DVP/Sandy/Nash
fr. Sweeney Must to Confer altogether Ok

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

May 5, 1997 - SH

A. Currently - a highly visible advocate, carrying the administration's message on both sides of the Atlantic - love my work

1. 3 1/2 years in Vienna - rebuilt the bilateral friendship damaged by Waldheim; over 400 T.V., radio and press pieces reach 25% of the Austrian population/week

2. Balkans - issues familiar from 20 years work in inner city; web of personal relationships with heads of government, media, NGO's, U.S. military; organized 7 international conferences in Vienna, to build support for your agenda; launched "civil society" projects (unite religious leaders, replenish national library, leadership development and conflict resolution, restore music infrastructure, planting trees..); nurtured and financially supported Bosnian Women's Initiative (you announced in Lyon)

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3. Women in new democracies - over 30 trips (Ukrainian Rada, etc.); strategic conference in July (US/EU and Eastern European), extensive international media (including documentary), HRC planning on speaking (possibly Albright)

4. Accepted as a professional by the foreign affairs establishment - N.Y, D.C., and L.A foreign affairs councils, et al; Foreign Affairs article in July

4. Domestic - major editorial boards , universities (Harvard, Georgetown, Brown...); feature articles (New York Times, Dallas Morning News, Good Housekeeping, Parade, Boston Globe, Town and Country...); talk radio, 42 columns (Rocky Mountain News)

B. Future

1. London - more visibility for the administration, internationally and stateside; political and management experience (Vienna staff of 500, London 600); Labor government (5 women in new cabinet) a natural fit with my domestic experience; apply successful Bosnia models to Northern Ireland

2. No confirmation difficulties - strong support from both sides of aisle (Gilman, Helms, Thurmond, Campbell...); no DNC contribution in '96

3. Could continue in Vienna - extensive, solid connections; build on past successes promoting regional stability

4. Wider constituencies I represent - petition from 2 dozen U.S. women leaders (concern about lack of women below Albright); firm Jewish support (recently honored by both ADL and Holocaust Awareness Week); Sweeney backing

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

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[redacted]
Colorado Springs, CO 80906

Ms. Margaret Milner Richardson
Office of the Commissioner
Internal Revenue Service
1111 Constitution Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20224

April 18, 1997

Dear Ms. Milner,

Frankly, I never imagined I would be writing a letter of encouragement to the IRS. In fairness however, I must admit that I am incensed by the recent political attacks on your agency that have far exceeded fair criticism.

It does not take a quantum physicist to figure out that the assault mounted on your agency by Mr. Gingrich and his associates is patently self-serving. It is an attempt to disarm the IRS and deflect attention from the current examination of his questionable financial activities. This attack is clearly a well planned and executed tactical move to facilitate his emergence from political exile.

Despite the grumbling and IRS bashing I believe most thinking Americans honestly and lawfully fulfill their tax obligation. We know that the IRS does not spend tax money but only collects it at the behest of Congress. Like most sane people I do not enjoy paying taxes. There is a spark of pride however, in the knowledge that American citizens are among the best protected and equitably taxed people in the world. I can attest that tax generated technology saved my skin more than once in Viet Nam. This makes parting with a few bucks a little easier.

Power-driven imbeciles and human error are not exclusive to government. They exist in business, education and religion as well. I believe the IRS, along with other high-profile government agencies is actually doing a better job of weeding out problem people than the others. The extreme nature of the political pressures currently brought by your detractors tends to impede your lawful mandate and ultimately denies the full benefit of your services to the people.

There will likely be no parades in your honor and no one clamoring for "I ♥ THE IRS" bumper stickers. Despite that, I would urge you to continue what many consider to be the most progressive changes the IRS has ever undertaken. I would especially like to commend the competent and friendly employees who provide taxpayer assistance on your national hot line and the positive attitudes of your local branch personnel who, under less than ideal working conditions, graphically reflect those changes.

Sincerely,

[redacted]

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

The Philadelphia Inquirer

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EDITORIALS

Fee for service

AmeriCorps and Peace Corps members invest their time; we should invest our tax dollars.

Some conservatives just about choked on President Clinton's first-term push for thousands of Americans to do a year or two of service, in exchange for a college grant and a near-minimum wage.

Sen. Rick Santorum (R., Pa.) sneered that this was too sweet a deal for "picking up trash in a park and singing 'Kumbaya' around a campfire." Sen. John Ashcroft (R., Mo.) called it "welfare for the well-to-do."

Well, four years after the President launched AmeriCorps, and two years after the Republican Congress moved in for the kill, it's alive and kicking. The value of full-time, low-pay service a la AmeriCorps and its precursors — the Peace Corps and VISTA — is being celebrated at the Presidents' Summit. Now it's time to dramatically expand these programs.

Spending a year or two helping others — "a season of service," as Mr. Clinton called it — ought to be the norm, a rite of passage for those Americans who don't serve in the military. This isn't only to help those left behind, such as the endangered kids that the summit is targeting. It's to help those who serve as well. With few exceptions, volunteers say that they grew and learned while giving.

The taxpayers get a bargain when they pay a Peace Corps volunteer an average of $262 a month to live on, plus $200 a month into savings, to extend a helping hand overseas. Usually, those volunteers return to America determined to make a difference in their communities.

The same kind of civic energy will be the long-term payoff from AmeriCorps volunteers now at work on community projects for about $153 a week — plus a $4,725 educational grant for a year's work. Such opportunities have exploded thanks to AmeriCorps — a 250 percent increase in people power over five years.

Spurred by the summit, corporations and nonprofits have pledged to do more to support volunteerism. Well, AmeriCorps & Co. can do that, too, if elected officials will stand up for programs that epitomize individual initiative.

This year, these volunteer programs will cost about $800 million. (That's the price of five F-22 fighters.) Let's double that to $1.6 billion by 2000.

President Clinton wants about $160 million more next year for AmeriCorps (which now includes VISTA). The Peace Corps — whose 6,400 volunteers make it less than half its peak size in '60s — also ought to expand dramatically, but Mr. Clinton would keep its budget virtually the same. That would force the agency to keep turning down nearly two-thirds of the idealistic Americans who apply.

It's dead-wrong for the government to tell thousands of would-be volunteers: No, we can't afford you.

LETTE

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.

5-5-97 4-29-97

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Re

Dear Mr. President,

The First Lady suggested that I share with
Me attached — Commencement speeches that I gave
when Vickee graduated from high school and college.
While I doubt that you need help, you may find
my musings helpful as you contemplate Chelsea's
graduation talk.

Good luck,

Va

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Our Children...

Our Peers

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

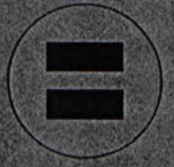
by

VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.
PRESIDENT
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE

at

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

MAY 18, 1981



Most commencement addresses remind me of the French philosopher who said that: "people propose to us patterns of life which neither the proposer nor his hearers have any hope of following, or, what is more, any desire to follow,"

So I won't exhort today, Nor will I do what I have been doing for many weeks now—making speeches suggesting that the Surgeon-General issue a warning that the Administration's Budget is dangerous to the health of poor people and minority people.

Instead, I want to talk on a more personal level, I want to talk about the joys and the heartaches, the pleasures and the fears, of raising children and seeing them one day as full-grown adults, graduates of a great university.

For that is the position in which I find myself today: that is the reason this day, so special for you, is also so special for me. Among the graduates today is my daughter, Vickee. That is what makes today so special, so different.

When a man's only child graduates from college, his mind runs along the course of time until it arrives at the beginnings: the joyful news that a child is on the way, the long months of anxious waiting, the shared experience of expectant parents.

I think back to the rush to the hospital, the pacing of the corridors, and finally the wonderful news that unto us a child is born, a baby girl, a fresh breeze of future gladness and promise.

I vividly remember looking through the window at my newborn baby in those early morning hours so long ago. And I remember my feeling of joyous excitment, waving frantically at that tiny bundle whose eyes were closed tightly, whose little body was exhausted with the effort of coming into this world.

Your parents will recall their similar experience when you were born. And they may also have felt what I felt at that time, amid the joy and excitement a faint feeling of disquiet; a twinge of anxiety about the question marks in life that await our children.

