

Chron

—

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 7, 1997

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SAMUEL BERGER
JOHN HILLEY

SUBJECT:

Response to Members of Congress Regarding the
Irish Deportation Cases

*Do we have
any options?
is this making
good policy now?
lets discuss
BC*

Purpose

To respond to a number of Members of Congress who have urged that you meet with a delegation of the Ad Hoc Committee for Irish Affairs and that you intervene in the ongoing deportation cases of several Irish nationals.

Background

The Congressional Ad Hoc Committee for Irish Affairs has been looking into the Immigration and Naturalization Service's (INS) handling of the cases of several Irish nationals being processed for deportation. The Attorney General reviewed these cases and concluded they were being handled appropriately and in accordance with statutory guidelines. Last month, the Committee held a hearing on these cases and took testimony from INS officials, practicing immigration lawyers, Irish-American advocacy groups and family members of the Irish nationals being processed.

In January, thirty Members of the Committee wrote asking you to intervene in the case of Matt Morrison, one of those being processed for deportation. Sandy Berger responded to this letter by indicating that the case was being processed in accordance with statutory requirements and referred them to the Attorney General. The Committee has since written back insisting that you review their letter regarding Morrison and the issues therein.

About sixty Members of this same Committee have also sent an additional letter imploring you to intervene in all of the cases and to meet with a delegation of the Ad Hoc Committee. In addition, Senators Dodd and D'Amato have recently written asking that you meet with this same delegation.

*Copied
Berger
Hilley
Bowles*

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Each of the deportation cases presents difficult humanitarian considerations, since the deportees now have American wives and children. However, the individuals are being deported because of their past involvement in serious crimes (usually in connection with the IRA). The statutory requirements applicable to these cases have been tightened by Congress in recent years and make relief unlikely, notwithstanding the difficult situations for the families.

These cases are all active cases under the purview of the Attorney General. Therefore, we recommend against meeting with the delegation. The proposed response refers the Ad Hoc Committee and the Senators to the Attorney General for further discussions of the cases.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached responses.

Attachments

Tab A Response to Ad Hoc Committee

Tab B Incoming Correspondence (Packages 1235, 1900, 1913)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 7, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SUSAN BROPHY *SB*
SUBJECT: CONGRESSIONAL CORRESPONDENCE

Attached for your signature is a response to Representative Tom Coburn's (R-OK) request that you attend a religious fellowship group meeting. Group participants include Rep. Steve Largent (R-OK), Rep. Michael Doyle (D-PA), Rep. Bart Stupak (D-MI) and Rep. Zach Wamp (R-TN).

Signature
if we intended
to see enough

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Dear Representative Coburn:

Thank you for once again inviting me to participate in one of your fellowship gatherings. Although I never know what my schedule will hold, I would like to try to join you one evening and have asked my scheduler, Stephanie Streett, to keep your offer in mind.

I hope that you will keep me in your prayers as I continue to seek God's daily guidance.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Michelle Obama", with a horizontal line drawn underneath the signature.

The Honorable Tom A. Coburn
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

TOM COBURN
SECOND DISTRICT
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3-18-97



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United States Congress

2-19-97

Mr President,

Last year after the prayer breakfast myself and four other Congressmen sent you a letter offering our fellowship group as a respite. I am unaware as to whether you received our letter but I did make numerous queries with no result.

[I would very much like to invite you to attend our group on Tuesday nights where myself, Steve Jargent, Mike Doyle, but Stephen, and Zach Krump. fellowship together in the spirit of Jesus. This is all non partisan study of our lives, thoughts, and we encourage one another in our walk in this life.

You are most truly welcome and we would feel honored!

Sincerely
Tom

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

an Murray
April 9, 1997

'97 APR 9 PM 1:27
CS

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

Steve Silverman *MS*
Stephanie Streett *MS*
Jennifer Palmieri *MS*

cc:

Ersine Bowles, John Podesta, Sylvia Mathews, Don Baer,
Melanne Verveer, Elaine Kamarck, Kitty Higgins, Kim Tilley,
Patti Solis-Doyle, Diana Fortuna

SUBJECT:

Summit for America's Future Schedule

This memo is to seek your approval of the staff recommendations on a proposed schedule for your participation in the Summit for America's Future.

As you know, we are working aggressively to ensure that the Summit is a success for you and the Administration. A strong pre-Summit communications strategy is underway (see attached). Last Saturday's radio address, coupled with your attendance at Monday's Bowles-Powell Summit meeting and Mrs. Clinton's appearance at last week's Summit Kickoff Teleconference event, have helped to establish further the Administration's leadership role in the Summit. In addition, a major roll-out is planned for National Volunteer and Service week (April 13-20), including events by Cabinet and other officials that will highlight outstanding AmeriCorps programs around the country.

Notwithstanding this strong strategy and major time commitments by the four Principals, the Chief of Staff, Cabinet officials, Henry Cisneros, Harris Wofford and others, we still face a real challenge if we are to ensure that the Summit focuses on your vision of service. The Summit itself (April 27-29) offers an unprecedented opportunity to highlight AmeriCorps, your lifelong commitment to service, and -- as Ben Barber has articulated -- your vision of the appropriate role of the Federal government, working with its partners, in addressing the problems of America's youth. It is important that our aggressive pre-Summit strategy be followed up with strong participation by you and the other Principals at the Summit itself.

To this end, following is a proposed Summit schedule and media plan, developed in conjunction with the Communications Office, Press Office and other White House staff, for your consideration and approval.

PROPOSED MEDIA PLAN

Media Plan for Week of April 21

Recommendation

On Thursday, April 24, you would tape a pre-Summit interview with Peter Jennings to be aired on Friday's World News Tonight and conduct a telephone call interview with the Philadelphia Inquirer.

On Saturday, April 26, following the live radio address, you would pre-tape an interview with Bob Schieffer for Sunday's Face the Nation.

Finally, that you agree to NBC's request to have Katie Couric or Matt Lauer of the Today Show cover your participation at one of Sunday's summit events, followed by a ten minute interview with you.

Agree _____ Disagree _____ Discuss _____

PROPOSED SUMMIT SCHEDULE FOR SUNDAY, APRIL 27

[NOTE: We understand that you have expressed an interest in attending Church with Tony Campolo. We have since learned that Mr. Campolo will not be in town during the Summit. For your information, his church, the Mount Carmel Baptist Church, services are at 7:45 am and 10:45 am.]

Opening Ceremony: Summit Kick-Off (10:45 am-11:30 am)

Discussion

The Summit will open with a kick-off ceremony in a dilapidated high school football stadium on Germantown Avenue. The proposal is to have you, President Bush, President Carter, General Powell and the Vice President speak to 5000 volunteers (including current and former AmeriCorps volunteers) gathered to participate in a community clean-up. Mayor Rendell and others believe that your participation in this opening ceremony represents a vital opportunity for you, given the anticipated extensive press coverage and large community involvement in the event. (Incidentally, the Summit has also scheduled a second-tier, minor kick-off ceremony to be held at 1:30 pm which we do not recommend you attend).

Recommendation

That you participate in the Opening Ceremony at 10:45 am-11:30 am.

Agree _____ Disagree _____ Discuss _____

Germantown Avenue Service Project (11:30 am-12:30 pm)

Discussion

This is the main service event of the Summit. Approximately 5000 volunteers will participate in the clean-up and rebuilding of this neighborhood. We recommend that all four principals join together in this event, which is likely to receive tremendous press coverage. Dr. Mariano has worked with us to develop a set of possible service activities that would be appropriate for you as well as the other Principals. Options include your joining volunteers painting murals reflecting the Summit's themes, reading to young people, or participating in health screenings. President Bush, President Carter, President Ford and General Powell are also expected to participate in this event.

Recommendation

That you and the other Principals participate in the Germantown Avenue clean-up event.

Agree _____ Disagree _____ Discuss _____

[DOWNTIME 1:00 PM-7:00 PM]

Celebration of Service Gala (8:00-10:00 pm)

Discussion

Summit organizers are planning a gala event for Sunday evening. Attendees will include Summit participants, community leaders, and celebrities (including Oprah Winfrey). You and Mrs. Clinton have been requested to make brief remarks.

Recommendation

That you and Mrs. Clinton attend the Celebration of Service Gala and make brief remarks.

Agree _____ Disagree _____ Discuss _____

PROPOSED SUMMIT SCHEDULE MONDAY, APRIL 28

Formal Summit Opening at Independence Hall (9:00 am - 11:00 am)

Discussion

This event is the formal Summit opening and will feature speeches by all major Summit participants. The first hour of the program will include speeches by General Powell, Oprah Winfrey, Mayor Ed Rendell, Governor Tom Ridge, and the Vice President. The second hour of the program will include speeches by President Ford, President Carter (on video), Mrs. Reagan, President Bush and you. Each former President (or spouse) will speak for 10 minutes. You will be given 12 minutes to speak. At the conclusion of the program you and your predecessors will sign the Summit's "Declaration of Commitments."

Recommendation

That you participate in this speaking program.

Agree _____ Disagree _____ Discuss _____

VIP Luncheon with CEO's and Governors (12:30-1:30 pm)

Discussion

Summit organizers will gather several hundred CEO's, 50 governors (invited) and other Summit participants for a luncheon to thank them for their efforts in preparing for the Summit. They have requested that you make remarks, conduct a substantive discussion on service, as well as pose for individual photographs with the CEO's.

Recommendation

That you participate in a brief speaking program at this "thank you" luncheon. If time permits, you could take regional group photographs with CEO's as an alternative to the requested individual photographs. We do not recommend that you engage in the requested discussion session.

Agree _____ Disagree _____ Discuss _____

AmeriCorps Event (1:30-2:30 pm)

Discussion

Per your thoughts, and in an effort to highlight your signature program, we recommend that you visit an AmeriCorps site to meet with AmeriCorps volunteers, the students they are working with, national AmeriCorps Summit participants, state AmeriCorps commissioners and successful AmeriCorps alumni. In addition to working with local AmeriCorps officials, we are also talking to Tony Campolo to get his thoughts on how to best craft this event.

Recommendation

That you visit an AmeriCorps site in Philadelphia.

Agree _____ Disagree _____ Discuss _____

[YOU DEPART PHILADELPHIA AT 3:00 PM]

SUMMIT ACTIVITIES POST-DEPARTURE

For your information, noted below are the Summit activities that will continue after you depart Philadelphia.

- * **Community Break-out Sessions (Monday 2:00 pm-5:00 pm)**
- * **Plenary Session Chaired by Henry Cisneros (Tuesday 8:00 am)**
- * **Community Break-out Sessions (Tuesday 9:00 am-12:00 pm)**
- * **Closing Ceremony with Mrs. Clinton and General Powell (Tuesday 12:30 pm)**

4-9-97

To Bader
great letter
ds

CS

New Approach Dissipates Boston's Gang Troubles

■ **Law enforcement:** Plan to put probation officers on the streets has brought dramatic reversal in violence.

By DAVID LAMB
TIMES STAFF WRITER

BOSTON—First, the hard facts:

Homicides in Boston hit an all-time high of 152 in 1990. Eighteen of the victims were 17 or younger. Gangs had turned sections of Roxbury into combat zones. Hardly anyone under 25 walked the streets of Dorchester without a knife or gun. Drug dealers carried out drive-by shootings in cars and on bicycles. One pack of thugs hunted down a young woman and stabbed her 130 times.

Gang behavior had become so bold—particularly after 1989, when a Superior Court judge threw out a gun charge against a teenage tough

and blasted the police for violating the youth's 4th Amendment rights—that gangs disrupted courtrooms at will and intimidated so many witnesses in the corridors that a judge in Dorchester District Court called for assigning the National Guard to secure order.

Boston had reached the point, Police Commissioner Paul Evans recalled the other day, "that there were questions about the future viability of the city. Back then, we really had no sense of the gang structure, and not very good intelligence. We were just going around answering 911 calls and picking up bodies."

But today, armed with an

Please see BOSTON, A7

BOSTON: Plan to Put Probation Officers on Streets Curbs Gangs

Continued from A1

innovative, low-cost program that is attracting national attention. Boston is winning the war it was in danger of losing. Last year, homicides dropped to 59—a 30-year low. The number of nonlethal shootings was cut in half between 1995 and 1996. School violence is down 20%. Perhaps most remarkable, at a time when U.S. youngsters are 12 times more likely to die by gunfire than their counterparts in the rest of the industrialized world, no Boston teenager under 17 has been killed by a gun or a knife since July 1995.

To find out how Boston took back its streets, hop in Kenny Israel's unmarked Ford LTD as he turns off Blue Hill Avenue in Roxbury. Israel and his partner, David Singletary, are members of the police department's elite Youth Violence Strike Force. They are dressed in baggy pants, bulky jackets and boots. Singletary wears a diamond earring. Knots of street-corner teenagers see them approach and drift off, trying to look indifferent. The two cops know almost every one of them by name.

In the back seat of their car, Traina Johnson, an unarmed probation officer, is saying: "OK, just to let you know ahead of time, our first stop is [an] assault-and-battery on a police officer and receiving stolen property. He's got a 9 o'clock curfew."

Moments later, they are knocking at the door of a two-story house. It is 9:10 p.m. The aunt answers and, no, Seth isn't home. Johnson tells her this means big trouble; Seth could go to jail for violating the terms of his probation. The three visitors are polite, direct. The aunt says, "I'll do what I can."

A Strategy of Collaboration

Juvenile crime is declining nationally, but Boston's drop has been unusually dramatic. It is happening, criminologists say, because various agencies, ranging from the district attorney's and U.S. attorney's offices to the police department and community groups, are setting aside institutional egos to agree on a



President Clinton traveled to Boston last February to take part in a discussion about juvenile crime with Boston Mayor Tom Menino.

collaborative strategy.

Plus there is the new role assigned to probation officers such as Johnson. No longer do they just sit behind a daytime desk at the courthouse. By putting some of its probation officers on the streets with the police in an operation the city calls "Night Light," Boston has changed the rules. It has made probation a deterrent instead of a joke that was widely ignored with impunity.

No longer do offenders on conditional liberty just see their probation officers for a weekly five-minute courthouse check-in. Now

they may encounter them at home or on the street, day or night. Anywhere the police are, probation officers are apt to be too, and any violation of court-ordered restrictions—such as ignoring curfew or associating with undesirables—can lead to the state prison at Walpole.

"I think for a lot of kids, Night Light represents an out," said Rev. Raymond Hammond, president of the Ten Point Coalition, a religious group combating juvenile violence. "They can say, 'I can resist peer pressure now. It's been decided for me. I have to be home.' On a secret

level, this is what many of them want.

"The police aren't using storm-trooper tactics, and the statistics are clear," Hammond said. "The program is working. The streets are safer. There's been improvement in every neighborhood. We're not just talking about Beacon Hill."

Notorious Gang Now Out of Business

One advantage probation officers have is that, unlike police officers, they can enter a home without a warrant to check on a probationer. They can elicit information more easily than the police because of their influence over and knowledge of probationers. And riding in the back of a patrol car they can spot their "cases" and know immediately if they are in violation of probation. By using a strategy of intervention, deterrence and enforcement, the reasoning goes, they and the police can react before the 911 call has to be made.

The Boston Police Department's attitude toward gangs and guns is one of "zero tolerance." When the Intervale gang, one of the city's most notorious, ignored law enforcement demands to end a series of shootings, officers picked up 23 of its members on the first day of school in 1995, most of them on federal drug charges. The police then called in a National Guard bulldozer to raze the gang's shack in a vacant lot and to knock down an oak tree into which members had tossed a hundred pairs of sneakers as a symbol of territorial rights.

Intervale is now out of business. And gang leader Freddie Cardoza, who had taunted police officers by casually flipping a bullet when they stopped to question him, is doing 20 years in a federal prison. He was convicted as a career criminal in possession of ammunition—a single bullet.

"That's the kind of cooperation there is now between law enforcement agencies," said James Jordan, the police department's director of strategic planning. "Before, if you'd tried to get the Justice Department

to prosecute a guy for having one bullet, they'd have looked at you like you had two heads."

Additionally, police have been helped in efforts to get troublemakers off the streets by a new state law that mandates a six-month prison sentence for juveniles in illegal possession of firearms—51 juveniles have been convicted in the last 13 months—and by a court

A study by Harvard University's School of Government revealed that 75% of the victims and killers had already been arraigned in court at least once; almost half had been on probation; three-quarters were associated with gangs.

ruling that a gathering of three or more people can constitute a gang.

With few exceptions, the kids in Boston doing the killing and the kids getting killed are no strangers to the criminal justice system. In fact, a study by Harvard University's School of Government revealed that 75% of the victims and killers had already been arraigned in court at least once; almost half had been on probation; three-quarters were associated with gangs.

Between 1988 and 1989, probation officer Bill Stewart saw his caseload reduced by 16—all of them murdered. "I got tired of burying my kids," he said. "I mean, man, I've got teenage cases walking around with colostomy bags because they stepped on someone's sneakers wrong."

Stewart recalled the night he tried to comfort one of his dying probationers on the street. He looked at the group that had gathered around the wounded youth and recognized more than a dozen faces. All were on probation and all should have been at home under the terms of their court orders.

