother so desires; and

who says?

WHEREAS, The Bible is the perfect revelation of God's will, including His perfect moral will for those whom He has created in His very own image; and

They think they alone understand scripture. What arrogance!

WHEREAS, It is impossible to conclude that God, who is perfect and unchanging in all His attributes, and whose laws are perfect and immutable, would reveal to any person, through prayer, that which is contrary to His Word; and

Never has a Baptist Convention so demeaned the right of personal interpretation

WHEREAS, Abortion in general, and partial-birth abortion in particular, continues as a blight upon our culture and surely deserves God's judgment; Now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That we, the messengers to the Southern Baptist Convention, meeting in session June 11-13, 1996, in New Orleans, Louisiana, do commend those members of Congress who voted to support legislation which would have abolished partial-birth abortions; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we express our strong disapproval of the votes of those members of Congress who stood in opposition to this legislation; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we express our strong disapproval of President Clinton's veto of this legislation; and

outrageous.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we express our disapproval of the President's suggestion that God would reveal to him in prayer that any abortion method, particularly one so barbarous in technique and so cruel in effect, would ever have God's approval; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we, the messengers to the Southern Baptist Convention, in a genuine spirit of love do admonish and encourage President Clinton, himself a Southern Baptist, to reverse his decision to veto this legislation and sign it into law; or in the alternative of such failure to reverse his action, we call upon every member of Congress to vote to override the President's veto; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, That we pray for our nation, upon whom the blight of abortion remains, that we might come to recognize the sanctity of innocent, unborn babies and that we might seek civil justice for these innocent victims of a cruelty so harsh that we are surely accountable for our failure to intervene on their behalf.

5. RESOLUTION REQUESTING ALL POLITICAL PARTIES TO INCLUDE A PRO-LIFE PLATFORM

WHEREAS, The sanctity of human life is of primary importance to God and should be to humans; and

WHEREAS, The Southern Baptist Convention has expressed this principle over the years; and

WHEREAS, The federal government for over two decades has denied the sanctity of life by court decision, congressional law, and executive order in violation of the constitutional affirmation of the inalienable, God-given right to life; Now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That we, the messengers to the Southern Baptist Convention, meeting in New Orleans, Louisiana, June 11-13, 1996, call on the Republican National Convention to maintain its strong pro-life platform and the Democratic National Convention and all other national parties to adopt a strong pro-life platform.

Talk about meddling, violating the spirit of separation, failing to preach the Gospel!

6. RESOLUTION ON HOMOSEXUAL MARRIAGE

WHEREAS, In May 1993, the Hawaiian Supreme Court ruled that the state's exclusion of same-sex couples from marital status may be contrary to the Hawaiian state constitution because it amounts to invidious discrimination; and

WHEREAS, The Hawaiian Supreme Court has instructed the state of Hawaii to prove "compelling state interests" for limiting marriage to heterosexual couples; and

not a bad test

WHEREAS, The instructions of the Hawaiian Supreme Court shift the burden of proof from persons seeking to change existing law and places it instead on officers of the government who support norms of conduct long established in the Western legal tradition; and

WHEREAS, The "compelling state interests" standard is extraordinarily difficult to prove before a court already disposed to regard the exclusion of same-sex relationships from the definition of marriage as a matter of invidious discrimination, and therefore the state of Hawaii is soon likely to grant full legal status to the marriage of homosexual couples; and

WHEREAS, Under the "full faith and credit" clause of the Constitution of the United States, any marriage performed in the state of Hawaii will, apart from the enactment of state-by-state exceptions or the enactment of a new and comprehensive federal law, have to be legally recognized in every other state; and

WHEREAS, Homosexual couples from every state are preparing to obtain marriage licenses in Hawaii and then to challenge the courts, legislatures and institutions in their home states to treat their same-sex relationship as having identical status to the recognition of marriagesbetween a man and a woman; and

What's their problem?