At the root of that feeling lay the limitless potentials symbolized by the awesome experience of birth. The writer John Agee put it so well:

"In every child who is born, under no matter

what circumstances, and of no matter what parents, the potentiality of the human race is born again; and in him, too, once more, and of each of us, our terrific responsibility towards human life; towards the utmost idea of goodness, of the horror of error, and of God."

That feeling never leaves parents. Before us always are the questions marks of the future; the uncertainties of life that can creep up unawares and lift our dreams high or turn them into nightmares. Yes, that anxiety is always present; always making us try harder for our children's sakes, always making us aware of their needs and guarding their futures.

Our children grow. We count each new development as landmarks in our personal histories: the day our baby takes the first step, speaks her first word, goes off to school for the first time.

We watched our children grow, and we grew with them. We stayed up nights when they were sick, and we tended their cuts and bruises. We had good days; we had bad days. We made mistakes, and hurt them in ways grown-ups can never comprehend. But we also made them happy, joining in their gay laughter on a summer's afternoon.

And as they grew older, we shared their new experiences. We tried to remember the little math we learned and the history we forgot, because they needed our help with homework. We laid down the law, and then compromised. We fought over staying out late, or the boys that turned up on our doorstep, or the clutter in the room.

Sometimes our children were rebellious and wrong. Sometimes we parents were dogmatic and wrong. Sometimes we gave our children the comfort they needed, and then, as time passed, they gave us comfort in our bad moments. Sometimes that is when the turning point comes, when the dependency shifts. For so many years I lent my daughter what strength I had, and last summer, in my time of trial and pain, it was she who brought strength to me; she, who brought me the power of love and will to help me pull through.

Finally, the day comes when our children are no longer children. That is why Commencement Day is so important. It is a rite of passage, a formal declaration of independence, a passing over into the larger world.

"Commencement" seems a strange term to use for a ceremony that *ends* the years of college. But it is very apt. For "commencement" means a beginning, and this day signifies not so much the end of one's college career but the beginning of one's adult life.

This day marks the cutting of the strings, the leaving of a protected environment for the larger world. It marks a fundamental change in our relations with our children. For they are now our peers.

They have their own lives to lead; their own dreams to follow, their own aspirations to seek.

Before, we parents were center stage. Now we are in the wings, pushed back by the inevitable passage of time and circumstance; pushed back as we ourselves once pushed back our own parents, and they, theirs.

So we parents, who have spent the past two decades learning and adjusting to new situations and new phases of development, must now adjust to yet another phase, perhaps the most difficult of all to accept. But our acceptance of this new order is a mark of our own maturity, and a final service to the children we love so dearly—the gift of allowing them to be themselves.

Thus far I have been talking to your parents, to my fellow-fathers and mothers of this graduating class. But this is your day, and I do want to say a few things to you directly.

The first is to apologize for the world into which you graduate. It is in many ways, a mean world. The superpowers rattle rockets at each other. Television brings us, between commercials for expensive cars and clothing, pictures of some of the earth's starving millions. People still judge other people by the color of their skin. Pockets of hate pollute our human environment. Right here, in the shadow of this great University, well over one out of five black people are out of work.

Yes, it is in many ways, a mean, mean world. But it is not much different from the world we entered. And in some ways it is a better world. When I returned home after my college gradua-

tion, it was to separate drinking fountains, the back of the bus, and the denial of basic constitutional rights.

So the world has changed. Not nearly enough, but it has changed. And it changed because in the midst of that meanness, buried deep within the caves of injustice, there was the throbbing of the human spirit, the determination by millions of individuals that wrong is something to overcome, not to tolerate.

And so many wrongs were overcome. The many that remain are ours—together—to overcome. But the prime responsibility must be yours, for you enter this brave new world unscarred by the battles we have fought, undaunted by the obstacles we have faced, and unburdened by the many myths we were taught to believe.

Your Commencement marks the beginnings of your acceptance of what Agee called "the terrific responsibility toward human life."

You now share that responsibility fully. You are adults. You are our peers. From today onward, you will shape your own lives and your own destinies.

And you will help shape our nation's destiny—and the world's. I ask you to give to your children a better world than we give to you. I ask you to temper your striving for material success, for the glitter of things, with the drive to overcome the injustice and misery that still stalk our nation and our planet.

I ask you to remember the words of the poet who wrote:

"I am only one,
But still I *am* one.
I cannot do everything.
But still I can do something.
And because I cannot do everything,
I will not refuse to do the something that I can do."

To you, our children, our adult peers and partners in uncharted paths, we, your parents, are proud of you. We love you. And as you go down from this place, as you say farewell to your alma mater, be steadfast, be strong, be of good cheer, and may your own dreams be your only boundaries henceforth, now, and forever.

ADDRESS BY
VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.
EXECUTIVE DIRECTORE
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
AT
COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES
WOODLANDS HIGH SCHOOL
HARTSDALE, NEW YORK
JUNE 25, 1977

THIS IS A GREAT DAY FOR YOU, YOUR PARENTS, AND YOUR TEACHERS. BY VIRTUE OF HAVING A HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA, YOU NOW HAVE ACHIEVED A HIGHER LEVEL OF EDUCATION THAT MOST AMERICANS HAD IN THE EARLIER PART OF THIS CENTURY. MUCH HAS CHANGED SINCE THOSE DAYS, AND ONE OF THE CHANGES HAS BEEN THE FACT THAT THE HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA IS NO LONGER A BADGE OF EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT — IT IS THE BARE MINIMUM OUR SOCIETY REQUIRES.

FEW OF YOU WILL BE CONTENT WITH ENDING YOUR EDUCATION NOW. MANY OF YOU WILL GO ON TO COLLEGE, OTHERS TO TECHNICAL SCHOOLS OR OTHER AVENUES OF SPECIALIZED TRAINING. ALL OF YOU WILL BE THINKING OF YOUR ULTIMATE CAREER GOALS.

YOU WILL REMEMBER THAT WHEN YOU WERE SMALL CHILDREN, ADULTS WOULD ASK YOU WHAT YOU WANT TO BE WHEN YOU GROW UP. WELL, THAT TIME HAS NOW COME. YOU ARE GROWN UP. YOU ARE NOW MEMBERS OF THAT ADULT SOCIETY THAT SEEMED SO STRANGE TO YOU FOR SO MANY YEARS OF YOUR CHILDHOOD.

GRADUATION FROM HIGH SCHOOL IS ONE OF LIFE'S IMPORTANT ACCOMPLISHMENTS, A TURNING POINT THAT SYMBOLIZES YOUR ADMITTANCE TO ADULT SOCIETY. THE DAYS WHEN YOU COULD ENJOY YOUR DEPENDENCE AND WHEN YOU COULD CLAIM NO RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE SOCIETY IN WHICH YOU LIVE ARE NOW OFFICIALLY OVER.

GETTING A JOB, GOING TO COLLEGE, MARRYING, RAISING A FAMILY, VOTING, AND PARTICIPATING IN COMMUNITY AFFAIRS ARE NO LONGER IN THE DISTANT FUTURE. THEY ARE ALL UPON YOU — SOME OF THEM WITHIN WEEKS, SOME WITHIN A FEW YEARS. BUT MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT — YOU ARE NOW ADULTS, WITH THE DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITY OF ADULTHOOD.

BEING ADULTS MEANS MORE THAN ACQUIRING THE RIGHTS TO VOTE, TO DRINK AND TO DRIVE. IT MEANS ACCEPTING THE RESPONSIBILITIES FOR ONE'S OWN ACTIONS, AND FOR SHAPING ONE'S LIFE AND ONE'S SURROUNDINGS TO REFLECT THE VALUES OF OUR CIVILIZATION. AND BY THAT I MEAN THE IDEALS TOWARD WHICH OUR SOCIETY STRIVES, NOT THE SHABBY REALITY OF WHAT IT DOES.

THUS, YOU WILL, IN THE YEARS AHEAD, FORM PUBLIC OPINION, YOU WILL SHAPE PUBLIC POLICY, AND YOU WILL WORK WITH OTHERS TO DETERMINE THE CONTOURS OF OUR SOCIETY'S RESPONSES TO THE HARD ISSUES WE LEAVE YOU. YOU WILL HAVE TO DEAL WITH ISSUES LIKE WORLD HUNGER, PEACE OR WAR, THE URBAN CRISIS, AND RACISM.

