

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-14-96

September 4, 1996

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: The President

FROM: Nancy Hernreich
Mildred C. Alston

RE: Recent Correspondence

Will Marshall sends speech delivered by Senator Nunn at Conference co-sponsored by Progressive Policy Institute and Hudson Institute in defense of voluntary national service. The conference dealt with building bipartisan backing for national service in general, AmeriCorps in particular.

cc: Chen (Reed | Baer)

Chron



—



mini-list

July 22, 1996

Will Marshall
President

Dear Mr. President,

In case you didn't see it, I
thought you might be interested in
a superb speech Sen. Nunn delivered
in defence of voluntary national
service.

The venue was a conference
last week cosponsored by PPI & The
Hudson Institute on how to build
bipartisan backing for national service
in general, & AmeriCorps in
particular.

Cordially,

Will Marshall

Remarks of Senator Sam Nunn
National and Community Service: A New Bargain
Progressive Policy Institute and Hudson Institute
July 17, 1996

I would like to thank the Progressive Policy Institute and the Hudson Institute for not only sponsoring this important conference, but also for proving once again -- you've done it before -- that people on the left and right, Democrats and Republicans, can converge on sound public policy not simply in the mushy middle of the road, but more importantly, at the vital center of our national civic life.

✓ [This distinction between the mushy middle and the vigorous center is not just a matter of semantics. I think it's the heart of what you're here discussing today in the conference. For reasons we all know very well, this country's current national and community service initiative has become caught in a crossfire between left and right, between Democrats and Republicans.

For the last two years some of us in the Congress have argued long and hard to defend the Americorps program as a sound investment and as an important experiment with tremendous potential.

Others in the Congress have sought to kill the program outright. Some Americorps critics have identified real shortcomings, and I consider these the constructive critics because they've helped the program. Americorps supporters, led by Harris Wofford, have conceded several flaws and, I think, very wisely helped correct those flaws.

The constructive changes we could talk about today, and I know there are many, but just the ones that I think stand out are: increasing efficiency of the program; eliminating grants from federal agencies which, though in some cases might have worked well, are just not in the spirit of what was intended to begin with; and tightening restrictions against lobbying—there was very little of that, but where it was taking place it needed to be addressed; and increasing funding from private sources, using the federal dollars as leverage.

And I just participated in a discussion between Harris and two of our leading foundations that are sponsoring this forum today about using the private sector, the nonprofit sector for evaluation.

I had my staff on the permanent Subcommittee on Investigations do a survey. We were thinking about getting into it in depth. We didn't because it was such a maze, and we had other priorities, but a survey of the areas addressing juvenile crime, the programs involving juvenile delinquency and crime at the federal level.

There are just all sorts of programs, but the one common denominator between all of these programs was that there was no evaluation of any of them, and that's one of the fundamental flaws with most federal programs. Creation, budgeting is the job in Washington. Too often evaluation and oversight are simply not exciting enough unless there's a scandal involved, and if you don't do constant evaluation, you can bet your bottom dollar at some point there will be a scandal involved. That's why people have become so disillusioned with government programs in general.

So undertaking the effort that Harris has just discussed and thinking about having evaluation done by outside nonprofits, I think, is a splendid idea.

And finally, state autonomy. You're moving more to having the states perform and make more of their own decisions.

Above all, the crossfire we've had for the last two or three years has been intensified by President Clinton's strong endorsement and personal embrace of Americorps as a signature initiative of his administration. Not surprisingly, this endorsement and strong support by the President has meant that the program has repeatedly been held hostage by Republicans. This is an odd sort of back-handed compliment to the program, because it created leverage on negotiation for the Republican point of view on a huge score of other outside issues.

So it has been the hostage, but I think that is gradually changing.

It is not too much to say that the partisan debate on national service in this Congress has been less than visionary. Those of us who sought support for Americorps, have been too busy trying to keep it alive and breathing to really address the long-term future of it. Those who opposed it, because of this leverage and because it was fully endorsed by the President, have often been driven to abolitionist rhetorical excesses encouraged by the extraordinary leverage of a death threat. That's where we have been.

Now, I hope this conference signifies we're going to have a new kind of dialogue. There are two obvious ways out of the partisan impasse on national service, other than, of course, total victory by one side or the other.

The first and most obvious is to split the difference between the current Americorps and no Americorps, to reduce funding and eliminate some of the most controversial aspects of the current program, giving each side a small victory and preserving a weak, but at least living, hostage for future fights. I think that's where we are now.

Now, that sort of compromise was reached earlier this year through the good faith and good offices of Senator Chuck Grassley, a critic, and also our very fine leader of the Corporation on National Service, Chairman Harris Wofford, who is with us today.

I applaud both of them and all who reached this agreement. It was absolutely essential.

While any compromise on this issue is very important, and this one certainly was, and very welcome, as this one was, the purpose of this conference is to stimulate, as I see it, a different kind of convergence, a real discussion on the potential for national service in which the Americorps experience provides critical evidence, yes, but not an exclusive framework of reference.

The first step towards what we could call a new bargain on national and community service must be made by both sides, not simply one side. It can't be done that way. Not toward the mushy middle—or as I would call it, the muddling middle—but toward the center where serious people discuss serious ideas separate from locked-in positions and purely partisan politics.

The step that must be taken by those on the left that have supported national service may not seem like too great a leap for supporters, but from my perspective it does require substantial movement, movement into areas that have been viewed as sacred cows.

It means recognizing that Americorps is not the be all and end all of national service, but rather the latest effort of applying an old idea of asking Americans to give something back to their country and then rewarding their service with the opportunity to pursue higher education.

That's not a new idea. It's an old idea, but it's a very valid and strong idea. It means taking seriously national service's underlying ethic of mutual obligation between citizens and their government, even if that raises uncomfortable questions about whether we should phase out very carefully, very gradually, with a lot of sensitivity, over a period of time student financial programs that are not based on service or achievement or some combination of the both.

It also means that if we really believe national service is a way to address some of our country's most pressing social problems, as I do, we should begin to consider this approach as a replacement for existing programs rather than simply an add-on on top of existing programs.

If we really have faith in it, aren't we willing to see it expand and be able to be one of our primary social delivery vehicles for services? I think the answer is that we should.

It means getting fully behind Harris Wofford's efforts to use Americorps to increase and strengthen unpaid volunteers and to greatly increase both collaboration and partnership with our nonprofit organizations, both nationally and throughout our local and state areas.

The plain truth that defenders of Americorps must accept, from my perspective, is this: If we treat national service as just another federal program in a long line reaching back across the New Deal and the Great Society, then that is likely all it will ever be. If our support for national service is conditioned on an insurance that it will not compete for resources with other programs that affect young people, with other programs that provide financial aid for college or that address social problems, then it will never develop beyond its current size and scope and probably should not. In other words, it has to have a relevance to the American taxpayers in terms of efficiency of government services and the delivery thereof.

And if we insist that national service must be structured as it is today, locked into deals cut three years ago among youth service providers, public sector unions, federal agencies, and congressional committees, then we cannot complain too much if conservatives dismiss the whole idea as the product of a bygone era.

✓ Ultimately the supporters of national service must understand that the initiative can be suffocated by its friends just as surely as it can be executed by its enemies.

The step that conservative opponents of national service should take may seem like a giant leap to those who have savored the harsh attack on Americorps, and many have thoroughly enjoyed that exercise. For some of the loudest critics, it may require, indeed, taking a Michael Jordan-style twisting from the foul line. In other words, it's going to require a lot of contortions for some.

But from a philosophical point of view for most conservatives, it may not require much movement at all, other than assenting to a higher and clearer perspective.

As a veteran of a number of years of debate on national service and as one who has and continues to be sometimes accused of conservatism, I am tempted to respond to conservative critics on their own terms. To charges that national service participants are paid to sit around camp fires and sing "Kum-ba-ya," I could respond by telling you many stories from my own state or from your states about the work these young people actually do, from creating neighborhood safety watches, to rebuilding public parks, to teaching children and adults how to read, to visiting and caring for homebound elderly, including helping with AIDS patients and many others in desperate need.

To the claim that national service threatens to undermine true volunteerism, I could answer by quoting many leaders of national nonprofit groups on how paid volunteers help them dramatically increase the number of unpaid volunteers participating in their own efforts.

X { Like Al From, I could spend a long time talking about my daughter, who started about five years ago with a group of other people in Atlanta a volunteer organization called Hands on Atlanta. They started with ten or 15 young people. Long story short, they now have 8,000-10,000 young people a month working whenever they choose to because they're all in different professions, and they make volunteering both fun and efficient. They have 300-400 projects they work with every month.

✓ In addition to that—that's the core of what they've done—they've taken on a sponsor of the Americorps project. This project in Atlanta, and I visited the schools where they work, has chosen to go the teacher-aide route. They've had young people working full time, virtually full time, as teacher aides.

I went in the schools. One principal told me that the discipline rate because of these additional aides had gone down 70 percent, 70 percent, and the effectiveness of the teacher had been multiplied manifold. So it does work, folks. It really works.

✓ { I could point out that national service represents a true investment in our young people with three separate payoffs, and Charlie Moskos, who really is the father of all of this—he's the one that talked to me about it before I started on this quest—always emphasized and still will three different payoffs.

One payoff is the impact on the lives of young people serving others. That's a big, big payoff. What does it do to them and their future?

The second payoff is the value of the service they perform to their communities. We must be willing to be measured by that. That is something that everyone has the right to ask. What is it doing for our communities?

And the third is, the education and skills that these young people obtain from the post-service educational benefit of their service. A huge payoff. All you have to do is look at the GI Bill to see what kind of payoff that brought to our society, probably the biggest single contributor to the increased productivity of this economy in the 1950s and 1960s, and we still were enjoying the benefits of that in the 1970s. As our increased productivity started going down, at least the increase came at a lesser rate. I think there has been a direct connection between the drop off of the number of people getting those benefits and what's happened to America's productivity in the 1980s and 1990s.

Productivity is not simply capital investment. It's also human investment, as all of you know.

I could then point out that every negative assessment of the cost-benefit ratio of national service that's ever been done invariably compares the total cost to one of these three Charlie Moskos benefits; not ever to two or three of them, always one. I would challenge the critics to put all three in the equation when you come up with your cost-benefit ratio.

I could ask the critics if your opposition to national service means that you would have opposed the GI Bill after World War II, now recognized, as I mentioned, universally as one of the best investments this nation ever made.

I could even poke a little fun at conservative politicians who will make a speech one day attacking national service on grounds that subsistence payments or educational benefit somehow or other taints the whole spirit of volunteerism, and then make a speech the next day, the same people, supporting higher pay and larger educational benefits for members of the all volunteer military. I haven't been able to square that.

Why isn't it tainted in the military if it is in the national service?

Now, I will not make any of these invidious responses. But let me challenge all my conservative friends on a different and higher ground. As a point of reference, let me close by making several propositions about, from my perspective at least, the problems and opportunities facing America that I believe the conservatives can share.

The first proposition: The most important threat to America's future today is not military or economic, but moral, and it comes not from beyond the seas, but from within our own cities, our own deteriorating families, and our own hearts, in the decline of our civic institutions that once helped transmit values and helped, indeed, raise our children.

The second proposition: In part because of the blessings of peace, increasing numbers of young Americans today are in danger of growing up without knowing what it means to serve the country or even their community, or what it means to work in a disciplined environment with other young people from different backgrounds, different races, and different beliefs. That has been one of the great benefits of our military service, but it is shrinking in terms of opportunity.

The third proposition: Many big government programs, not all, but many, are no longer helping us make progress against the social ills associated with poverty in blighted communities, and some may even now be making things worse.

Fourth proposition: America's civic sector, our churches, our charities, our volunteer organizations, and our neighborhood groups deserve public support as the most effective agencies we have in the nation for positive and constructive social change.

Fifth proposition, America's ability to compete in an information age economy may well depend on the percentage of our young people who secure the best and highest education of which they are capable of absorbing.

Sixth, many of our country's political ills come from the belief that you can get something for nothing instead of earning opportunities with hard work.

Seventh, America's deepest problem is spiritual. Too many Americans no longer believe in our country's special place in history enough to sacrifice to keep it strong and keep it free.

Suppose I told this audience today that we as a nation could respond to all of these seven propositions at the same time, could express our moral and civic values, give young people the opportunity to learn patriotism and discipline, replace top-down bureaucracies with bottom-up problem-solving, strengthen our civic institutions, provide more opportunity for higher education, substitute mutual obligation for something for nothing, and tap our deepest resources of energy and spirit in this country, our young people.

If we could do all of that in one program, would it be worth spending a few federal dollars? I think the answer is clear from the question.

The bottom line of my thoughts today, I urge both sides of this argument on national service to think constructively on how we can further this great experiment with its tremendous potential effect on America's future. The middle of the road does not have to be mushy or muddling. Let's take a step to the center, and let's bring our brains and our vision with us.

Thank you very much.

Phil
I hope
to go
to
Lyon
let's all
before mailing BZ

400 ~~100~~ Need
 100 ~~100~~ letters
 before
 BK

Let's clear
before mailing Bz

We have worked hard to provide new opportunities for U.S. airlines by seeking more liberal aviation agreements with all interested governments. Since I took office, the United States has concluded market-opening aviation agreements with thirty-six countries; eleven of these agreements were open-skies accords. These open-skies treaties have brought unprecedented opportunities for U.S. airlines to enter new markets in ways that will benefit the airlines, their employees, their customers, and the communities in which they operate.

Similar opportunities should be made available in the U.S.-U.K. aviation market. Open-skies accords in that market could bring enormous economic benefits to the people of both nations. These benefits can be realized, however, only if the open-skies treaty and related arrangements provide all of the elements needed to allow genuine competition, not only between the U.S. and the U.K., but also to locations beyond each country. With careful attention both to your concerns and to the concerns of other interested parties, U.S. negotiators are now working to secure a genuine open-skies regime with the United Kingdom.

Sincerely,

Brian Clinton



R. L. Crandall
Chairman and President

August 7, 1996

96 AUG 13 P4:00

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Last week, six airline executives sent you a letter suggesting that the United States should abandon its efforts to achieve an open skies aviation agreement with the United Kingdom. The U.S. negotiating team quite properly rejected their request.

No goal in international aviation has been more challenging than persuading the United Kingdom to open its aviation market. As you know, Secretary Peña has tenaciously pursued that goal by persuading countries such as Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Austria, and the Netherlands to enter into open skies agreements. Among other inducements, the United States has encouraged the spread of open skies by approving marketing alliances between the major airlines of "open-skies" countries and various U.S. carriers. The ultimate objective, of course, has been to convince the major European countries -- most specifically the United Kingdom -- to agree to more liberal aviation arrangements.

Now, for the first time in many years, there's a real possibility that the U.S. can achieve an open skies agreement with the United Kingdom. The proposed alliance between American and British Airways emulates existing alliances between Northwest and KLM, United and Lufthansa, and Delta and a number of smaller European carriers. The proposed alliance is a perfectly logical response to the competitive pressures exerted by U.S. policy and an incentive for the British government to move to open skies.

Our three largest competitors, having already established their own alliances, now seek to prevent approval of the AA-BA alliance by any means possible, including urging DOT to terminate the U.K.-U.S. bilateral negotiations. Suggesting that the U.S. walk away from its only realistic opportunity to open up the U.S.-U.K. markets in order to prevent American from competing with their own alliances is a very self-serving position!

Without a new bilateral, the U.S. airlines which do not now serve Heathrow will not be able to do so, and the level of competition between the United States and the United Kingdom -- and between the United States and Europe -- is likely to remain "status quo." Alternatively, we are confident that with your support, U.S. negotiators will be able to secure a real open skies arrangement with the United Kingdom -- an arrangement which will provide new opportunities for many U.S. airlines, new service to many communities, and the benefits of intensified competition for consumers on both sides of the Atlantic.