The inspiration for Night Light,

now in its fifth year, was born then. Police officers initially were leery of Stewart's suggestion to start joint patrols because probation officers were viewed as the liberal, desk-bound social workers of the justice system. But skepticism faded quickly. Atty. Gen. Janet Reno has called Boston a model city in making streets safer. President Clinton chose Boston in February as the site to announce a \$435-million campaign against juvenile crime. More than 60 cities and states have contacted Boston to discuss its strategy in dealing with youth violence.

Boston's strategy may not be applicable everywhere, criminologists say, particularly in sprawling, diverse cities like Los Angeles, where gangs are far larger and most structured. Boston has only about 1,300 hard-core gang members (gangs are responsible for 60% of the city's homicides), and has been spared the presence of such groups as the Bloods and the Crips.

"I'm not one who thinks we have all the answers by any means," said Suffolk County Dist. Atty. Ralph Martin, whose office handles 50,000 criminal cases a year. "But if we're able to disrupt a beef between two gangs so they decide to go their separate ways, if we're able to keep a kid from violating probation so that he stays home, then perhaps a shot doesn't get fired, perhaps someone doesn't get killed."

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4-9-97

April 8, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT and VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: Craig Smith *CS*

SUBJECT: 1998 Senate Races

ALABAMA

Primary:

Richard Shelby (R)

June 2

Shelby appears all but unbeatable having lost virtually no support in Alabama since he switched parties in the immediate wake of the 1994 elections. The senator has amassed a large war chest and has a strong network of both Democrats and Republicans loyal to him in the state. The state Democratic party is now struggling to recruit candidates in the hopes that they can find someone strong enough to make Shelby focus on his race and not spend his money electing Republicans to other offices.

ALASKA

Primary:

Frank Murkowski (R)

August 25

Senator Murkowski is expected to face little or no opposition should he decide to run for reelection. Over the past year, there has been growing speculation that the Senator would like to retire and run for governor. Murkowski, now in his third term, has never exceeded 53% of the vote, but his chairmanship of the Energy and Natural Resources Committee is highly valuable to Alaska and should leave him in a strong position for 1998. To date, there are no known Democratic challengers.

ARIZONA

Primary:

John McCain (R)

September 8

Senator McCain (R) was elected to the Senate in 1986 and was reelected in 1992. McCain is incredibly popular in Arizona. His numbers are consistently high (he generally polls as the second most popular politician in Arizona - second only to Maricopa County Sheriff Joe Arpaio (R)) and he will be difficult to beat in 1998. In addition, McCain exerts a considerable amount of influence in statewide politics and the Republican Party in Arizona. There was some hope that former Phoenix mayor and 1994 gubernatorial candidate Paul Johnson (D) would run against McCain, but Johnson announced on April 3 his intention to seek the Democratic nomination for governor in 1998. Although the state chose a Democrat in the presidential election for the first time since 1948, state Democrats are reluctant to take on the formidable senator. There is speculation that McCain will look at a run for President in 2000 if he runs strong in 1998.

*It's better than I thought
would like 8600 (6000)
in play - 1 clear winner for
each (two, Ohio)
we could hold our own on
milk up on or 2*

ARKANSAS**Primary:****Dale Bumpers (D)****May 21**

Senator Bumpers has not publicly announced his intentions, but his age (he will be 72 years old in 1998) and lack of fundraising effort (he has only \$115,000 cash on hand) has fueled suspicion that he may retire. Democrats are concerned they will not have a credible candidate to replace him. Senator Bumpers' recent musings indicate that he does not want to seek reelection but feels he may be forced to run in order to prevent the seat from being taken by one of the possible Republican candidates, Governor Mike Huckabee or Rep. Asa Hutchinson.

Those most often mentioned as possible Democratic candidates should Bumpers retire are Rep. Blanche Lambert Lincoln, State Senator Mike Beebe and State Senator Bill Gwatney. The Democratic candidate will likely ask the President for assistance in the campaign.

CALIFORNIA**Primary:****Barbara Boxer (D)****June 2**

In a recent California poll, Senator Boxer led all potential opponents by double digits and had a 46% favorable/33% unfavorable rating. Boxer showed nearly \$1.04 million cash on hand in her '96 year-end report, and has assembled a strong team including Greer, Margolis for media and Mark Mellman for polling. However, this is still likely to be a tough and expensive race.

Last week, San Diego Mayor Susan Golding (R) announced the formation of a committee to explore a bid against Boxer (D). A team long associated with Governor Pete Wilson (R) will serve as her consultants. The mayor follows Treasurer Matt Fong (R) and car-alarm magnate Darrell Issa (R) into the fray. A vicious GOP primary is likely, especially if Golding and Fong both stay in the race. Fong has \$1 million in his campaign account, and his relationships in the Asian Pacific community will draw from Boxer. Boxer's staff is more worried about Golding, who as a pro-choice Republican woman may make her Boxer's toughest general election opponent. Arianna Huffington has moved back to the state and is also a possibility.

Most observers think if Boxer raises enough money, she can win. Boxer is working hard at the task and is getting assistance from the Administration.

COLORADO**Primary:****Ben Nighthorse Campbell (R)****August 4**

The incumbent, Ben Nighthorse Campbell, hinted that he might run for governor after serving one term in the Senate or retire. This raised the hopes of Republicans, particularly Rep. Scott McInnis, a longtime, close friend who thought he had Campbell's word that he would not run and had begun preparing to enter the Senate race. Immediately following the 1996 election, Campbell began telling friends that he would seek reelection. McInnis feels betrayed and is contemplating a primary challenge. Campbell is said to be vulnerable because some Republicans believe that his votes

against the partial-birth abortion ban, right-to-work legislation and the exemption for small businesses for the minimum wage increase could cause trouble for him in a primary. National Republicans are eager to avoid a divisive primary fight and are reportedly concerned that a McInnis challenge would send a negative signal to other potential Democratic switchers. Nighthorse Campbell has a meager \$100,000 cash on hand. McInnis' \$659,000 cash on hand would make him very competitive if he decides to enter the race.

Democrats have two serious potential candidates. The first is Governor Roy Romer. Romer had all but announced for the race when he was tapped for the co-chairmanship of the Party. Romer has not stated unequivocally that he will not run for Senate, and it is widely believed that Romer would make a strong opponent. It has been rumored that Senators Daschle and Kerrey will begin to lobby Romer to take a hard look at running for this seat. The second serious potential candidate is Rep. David Skaggs, who is reportedly raising money for the race. He would be a very credible candidate if he decides to run. 1996 Democratic Senate nominee Tom Strickland and former Rep. Pat Schroeder have been mentioned as well, but neither is likely to run.

CONNECTICUT **Chris Dodd (D)**
Primary: **September 8**

Senator Dodd won election to a third term in 1992 with 59% of the vote and currently has over one million dollars in his war chest. He is expected to easily win election to a fourth term. He is very popular in Connecticut, but recent articles in the *Hartford Courant* linking Dodd to the DNC fundraising controversy have begun to hurt his popularity. Republicans see this controversy as an opportunity to challenge Dodd. Former Congressman Gary Franks (R), who has formed an exploratory committee, and State Treasurer Chris Burnham (R) are possible challengers.

Given that Franks lost his congressional seat in 1996, and that he is not well-liked by the Connecticut Republican establishment, Franks' threat to Dodd is minimal. Another possible challenger is State Treasurer Chris Burnham (R). He is unpopular because of his advocacy of the state investing its money in the tobacco industry while the state Attorney General Dick Blumenthal (D) is suing the tobacco industry. Dodd is favored to win reelection.

FLORIDA **Bob Graham (D)**
Primary: **September 2**

Senator Bob Graham (D) is seeking election to a third term in 1998. Last year it was widely speculated that Graham would run for governor in 1998, an office he held from 1979 to 1987. However, last November he announced his plans to run for a third term in the Senate. The President recently participated in a fundraiser for him and the DSCC in Miami, and he has over \$1.2 million on hand. Graham is very popular, and after eight years as governor and twelve years in the Senate is extremely well known. A Mason-Dixon/PMR poll of 810 likely voters conducted 3/21-24 for the *Tampa Tribune* and *Orlando Sentinel* showed Graham with a 57% favorability rating and 96% name recognition.

The likely Republican nominee is State Senator Charlie Crist (R). U.S. Rep. Bill McCollum (R) was seriously looking at a bid, but announced in February that he would not run. Crist has been very active in the state Senate and has gotten a great deal of media attention. His sponsorship of the bill that brought chain gangs back to Florida earned him the name "Chain-gang Charlie." Crist has been unable to raise much money for this campaign, and the Mason Dixon poll showed his name recognition at only 29%. The cost of raising his name recognition in Florida will be very high.

Considering Senator Graham's popularity and fundraising advantages, and Crist's low name recognition, it is likely that Graham will win reelection in 1998. This early assessment is confirmed by the Mason-Dixon poll which showed Graham defeating Crist 57% to 26%.

GEORGIA **Paul Coverdell (R)**
Primary: **July 21**

Senator Paul Coverdell (R) is seeking election to a second term in 1998. Coverdell squeaked by Senator Wyche Fowler (D) in the 1992 runoff by a mere 17,000 votes. Voters didn't know much about Coverdell in 1992, and don't seem to know much about him five years later. But his conservative voting pattern is consistent with the direction Georgia is trending, and he has not made any stupid mistakes. Recent internal polls indicate that Coverdell's personal favorability rating in December was only 53%, but he has over \$1 million cash on hand. There has been talk of a possible primary challenge to Coverdell by state Senator Clint Day (R), a millionaire who sought the GOP nomination in 1996, but it is unlikely.

Although polling indicates that Governor Zell Miller (D) would beat Coverdell 54%-42%, Miller announced that he will not run. Cookie tycoon Michael Coles (D) has apparently decided to challenge Coverdell. Coles spent millions in a strong campaign against Speaker Gingrich in 1996, and is expected to announce his candidacy in late April. Other Democrats considering the Senate race include former Representative Buddy Darden (D) and Secretary of State Lewis Massey (D), but both are unlikely to run now that Coles is running. Coverdell could be considered vulnerable, but because of the direction in which Georgia is trending and the financial advantages of incumbency, he is still a slight favorite for reelection.

HAWAII **Daniel Inouye (D)**
Primary: **September 19**

Senator Inouye announced his intention to run for a seventh term in February at a meeting with virtually every Democratic elected official in the state. He held a fundraiser two weeks ago that brought in \$225,000. No primary challenge is expected. State Democrats expect the Republicans will nominate a candidate for the general election with little or no name recognition.

IDAHO
Primary:

Dirk Kempthorne (R)
May 26

Senator Kempthorne is expected to seek and easily win reelection in 1998. Kempthorne won the Senate seat in 1992 after two-term incumbent Republican Steve Symms announced his retirement in August 1991. Kempthorne is expected to face a Democrat with little or no name recognition in the general election.

ILLINOIS
Primary:

Carol Moseley-Braun (D)
March 17

First-term Democratic incumbent Carol Moseley-Braun is still considered one of the most vulnerable senators up for reelection in this cycle. Already in debt, Senator Moseley-Braun's election committee has been ordered to pay \$56,000 in rent and interest to a landlord who leased offices to her 1992 campaign. A Cook County Circuit Judge issued the order last week, the same week the Senator held a big fundraiser in Chicago, one of several events she is holding to close out the \$413,000 debt from her 1992 campaign.

In addition to her money troubles, Moseley-Braun has been a source of controversy since taking office, and Democratic leaders are concerned about her viability in 1998. This has led to much speculation about a possible primary challenge. The most feared potential challenger was Rep. Jesse L. Jackson, Jr., but he is reportedly not interested in running. There was early speculation that former Attorney General Roland Burris would challenge her, but it now appears that he is more interested in running for Governor if Edgar doesn't seek reelection. An African American challenger for Moseley-Braun would certainly mean trouble for her in a primary.

In order for the Republicans to mount credible opposition against the Senator, they would need to nominate a fairly moderate candidate. In the past two Senate races, Republicans have nominated candidates who are simply too conservative for the state. It appears that many potential Republican candidates are waiting to see whether Gov. Jim Edgar launches a bid for the Senate or runs for reelection. He undoubtedly would be the strongest challenger to Moseley-Braun. If Edgar decides to run, he will most likely have no primary opposition. He is not expected to make a decision before this summer. 1996 GOP primary hopeful and Lt. Governor Bob Kustra and State Comptroller Lolita Didrickson also would make very competitive opponents.

Moseley-Braun's success depends on avoiding a primary challenge, raising money, running a good campaign, and holding the state's Democratic base vote, especially outside Chicago.

INDIANA
Primary:

Open (R)
May 5

Senator Dan Coats (R) announced his retirement earlier this year amid reports that he was lagging 25 points and \$1 million behind popular Governor Evan Bayh (D) in this race. Attorney Peter

Rusthoven (R), who served as Associate Counsel under Reagan from '81-'85, is the only announced Republican candidate in the race to date. Secretary of State Sue Ann Gilroy (R) has been testing the waters and will announce her intentions sometime this month. Ft. Wayne Mayor Paul Helmke (R) is considering the race as well. Rep. David McIntosh (R), who has found notoriety leading the investigation of the White House, has indicated that he is not inclined to run. Bayh is working very hard, taking all potential opponents very seriously. His greatest concern is that people in the state and in Washington will take the race for granted.

IOWA

Charles Grassley (R)

Primary:

June 2

For over a year, there have been rumors that Governor Branstad (R) and Senator Grassley (R) would like to trade offices. Governor Branstad announced a few weeks ago that he would not seek reelection and threw his support to Sen. Grassley. But even before Branstad's announcement, most observers were predicting that Grassley would seek reelection to the Senate next year rather than run for governor. Grassley has said he will make his plans for '98 known by the end of April. An indication that he will stay put came last week when wealthy businessman and former chair of the state Republican Party, David Oman, announced that Grassley's closest political adviser would chair his campaign for governor next year. State Democrats are trying to recruit a candidate to take on Grassley, but their bench is very weak. Grassley should win reelection without much trouble.

KANSAS

Sam Brownback (R)

Primary:

August 4

✓ Senator Brownback (R) defeated Jill Docking (D), a strong, well-funded candidate, by a 54%-43% margin last fall for the right to serve out the remainder of Bob Dole's term. He has strong support within his party and at this time, no Democratic challengers have stepped forward because of Brownback's campaigning prowess. However, the state media has recently been uncovering fundraising irregularities in his 1996 campaign involving his wealthy in-laws and the involvement of shady independent expenditures on his behalf. These problems may help Democrats shake loose some potential candidates in the next few months. Democrats most often mentioned for this race include the two 1996 Senate nominees, state Treasurer Sally Thompson and Jill Docking, and state Democratic party chair Dennis Langley.

KENTUCKY

Open (D)

Primary:

May 26

✓ // Senator Ford announced a few weeks ago that he will not seek reelection. Rep. Scotty Baesler, a conservative tobacco farmer, is the only Democrat to officially enter the race to date. (The DCCC is working hard to recruit candidates for Baesler's seat and two other seats they believe are winnable.) Louisville businessman Charlie Owens (D), who is worth \$40-60 million and has said he will self-finance his campaign, is expected to enter the race soon. Penn & Schoen and Squier, Knapp, Ochs are likely to sign on as his consultants. Other top Democrats are looking at the race

including Louisville Mayor Jerry Abramson, Lt. Governor Steve Henry, and '96 Senate nominee Steve Beshear. Owens, who chaired Kentucky's first crime commission, could scare Baesler, who has never liked raising money, and some of the other potential candidates out of the race. Conservative Rep. Jim Bunning (R), who has Senator Mitch McConnell's full backing, will cruise to the Republican nomination against little-known state Sen. Barry Metcalf (R). An Owens-Bunning race would be competitive.

LOUISIANA

John Breaux (D)

General:

October 10

Runoff (if necessary):

November 3

Senator Breaux is running for reelection and is expected to win. He has \$1.4 million in the bank, no primary opposition, and only one Republican has expressed interest in challenging him -- Mandeville businessman Bill Linder, who spent \$3 million of his own funds on the '96 Senate race and finished far back in the pack. Breaux continues to enjoy support from Republicans. His '86 opponent, Henson Moore (R), will co-chair his campaign, and Rep. Billy Tauzin (R) is expected to endorse him. He also has received support from some editorial writers across the state who have expressed relief that Breaux did not seek the ambassadorship to France and lauded his work on behalf of the state.

MARYLAND

Barbara Mikulski (D)

Primary:

September 15

Senator Barbara Mikulski (D) is seeking reelection and should win a third term in 1998. Her approval rating has been consistent in the mid 60's the last three years. Mikulski has about \$500,000 on hand, and the Vice President is attending a fundraiser for her in Baltimore on April 13. Due to her popularity, Republican challengers have yet to surface. For 1998, Republicans have wisely chosen to focus their attention on unseating Governor Parris Glendening (D) rather than wasting effort against Mikulski.

MISSOURI

Kit Bond (R)

Primary:

August 4

Senator Bond (R), who won election to a second term in 1992 with only 53% while out spending his opponent 4-1, is vulnerable in 1998 due to the many negative stories written in the past four years about his divorce, the alleged squandering of his family fortune and alcohol abuse. All of the state's top Democrats have coalesced around Attorney General Jay Nixon (D), the state's highest vote-getter in the '96 elections, who has begun to raise funds and assemble a campaign team. A recent internal poll done for the Missouri state senate showed Bond beating Nixon by only five points (45%-40%) despite his 20% higher name recognition. This will be a very competitive race.