IT IS MY HOPE YOU WILL MAKE BETTER USE OF YOUR ADULT RESPONSIBILITIES THAN MY GENERATION — AND YOUR PARENTS' GENERATION — HAVE DONE. AND IT IS MY HOPE THAT YOU WILL MAKE A BETTER USE OF YOUR ABILITIES, YOUR POTENTIAL AND YOUR OPPORTUNITIES, THAN I SUSPECT MANY OF YOU DID WHILE AT WOODLANDS.

FOR SOME OF YOU, YOUR YEARS IN THIS FINE SCHOOL COULD HAVE BEEN MARKED BY A GREATER CONSCIOUS EFFORT TO LEARN FROM AND TO TEACH ONE ANOTHER, AND SO THERE MAY HAVE BEEN PRECIOUS OPPORTUNITIES LOST, OPPORTUNITIES TO BECOME SKILLED IN THE ARTS OF HUMAN RELATIONS AND ENRICHED EXPERIENCES.

WOODLANDS IS ONE OF THE RELATIVELY FEW SCHOOLS IN AMERICA'S SUBURBS WHERE THE RACIAL MIX OF THE STUDENT BODY MAKES REAL INTEGRATION POSSIBLE. THOSE OF YOU WHO FULLY UTILIZED THIS RARE OPPORTUNITY KNOW HOW BENEFICIAL IT HAS BEEN, AND IT WILL BECOME EVEN MORE SO AS THE YEARS PASS. AND THOSE AMONG YOU WHO FAILED TO EXPLOIT THIS RARE RESOURCE, WILL, IN FUTURE YEARS, UNDERSTAND WHAT YOU HAVE MISSED.

YOU'VE STUDIED MATH AND CHEMISTRY, LANGUAGES AND LITERATURE, BUT AS YOU MAKE YOUR WAY IN LIFE YOU WILL BETTER UNDERSTAND THAT MASTERY OF FORMAL SUBJECTS WON'T REALLY AMOUNT TO MUCH UNLESS YOU'VE ALSO MASTERED THE ART OF LEARNING HOW TO LIVE WITH ONE ANOTHER. THOSE AMONG YOU WHO DID MASTER THIS VALUABLE LESSON WILL MAKE YOUR WAY IN THE WORLD IN FULL POSSESSION OF A STRENGTH THAT WILL LIFT YOUR SPIRITS, AND EASE YOUR PATH.

MOST OF YOUR PARENTS NEVER HAD YOUR OPPORTUNITIES. MOST ATTENDED SEGREGATED SCHOOLS -- WHITE OR BLACK. IN THE PAST, BLACK STUDENTS RODE THE BUS PAST ALL-WHITE SCHOOLS CLOSE TO HOME TO ATTEND A SEGREGATED SCHOOL THAT USED OUT-DATED TEXTBOOKS DISCARDED BY THE WHITE SCHOOLS. WE -- YOUR PARENTS -- DIDN'T HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO KNOW PEOPLE FROM DIFFERENT RACES. WE GREW UP IN RELATIVE ISOLATION FROM EACH OTHER.

BUT YOU HAD THE CHANCE. YOU DIDN'T HAVE TO BE SHOCKED INTO UNDERSTANDING THE BLACK EXPERIENCE FROM THE TELEVISED VERSION OF "ROOTS." YOU COULD HAVE BECOME FAMILIAR WITH EVERYDAY EXPERIENCE THROUGH PERSONAL FRIENDSHIPS AND VISITING EACH OTHER'S HOMES. TO THE DEGREE THAT YOU HAVE DONE SO, YOU HAVE LEARNED A LOT MORE THAN YOUR FELLOW STUDENTS. FOR THOSE WHO MISSED THAT HUMAN RELATIONS EXPERIENCE, YOUR SELF-IMPOSED ISOLATION RESULTED IN SEVERELY HAMPERING YOUR REAL EDUCATION AND YOUR FUTURE ABILITY TO DEAL WITH LIFE.

BOTH BLACKS AND WHITES NEED DESPERATELY TO LEARN THIS LESSON. BLACK KIDS CANNOT HIDE BEHIND RACIAL ISOLATION, AND WHITE KIDS CANNOT PERPETUATE TRADITIONAL RACIAL ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES.

WE CANNOT ALLOW OURSELVES TO BE MOTIVATED BY FEAR — FEAR OF FINDING OUT THAT PEOPLE OF OTHER RACES ARE MUCH LIKE OURSELVES, FEAR OF CHALLENGING ONE'S OWN INSECURITY, FEAR OF BECOMING TRULY OPEN TO IDEAS, ATTITUDES AND PEOPLE.

FEAR IS SOMETHING THAT BELONGS TO CHILDHOOD. ADULT LIVING DEMANDS MORE. ADULT LIVING REQUIRES WE MAKE MAXIMUM USE OF OUR ABILITIES, AND THAT INCLUDES MASTERING THE ART OF LIVING WITH ONE ANOTHER. FOR THIS IS THE GREATEST PROBLEM OUR MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY FACES. FOR HUNDREDS OF YEARS OUR SOCIETY HAS DENIED TO SOME PEOPLE THE RIGHTS, PRIVILEGES AND RESPONSIBILITIES ALLOWED TO OTHERS.

THE REVOLUTION OF OUR TIMES HAS BEEN TO ARREST THAT SITUATION AND TO REVERSE IT. WE, YOUR ELDERS, HAVE NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL IN THAT. WE'VE MADE SOME GAINS, BUT WE HAVEN'T BEEN ABLE TO TURN THE SITUATION AROUND. THAT LEGACY WE LEAVE TO YOU — IT WILL BE YOUR GENERATION THAT LARGELY DETERMINES WHETHER OUR SOCIETY BECOMES THE OPEN, PLURALISTIC, INTEGRATED SOCIETY IT CAN AND SHOULD BE.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

THUS, YOU HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO UNBURDEN YOURSELVES OF THE BAGGAGE CARRIED BY YOUR PARENTS, OF ATTITUDES SHAPED BY OTHER TIMES AND OTHER DAYS. OUR VIEWS WERE SHAPED BY LEGAL SEGREGATION, BY WORLD WARS AND BY THE DEPRESSION. BUT YOU WERE BORN IN A DIFFERENT AGE. YOU WERE SMALL CHILDREN WHEN THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT WAS PASSED; WHEN THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON TOOK PLACE, AND WHEN SPACE FLIGHTS WERE LAUNCHED. FOR MOST OF YOU, VIETNAM IS JUST A DIM MEMORY. IT IS SOMETIMES HARD FOR WE, YOUR ELDERS, TO FULLY COMPREHEND HOW THE ISSUES THAT MOST STRONGLY INFLUENCED OUR LIVES ARE, FOR YOU AND YOUR GENERATION, ANCIENT HISTORY.

SO YOU COME TO ADULTHOOD FREE OF THE HEAVY LOAD OF OLD IDEAS, BUT YOU MUST ALSO RECOGNIZE THAT YOU ENTER A WORLD SHAPED BY THOSE OLDER IDEAS, ISSUES AND CONFLICTS. YOU INHERIT THEM. YOU MUST DEAL WITH THEM. YOUR WORLD IS MUCH SMALLER THAN OURS WAS -- INTERCONTINENTAL MESSAGES CAN TAKE SECONDS AND THE CONCORDE GOES TO EUROPE IN A FEW HOURS.

WHEN AN APARTHEID REGIME IN SOUTH AFRICA KILLS SCHOOL CHILDREN IN SOWETO, IT IMPACTS DIRECTLY ON YOU AND YOUR LIVES. WHEN TERRORISTS HOLD INNOCENT HOSTAGES, WHEN BRUTAL RULERS MURDER OR IMPRISON PEACEFUL CITIZENS, WHEN TRUTH-SEEKING REPORTERS ARE DETAINED BY THE SECRET POLICE, THESE EVENTS TOUCH YOU DIRECTLY. AS THE WORLD SHRINKS, YOUR RESPONSIBILITY GROWS.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

AND SO I ASK YOU TO ACCEPT THAT RESPONSIBILITY. I ASK YOU TO AVOID THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST, TO HELP SHAPE CONSTRUCTIVE ANSWERS TO THE PROBLEMS FACING YOU, YOUR TOWN, YOUR NATION AND YOUR WORLD. CAST ASIDE THE VICIOUS PREJUDICES THAT HURT YOUR OWN HUMANITY BY SEEING OTHERS AS LESS THAN EQUAL. OVERCOME THE FEARS THAT BIND YOU TO RACIAL EXCLUSION AND SUSPICION. KEEP YOUR MINDS OPEN, YOUR HEARTS GENEROUS AND YOUR WILL FIRM.