WHEREAS, Challenging the exclusion of homosexual couples from the definition of marriage as sanctioned and protected by civil law is a strategy to appropriate the moral capital of marriage in order to enforce acceptance of homosexual conduct and homosexual desires in the public arenas of American life; and

highly selective reading of scientific reports

WHEREAS, There is much scientific evidence showing that homosexual attractions are pathological, abnormal, and mostly if not entirely a matter of external influence, learned behavior, acquired taste and personal choice; and, although there have been speculations, no conclusive scientific evidence has been found to support claims that homosexual attractions are biologically fixed and irreversible; and

WHEREAS, Even should a biological link with homosexuality be discovered, it could not settle the morality of homosexual behavior, and could not serve to justify, much less require, any society to grant the status of marriage to homosexual couples; and

WHEREAS, God, who is both Moral Ruler of the Universe and the Creator of all that is, and who knows and understands the physical and psychological composition of all and every human life better than any human scientist will ever know it, has stated in Scripture that homosexual conduct is always a gross abomination for all human beings, both men and women, in all circumstances, without exception (Lev. 18:22 and 20:13); and

A major leap, from the printed words of an ancient text to Knowing the mind of God!

Blurring the biblical distinction between temptation and sin.

Jesus was "tempted in all points, like as we are" Hebrews 4:15

WHEREAS, God makes it clear in Scripture that even desire to engage in a homosexual sexual relationship is always sinful, impure, degrading, shameful, unnatural, indecent and perverted (Rom. 1:24-27), so any effort to extend the meaning of marriage in order to sanction the satisfaction of such desire must also be in every case sinful, impure, degrading, shameful, unnatural, indecent and perverted; and

WHEREAS, God by saying "their blood will be on their own heads" (Lev.20:13) has explicitly ruled out any effort by homosexual couples to justify their behavior, or to claim their homosexual relationship deserves protected legal status, by shifting blame or responsibility for their same-sex relationship to the Creator who made them; and

WHEREAS, Marriage is God's idea established in the order of creation to be a permanent union of one man with one woman (Gen. 1:28, and 2:24), and marriage is therefore first and foremost a divine institution (Mat. 19:6) and only secondarily a cultural and civil institution; and

WHEREAS, Jesus reaffirmed the origin of marriage in the order of creation and declared marriage to be a sacred, monogamous, and life-long institution joining one man with one woman (Matt. 19:4-6); and

WHEREAS, Any action by the government giving homosexual unions the legal status of marriage denies the fundamental immorality of homosexual behavior and causes the government of any nation so doing to jeopardize seriously the favor of Almighty God on whom the security, welfare, and stability of every nation, even Gentile nations (Lev. 18:24-25, 28; Ps. 2; Am. 1:3,6, 9, 11, 13; Isa. 13-21), ultimately depends; and

WHEREAS, Separating marriage from the complementary union of male and female trivializes the concept of marriage in the laws, public policies, educational systems, and other institutions of society; and

WHEREAS, Only the marriage of male and female serves to tame the impulses of self-centered individuals by inter-generational obligations and commitments; and

WHEREAS, Failure in the courts and institutions of civil law to recognize the unique importance of heterosexual family units, by granting moral equivalence to the idea of same-sex relationships, will surely and very seriously undercut the formation of stable heterosexual family units in future generations; and

WHEREAS, The future of the United States of America will be placed at risk because no society can survive that does not recognize, protect and defend the unique importance of heterosexual marriage to its own health and stability; and

WHEREAS, The legal recognition of homosexual marriage carries the potential use of force, a force that will likely be turned against those who do not or cannot accept the moral equivalence of homosexual marriages; and

WHEREAS, The enforcement of marriage laws, standards of educational instruction in schools, and the regulation of fair business practices will be adjusted to require public recognition of homosexual marriages, and this adjustment will certainly undermine, and may even restrain, the public communication, influence, and independence of individuals, groups, and

(Continued on next page)

