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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Please Return
original Incoming
to Carolyn Hiber
for personal file.

December 3, 1996

The Right Reverend George W. Tribou
Catholic High School for Boys
6300 Lee Avenue
Little Rock, Arkansas 72205

Dear Father Tribou:

I loved your letter of November 17. It reminded me anew just how much those boys at Catholic need you.

Thanks, too, for sending John Donne's Meditation 17 about afflictions. Though some days, I feel like God is being far too generous with his blessings upon Hillary and me!

Keep fighting and have a wonderful Christmas.

Sincerely,

Bill

Chron

Catholic High School For Boys

6300 Lee Ave., Little Rock, Arkansas 72205 (501) 664-3939

17 November 1996



Dear Mr. President,

I have been wanting to respond to your unexpected and totally surprising letter received after my recent operation but was frustrated over the thought it would never reach you...that your staff would cull it from the really important material that hits your desk everyday. Then the idea hit me that if I sent it via Skip Rutherford it might finally reach your eyes.

Honestly, not even my verbose nature can come up with the right words to express my shock and my gratitude. Here you are in the midst of a campaign and you take time out to write such a wonderful letter to an old priest who doesn't even vote for you (that abortion business!). The papers say you crave love and affection. Let me assure you that you have mine and have had for a long time. You've always had my heart, Mr. President....some day (with my non-funny prayers to God) you will also have my mind. You see, I intend to convert you my way of thinking.

I believe in prayer more than ever. Yesterday I finished my third week of radiation treatments at CARTI and still none of the dreaded side effects. In fact I feel as good mentally and physically as I ever had and am back teaching full time (I obeyed the order to do so in your letter). I have total confidence that my cancer will go into remission and that I'll be around to help dedicate your Presidential Library. I'll sell you five acres for it at Catholic High.

John Donne's Meditation 17 (No man is an island) contains a truth that now shines very clearly to me: "Affliction is a blessing". I believe it is. As a result of cancer and the attendant pain and fear, my mind has been cleared of much of the useless material of the past and I see what few things in life are really important. Just like a large helping of hot sauce clears the sinus, a large dose of pain and fear clears the mind and soul. Having seen its overall affect on me I honestly consider my cancer a gift from God. (However, I've told Him I'd rather not have any more gifts). I pass this thought on to you as something you might keep in mind as you face the inevitable afflictions of a president.

My regards to Hillary whom, frankly, I love more than I do you. You might remind her that when I spoke at her Crittenden Home award a few years back I stated I would not have become a celibate if I had met her first.

Sincerely,

Fr. George W. Tribou
Fr. George W. Tribou

17 November 96

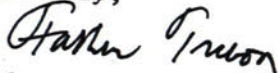
Dear Ms. Hernreich,

Skip Rutherford told me that if I wanted the enclosed letter to reach President Clinton's desk I should send it to you.

Recently I had cancer surgery and the President wrote me a beautiful letter that I want to acknowledge and thank him for. That is the message of the enclosed.

I will be grateful to you if you will see to it that Mr. Clinton receives this.

Sincerely,

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

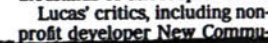
Father George W. Tribou

Spurred by grants, scores of low-income high-rises across the USA are being razed and replaced with low-rises, town houses and single-family dwellings that bring a sense of pride to residents and help drive out crime

Residents sued to force the



the high-rise in the background. 'People don't congregate outside like at the high-rise,' she says. 'We know everybody.'



Newark Housing Authority to build new units before tearing down old ones. "Then when they saw the housing that we built, they said, 'Well, maybe this isn't too bad,'" executive director Harold Lucas says.

Downsizing housing

Spurred by rule changes and money earmarked for demolition, cities are remaking public housing on a smaller scale. Recently, the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) awarded \$477 million to 18 cities, its latest grants from the Hope VI program that targets the nation's worst public housing.

Newark got \$9 million to knock down high-rises and replace them with town houses, a plan that is making believers of skeptical tenants like Goines.

Her three-bedroom, 1½-bath unit is just a stone's throw from what's left of Scudder Homes. But now she strolls up her own sidewalk to her own front stoop instead of stepping over addicts and crack vials on the way to an out-of-service elevator. In all those years in a high-rise she'd never heard crickets chirp. She's also delighted to see that the dominant rodents in her new complex are squirrels, not rats.

"It's so quiet sometimes it's boring," says Goines, who lives with her son and nephew. "People don't congregate outside like at the high-rise. We know everybody. We know who's coming and going."