NEVADA
Primary:

Harry Reid (D)
September 1

Senator Reid is running for a third term in 1998. He combines a moderate-to-liberal voting record on most issues with a strong partisan commitment, though he is anti-abortion. No primary opposition is expected, and Reid has amassed a war chest of \$1.5 million. A contested Republican primary is expected. Rep. John Ensign, who raised \$2 million for his congressional race, has strong ties with the gaming industry and could be the most formidable candidate since he represents Las Vegas. He will likely face Bruce James, the founder of a number of printing and publishing businesses, who has stated that he can finance his campaign through personal funds. Ensign will likely win the nomination but will be unable to defeat Reid. If Ensign runs as expected, we could pick up his seat.

NEW HAMPSHIRE
Primary:

Judd Gregg (R)
September 8

Senator Judd Gregg (R) is seeking election to a second term in 1998. Gregg barely squeaked by John Rauh (D) in 1992 (48%-45%). Gregg was a very unpopular governor because he held that position when a recession hit New Hampshire during the late 80's and early 90's. This vulnerability is demonstrated by the American Research Group poll conducted December 19-23 of 510 registered voters which showed him losing to Democrats Governor Jeanne Shaheen (53%-35%) and former Rep. Dick Swett (48%-41%). However, observers believe that Gregg is in better shape than these numbers suggest, largely because Democrats seem unlikely to field a strong candidate and because Republicans in New Hampshire usually hurt themselves in a primary, which Gregg will not have.

Governor Shaheen will be running for reelection in 1998, and former Rep. Dick Swett has said he is unlikely to run. Former state party chairman and 1996 congressional nominee Joe Keefe (D) is not running for personal and financial reasons. State Senator Burt Cohen (D) and 1992 Democratic nominee John Rauh (D) are considering running, but both are probably too liberal to defeat Gregg. Unless a strong Democrat steps forward, Gregg is likely to win reelection.

NEW YORK
Primary:

Al D'Amato (R)
September 8

Senator Al D'Amato (R) is seeking election to a fourth term in 1998. He is currently very unpopular after acting as a partisan attack dog for the past three years. Three separate polls in the fall of 1996 showed D'Amato with an approval rating of around 30%, which according to the Cook Report made him the least popular United States Senator. Throughout his career, D'Amato has been known to turn on a dime on issues before elections, and there is considerable evidence that he plans to do so again this election cycle. In the last four months he has reached out to environmentalists, the gay and lesbian community, women, and the Jewish community. A Marist College poll of 603 registered voters conducted on March 17-19 showed D'Amato with a 36% approval rating. While this is still very low, it is inevitable that it will continue to rise as he moves to the center. D'Amato is one of

the most skillful campaign tacticians around. He has pulled himself up before, and many bet he will do it again. Already an established fundraiser, he improved his network by chairing the National Republican Senatorial Committee, and he has about \$7 million in the bank.

There are several Democrats considering running for the Senate. New York City Public Advocate Mark Green (D) is the only announced candidate. The Mason Dixon/PMR poll conducted February 1-3 of 807 likely voters showed D'Amato ahead of Green, 40% to 36%. He lost a Senate challenge to D'Amato in 1986, 57% to 41%. With over \$5 million in the bank, Congressman Chuck Schumer (D) is considering challenging D'Amato, but many observers believe he is more likely to run for governor. A Quinnipiac College poll conducted February 24-March 2 of 1,071 registered voters showed Schumer ahead of D'Amato, 43% to 36%. Former Congresswoman and 1984 Democratic vice presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro seems willing to run only if she has a clear field, which is unlikely. She will not announce her intentions until early 1998. The Mason Dixon poll showed Ferraro (D) ahead of D'Amato, 46% to 38%.

The key factor in this election will be the degree to which Democrats hurt each other in the primary. In 1992, Ferraro (D) was leading the primary field but was viciously attacked by a barrage of television ads from New York City Comptroller Elizabeth Holtzman (D). Bob Abrams (D) emerged out of the primary bruised, out of money, and without the support of many Democrats. Abrams lost to D'Amato, 48% to 49%. Democrats cannot afford to make the same mistake again. D'Amato's aggressive outreach has improved his approval ratings some but more important, they show his willingness to do or say anything to get elected. This race could end up being very close considering D'Amato's political skills and the possibility of an ugly September Democratic primary.

NORTH CAROLINA

Lauch Faircloth (R)

Primary:

May 5 (legislation pending to move primary to September)

Senator Lauch Faircloth (R) is seeking election to a second term in 1998. An internal Democratic poll in December showed Faircloth with only 36% favorability, 31% unfavorability, and 73% name recognition. According to the December 31, 1996 FEC report, Faircloth, although personally wealthy, had a meager \$37,885 on hand, but he has recently launched an aggressive fundraising effort. In late March, he raised \$100,000 with a fundraiser featuring Senator Trent Lott at the home of Charlotte developer Charles Shelton. Former Vice President Dan Quayle will appear at a Raleigh fundraiser later this month at the home of former state banking commissioner Bill Graham, and Texas Senator Phil Gramm will headline a May 12 event in Greensboro. Although he shows some vulnerability, no serious Republican primary challenger has emerged. However, Raleigh Mayor Tom Fetzner (R) and Rep. Richard Burr (R) are mentioned as possibilities.

On the Democratic side, the popular attorney general, Mike Easley (D), is positioning himself for a run. Easley's favorability in a December internal Democratic poll was 57%. Charles Sanders (D), the former Glaxo executive who lost to Harvey Gantt (D) in the 1996 Democratic primary, was considered a sure bet to run but now seems less enthusiastic. Millionaire Raleigh trial lawyer John

Edwards (D) is talking to former Hunt strategist Gary Pearce and pollster Harrison Hickman about entering the race.

The key factor in this race will be the degree to which the three strong Democrats attack each other in the primary. If the Democratic nominee emerges from the primary relatively unscathed, Faircloth could be beaten.

NORTH DAKOTA **Byron Dorgan (D)**
Primary: **June 9**

Senator Dorgan is very popular and should have no trouble winning election to a second term. Now that popular Governor Ed Schafer (R) is not likely to challenge Dorgan, the frontrunner for the Republican nomination is state party chair and '94 congressional nominee Gary Porter. Porter received 45% of the vote and gained statewide name recognition in his '94 challenge to at-Large Rep. Earl Pomeroy (D). Senate Majority Leader John Dorso (R), who many thought would run, was recently hospitalized for heart problems and has said that he would like to run for chair of the National Legislative Conference.

OHIO **John Glenn (D)**
Primary: **May 5**

X
Though Senator John Glenn (D) recently announced his retirement, popular Governor George Voinovich (R) has been organizing his campaign for the Senate for well over a year. Former Cuyahoga County Commissioner Mary Boyle (D) has all but announced her candidacy for the Democratic nomination. No other Democrats have expressed interest in this race, preferring to look at the comparatively easier race for the open gubernatorial seat instead. Though recent polls show that former Governor Dick Celeste (D) would be the strongest candidate for either race, he has expressed no interest in running. Though the recent court decision against Voinovich's education funding system has highlighted his Achilles heel -- his poor education record -- this is still a very uphill race for Democrats.

OKLAHOMA **Don Nickles (R)**
Primary: **August 25**

Senator Nickles (R) is expected to win reelection easily. No Democrats have been mentioned as possible candidates.

✓ **OREGON** **Ron Wyden (D)**
Primary: **May 19**

Senator Wyden won this seat in a special election in 1995 to replace former Senator Bob Packwood (R). Wyden is not expected to face primary opposition. The Republican field has been slow to develop as potential candidates have not yet decided whether to run for the Senate or for governor.

Presently, the strongest potential Republican challenge to Wyden is Labor Commissioner Jack Roberts. Other potential Republican candidates are state House Speaker Bev Clarno, state party chair Randy Miller and Bill Witt, who made unsuccessful bids for the House in '94 and '96. Wyden is given a slight edge in this race.

PENNSYLVANIA **Arlen Specter (R)**
Primary: **May 19**

Senator Arlen Specter (R) is seeking election to a fourth term in 1998. In 1992, Specter narrowly defeated Lynn Yeakel (D), 49% to 46%, even though he outspent her 2-1. Currently, Specter has about \$1 million in the bank. His first challenge will be to fight off the contenders to his right. The Republicans thinking of challenging Specter are: Attorney General Tom Corbett (R), state Senator Melissa Hart (R), and former Representative Bob Walker (R). Of these, Hart may be the most serious opponent. After running as a moderate in the 1996 presidential primary, Specter has made efforts to placate conservatives and should survive any conservative challenge.

Several Democrats have expressed interest in the race: Rep. Ron Klink, former Rep. Marjorie Margolies Mezvinsky, former Lt. Governor Mark Singel, former state Secretary of Aging Linda Rhodes, state Senator Allyson Schwartz and state Representative and 1994 gubernatorial hopeful Dwight Evans. Singel is more likely to enter the gubernatorial race.

Unless an exceptional Democratic candidate steps forward or Specter is badly bloodied in a Republican primary, he should be in reasonably good shape.

SOUTH CAROLINA **Fritz Hollings (D)**
Primary: **June 9**

✓ Senator Fritz Hollings (D) is seeking election to a sixth term in 1998. Hollings has won most of his elections with relative ease, but in 1992 he got just 50% of the vote against then-Rep. Tommy Hartnett (R). Hollings will not face significant primary opposition and has about \$500,000 on hand, but his job performance ratings are quite low for an incumbent. A Mason Dixon/PMR poll conducted December 16-18 of 808 likely voters showed his job performance numbers were 42% "excellent/good" and 52% "fair/poor."

The only declared challenger is Rep. Bob Inglis (R). Another potential candidate is former Governor Carroll Campbell (R). Campbell definitely harbors Senate ambitions but might wait until Senator Strom Thurmond (R) resigns. The Mason Dixon poll showed Campbell leading Hollings 52% to 35%. Attorney General Charles Condon (R) may also run, but seems more focused on a primary challenge against Governor David Beasley (R) or on staying where he is.

The political landscape of South Carolina has changed considerably over the past 15 years. The governor and most state officeholders are now Republican. A Hollings-Inglis general election battle will be very close, and it is difficult to pick a favorite right now.

SOUTH DAKOTA**Tom Daschle (D)****Primary:****June 2**

Senator Tom Daschle (D) should have no problem winning reelection to a third term. His favorable rating is high, and he will certainly have sufficient funds to wage a strong campaign. His only announced opponent to date is 33-year old, right-wing State Senator Alan Aker (R). Aker has said that he intends to model his campaign after the 1994 George Nethercutt-Tom Foley race in Washington State, painting Daschle as a man who cares more about his national influence than the people of his state. Two weeks ago, Republican Ron Schmidt, a 60-year old state lobbyist who ran and lost in a primary campaign for attorney general in 1972, said he also is likely to run.

UTAH**Robert Bennett (R)****Primary:****June 23**

To date, no Democratic candidate has stepped forward to challenge Senator Bob Bennett (R). The power of incumbency and Sen. Bennett's financial advantage are daunting for potential challengers. In 1992, Sen. Bennett self-financed most of his campaign to the tune of \$3.5 million, and he is expected to do so again next year. (He recently paid a \$55,000 FEC fine for irregularities in his '92 race.) In addition, he will be in better position to raise funds this time. Three Democrats are regularly mentioned as potential challengers: Rep. Bill Orton, '92 Senate nominee Doug Anderson, and State Senate Minority Leader Scott Howell. Orton is in the best position to win the Democratic nomination, but no matter who the Democrats nominate, Bennett will be tough to beat.

VERMONT**Patrick Leahy (D)****Primary:****September 8**

Senator Patrick Leahy is seeking election to a fifth term in 1998. The fact that in 1992 Leahy won by only 54%, and that he has about \$100,000 on hand, which is in part due to his refusal of PAC funds, would make most incumbents vulnerable. However, Leahy is working hard and is still quite popular. Most important, it appears that the Republicans will not field a strong challenger. Republicans mentioned as possible candidates are Rutland Mayor Jeff Wennberg (R), state Representative Walt Freed (R), and former state Representative Sara Grear (R). Former Lt. Governor Barbara Snelling (R) also has been mentioned, but is unlikely to make the race due to health problems. Leahy appears headed toward a fifth term.

WASHINGTON**Patty Murray (D)****Primary:****September 15**

Senator Patty Murray, who defeated Rod Chandler 54%-46% as the "mom in tennis shoes," is preparing to run a strong campaign for a second term. Murray, who supports using federal funds for abortions and gun control, is no doubt a liberal. No primary opposition is expected. Republicans who believe that Murray was elected by default are recruiting women to challenge her. Their choices are Reps. Jennifer Dunn and Linda Smith. Dunn, who served as state party chairwoman in

the past and currently serves as Secretary of the House Republican Conference, has made it no secret that she enjoys fundraising and is looking to higher office. While Dunn is fairly moderate, Smith is very conservative. Smith, however, has created a great deal of tension between herself and national Republicans by advocating a ban on PAC money and by distancing herself from Gingrich, who is very unpopular in her district. This tension has caused problems for her among Republican activists back home as well. One of these two will likely enter the race but if they do not, Rep. George Nethercutt will run. No matter who the Republicans nominate, this will be a very close race but Murray is given a slight edge.

WISCONSIN

Russ Feingold (D)

Primary:

September 9

Feingold is in a strong position for reelection. Right-wing Rep. Mark Neumann (R) announced a month ago that he would challenge Feingold, but has publicly stated since then that he may not run if popular Governor Tommy Thompson (R) does seek reelection noting that he would benefit significantly from Thompson's coattails. No other well-known Republicans have expressed interest in race.

cc: The First Lady
Mrs. Gore
Erskine Bowles
John Podesta
Sylvia Matthews
Doug Sosnik
John Hilley
Rahm Emanuel

Standards for Gas Pipelines Unchanged Years After Blast

A1

By JOHN SULLIVAN

EDISON, N.J., April 8 — Three years after a natural gas pipeline explosion destroyed eight apartment buildings here, Federal investigators say little has been done to toughen pipeline safety standards.

In particular, the investigators say, the Department of Transportation regulators who oversee gas pipelines have failed to impose specific standards the investigators recommended for pipeline toughness, for the frequency and types of inspections and for installation of equipment that would allow operators to shut off gas from a broken pipe.

The regulators have "a poor history of responding to our recommendations in a timely manner," said James E. Hall, chairman of the National Transportation Safety Board, an independent investigative agency.

"We have a good working relationship in terms of being able to sit down and discuss our concerns," Mr. Hall said. "However, I feel that they are slow in implementing the changes that we feel are necessary."

The safety board's function is to make recommendations, not to impose regulations, but in its report on the Edison pipeline accident, the board said, "Many Federal pipeline regulations are no more than general statements that lack sufficient guidance to pipeline operators about necessary actions to achieve a safety objective."

Over half the heating oil, gasoline and other petroleum products used in the United States is transported through 1.8 million miles of pipeline. Although most of the pipelines lie in remote areas, some pass through populated regions on their way to cities.

Both industry spokesmen and critics agree that fatal pipeline accidents are rare, and, indeed, only one death has been linked to the explosion in Edison, which occurred on March 23, 1994. According to records from the Federal Department of Transportation, 21 people died in

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pipeline accidents in 1995, as opposed to 41,000 on the nation's highways.

But safety board reports detail accidents in which a significant loss of life was narrowly avoided. In the New York area, a natural gas pipeline exploded in the Bronx in 1989, destroying two buildings, incinerating 50 cars and killing two people. Two years later, a propane line ignited in upstate New York, leveling a dozen homes in the village of North Blenheim and killing two residents. The Edison explosion caused \$25 million in damage, injured nearly 100 people and displaced 1,500. The one fatality was a 32-year-old woman who died of a heart attack shortly after the explosion.

DANGER ON THE LINE

A special report.

In a 1996 follow-up report on several pipeline accidents, the safety board said the number of such incidents had remained constant since 1986. But, the board went on to say, "The potential threat to public safety from such releases has become more severe in recent years as residential and commercial development adjacent to both natural gas and hazardous liquid pipelines has accelerated."

Industry spokesmen and regulators maintained that the safety board had overstated the dangers and potential problems.

Kelley S. Coyner, the Department of Transportation's deputy administrator in charge of pipeline safety, said the office is researching the safety board recommendations and has already made improvements in some areas. In particular, she said, the Government has strengthened regulations requiring contractors to call for information about buried pipelines before beginning excavation work. Because outside damage is the predominant cause of pipeline breaks, Ms. Coyner said, regulators believe that decreasing excavation-related accidents is the most effective way to improve safety.

"You look at the things that are going to do the most to reduce the likelihood of an accident and the consequences when one does occur," she said.

Regulators also point out that the budget of the Federal Office of Pipeline Safety, which regulates the pipeline industry, nearly doubled after the Edison explosion. From \$19 million in 1994, the budget jumped to \$37 million in 1995 and \$32 million in 1996 and 1997. The agency had 30 inspectors in 1994; by the end of this year, it plans to have conducted 57.

Ms. Coyner said the pipeline regulators "work very closely" with the safety board, but also have the responsibility for producing regulations that are practical and effective. Like all regulators, the Office of Pipeline Safety must balance safety concerns with economics and engineering practicality, she said.