Sounds like a Dennis Miller rant to me

institutions who believe and teach that homosexual marriage is immoral in both concept and practice; and

WHEREAS, Legalizing homosexual marriage will force public schools to teach the acceptability of homosexual marriage and will likely lead to laws requiring that businesses remove distinctions between homosexual and heterosexual relationships in the way they treat marriage benefits for their employees; and

WHEREAS, Legalizing homosexual marriage raises the specter of new laws and policies intended to marginalize, privatize, or silence the social and moral influence of parents and churches which teach that homosexual marriage is wrong or that heterosexual marriage is morally superior; Now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That we, the messengers of the one hundred thirty-ninth meeting of the Southern Baptist Convention, assembled in New Orleans, Louisiana, June 11-13, 1996, do clearly and steadfastly oppose the legalization of homosexual marriage by the state of Hawaii, or by any other state, or by the United States of America; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we affirm the Bible's teaching that promotion of homosexual conduct and relationships by any society, including action by the governments to sanction and legitimize homosexual relationships by the legalization of homosexual marriages, is an abominable sin calling for God's swift judgment upon any such society (Lev. 18:22, 28; Isa. 3:9); and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we commit ourselves to pray faithfully against the legalization of homosexual marriages in American law; and to preach and teach the truth concerning what the Bible says about homosexuality, homosexual conduct and the institution of marriage, and against the foolishness, danger and moral wickedness of any government action to accept, sanction, approve, protect, or promote homosexual marriage; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we commit ourselves to pray for, affirm, and support legislative and legal efforts and all persons involved in efforts to oppose the legalization of homosexual marriages through judicial actions, through public policy decisions, and through legislation introduced at both the state and federal levels of government; and we call upon all judges, all persons in public office, and all candidates for public office, to do all they can to resist and oppose the legalization of homosexual marriages; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, That because any law, or any policy or regulation supporting a law, that legalizes homosexual marriage is and must be completely and thoroughly wicked according to God's standards revealed in the Bible, we do most solemnly pledge our decision never to recognize the moral legitimacy of any such law, policy or regulation; and we affirm that, whatever the stakes (Dan. 3:17-18), we will never conform to or obey (Acts 4:19) anything required by any governing body to implement, impose, or act upon any such law. So help us God.

NICE touch!

7. RESOLUTION ON ASSISTED SUICIDE

WHEREAS, Two U.S. Circuit Courts of Appeals have voted for the first time in American history to strike down laws prohibiting physician assisted suicide; and

WHEREAS, Michigan courts have consistently acquitted Dr. Jack Kevorkian of any criminal wrong-doing in assisting individuals to end their own lives by suicide; and

WHEREAS, A University of Pennsylvania survey recently found that 20 percent of nurses polled had performed euthanasia or assisted in the suicide of a patient; and

WHEREAS, Western medicine has heretofore followed both the Judeo-Christian tradition and the over 2500 year-old Hippocratic tradition forbidding physicians to assist in the death of their patients; and

WHEREAS, The Bible teaches that God created all human life in His own image and declares human life to be sacred from conception until natural death (Genesis 1:29:6ff); and

WHEREAS, The Bible likewise teaches that murder, including self-murder, is immoral (Exodus 20:13); and

WHEREAS, American society seems to be embracing of the "culture of death"; Now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That we the messengers of the Southern Baptist Convention, meeting in New Orleans, Louisiana, June 11-13, 1996, affirm the biblical and Hippocratic prohibitions against assisted suicide; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we commend and encourage medical science in its efforts to improve pain management techniques, thus removing one major impetus toward assisted dying; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we call upon physicians, nurses, hospice workers, individual Christians and local churches to make emotional, psychological, and spiritual care of suffering patients a priority, thereby relieving the sense of isolation and abandonment

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we vigorously denounce assisted suicide as an appropriate means of treating suffering; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, That we call upon federal, state, and local governments to prosecute under the law physicians or others who practice assisted suicide.