AT THE RISK OF BEING TOO GLUM ON A DAY OF JOY AND HAPPINESS, I MUST REMIND YOU THAT IT'S A HARD, HARD WORLD OUT THERE. LIFE IS NEITHER EASY NOR FAIR. THE PITFALLS ARE DEEP AND THE ROAD RUTTED.

AS YOU EMBARK ON THAT JOURNEY I ASK YOU TO REMEMBER THAT A DEVOTION TO EXCELLENCE WILL SEE YOU THROUGH. DEMAND FROM YOURSELVES THE UTMOST IN EFFORT. TAKE PART IN THE STRUGGLE OF YOUR TIMES. WORK TO OVERCOME THE INEQUITIES THAT STILL INFECT OUR LIVES. REMEMBER THOSE WHO HAVE LESS THAN YOU, AND REMEMBER TOO, THAT THE SYSTEM THAT BRINGS POVERTY AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION CAN BE CHANGED -- AND THAT YOU MUST BE THE AGENTS OF THAT CHANGE.

YOU STAND AT THE THRESHOLD OF ADULT LIFE AND RESPONSIBILITIES, AT THE DAWN OF YOUR TIME OF RESPONSIBILITY AND ACCOMPLISHMENT. AS YOU GO FORTH FROM WOODLANDS, AS YOU LEAVE TO MAKE YOUR WAY IN A WORLD YOU MUST STRIVE TO MAKE BETTER AND MORE HUMANE, BE OF FIRM RESOLVE, GOOD CHEER AND HIGH SPIRIT.

I REMIND YOU GRADUATES, OF THE TIMELESS WORDS OF EDWARD EVERETT HALE:

"I AM ONLY ONE,
BUT STILL, I AM ONE.
I CANNOT DO EVERYTHING,
BUT STILL I CAN DO SOMETHING;
AND BECAUSE I CANNOT DO EVERYTHING
I WILL NOT REFUSE TO DO THE SOMETHING THAT I CAN DO."

GOOD LUCK AND GOD BLESS YOU ALL!!!

###

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

Rahm
Fyi - we did discuss shortly afterwards
BL

LUCILLE STEWART FANNIN
3900 Galt Ocean Drive
Apartment 1601
Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33308
(954) 563-4405

Copied
Emanuel
COS

Hon. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

March 12, 1997

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

All of the extensive press coverage of the visitors to the Lincoln bedroom has prompted me to send you this album with photographs of Sister Margaret Vincent Blandford's visit to the White House. I truly feel that she has personally requested me to send this to you and President Clinton. It is important for you both to see the joy you gave this wonderful woman of God with your generous hospitality. I am sure she deeply regrets that she is not here to express her gratitude and to speak up in your behalf. I believe however, that her expressions in these photographs speak volumes about her appreciation.

She often spoke of you and President Clinton and told me that she always included the two of you in her daily prayers. She was very proud of your accomplishments, commitment and unselfish dedication to public service. Sister Margaret Vincent recognized the many sacrifices the two of you have made and continue to make every day, and worried about the strain you are under because of the attacks being hurdled at you from all directions. She said she knew the people in Arkansas behind the accusations and that she had no doubt that they would have been attacking her if she had been elected President. She said they were "bad people," motivated by a force that good people could not comprehend because our brains can not work the way theirs work.

Just a few words about what you can not see in the photos. Sister Margaret Vincent was like a little kid, so excited and yet nervous about doing something wrong that might embarrass you. She wanted to see and do everything, she even suggested that we change bedrooms at 2:00 A.M. so we could both say we had stayed in the Lincoln Bedroom (we didn't do this). Margaret Vincent filled out both of our cards for breakfast so she could coordinate our orders to make sure we tried a little bit of everything on the menu. Needless to say she was a fun travel companion and a truly appreciative guest. I think it is wonderful that you are so thoughtful and generous to make this experience of a lifetime available to such a deserving individual. It is a shame that the news media doesn't focus on the positive things you have done in opening the White House experience to solid, hard working American citizens. They talk about the 938 overnight guests that you have had in five years as if it is an outrageous number. I on the other hand believe you are to be commended for making this experience available to so many people and that you should be encouraged to keep up the good work. It doesn't matter if it is your barber, high school teacher, famous movie star, or a millionaire political contributor, I am sure they will be touched in a special, positive way by the extraordinary experience.

I am proud to have my name on the list as an overnight guest in the Queen' Suite. You may want to correct the list to reflect I was a visitor from Kentucky, the state of my birth and residence at the time of my visit.

Please let me know if I can be of any assistance to you in the future.

Sincerely Yours,

Lucille Stewart Fannin

Lucille Stewart Fannin

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

BC - Pls Acknowledge
McCurry / [redacted]
Reply - thru desk
Nothing after -

LUCILLE STEWART FANNIN
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McCurry
COS

Hon. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

March 12, 1997

Dear Mrs. Clinton,

All of the extensive press coverage of the visitors to the Lincoln bedroom has prompted me to send you this album with photographs of Sister Margaret Vincent Blandford's visit to the White House. I truly feel that she has personally requested me to send this to you and President Clinton. It is important for you both to see the joy you gave this wonderful woman of God with your generous hospitality. I am sure she deeply regrets that she is not here to express her gratitude and to speak up in your behalf. I believe however, that her expressions in these photographs speak volumes about her appreciation.

She often spoke of you and President Clinton and told me that she always included the two of you in her daily prayers. She was very proud of your accomplishments, commitment and unselfish dedication to public service. Sister Margaret Vincent recognized the many sacrifices the two of you have made and continue to make every day, and worried about the strain you are under because of the attacks being hurdled at you from all directions. She said she knew the people in Arkansas behind the accusations and that she had no doubt that they would have been attacking her if she had been elected President. She said they were "bad people," motivated by a force that good people could not comprehend because our brains can not work the way theirs work.

Just a few words about what you can not see in the photos. Sister Margaret Vincent was like a little kid, so excited and yet nervous about doing something wrong that might embarrass you. She wanted to see and do everything, she even suggested that we change bedrooms at 2:00 A.M. so we could both say we had stayed in the Lincoln Bedroom (we didn't do this). Margaret Vincent filled out both of our cards for breakfast so she could coordinate our orders to make sure we tried a little bit of everything on the menu. Needless to say she was a fun travel companion and a truly appreciative guest. I think it is wonderful that you are so thoughtful and generous to make this experience of a lifetime available to such a deserving individual. It is a shame that the news media doesn't focus on the positive things you have done in opening the White House experience to solid, hard working American citizens. They talk about the 938 overnight guests that you have had in five years as if it is an outrageous number. I on the other hand believe you are to be commended for making this experience available to so many people and that you should be encouraged to keep up the good work. It doesn't matter if it is your barber, high school teacher, famous movie star, or a millionaire political contributor, I am sure they will be touched in a special, positive way by the extraordinary experience.

I am proud to have my name on the list as an overnight guest in the Queen' Suite. You may want to correct the list to reflect I was a visitor from Kentucky, the state of my birth and residence at the time of my visit.

Please let me know if I can be of any assistance to you in the future.

Sincerely Yours,

Lucille Stewart Fannin

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

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Excerprts from remarks made at Gettysburg
11/19/95
by Geoff Ward

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At first glance, Lincoln and Roosevelt seem entirely dissimilar.

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To begin with, each was driven by an ambition that startled and mystified even close friends. Lincoln was just 23, rootless and without so much as a suit to his name, when he announced his candidacy for the Illinois state legislature. (And if we are to credit his friend Ward Hill Lamon, Lincoln once told him he'd dreamed of becoming president since earliest boyhood.) What first made such a youth dream such lofty dreams — and then work so relentlessly to realize them — will remain forever a mystery, I suspect, because we know so maddeningly little about his earliest years and upbringing. (It was evidently a mystery to Lincoln, too. He often wondered at his rise, and I have always suspected that if he really did once tell William Herndon that he owed everything to his maternal line, to his mysterious grandfather, whom he believed to have been a wealthy Virginia planter who seduced his mother's mother, it was because in Lincoln's mind only some mysterious blood inheritance could account for what he had managed to make of himself.)