"We have a different perspective than they have," she added. "It is our view that there is a lot more to preventing accidents and minimizing the cause of them than just looking at the last accident."

The Cause

Focus on Digging In 1994 Blast

The pipeline that runs behind the Durham Woods Apartments in Edison was built in the early 1960's to meet an increasing demand for natural gas in the Northeast. The steel pipe, which is 36 inches in diameter, is part of a 10,000-mile network stretching from Texas to New York, owned by Texas Eastern Transmission Corp., based in Houston.

When Texas Eastern's engineers built the pipeline, they studied 10 routes to find the best path to avoid residential areas. Even as the pipeline was being constructed, the company altered the route several times to avoid development.

But the company could not control the new construction that spread across New Jersey farmland and squeezed in along the pipeline route. The Durham Woods complex was built in 1984.

As part of a company inspection program, which exceeded Federal requirements, a pilot from the Texas Eastern company was flying along the pipeline's route through New Jersey twice a week. The pilot was supposed to make sure that no unreported excavation or construction threatened the line.

Safety board investigators later said that the flights were sufficient to detect new construction, but failed to note work at existing industrial sites.

The investigators have said they believe excavation at a nearby asphalt plant may have gouged and weakened the pipeline in Edison. The excavation was never reported and investigators still do not know when, or by whom, it was done.

Near midnight on March 23, the pipeline finally buckled. The metal shattered under the tremendous pressure of the gas. With a muffled boom, rocks and pipe fragments flew into the air and rained down on the rooftops of the apartment complex.

The sound of the blast and of the rocks hitting the buildings proved to be a blessing. Many residents said they were awakened by the noise and were able to flee. Within two minutes of the initial explosion, the gas ignited, and flames soared 500 feet into the air. The roofs of several nearby apartment buildings ignited almost immediately.

Residents, many in pajamas and nightgowns, fled on foot as the buildings and cars in the parking lots burned. The huge fireball, visible for miles, sowed fear throughout the area. In the hour after the explosion was first reported at 11:55 P.M., more than 200,000 calls came into the Edison Township 911 system.

Within half an hour of the explosion, firefighters were able to prevent the blaze from spreading through the apartment complex. But there was little they could do about the primary fire, which was fed by a

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stream of natural gas.

At 12:07 A.M., an operator at Texas Eastern's compressor station in Lambertville, N.J., called the company headquarters in Houston to report low pressure in the pipeline.

"My God," the operator said, according to the safety board's report, "I can see a fireball in the sky toward Linden."

The Texas Eastern operator then dispatched an emergency team to the site of the fireball, but the gas continued to flow because the company had no way to shut off the gas remotely. The gigantic fireball continued to burn as gas workers, attempting to reach a manual shut-off valve, had to negotiate heavy traffic caused by people fleeing the explosion. The team finally reached the shut-off valve about five miles from the explosion. They shut off the flow of gas at 2:25 A.M., about two and one-half hours after the explosion.

The apartment buildings destroyed in the fire have since been rebuilt and are once again occupied.

Texas Eastern has also tightened its security procedures, increasing the frequency of aerial and ground patrols, and adding 68 remote-controlled valves to pipelines in New York, New Jersey and Pennsylvania. The company plans to install 25 more valves by the end of this year, said John Barnett, a spokesman for Texas Eastern.

Mayor George A. Spadaro of Edison, who recalls watching fire engines melt from the heat of the blaze, said the town "ducked a bullet" that night.

"The fact that we had no substantial loss of life was a miracle," he said. "If it had happened 900 feet down the line, it would have been an instantaneous incineration. People would have been trapped."

The Aftermath

Trade Groups Cite Regulatory Costs

The safety board tracks how often nine transportation agencies, ranging from the Federal Aviation Administration to the Coast Guard, follow its recommendations. Of those agencies, safety board records show, the Office of Pipeline Safety ranks second lowest, after the Coast Guard.

But industry groups say the safety board often makes recommendations that are impractical and do little to increase actual safety. In fact, trade groups say industrial standards and guidelines, which are used in construction and maintenance

of pipelines, already meet the goals the safety board wants regulators to adopt.

"The pipeline companies use practices that are above and beyond what the regulations require," said Terry Boss, a vice president of the Interstate Natural Gas Association of America. He said that companies typically spend twice as much on safety programs as Federal regulations require.

One of industry's most common complaints is that regulatory standards often do not keep pace with technology. Mr. Boss said, for example, that companies use measures that provide greater safety than Federal requirements in areas like pipeline toughness and damage prevention.

Mr. Boss said the safety board recommendations do not reflect what is practical or feasible for pipeline companies. Pipeline regulators, on the other hand, try to balance safety requirements with business's ability to carry them out, he said.

"N.T.S.B. has the goal to be a safety agency with no idea of cost-benefit," Mr. Boss said. "They essentially thrive on controversy on these sorts of things."

The Responses

Congress Rejects A Strict Safety Bill

During Congressional hearings on the Edison explosion in 1994, Senator Bill Bradley, Democrat of New Jersey, said: "The Edison accident should never have happened. We need to acknowledge Edison for what it is: a breakdown in the regulatory and safety program."

The Congressional hearings produced a bill adopting the recommendations made by the safety board, including remote shut-off valves for urban areas and more stringent inspection of pipelines.

"What we tried to do was respond to what we saw as the weakness of the situation and try to establish a framework that would provide serious safety requirements," said Senator Frank R. Lautenberg, Democrat of New Jersey, one of the bill's sponsors.

Representative Frank Pallone Jr., a New Jersey Democrat who was a primary sponsor of the legislation, said the bill was not introduced until the end of the session in 1994. He said the sponsors expected to take the matter up at the beginning of the 1995 session, but the big Republican victory in Congress changed the course of the legislation.

"The new majority came in with the 'Contract with America' ideology, which is no more regulation, get government out of our lives," Mr. Pallone said. "The pipeline safety act became the first victim of this new philosophy."

Mr. Pallone said the longer the bill languished in committee, the less chance it had of eventual passage.

"Historically, both Congress and the agency are disaster oriented," Mr. Pallone said. "After a few months or a few years, the incentive becomes less, and the industry keeps saying these things are not necessary, and we do not want to be placed under these restrictions."

The 1994 bill did not pass, but in 1996, Congress approved the Accountable Pipeline Safety and Partnership Act. It contained fewer of the measures recommended by the safety board. The sponsors of the new law argued that it allowed industry greater flexibility in working with the regulations.

The law, which was opposed by environmentalists, requires that regulators perform a cost-benefit analysis before enacting any new regulations. Mr. Pallone and environmental groups contended that this presents an obstacle to any new regulation by making it subject to costly legal appeals. Supporters say the cost-benefit analysis is nothing more than the typical procedure used by regulators for years, and argue that it forces the Government to adopt practical regulations.

While Mr. Pallone and several other Congressmen said the law would do little to increase public safety, others said it contained several positive steps, including increased financing for pipeline regulators and provisions to protect pipelines from outside damage.

"There are several provisions that I support and that can help, and will help to improve the public safety," Senator Lautenberg said during a floor debate. "At the same time, however, in my view, the legislation should go farther."

Senator Trent Lott, Republican of Mississippi, the sponsor of the 1996 law, declined to comment. But during debate over the legislation, Senator Lott said the other proposals would "add unnecessary layers of regulations in direct response to specific atypical incidents."

On the other hand, the Senator said, the 1996 law gives more responsibility to pipeline operators, who "have a direct and compelling reason to work hard to keep their systems and the public safe."

"There will always be some who will argue that the Government must spend more and more money for safety concerns," Senator Lott said. "My response is that safety is not just a function of how much the Government spends. I believe the critical factor is how the money is spent, not how much."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

8

April 7, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Samuel Berger
Daniel Tarullo
Gene Sperling

Subject: Fast Track

Purpose

To determine how to proceed on seeking fast track authority. Our credibility in Latin America increasingly is eroding because we have not moved beyond rhetorical support. Moreover, economic integration is proceeding in the hemisphere (e.g., MERCOSUR), but without us. However, there is substantial Democratic opposition to any fast track bill that does not mandate provisions in trade agreements that provide for trade restrictions on countries for failure to meet labor and environmental standards. Republicans will not accept such provisions, but they have also indicated they would insist on significant Democratic support for a fast track bill. The issue is further complicated by the possibility of an early budget agreement, which may also involve a break in party unity, and which will command the lion's share of our resources and time, including your own, for at least the next month.

Background

Fast track has never been popular in the Congress. The House tends to be skeptical of trade liberalizing agreements in general, while the Senate tends to be resistant to the constraints upon floor debate and amendments. Prior enactments of fast track were contained in broad-ranging trade bills in which support for fast track was accepted by some members in return for making U.S. import laws more restrictive and market access laws such as section 301 more aggressive. These bills also provided new programs for displaced workers.

The normal difficulties of obtaining fast track are compounded this year by several factors. First, free trade agreements have become strongly associated by many in Congress and the public with NAFTA. The peso crisis and resulting reversal in our trade balance, along with seemingly extraneous issues such as drugs and corruption in Mexico, have made NAFTA unpopular in many quarters. Second, budgetary constraints suggest little room for additional programs to ease

displacement anxieties of potentially affected groups of workers. Third, the substantial resistance to fast track among House Democrats presents a very awkward situation as we try to conclude a budget agreement that is already placing severe strains on party unity. A number of your political and congressional advisors are particularly concerned that proceeding vigorously with fast track now risks both alienating Democrats we need on the budget and sustaining an early loss that would reduce our influence on the Hill.

On the other hand, there is political cost to delay: Gephardt and other opponents already are lining up Members, our supporters are exposed and we may exacerbate the challenge facing us if we don't proceed soon.

The most contentious issue is the role of labor and environmental standards in future trade agreements. For NAFTA we negotiated "side agreements" for labor and the environment, which provided a special form of dispute settlement where there had been a "persistent failure" by one of the governments to enforce its own laws on some labor areas and the environment. If such a failure is found, fines are to be imposed on the offending government, with trade sanctions imposed only if the fine is not paid. These agreements were approved by the Congress. They have not been frequently invoked.

There appears to be strong support among business and the Republican leadership for fast track authority, but only if labor and environmental provisions are not included in any agreements negotiated under fast track authority. This proviso seems to include side agreements approved by the Congress, though perhaps not side agreements reached on the basis of Executive authority alone. Representative Gephardt and the AFL-CIO, on the other hand, have indicated they will actively oppose fast track unless the terms of the authority require that labor and environmental provisions, backed by trade sanctions, be included in any future free trade agreements. Even the environmental groups that eventually supported the NAFTA side agreement will be hard to win over this time around, since they have been disappointed in environmental developments along the border and believe that they had an understanding with the Administration that future trade agreements would be "greener" than NAFTA. However, anything less than the side agreements approach would surely elicit charges that we are backing off even a moderate commitment to the environment.

When USTR consulted extensively with the AFL-CIO earlier in the year there were some hints that labor might not strongly oppose fast track (there was never any hope they would support it). However, at the AFL-CIO's annual meeting in Los Angeles in February there was a surge of anti-trade sentiment from some constituent unions, and the leadership had to work hard to avoid a resolution that would have essentially opposed new trade agreements under any circumstances. There is only limited hope that further discussions would yield agreement on some intermediate position. A major anti-fast track campaign from labor is more likely.

In the House, where any fast track bill must originate, and where it will be tougher to prevail, we will need at least 120-140 Republican votes, which the Republican leadership seem to believe they can secure in the absence of a problem with the labor and environmental provisions. Vote counting is complicated by the fact that House freshmen and sophomores have not had to cast a

difficult vote on trade. Based on previous landmark trade votes, the House Republican profile is as follows:

- 98 Yes on NAFTA/GATT
- 2 No on NAFTA, Yes on GATT
- 25 No on NAFTA/ GATT
- 91 Freshmen/Sophomores with no past trade votes

As was the case with NAFTA, Republicans are likely to insist that we get a substantial number of Democrats (perhaps 80-90) to support our position. Many House Democrats who are potential supporters of fast track are clearly uncomfortable with being pulled from opposite sides by their leadership and the White House. The House Democratic profile is as follows:

- 43 Yes on NAFTA/GATT
- 48 No on NAFTA, Yes on GATT
- 57 No on NAFTA/GATT
- 59 Freshmen/Sophomores with no past trade votes

Our challenge in the House is exacerbated by the departure of most of the key Democratic members who provided the whip organization for NAFTA. Indeed, Matsui is the only remaining member who performed that role. Our core of support should come from the 43 Democrats who voted for both NAFTA and GATT. If forty or so additional votes are needed, the next best target group is composed of the freshmen and sophomores, with some lesser possibility of picking up a handful from the group that voted no on NAFTA but yes on GATT. We will have to pick up these Democrats with an intermediate position on labor and environmental standards that gives them something to vote for while not losing significant Republican support.

Our position would likely be a "clean" fast track bill that did not either require or exclude labor and environment provisions of any sort. However, we will have to state our intentions on these issues. Charlene has recommended that we support an approach that would include side agreements with sufficiently strong labor and environment provisions to attract some Democrats. However, these agreements would not be submitted to Congress (which would engender wholesale Republican opposition) and thus would be Executive agreements only, which in theory could be terminated by a later Administration even as the underlying trade agreement remained in place. She also recommends that we formally state our intention to consider labor and environmental circumstances, among other criteria, in selecting countries with which to negotiate. Finally, she proposes a more active effort in non-trade fora to promote labor and environmental standards.

Suggested Approach

There are three sets of considerations that need to be reconciled. First, it is important not to

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exacerbate relations with House Democrats over fast track at the same time as budget negotiations are placing strains on party unity. Since any fast track bill with a real chance of passage will fall short of what labor and many House Democrats will demand, waging both fights simultaneously could alienate at the worst moment some of those whose support we will need on the budget.

Second, and related to the first point, our resources will be severely strained if we try to fight two major legislative battles at once. The resource problem extends to your time, which will be extensively required for meetings with Members on both issues. Until the budget situation clarifies one way or the other, a major commitment of senior Administration resources does not seem feasible. (There will also be demands on your time in connection with CWC ratification.)

The third set of considerations pulls in a different direction. Whether we like it or not, the fast-track fight has already begun. Further delay in active Administration efforts to secure fast-track will give opponents time to consolidate their position. Too much delay will leave you headed for South America (October) without this critical trade authority.

In several discussions over the past week, we have concluded that the best approach for at least the next month is to reaffirm visibly your commitment to fast track and to an activist trade policy, while not taking steps that would join the battle over labor and environmental standards. A corollary of this approach is that we would try to freeze any flow of support towards an anti-fast track position by indicating a desire to see if consensus positions on labor and the environment can be worked out.

The elements of this approach are as follows:

- (1) A speech by you that includes an affirmation of your support for fast track and our trade policies and that calls on all sides to see if a consensus can be reached on pursuing free trade agreements while respecting labor and environmental standards. Such a speech is critical for publicly committing to make fast track a priority. We could use your remarks at the American Society of Newspaper Editors this Friday as the venue for this speech.
- (2) A single, early meeting between you and a bi-partisan group of about two dozen Members, in which you make the same statements of support for fast track, and indicate you are asking us to work with them to try to work out consensus positions.
- (3) Charlene and others would continue consultations with others on the Hill in pursuit of the same end.
- (4) We would also work individually with Members to urge that they not commit to an opposing position while we are trying to work out a common view.
- (5) We would bring in labor and environmental groups to be sure they feel thoroughly consulted.
- (6) If the budget process does not move forward rapidly, we would reassess our

position in May; if it does move forward, we would then proceed rapidly to present a bill.

There are risks associated with this approach, to be sure. In particular, our unwillingness to offer a bill or to state our positions on labor and environment may be criticized quickly as avoiding the issue that matters, and our attempt at consensus seen as at best futile and at worst ceding the field to those opposed to fast track. Yet, in the current circumstances, any approach risks harm to our interests on the budget, fast track, or both. In general, your advisors believe that this approach best balances both our interests and the risks.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the approach described above.

Approve ✓ Disapprove _____ Discuss _____

*Good idea
The best
can do can*

Congressman Finds 'Severe Famine' in North Korea

By Kevin Sullivan
Washington Post Foreign Service

TOKYO, April 8—People in the North Korean countryside are starving, underweight and "rapidly descending into the hell of a severe famine," according to Rep. Tony P. Hall (D-Ohio), who just completed a rare three-day visit there.

"Evidence of slow starvation on a massive scale was plain wherever we made an effort to look," Hall said, adding that conditions had deteriorated significantly since he made a similar visit last August.

Hall said he was allowed unlimited access to villages north of the capital city of Pyongyang, where few outsiders are permitted. He said he met an elderly woman making a soup from year-old cabbage leaves; he visited an unheated hospital with no medicine that was so cold he could see his breath; and he saw "shockingly underweight" children, many of whom were orphaned when their mothers had died from malnutrition.

"I doubt one of them will live to see this year's harvest," Hall said, briefing reporters at the U.S. Embassy here on his return trip to the United States.

Hall's bleak assessment of the situation inside North Korea mirrors those of the relatively small number of other outsiders who have been allowed to visit. The U.N. World Food Program says the Stalinist nation is on the verge of famine and it has issued an appeal for massive amounts of immediate humanitarian food aid.