8. RESOLUTION SUPPORTING A NATIONAL COMMISSION ON THE EFFECTS OF GAMBLING

WHEREAS, The Southern Baptist Convention has frequently stated its opposition to the gambling industry and the devastating effects of gambling upon the moral and economic life of our nation; and

WHEREAS, No national commission has studied the effects of gambling upon society since 1976; and

WHEREAS, Participation in gambling has grown at an alarming rate since 1976, when Americans legally wagered 17 billion to 1994, when Americans legally wagered 480 billion; and

WHEREAS, Legislation has been passed in the United States House of Representatives of the 104th Congress which would establish a commission to study the impact of gambling upon society and to make such recommendations as may be necessary to correct those problems which the study may reveal; and

WHEREAS, There is pending in the United States Senate of the Congress, legislation similar to that already passed in the House; and

(Continued on next page)

WHEREAS, If Congress passes such legislation it will then be forwarded to the President of the United States for consideration; and

WHEREAS, As it is currently proposed, this legislation provides that the commission would be made up of individuals appointed by the President of the United States, the Speaker of the United States House of Representatives, and the Majority Leader of the United States Senate; and

WHEREAS, The gambling industry is unashamed in its relentless pursuit of political advantage by monetary means; Now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That we support legislation which seeks to evaluate the effect of public policy with regard to gambling, and the impact of gambling upon society; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we commend those members of the United States House of Representatives who voted in favor of H.R. 497, known as the "National Gambling Impact and Policy Commission Act"; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we urge the United States Senate to pass legislation to the same effect; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we urge the President of the United States to sign any such legislation which is substantially similar to that already approved by the United States House of Representatives; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we urge those responsible for appointing members to the Commission to exercise their judgment with caution and to avoid appointing individuals whose primary interest in the outcome of the Commission may be motivated by protection of the pecuniary interests of the gambling industry; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we urge members of Congress to be undeterred in their efforts by representatives of the lucrative gambling industry who unashamedly seek to exert their influence in the political process with the proceeds of their nefarious profits; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, That we pray for and encourage our fellow Southern Baptists who are opposing the pernicious evil of gambling in their local communities and states.

9. RESOLUTION ON PARENTAL CHOICE ON EDUCATION

WHEREAS, A well-educated populace is a matter of extreme importance to the future and stability of our nation and society; and

WHEREAS, Funds are collected and distributed by our government to promote and foster the education of our populace; and

WHEREAS, The education of children is a primary responsibility of parents; and

WHEREAS, Parents as the principle educators of their children, require the freedom and ability to elect the educational process best suited for their family needs; Now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That we the messengers of the Southern Baptist Convention, meeting in New Orleans, Louisiana, June 11-13, 1996, recognize and affirm the God-given right of parents to direct the education of their children; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That the Southern Baptist Convention affirms and encourages the thousands of excellent Southern Baptist public, private, and home-oriented educators; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, That we encourage our legislators, at all levels of government throughout our nation, to develop the means and methods of returning educational and funding choices to parents.

We've been hitting them on vouchers, so they'll use this as a defense.

10. RESOLUTION ON JEWISH EVANGELISM

WHEREAS, Jesus commanded that "repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem" (Lk. 24:47); and

WHEREAS, Our evangelistic efforts have largely neglected the Jewish people, both at home and abroad; and

that's news!

WHEREAS, We are indebted to the Jewish people, through whom we have received the Scriptures and our Savior, the Messiah of Israel, and "they are beloved for the sake of the fathers" (Rom. 11:28b); and

WHEREAS, There has been an organized effort on the part of some either to deny that Jewish people need to come to their Messiah, Jesus, to be saved; or to claim, for whatever reason, that Christians have neither right nor obligation to proclaim the gospel to the Jewish people; and