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Abraham Lincoln haunted Franklin Roosevelt, as he has haunted each of his successors. [FDR may have believed himself haunted literally, by the way; when the White House's old timbers creaked in the evenings, it pleased him and his cousin and constant companion, Daisy Suckley, to say those sounds were really

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And in the interest of getting all that he could, each was also accused of being too clever by half.

Like a good many politicians Lincoln liked to pretend a becoming naiveté. "You know," he once told a group of quarrelsome Pennsylvania Republicans – presumably with a straight face –"I never was a contriver. I don't know much about how things are done in politics..." In fact, of course, he knew how everything was done. It was lessons learned in country courtrooms and the grimy corridors of the Illinois state house that allowed him to triumph over his enemies within and without his own party, hard lessons about the value of keeping one's own counsel, the pace at which public opinion could safely be shaped, the strategic uses of delay and flattery, and the miraculous power of patronage to change mens' minds.

And, as David Donald shows, Lincoln, too, could be cunning. When he decided, for example, that the too-forthright anti-slavery opinions of his first vice president, Hannibal Hamlin, might harm him among moderate voters in 1864, he managed to drop Hamlin from the ticket so soundlessly that Hamlin himself was never entirely sure what had happened to him.

Roosevelt, who dropped not one but two vice presidents with considerably more clatter and embarrassment to himself, must have been envious. He was far more famously devious than Lincoln. Herbert Hoover once denounced him as a "chameleon on plaid," and he did often seem too eager to be all things to all men. He delighted privately in the havoc his guile and serpentine tactics sometimes caused, even among his allies. "Never let your left hand know what your right is doing," he once told his old friend and Treasury Secretary, Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

"Which hand am I, Mr. President?" an anxious Morgenthau asked.

"My right hand, but I keep my left under the table."

But even Roosevelt might have been startled at the audacity his greatest predecessor displayed during his secret meeting with Confederate vice president Alexander H. Stephens aboard the steamboat River Queen at Hampton Roads on February 3, 1865. There, Lincoln apparently went so far as to be deliberately vague as to whether or not slavery might still somehow be permitted to survive in parts of the South, provided all of it surrendered. Lincoln's convictions about slavery's evil had clearly not altered – his behind-the-scenes lobbying had just helped win passage of the 13th Amendment in the House, in fact, the sort of lobbying that has been commonplace since FDR showed how it could be done but was rare indeed in Lincoln's time.

But he was quite willing to imply that his convictions had altered, David Donald believes, if by doing so a "campaign of misinformation" would further undermine the battered Confederacy. (I suppose a rough corollary during World War II would have had FDR secretly meet with Rudolph Hess and falsely hint that if Hitler surrendered to the Allies, Germany might possibly be allowed to hold on to, say, Poland and Czechoslovakia after the war.)

Neither president was conventionally religious — though, unlike Lincoln, FDR was a fairly regular churchgoer and the senior vestryman of his church, as his father had been before him. But each found solace in the belief that he was himself merely the instrument of a Higher Power whose purposes were unknowable but undeniably active in the world. "I claim not to have controlled events," Lincoln wrote in 1864, "but confess plainly that events have controlled me." His conviction that all human events were ultimately in the hands of a

Supreme Being did not preclude his exhausting himself trying to attain the goals that meant the most to him, but it did sustain him during a life of constant striving that might otherwise have crushed him. It helped rescue him from self-righteousness, allowed him to be forbearing when others made mistakes, and encouraged in him the realistic caution that served him and his country so well.

FDR, too, as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. has written, "deeply believed with full reverence and humility, that he was doing his best in the eyes of God, that God was blessing his purposes, that he was at one with the benign forces of the universe." That belief allowed Roosevelt to remain for twelve years the calm eye of every sort of storm, beginning at Miami, Florida in 1933, when he sat without flinching in the back seat of an open and stationary car while a lunatic less than 20 feet away fired five pistol shots at him. Four onlookers were hit. The Mayor of Chicago was mortally wounded. In the chaos that followed, Roosevelt alone remained collected, ordering the stunned Secret Service to place the wounded man in his car, then holding him upright in his arms till they got to the nearest hospital. Later that evening, members of the President-elect's entourage expected he might privately show some after-effects following such a close call. Not at all. "There was nothing, " one aide remembered, "— not so much as the twitching of a muscle, the mopping of a brow, or even the hint of false gaiety — to indicate that it wasn't any other evening in any other place. I have never in my life seen anything so magnificent." That night, in his stateroom, Roosevelt went right to sleep as usual, as if nothing at all had happened.

I hope you'll pardon me if I end on a frankly contemporary note. We hear a great deal these days about the sins of what editorialists call with an almost audible sneer "career politicians." Everything would be better, we are told, if Washington were just placed in the hands of gifted amateurs, public-spirited men and women, distinguished in their own fields, who would contribute a limited period of their valuable time to bringing efficiency and objectivity to government, then return to their <u>real</u> jobs to give someone else a chance.

It is an appealing theory. God knows, American politics has never been pretty. And all of us— even writers, maybe especially writers —like to daydream about what we'd do if we were just put in charge.

But the extraordinary achievements of Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt seem to me to be the most vivid possible refutation of that notion. On the three occasions when this country was most in danger — from enemies within, from economic disaster and the crippling self-doubt it fostered, and then from enemies abroad — the American people, in their wisdom, turned to men who had devoted their whole lives to politics; who had mastered in that sweaty, sometimes squalid world a whole arsenal of essential skills of leadership not taught in any other field.

In those perilous times, had we Americans turned to amateurs, no matter how well-intentioned, I believe that government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" would long ago have "perished from the earth."

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Both men were denounced as unprincipled for failing to move as fast or as consistently as their more ideologically-inclined contemporaries would have liked. Lincoln's characteristic answer when asked about his plans for Reconstruction, would have done nicely for Roosevelt' pragmatic style, as well: "The pilots on our Western rivers steer from point *to* point as they call it – setting the course of the boat no farther than they can see, and that is all I propose to myself in this great problem." Each man was a master of point-to-point navigation; each seemed to know by instinct how far ahead of public opinion he could safely move : "Lincoln was a sad man," FDR confided once, "because he couldn't get it all at once. Nobody can."

And in the interest of getting all that he could, each was also accused of being too clever by half.

Like a good many politicians Lincoln liked to pretend a becoming naiveté. "You know," he once told a group of quarrelsome Pennsylvania Republicans – presumably with a straight face –"I never was a contriver. I don't know much about how things are done in politics..." In fact, of course, he knew how everything was done. It was lessons learned in country courtrooms and the grimy corridors of the Illinois state house that allowed him to triumph over his enemies within and without his own party, hard lessons about the value of keeping one's own counsel, the pace at which public opinion could safely be shaped, the strategic uses of delay and flattery, and the miraculous power of patronage to change mens' minds.

And, as David Donald shows, Lincoln, too, could be cunning. When he decided, for example, that the too-forthright anti-slavery opinions of his first vice president, Hannibal Hamlin, might harm him among moderate voters in 1864, he managed to drop Hamlin from the ticket so soundlessly that Hamlin himself was never entirely sure what had happened to him.

Roosevelt, who dropped not one but two vice presidents with considerably more clatter and embarrassment to himself, must have been envious. He was far more famously devious than Lincoln. Herbert Hoover once denounced him as a "chameleon on plaid," and he did often seem too eager to be all things to all men. He delighted privately in the havoc his guile and serpentine tactics sometimes caused, even among his allies. "Never let your left hand know what your right is doing," he once told his old friend and Treasury Secretary, Henry Morgenthau, Jr.

"Which hand am I, Mr. President?" an anxious Morgenthau asked.

"My right hand, but I keep my left under the table."

But even Roosevelt might have been startled at the audacity his greatest predecessor displayed during his secret meeting with Confederate vice president Alexander H. Stephens aboard the steamboat River Queen at Hampton Roads on February 3, 1865. There, Lincoln apparently went so far as to be deliberately vague as to whether or not slavery might still somehow be permitted to survive in parts of the South, provided all of it surrendered. Lincoln's convictions about slavery's evil had clearly not altered – his behind-the-scenes lobbying had just helped win passage of the 13th Amendment in the House, in fact, the sort of lobbying that has been commonplace since FDR showed how it could be done but was rare indeed in Lincoln's time.