Which is the point. Housing authorities are trying to stem decades of segregating the poor into dense, isolated complexes. Their aim is to get more working families into public housing and make the clusters less prone to criminal takeover, in part by giving ev-



USA TODAY

ery unit a private entrance.

New streets and retail businesses help connect public housing to neighborhoods. There's more space, more parks and more yards.

And housing agencies are leveraging private and nonprofit financing to create mixed-income developments.

"The plan here is not about just building public housing," Chicago housing authority chief Joseph Shuldin says. "It's about building housing, a portion of which is made permanently available to low-income people."

Where the concept works, residents take pride in their units. They maintain them. "If they don't keep them up, the neighbors get on them," Goines says. More working-class role models live among the single mothers with kids. Break-ins, muggings, vandalism and drug-dealing are rare in Newark's new complexes. "We won't tolerate it," says Pearl Cole, a retired nurse who lives in a three-bedroom unit with her daughter and grandson.

Revitalizing

This kind of change in attitudes and behavior is considered as crucial as the change in buildings. There's an emphasis not just on rebuilt housing but on revitalized neighborhoods.



Proud resident: Pearl Cole has news for anyone planning criminal activity in her new apartment complex in Newark. "We won't tolerate it," she says.

Housing officials talk of the need to break a cross-generational cycle of public housing dependency, of "transitioning" more tenants into jobs. To do that, public housing programs now sponsor career centers, job training, health education and parenting instruction.

Federal rules that were a disincentive to work — tenants who got jobs and raised their incomes saw their rents rise — have given way to flexible guidelines.

"We're trying to take areas of cities that have been vortexes of negative energy, crime and ripple deterioration of the

neighborhoods around them and convert them into something positive," HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros says.

HUD has targeted 100,000 substandard units for demolition by 2000. Since 1992, 24,000 have come down. Many had been vacant for years. Displaced tenants get first shot at new housing or vouchers to rent in the private market.

The transformation is slow, not yet national in scope and dependent on a continuing federal commitment. Hope VI has no long-term authorization from Congress and depends on an annual appropriation.



"Our plan is simple. We plan to have public housing throughout all the communities in Newark. We'll make public housing a part of the community rather than apart from it."

— Harold Lucas,
Newark Housing Authority

And the program is not without critics concerned that low-density redevelopment will reduce the total number of units, worsening the nation's affordable housing crisis.

As it is, public housing serves less than a fourth of those eligible (defined as a household with income below 80% of median income for an area). That leaves more than 40 million people either homeless, living in substandard housing, sharing space with others or paying crippling rents.

Goines, who has arthritis and high blood pressure, would be hard-pressed without public

Where maintenance is shoddy, record-keeping primitive, rents uncollected, security lax and crime rampant, public housing festers as a community sore.

In the past three years, HUD has taken control of or forced reforms in Kansas City, Atlanta, New Orleans, Washington, D.C., Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and Chester, Pa.

"The vast majority of public housing families are very decent and are trying to make their way in a very difficult system," says Richard Baron, a St. Louis developer involved in public-private redevelopment partnerships in several cities.

But critics say giving eligible people cash or vouchers to rent where they choose would be cheaper in the long run and force housing agencies to compete for tenants.

"All the bricks and mortar programs don't help very many people for the dollars you spend," says Ron Utt of the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank. "Vouchers are much cheaper and help more people."

Newark's rental market couldn't have absorbed many displaced public housing tenants. When the first high-rises came down in 1987, the authority promised to build new housing. But it got ready for more demolition without any rebuilding. Residents went to court to force compliance with the federal one-for-one law: Every unit taken down had to be replaced by another.

Two years ago, Congress suspended the one-for-one rule and another rule that barred using rehabilitation money for new construction. That spurred cities to tear down old high-rises and begin plans for developments.

In three years, the authority has leveled more than 2,100 units in three high-rise com-

nity Corp., won't support a plan that ends up with fewer total public housing units.

"He's walking away from a percentage of the people who are at the lowest end of the economic totem pole, who don't have other resources to go to if public housing isn't available," says Ray Codey, New Community development director.

Screening tenants

Newark has one occupied high-rise complex left, Stella Wright Homes, a place that degenerated into an illegal drug supermarket as other high-rises emptied. Residents say a special police task force and new federal one-strike-and-you're-out eviction rules have run off most of the drug trade. But they complain the buildings aren't kept up and their kids have no place to play.

"I'd love one of those townhouses," says single mom Shiquana Muhammed, 28. "I'm trying to get one, but I can't get one. They keep denying me."

The authority screens carefully. For now, only former high-rise residents with good rental histories get town houses.