But North Korea's secretive leadership has so tightly controlled information from inside its barbed-wire borders that there has been only a modest response to the country's calls for help. Also, many countries cannot abide the idea of sending food to a nation that, despite impending famine, still spends billions of dollars

a year to maintain one of the world's largest military forces.

Japan announced this week that it will not provide any immediate food aid to North Korea, despite the urgings by the World Food Program; by the United States, which has pledged \$10 million; and by South Korea, which has pledged \$6 million.

Japanese officials said North Korea's suspected involvement in a kidnapping of several Japanese residents in the 1970s, including a 13-year-old girl, make it impossible for them to provide food assistance.

North Korea has also demanded massive amounts of food aid as a condition of its agreeing to attend peace talks proposed by President Clinton and South Korean President Kim Young Sam. Those four-party talks—among the two Koreas, the United States and China—would be aimed at establishing a permanent peace on the Korean Peninsula, where the cease-fire that ended the

Korean War has been in effect for 44 years. The United States and South Korea have ruled out sending food as a condition to holding the talks.

Hall, who has devoted much of his congressional career to hunger issues, said such political concerns should be secondary to the potential mass starvation in North Korea. He said he intends to press the U.S. government, as well as Japan and South Korea, to provide more humanitarian aid.

"I look at this country not in a political sense," he said. "Women, children, the elderly—they don't know anything about four-party talks—they want to eat, they want to live."

Some observers of North Korea have suggested that food aid is the smartest course to follow because starvation could lead to instability, which could increase the chances of some desperate military action.

Others argue that a popular uprising is unlikely because of the cult-

like following that "Dear Leader" Kim Jong Il has inherited from his father, Kim Il Sung. Hall said he noticed that people he interviewed randomly professed loyalty to Kim Jong Il despite their desperate living conditions. He said no one he talked to criticized the government, insisting instead that "the Dear Leader's going to take care of us."

Hall's party included a Korean-speaking doctor from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta, a U.S. Army colonel and a reporter from USA Today.

U.S. Army Col. Frank W. Brittain, a congressional liaison officer in the office of the secretary of the Army, declined to describe his role on Hall's trip. But he said he believed he was the first U.S. military officer to visit the North Korean side of the Yalu River, in the northern region near China, since the Korean War.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 1997

Handwritten notes and signatures in the top right corner, including "Sullivan" and "4-9-97".

THE PRESIDENTIAL MUSE
4-9-97

8 G.O.P. SENATORS BACK BILL TO AID UNINSURED YOUTHS

HEALTH MEASURE GAINS

But Battle Seems Certain Over
Big Cigarette Tax Increase
That Would Pay for It

A1

By ADAM CLYMER

WASHINGTON, April 8 — Eight Senate Republicans, including three committee chairmen, lined up today behind legislation that would raise cigarette taxes to pay for health insurance for children now uninsured, giving a striking boost to the bill's prospects.

Senator Orrin G. Hatch, the Utah Republican who heads the Senate Judiciary Committee, recruited seven others from his party to co-sponsor the bill, which he introduced today with Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts.

The measure would increase the Federal cigarette tax to 67 cents a pack, from the current 24 cents, yielding \$20 billion a year in grants to states so that they could provide insurance for children whose low-income working parents do not qualify for Medicaid. At Mr. Hatch's insistence, an additional \$10 billion a year to be generated by the tax increase would go to deficit reduction.

Both Mr. Hatch and Mr. Kennedy said a major benefit of the tax increase was that it would discourage youth smoking. They cited a study by Frank Chaloupka of the University of Illinois that found that every 10 percent increase in cigarette prices cut teen-age smoking by 7 percent. As a result, they estimated that their proposed 43-cent increase in a pack of cigarettes would lower teen-age smoking by 15.7 percent.

The Senate majority leader, Trent Lott of Mississippi, appeared annoyed by Mr. Hatch's recruitment of Republican co-sponsors for a measure to raise taxes, and said Republicans would find another solution to the problem of uninsured children, perhaps tax credits or tax-advantaged medical savings accounts.

"This is not last year," Mr. Lott said, "and a Kennedy big-government program is not going to be enacted."

But Mr. Hatch told a news conference that the bill should not require any additional Federal bureaucrats, since the Government already collects cigarette taxes and since the new money in grants for the states would be distributed under Medicaid formula.

"This bill will not create a huge new Federal bureaucracy, as described by some," he said.

Although the legislation will not come to a vote for months, the endorsement by 8 Republicans suggests that it may have the support to pass, for only 2 of the Senate's 45 Democrats come from tobacco states. If the 43 other Democrats vote for the bill, along with the 8 Republicans who backed it today, it will have a majority. The Senate Democratic leader, Tom Daschle of South Dakota, said the Republican backing gave the bill "a jump-start."

The Republicans whom Mr. Hatch got to co-sponsor the bill are Senators Ted Stevens of Alaska, chairman of the Appropriations Commit-

Continued on Page A20, Column 1

Continued From Page A1

tee; James M. Jeffords of Vermont, chairman of the Labor and Human Resources Committee; Robert F. Bennett of Utah; Ben Nighthorse Campbell of Colorado; Susan Collins and Olympia J. Snowe of Maine, and Gordon H. Smith of Oregon. Mr. Hatch said he hoped to sign up more soon.

Last fall, after Massachusetts had raised state cigarette taxes to insure children, Mr. Kennedy and John Kerry, the state's junior Senator, introduced a bill that would have established a new entitlement program under which all American children would have been guaranteed insurance. That measure went nowhere.

Mr. Kennedy went shopping for Republican support early this year, with a proposal for a 75-cent-a-pack increase in the Federal tax on cigarettes. When Mr. Hatch agreed to the approach, they negotiated the tax down and put aside a third of the revenue for deficit reduction.

The program they then developed would probably not reach all 10.5 million children who now lack health insurance (including 3 million eligible for Medicaid who are not enrolled). But Senator Hatch said the children missed would be those "on

A major lift for Kennedy-Hatch legislation.

the upper levels whose families can afford" insurance.

States that choose to participate in the new program would be required to provide subsidized insurance for all children 18 or younger in families whose income is below 185 percent of the Federal poverty level (below \$24,660 at present for a family of four). Each would have to insure coverage equivalent to that of its Medicaid program. In some states, like Massachusetts, existing supplemental state insurance programs provide narrower coverage than does Medicaid.

The measure has wide support among Senate Democrats. But the Constitution requires that tax measures originate in the House, and so the Senate is unlikely to act until the House sends it a bill with the taxes included. Mr. Jeffords and Mr. Hatch may each hold hearings soon, however.

As of now, House Republican leaders say they oppose any bill that, like

this one, would increase taxes. But an aide to Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the House minority leader, said he was working on legislation that might provide for a smaller tobacco tax increase, with all the proceeds going to child health insurance and none to deficit reduction.

Mr. Hatch said that he shared a reluctance to tax but that he regarded cigarette taxes as a "user fee," paid only by the fourth of Americans who are smokers. Moreover, he said, tobacco-related illnesses cost the Government \$50 billion a year.

Mr. Kennedy, a champion of health care legislation during his 35 years in the Senate, told the chamber that 90 percent of the nation's uninsured children had working parents with income above the level of Medicaid eligibility "but well below the level it takes to afford private health insurance today."

"Whether the issue is immunizations, asthma, ear infections, serious injuries or a host of other illnesses, uninsured children don't get timely care," he said, "and many receive no care at all. Too often the result is needless suffering, stunted growth and a lifetime of disability or early death. And as every schoolteacher and every parent knows, sick children cannot learn in school."

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 1997

By FOX BUTTERFIELD

Report Links Crimes to States With Weak Gun Controls

A new Congressional study using data from the Federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms shows that a handful of states, most in the South, with weak gun control laws are responsible for supplying a large percentage of the guns used in crimes in other states.

The study found that four states — Florida, Georgia, South Carolina and Texas — accounted for a quarter of all guns seized that were acquired outside the state where they were used in crimes. Altogether, the 10 states with the loosest gun-control laws accounted for 54.2 percent of all the out-of-state guns traced to crimes in 1996, the report said.

The report, prepared by the staff of Representative Charles E. Schumer, Democrat of Brooklyn, also found that "gunrunners use major Interstate highways as their smuggling routes," especially I-95, which runs from southern Florida to Maine, bringing guns from Florida, Georgia and South Carolina to New York, New Jersey and Massachusetts, and I-55, which runs through Mississippi to Chicago.

Florida, which has no restrictions on the purchase of handguns beyond the five-day waiting period mandated by Federal law, was responsible for selling 1,243 guns that ended up being used by criminals in other states in 1996, the most of any state, according to the study. Of the total, 181 guns originally bought in Florida ended up being used in crimes in New York; 135 in Washington, D.C., and 82 in New Jersey. Ali Abu Kamal, the man who fired into a crowd of tourists at the top of the Empire State Building in February, killing one and wounding six others before he killed himself, bought the .380-caliber Beretta he used in the shooting in Florida for \$475.

The northward flow of guns on Interstate 95 is a one-way route, the study found. For example, while there were 702 guns bought in Florida, Georgia and South Carolina that were used in crimes in New York or New Jersey in 1996, there were just 11 guns bought in New York or New

Jersey that were traced to crimes in the three Southern states.

Outside the South, the study found three other states serving primarily as exporters of guns used in crimes: Kansas, which supplies Missouri; Indiana, which helps supply Illinois, and Ohio, which provides guns used in Illinois, Michigan, New York and Pennsylvania.

Alfred Blumstein, a criminologist at Carnegie Mellon University in Pittsburgh, said the new study "highlights the vulnerability in our Federal system of a state's attempt to control guns within its borders because with the interstate traffic criminals can get their guns from any of the states with lesser controls and import them."

Mr. Schumer said the report was "the first study that shows conclusively that gun control works for the simple reason that states with weak gun control laws are exporting guns to states with tough gun control laws."

"If the laws didn't work, the flows would be even," Mr. Schumer said.

As a result of the opportunities for illegal gun trafficking created by differences in gun control laws, he said, "we really have to go after the gunrunners with the same focus that we have gone after the drug runners."

To this end, Mr. Schumer said he would introduce legislation today to create a new Federal crime of gun-running. The measure would make it illegal for anyone to sell five or more guns across state lines within a one-year period with the intent of selling or transferring the guns to another person.

Wayne LaPierre, executive vice president of the National Rifle Association, said he would oppose the bill because the only way to determine who sold more than five guns a year across state lines would be to set up a national gun registration system, a step the N.R.A. opposes as unconstitutional.

In the past, it would have been difficult to develop the data that were used in compiling the new report, several experts said, because the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms had been under political pressure from Congress and previous Administrations to minimize the amount of work it did in tracing gun ownership.

Presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush were "soft on gun control," Professor Blumstein said, and Mr. Reagan even campaigned on a pledge to abolish the bureau to curry favor with the N.R.A.

But under President Clinton, the experts said, the firearms agency has been allowed to greatly expand its role in tracing guns used in crimes, so that the number of traces of guns used in crimes is expected to reach 100,000 this year, up from 45,104 in 1992, said John Limbach, a spokesman for the agency.

This increase in the scope of the gun tracing program is crucial because "the volume is now large enough to constitute a good nationwide sample" of what gunrunning actually looks like, said David Kennedy, a senior researcher at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University.

A CLOSER LOOK

Tracing Guns to Their Source

A new Congressional study found that a large percentage of the guns used in crimes across the country could be traced back to a handful of states. Here are the top five, accounting for nearly 5,200, or 31 percent, of the 16,635 out-of-state guns traced to crimes in 1996.

20 to 49 50 to 99 100 to 149 150 or more
Number of guns in each state traced back to:

FLORIDA

Of 1,243 guns from Florida, 88 percent went to 15 states, Puerto Rico and the District of Columbia.



SOUTH CAROLINA

Of 992 guns from South Carolina, 85 percent went to seven states; 430 to North Carolina.



GEORGIA

Of 939 guns from Georgia, 88 percent went to 16 states and the District of Columbia.



TEXAS

Of 1,068 guns from Texas, 80 percent went to 19 states and the District of Columbia.



VIRGINIA

Of 924 guns from Virginia, 84 percent went to 8 states and the District of Columbia.



Source: Rep. Charles E. Schumer's Office, based on data provided by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms.

ected to approve
meeting on Thurs-
ould take about a
gators said.

David Mader, Chief of Management and Administration for the I.R.S., acknowledged in an interview that the agency had not been as consistent as it sought to be "in adherence to standards and procedures" but that the G.A.O. was not giving adequate credit for the I.R.S. efforts to police some 1.5 billion occasions each year in which employees retrieve taxpayer information.

But Mr. Jenkins said that it "signals the beginning of a Senate investigation." He said that the charges that would be investigated, if the entire committee approved the request to proceed, "are the heart of

The committee has invited Ms. Landrieu and Mr. Jenkins to testify on April 15. Two days later, the Rules Committee is to decide what action to recommend to the full Senate, which can vote to declare a seat vacant in such a challenge but cannot order a new election.

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 1997

Clinton to Express Regret For Experiment on Blacks

By DAVID STOUT

WASHINGTON, April 8 — President Clinton will apologize on behalf of the Federal Government for a medical experiment in which hundreds of black men were denied treatment for syphilis for 40 years, the White House said today.

"The President feels we have a moral obligation," a White House spokeswoman, Mary Ellen Glynn, said. Ms. Glynn said several agencies have been discussing how to express official regret for the experiment in which the United States Public Health Service withheld treatment from 399 men from 1932 to 1972 to study how syphilis spread and how it killed.

The experiment was carried out in Tuskegee, Ala., and a lawyer for the eight survivors of the experiment said today that Tuskegee would be an ideal place for Mr. Clinton's statement.

"If the President were to come here, it would have a tremendous effect," the lawyer, Fred David Gray, said in an interview from his office in Tuskegee.

Mr. Glynn said it was premature to discuss where or when the President would make his remarks, although she said it would be soon. She said it was coincidence that the White House announcement came as the President has been trying to become more involved in improving race relations in the United States.

"This would be happening regardless of that," Ms. Glynn said of the President's apology.

The White House announcement came as four of the eight survivors gathered at a church in Notasulga, Ala., that once served as an intake station for the study. "I lived through it, and I thank the Lord for it," Herman Shaw, who is 94 and joined the study in 1932 in hopes of getting up-to-date health care, told reporters.

Mr. Gray said the youngest survivor is 87 and the oldest "somewhere between 100 and 109." Of the eight survivors, six actually had syphilis and two were part of a control group whose members did not have it, Mr. Gray said. The study began in 1932 with 623 subjects, including those in the control group, he said.

Those who had syphilis, which can cause mental illness and death, were not told that they had the disease. Nor were they given penicillin after it became a standard treatment for syphilis in 1947.

The study was made public in 1972 and caused widespread outrage. Since 1973, the Federal Government has paid \$10 million to victims and their heirs, more than 6,000 people, Mr. Gray said.

By JAMES BENNET

WASHINGTON, April 8 — President Clinton has ordered his staff to suggest a way for him to play a prominent role this year in improving American race relations, a goal that he is trying to make a focus and legacy of his second term.

Two chief options that his aides are preparing include a conference on race led by the President and a short-term panel modeled on the Kerner Commission, which found in 1968 that the United States was "moving toward two societies, one black, one white — separate and unequal."

Mr. Clinton made racial division a central theme of his Inaugural Address last Jan. 20, calling it "America's constant curse." Two weeks later, underscoring his renewed sense of mission on a subject that has preoccupied him since he was a boy, he returned to it again in his State of the Union Message by reading aloud the biblical passage he had placed his hand on when he took the oath of office: "Thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach."

Now, anticipating a major announcement next month once the President decides how to proceed, his aides have been scheduling events in which Mr. Clinton stresses race, or more broadly, unity. He plans to take part next week in ceremonies at Shea Stadium in New York City on the 50th anniversary of Jackie Robinson's first game in major league baseball.

Under fire for months over Democratic campaign finance practices, the White House has been searching for issues and events that make Mr. Clinton appear intent on the people's work, rising above what his aides hope will seem by contrast to be inside-the-Beltway nattering. A high-profile stance on race would seem to fit snugly with that strategy.

The President's aides said that they were considering their options with an eye toward something that would be seen 20 years from now as having the greatest impact, and that they are trying to determine the right balance between action and study. A White House conference on race would command national attention for days and help elevate the issue, they believe.

The aides said Mr. Clinton was more intent on stimulating public conversation about addressing racial division than on generating specific policy suggestions.

Although civil rights groups have been pressing the President to address the race issue, aides and associates say he is acting on his concerns as a 50-year-old Southerner who watched Federal troops integrate public schools in Little Rock, Ark., and later went off to college during Freedom Summer with the oratory of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. ringing in his ears.

While never on the front lines as a civil rights advocate, Mr. Clinton has spoken out against racism since he

was a boy. At 16, he fought for a civil rights plank in the platform of his party at the American Legion Boys Nation outside Washington. But some of his liberal supporters felt he raised the subject too rarely in his first term as President, and many were outraged last August when he signed legislation that made sweeping changes in the welfare system; critics said the changes would exacerbate racial divisions.