But he was quite willing to imply that his convictions had altered, David Donald believes, if by doing so a "campaign of misinformation" would further undermine the battered Confederacy. (I suppose a rough corollary during World War II would have had FDR secretly meet with Rudolph Hess and falsely hint that if Hitler surrendered to the Allies, Germany might possibly be allowed to hold on to, say, Poland and Czechoslovakia after the war.)

Neither president was conventionally religious — though, unlike Lincoln, FDR was a fairly regular churchgoer and the senior vestryman of his church, as his father had been before him. But each found solace in the belief that he was himself merely the instrument of a Higher Power whose purposes were unknowable but undeniably active in the world. "I claim not to have controlled events," Lincoln wrote in 1864, "but confess plainly that events have controlled me." His conviction that all human events were ultimately in the hands of a

Supreme Being did not preclude his exhausting himself trying to attain the goals that meant the most to him, but it did sustain him during a life of constant striving that might otherwise have crushed him. It helped rescue him from self-righteousness, allowed him to be forbearing when others made mistakes, and encouraged in him the realistic caution that served him and his country so well.

FDR, too, as Arthur Schlesinger, Jr. has written, "deeply believed with full reverence and humility, that he was doing his best in the eyes of God, that God was blessing his purposes, that he was at one with the benign forces of the universe." That belief allowed Roosevelt to remain for twelve years the calm eye of every sort of storm, beginning at Miami, Florida in 1933, when he sat without flinching in the back seat of an open and stationary car while a lunatic less than 20 feet away fired five pistol shots at him. Four onlookers were hit. The Mayor of Chicago was mortally wounded. In the chaos that followed, Roosevelt alone remained collected, ordering the stunned Secret Service to place the wounded man in his car, then holding him upright in his arms till they got to the nearest hospital. Later that evening, members of the President-elect's entourage expected he might privately show some after-effects following such a close call. Not at all. "There was nothing, " one aide remembered, "— not so much as the twitching of a muscle, the mopping of a brow, or even the hint of false gaiety — to indicate that it wasn't any other evening in any other place. I have never in my life seen anything so magnificent." That night, in his stateroom, Roosevelt went right to sleep as usual, as if nothing at all had happened.

I hope you'll pardon me if I end on a frankly contemporary note. We hear a great deal these days about the sins of what editorialists call with an almost audible sneer "career politicians." Everything would be better, we are told, if Washington were just placed in the hands of gifted amateurs, public-spirited men and women, distinguished in their own fields, who would contribute a limited period of their valuable time to bringing efficiency and objectivity to government, then return to their real jobs to give someone else a chance.

It is an appealing theory. God knows, American politics has never been pretty. And all of us— even writers, maybe especially writers — like to daydream about what we'd do if we were just put in charge. . . .

But the extraordinary achievements of Abraham Lincoln and Franklin Roosevelt seem to me to be the most vivid possible refutation of that notion. On the three occasions when this country was most in danger — from enemies within, from economic disaster and the crippling self-doubt it fostered, and then from enemies abroad — the American people, in their wisdom, turned to men who had devoted their whole lives to politics; who had mastered in that sweaty, sometimes squalid world a whole arsenal of essential skills of leadership not taught in any other field.

In those perilous times, had we Americans turned to amateurs, no matter how well-intentioned, I believe that government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" would long ago have "perished from the earth."

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE DEDICATION CEREMONY OF
THE FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT MEMORIAL

West Potomac Park
Washington, D.C.

May 2, 1997

Thank you very much. Senator Inouye, Senator Hatfield; Your Highness; my longtime friend, David Roosevelt, and the members of the Roosevelt family; Mr. Vice President; to all those who have worked to make this day a reality. Let me begin by saying to Senator Inouye and Senator Hatfield, the United States proudly accepts the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial.

Fittingly, this is the first occasion of its kind in more than 50 years. The last time the American people gathered near here was in 1943 when President Franklin Roosevelt dedicated the memorial to Thomas Jefferson.

Today we honor the greatest President of this great American century. As has been said, FDR actually wanted no memorial. For years, none seemed necessary -- for two reasons: First, the America he built was a memorial all around us. From the Golden Gate Bridge to the Grand Coulee Dam; from Social Security to honest financial markets; from an America that has remained the world's indispensable nation to our shared conviction that all Americans must make our journey together, Roosevelt was all around us.

Second, though many of us never lived under his leadership, many who did are still around, and we have all heard about him from our parents or grandparents -- some of us, as we pass WPA or CCC projects along country roads; some of us as we looked at the old radios that our parents and grandparents kept and heard stories about the Fireside Chats and how the people felt. Today he is still very real to millions upon millions of Americans, inspiring us, urging us on. But the world turns and memories fade. And now, more than a half-century after he left us, it is right that we go a little beyond his stated wishes and dedicate this memorial as a tribute to Franklin Roosevelt, to Eleanor, and to the remarkable triumphs of their generation.

President Roosevelt said, "We have faith that future generations will know that here, in the middle of the 20th century, there came a time when men of goodwill found a way to unite and produce and fight to destroy the forces of ignorance and intolerance and slavery and war." This memorial

will be the embodiment of FDR's faith, for it will ensure that all future generations will know. It will ensure that they will all see the "happy warrior" keeping America's rendezvous with destiny.

As we stand at the dawn of a bright new century, this memorial will encourage us, reminding us that whenever America acts with certainty of purpose and FDR's famous flexibility of mind, we have always been more than equal to whatever challenges we face.

Winston Churchill said that President Roosevelt's life was "one of the commanding events in human history." He came from privilege, but he understood the aspirations of farmers and factory workers and forgotten Americans. He electrified the farms and hollows, but even more important, he electrified the nation, instilling confidence with every tilt of his head and boom of his laugh. His was an open, American spirit with a fine sense for the possible and a keen appreciation of the art of leadership. He was a master politician and a magnificent Commander-in-Chief.

And his partner was also magnificent. Eleanor Roosevelt was his eyes and his ears, going places he could not go to see things he would never see to come back and tell him how things actually were. And her reports were formed as words in his speeches that touched little people all across America who could not imagine that the President of the United States knew how they lived and cared about them. She was his conscience and our nation's conscience.

Franklin Roosevelt's mission was to change America to preserve its ancient virtues in the face of new and unprecedented challenges. That is, after all, America's mission in all times of change and difficulty. The depth and sweep of it was unprecedented when FDR asked a shaken nation to put its confidence in him. But he had no doubt of the outcome.

Listen to what he said in September of 1932, shortly before he was elected for the first time. He proclaimed his faith: "Faith in America, faith in our tradition of personal responsibility, faith in our institutions, faith in ourselves demanded we recognize the new terms of an old social contract. New conditions imposed new requirements upon government and upon those who conduct government." That was his faith. He lived it, and we are here as a result.

With that faith, he forged a strong and unapologetic government, determined to tame the savage cycles of boom and bust, able to meet the national challenges too big for families and individuals to meet on their own. And when he restored

dignity to old age, when he helped millions to keep their farms or own their homes, when he provided the simple opportunity to go to work in the morning to millions, he was proving that the American Dream was not a distant glimmer, but something every American could grasp. And then that faith of his infused all of his countrymen.

With that faith he inspired millions of ordinary Americans to take responsibility for one another -- doing their part, in his words, through the National Recovery Administration, reclaiming nature through the Civilian Conservation Corps, gathering scrap, giving up nylons, and eventually storming the beaches at Normandy and Okinawa and Anzio.

With that faith, he committed our nation to lead the world, first as the arsenal of democracy, and then at the head of the great crusade to free the world from tyranny. Before the war began, beyond, the four freedoms set the foundation for the future and made it clear to the whole world that America's goal was not domination, but a dominion of freedom in a world at peace.

With that faith as the war neared an end he would never see, he traced the very architecture of our future, from the G.I. Bill to the United Nations. Faith in the extraordinary potential of ordinary people sparked not only our victory over war, depression and doubt, but it began the opening of doors and the raising of sights for the dispossessed in America that has continued down to the present day. It was that faith in his own extraordinary potential that enabled him to guide his country from a wheelchair. And from that wheelchair and a few halting steps, leaning on his son's arms or those of trusted aides, he lifted a great people back to their feet and set America to march again toward its destiny.

He said over and over again in different ways that we had only to fear fear itself. We did not have to be afraid of pain or adversity or failure, for all those could be overcome. He knew that, of course, because that is exactly what he did. And with his faith and the power of his example, we did conquer them all -- depression, war and doubt.