Very truly yours,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, likely belonging to Bill Clinton, written over the closing phrase "Very truly yours,".

eh

*Good
Reference
letter
cleared by
(M. Deich)
(one of six offices
to be cleared after
pot's signing
this day)*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 14, 1996

Mr. Gordon M. Bethune
President and Chief Executive Officer
Continental Airlines
2929 Allen Parkway
Houston, Texas 77019

Dear Gordon:

Thank you for writing to me about negotiations on a new air services agreement between the United States and the United Kingdom. I appreciate your support for my Administration's policies on open skies in aviation.

We have worked hard to provide new opportunities for U.S. airlines by seeking more liberal aviation agreements with all interested governments. Since I took office, the United States has concluded market-opening aviation agreements with thirty-six countries, eleven of these agreements were open-skies accords. These open-skies treaties have brought unprecedented opportunities for U.S. airlines to enter new markets in ways that will benefit the airlines, their employees, their customers, and the communities in which they operate.

Similar opportunities should be made available in the U.S.-U.K. aviation market. Open-skies accords in that market could bring enormous economic benefits to the people of both nations. I agree with you that these benefits can be realized, however, only if the open-skies treaty and related arrangements provide all of the elements needed to allow genuine competition, not only between the U.S. and the U.K., but also to locations beyond each country. With careful attention both to your concerns and to the concerns of other interested parties, U.S. negotiators are now working to secure a genuine open-skies regime with the United Kingdom.

I look forward to your continued involvement in this important effort.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton



R. L. Crandall
Chairman and President

August 7, 1996

96 AUG 13 P4:00

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

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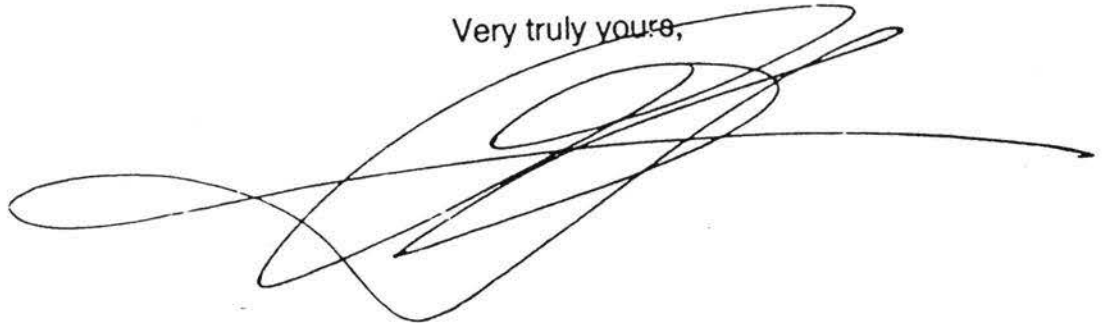
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Very truly yours,

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, likely belonging to Bill Clinton, written over the closing phrase.

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Betsy

Gina! Betsy
Flower
B2

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Talk With
President Clinton

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FamilyCircle

October 8, 1996

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Delight little trick-or-treaters with jungle critter dress-ups, creepy party decor and yummy treats.

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Our readers talk with the President

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Sixteen women met President Bill Clinton in a Denver living room to share their concerns. FC Editor-in-Chief Susan Ungaro joined in, to bring you this exclusive report.

In Mary Frances Kelley's Living Room

with President Clinton

**16 Women
Tell the
President
What He
Really Needs
to Know**



The President reacts to Mary Kelley's idea of families taking back a night of the week for quality at-home time.

It could be any woman's dream—or nightmare. Just imagine. You get a call from the White House Office of Women's Initiatives inviting you to take part in an "At the Table" meeting with President Clinton. Oh, and by the way, would you mind hosting the gathering in your living room?

That's the phone call single mother Mary Frances Kelley of Denver, Colorado, received on Thursday afternoon, July 18. She had just three days to get her house ready for a visit from the President of the United States. While most of us would get stressed out, some of us might even panic. Me? Well, first I'd scream. But not Mary, an unflappable and charming woman, who reacted to the news of the President's impending arrival almost calmly, as if the boss were coming to dinner.

If I Were President...

When asked to imagine they were President for a week and could improve one issue, women chose the following:

THE ECONOMY	25%
HEALTH CARE	23%
CRIME	20%
POVERTY	13%
THE ENVIRONMENT	5%
CHILD CARE	2%
OTHER/NO ANSWER	12%

When I called her on Friday (she had taken the day off from work), she regaled me with the saga of her preparations: "I'm getting the air-conditioning fixed. We don't want any of us sweating now, do we," she said good-naturedly. "So when the man came this morning, I went outside to greet him, saying, 'You've got to fix my air-conditioning; the President is coming to my house on Sunday.' And he looked at me, like, 'Yeah, sure lady,'" she recalled laughing. "Then he saw all the Secret Service men and realized I wasn't kidding." Mary was doing a little heavy-duty cleaning, having her windows washed, her carpet shampooed and, believe it or not, new living-room sofas delivered that Saturday. Her biggest concern? ▶▶▶▶▶▶▶▶

Who's Who in the Living Room

- **BARBARA BATEY**, 54, married mother of two adult children, principal of Cole Middle School: "One of my major issues is day care: how the workforce can work more collaboratively with schools to allow parents to participate in [their children's] education."
- **PATSY BUCHANAN**, semiretired single mother of three daughters: "I'm concerned about age discrimination, health issues. I think all issues are women's issues."
- **KRISTIN CALLAHAN**, 32, married mother of two toddler boys who job-shares: "I'm concerned about neighborhood violence. I just started a neighborhood watch program."
- **PHYLLIS CANO**, 43, single mother of three daughters and the owner of a bakery: "My 13-year-old daughter spends a lot of time at home by herself. I think the quality of TV programming could use some work. She's being exposed to entertainment that I have no control over when I'm at work six days a week."
- **SUSANA CORDOVA**, 29, a high school teacher and married mother of a toddler: "My biggest concern is how education is working in our cities and how we can improve it so that it's a safe place for all of our students."
- **ELAINE DEMERY**, 49, single mother of one, president of a temporary staffing company: "I'm concerned about gang violence and preserving college loans."
- **MARY FRANCES KELLEY**, 47, certified public accountant: "I'd like to see families take back a night every week to get close and talk about what's important."
- **RANYA KELLY**, 39, married mother of one, community volunteer and FC Woman Who Makes a Difference: "I live in a fairly nice area, but I've had to deal with my son being harassed...I'm very concerned about safety in school."
- **MARY BETH KLEE**, 38, single mother of a toddler, police

(Continued on page 18) ▶▶▶▶▶▶▶▶

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▶▶▶▶▶▶▶▶ From page 14

"What do you think I should serve?" she asked me. "Iced tea and cookies?" Keep it simple, we decided.

And so on Sunday evening, July 21, just before 7, this dynamic working woman and her adopted 9-year-old daughter, Christina, greeted the President of the United States at their front door.

"Thank you for having me in your home," the President said as he greeted our hostess. Then, just like a father, he turned his attention to Christina, saying, "That's such a pretty dress." The rest of us, well, we just stood there acting as if the hours leading up to this moment hadn't been fraught with nervous excitement. At least two of us spilled glasses of iced tea on Mary's just-cleaned carpet; I, of course, got a huge run in my pantyhose and had just minutes to change before the Presidential motorcade arrived. But once the President took his seat, his low-key, friendly manner put everyone at ease.

"I don't want to take a lot of time, because I want to listen to you," he said, adding that "one of the most frustrating things to me about being President is that while you can have an enormous amount of influence in ways that no other person can, too often the only way people can relate to you is in a completely passive way based on what happens to be coming through the evening news.... One of the most central questions facing this country is



"We're going to be in trouble as a society if we can't figure out how to help people succeed at home and at work," the President told me.

"How can we make it possible for people to succeed at home and at work?"

As we introduced ourselves and talked about our major concerns (see

FAMILY CIRCLE: "We asked Americans if they wanted their child to grow up to be President, and 81% of women said, 'No.' I wonder how that makes you feel, Mr. President?" **President Clinton:** "I'm sorry, but not surprised.... The coverage of politics is more negative, more editorial and less accurate than ever before. There's no point in me saying that at a press conference because it looks self-serving. But it's bewildering to be treated as if everything you say is not true.... But I can tell you this...with all of the heartache associated with it...it is more rewarding than I could possibly describe.... What I hope will happen is that young mothers will want their children to grow up to be President because you want people with the heart and the conviction and feeling to do this."

"Who's Who," page 14), the President took copious notes while balancing paper and pen on his leg. When we finished, he addressed each of our concerns by name and by issue.

On education and crime: "If you had told me when I became President that we could bring the crime rate down four years in a row, but the juvenile crime rate would go up, I would not have believed it.... I think nearly any school can be made safe if the people running the school can get enough community support and if they have [the money] to do whatever needs to be done.... Do they need a drug education and prevention program? Do they need a police officer there all the time?... I think communities with a huge problem should have a curfew policy."

On health and child care: "Essentially, we got beat, Hillary and I did, on the health-care thing.... I have proposed [a bill before Congress] to say you can't lose your health insurance just because you change jobs or because someone in your family gets sick...it will immediately help 8.5 million Americans.... I've proposed a sort of Family and Medical Leave Act II, which would allow a limited number of hours each year for parents to ▶▶▶▶▶▶▶▶

Magnolia Way welcomed Bill Clinton with balloons and banners. "We'll rename the street Clinton Way," said a local man.



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PALMER'S

EVERYTHING PALMER'S TOUCHES
TURNS TO SOFT.

▶▶▶▶▶▶▶▶ From page 14
lieutenant: "I believe garage-door openers are the problem because we don't see our neighbors. Only we can make our streets safe."

● JAN MARTYNUSKA, 58, retired math teacher and widowed mother of three adult sons: "I'm concerned about domestic violence and safety when women travel alone, especially at night."

● PENNY McDANIEL, 43, married mother of a daughter, runs a small business at home: "I'm concerned about the increasing violence that's going on with children today."

● JANET MILLER, 33, married working mother of two: "The Family Medical and Leave Act protected us, so that we would not lose our home, our jobs."

● LOUISE ROBERSON-MITCHELL, 43, married mother of two, interior designer: "The legal system does not always support the victim. I'm also worried about the environment and quality education."

● TAMARA WEIL, 38, working mother of three: "My biggest issue is how to balance work and family.... I worry about discrimination against pregnant women and

▶▶▶▶▶▶▶▶ From page 16
attend regular school meetings, medical appointments either with their children or their parents."

On violence and pornography on the Internet and TV: "I don't care what anybody says, I think being plugged into hundreds and hundreds of hours of televised murders numbs people to violence.... We passed a requirement that new televisions have to come equipped with a V-chip that the parent can program to block out channels that aren't appropriate for your children.... we are working on trying to do the equivalent of the V-chip on computers.... Everything that is good and exciting about the modern world for your children has a flip side that creates a whole new series of security problems."

After 90 minutes of lively give-and-take with the President, these Colorado women decided to meet again.



women who have small children."

● SUSAN WILLIAMS, 53, married parent of four, health-care consultant and FC Woman Who Makes a Difference: "I have a lot of concerns about preventive health care. I think we're spending a lot of money at the wrong end. I'm concerned about health care for children."

● SANDY YAMAKISHI, 50, single working mother of two: "I have a 20-year-old in college and a 17-year-old, and I'm concerned about rising tuition. Can I afford it?"

President Clinton would have kept on talking, even after four gentle nudges by his staff clearly telling him he was late for his next appointment. He left through the back door and strolled across the street to chat with Mary's neighbors, who welcomed him with signs, balloons and even a lemonade stand. And as 9-year-old Christina Kelley ran up and down the driveway exclaiming, "The President hugged me! The President hugged me!" a starstruck neighbor suggested they should rename Magnolia Way "Clinton Way." ■

Hotline to President Clinton

What concerns you most? You can write the President at the following address:
The White House Office for Women's
Initiatives and Outreach, Dept. FC
708 Jackson Pl., NW
Washington, DC 20503.
Or fax: 202-456-7311.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-14-96

September 12, 1996

MEMORANDUM

TO: President Clinton

FROM: Nancy Hernreich
Arielle Krebs

RE: Everglades Article

Daniel Glick forwarded an article which you and Michelle Sullivan discussed during your vacation. It is entitled "Big Sugar vs. The Everglades" and appeared in Rolling Stone.

The following is a brief summary:

Ron Jones, head of the Southeast Environmental Research Program is a rare field scientist who is willing to confront the powerful political constituency of the sugar cane industry. Jones is convinced the Everglades are imperiled by a federal support system program that encourages sugar cane producers to expand their crop further into this once pristine refuge.

Its no secret that public opinion in Florida and around the country has turned against the sugar industry, and the polls consistently show strong support for those who say the industry should be made to clean up after itself. According to the General Accounting Office, the U. S. sugar program costs domestic consumers \$1.4 billion annually.

However, in Washington any activity attempting to kill the sugar program has been defeated for this session of Congress. Meanwhile down in South Florida, Ron Jones wonders how much of his beloved Everglades will be destroyed before the politicians gather enough gumption to act.



Daniel Glick

Journalist at Large
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3590 Nyland Way N.
Lafayette, Colorado 80026

Ce 1 FL WW
Summary for P

Daniel Glick

3590 Nyland Way North • Lafayette, Colorado 80026 • Telephone 303 443-9086 • Fax 303 494-8821

August 21, 1996

Kelly Craighead
White House Office of Scheduling and Advance
Rm 184 OEOB
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Kelly,

nancy

Michelle Sullivan suggested I send this through you en route to President Clinton. She said that during the president's recent trip to Wyoming, she talked with the president about this article I had done for *Rolling Stone* magazine on the Everglades. The president asked Michelle to send it to him, and she in turn asked me to send it to you. I hope this makes sense.

I'm flattered that the president wanted to read the article, and I hope it gets to him. Thanks for facilitating the exchange.

Sincerely,

Dcl MWL

Daniel Glick

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THE DESTRUCTION OF THE EVERGLADES

ISSUE 733 • MAY 2, 1996 • \$4.00 • CAN \$5.50 • UK £3.00

Rolling Stone

Oasis

They're
hard-
drinking,
groupie-
shagging,
drug-
snorting
louts.

They're
the Gallagher
brothers.
And they're
huge

By
Chris



BIG SUGAR VS. THE

The government supports a program that destroys the environment, enriches a few wealthy farmers and costs consumers \$1.4 billion a year. So why do Democrats and Republicans keep voting for it?

FROM AN AIRBOAT SKIMMING ACROSS THE EVERGLADES, South Florida appears to be a vast region of neither land nor sea. Illuminated by a tropical dawn, fields of gold-green saw grass give way to occasional islands of cypress trees. The proliferation of vegetation gives the impression of solidity, but the entire landscape is submerged under 6 feet of water. At the helm of the airboat — essentially an airplane engine attached to an aluminum hull — sits Ron Jones, a professor of biological sciences at Florida International University who has probably logged as much time in this aqueous realm as any human. With a light

PHOTOGRAPHS BY TOM FAYRE



EVERGLADES

by Daniel Glick

touch of a handle, Jones turns the boat from open water toward what appears to be a solid wall of saw grass. I cringe, anticipating a screeching crash, only to watch 8-foot stalks flatten and rise again as our wake subsides.

Jones, pale skinned and baby-faced at 39, has studied the Everglades ecosystem for 11 years. He heads the Southeast Environmental Research Program and has done government-sponsored research for Everglades National Park and other federal agencies. He also is that rare field scientist who is willing to use his data to confront a powerful political constituency — in this

case, the sugar cane industry, which has dominated Florida politics for decades. Jones is convinced this landscape is imperiled by a federal support program that encourages sugar cane producers to expand their crop further into this once-pristine refuge.