People familiar with the White House plans say that, unlike past Presidents who were forced by events to grapple with racism, Mr. Clinton is choosing to elevate the issue on his own. "Nothing's forcing Clinton to react," a Clinton associate said. "There's not a whole lot of forward-looking pressure on the race issue."

Another associate said the President was also considering a separate forum to address discrimination against people on grounds other than race, such as sexual orientation. That step would help Mr. Clinton highlight the broader issue of unity, a frequent theme of his speeches.

Mr. Clinton ordered Erskine B. Bowles, the White House chief of staff, to begin considering how he would best address race at about the time of the State of the Union Message in early February, a White House official said.

Rahm Emanuel, the senior adviser to Mr. Clinton, confirmed today that the White House was considering different formats for the President to address race. "The goal here is to intensify the dialogue between the President and the American people on race relations in America," he said, "and also to challenge different communities about their obligations to each other."

Civil rights groups have been pressing the White House to take such a step. In January, the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights submitted a report on hate crimes to Mr. Bowles. Its first recommendation was that Mr. Clinton convene a White House conference on fighting bigotry.

Told of the White House plans today, Wade J. Henderson, the executive director of the group, said such a White House initiative would be an "important step."

"Perhaps better than other recent Presidents, Bill Clinton understands at a fundamental level the destructive problems posed by unresolved discrimination in our society," he said.

One Clinton associate said the commission would work against a tight deadline. "This isn't a multi-year commission," he said. "It's multimonth." He said the White House had prepared a list of about 100 people who might serve as members of the commission.

Several people familiar with the planning said Mr. Clinton's background uniquely prepared him to address the race issue. "A lot of it's where he's from, and a lot of it is how he thinks and talks about it," a senior White House official said. "We have a unique opportunity with this President."

As His Legacy, Clinton Seeks to Improve Race Relations

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 1997

Apparel Industry Group Moves to End Sweatshops

Agreement to Bring Worldwide Inspection

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

A Presidential task force that includes human rights groups, labor unions and apparel industry giants like Nike Inc., Reebok International Ltd. and L.L. Bean has reached a groundbreaking agreement that seeks to end sweatshops by creating a code of conduct on wages and working conditions, including a maximum 60-hour workweek, for apparel factories that American companies use around the world.

The task force has also agreed to set up an association to oversee monitors who would inspect apparel factories worldwide and give a seal of approval to companies that comply with the code of conduct.

Task force members vowed to follow the code in the factories they use in the United States and abroad. Participants said they hoped that dozens of other American companies would commit themselves to meeting the standards, and that the effort would eventually lead to a work standards for the clothing industry worldwide.

The members reached agreement at a seven-hour meeting on Monday, attended by Gene Sperling, chairman of the President's National Economic Council. Task force participants said President Clinton hoped to announce the agreement next Monday at a White House ceremony where he will be flanked by industry, labor and human rights officials. Mr. Sperling, who refused to confirm details of the agreement, said, "The progress that's been made represents a unique and historic step to eradicate sweatshops here and around the world."

He said the diverse group of members "were willing to sacrifice each of their sense of what was perfect to achieve something for the common good."

Companies that comply with the code will be able to put a label or tag on their clothing assuring consumers that it was not made in a sweatshop.

Linda Goldner, the co-chairwoman of the task force and president of the National Consumers Federation, said, "The benefit for everyone is what the whole task force was about: that's to make sure consumers can purchase goods that have not been made in a sweatshop and make sure that there's a process in place to check that factories are not sweatshops."

The agreement came after weeks of meetings in which the apparel companies clashed with labor and human rights representatives about minimum wages and maximum hours in factories and who should monitor the factories. Task force members said they are still debating some wording in the proposed guidelines.

Roberta Karp, the task force co-chairwoman who is general counsel at Liz Claiborne Inc., said, "Industry, human rights, labor and the Clinton Administration shared a commitment and our collective work will result in improved working conditions around the world."

Underlining the difficulty of reaching an accord, the task force agreed on an ambiguous standard for wages, saying that while factories that American companies own or contract with should pay the minimum wage in the countries where they are located, there should be a link between wages and the basic needs of workers. Several labor and human rights representatives on the task force contended that in countries like Haiti, the minimum wage is too low to support a family.

At Monday's meeting in Washington, the most hotly debated issue was working hours. The corporate members, which included Nicole Miller, Patagonia and the Phillips-Van Heusen Corporation, agreed to a maximum 60-hour workweek with several wrinkles: that the maximum standard workweek would be 48 hours in countries that do not already have a standard of fewer hours, while the maximum number of overtime hours required of apparel employees would be 12.

The two labor unions represented were the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees and the Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union. Jeff Ballinger, president of Press for Change, a labor rights group that has often deplored the working conditions of shoe factories that American companies use abroad, said the 60-hour maximum was an important step forward.

"If orders are backlogged or if there's a rush, many times workers will have to work 65 to 70 hours a week for weeks on end," he said.

The agreement on maximum hours will even affect factories in the

United States, where there is a standard 40-hour workweek, but no limit on how many overtime hours can be worked. Under the new code, participants would agree not to force employees in their American factories to work more than 12 overtime hours beyond the 40-hour workweek.

The task force, which was set up last summer, reached an agreement early on child labor. Factories should not use workers under 15, although in some countries they would be allowed to employ 14-year-olds.

In addition, in an industry where workers often say they are hit, fondled or shouted at, the task force agreed on anti-harassment provisions that human rights representatives praised. The code states that all workers be treated with respect and "no employee shall be subject to any physical, sexual, psychological or verbal harassment or abuse."

In one of the major sticking points, labor and human rights members said they wanted human rights groups or church groups to monitor factories, while corporate members said the monitors should generally be accounting firms with international offices, because such firms can easily operate anywhere.

Under the deal, companies could choose accounting firms to serve as monitors but those firms would be asked to work with human rights groups.

Task force members said that they needed to work out many details over the next such months, including how the governing association will be structured, who will serve on it, who will finance the association and the monitoring, and what labels would be put on clothing to show they were not been made in sweatshops.

Stanley Levy, a Los Angeles lawyer on the task force who represents apparel companies, said, "It's a difficult task to get all the parties to reach an agreement that sets worldwide standards."

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 9, 1997

Conservative Intellectual Picked As New Archbishop of Chicago

Oregon Prelate to Succeed Cardinal Bernardin

A1

By GUSTAV NIEBUHR

Continued From Page A1

Offering an important indication of the type of leadership it is seeking for America's Roman Catholics, the Vatican announced yesterday that it had selected Archbishop Francis E. George of Portland, Ore., a theologically conservative intellectual, as the new Archbishop of Chicago.

Archbishop George, 60, whose name was seldom mentioned in the months of speculation that preceded the announcement, succeeds Joseph Cardinal Bernardin, a nationally influential leader among church moderates, who died last November after a long bout with pancreatic cancer.

Authorities on the church said that in selecting Archbishop George, who will be installed on May 7, the Vatican had chosen an intellectual committed to defending traditional Catholic teaching but also interested in issues of social justice for the poor and others — a man, in other words, like Pope John Paul II.

The Rev. Thomas J. Reese, a senior fellow at the Woodstock Theological Center at Georgetown University and author of "Inside the Vatican" (Harvard University Press, 1996), said, "I think that this papacy is looking for bishops who are prominent as teachers, perhaps more than as pastors, who will proclaim and teach the doctrine of the church as this pope sees it."

R. Scott Appleby, director of the Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism at the University of Notre Dame, called Archbishop George "theologically right in line with the papacy, doctrinally in line, but socially progressive."

The Chicago appointment was considered especially important because spiritual leaders of three other highly influential archdioceses — John Cardinal O'Connor of New York, James Cardinal Hickey of Washington and Anthony Cardinal Bevilacqua of Philadelphia — are either nearing or past the church's official retirement age of 75 and are expected to step down within the next few years. After they turn 75, bishops may continue to serve at the Pope's request.

Archbishop George, a Chicago native with Ph.D.'s in theology and American philosophy, has a reputation as personable and witty. People familiar with Chicago's often independent-minded priests and laity say both qualities are needed in Cardinal

Bernardin's successor. The Cardinal was admired for his pastoral skills and ability as a consensus-builder. It was partly through the latter quality that Cardinal Bernardin earned a reputation as a moderate, in contrast with those bishops who would be more confrontational in defense of church teachings.

At a news conference in Chicago yesterday, Archbishop George described himself as a prelate firmly loyal to Catholic orthodoxy, yet possessing a measure of pastoral sensitivity toward those who question some teachings, like the prohibition against ordaining women for the priesthood.

"The faith isn't liberal or conservative," he said. "The faith is true. And I will preach the faith."

He acknowledged an "upset" among many Catholics over the ban on women as priests. "I want to talk to them," he said, "to understand how they see the teaching."

Archbishop George's appointment was not the only one announced yesterday by the Vatican. The Pope also appointed Auxiliary Bishop Edwin F. O'Brien of New York, 58, as Co-Adjutor Archbishop for the Military Services U.S.A. That jurisdiction, based in Hyattsville, Md., covers one million Catholics in the armed forces. Bishop O'Brien has been rector of St. Joseph's Seminary in Yonkers.

One Catholic who has worked with Archbishop George, Helen Hull Hitchcock, director of Women for Faith and Family, a conservative group, said, "His style is not one of great combat or pyrotechnics." But she added, "That does not mean he does not have very strong convictions."

Professor Appleby said Archbishop George "seems to be more of an intellectual" than Cardinal Bernardin. But he also said he did not think the new Archbishop would be as open, at least at first, to talking with church dissidents as the Cardinal was at the end of his tenure.

The Rev. Andrew Greeley, a Chicago priest and sociologist who has warned that Chicago Catholics will not accept a new archbishop with an authoritarian style, said he felt encouraged by the way Archbishop George had spoken at his news conference.

"He was articulate, self-confident and clearly very, very intelligent," Father Greeley said.

Archbishop George, who limps because of a childhood bout with polio, has served since 1992 as moderator of the National Catholic Office for

People With Disabilities.

He has not hesitated to speak out on behalf of groups that he considers the "vulnerable." He has been an outspoken opponent of abortion and an Oregon initiative that would permit doctor-assisted suicide. While Bishop of Yakima, he opposed an anti-gay-rights measure in Washington State in 1994. He remained neutral on a less harsh measure in 1995 but said discrimination against people "because of sexual orientation is wrong."

In Chicago yesterday, Archbishop George paid a visit to Lenard Clark, a black youth recovering from an attack by white teen-agers on Chicago's South Side last month.

Frank Fromherz, director of the office of justice and peace in the Campaign for Human Development, a church antipoverty program in the Portland Archdiocese, said, "I think he understands the concerns of people who feel voiceless in our society."

Ordained in 1963 into a religious order, the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Archbishop George is a rarity among American prelates, who typically come from the ranks of diocesan priests. He served as a vicar general of the order.

His appointment as Chicago's new Archbishop marks a remarkably rapid ascent. Archbishop George became head of Portland's 278,000 Catholics only a year ago, after serving six years as Bishop of Yakima, home to about 70,000 Catholics. Chicago has 2.3 million Catholics.

The appointment of a bishop is ultimately a decision made by the Pope. But recommendations for the office are made by the Vatican's Congregation for Bishops, a 40-member body. The Pope may choose someone whom this group recommends, or appoint someone else.

The Congregation for Bishops includes three American Cardinals: William Cardinal Baum and Edmund Cardinal Szoka, who head Vatican agencies, and Cardinal O'Connor.

But some observers said Archbishop George's appointment might show the influence of Bernard Cardinal Law, Archbishop of Boston. From 1986 to 1990, Archbishop George served as coordinator of a research center established by Cardinal Law, the Cambridge Center for the Study of Faith and Culture.

James Hitchcock, a prominent Catholic conservative who teaches history at St. Louis University and is Mrs. Hitchcock's husband, said six priests from Boston had become bishops during Cardinal Law's tenure as Archbishop. He said he did not think "any other prelate in the hierarchy" had seen so many of his priests appointed bishops.

Handwritten notes:
Kania / Archb. Law
Grunow / Archb. Law
Congregation for Bishops
Letter BC

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

*cc Bill
Alec
COS*

April 8, 1997

H. Brandt Ayers
The Anniston Star
Anniston, Alabama 36202

Dear Brandy:

Thanks for sending Kim Koster's letter. I was very touched by it and by her willingness to share this experience so soon after her devastating loss. As I told her and as I have made clear on a number of occasions, I will not sign legislation to restrict the so-called partial birth procedure unless it contains an exception for the few but tragic cases where the procedure is deemed necessary to save a woman's life or prevent serious harm to her health.

I hope someday soon she and her husband will have the opportunity to become parents. Best to Josie.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

H. Brandt Ayers
The Anniston Star
Post Office Box 189
Anniston, Alabama 36202

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 7, 1997

Kim Koster
825 Laurel Street
Dubuque, Iowa 52003-7940

Dear Kim:

I was touched by your letter and by your willingness to share your heartbreaking experience. As you know too well, the late-term abortion issue is an agonizing one. I have made clear on a number of occasions that I will not sign legislation to restrict the so-called partial birth procedure unless it contains an exception for the few but tragic cases where the procedure is deemed necessary to save a woman's life or prevent serious harm to her health.

My best to you and Barrett -- I hope that you will be able to become parents some day very soon.

Sincerely,

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

Kim Koster
825 Laurel Street
Dubuque, Iowa 52003-7940

The Anniston Star

"Alabama's Largest Home-Owned Newspaper"

Office of the Editor and Publisher

March 11, 1997

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

Knowing you face another excruciating decision about late-term abortion, I wanted you to have the enclosed story from a young woman, who was a friend and colleague here.

Kim Koster is an extraordinarily bright and caring person. Bravely, she is willing for you to use her story in any way you find helpful to women facing similar dilemmas.

Cordially,



H. Brandt Ayers
HBA: bjh
Enclosure

Tuesday, March 4, 1997

Dear Mr. President,

I gathered from news reports last week that a bill to ban late-term, or "partial-birth," abortion soon will be reintroduced in Congress. I appreciate your long-time commitment to protecting women's reproductive rights, and would like to share with you my own personal story.

My husband, Dr. Barrett Koster, and I have been married for nearly five years. We have known for that long that we want very much to have children, but we felt we ought to wait until he finished his PhD and found a job. Last May, he was hired as a computer science professor, and we moved to Dubuque filled with anticipation about our family and the future.

To our joy, we discovered in November that we were expecting. After such a long wait, the news was a thrill, to us and to our family and friends. My husband is the third of four brothers, and the last to have children. His family showered us with gifts and hand-me-downs, new toys, books and love. They passed along a 19th-century cradle which had rocked his family to sleep since before his grandmother Sophie was born more than 100 years ago. For my side of the family, it was the first grandchild, and my brother and parents took their new responsibilities as uncle and grandparents very seriously. My brother, as uncle, provided us with teddy bears and books. My mother, who has a PhD in early childhood development and started the first independent rural early intervention program for children with birth defects in the state of Alabama, had all the proper-but-fun learning toys lined up for us, and shared with my father the role of doting grandparents-to-be. The big question for everyone was whether our child would be a boy, whose name we were still wrestling with, or a girl, who we named four years ago as Katharine Sophie, or Kate.

Less than two weeks ago, on Thursday, February 20, our first ultrasound was scheduled. We saw our baby, heard the heartbeat, saw legs and toes and hands and spine. We were given a new due date, July 27, a week before my own birthday, and I teased my husband about the "perils" of two Leos in one house. We spent five short minutes rejoicing in the new life, and then the blow fell. The radiologist informed us that he had "significant concerns" about the size of the baby's head. His diagnosis was the fatal neural tube defect known as anencephaly, or the lack of a brain. After four months of excitement and joy, our world came crashing down around us.

Once the diagnosis was made, there was no further medical treatment available for me in Dubuque, and we were referred to the University of Iowa Hospitals and Clinics in Iowa City. Our first OB appointment there was set for Monday morning. My husband and I spent that long weekend, the longest of our lives, doing research on anencephaly, talking with family and friends, and hearing personal stories about the fate of anencephalic babies. My best friend's aunt had had to carry her anencephalic pregnancy to term, and after a long labor, her infant lived for five minutes. A family friend of my sister-in-law had an anencephalic pregnancy diagnosed in her sixth month, and had to go through 18 hours of induced labor to deliver a fetus that died immediately.

Our fetus had only a "rudimentary" brain (and I am using the medical terms that we

discovered in our research and heard from our doctors). There were blood vessels, which enabled the heart to beat, and ganglion, which enabled basic motor function. There was a small amount of connective tissue. There was no cerebellum, no cerebral cortex. There was no skull above the eyes, which were incompletely formed. If we had continued the pregnancy, none of this would have changed. There is a 50 percent chance in anencephalic pregnancy that the esophagus will eventually close off, preventing the fetus from taking in amniotic fluid and causing its death in the womb. No anencephalic infant that survives a pregnancy lives ... it is described in the medical books as "lethal" and "always fatal." The two newborns with anencephaly that my mother had known of had no awareness of their surroundings, no recognition of their parents, no functions other than the very most primitive actions of digestion, heartbeat and gross motor reflexes.

I had been preparing for pregnancy for more than a year with diet, exercise and prenatal vitamins, including the dose of folic acid recommended to prevent neural tube defects. Yet we still lost our child to the most severe and lethal birth defect known. Once we knew the diagnosis, it became as if our baby had died at some point before the 26th day of pregnancy, when the neural tube cells failed to begin forming the brain.