Some of the best working families are candidates to eventually buy town houses in Mount Pleasant Estates, a bankrupt, 42-unit private project the authority took over.

There are no plans to demolish Stella Wright, but Lucas says its time will come. To be a competitive landlord, he says, "our housing will have to be as good as regular housing. That's where we're headed. We're trying to make our housing for the future."

For Goines, the future is now. "You can't believe this is public housing," she says. "People come by and ask me if I own this or if I'm renting."

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-6-96

Editorial and Op-Ed pages, 12-13

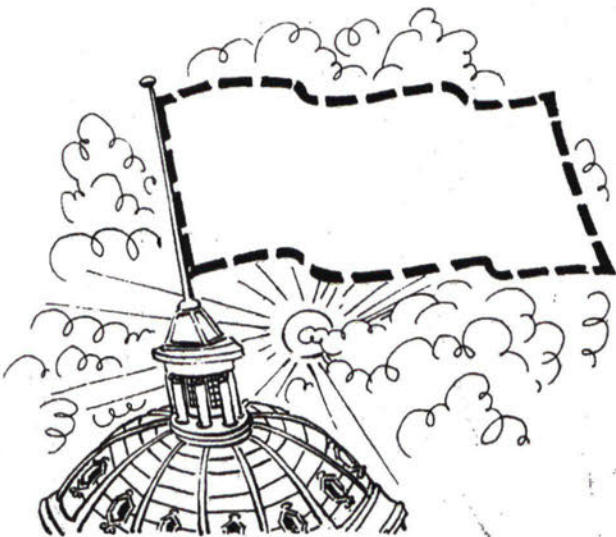
Education Advertising
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Earning Power

Global Forces Batter Politics



Randy Jones

By ROGER COHEN

PARIS
THROUGHOUT much of the world today, politics lags behind economics, like a horse and buggy haplessly trailing a sports car. While politicians go through the motions of national elections — offering chimerical programs and slogans — world markets, the Internet and the furious pace of trade involve people in a global game in which elected representatives figure as little more than bit players. Hence the prevailing sense, in America and Europe, that politicians and ideologies are either uninteresting or irrelevant.

Bill Clinton has understood this better than most. His political style, stressing flexible management over firm policy, adapts itself to the economic winds and technological advances that are changing the way people communicate and think faster than any political doctrine ever could. If you can't fight globaliza-

tute, a London think tank.

In France, unemployment has soared to 12.5 percent, the highest rate in Europe, and the Government can do little to help because it is bound by strict spending curbs mandated by European economic integration — itself partly a response to the competitive demands of the global marketplace.

Menacing Ghoul

The uncontrollable forces of the global village, with their daily mockery of domestic political agendas, have coalesced, for the French, into a menacing ghoul, loosely made up of the American architects of cyberspace, Wall Street currency traders and German central bankers. The new catch-phrase is "L'horreur économique," and the economic horror in question is not some Zola-esque child-labor network but the array of supranational forces that have abruptly given the French the discomfiting sense that they no longer control their destiny.

In America, however, Mr. Clinton has successfully preached that free trade offers immense opportunities to American industries willing to compete in a Disney-like "small, small world" of English-speaking, Big Mac-chomping computer nerds. With no cold war to fight, American diplomats have been widely recast as international salesmen.

Mr. Clinton was re-elected partly because this campaign has worked. The diatribes of Patrick J. Buchanan and Ross Perot against the North American Free Trade Agreement had a limited impact on a nation where the global economy has proved more boon than burden. Even American fears about competing with Japan now seem remote.

Still, even in Mr. Clinton's America, the changes wrought by globalization can be troubling. Corporate downsizing, undertaken to insure international competitiveness, has hurt many Americans. Other effects are less evident. They involve politics catching up with economics.