"The sugar program is destroying the Florida Everglades," Jones says with a scientist's certainty. "There's no question in my mind whatsoever."

Jones has offered to take me out this November morning to show me why he is so certain. Navigating the flat, nearly featureless terrain, Jones points out blue herons, white egrets, snake birds, mosquitofish and even

LEFT: THE MACHINERY OF BIG SUGAR BRINGS IN THE HARVEST. ABOVE: FLORIDA'S EVERGLADES, A RIVER OF GRASS THAT ONCE FLOWED ACROSS 50 UNINTERRUPTED MILES.

a carnivorous plant called the bladderwort, all of which thrive in the world's largest subtropical wetlands ecosystem. We are on the outskirts of Everglades National Park, which, along with Big Cypress National Preserve to the west, the Loxahatchee National Wildlife Refuge to the north and some federally owned water-conservation areas, is what remains of the 2,700 square miles of the Everglades. Once, this

In March, the House and Senate approved sweeping changes to the Farm Bill, phasing out price supports for wheat, corn, rice, cotton and other crops. Sugar, once again, survived.

river of grass flowed sluggishly in an uninterrupted 50-mile-wide swath from Lake Okeechobee all the way to Florida Bay, at the southern tip of the state. We arrive at a point where the natural flow of water has been disrupted by man, corralled by one of a vast series of dikes, levees and canals built by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. At this crossroads of the natural world and man's attempt to control it, the story of the South Florida sugar wars becomes stark and unambiguous.

Jones cuts the engine. On one side of the levee, he tells me, the Everglades has mostly been protected from harmful phosphorus-rich runoff from sugar cane farming many miles to the north. As we drift and look around, Jones points to the clearings used by wading birds. Cattails sprout in small bunches near heron rookeries and alligator nesting areas. Absent the roar of the engine, the sounds of a hundred life forms fill my ears: A moor hen walks on a lily pad; a snake bird splashes against the water on its fishing expedition; an unseen animal rattles the saw grass.

On the other side of the levee, where runoff from sugar cane fields has been channeled and concentrated, the area looks like an overgrown cattail forest. The emphasis on sugar production, says Jones, set off an unintended cascade of biological problems in the complex Everglades ecosystem. At the epicenter of the controversy lies the 700,000-acre farming tract known as the Everglades Agricultural Area, bordering Lake Okeechobee's south shore. The EAA, privately owned for the most part, is where more than half of the country's sugar cane is grown. In the wet months the South Florida Water Management District drains the area; in the dry months it irrigates it. This one-two reversal of the natural order drastically alters the quantity of water that flows through the system every season.

The water quality, on the other hand, is simply declining. Phosphorus, a botanical nutrient, is produced when the drained soil oxidizes in the intense sunlight. This situation is aggravated by the tilling of the land for sugar production, and tons of phosphorus runoff accumulates downstream. This in turn promulgates the overgrowth of certain plant species: The cattails, for instance, thrive on the phosphorus and crowd out other native forms of life.

The situation is potentially cataclysmic, says Jones, a careful man who wears a light jacket though the temperature has warmed into the '80s. More phosphorus also means that algae and marsh plants pro-

liferate and then suck oxygen out of the water as they decompose. Without oxygen, fish can't survive, which means that fish-eating birds lose their food supply, and so on. Already in many places the open spaces

that wading birds need to land are covered with cattails, and the number of these birds has dropped alarmingly. Parts of the system are "irretrievably damaged," says Jones, meaning it would take hundreds of years to restore the system's balance. Left unchecked, he says, the rest of the Everglades will follow suit over time. He stops, squints into the sun and points to the side of the levee where the phosphorus hasn't infiltrated. "This is the Everglades," he says. Pointing to the other side, where the cattails have run riot, he says, "This is not the Everglades."



ABOVE: JONES AT WORK. BELOW: BARLEY AND REED. THE GREENS' SECRET WEAPONS.



A CONTROLLED SUBSTANCE

RARELY DO ENVIRONMENTAL issues take on the kind of national political immediacy that the fight over the Everglades is likely to attract in the coming months. Both President Bill Clinton and Sen. Robert Dole have been engaged in a sort of Everglades one-upmanship

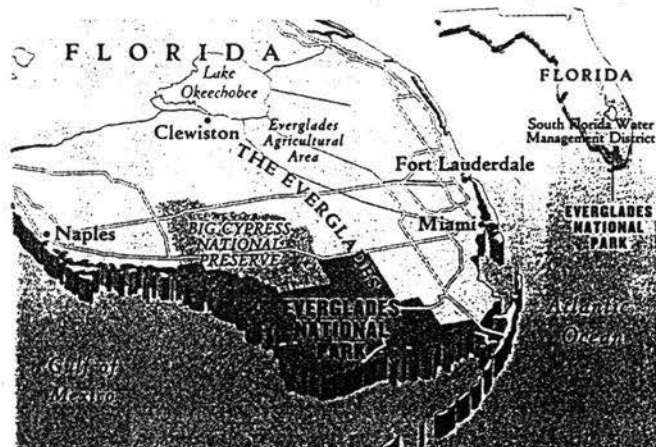
as they jockey for Floridians' votes. The most recent round began on Feb. 19, when Vice President Al Gore stood beside a saw grass marsh in Everglades National Park and laid down the administration's marker in Florida, a strategic political battleground for the 1996 presidential election. Gore proposed that the sugar industry in Florida pay a 1-cent-per-pound tax on sugar that would provide \$35 million per year toward what could ultimately be a \$1.5 billion Everglades restoration project. The administration's proposal feels like cold calculus and also a little ironic, since one of Clinton's biggest Florida political fund-raisers was Alfonso "Alfie" Fanjul Jr. (a former co-chair of the Clinton campaign in Florida and the designated Democrat of a wealthy and powerful pair of Cuban-born brothers). The Fanjul family owns Flo-Sun Inc., one of the largest sugar-producing companies in the state.

It's no secret that public opinion in Florida and around the country has turned against the sugar industry, and the polls consistently show strong support for those who say the industry should be made to clean up after itself. Dole, who pushed through a \$200 million Everglades cleanup appropriation, will have to balance his party's anti-tax, anti-environmental-regulation positions with the electoral weight of Floridians' votes. No

doubt, too, he will take into consideration the opinion of Alfie's brother, José "Pepe" Fanjul, Flo-Sun's president, who has hosted fund-raising dinners for the senator from Kansas.

As important as it is, the Everglades is just one theater of the sugar war being fought all over the country—in the cane fields of Hawaii and Louisiana, a candy factory in Georgia, a refinery in California, sugar beet fields in North Dakota and most significantly, in the halls of the Capitol in Washington, D.C. The inside story of how the sugar barons' sweet deal survived a yearlong assault by its many foes is a tale of deeply embedded greed and influence.

The modern life of the sugar program began in 1934 and was amended into something close to its present form in 1981. It is not a traditional farm subsidy, through which a farmer gets a payment for growing (or not growing) a crop, but a Byzantine system of price supports, loans, import restrictions and domestic-marketing allotments (which limit the amount of sugar that domestic producers can sell within the United States). The program allows America's estimated 10,000 sugar beet and sugar cane farmers, in 18 states, to produce most of the nearly 20 million tons of sugar that Americans consume every year at a price that guarantees a substantial profit for the grower. Sugar, whether it's refined from sugar beets in North Dakota or sugar cane in Louisiana (the final product is indistinguishable), gets the same sort of price protection. This legislation itself is buried in the Farm Bill, which comes up for approval by Congress only once every five years. On March 21, a House-Senate conference committee reached an agreement on a major overhaul of the nation's farm programs. The legislation, which the *New York Times* called the "most sweeping agricultural bill since the Depression," would phase out price



supports for such crops as wheat, corn, rice and cotton. The sugar program dodged reformers' efforts.

The secret to this success? Enormous influence peddling, huge political-action-committee contributions, unabashed electoral logrolling and a textbook case of how interest groups join together in ferocious packs to bully Congress. To the sugar program's many critics, the issue also provides the perfect hypocrisy test for the Republican revolution. Newt Gingrich, who has called the sugar program "wrong"

DANIEL GLICK wrote *"Twilight of the Greens,"* about the new environmental movement, in RS 719.

and "absurd," has been noticeably silent.

"This program really says a lot about what a cowardly revolution it is," says Joe Lockhart, who until late last year was a spokesman for the Coalition to End Welfare for Big Sugar, an unlikely group of anti-sugar-program activists that includes grass-roots environmentalists and huge corporate interests. Lockhart is highly critical of the Republican legislative agenda, which he says targets welfare mothers but leaves corporate welfare recipients unscathed. "Anyone who can't protect themselves is getting hit," says Lockhart.

U.S. SUGAR CORP.'S HEADQUARTERS ARE IN Clewiston, Fla., which calls itself America's Sweetest Town. In 1931, the company set up shop on the southern shores of Lake Okeechobee. The company grows most of its own cane there and mills 700,000 tons of raw sugar annually in nearby plants. The raw sugar, still brown from some residual molasses, is sent off to plants, mainly in the eastern United States, and refined until it resembles the white stuff you spoon into your macchiato.

In an upstairs wood-paneled office, Senior Vice President Bob Buker sits at a vast conference table, grumpy after a day trip to Miami to confront Big Sugar's foes. Buker shakes his head slowly, wondering how his life could have devolved into this: spending this entire day rebutting claims by former Florida governor Claude Kirk that sugar growers are somehow responsible for giving locals AIDS.

Buker stops grumbling, loosens his tie and begins his defense of a federal farm program that he insists is vital to his industry's health. The world sugar market is one huge, subsidized mess, he says. Other countries' subsidies make the U.S. sugar program seem like the free market. Until the rest of the world changes the way it does business, Buker says, the American sugar program needs to remain intact. It is not a subsidy, he insists, drinking out of a coffee cup that says ZERO ZIP ZILCH, which is what Buker says the program costs the Treasury.

But Buker and his colleagues in the industry clearly share a disdain for those who champion wetlands preservation. "One hundred years ago we called this place a swamp, and we drained it," says U.S. Sugar spokesman Otis Wragg III, who has joined the conversation. "Now we call it a fragile ecosystem."

Buker and Wragg's main enemies are represented in the Coalition to End Welfare for Big Sugar, which includes public interest groups that claim sugar growers bilk consumers of \$1.4 billion a year; environmentalists who insist that excessive cane production is destroying the Everglades; huge sugar-using food manufacturers like Pepsi, Coca-Cola, Hershey and General Mills, which complain the program costs them jobs and profits; free-market conservatives who rail that the program amounts to Soviet-style agricultural management; and good-government watchdogs who assert that the debate over Big Sugar exposes the need for campaign-finance reform.

Buker's critics are largely on target. The convoluted federal program that benefits sugar growers doesn't do much to benefit the lives of most Americans — unless by "most Americans" you mean a handful of wealthy sugar beet and sugar cane farmers. The program personifies a government intrusion that would be immediately laughed out of any Congressional subcommittee if anybody had the audacity to propose it today. But although proposing a new government program is heresy these days, disposing of old ones hasn't yet become political orthodoxy.

On Feb. 29, the House of Representatives narrowly voted down an amendment that was introduced by Reps. Dan Miller, R-Fla., and Charles Schumer,

IN THE MID-1800S, Miami was known as Fort Dallas. It was a mucky, rutted, steaming, snake-infested settlement of 200 souls, perennially under attack from crafty Seminoles or decimated by epidemics of malaria. This was a time long before [Carl] Fisher, [Henry] Flagler and the other land-grabbers arrived to suck their fortunes out of North America's most famous swamp. . . . Then as now, the smell of opportunity was too strong to ignore, attracting a procession of grafters, con artists, Confederate deserters, geeks, bush-whackers, rustlers, gypsies and slave traders. Their inventiveness and tenacity and utter contempt for the wilderness around them would set the tone for the development of South Florida. They preserved only what was free and immutable — the sunshine and the sea — and marked the rest for destruction. . . . All this was done with great efficiency and enthusiasm but with no vision whatsoever.

CARL HIAASEN — "TOURIST SEASON"

THERE IS A REASON THAT alligators eat poodles in the suburbs west of Miami. Besides being easy pickings and stupid, poodles in South Dade do not possess the survival instinct of indigenous swamp creatures like raccoons, water moccasins or Skink.

It is not in a poodle's thought process to relate to its breeding as a midmorning snack for a ravenous bull alligator weighing in at nearly a quarter-ton but masquerading his deceptive speed as he goes about his submerged surveillance in a nearby man-made canal that separates the swamp from the suburbs, and in one violent gulp takes what he needs and leaves only a severed rhinestone leash and gashes in the manicured sod as evidence of his presence. No, the poor poodles are just unsuspecting victims who have the misfortune of being in the wrong part of the food chain at the wrong time.

The only creatures less knowledgeable than the poodles are their owners. They came to Florida swallowing the myth of "waterfront property." They knew they weren't going to be buying next door to Donald and Marla in Palm Beach, but hell, Florida was long, skinny and surrounded by oceans. Their blind faith and bad sense of geography have deposited them smack-dab in the middle of one of the biggest swamps in the world.

The first time I ever set foot in the Everglades, I felt out of place. This was long before I ever thought in terms of preservation or population. That day, I only wanted a beer to cool me off from the heat and monotony of the trip from one side of Florida to the other. It was 1968, and I was 22 years old. I had embarked on a spring-break pilgrimage with two college roommates in a borrowed VW bus, on my way to the Florida Keys for the first time. It was a trip that took me from the free orange-juice stand on Highway 98 at the Alabama-Florida border to the end of U.S. 1 in Key West, and it changed my life forever.

At a serpentarium on the Tamiami Trail, we were feeding quarters to the piano-playing duck near the entrance to the alligator-wrestling pit. The local whites were weird; I was sure I had seen most of them as extras in the movie *Village of the Damned*. They were all running from somebody or something. Why else would they be out in the fucking Everglades? The tourists were embarrassing, with their bad clothes, bad complexions and kindergarten questions. The Indians were friendly but haunting. They knew something that three white boys from Mississippi would never

learn. In this bizarre gathering of humanity, each of us played out his part against a backdrop of activities from rattlesnake milking and alligator wrestling to the piano-playing of the duck. It must have been the corn dogs we ate for breakfast in Naples or the Boone's Farm beach party near Sarasota the night before, but I felt like I was in an episode of *The Twilight Zone*.

Half-water, half-earth and always moving: This wasn't Florida. Hell, it wasn't even America. The early Spanish map makers didn't just pull the original name of this haunting place out of some Conquistador's helmet. There was a reason that they named it La Laguna del Espíritu Santo.

I am certainly no expert on the economic or environmental aspects of the fight that now rages, but I recognize that like most abominable behavior by an em-

powered few that affects the unempowered masses, the destruction of the Everglades has its roots in power and greed. I cannot lay out the boring and despicable details of a price-support policy for sugar that has Democrats and Republicans agreeing on its absurdity. I cannot quote salt-content or pesticide figures or the government publications on mosquito control or disappearing panthers, but I do know a little about the place.

I have chased snook and tarpons through the Lake of the Holy Ghost, near Flamingo, and found myself hopelessly lost in a watery labyrinth known as Hell's Bay, where clouds of mosquitoes could give any tribe of cannibals a good run for its money. I have had the privilege of spending an afternoon with the author and activist Marjory Stoneman Douglas in her Coconut Grove cottage, sipping tea and listening to a noble woman's simple plea for sanity. I have sat at a dark marble conference table surrounded by charts, graphs and slide shows as an invited guest of the sugar barons who refer to themselves as "farmers" and listened to their attempts to wash their hands, Herod-style, in the waters they have helped pollute. I have traveled to Tallahassee in hope of finding answers to real problems but more often than not found only more problems.