In Iowa City on Monday, a genetics-specialist OB took one look at a new ultrasound and immediately confirmed the diagnosis. An alpha-feto-protein blood test and amniotic fluid sample only drove the truth harder home. We were given three difficult choices ... carrying the fetus to term, with the daily emotional pain of knowing our child would die at birth; immediately going through induced labor, a long and painful process normally made bearable by the thought of the new life being brought into this world but in this case made unbearable by the thought of the death of our baby; or having a late-term (18 weeks) dilation and evacuation abortion, presented as a safer, faster medical alternative. On Tuesday, February 25, that is what we chose. As difficult as it was, I literally thank God that I had that option.

By my own medical chart, this sad and unexpected end to our much-wanted pregnancy is considered a late-term elective abortion. And we think our situation provides one of the strongest possible reasons for your second veto of any prohibitive legislation this Congress might pass. The new numbers presented by Ron Fitzsimmons of the National Council of Abortion Providers are startling, I will admit. And I can understand why they would prompt new action by those who are against abortion.

But they also prompt this letter. The news reports were painful, coming as they did the day after we lost our baby. But it is important, essential, that our story be heard along with the inevitable and illogical anti-choice rhetoric. As long as there is one woman facing what I have faced in the last 10 days, the actual numbers do not matter. For by some definitions, I could be considered a healthy woman who aborted a healthy fetus by this method. My own health is excellent, which could well have sustained the pregnancy through all nine months and led to a birth. And yet our baby had no brain — would never hear the Mozart and Bach I was playing for it every day on our great-grandmother's piano, would never look up into our eyes or snuggle close to our hearts, would never even have an awareness of its own life.

As long as there are women — and their husbands — who face the devastating

diagnosis which we received, late-term intact D&E must remain a legal alternative. It was difficult enough for my husband and I to know that the pregnancy was, for all intents and purposes, at an end. If we had had to go through induction and the painful, participatory process of labor, the emotional impact would have been even worse than it has been. If we had had to carry the fetus to term and then deliver it to certain death, it would have been unimaginable.

Thanks to the professionalism and concern of the staff at UIHC, the late-term D&E that we did choose was safe and handled with as much sensitivity and compassion as possible. Without that option ... which is legal because of your first courageous veto and can remain legal if you will help it to do so ... our pain and loss would have been so much greater.

My husband and I ask you, please, keep our story in mind during the upcoming debate. Let us serve as a reminder that this procedure, as terrible as it may seem, is sometimes the alternative to something even more terrible. We followed our conscience, ending a pregnancy that had literally no hope of success. Other women must be allowed to wrestle with and follow their own consciences. Your long support of that right has been admirable. And as difficult and distasteful as the arguments might be against it, late-term abortion must remain legal.

Let me add this last note. Of the other women who I saw in two days in the special gynecology clinic at UIHC, one was identified as also being there for a genetic abortion. None of them seemed to be taking their decision lightly, however — indeed, they looked tired and drawn and spoke with gravity and solemnity of their situations. The notion of women somehow using late-term abortion as last-minute birth control is one of the most distressing aspects of this whole debate ... I hope you do not give it credence.

We would be happy to be of service in the days of debate to come, if you desire it. Discussing our loss isn't easy — but it helps our hearts to know that by doing so, we might help to minimize that pain and loss for others. With great support and thanks for your attention,

Sincerely,



Kim Koster
825 Laurel St.
Dubuque IA 52003-7940
(319) 583-7250
kosterx2@aol.com

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

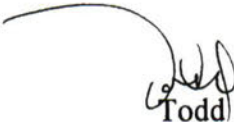
April 9, 1997

✓
Erskine --

I just got a copy of the Berger note proposing a Medal of Freedom for Admiral Crowe and was told that you planned to walk it into the President.

I wanted to make sure you know that there is a process for the Medal of Freedom that we've followed the past four years and plan to follow again this year. Rather than parcel these things out on an ad hoc basis, we have put together a list each year of possible award winners and submitted it to the President for his review. The list, as you can imagine, is balanced in a variety of ways. The awards have been given in East Room ceremonies in late summer or early fall. By coincidence, when I was given a copy of the Berger note, I had just prepared a short memo to senior staff soliciting suggestions for these year's awardees (copy attached).

We have on occasion done awards separate from the yearly ceremony. We did Bob Dole separately. And we did Bill Perry at his retirement ceremony, because that is the tradition for Secretaries of Defense. But, unless there is some extraordinary reason for doing Crowe separately, I would fold him into our process and have the President award him the Medal later this year.


Todd

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 9, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR LIST

FROM: TODD STERN

SUBJECT: Presidential Medal of Freedom

Every year around this time my office puts together a list of possible recipients of the Medal of Freedom, which we then submit to the President for his review. We generally submit a list of around 15 names with a view toward ending up with 10 awardees. The awards are made in an East Room ceremony, which has occurred in August or September the past three years, although there is nothing magic about that time; the awards could be made somewhat earlier or later.

This is the highest civilian award the President can bestow and the winners should be people of great distinction. And, of course, who the President chooses says something about his concerns, values, etc. I have attached lists of the Medal winners for the past four years.

If you have any creative ideas for possible awardees, please let me know. I will be getting a brainstorming session together in the near future. Thanks.

To: Don Baer
Sandy Berger
Rahm Emanuel
Jack Gibbons
Elena Kagan
Ron Klain
Ann Lewis
Mike McCurry
Katie McGinty
Sylvia Mathews
John Podesta
Vicki Radd
Bruce Reed
Chuck Ruff
Doug Sosnik
Gene Sperling
Jim Steinberg
Melanne Verveer

cc: Jim Dorskind

197 APR 7 PM 6:55

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-9-97

April 7, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM : MIKE MCCURRY *MM*

SUBJECT : WALTER KYLE PROFILE

Boston Magazine will feature a profile of your friend Walter Kyle in their June issue. The writer says that the focus will be on Kyle as a Boston-area attorney who has spent a great deal of his career trying to help people who were paralyzed by the polio vaccine and has, for an attorney, an unusual interest in science and public health.

The Magazine would like a quote from you on what kind of person Kyle is. We have taken the liberty of drafting the following for your edits:

" There are certain people you meet early in life and just know that you will maintain a friendship with them throughout the years. Walter is one of these people.

Walter has touched so many people in so many ways through his work. I am proud to call him a friend."

We would like to get a quote to Boston Magazine by April 11.

Thank you.

I've known Walter Kyle most of his life. He has always been ~~very~~ hard working, determined, and compassionate. He has touched a lot of people through his work & I'm grateful for his friendship & support.

HONORARY PARTICIPATION REQUEST

Please return to Room 97

Today's Date: April 2, 1997

Date of Request: 2/13/97

Request for: POTUS

Type of Request: Honorary Chair

Requestor Name: Mr. Rocco C. Siciliano

Title: Chairman

Organization: The Eisenhower World Affairs Institute
918 16th Street, NW
Suite 501
Washington, D.C. 20006

Contact Tel. #: 202/223-6710

Event Date: 5/20/97 [Print deadline: 4/28/97]

Event Description: 1997 Eisenhower Leadership Prize Dinner

Notes: This event will honor Elie Wiesel. The President is being asked to serve as an Honorary Chair with the living former Presidents -- all of whom have already accepted. The President accepted this request in 1996 when the honoree was former President Bush.

The President should ACCEPT.

Recommendation:

TS

OK

(Unless otherwise noted, a yes answer will automatically generate a message as well as acceptance of the honorary position).

Comments:

April 3, 1997

The NSC recommends the President accept this invitation.



Glyn T. Davies
Executive Secretary

original sent to
Dan Burkhardt

APR 3 9:41

2862 19

THE
EISENHOWER
WORLD AFFAIRS INSTITUTE
AN AFFILIATE OF GETTYSBURG COLLEGE

Handwritten:
Rocco C. Siciliano
4/20/97
C. Dan Runkhant

~~Rocco C. Siciliano~~
Chairman

February 13, 1997

Paul T. O'Day
President

Larry A. Jobe
Treasurer

Jane L. Kratovil
Executive Director
& Secretary

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

BOARD OF DIRECTORS Dear President Clinton:

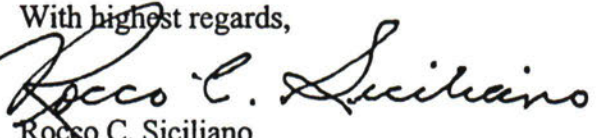
- Mary Eisenhower Atwater
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- D. David Eisenhower II
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- George R. Packard
- Colin L. Powell
- Terrence J. Roberts
- Eugene T. Rossides*
- Rocco C. Siciliano*
- John K. Van de Kamp
- Paul R. Verkuil
- M. Christine Vick
- Leigh Warner
- Abbott M. Washburn
- C. Langhorne Washburn
- Barry B. Wright

On behalf of the Eisenhower World Affairs Institute and Gettysburg College, I would like to invite you to join once again as an Honorary Chair for the 1997 Eisenhower Leadership Prize Dinner honoring Nobel Laureate Elie Wiesel.

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

Lt. Gen. Thomas Kelly, Vice Chairman of The Wing Group is the General Dinner Chairman. This invitation is also being extended to the other former Presidents. Enclosed is last year's dinner program, as well as the Institute newsletter *Dateline* for your information.

The black-tie dinner will be held May 20, 1997, at the Washington Hilton Hotel in Washington, D.C. The is expected to attract 1,000 business, political, and academic leaders from around the country. We, of course, would be honored if you could attend the event.

With highest regards,

Rocco C. Siciliano

* Executive Committee

Gen. Andrew J. Goodpaster
Chairman,
Advisory Board

Enclosures

HONORARY PARTICIPATION REQUEST

Please return to Woyneab Wondwossen, Room 93

Today's Date: April 8, 1997

Date of Request: 3/25/97
Request for: POTUS/FLOTUS
Type of Request: Honorary Co-chairs
Requestor Name: Ms. Carmella LaSpada
Title: Founder
Organization: No Greater Love
1750 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

Contact Tel. #:

Event Date: 5/26/97

Event Description: Memorial Day Remebrance Program

Notes: No Greater Love is a non-profit organization that coordinates remembrance programs for families of veterans killed in service or of victims killed in acts of terrorism. In its 26 year history, No Greater Love has worked closely with the Department of Veterans Affairs. Bob Jones, Public Liaison's Veterans Specialist, highly recommends the group, but suggests that only the President accept this request.

The President should ACCEPT; The First Lady should REGRET.

Recommendations:

MW _____ TS _____
(Unless otherwise noted, a yes answer will automatically generate a message as well as acceptance of the honorary position).

Comments:

Don -
Is there any
other memorial
day request?
Has this group
made any request
before? T.

Original sent to
Dan Burkhardt

4/9/97
Okay given to
Dan Burkhardt (Bird)
per John Podesta -
Carol

A FLAME OF HOPE
THROUGH DECADES
OF REMEMBRANCE

1750 NEW YORK AVENUE, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20006
WEB SITE: [HTTP://WWW.NGL.ORG](http://www.ngl.org)
E-MAIL: CLASPADA@WOW.COM
PHONE: 202-783-4665
FAX: 202-783-1168

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HONORARY CHAIRMAN, 1974-1982

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ELIE WIESEL

NO
GREATER
LOVE

March 19, 1997

The President
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to ask you to support the No Greater Love Proud to Remember campaign to put "memorial" back into Memorial Day. In recent times, it seems that many Americans have unfortunately lost sight of the meaning of this day. No Greater Love is determined to restore the holiday to its true meaning of respectfully honoring those who died in service to our country. We are receiving enthusiastic support for this significant undertaking.

As you may recall from your past support in sending greetings to the families at our remembrance ceremonies, No Greater Love, founded in 1971, is a non-profit, humanitarian organization. It is the only organization in the country that provides annual programs of remembrance, friendship, and care to those who have lost a loved one to war or by an act of terrorism.

On Memorial Day the entire country will observe simultaneously a Moment of Remembrance at 3:00 p.m. EST. At this time a 60-second recording will be broadcast on television and radio stations throughout the United States. The broadcast will include "Taps." At many historic sites, "Taps" will be played live. This effort provides an opportunity to evoke the patriotism and unity of all America. I hope you will support this cause that truly honors those who sacrificed their lives for us.

We invite you and the First Lady to be the Honorary Co-chairs of this campaign. Your support will greatly enhance the success of this effort.

For your information, I have enclosed material on No Greater Love and our Proud to Remember campaign. I look forward to receiving your help in putting "memorial" back in Memorial Day.

Sincerely,


Carmella LaSpada
Founder/CEO

cc: John Podesta
Todd Stern
Stephanie Street
Marie Echaveste

Enclosures

Memorial
Day
is Monday,
May 26, 1997

Monday, May 26, 1997



that special day,
pause at 3:00 p.m. EST
for a minute of respectful
silence for those who have
died in the service of our
nation. During that
minute, television and
radio stations throughout
America will air
simultaneously a
60-second spot which
includes "Taps." Turn on
your radio or television to
join your fellow Americans
in putting *Memorial* back
in Memorial Day.



More ways to put *Memorial* back into
Memorial Day:

Say a prayer for those who died, for
the loved ones they left behind and for
our country.

Fly your flag on Memorial Day.

Keep your vehicle headlights on
when you drive on Memorial Day.

Put a "Proud to Remember"
window decal in your car or home
during the month of May.

Put the
"Memorial"
back into
Memorial Day.

Begin with
one minute.



LAST YEAR, A FEW DAYS before Memorial Day, Carmella LaSpada, the CEO and Founder of No Greater Love, asked a group of children touring Washington, D.C. what Memorial Day meant to them. Their answers were unanimous: "That's the day the pools open!" This response concerned Carmella and gave her the incentive and determination to have No Greater Love sponsor an effort to restore active, informed and meaningful participation in the observance of Memorial Day.

To pause for a Moment of Remembrance may seem to some an empty gesture. It is not. Each of us must

stir up our hearts and memories to ensure that the sacrifices of those we honor have not been in vain. The fallen are still with

us and must not be forgotten. They continue to live in each constitu-

tional right we enjoy. Children should be able to say: "I know why I am free and I know who sacrificed their lives for me."

know
why I
am free"

Please remember the men
and women who died in
service to America

UNITE WITH THE humanitarian organization, No Greater Love, to restore Memorial Day as a treasured opportunity to honor the individuals who made the ultimate sacrifice to preserve the freedoms we so easily take for granted. The next time you see our flag flying, cast your vote, or exercise any of your freedoms in the Bill of Rights, promise yourself that you will put the Memorial back in Memorial Day. Help elevate this historic national holiday to the noble and sacred event it was intended to be.

The History of Memorial Day

THE ORIGINS OF Memorial Day, or "Decoration Day" as it was first named, are remote and mixed. In the mid 1860's, it appeared that the concept of "Decoration Day" was an idea whose time had come. The Civil War had left the nation divided and families fractured. One inspiration for this holiday came when

Civil War veterans saw a woman and her two children placing flowers on a soldier's grave. The veterans were so moved that they decided to do the same at other military graves. In other instances, women in the North and South, in a gesture of impartial generosity, decorated the graves of both Confederate and Union soldiers. Soon in cities, villages and hamlets across the country, people gathered for prayer to honor the war dead and to lay flowers upon their graves. In 1868, General John A. Logan, commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic, ordered that the 30th day of May be designated for this purpose. At least 25 groups and towns claimed to have originated the idea of decorating the graves of fallen soldiers with flowers. General James Garfield spoke at the first national observance of Memorial Day on May 30, 1868, in Arlington National Cemetery.

While this day was initially dedicated to remember those killed in the Civil War, with the passage of time Memorial Day has become an occasion to honor all those who died in service to the nation, from the Revolutionary War to the present. It was also seen as a time to rededicate ourselves to the ideals for which they gave their lives and to teach the children the importance of remembrance. In 1968, the observance of Memorial Day was moved to the last Monday in May.

Just as Decoration Day was an idea whose time had come during the aftermath of the Civil War, the time has now come to put Memorial back into Memorial Day. America is Proud to Remember.

Taps

THE BUGLE CALL. "Taps" had its origins on a Civil War battlefield. After the Union suffered a large number of casualties in a battle near Richmond, Virginia, Brigade Commander Colonel Daniel Butterfield reflected with sadness upon the men he had lost. Unable to compose music, he hummed a melody which his aide wrote down in musical notation. The company bugler played it that night to honor their dead comrades. It was officially recognized by the United States Army in 1874. Accompanied by the drumbeat, "Muffled Ruffles," this is the highest and most solemn tribute given to those who have died in service to our country.

It is our hope that this Moment of Remembrance will bring all Americans together in a spirit of respect, patriotism and gratitude. For more than 100 years, our country has set aside a day to remember a rare breed of Citizens — the Soldier, the Marine, the Sailor, the Coast Guard, and later in our history, the Airman — special Americans who answered the call of duty to protect us — and never returned.



No Greater Love's Mission

FOUNDED IN 1971, No Greater Love is the only non-sectarian, non-profit, humanitarian organization in the United States providing annual programs of remembrance, friendship and care for families who lost a loved one in service to our country or by an act of terrorism. No Greater Love is committed to freedom, human dignity and the idea that "the beginning of the end of war lies in remembrance." This commitment is reflected in No Greater Love's bringing families together in remembrance of their loved ones who gave their last full measure of devotion.