As imports have more than doubled over the past two decades, and

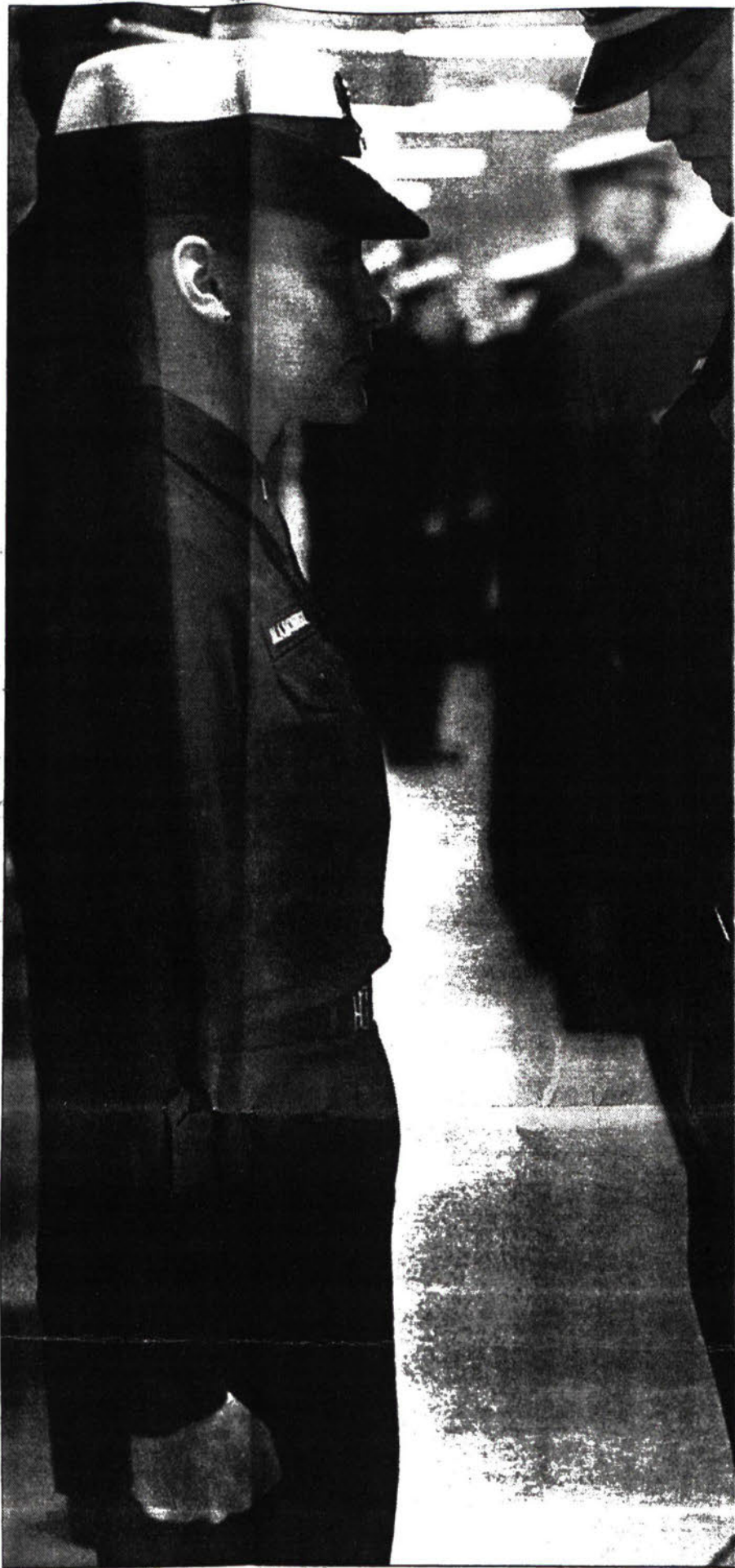
Anger grows as markets challenge politicians' power and relevance.

tion, he intimates, you may as well join it. Elsewhere, though — especially here in France, where there has always been a conviction that political planning should prevail over the whims of the market — the powerlessness of politicians has contributed to a profound malaise.

Dissatisfaction

"Throughout Europe, to a greater or lesser extent, we have rampant dissatisfaction because politicians are elected on promises they can't deliver because the market is global," said Jonathan Eyal, director of studies at the United Services Insti-

Continued on Page 4



An inspection at the Naval Academy in Annapolis, Md. Amid scandals, the armed forces are trying to

Military Maneuvers

War Is Hell. So Is Regulat

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The Global Economy Batters Politics

Continued From Page 1

the American economy has become increasingly international, foreign companies have come to have a much bigger stake in the American political system. That truth has an abstract air about it until it is embodied in the person of somebody like John Huang.

Blurring the Line

Just what Mr. Huang was up to, and whether it was illegal, remains unclear. But the activities of this Indonesian-American Democratic Party fund-raiser — including his coaxing of a \$250,000 contribution from a South Korean conglomerate — have raised questions about whether American foreign policy in Indonesia, and Southeast Asia generally, was in any sense for sale. Mr. Clinton last week for the first time acknowledged having met with Mr. Huang and James Riady, the Indonesian billionaire for whom Mr. Huang once worked, but the President denied that they had influenced policy decisions. Still, their entree to the White House — with roots in Mr. Clinton's days back in Arkansas — appears to blur the line between national politics and global commerce.