The Everglades are in trouble, but how does that relate to the vast numbers of people who have never been to Florida, let alone been in the swamps, and can think of the region only in flashes of B movies filled with rattlesnakes and rumrunners? It is simple. It is about us, as the human inhabitants of the planet, coming to grips with our responsibilities. The Earth is not made of kryptonite. There is no more free ride. The byproducts of our march out of the caves to the stars are catching up with us. We are only the tenants here, and we have done a pitiful job of keeping house.

Basically, we do not belong in the Everglades. None of us. Environmentalists, sugar barons, real estate developers, hunters, fishermen, bird watchers, tomato farmers, dope dealers or bureaucrats. The only people who should be in the Everglades are the Indians, because they understand that this moving river of grass is a fragile piece of our planet, and they can hear the call of the herons, owls and panthers who come out under the cover of darkness and, in the cautionary words of Marjory Stoneman Douglas, cry out, "There are no other Everglades in the world." I hope we are starting to hear the call.

NO VISION WHATSOEVER WHY WE ARE ALL STRANGERS IN THE EVERGLADES BY JIMMY BUFFETT

The U.S. sugar program costs domestic consumers \$1.4 billion a year. Where does the money go? According to critics, it ends up in the pockets of a few wealthy farmers.

D-N.Y., that would have phased out the sugar program entirely over five years. Instead, the House version of the Farm Bill leaves the sugar program substantially intact.

BAD BUSINESS IN GEORGIA

TO UNDERSTAND JUST HOW THE PROGRAM operates in real life, I paid a visit to Albany, Ga., home of Bobs Candies, the world's largest manufacturer of candy canes. For 41-year-old Greg McCormack, president of the family owned business that his grandfather started in 1919, the federal sugar program makes about as much sense as putting chili peppers instead of peppermint into his candy canes.

During a tour of his factory, McCormack explains how the government jacks up the price of candy canes and inflates the cost of thousands of products from mayonnaise to Froot Loops. The entire program is so convoluted, it's fully comprehensible only to agricultural policy wonks and truly devoted sugar foes, but it boils down to this simple fact: The federal government guarantees sugar farmers a price for their crop that is significantly higher than what it costs to grow it.

That's great for sugar beet and cane farmers. But people like McCormack are then forced to buy sugar at those inflated costs. There is nowhere to turn, because although American growers can fill only about 85 percent of U.S. demand, the government also strictly regulates imported sugar and taxes it to keep it as expensive as homegrown.

McCormack and I don hairnets and red BOBS CANDIES baseball caps and walk out on the factory floor. The hot, sticky-sweet air is filled with the sounds of whirring mechanical taffy pullers and boiling candy. The strippers and rockmen, a mostly African-American work force, manhandle giant balls of 60 percent sugar, 40 percent corn syrup, boiled together at 285 degrees, then pull, color, twist, cut and package them into more than 600 million candy canes a year. McCormack spends enough time here on the floor, he says, that when he attends outside meetings, people can literally smell him coming.

He tells me he pays about \$2 million per year in extra sugar costs because of the program. He knows this in part because he owns a much smaller sister plant in Jamaica, "which keeps us abreast of how absurd the program is," he says. If McCormack purchases 1,000 pounds of sugar grown and milled in Florida for his Georgia headquarters, he currently pays 28.5 cents per pound. If he wants the same shipment of sugar for his Jamaica plant, he pays 17 cents per pound.

Trouble is, Bobs has lost market share to a Canadian confectioner that McCormack figures can buy sugar cheap enough to undercut his U.S. operations by 10 percent to 15 percent. When you

buy some 18 million pounds of sugar every year, as Bobs Candies does, a 1-cent price difference on raw materials between competitors is a fiscal cavity. A 10-cent difference is like corporate root canal. Since buying raw sugar accounts for a quarter of McCormack's total production costs, you begin to understand why he isn't really happy that Congress seems to value sugar growers more than Bobs Candies' 600 employees. "Why should a beet farmer in Kalamazoo, Mich., profit at the expense of a candy maker in Albany, Ga.?" McCormack wonders.

As we ride to dinner in his Ford Econoline van with CANDY 5 license plates, McCormack is warming up. When Bobs exports candy canes — say, to Canada — McCormack gets what is known as a re-export credit. This ingenious bit of governmental engineering allows the Department of Agriculture to reimburse McCormack the difference between what he should have been paying for the sugar on the normal world market and what he actually had to pay in the perverse U.S. market. With these re-export credits, McCormack can sell his candy canes cheaper in Canada than his Canadian competitor can sell theirs, but he can't match their price in the U.S. market. The bottom line for the business, McCormack says, is that he could wholesale his product for about 10 percent less without a sugar program. That means retailers could easily drop prices 15 percent and still pocket some of the difference.

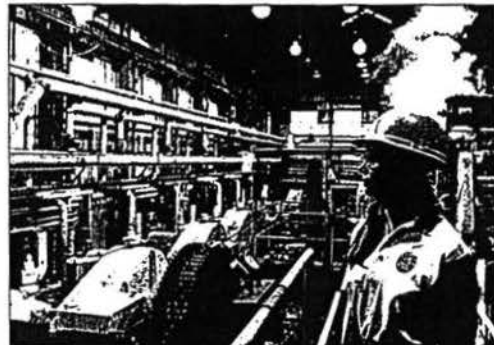
Multiply this absurdity across the consumer landscape, and the U.S. sugar program costs domestic consumers \$1.4 billion annually, according to the General Accounting Office. The government, because it buys a lot of food for poor people, military personnel and prisoners, also pays a sugar surcharge of about \$90 million. Who benefits from this deal, you might wonder. The accounting office concluded that the benefits for the program are concentrated in the bulging pockets of a very few growers, with 42 percent of the benefits going to 1 percent of the growers. Growers like the Fanjul brothers' Flo-Sun and Buker's U.S. Sugar are at the top of the list.

Then there are the unintended consequences of the program. After the 1981 Farm Bill raised sugar supports even higher, the sweetener market got a whole lot sweeter. Manufacturers of high-fructose corn syrup, which is virtually indistinguishable from sugar in soft drinks, for instance, saw

an opportunity. With sugar's cost artificially propped up and high-fructose corn syrup's production costs much lower than sugar's, (estimated at between 9 cents and 12 cents per pound, compared with U.S. sugar at 20 to 22 cents per pound), the fledgling high-fructose corn syrup industry hit a gold mine once it figured out how to mass-produce its product. By undercutting sugar by a mere couple of cents, the high-fructose corn syrup market stole the soft-drink business and about half of

sugar's market — and reaped unimaginable profits from this windfall. Not surprisingly, the corn growers have glommed on to the sugar growers as loyal allies.

Over dinner at Albany's only sushi bar, McCormack becomes visibly upset that politicians in Washington don't seem to realize the effects of the misguided sugar program on businesses like his. "I don't want to move from Albany, Ga.," says McCormack, who is so buy-American he sticks to Miller Genuine Draft (bottled here in Albany) rather than try a Japanese beer. "It's not right," he says. "I ought to be able to make candy here in Albany, Ga." He sips his Miller and shakes his head wearily in a way that recalls U.S. Sugar's Bob Buker after his Miami trip. "I'm just a candy maker," says McCormack. "But this thing is crazy."



CLEWISTON, FLA.: WORKERS MILL CANE INTO RAW SUGAR.

POLITICS IN FLORIDA

IN WASHINGTON, IT'S OVER. ANY ACTIVITY attempting to kill the sugar program has been defeated for this session of Congress. Some members of the anti-Big Sugar camp blame the big industrial users, who didn't turn on enough pressure. In South Florida, however, the main event of the coming political season will be Big Sugar vs. the Everglades.

To advance their cause, environmentalists often have to rely solely on a sense of moral righteousness. In South Florida, however, they've added two additional weapons. First, they have acquired committed financial backing from wealthy conservationists. And they have something that may ultimately prove even more effective than money: a martyr.

During the 1980s, a wealthy developer turned Everglades crusader named George Barley had almost single-handedly built up public awareness of the growing environmental blight brought on by excessive sugar production. The feisty conservationist was famous for his Barleygrams, to-the-point notes he sent to motivate supporters. He was also active in getting the federal government to sue the state of Florida in 1988 over violations of water-quality standards. I had met Barley once during a tour of the Everglades with Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt, who had been trying to forge a settlement between sugar growers and environmentalists in order to clean up the Everglades. The settlement, which was ultimately embodied in a controversial state law called the Everglades Forever Act, requires [Cont. on 64]

SWEET REVENGE

How to Rescue the Everglades

For more information on the Everglades, call or write to the following organizations. Contact your representatives and senators to inquire how they voted on the sugar program.

Save Our Everglades

PO Box 547068
Orlando, FL 32854-7068
888-Everglades (888-383-7452)

World Wildlife Fund

1250 24th St. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037
Attention: Ron Tipton
Director
South Florida/Everglades Project
202-778-9661

National Audubon Society

160 N.W. 176th St., Suite 202
Miami, FL 33169
Attention: Stuart Strahl
Executive Director
Everglades Restoration Campaign
305-653-1136

TECHNOLOGY SUGAR

BY STEVE MORGENSTERN

CD-ROMS INCORPORATING live-action video have gotten a well-deserved bad rap. Video sequences have been either full-screen low-res or crisp but postage-stamp size. In some titles the video sequences were just decorative gimmicks tacked onto mediocre software. In others they were the linchpin of virtually unplayable games (anybody want to buy a remaindered copy of *Johnny Mnemonic*?). But that's all changing thanks to increased computing power and more sophisticated software design. Each of these CD-ROMs delivers high-quality video and uses it with real style.



"**TERRA NOVA: STRIKE FORCE CENTAURI**" (LOOKING GLASS TECHNOLOGIES, DOS, \$60) Climb into a heavily armed robotic armor suit, assemble a team of similarly pumped-up warriors and charge into battle in this beautifully rendered, first-person 3-D combat simulation. The Looking Glass Software de-

velopment team includes several MIT byte crunchers and physics nerds who've mastered the difficult task of making a simulated world feel real. They did it before with a groundbreaking flight sim, *Flight Unlimited*. Now they've created utterly convincing surface worlds to serve as alien battlefields. You walk, run, duck and jump through a landscape complete with hills, mountains, rivers and valleys, striving for strategic advantage against tough computer-controlled enemies.

HIGH-QUALITY VIDEO ADDS SIZZLE TO CD-ROMS



"**ANGEL DEVOID: FACE OF THE ENEMY**" (MINDSCAPE, DOS/MACINTOSH, \$50) Nobody's done a better job of interactive storytelling using state-of-the-art full-screen video than Electric Dreams, the developers of *Angel Devoid*. This dark, futuristic thriller sends players on an adventure in a *Blade Runner*-inspired urban jungle. As the game opens, you're a cop pursuing arch-criminal Angel Devoid in a high-speed chase. You crash and burn, but you don't die. Instead, Devoid plays a cruel trick: A surgeon gives you the criminal's face, takes away your voice and kicks you out onto the mean streets of Neo-City. Learn Devoid's secrets and defeat the villain, or die trying.

The combination of computer-generated backgrounds, 24 live actors and a movie-quality soundtrack immerses players in a convincingly creepy cyberpunk environment. The game design does have its rough edges (oddball navigation commands and a short running time), but on balance the dramatic impact of the production makes up for these shortcomings. Turn down the lights, crank up the speakers, save your game often and have fun.

So far we have the ultradeluxe computer version of *Rock'em Sock'em Robots*, but the video-based storytelling adds personality and plot development. *Terra Nova* takes place in a richly imagined fictional future of space pirates, armed rebellion and political turmoil. Having the fate of 23rd-century civilization hanging on each mission makes blasting bad guys to cosmic dust that much more satisfying.

"**SPYCRAFT: THE GREAT GAME**" (ACTIVISION, DOS/WINDOWS, \$50) It looks like Activision's affirmative-action plan for out-of-work Cold Warriors is starting to pay off. The company hired William Colby, ex-head of the CIA, and Oleg Kalugin, a former major general of the KGB, to help create *Spycraft*. This tale of espionage and international intrigue is told through a variety of multimedia



techniques. Realistic TV news broadcasts keep you up-to-date on world events, while face-to-face conversations with familiar-looking character actors help you unravel the sinister plot. Of course, the best part of the old James Bond movies was a trip to Q's lab to check out his wonderful toys, and *Spycraft* offers its digital equivalent. Here the toys are computer-based systems that players use to analyze sounds and images, bullet trajectories, suspects' facial features, and more. Activision claims

that these are all based on real-world spy technologies. And, hey, if you can't trust the heads of the CIA and the KGB, who can you trust?

"**THE BEAST WITHIN: A GABRIEL KNIGHT MYSTERY**" (SIERRA ONLINE, DOS/WINDOWS, \$65) You are Gabriel Knight, the schlock novelist from New Orleans whose hereditary link to the supernatural was first explored in the voodoo mystery *Sins of the Fathers* (Sierra, 1994). Now you're in Germany stalking werewolves in a cinematic horror story that delivers the level of genuinely chilling



experience we associate with first-rate monster movies. Much of the credit goes to writer-designer Jane Jensen, who has created a game with well-defined characters and intricate plotting set in an intriguing world that combines historical fact with eerie folklore. But it took a virtual army of artists, composers, performers and software wizards to bring Jensen's vision to life on the computer screen, and the result is as satisfying as it is ambitious.

[Cont. from 49] sugar producers to pay for some of the cleanup. Environmentalists insisted it wasn't nearly enough, since taxpayers were left to clean up most of sugar's mess. "The settlement is a bum deal," Barley told me at the time. "Sugar has been breaking the law for 20 years, and they're breaking the law today. But they can't get off my hooks."

Then, on June 23, 1995, the 61-year-old Barley died in a charter plane crash en route to a meeting in Jacksonville, Fla. His widow, Mary Barley, vowed to continue the fight and enlisted the aid of a number of well-heeled Floridians, like former Nixon administration official Nathaniel Reed. She threw in her portion of the \$2 million insurance settlement awarded in the wrongful-death suit against the charter airline and persuaded the multimillionaire commodities trader Paul Tudor Jones II to help fund their campaign. In the spirit of "let's win this one for George," they spearheaded the Committee to Ensure Florida's Economic and Environmental Future, and suddenly sugar's opponents were willing to fight the industry with their own weapon: money — and not \$20-per-contributor money. Real money.

In Reed's elegant home in Hobe Sound, Fla., Reed, Mary Barley and I talk politics over dinner. Reed, a patrician Republican developer who was a former assistant secretary in the Interior Department, is not your typical environmentalist. But cowardice in Washington has radicalized him. "I thought the Republicans were going to come in and say, 'That's the end of that,'" he says. "But the long arms of sugar are not going to allow that." I mention to Mary Barley that the sugar people are complaining that wealthy environmentalists like her are trying to win their cause by buying public opinion. She is indignant. "Up until this moment, sugar money has been the only money in this debate," she says adamantly. "But for every penny sugar puts into this, they get a return on their investment. For every penny we put in, we'll never see a return to us personally. It's just the morally right thing to do."

One of the biggest problems with the sugar program, says Charles Lee of the Florida Audubon Society, is that it has made it profitable to raise cane on otherwise marginal farmland. In fact, you could plot the increase in government support for sugar production by looking at a map of South Florida: In 1960 there were 60,000 acres of cane; today it's about 575,000 acres. Land that is unprofitable to farm when sugar sells for, say, 15 cents a pound, is wildly profitable at 24 cents a pound. Lee agrees that much of the Everglades Agricultural Area's black-muck soil is perfect [Cont. on 66]

SUGAR

[Cont. from 64] for sugar cane, and he prefers farming cane to some of the other crops that could be introduced there, like condo-building Northerners.