NO
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LOVE

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OF REMEMBRANCE

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No Greater Love Mission Statement

Founded in 1971, NGL is the only non-sectarian, non-profit, humanitarian organization in the United States providing annual programs of remembrance, friendship and care to families who lost a loved one in service to our country or by an act of terrorism. NGL is committed to freedom, human dignity and the idea that, "the beginning of the end of war lies in remembrance." This commitment is reflected in bringing families together in remembrance of their loved ones who gave their last full measure of devotion.

WASH
26

A FLAME OF HOPE
THROUGH DECADES
OF REMEMBRANCE

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NO GREATER LOVE



At a Glance

What is No Greater Love?

No Greater Love is committed to helping families, especially children, pay tribute to a loved one lost in service to our country or by an act of terrorism through annual public remembrance ceremonies and memorial dedications. It also brings these families together for mutual support at ceremonies, community events, luncheons and holiday parties.

NGL is also committed to developing democracy's values in all of America's children through school activities, classroom remembrance ceremonies, letter writing to our troops, walks for peace, and the *No Greater Love Pledge of Peace*.

How did No Greater Love get started?

The idea for NGL was conceived in 1967, when founder and CEO Carmella LaSpada organized a USO tour to visit soldiers wounded in the Vietnam War. A black scarf was given to her by a medic, who had tried to save 35 of his friends during the Battle of Dakto. The medic told LaSpada, "I want you to remember them. Maybe you can do something so that the men who died, and their families, will never be forgotten."

What is the scope of No Greater Love programs?

NGL, known as the "conscience of the nation," has regularly sponsored wreath-layings, remembrance tributes and monument dedications that bring together families affected by conflicts from World War I to the Persian Gulf War, from hostages in Iran to the U.S. Mission in Bosnia and Croatia. NGL sponsors more than 75 ceremonies and events annually and has dedicated 10 memorials, located throughout Arlington National Cemetery.

What events has No Greater Love initiated?

These are just a few examples of dozens of remembrance ceremonies, events and dedications initiated by NGL:

★ *Holiday Remembrance Gifts Send-Off*, begun in 1971, an annual tradition of sending holiday gifts to children who lost a parent in service to our country or by an act of terrorism.

★ *National Salute to Hospitalized Veterans*, 1974-1979, the first organized national recognition of the Vietnam Veterans for their contributions to the nation. This program is now carried on by the Department of Veterans Affairs.

★ *Yellow Ribbon Campaign*, 1979-1981, to show a united concern for hostages during the Iran Hostage Crisis. (The yellow ribbon is now an international symbol of unity.)

★ *Annual International Commemoration for all Victims of Terrorism*, begun in 1984, the only tribute in the world specifically for victims of terrorism.

★ *Pledge of Peace*, inaugurated in 1985, was recognized by the United Nations. It has been recited by children throughout the world and at all *No Greater Love Remembrance Ceremonies*: "As a legacy and a gift to the children who will be born and live on this planet Earth, I hereby commit myself to fostering peace. I promise to do everything I can to help create a common future of peace with justice for all human beings." ©1985

★ *Annual Tribute to Those Who Died in the Persian Gulf*, begun in 1992, the only ceremony that brings together families whose loved ones died in the Persian Gulf.

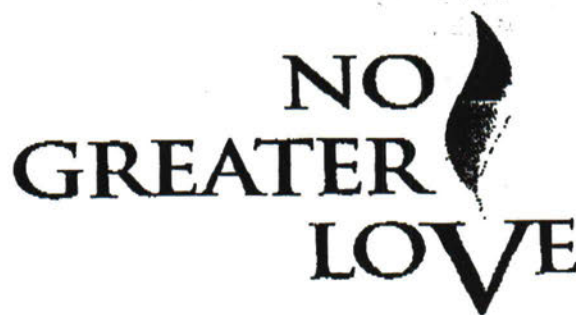
★ *Operation Valentine*, 1996, sent millions of Valentines to U.S. troops in the Balkans.

How is No Greater Love Funded?

NGL is a non-profit, non-political, 501(c)(3) organization. It is sustained by contributions from the general public, private foundations and corporations, labor unions and through CFC #1143. Only 10.2% of all contributions received by No Greater Love are used for administrative or fund raising expenditures.

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Put *Memorial* back into *Memorial Day* *Memorial Day, May 26, 1997*

In May 1996, a few days before Memorial Day, Carmella LaSpada, the CEO and founder of No Greater Love, asked a group of children touring Washington D.C. what Memorial Day meant to them. Their answers were unanimous; "Well, that's the day the pools open!" This answer concerned Carmella and gave her the incentive to have No Greater Love sponsor an effort to restore active, informed and meaningful participation in the observance of Memorial Day.

This year, No Greater Love is launching the first annual *Proud to Remember* campaign to put "memorial" back into Memorial Day. Those who have died in service to our country will be appropriately honored in a patriotic and personal way throughout the country on this special day of remembrance.

On Memorial Day, Monday, May 26, 1997, the entire nation will be asked to observe a moment of remembrance at 3:00 EST in honor of those who have sacrificed their lives for us. "Taps" will be played at this time across the country to honor our fallen heroes.

The No Greater Love initiative is symbolized by the National Remembrance Candles which will be lit in both the U.S. Capitol and the state capitols on the Tuesday before Memorial Day, May 20, 1997.

On Memorial Day, we are asking Americans to solemnly pause for a moment to show respect to those who died for our country. It is a citizen's responsibility to remember, reflect upon and express gratitude for the sacrifices that have been made to preserve and protect our democratic way of life.

No Greater Love Annual Remembrances

February 27
Persian Gulf War

April 16
Special Operation Forces

April 19
Oklahoma City Bombing

April 25
Iran Hostage Rescue Mission

April 30
Vietnam War

May 17
USS Stark Incident

May 26
All Wars and Conflicts

June 8
USS Liberty Incident

July 27
Korean War

September 2
World War II

September 19
POWs-MIAs

October 3
**Operation Restore Hope
(Somalia)**

October 7
War Correspondents

October 19
Victims of Terrorism

October 23
Beirut Terrorist Bombing

October 25
Operation Urgent Fury (Grenada)

November 11
World War I

December 20
**Operation Just Cause
(Panama)**

December 21
Pan Am Flight 103 Tragedy

*copied
Benger
Sparking
COS*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
The Under Secretary for Economic Affairs
Washington, D.C. 20230

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-9-97

April 8, 1997

The President
The White House

Dear Mr. President,

I thought you would like these two graphs, which are worth a thousand words: Better inflation performance than at any time since 1965 because we practice what we preach on budgets, opening markets, and promoting technology and domestic competition. I don't think the differences have much if anything to do with the Fed's quickness on the trigger.

Paula and I were just in India speaking in Delhi, Madras and Hyderabad on "economic liberalization." We had lunch with Frank Wisner and agree with him that there are a lot of reasons why you should try to go there during this 50th Anniversary year. India seems on the verge of breaking out -- in part because states are starting to compete like ours do to be the next "Indian Silicon Valley." It also wouldn't hurt to change the subject, and millions of Indians would be forever grateful to you for the recognition.

We hear a little about Chelsea from Gabe and it sounds like she has great choices, which isn't surprising. I know you will miss her though. Maybe we can see you all when Gabe visits for a couple of weeks in late May.

We were sorry of course to hear about your accident and wish you a very speedy recovery.

Sincerely,

Paul A. London
Paul A. London

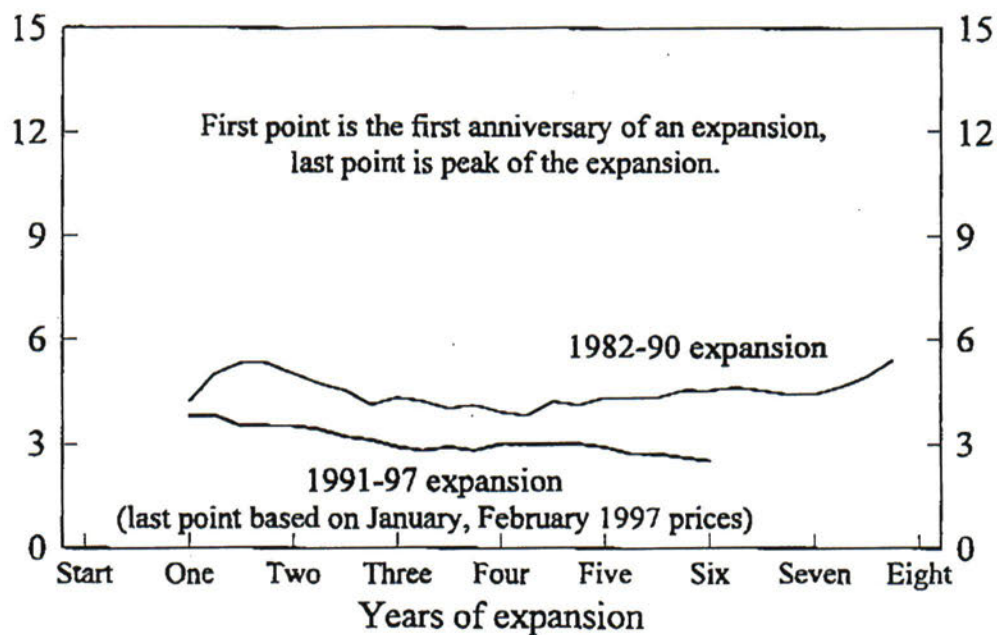
*cc Bureau
Gues*

equal about Fed



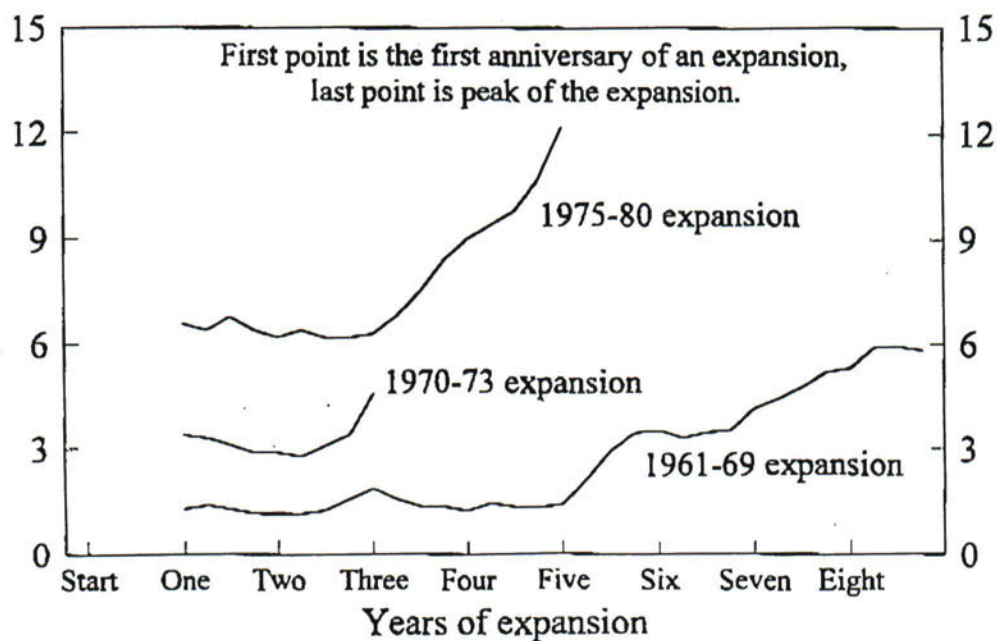
Rate of Core Inflation

Percent change in CPI less food and energy over four quarters



Rate of Core Inflation

Percent change in CPI less food and energy over four quarters



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

To: John Podesta Date 4/9
Sara Hilkey
From: The Staff Secretary

Ok with you? Please
let me know by COB
today. Thanks

Phil

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Members of the
Federal Election Commission
c/o Office of the General Counsel
999 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20463

To the Members of the Federal Election Commission:

I am writing to you, pursuant to 11 CFR Part 200, to request that you take action under your existing statutory authority to ban "soft money" and end the system under which both political parties compete to raise unlimited sums from individuals, labor unions, and corporations.

The rules governing our system of financing Federal election campaigns are sorely out of date. Enacted more than two decades ago when election campaigns were much less expensive, the rules have been overtaken by dramatic changes in the nature and cost of campaigns and the accompanying flood of money. Today, money is raised and spent in ways that simply were not contemplated when the Congress last overhauled our campaign finance laws. We must bring the rules up to date to reflect the changes in elections and campaigning.

An important step in this process would be to change the rules governing the use and solicitation of "soft money" -- funds not subject to the contribution limitations and prohibitions of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended (FECA). Currently Federal Election Commission (FEC) regulations (11 CFR 106.5) allow political parties to raise and spend soft money in elections involving State and Federal candidates by providing an allocation formula between Federal and non-Federal expenses incurred by party committees. These regulations, and limited additional guidance provided through advisory opinions, are the basis upon which party committees make expenditures and raise funds with respect to Federal and State elections. The use of soft money by party committees is largely based on the direction provided in these regulations.

Whatever the merit of these regulations at the time they were adopted, it has become abundantly clear today that they are no longer adequate to the task of regulating campaigns. The role of soft money has grown dramatically in the past several elections so that by the 1996 elections the two parties raised more than \$250 million: \$138 million by the Republican Party and \$123 million by the Democratic Party, more than triple the total of 4 years before.

The current allocation system, in short, is simply outmoded. Accordingly, I propose that the FEC adopt new rules requiring that candidates for Federal office and national parties be permitted to raise and spend only "hard money" -- funds subject to the restrictions, contribution limits, and reporting requirements of FECA.

The soft money ban I seek achieves similar goals as provisions of the "Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act of 1997," introduced by Senators John McCain and Russell Feingold, and Representatives Christopher Shays and Martin Meehan. Specifically, I am requesting that the FEC consider new rulemaking to accomplish the following:

1. Prohibit national political parties (and their congressional campaign committees or agents) from soliciting or receiving any funds not subject to the limitations or prohibitions of FECA. (This action would preclude, for example, contributions directly from corporate or union treasuries, or contributions from individuals in excess of the amount an individual can give to a national party's Federal account.)
2. Prohibit any Federal officeholder or candidate (and his or her agents) from soliciting or receiving any funds not subject to the limitations or prohibitions of FECA.
3. Provide that any expenditure by any national, State, or local political party during a Federal election year for any activity that influences a Federal election (including any voter registration or get-out-the-vote drive, generic advertising, or any communication that refers to a Federal candidate) must be paid for from funds subject to FECA. (This would end the allocation system, currently authorized by the FEC, under which hard and soft money are mixed for campaign activities that affect both State and Federal elections.)

These steps, available to you under your existing statutory authority, will enable our election laws to catch up with the reality of the way elections are financed today, and along with new campaign finance reform legislation, will take significant strides toward restoring public confidence in the campaign finance process.

Sincerely,

4-9-97

Send to Dorskynd (Honorary Chair)

Yes ☒

No ☐

Send copy to Scheduling?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Send Clark

800 North Carolina Avenue, SE
Washington, DC 20003
202-547-3800
202-546-4784 fax
mongolia@clark.net

April 3, 1997

The Honorable and Mrs. William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton:

Several months ago, a small group of friends and former colleagues of Abner and Zoe Mikva decided to plan a celebration to honor this extraordinary couple. The group has expanded as others learned of the effort, and the timing and nature of the event have taken shape.

We have scheduled a reception at the National Education Association in Washington on June 17. Because we want all those who know and admire Abner and Zoe to attend, we will ask the invited guests only for a small contribution to cover the cost of the reception. This is not a fundraising event. The program will be informal. We are asking people who have known Abner and Zoe at various times in their lives to speak briefly about their shared commitment to the value and dignity of public service.

We are hoping that you will help us in two ways. First, we would like to include your name on the invitation as an Honorary Co-Chair. Second, we hope that you can attend the event and take part in the program. Your participation will be a wonderful reminder to all those who attend that dedication to public service crosses party lines, regional differences and social backgrounds.

The event doesn't involve any fundraising, although we intend to announce the initiation of the Mikva Public Service Program for High School Students. The program will provide grants to high school teachers in the metropolitan Chicago area to develop a program for selected high school students to participate in the electoral process. Our goal is to select the first group of teachers and students by September 1997.

Attached is a list of the other people we have asked to serve with you as Honorary Co-Chairs. We look forward to working with you to make the tribute to Abner and Zoe a success.

Sincerely,



Lou Ivey

**PROPOSED HONORARY CO-CHAIRS AND HOSTS FOR JUNE 17
TRIBUTE TO ABNER AND ZOE MIKVA**

Co-Chairs

President and Mrs. Clinton
Former President and Mrs. Bush
Former President and Mrs. Carter
Former President and Mrs. Ford

Hosts

Vice President and Mrs. Gore
Former Vice President and Mrs. Mondale
The Honorable Donna Shalala

Chief Justice Rehnquist
Justice Brennan
Justice Blackmun
Justice Ginsburg
Justice Breyer
Justice Scalia
Chief Judge Wald
Chief Judge Edwards

The Honorable Bob Michel
The Honorable Tom Foley
The Honorable Paul Simon
The Honorable Andrew Young