WHEREAS, There is evidence of a growing responsiveness among the Jewish people in some areas of our nation and our world; now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That we, the messengers of the Southern Baptist Convention, meeting in New Orleans, Louisiana, June 11-13, 1996, reaffirm that we are not ashamed of the gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek (Rom. 1:16); and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That we recommit ourselves to prayer, especially for the salvation of the Jewish people as well as for the salvation of "every kindred and tongue and people and nation" (Rev. 5:9); and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, That we direct our energies and resources toward the proclamation of the gospel to the Jewish people.

incredible arrogance
assuming ultimate judgment
when we're in "Sales not management"
why not target
all lost people

12. RESOLUTION ON NATIONAL PRAYER WATCH

WHEREAS, God has promised to move when His people call on Him in united extraordinary prayer (Jeremiah 33:3); and

WHEREAS, Our duty as Christian citizens is to pray for the authorities God has placed over us (1 Timothy 2:1-4), and for revival in America (2 Chronicles 7:14); and

WHEREAS, The prayers of God's people on behalf of this country have never been more crucial; Now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the messengers of the Southern Baptist Convention meeting June 11-13, 1996, in New Orleans, Louisiana, call upon God's people in the United States of America to pray and fast, as He might lead, for forty days, September 27, 1996 to November 5, 1996, in regard to the election of our serving officials and the future of our country; and

BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, That we join other believers in observing Election Day, November 5, 1996, as a National Day of Prayer.

13. RESOLUTION ON SOUTHERN BAPTISTS AND ECUMENISM

WHEREAS, Historically, Southern Baptists have resisted ecumenism while embracing Christian brotherhood and cooperation with other evangelicals; and

WHEREAS, We have witnessed in recent years the portrayal of denominations as barriers to be overcome on the road to unity; and

WHEREAS, True Biblical unity can only be realized "in the bond of truth," and never at the expense of Biblical truth; Now, therefore,

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Southern Baptist Convention meeting, June 11-13, 1996, in New Orleans, Louisiana, urges the Boards and Agencies of the Southern Baptist Convention to maintain the historic position of Southern Baptists as they cooperate with various other groups in appropriate evangelistic enterprises, and on issues of justice, morality, and religious liberty both at home and abroad; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That such efforts not commit Southern Baptists to any organizational or long-term relationship which would risk possible compromise of historic distinctives or the unique witness of Southern Baptists to the world; and

FINALLY, BE IT RESOLVED, That we encourage Southern Baptists to maintain their commitment to Bold Mission Thrust by giving priority in time, talent and resources to the work of the local church and its wider work through the SBC and Cooperative Program.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6/24/19 4

K Ille Cruby - great letter from your boy Wilson Schlamme Jr. - (need nice reply to Wilson point - also tell him about "greening of White House" (can we send him the CD?) -
BC

WILSON SCHLAMME 500 25th St. Santa Monica CA 90403

MAY 30, 1996

Dear President Clinton and Mrs. Clinton,

1. Please don't cut down the rain forest trees. Just cut down ours, because the rain forest might become extinct. We should go into the rain forest and plant trees and make it healthier and see if there is a cure for cancer and aids there.

2. I think people should have homeless shelters for free. Maybe a huge hotel as big as the Empire State Building and there could be jobs and they could work and they could all fit. It makes more sense this way. Instead of them dying.

3. I think we should treat all living creatures like they were us.

4. If there's something that's going to be extinct, we should protect it.

5. We should have more garbage cans and put more alarm systems in the banks.

6. They shouldn't sell guns <u>at all,</u> because all it means is killing. Only for people at gun practice - <u>inside</u> at targets only. No more guns in the country. They could put alarm systems around the few guns reserved for the target practice people. It's okay for the police to have guns.

7. Make people have science. Give people more places to learn science. Science helps you sometimes. And not to have so many strict teachers like I have because young kids are just learning - they don't know any better. Everything about learning is fun - except when the teachers are so strict, it's not so fun.

Thank you,
Wilson Schlamme
age 7

original to ~~JIM DORSKIND:~~ Please coordinate the reply.
Jim
Maureen Lewis will do

P.S. I Think you are Doing a great Job!