The sugar campaigns in Florida have been particularly bitter. Sugar growers took out a full-page ad in a Miami Spanish-language newspaper, comparing Nathaniel Reed to Fidel Castro. U.S. Sugar's Buker branded Reed "a terrorist with a tie." Environmentalists, on the other hand, have demonized the Fanjul brothers, who provide a juicy target with their Palm Beach estates, Ferraris and Caribbean getaways. **ALIENS EARN BILLIONS IN GOV'T BONANZA!** is the headline in the tabloidesque *Bittersweet Times* put out by the anti-sugar coalition.

Even U.S. Sugar's Buker complains that the Fanjuls "don't know how to be rich in America." Each year, the brothers derive an estimated \$65 million in benefits from the sugar program, not just from Flo-Sun's share of the largesse but from the sugar they grow in the Dominican Republic and sell here at gleefully inflated prices. The Fanjuls, hopelessly nouveau riche in some ways, obviously know how to play politics the way old money does.

Paul Tudor Jones II, who has dipped into his deep pockets for the save-the-Everglades campaign, has no patience with the sugar industry's complaints about the cost of cleaning up after itself. "Here is a group of people who have benefited enormously at the expense of society," he tells me by phone from his office in New York. "We're just asking them to give something back." He says emphatically that instead of whining "they should be on their knees thanking God for the past 20 years."

INSTEAD, THE SUGAR INDUSTRY IS probably thanking God for the failure of any significant campaign-finance reform. Thanks to what one anti-sugar Beltway lobbyist calls the old "booze, broods and bucks" school of lobbying, the sugar industry has attained a level of clout completely out of proportion to the number of its farmers or their contribution to the national economy. "If Congress operated like you were taught in civics textbooks, it would be no contest," says lobbyist Drew Davis of the National Soft Drink Association. "This is a classic example of what's wrong in Washington," says Charles Schumer, who co-sponsored an amendment to undo the sugar program.

The conventional wisdom about sugar's survival techniques reduces to these neat maxims: Give early. Give a lot. Give even more when big vote time comes around. According to the Center for Responsive Politics, a nonpartisan research organization based in Washington, since 1979, sugar-related interests (sugar

cane, sugar beet and corn sweeteners) have invested at least \$12.8 million in the political parties and the campaigns of candidates for federal office. That doesn't even count state contributions, which in Florida's case have been estimated to account for another \$13 million.

The money talks. The center reported that then-standing members of Congress who voted in favor of the sugar program in 1990 received on average nearly 15 times more money from sugar PACs than those who voted against the sugar program. "Sugar is the poster child for campaign-finance reform," says Rep. Dan Miller, a South Florida Republican from a cane-free district who has doggedly tried to kill the sugar program. A former statistics professor, Miller has seen his Florida office picketed and vicious (and expensive) attack ads placed in his district. At public meetings, the sugar industry has flown in farmers' wives with children in tow to scream at him, "Tell them what they're going to do if you put their daddies out of work."

The sugar industry is understandably sensitive about its PAC contributions. Their lobbyists counter that corporate foes like Coca-Cola and Hershey combined outgive sugar PACs by far. But there's an important difference in the purpose of the corporate generosity, says soft-drink lobbyist Davis. "We have issues every year, every session," he says, from Occupational Safety and Health Administration regulations to trade policies, pollution to minimum-wage laws. Consequently, he says, his clients can't turn a lobbyist's laser on a single issue the way the sugar lobby can. "We don't ask for thermonuclear war if a member doesn't vote with us," says Davis. "They do."

When Republicans took over Congress in 1995, a lot of people thought Big Sugar's time had come. Free-market reformers nominated a bunch of farm programs for cutbacks or elimination. Former bomb-throwing minority legislators like Dick Armey, who had long considered U.S. farm policies to be the equivalent of "Moscow on the Mississippi," assumed leadership positions in the House. Kansas Republican Pat Roberts, chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture, introduced his Freedom to Farm Act, which aimed to cut back farm subsidies. The Coalition to End Welfare for Big Sugar formed to offer a lobbying counterpunch to the sugar industry's clout. Even the sugar cane refiners, who had always marched in lock step with their sugar-growing brethren, broke ranks by complaining that the policy was driving them out of business by shaving the profit margins in refining to nearly nothing.

But as opponents of the program soon found out, the sugar program is connected to the peanut program, and the peanut program is connected to the cotton program, and so on. In his agri-

culture committee, Roberts soon found himself confronted by an open rebellion of farm-state legislators. Roberts started cutting bait. He made the sugar and peanut people a deal right away, trading their votes in favor of Freedom to Farm for a promise to leave them out of the first round of cuts. But the cotton, rice and wheat people stuck together, and Roberts was placed in the embarrassing position of not being able to get his own bill out of his own committee. Freedom to Farm was temporarily shackled.

Meanwhile, the sugar lobby engineered an ingenious parliamentary ploy to stave off subjecting sugar to an up-or-down vote in a farm bill. Instead they maneuvered the program into the giant budget package. Since the sugar program doesn't give farmers direct-cash subsidies like other farm programs and doesn't "cost" anything, sugar never appears to be a budget issue. Inside the budget package, says Tom Hammer, a lobbyist for the Sweetener Users Association, the sugar program could hide "like a small ball in the tall weeds."

WHEN THE HIGH-STAKES BUDGET wrangling hit a peak last fall, Washington was a war zone for legislators and lobbyists on both sides of the sugar issue. The Republican leadership, obsessed with

"Sugar is the poster child for campaign reform," says a congressman.

passing its budget, temporarily backed off in order to keep farm-state legislators in line on the larger issue. There was no counterpressure from the Clinton administration, either, since the White House was convinced that farmers will rise up and electorally smite Republicans for cutting farm subsidies.

But a few politicians stuck to their guns. Sen. Judd Gregg, a New Hampshire Republican, was openly disdainful of his conservative colleagues like those on the Republican Steering Committee. "It's hard to walk into a room full of people who hang a shingle saying they're conservative Republicans and find out they all support sugar," Gregg says. "It's totally unjustifiable."

Taking up the cause has fallen to professional lobbyists like Luther Markwart, the executive vice president of the American Sugarbeet Growers Association and chairman of the American Sugar Alliance. To hear Markwart talk, you'd think the sugar program comes second—perhaps—to defense spending as a matter of national security. "We've got to feed 260 million people in this country,"

he says. "Sugar is an essential ingredient in all our food. When you mess around with the supply of sugar in your food system, you're taking a great risk."

Markwart echoes Buker's complaint that virtually every country that produces sugar gives its growers some support or subsidy. "We are in a street fight with the policies of foreign countries," he says. "To eliminate the program unilaterally is suicide." As for the assertions that Big Sugar barons are throwing money around to buy politicians, Markwart seems genuinely offended. "I can't remember a time when I had to ask a member if he needed money," says Markwart. "The initiative comes from them," he says with remarkable candor, in what amounts to "a shakedown."

I went to the National Corn Growers Association on Capitol Hill to hear their side of the story. It just didn't add up. There just don't seem to be enough people who benefit from the sugar program to ensure its survival. Why, I asked their lobbyist, the red-suspended Mississippiian Keith Heard, are the corn guys still on board with the sugar guys when everybody seems to hate them? After all, only a fraction of the corn crop was used in the sweetener market. "Us farmers have to stick together," says Heard with a slick grin. Heard has been doing some vote counting and all but guarantees me that the sugar program will remain intact for at least a while longer. "Sugar's going to be slower moving into the new world order," Heard says matter-of-factly. "It's the most embedded ag program there is."

Heard is right so far. But opponents promise another fight when the agricultural appropriations bill comes up later this year, and after that another, and another. The plan now is to "make members earn their sugar money," says Lockhart, the activist; he wants to make pro-sugar Congressmen stick their necks out with "five votes a year instead of one vote every five years." Davis, the soft-drink lobbyist, reiterates this smoke-'em-out gambit: "We need to make sure there's a public debate about the reform of this program."

Down in South Florida, scientist Ron Jones wonders how much of his beloved Everglades will be destroyed before the politicians gather enough gumption to act. Though a conservationist by nature and by career choice, Jones is at heart a scientist. He's just as likely to rail against environmentalists who exaggerate sugar farming's damage as he is against the sugar industry, which happily uses his research when it suits the industry's purposes. Jones knows that sugar cane is only a part of the Everglades' problems. Still, his hours and days and weeks as an eyewitness on the polluted river of grass have persuaded him where we should start. As we pull the airboat from the water, Jones turns to me. "We know the disease," he says. "And we know the cure." ■

ASAP
Redford letter
only return letter
per contact who
cleared this morning

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-14-94

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1996

Mr. Robert Redford
Wildwood Enterprises, Inc.
Suite E
1101 Montana Avenue
Santa Monica, California 90403

Dear Robert:

Thank you very much for writing and sending a
copy of Stone Canyons of the Colorado Plateau.
I appreciate your thoughtfulness, and I'm always
glad to hear from you.

I share your concern about the proposed project
in southern Utah, and my Administration is
reviewing a variety of options at this time. I
value your perspective and look forward to having
the benefit of your continuing counsel on this
and other important environmental issues.

Sincerely,

K McGuire

You should have
received this in the 1st
place - Ms do reply ASAP
Bc

White House Gift Record

Presented: 08/05/96
Arrival : 08/07/96
Entered : 08/07/96

Gift ID: 388157/nam

Donor Information

Mr. Robert Redford
Wildwood Enterprises, Inc.
Suite E
1101 Montana Avenue
Santa Monica, CA 90403

Acknowledged By: Pending BC Gift Draft

Comments:

Yes, this is the Robert Redford. Gift is part of donor's mailing to POTUS stating opposition to proposal by Dutch-owned mining company for a coal mine in Utah. Original correspondence sent to Jeff Dailey, PLM for response. Possible Presidential sample. BC Sig, per LoriA.

Gift Information

Intended: President

Disposition: Archives

Description:

Hardcover book. "Stone Canyons of the Colorado Plateau," by Charles Bowden and Jack Dykinga; forward written by donor.

Location of Gift:

The gift is in Archives.

Total Gift Value: \$45

ROBERT REDFORD

August 5, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear President Clinton:

I hope this note finds you well albeit with your hands full. With the general election upon us, I look forward to the debate you will lead on exactly what is at stake here, and what kind of future the American people will be deciding on. It is a critically important election in our history as a nation and our soul as a people.

When the GOP majority took over the Congress, we were all a bit paralyzed for a moment as their extremism spewed forth on every front. But ultimately we hit our stride in fighting their agenda. Ironically, there has been something invigorating about this. I believe it shook people out of a complacency that was careening close to dangerous.

My experience over the past year as I worked to stall the GOP's so-called Utah wilderness bill is a case in point and the experience renewed my faith in democracy on a certain level. This fight to protect the largest remaining wild area in the continental United States convinced me again that if the true story is told--if it gets out--people will organize, people will speak out and people will fight for what they believe is right.

I think they agree with Western writer Rick Bass who recently wrote: *"You cannot convert the fragile stick nests of herons into timber, oil or gas, you cannot turn the whistle of wind across ancient orange sands into dollar bills, or votes, or security. You cannot cut a road into a red rock, across a sand creek, and convert that loss into gain. This is and*

always has been a myth of mankind, of all countries both savage and civilized. There is a point reached in all cultures--a point of saturation--where each blade cut weakens a place, and the miracle of regeneration does not one day occur."

To be honest, I was a little surprised at the numbers related to public lands in general. Every poll I looked at showed people in the 60-80 percentile range wanting more, not less, of these lands preserved. At one point, I wrote a piece on the Utah bill in *USA WEEKEND* opposite Orrin Hatch. The magazine asked people to write in afterwards telling the editor where they stood. The results were staggering--nearly 25,000 responses came in from across the country and 22,922 agreed with my perspective and a mere 1,772 agreed with Hatch's.

In this unscientific *USA WEEKEND* poll and in every scientific poll shared with me over the last year and a half, people in majority numbers are saying the same thing--that this land belongs to them and they don't want what's left to be opened to exploitation that benefits a few at the expense of many...which is precisely the GOP agenda. Among other things, public health and safety issues are a part of it, as are compelling economic arguments against it. Certainly a basic connection to one's natural heritage is a part of it as well.

In the Utah fight, people and the media understood that the land in question belongs to all of America as evidenced in editorial after editorial from every major paper in the country. I've enclosed some of the coverage related to our campaign against the bill and the *USA WEEKEND* material for your information. I've also enclosed a book on some of the land for which we continue to fight, for which I contributed the foreword.

I would be remiss in not thanking you sincerely for your threatened veto of the bill had it found its way to your desk. Your action came at a critical juncture in the campaign and made a phenomenal difference.

Currently under study in the Interior Department is a proposal from Dutch-owned Andalex Resources for a coal mine in the heart of the Kaiparowits Plateau in southern Utah. This mine is at the heart of the Utah wilderness debate and if it goes forward, much of what we accomplished related to stalling the Utah delegation's bill will go by the wayside.

The Andalex proposal entails the construction of a 22-mile paved highway to haul out as much as 4 million tons of coal annually. The spectacular, wild and untouched Kaiparowits Plateau and virgin wilderness will be sliced through to do it.

Utah tax dollars will be necessary for a myriad of road related subsidies which are estimated to be more than \$100 million. When you consider the Governor's Office of Planning and Budget study which estimates approximately 300 Utahns potentially directly employed by the mine, that state subsidy comes to \$330,000 per job provided. And, Andalex can't guarantee a payback to taxpayers nor will they be required to do so.

Profit may be elusive when you consider they'll be trucking the coal more than 200 miles to railyards, railing it about the same distance to Los Angeles, and then shipping it across the world's largest ocean.

If the Interior Department grants the right-of-way permits for the 22-mile paved highways for which Andalex has applied, 92-foot-long, 129,000 pound double tractor trailer trucks will pass any given point along the 200 mile corridor less than every three minutes.

And for what? Allowing a Dutch-owned company to make a lot of money on coal they'll send to Pacific Rim nations like Japan, Korea and Taiwan.

Surely we need to grow and prosper, but economically and environmentally this mine does not make sense. This is a "boom and bust" waiting to happen and once Andalex takes out every natural resource possible, they'll walk away

leaving behind blighted land, another Superfund site, unemployment and public health and safety risks.

Utah's economy has rebounded due to hi-tech and other industries going there because of the kind of life the state offers its workers. When you add the booming tourism industry to this, it becomes an even more compelling economic argument. Tourism contributes more to the State's economy than agriculture and mining combined. The Utah Republican delegation lining up behind this mine is once again siding with special interest campaign contributors over the interests of the people they're supposed to be representing.

Mr. President, people across the country have never been more aware of how extreme the GOP lands agenda is and what it means for the future of their kids and generations beyond. I sincerely believe that when the story of this mine is told, the majority of Americans will be against it and I think the polling numbers and editorial support against the so-called Utah wilderness bill support this belief.

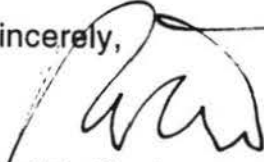
I strongly feel that we find ourselves in an historic window of time to do something bold on protecting the Kaiparowits Plateau and I'm convinced you will have the American people behind you if you do. Protecting the Kaiparowits Plateau and wild lands of Southern Utah, which exist nowhere else on earth, would be a stunning legacy of the Clinton presidency for generations to come.

As Rick Bass further wrote, *"The unprotected wilderness of the West is one of our greatest strengths as a country. Another is our imagination, our tendency to think rather than to accept--to challenge, to ask why and what if, to create rather than destroy. This questioning is a kind of wildness, a kind of strength, that many have said is peculiarly American."*

-5-

I would welcome the opportunity to talk with you about this and help in any way possible. As always, I am grateful for your time in reading and considering this, and for your ongoing efforts.