This trend may be inevitable, for if the economy is global, politics can hardly ignore the fact. The difference between America and Europe appears to lie in how threatening the changes wrought by the global marketplace are perceived to be. Mr. Huang may have transgressed, but his actions suggest that the constituents of the American President are now global. His comings and goings raise ethical questions, but they affirm rather than impugn America's power.

Conversely, in a France entirely lacking America's current confidence, a psychosis over lost sovereignty is growing. Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Perot strike a chord with some Americans, but in the end they remain marginal. Bob Dole's complaints about the surrender of American power to the United Nations go largely unheeded. (Look at Mr. Clinton's commitment of thousands of American troops to a United Nations force in Africa last week.) But in France, the xenophobic National Front of Jean-Marie Le Pen has advanced implacably, winning control of big French cities like Toulon and Orange.

The specters Mr. Le Pen is able to exploit are manifold. France, like other nations of the European Union, faces an imminent surrender of much of its sovereignty. A European currency, the "euro," is to be introduced in just over two years, and control of the fiscal policies that back it will reside essentially with a European Central Bank.

The ability of national politicians to set economic policy will thus be severely curtailed. While in the United States the Federal Reserve's power is balanced by a powerful federal government, there will be no European government acting as a counterweight to a European Central Bank in which Germany's influence is almost certain to be dominant.

Surrendered Sovereignty

Mr. Eyal said this development would exacerbate Europe's disenchantment with politicians who are powerless to deliver. "We are going to have unelected bureaucrats, distant from any public accountability, running a bank board that will essentially set everything in economic terms in Europe. The results could be explosive."

As Gary Burgless of the Brookings Institution pointed out, France and Germany are now operating like California and New York State, but without a federal government in Washington to redistribute resources between them and without the labor mobility of the United States. "If there was 12.5 percent unemployment in New York," as there is now in France, he said, "you'd have money pouring in and people pouring out. But that

doesn't happen in Europe."

Of course, the euro has been advanced by France and Germany in part to counter the perceived American domination of the global economy. But this long-term aim — a strong European currency for a more united Europe less dependent on the United States — may not produce fruits quickly enough to head off the seething discontent that the likes of Mr. Le Pen are exploiting.

The mood in France has been captured recently by anger at the proposed sale of the state-owned Thomson Multimedia consumer electronics company to Daewoo of South Korea. Veiled racism appears to lurk behind dark tales of the ruthless methods of Daewoo and laments about the sale of a French "national jewel" to an Asian competitor. With rumors circulating that layoffs are at hand, the National Front has been furiously distributing leaflets at Thomson plants.

It is notable that no such outburst has accompanied British Telecom's proposed purchase of MCI, the American long-dis-

Supranational forces hobble governments, and anger is growing.

tance phone company. Americans are simply better disposed toward a global market whose benefits they now sense. In fact, a substantial part of Thomson's vaunted technology in digital television and satellite systems is developed at plants in the United States, acquired when Thomson bought RCA in the 1980's. James Harper, a spokesman at these plants in Indiana, said, "There has been no hue and cry over the Koreans running things rather than the French."

Contrasting Reactions

The differing reactions to Daewoo at Thomson in France and in the United States reveal two things. The first is that America's more open, more flexible society copes more easily with the rapid flux of an increasingly frontierless world. The second is that globalization, however it is caricatured, is not merely Americanization. Thomson has major interests in the United States. Many Japanese cars are largely American-made. American sneakers are made in Asia. CNN has instant worldwide recognition, but so, too, do BMW and Chanel.

Still, the rapid, American-led change of civilization headed by the likes of Microsoft and Intel is bound to produce a political reaction. Their technology destroys borders, sweeping them away like quaint vestiges of an old world. Not everyone likes this. For every Riady courting American favor, there is someone courting resistance to America and globalization. Benjamin R. Barber of Rutgers University has called this global conflict "Jihad versus McWorld."

In France, the anxieties over the global theme park exploited by Mr. Le Pen are more widespread than his movement. Similarly, in Asia, the forces of Japanese and Chinese nationalism are stirring. To use Benedict Arnold's phrase, the "imagined communities" gathered behind national flags will not be abandoned without a fight.

Mr. Le Pen now says, "We are for a revolution, but a French one" — that is, a revolution, but for people of French blood whoever they may be. The French revolution of 1789 had a different theme: the forging of a nation of citizens, irrespective of ethnicity whose rights gave them a stake in the country. Therein lay its universal appeal. Today however, universal ideas appear overwhelmingly American, and the French, among others, are groping for a response.