Now, we see that faith again alive in America. We are grateful beyond measure for our own unprecedented prosperity. But we must remember the source of that faith. And again, let me say to Senator Inouye and others, by showing President Roosevelt as he was we show the world that we have faith that in America you are measured for what you are and what you have achieved, not for what you have lost. And we encourage all who face their difficulties and overcome them not to give into fear, but to believe in their possibilities.

And now again we need the faith of Franklin Roosevelt, in an entirely different time, but still no ordinary time, for in this time new livelihoods demand new skills. We have to fight against the enormous, destructive influences that still grip the lives of too many of our young people. We must struggle to make our rich racial, ethnic, and religious diversity a source of strength and unity when such differences are the undoing of millions and millions around the world. And we must fight against that nagging old doubt.

It is a strange irony of our time that here, at the moment of our greatest prosperity and progress in so many years -- in 1932, one in four Americans was out of work; this morning we learned that fewer than one in 20 Americans are out of work, for the first time in more than two decades. And at this time, when the pinnacle that Roosevelt hoped America would achieve in our influence and power has come to pass, we still, strangely, fight battles with doubts -- doubts that he would treat with great impatience and disdain; doubts that lead some urge us to pull back from the world at the very first time since Roosevelt's time when we actually can realize his vision of world peace and world prosperity and the dominance of the ideals for which he gave his life.

Let us honor his vision not only with this memorial today, but by acting in the way he would tell us to act if he were standing here, giving this speech, on his braces, looking at us and smiling at us and telling us we know what we have to do. We are Americans. We must have faith. We must not be afraid. And we must lead.

The great legacy of Roosevelt is a vision and a challenge -- not a set of specific programs, but a set of commitments -- the duty we owe to ourselves, to one another, to our beloved nation, and increasingly, to our fellow travelers on this small planet.

Now we are surrounded by the monuments to the leaders who built our democracy -- Washington, who launched our great experiment and created our republic; Jefferson, who enshrined forever our creed that it is self-evident that we are all created equal, with unalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; Lincoln, who gave his life to preserve Mr. Washington's republic and to make real Mr. Jefferson's words. And now, Franklin Roosevelt, who saved freedom from tyranny, who restored our republic, who defined Mr. Jefferson's creed to include freedom from want and fear. Today, before the pantheon of our democracy, let us resolve to honor them all by shepherding their legacy into a new century, into a new millennium.

Our mission is to prepare America for the time to come, to write a new chapter of our history, inspired always by the greatest source of hope in our history. Thomas Jefferson wrote the words, but Franklin Roosevelt lived them out every day. Today I ask you to remember what he was writing at Warm Springs when he died, that last speech: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward and active faith."

My fellow Americans, every time you think of Franklin Roosevelt put aside your doubts, become more American, become more like him, be infused with his strong and active faith.

God bless you. God bless America. And may God always bless the memory of Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

# # #

communists.

In fact, the sharp rhetoric obscures the fact that the "one-country two-systems" way around the world to chronicle the end of empire for the folks back home? Far sexier is the row initiated by Gov. Chris Patten. Hong Kong wrong. A couple of examples from U.S. publications, chosen at random, make the point. The New York Times said direction.

Mr. Wain is editor at large of The Asian Wall Street Journal.

The Entitlement Summit

By Marvin Olasky

One night after dinner, with empty pizza boxes spread before us, my family and I were reading through Matthew's Gospel. We had just read a famous statement—"Man does not live on bread alone, but on every word that comes from the mouth of God"—when I noticed that our six-year-old, Benjamin, only half-listening, was practicing his newly acquired reading skills by scrutinizing the boxes. My question to regain his attention was obvious: "Ben, what does man live on?" And so, in retrospect, was his absent-minded answer: "Best pizza in town."

The presidents' summit during the past three days had a lot of pizzazz and is now getting a razzing from some journalists, but for the wrong reasons. The real problem with the Philly extravaganza was not its glitz but its amnesia, its ignoring of our history and the need to change attitudes from the bottom up, not by top-down edict. In America successful poverty fighters have always won predominantly by changing attitudes—the cynicism among those able to give, and the fatalism among those needing to receive. They have done this predominantly through religious beliefs—by presenting words that come from the mouth of God.

In the long run, sad to say, the president's summit is likely to spark not a renewal of compassion but a bull market in sneering and jeering, and a diverting of attention from real solutions. Why? Because of three major mistakes the summit's planners and publicists made:

First, they promoted the idea of paid and forced "volunteering," praising companies like Timberland and state governments like California's for their commitments to pay employees for performing community service. Summit publicists even called on unions to negotiate pay for their members' volunteering, and public schools to withhold diplomas unless students anted up the hours. Such activities merely pass on the mentality of the professional social worker, for whom helping is just a job. And compassion without passion is short-lived.

Second, the summit emphasized "input"—dispatch 50,000 mentors here, 150,000 families there—rather than results in terms of changed lives. Volunteers a century ago were instructed by one charitable society that "intelligent giving and intelligent withholding are alike true charity." But the summit's message to the poor (as in cleaning a graffiti-caked wall) seemed to be the same one the welfare state has been sending for years, with disastrous results: "You mess it up; we'll clean it up."

Third, the summit marginalized religion. Oh, at the last moment a dozen street-wise leaders of faith-based institutions received invitations to join the 2,000 "delegates" from status quo nonprofits—but this amounted to sticking God in a footnote. For anyone who is familiar with the marvelous works of faith-based organization, this much is clear: If you want to achieve enormous reductions in drug abuse, out-of-wedlock births and crime; if you want to build self-esteem, school performance and family happiness; if you want to repair the damage created by alcoholism, drug addiction and marital breakdown, belief in God is the key.

If the summit's understanding was so poor, why did the nation's governmental, corporate and nonprofit elite latch on to it? It's no surprise that Bill Clinton wrapped himself in charity, the new last refuge of scoundrels. It's no surprise that corporations jumped in: What better way to maximize PR than by doing what Bill Clinton, Colin Powell and Newsweek want you to do? And leaders of the big, bureaucratic nonprofits feel comfortable with the summit's top-down approach.

And yet a longer-term pattern was also evident. In the 1960s liberalism was ascending, so the war on poverty could be a popular crusade, for a short time. Today liberalism is desperately trying to preserve its entitlement mentality in the face of popular opposition. Since liberalism doesn't have enough political support to raise taxes openly, the subtle strategy is backdoor taxation: Keep liberal entitlement approaches alive by forced recruitment of time from employees, union members and students.

Americans probably won't fall for it once the TV cameras are off, but there is a cost. Defenders of the summit say that it focuses attention on pressing social needs. The tragedy is that we know how to deal with those needs, and we know what needs to be done next: Build from the bottom up, replicate the small-scale, faith-based programs that work. The summit, by ignoring those solutions, diverts attention from real hopes and makes those who still believe in compassion look like real dopes.

Mr. Olasky, author of "Renewing American Compassion" (Free Press, 1996), is a professor at the University of Texas at Austin.

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POLITICS & POLICY

Naval Battle: Awarding of Contracts Irks Senate's Lott

By Thomas E. Ricks
Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal

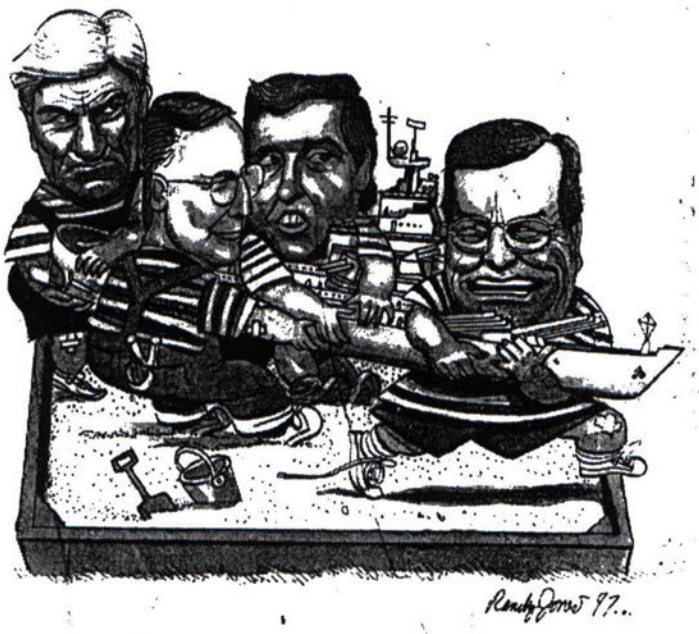
WASHINGTON—Here's a hot tip for the U.S. Navy: When a budget crunch looms over the Pentagon, it isn't good strategy to anger the Senate majority leader.