Sincerely,

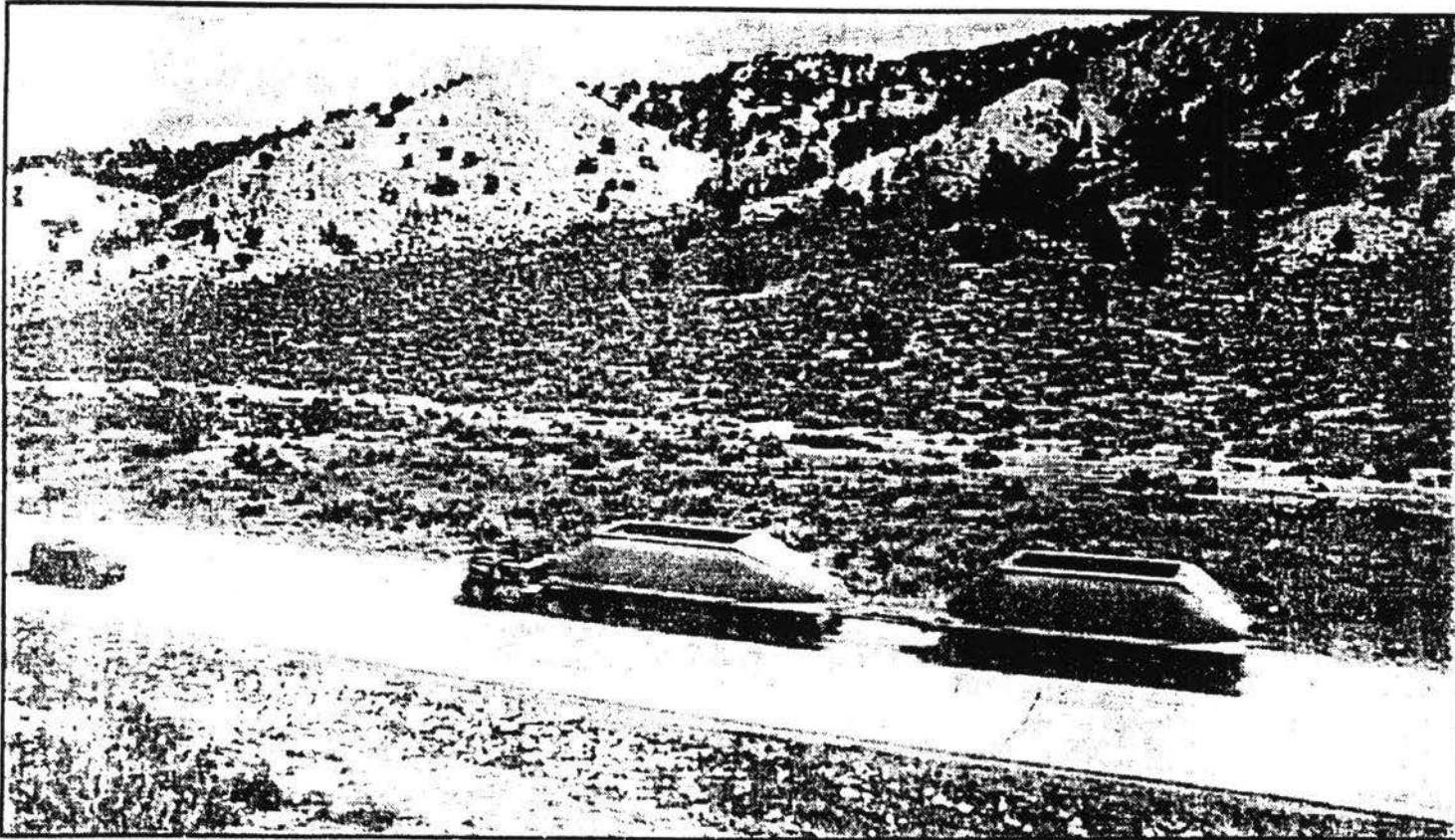


Robert Redford

Beating a Path

Never mind citizen safety and the environment. A Dutch company's trucks loaded with coal will roll through Southern Utah as taxpayers ante up \$100 million for roads.

By Christopher Smart



Mining in the fast lane: With no current U.S. market for coal, Southern Utah could be host to several 96-foot-long, 65-ton trucks passing every four minutes, 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

PHOTO: FRED HAYES

"The decision-makers will decide whether to accept those [environmental] impacts, even if they are significant ..."

—Verlin Smith, Kanab area manager of BLM.

It might as well be a gold mine for all the dollar signs floating through the eyes of Utah government officials. The payoff is easily in the tens of millions. But like high-stakes poker, the risks too are great.

This isn't about gold, it's about coal. More to the point, it's about what happens when public safety and environmental concerns run up against big-money politics. Critics say the latest proposal to mine coal on the Kaiparowits Plateau has been greased for state and local government approval, even though it will endanger the lives of residents in towns like Big Water, LeVerkin and

Cedar City. But proponents counter the traffic safety concerns by saying the mine will bring a thriving industry to an area that needs an economic boost.

It may well bring an economic boost, but not before Utah taxpayers ante up \$68 million to \$100 million for highway improvements. The fly in this ointment is that coal will have to be trucked through a number of small Southern Utah towns to a distant railhead. The thought of giant coal trucks plying small roads was enough to make Arizona officials back away from a similar proposal, saying it was too expensive and dangerous.

On top of that, a recent study says

transportation costs will make Kaiparowits's coal too expensive to compete on the open market.

Why these facts aren't common knowledge is anyone's guess. Perhaps the words "Andalex" and "Kaiparowits" make this subject something like listening to a conversation in a foreign language. But whether or not these names have led to confusion and disinterest, they surround one of the most significant decisions on natural resources and the environment to be made this year outside of Washington.

cc: CES
MA Salmons

already done 9/8

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*Mary Ann Salmons
(the Elder)*

September 14, 1996

Billy Lindsey
Lindsey's Rainbow Resort
350 Rainbow Road
Heber Springs, Arkansas 72543

Dear Billy:

Thanks for your great letter, your continued support, and -- most important of all -- your friendship. These last few weeks have been very busy, but we've been encouraged by the tremendous turnout and response we've had along the road.

I was so proud of Hillary -- I'm glad you thought her speech was wonderful, too. Hope to see you in January.

Sincerely,

Bill

Billy Lindsey
Lindsey's Rainbow Resort
350 Rainbow Road
Heber Springs, Arkansas 72543

TV
8-29-96

Dear Bill and Hillary,

I Am Sorry I have not communicated with you in the last few months. But please know that you remain in our hearts and our prayers.

Hillary you were brilliant in your convention speech. Your honesty and simplicity were very refreshing and, at least in our home, appreciated.

Bill we look forward to hearing you tonight and are confident you will stand them on their ear!

Carol and I just wanted to let the two of you know that, we miss you, we support you and will be campaigning hard for you here in Arkansas! We will be contributing financially to the campaign and shaking lots of hands on your behalf. We do this not just because we call you our friend, not just because you are fellow Arkansians, not just because you are a democrat, but because I know you believe in your heart that you have a vision and an agenda that will move this great nation forward and in turn leave our children a far better world as a result!

Carol & I plan to be in Washington for the inaugural activities this time.

I hope to see you soon.

Your Friend


cc CTJ
VP
The RunCen

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 14, 1996

Molly Hauser Natwick
1005 North Sixth Avenue
Sturgeon, Bay Wisconsin 54235

Dear Molly:

I just wanted to say again how impressed I was by your letter to the editor. You did a great job discussing what I've been working for during the last four years, and I'm so glad you showed it to me. I'm proud to have a fan like you!

Also, it was a real pleasure to meet you and your daughter at the rally. I'm glad everything turned out well with your son.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Mr. President:

This is a response to the woman you met on Labor Day in DePere, Wisconsin, who was temporarily separated from her son.

Phil Caplan

Molly Hauser Natwick
1005 North Sixth Avenue
Sturgeon, Bay Wisconsin 54235

Aug 29th, 1996

Dear Editor,

I was angered and insulted by Mr. Kinsley's assertion that there are no American citizens who swoon for Bill Clinton.

Because Bill Clinton was elected President, America is a better place for my children to grow up. My children are safer from crime and tobacco because Bill Clinton is our President. The little boy across the street doesn't have to lose his health insurance just because his dad lost his job. Because Bill Clinton was elected President my children still have parks to play in and cleaner water to swim in. Because Bill Clinton chose the incomparable Al Gore as his Vice President my children's classrooms will have more computers and more access to information.

I believe that Bill Clinton is accomplishing a better and brighter future for our children. I believe that my children are safer with Bill Clinton. I am grateful that my daughter has Hillary for a role model and I want to grow older with Al & Tipper Gore. Mr. Kinsley count me as a swooner.

Molly Hausen Netwick
Sturgeon Bay, Wis.

Molly Natwick

1005

N. 6th Ave

Sturgeon Bay, WI

54235

414/743-5664

September 4, 1996

TO: Maureen Lewis

FR: Phil Caplan *Phil*

The attached letter has a wonderful story.

The writer was along the rope line at the President's speech in De Pere, Wisconsin on Labor Day. She was separated from her 7-year old son Eric during the rally. McCurry made a lost-child announcement over the PA as the President was finishing up the rope line. I saw her crying, pulled her out of the crowd, brought her backstage and got her and her daughter something to drink. The President came over and I introduced them explaining that her son was lost but that the SS and the police were doing everything they could to find him. POTUS was very concerned. She handed him the attached letter. POTUS stood and read it and said, "Wow...what a great letter."

Her son was found about five minutes later.

I think he would like to sign the response.

Sample
Casey letter
Ann Levin
uninvolved?
Becky
Myra

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1996

Ms. Marilyn Casey
4110 Pleasant Meadow Court
Chantilly, Virginia 20151

Dear Marilyn:

Thank you so much for your kind words of support and for sharing your personal experience with the Family and Medical Leave Act. I'm glad that this law was available to you when you needed it most.

I agree that the Family and Medical Leave Act has been extremely successful in helping American families find security in today's economy. The bipartisan panel Congress created to study the Act recently announced that the law has helped more than one in six American employees take time off without any danger of losing their jobs because of a serious family health problem. Almost 90 percent of businesses found that complying with Family and Medical Leave cost them little or nothing. As your own experience shows, this legislation is making America's families stronger and promoting work. Thanks to the efforts of this bipartisan commission, we now have further proof of what you and I have always known -- that signing the Family and Medical Leave Act into law was, and is, the right thing to do for America's working families.

To build on this progress, I have proposed expanding the family leave law with a flextime initiative, which would give employees the choice of either being compensated for working overtime, as the law now requires, or, instead, taking an hour and a half off for every hour worked overtime. This plan would encourage parents to attend school functions and events or schedule routine medical care for a child, spouse, or parent. We all bear the cost when workers are forced to choose between keeping their jobs and meeting their personal and family obligations, and we must continue to do all we can to help businesses and families like yours meet the challenges of the future.

Thanks again for taking the time to write. Your thoughtful words mean a great deal to me.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

SAMPLE

Si

SAMPLE

due 8-26-96

4110 Pleasant M
Chantilly, VA 2
August 9, 1996

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

Dear Mr. President:

I recently took a Family Leave from my job at Travelers/Aetna Insurance Company, and served as the primary caretaker, with the help of Hospice, for my father during the last five weeks of his life. This was a meaningful experience for me and I am very appreciative of the Family and Medical Leave Act which allowed me to take a leave, no questions asked, and return without jeopardizing my job.

As a result of the opportunity I had to be with my father, I have no regrets concerning his care or the final weeks of his life. What could have been a very sad final few weeks, in a nursing home, was instead five weeks surrounded by family and friends in his own home. The Family and Medical Leave Act, in conjunction with the caring and professionalism of my department manager, Kim Tran and employer, Travelers/Aetna made this happen. Clearly this has allowed me to return to work in a much better frame of mind than may otherwise have been possible.

Thank you for your insight and interest in family issues which culminated in the Family and Medical Leave Act. From my experience, it is working as intended to allow families time away from work to deal with family crisis situations.

Sincerely,

Marilyn Casey

Marilyn Casey

cc: The Honorable Charles Robb, U. S. Senator, VA
The Honorable John Warner, U. S. Senator, VA
The Honorable Frank Wolf, U. S. Representative, VA
The Honorable Christopher Dodd, U. S. Senator, CT
Ms. Kim Tran, Regional Marine Manager, Mid Atlantic District, Travelers/Aetna
Mr. Robert Lipp, CEO, Travelers/Aetna Insurance Company

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1996

The Honorable Phyllis N. Segal
Chair
Federal Labor Relations Authority
607 14th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20424-0001

Dear Phyllis:

Thank you so much for sending me the
spring/summer issue of Forum.

I believe, as you do, that in order for
our nation to remain globally competitive,
employees and employers must work together
for their mutual good. I appreciate your
efforts to get that message out.

It was great to hear from you. Keep in
touch.

Sincerely,

Bill

Phyllis

8/22

FEDERAL LABOR RELATIONS AUTHORITY

Dear Mr. President,

On a much smaller scale than Between Hope & History,
here's another example of "legal marketing".
This niche-publication is aimed at a constituency
that will be interested in your Administration's
commitment to promoting labor-management
partnership.

My dual hats as FLRA Chair, and Board
Member of the publisher of FORUM, gave me the
opportunity to develop and now deliver this issue
spotlighting the Clinton Administration's initiatives
showing that labor and management working

Together is the way to make America
work!

With best regards,

Phyllis

20 August 1996

FORUM

NATIONAL
INSTITUTE FOR
DISPUTE
RESOLUTION

Conflict, Cooperation and Collaboration in the Work Place

CONFLICT, COOPERATION AND COLLABORATION IN THE WORK PLACE

Patricia Worlock Moore

LABOR AND MANAGEMENT WORKING TOGETHER TO MAKE AMERICA WORK

Vice President Al Gore

EFFECTIVE PARTNERING FOR THE FUTURE

Commissioner Margaret Milner Richardson

BUILDING A PARTNERSHIP TODAY TO MEET THE CHALLENGES OF TOMORROW

Robert M. Tobias

WORKING TOGETHER FOR PUBLIC SERVICE: REPORT ON THE SECRETARY OF LABOR'S
TASK FORCE ON EXCELLENCE IN STATE AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT THROUGH
LABOR-MANAGEMENT COOPERATION

Jonathan Brock

COLLABORATIVE PROBLEM SOLVING: POSITIVE APPROACHES USED IN

MANAGEMENT

COMPETITIVE ADVANTAGE FOR BUSINESS

EFFECTIVE PARTNERING FROM THE UNION PERSPECTIVE

"PREVAIL..."

F. Schantzen

EFFECTIVE BARGAINING IN TODAY'S HEALTH CARE SETTINGS:
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN HEALTH CENTER

Stoll

NIDRR

From Oval

8/21



To desk/dind

for reply? letter is from

✓ yes Phyllis N. Segal

— No (Bliz work)

I work for the U.S. Marshals Service in the Eastern District of North Carolina. Our Marshal is William I. Berryhill, Jr. He was appointed by President Reagan and was never reappointed by President Bush or President Clinton. Senator Jesse Helms is keeping him in office and he very desperately needs to be replaced by someone competent. Mr. Berryhill was a treasurer at the Congressional Club for Senator Helms. He has no law enforcement experience and after twelve years, I am not even sure if he knows what we do. All of the deputies in this district thought for sure that President Clinton would replace Berryhill with a democratic nomination. Yet Mr. Berryhill is still here.

Mr. Berryhill has Jesse Helms bumper stickers on his personal car and deplors all that that democratic party stands for. All of the Deputy U.S. Marshals would greatly appreciate a phone call from President Clinton to Mr. Berryhill asking for his resignation. His office phone is (919) 856-4211, or 856-4153.

Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely,

Mark Mansell

Mark Mansell
Deputy U.S. Marshal

Helen -

9/14

This came back inside
President's trip book. Who
should reply?

*Counsel
should
see.*

*Dorland should
coordinate with
Counsel's office.*
JK

96 SEP 14 P 3: 07

United States Marshal Service
Department of Justice

Mark C. Mansell
Deputy U.S. Marshal

310 New Bern Avenue
Raleigh, North Carolina 27611

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc. w/ incoming
Katie McGinty
~~Let~~ Let
he's ~~transporting~~ calling
and expressing on ~~front~~
to - good guy

September 14, 1996

Tom Dees
Holiday Island
Development Corporation
20 Blue Water Circle
Holiday Island
Eureka Springs, Arkansas 72632

Dear Tom:

Thanks for your letter of August 22 and for your generous offer of assistance on the Headwaters forest issue in Northern California. As you know, we're continuing our efforts to ensure the long term protection of this precious natural resource, and I've made Katie McGinty, Chair of the Council on Environmental Quality, aware of your offer.

It was so good to visit with you at the dinner for Winston Bryant -- it had been much too long. Hope to see you again soon.

Sincerely,

Bin

Tom Dees
Holiday Island
Development Corporation
20 Blue Water Circle
Holiday Island
Eureka Springs, Arkansas 72632

**Holiday
Island**
DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION



*Memo
cc: Katie Mc
Hill Engstrom*

20 Blue Water Circle • Holiday Island • Eureka Springs, Arkansas 72632 • (501) 253-8233 • FAX (501) 253-6684

August 22, 1996

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I enjoyed seeing you at the fund raising event for Winston Bryant. We are doing what we can in Northwest Arkansas to help Winston in his bid for the Senate.

I have been following the redwood situation in Northern California involving MAXXAM and Charles Hurwitz. It is my personal belief that the redwoods are a national treasure and should remain uncut if possible.

As we discussed, I worked for MAXXAM and Charles for nine years. They owned Holiday Island, and Rudy Moore was our legal counsel during that time. In 1990, I bought Holiday Island from MAXXAM.

Since I have known both you and Charles for approximately twenty years, I would like to offer whatever assistance that I can to help resolve the situation with the redwoods.

Rudy and I had a pleasant visit yesterday, and he sends his regards. He is seeking reelection as Fayetteville municipal judge.

Please give my regards to Kris Engskov. His father recently opened an office in our new shopping center at Holiday Island.

Keep up the good work. You are always welcome at Holiday Island anytime that you are in Northwest Arkansas. Give 'em hell!

Best Personal Regards,

Tom

Tom Dees



20 Blue Water Circle, Holiday Island, Eureka Springs, AR 72632

THE PRESIDENT



20 Blue Water Circle • Holiday Island • Eureka Springs, Arkansas 72632 • (501) 253-8233 • FAX (501) 253-6684

August 22, 1996

Ms. Nancy Hernreich
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Nancy,

I hope this letter finds you doing well. I know the White House is a long way from Fort Smith, but I have no doubt that you have adjusted well and are doing an excellent job.

When speaking with Rudy Moore yesterday, he and I recalled the pleasant dinners that the three of us shared each time we were in Little Rock. He requested that I send you his regards.

I had an opportunity to visit with the President last month while in Washington. Please give him the enclosed letter.

Anytime you are in Northwest Arkansas you have an open invitation to drop by Holiday Island.

Best Personal Regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Tom".

Tom Dees

cc: Betty Monkman
Debi Schiff

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 13, 1996

Linda Ferber
The Brooklyn Museum
200 Eastern Parkway
Brooklyn, New York 11238

Dear Linda:

Thank you so much for all that you did to make possible the generous loan of Frederic Remington's *The Outlier*. It's wonderful, and as you know, I've long admired his work -- especially this painting.

I hope you'll come see it in its new surroundings.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton



To The Brooklyn Museum
With thanks,

Ben Chutkan 9/96

cc: Betty Monkman
cc: Debi

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 4, 1996

will be (caligraphed, do nice letter on loan for 2 yrs. for us had been waiting for a while)
Kaki Hockley-Smith
Sam in book
1950's
-190's
The attics

MEMORANDUM

TO: NANCY HERNREICH, DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BETTY C. MONKMAN, ASSOCIATE CURATOR

SUBJECT: Frederic Remington painting

The Brooklyn Museum was most generous to lend the painting The Outlier by Frederic Remington to the White House for exhibition in the West Wing.

As the painting was lent because of the President's interest in having it here, it would be appropriate if a letter thanking the museum for the loan could be sent from him along with the attached photograph.

The letter should be addressed to

Ms. Linda Ferber
Acting Director
The Brooklyn Museum
200 Eastern Parkway
Brooklyn, New York 11238-6052

Linda Ferber
The Brooklyn Museum
200 Eastern Parkway
Brooklyn, New York 11238-6052

Nancy-
FRI All The response
Cards are still
attached.

-mauer

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Would you like to
send gift?

Yes
Ce Hine

If yes, please return
letter to Carolyn
Huber, 2FL/EW

September 28, 1996

Susie Tompkins
and Mark Buell
900 Minnesota Street
San Francisco, California 94107

Dear Susie and Mark:

Hillary and I want to wish you well as you
embark on this new chapter of your life
together. Your good lives will be even richer
and happier because of this blessed event. We
wish you much good fortune, lasting love and
growing wisdom. God bless you both.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Hooray

Susie Tompkins
and Mark Buell
900 Minnesota Street
San Francisco, California 94107

9/12/96

From Oral

Send to Denmark for Reply -

Yes ☒

No ☐

✓

FedEx USA *Express*

1143684043

FedEx Retrieval Copy

9-10-96

XX

Asa L. Stevenson

501 767-8015

613 Linwood

Hot Springs

AR 71913

President William Clinton

Clinton & 20100



The White House

Washington

DC 20500-2000

Total Weight



1300



232

Rev. Date 10/95 • PART #147382 GBFE 5/96

Mr. President, as a strong supporter of yours, I feel that your aid in the restoration of this historic building would bring support to you through the 8.5 million strong National Baptist Convention U.S.A., the disabled and welfare recipients. Also, this will be an encouragement to the black electorate.

In my efforts to restore the National Baptist Hotel, my intention was to staff the hotel with qualified disabled workers. Realizing that chronic welfare recipients should also have a chance to achieve their highest potential, I want to make jobs available to individuals coming off welfare. It is important to incorporate your welfare work program with my rehabilitation program.

Mr. President, I want to save this historic landmark of great significance to the black community of the south from the razing ball.

I have touched briefly on some topics. Further details on these topics can be found in the enclosed proposal and resume.

It will be my pleasure to have a grand opening ceremony where I turn over clear title and keys to the National Baptist Convention U.S.A., and we would all be honored by your presence at this ceremony.

Respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Asa L. Stevenson', with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Asa L. Stevenson

Asa L. Stevenson
613 Linwood
Hot Springs, AR 71913
501-767-8015

96 SEP 12 A10:14

September 10, 1996

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President;

For the past two years I have been working towards the restoration of the historic National Baptist Hotel and Bathhouse, in Hot Springs. Also, I have presented a proposal to the National Baptist Convention of officers here in Arkansas, anticipating they might be able to support the fund raising for the renovation and their educational endowments as well.

Mr. President, when you addressed the National Baptists in Orlando last week, you proposed a plan to employ individuals who are now on welfare. As a recent graduate of the Hot Springs Rehabilitation Center, I know how difficult it is for disabled people to find gainful employment. People who have been receiving welfare for a long time have the same difficulties.

My program will not only assist in the training and placement of welfare personnel, but also the rehabilitation graduates. With the completion of the project we will immediately be employing over 200 people in hotel management and maintenance positions, with as many as 80% of them in a six month on the job training program and with job placement.

In conferring with Dr. James, Rev. Solomon and Rev. Massey of the Arkansas National Baptist Convention U.S.A., and presenting this proposal, I have their endorsement and support. We are currently working on a project to get the funds raised to restore this hotel. This project is the marketing and sales of collector prints of the historic National Baptist Hotel in its prime.

Perhaps there are Federal funds available for a project such as this. Could your research committee locate such assistance?

A Special Publication of
The Proposal To Rehabilitate

The Historic
National Baptist Hotel And Bathhouse

In Hot Springs National Park, AR

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13. PRINCIPAL'S

ASA L. STEVENSON

96 SEP 12 A10 1 114

DISABILITY: Right Wrist Fusion
Total Knee Arthnoplasty (left)

SUMMARY

Sixteen (16) years of experience in Management, primarily in construction activities. Proficient in monitoring cost and schedules for work orders, direct interfacing with contractors and serving as official on-site spokesman in many company matters. Very effective with detail and follow up procedures. Good working relationship with clients with previous assignments.

PROJECTS

Strategic Petroleum Reserve
General Construction Project
Refinery/Petroleum Projects

EDUCATION

Hot Springs Rehabilitation Center, 1993
Marketing and Sales, Modified Certificate
Other classes include: Stress Management, Personal Achievement Skills, Transactional Analysis, I Can, Job Hunting Skills Training, Rational Problem Solving, Social Adjustment Skills, and Inviting Success.

University of Illinois, 1973
Illinois Teacher Certificate, Physical Education

Illinois Department of Transportation
Surveying, Operating Laser Machine, E.E.O., ACT and Affirmation Regulation

Thacker Construction Company, Training Program
Management, Monitoring, Cost & Scheduling, Engineering

Fluor Daniel, Inc.
Drafting

H. D. Ross High School, Crowley, Louisiana, 1960
Diploma

Bill Alexander

96 SEP 11 A9:30

9/5/96

Nancy,

The enclosed
is the information
we discussed.

I'll call when
I return from France.

Thanks for your
help.

Bill

Send to Donskid?

Yes

No

9/11/96

to coordinate
with Pasco



96 SEP 11 A 9:30^{PM} V. BILL ALEXANDER

September 5, 1996

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

RE: Cure for drug addiction

Dear Mr. President:

I am well aware that you are covered-up with work and the impending campaign but feel this information will be helpful. An old issue that is resurging is the war on drugs. I watched Orrin Hatch last night on the McNeal News Hour pronounce the familiar refrain: "Somebody should do something" about the drug problem. My reply to Senator Hatch: It's the addiction stupid! Addiction insures demand which will not be removed by force.

You may recall that I first addressed drug policy at a conference on drug abuse at Arkansas State in 1970. I have followed it closely through the years. In 1993 I went to Vietnam to take a first hand look at a claimed cure for cocaine and heroin addiction using an herbal treatment known as HEA(N)TOS. It works! Thousands of Vietnamese addicts have been cured.

Following the trip, I organized a conference of noted pharmacologists headed by Dr. Donald Jasinski, Chief, Chemical Dependence at Johns Hopkins University Medical School to focus on Hea(n)tos. The conference concluded that "the reduction of withdrawal symptoms" resulting from the Hea(n)tos treatment was impressive and recommends verification, etc. by Western standards. Furthermore, the United Nations has recognized the potential for demand reduction and has proposed development of Hea(n)tos. Attached is a copy of the project document.

Knowing you as well as I do, I judge that you will personally want to know of this important development. The herbal preparation Hea(n)tos may be an important component of the response needed for those who cry out for a solution to the national dilemma of drug abuse.

All the best.

1425 Ironwood Drive
McLean, VA 22101-2522
TEL: 703 533 8870
FAX: 703 237 2287

*Through Secretary
Staff ce Carol
Joco
for 5/5/96*



WM. V. BILL ALEXANDER

September 5, 1996

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

RE: Cure for drug addiction

Dear Mr. President:

I am well aware that you are covered-up with work and the impending campaign but feel this information will be helpful. An old issue that is resurging is the war on drugs. I watched Orrin Hatch last night on the McNeal News Hour pronounce the familiar refrain: "Somebody should do something" about the drug problem. My reply to Senator Hatch: It's the addiction stupid! Addiction insures demand which will not be removed by force.

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Knowing you as well as I do, I judge that you will personally want to know of this important development. The herbal preparation Hea(n)tos may be an important component of the response needed for those who cry out for a solution to the national dilemma of drug abuse.

All the best.

1425 Ironwood Drive
McLean, VA 22101-2522
TEL: 703 533 8870
FAX: 703 237 2287

GLO/96/XXX

INTERNATIONAL SCIENTIFIC DEVELOPMENT
OF THE ANTI-DRUG MEDICATION “HEA(N)TOS”

Prepared by the United Nations Office for Project Services
in consultation with
the National Centre for Science and Technology in Vietnam
and Johns Hopkins School of Medicine

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9/12/96

Phil -

In things you brought back
from August trip -

Send to Doriskind for appropriate
handling? Yes ✓

No

96 SEP 12 AM 10

Dear President Clinton,

I am 7 years old and going
to second grade on Monday.

Three great things
happen this summer

I got to sing in Hello

01:31:42
Dolly, lost my front
baby tooth, and I'm giving for
you. It will be special to me
if you sign my cat card and mail
it back to me. I love cats too. I also

have a black cat with white socks. Love,
Lauren Hurley
1619 Campbell Drive, Huntington, WV 25705

President Clinton,

(I am a BIG fan!

Your speech was

Fantastic!

96 SEP 12 AB: 12

I worked for you
(election comm. in '92
and am pulling strong
for you in '96.

We shook hands

(!!) Please sign

this and deliver to

1107 Howard St.

Kalamazoo, MI 49008.

616383-9240 Thank you!!

Jessica A. GOK



On behalf of
First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton
The Democratic National Committee
and your State Democratic Party
invite you to join a nationwide celebration of

PRESIDENT CLINTON'S 50th BIRTHDAY

via satellite from
Radio City Music Hall in New York City
Sunday August 18, 1996

7:00 p.m. ET 6:00 p.m. CT 4:00 p.m. PT

Master of Ceremonies
Whoopi Goldberg

Performances by
Dr. Maya Angelou Tony Bennett
Jon Bon Jovi Tim Conway
Aretha Franklin Leslie Nielsen
Kenny Rogers Carly Simon
and many other top entertainers

\$100 per person
Please see enclosed information for the event location near you.

96 SEP 12 A 8: 12

Please Return to

L. Paul McKenzie

Box 1325

Rt 3 Springfield

Louisiana, Ky 41230

96 SEP 12 A 8: 07

Good Luck Our whole
family loves you - My Grandson



KATHRYN L. YOUNKER
Vice President

Best Line Burgers, Inc.
210 St. Antoine Court, Worthington, OH 43085
614-885-4747 Fax: 614-885-8277



A GIFT FOR YOU!

Wendy's Old Fashioned Hamburger Restaurants
would like to present this gift to you!

Two Complete Meals of your choice

This gift can be redeemed at either of the following locations:

Wendy's
1105 W. Fifth Street
Marysville, Ohio 43040

or Wendy's
15701 U.S. Rt. 36
Marysville, Ohio 43040

Come see us soon!

*We'll look forward to serving you with
great food and a friendly smile!*

(Expires

8/1/97)



FRED D. YOUNKER
President

Best Line Burgers, Inc.

210 St. Antoine Court, Worthington, OH 43085
614-885-4747 Fax: 614-885-8277

Mr President,

*From one President to another while
your visiting the Columbus area we
must get you converted to Wendy's.
Why not go top quality? Please come
see us if possible or visit one of
thomany Wendy's in the city where
the #1 quality hamburger began.
Best Personal Regards B.L.B.
Inc.*

Dear Mr. President,

8:00 AM

We are here for my brother's wedding from N.C. If it would not be terribly inconvenient, could you please autograph three or any pages for my children and their cousins from N.Y. This trip took my children out of school and their principal requires them to do something educational on this trip so they will not be counted as having an unexcused absence. It was a wonderful opportunity for them to watch your motorcade arrive last night and to see all of the security measures in action. To bring back an autograph from you would be amazing. Unfortunately we must leave by 9:00 AM this morning. If this is not possible, they will understand. Good luck in November!

Lewis-Dean Evans
195 Antioch Lane Dr
Timberlake, NC 27583

96 SEP 12 A10:18

Juliann Secrest

Mayor

179 W. Winter St.
Delaware, OH 43015
(614) 363-3681 Fax (614) 368-1525

Welcome to Ohio.
Delaware is the
birthplace of Rutherford
B. Hayes and The
county seat.

Pres. Clinton.

Please pass the Hatch Bill

I get 580 @ noon
my sister gets 513 -

Both seniors - with demented
Bills are hard to meet - and
to keep up the house.

Thank you!

Stella Lavoie

1-810-755-7388 -

8208

Farmington

Warren N

48092

6472 Tonbridge Street
Worthington, Ohio 43085

96 SEP 12 A10:18

August 25, 1996

Dear Mr. President,

Welcome to Worthington!
We are good friends of
Abby Hinzberg and we
pass along greetings from her.
(We live a few blocks from
your hotel.)

Good luck, have a great
time in Chicago, and happy
birthday!

We'll do our part to deliver
Ohio!

(Telephone 841-1617).

Best regards,
Anne Doyle and Jim
Brudney

96 SEP 12 AM 10:18

Dear President Clinton,

Good luck!!
😊

Annaliese
Mara
Pope

To: President Clinton

Pages To Follow 2

96 SEP 12 AIO: 16

Dear President Clinton,

When a soldier is killed while on active duty - a representative is sent to notify the victims family in person.

When a person is killed in an automobile accident a member of a law enforcement agency is dispatched to the home of the victims family to notify them of their loss - this is also done in person.

These procedures are considered the humane way to notify a family of the loss of a loved one.

What is not humane is for an over zealous TV station to announce a murder victims name and the details of that gruesome murder before the family had been properly notified.

Can you imagine how horrified my sister and her husband were to learn of their daughters death in such an inhuman way.

I too, heard the newscast and know how profoundly it affected me

Can't some law be passed that forces the media to wait 12-24hrs before being permitted to release a victims name to the public?

I promised my sister that I would attempt to get this message to you in hopes that something can be done to regulate the release of victims names pending notification of the family.

Thanking you in advance —
and wishing you the best
along the campaign trail.

Sincerely,

Quetta L. Zanca
More City, Ohio

Parents learn of daughter's death from TV newscast

By MONICA NIEPORTE

Messenger staff writer

The mother of a slain Coolville woman said she wants legislation adopted to make sure that no other family has to go through what she and her husband did Thursday night.

Nancy Stump, Albany, mother of homicide victim Dianna Stump Washburn, said she and her husband discovered that their daughter had been murdered in Ross County when they heard it on WBNS-TV's 11 p.m. newscast.

Washburn, 33, and her friend, 26-year-old Allysa Phillips, were found dead Thursday around 3:30 p.m. in Phillips' father's mobile home in Kingston. Phillips' estranged husband, Mike, 35, has been charged with two counts of murder, but as of Saturday afternoon had not yet been taken into custody.

"I was standing in the kitchen and my husband was in the living room, watching television but not re-

ally paying attention," Stump said. "I heard them say something about Allysa and Mike and then they said Dianna Washburn, their babysitter, only they mispronounced her name and called her Deanna, and all of a sudden it hit me, like someone had kicked me in the stomach, I knew it was her."

"I walked into the living room and said, 'Eddie, I think Dianna's dead' and he called the sheriff's department," Stump said. "About five minutes later, Leslie (Dianna's husband) and his family came over to the house."

Law enforcement officers had notified Washburn of his wife's murder around 10 p.m., according to Stump, who said no attempt was made to notify she and her husband.

"A mother and father should not have to find out over the television (that their child was murdered). They did not make an effort. We

(Continued on page A-6)

went out to the store earlier that night, but there were no notes on our door," Stump said. "There should be a law that the family has to be notified before the media can release the names of the victims."

Washburn and Mrs. Phillips had planned to start a day care business together, Stump said. She believed that the two women met while working for Kirby's in Lancaster.

Washburn, her mother said, was very happy that she had found work that involved children.

"Dianna loved kids, but couldn't have any. She was like the Pied Piper of Athens, all of the children loved her and followed her. She was an umpire for children's ball games at the Athens Recreation Center and played Santa Claus and the Easter bunny for them," her mother said.

"I know Dianna, and if she had a dollar and you needed 99 cents, she'd give you the whole thing ... she mentioned that Allysa and Mike were having trouble a few weeks ago and that Allysa made him move out. Knowing Dianna, I'm sure she tried to protect her friend," Stump said.

Ross County Prosecutor Scott Nusbaum said one of Mrs. Phillips' children, 5-year-old James Kessler, was home at the time of the killings.

A detective testified at a court hearing Friday that the boy told authorities he heard what he thought was the sound of someone being stabbed just after his mother and her friend were shot, according to an Associated Press report.

Investigators believe most of the sounds the boy described are consistent with a handgun being fired, Ross County sheriff's Detective Nicholas S. Franklin testified.

The hearing was held to get arrest warrants for Mike Phillips.

Franklin said that at least one of the women also appeared to have a knife wound.

Warrants for the arrest of Phillips

were issued on two counts of murder. Phillips is to be held on \$1 million bond on each charge if he is arrested, according to the AP report.

Phillips moved out of the couple's home about six weeks ago and was staying with a friend, Jayme Dailey of Richmond Dale, Franklin testified. The Phillipses were getting divorced.

Phillips told Dailey that he planned to pick up his car from Kingston on Thursday and that he expected trouble, Franklin said.

He returned driving Mrs. Phillips' car, and Dailey rode back with him to get his truck.

Dailey's last contact with Phillips was at 2:30 p.m. Thursday when Phillips telephoned him, Franklin said.

Dailey asked what was wrong and

Phillips replied, "I've done something bad. I'm on the run. You'll hear about it in the news," Franklin testified.

Another of Mrs. Phillips' three children from a prior marriage found the bodies and called the sheriff's office at 3:29 p.m. Thursday.



DELAWARE OHIO

96 SEP 12 10:11

August 25, 1996

A MILLENNIUM DREAM

To energize a global movement of
communities committed to creating
possibilities for world peace.

A PERSONAL CONTACT

Julie Secrest, Founder
City Of Peace Program
179 West Winter Street
Delaware, Ohio 43015
TEL 614.363-3681
E MAIL jsecrest@midohio.net

A PIONEER FOR PEACE

Global thinking and local action
are benchmarks guiding Julie
Secrest in her diverse roles of city
mayor, elementary teacher, and
community peace advocate. She
pioneered peace as the 1985
recipient of the Irva Mae Applegate
Peace and International
Understanding Award and Ohio's
Executive Assistant for Peace
Education under Governor
Richard Celeste.



Dear President Clinton:

We are honored to have you stop so
near Delaware. We have been working
on building a City of Peace since 1984.
It is a small town model. We have
23,000 residents and are the county
west of the fastest growing county
east of the Mississippi - so I hear!

I'd like to share this model with
you sometime. It is a simple design
dealing with what a city already has,
but focusing on peace, harmony,
safety, economic prosperity and the
general well being of the citizens. It
is a city of joy - hopefully!

I am striving to have people work
together, regardless of political affiliation.
My goal is to share this model with
all 88 county seats in Ohio and then
advance regionally until it is
shared nationally and internationally.
I just thought you should know about
us.

Sincerely,
Julie Secrest, Mayor

CREATING POSSIBILITIES FOR WORLD PEACE

General Federation of Women's Clubs

SI:00 SI:00
John and I hope to
see you soon. Give
our best to Hillary
and Chelsea.

Chelsea has grown
into a lovely young
woman. I know you
are proud of her.
Our best wishes.

Jillie

General Federation of Women's Clubs is the world's largest
women's volunteer organization whose members are dedicated
to community service.

JENELLE LIPTON
PRESIDENT
1996-1998



GENERAL FEDERATION OF WOMEN'S CLUBS
OF ARKANSAS

108 S. WALNUT
WARREN, AR 71671

501-226-5457

General Federation of Women's Clubs of Arkansas

President, JeNelle Lipton
108 South Walnut
Warren, AR 71671
(501) 226-5457

96 SEP 12 A10:12

September 03, 1996

*through gen
staff
Jenne Lipton
up
to son*

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

Dear Mr. President,

It is my honor to be serving as 1996-1998 president of the General Federation of Women's Clubs of Arkansas. The General Federation of Women's Clubs, organized in 1890, has over 350,000 members in the United States and numbers in the millions in over 20 countries. One of the world's largest and oldest women's volunteer organizations, our members are dedicated to community service.

When I heard your proposal for tutoring and mentoring elementary school children, I was very excited. This is a subject we as club members are vitally interested in. We have a GFWC program on Youth Literacy and our members are actively involved in it on the national level. Several years ago, with the help of Tyson's, GFWC of Arkansas began a pre-school reading program called "Tyson Wings to Soar". It has been very successful in Arkansas and has been adopted by the national organization.

After hearing about your program and discussing it with our international president, Faye Dissinger, we would like to offer our help on this exciting undertaking. With the programs we have in place I feel we could offer you a segment of that volunteer organization you are looking for. I will be happy to provide any other information on our organization or on the programs we are involved in.

You are a great president and I look forward to another four years.

Sincerely,

JeNelle Lipton

Yale University

CHARLES J. BRUCE
SECTION OF NEUROBIOLOGY
YALE UNIV. SCHOOL OF MEDICINE
P.O. BOX 208001
NEW HAVEN CT 06520-8001

Section of Neurobiology
School of Medicine
333 Cedar Street
P.O. Box 3333
New Haven, Connecticut 06510

Telephone: 203 785-4323
Fax: 203 785-5263

(203) 737-2727

charles.bruce@yale.edu,

Dear President Clinton,

I have already contributed
to sending medical supplies to
Cuba, so I am passing along
this envelope + mailing form
Disarm Cuba Medical Project

Perhaps you could have some
of your campaign contributions
from anti-Castro groups sent along.
You don't really need their money +
support to get re-elected. Why not do
the right thing. *Charles J. Bruce*

A storm of protest in Canada includes the call by a nationwide church coalition for a boycott of tourism to Florida, where the right-wing Cuban exile lobby is based. "How can we vacation in a place that votes for illegal legislation that bullies its neighbors and harms poor people in Cuba?" said a coalition spokeswoman.

But the policy that leaves Washington isolated still ravages Cuba's health care system, which has been the pride of the developing world. Dedicated doctors

Bruce

CT 06515

*Staff Sec
ofc*

Cuba. Enclosed is my
ever badly needed medicines
please use my gift of life
our country's economic

\$50; \$30; \$

al Project")

needed medicines to Cuba.
the 30 neighborhood clinics
s delivered an unprecedented
r drugs, sutures and asthma

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werful blow against the
e the suffering of Cuba's
Washington's economic
to the White House and
nd.

ent Clinton is now
law, the US is putting
k their economic ties
a's trading partners
d Ireland. Those
ington an international

e European Union, the US
law but also pits the
ster. France termed
d Mexico said the law

ngton is placing
n a "watch list" that

(over, please)

To: Ramsey Clark
Disarm/Cuban Medical Project
36 East 12th Street
New York, NY 10003

From: Mr. Charles Bruce
26 Westwood
New Haven, CT 06515

*Staff Sec
ofc*

Dear Ramsey,

Yes, I want to help break the medical blockade against Cuba. Enclosed is my tax-deductible contribution to help Disarm continue to deliver badly needed medicines and medical supplies for Cuban children and the elderly. Please use my gift of life to make certain that they do not suffer and die because of our country's economic war against their government. Keep up the good work!

\$5,000__; \$1,000__; \$500__; \$250__; \$100__; \$50__; \$30__; \$__

(Please make checks payable to "Disarm/Cuban Medical Project")

Last month, Disarm brought 14 tons of desperately needed medicines to Cuba. This shipment -- worth \$4 million -- went directly to the 30 neighborhood clinics we "adopted" last year. Since December 1994, Disarm has delivered an unprecedented \$11 million in antibiotics, insulin, painkillers, cancer drugs, sutures and asthma inhalers to Cuba.

Your support for Cuba's primary care clinics -- the country's first line of defense against disease, pain and death -- strikes a powerful blow against the inhumane US embargo. Our humanitarian aid helps relieve the suffering of Cuba's infants, sick and elderly, who have been hit hardest by Washington's economic war against their country. And it demonstrates clearly to the White House and Congress that the American people want the embargo to end.

Driven by cynical election-year strategies, President Clinton is now tightening the embargo. Wielding the new Helms-Burton law, the US is putting intense pressure on Washington's closest allies to break their economic ties with Cuba. But the move to slap harsh sanctions on Cuba's trading partners has stirred outrage in Canada, Mexico, France, Spain and Ireland. Those governments -- and the European Union -- have branded Washington an international outlaw.

"I am afraid that despite the firm opposition of the European Union, the US will pursue a policy that not only breaks international law but also pits the whole world against the US," warned Spain's Foreign Minister. France termed Helms-Burton "an extra step in the wrong direction." And Mexico said the law sets "a very, very dangerous precedent."

The Helms-Burton measures are so extreme that Washington is placing executives of many foreign companies investing in Cuba on a "watch list" that prohibits them, and their families, from visiting the US.

A storm of protest in Canada includes the call by a nationwide church coalition for a boycott of tourism to Florida, where the right-wing Cuban exile lobby is based. "How can we vacation in a place that votes for illegal legislation that bullies its neighbors and harms poor people in Cuba?" said a coalition spokeswoman.

But the policy that leaves Washington isolated still ravages Cuba's health care system, which has been the pride of the developing world. Dedicated doctors

(over, please)



Yale University

Center for Theoretical Physics

Silence Physics Laboratory
P.O. Box 208120
New Haven, Connecticut 06520-8120

September 9, 1996

Campus address:
217 Prospect Street

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton,

I was greatly dismayed recently to learn of the severe budget cuts that the OMB is planning to inflict on the Office of Energy Research of the Department of Energy, in the fiscal years 1998-2000. This policy seems wholly inconsistent with the strong support that your administration has proclaimed for scientific research, as evidenced for example by the budgetary increases that you are planning for the National Science Foundation during the same period.

The Office of Energy Research funds the lion's share of basic physics research, especially in areas like Particle and Nuclear Physics, where it far outstrips the NSF. To cut these programs by as much as 36% in constant dollars over the next 3 years (as OMB is proposing) would be absolutely devastating to many research programs nationwide that are vital to our continued scientific and economic health into the twenty-first century.

My own research, and that of many of my colleagues in the physics department at Yale, has received significant support from the OER over the years, and I know from personal experience both how valuable that support has been and how damaging the drastic curtailment of that support would be.

I urge you to rescind these cuts and to institute instead the kind of increased support that would be commensurate with the similar increases that are being planned (and rightly so) for the NSF.

I would like to believe that the strong support for basic research expressed by Vice-President Gore in his speech to the AAAS last February reflects the true attitude of the Clinton administration, and that the frightening and ill-conceived cuts being considered by the OMB are an aberration that will quickly be replaced by a policy more in keeping with your publicly stated position.

Sincerely yours,

Alan Chodos, Director
Center for Theoretical Physics

cc: Hazel O'Leary
Secretary of Energy

Mr. President
Welcome to
Worthington.
We're honored
to have you
here.

James J. Lorimer

895-1263

CITY OF WORTHINGTON

JAMES J. LORIMER
MAYOR
786-7351



96 SEP 12 10:17
6550 N. High Street
Worthington, Ohio 43085