As noted by Sam Adcock, until recently legislative director for Majority Leader Trent Lott, the Navy lately has been "unwise."

Sen. Lott isn't saying, but rumors rocketing around the Pentagon and on Capitol Hill have him so angry about the Navy's recent handling of shipbuilding contracts that he may take a swipe at its top acquisition priority, the E/F model of the F/A-18 jet, and also try to steer extra budget cuts in the Navy's direction. He even may seek to deep-six the Arsenal Ship, an experimental new class of strike boats designed to send missiles deep inland.

"There's a real potential for Lott to be vindictive on this," says Washington maritime analyst Scott Truver.

The Navy didn't have much choice. It got in the middle of a ship-contract fight among several powerful Republicans, all representing big shipyards and all able to do it great damage. The Ingalls Shipbuilding unit of **Litton Industries** Inc. is the largest private employer in Mississippi, Sen. Lott's state. Then there is Rep. Bob Livingston, chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, representing **Avondale Industries** Inc., one of Louisiana's largest employers. In the background stands Virginia Sen. John Warner, chairman of the Senate Armed Services subcommittee on seapower, who is always mindful of the interests of **Newport News Shipbuilding** Inc., the largest private employer in his state.



New Boss

And over at the Pentagon as the Navy's new boss is defense secretary and former senator William Cohen from Maine, fully aware that the Bath Iron Works unit of **General Dynamics** Corp. is the largest . . . well, the Navy's dilemma is pretty clear.

"I'm not sure they had a way out of it," sympathizes Steven Kosiak, who follows Navy issues at the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Analysis, a Washington think tank. But James McCaul, president of International Maritime Associates Inc., a Washington consulting firm, is more skeptical: "I don't know how they stumbled so badly."

All this shows how lean defense-spending years will play out on Capitol Hill, as powerful legislators fight for scraps at the bottom of a nearly empty pork barrel. "This is just the beginning," says one admiral. "This is the way things are going to be as the defense budget gets smaller." During the fat times of Reagan years, when the Navy was buying 20 new warships annually, there was work enough for everyone. But now it's building just five combatants annually, and six shipyards are chasing that work.

Yet precisely because the stakes are smaller, the infighting is all the more vicious. The game in the American shipbuilding industry nowadays is to try limping through until early next decade, when funds are expected to flow for the Navy's SC-21, a ship planned to succeed the current generation of cruisers and destroyers. Yet no one expects all six shipyards to last that long in their current forms.

Unexpected Award

The fight began last December when the Navy unexpectedly awarded its last big shipbuilding contract of the century to an underdog team led by Avondale Industries and including Bath Iron Works. That contract, to build LPD-17 amphibious assault ships for Marine Corps use, was a prize for two big reasons: It carried a potential $9 billion value over the next decade and offered the security of being built for the Marines, who generally get their way on Capitol Hill.

"This is the contract of the decade," said Rep. Livingston, who once earned his college fees as an Avondale welder during summer months. "I am tickled to death."

But Sen. Lott, who declined to be interviewed for this story, wasn't pleased that the Ingalls-led team lost, especially because its contract bid was more than 10% below the winning bid. The Navy said Avondale designed a ship less expensive to staff, operate and maintain over the course of its life.

Ingalls responded with a two-pronged attack. It formally protested the award, and also began trying to wrest away some Bath Iron Works contracts for high-tech DDG-51 Arleigh Burke-class destroyers. The Navy indicated in late February that it would go along, and sent experts to study whether Ingalls should be given more destroyer contracts to keep it viable. This study was quietly portrayed by some in the Pentagon as a way to give Sen. Lott what he wanted: switching some shipbuilding work from Maine. It isn't clear how the Navy thought this could avoid antagonizing Mr. Cohen, who became defense secretary in January.

Jarring Defeats

Then early this month Sen. Lott took two jarring defeats. First the General Accounting Office denied Ingalls's protest of the LPD-17 award, causing Sen. Lott to recommend publicly that Ingalls consider suing the Navy. A few days later the Navy experts said they saw no good industrial reason to switch destroyer contracts to Ingalls.

Sen. Lott hit the roof, say congressional aides. Word went out on Capitol Hill: The Navy had insulted the majority leader and would live to regret it. Exchanges between Capitol Hill and Pentagon deteriorated into personal attacks. Pentagon officials say they have been told by the Lott camp that John Douglass, a senior Navy official being considered for the top Defense acquisition slot, shouldn't expect any career advances at the Pentagon. And the officials say Lott's office took the unusual and chilling step of requesting the names of all Naval personnel directly involved in making the LPD-17 decision. (Officials say the Navy refused.) Sen. Lott's office didn't have any comment.

"It clearly has gotten personal, which in public policy situations is a sure cycle downwards," observes former Navy secretary Sean O'Keefe, now a professor of business and government policy at Syracuse University.

The Navy is scrambling to defuse things. It is trying to come up with a way to assuage Sen. Lott by somehow giving Ingalls two more DDG-51 contracts. One plan is to simply accelerate the program and build two more ships at the Ingalls yard for about $1.7 billion—without switching any work from Maine. The fallback is to add one ship while taking away one from Bath, giving Ingalls the advantage in a possible 8-5 split between the two shipyards. But one question remains: Where will the money come from?

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The New York Times
THURSDAY, APRIL 24, 1997

Working For My Welfare

By Donald Mackey

I am a participant in New York City's Work Experience Program, which requires welfare recipients to work for their monthly checks and food stamps. I am a 55-year-old divorced man with five dependent children I want to support. I am ready and willing to work. I think the city's program is basically fair, though it has some problems that need to be ironed out.

I have had full-time jobs for more than 35 years, earning as much as $47,000 a year. I have been an employment interviewer for the New Jersey Department of Labor, a control-room operator for the Passaic Valley Sewage Commission and an employment counselor at a private school in Manhattan.

But my life took an unfortunate turn after a serious back injury. I lost a job I loved — the one with the New Jersey labor department. I ended up on drugs and in a homeless shelter. I regret that chain of events, but with the help of my church, counseling and a writing workshop, I quit cold turkey and have been clean for three years. I rent a room in a brownstone in Brooklyn and receive $256 a month in welfare and food stamps.

I do not want to be an anonymous welfare statistic. I want more than anything to earn an honest living again, perhaps as a coordinator of church-related community programs. I have a lot to offer.

Looking for a decent job, I sent out many résumés, but got no response. In February, the Work Experience Program assigned me and about 30 other welfare recipients between the ages of 20 and 60 to a sanitation garage in Brooklyn.

The first day, I was given a broom and a dustpan and told I would be putting in 15 hours a week cleaning the garage. I couldn't hang up my coat because I shared a locker with nine other crew members, and it was already jammed with bottles of cleaning solution, toilet brushes and a plunger. The lock was broken. I couldn't put my bag lunch in the refrigerator because the full-time garbagemen had padlocked it.

> New York City's program has some problems.

The next day I asked for a pair of gloves, but they didn't have any. When I said it was important because I had injured my hand at home, I was given a dirty, used pair. I was afraid my hand would get infected.

After a month, I was told that I would be working 46 hours a week, outside, sweeping the streets. When I asked for a dust mask, I was told they were on order. I was issued an army jacket, a knit cap and a new pair of gloves but wore my own sneakers because they were out of boots. Each morning we walked with our equipment to a cleaning area more than a mile away.

The program is intended to help 35,000 inexperienced workers enter the job force. The goal for 1999 is 100,000. It's a great idea that I hope will get and keep many New Yorkers off welfare. Yet in the rush to put people to work, confusion has ensued. The workfare program doesn't consider experience or education. I wish it provided for age and skill. And I wish the hours were more consistent. Now, for example, I am working 24 hours a week.

A woman I know had to stop going to college classes in order to get to her work assignment. A homeless man didn't come back to the garage because there was no place for him to shower. Full-time sanitation workers fear and resent us because they are afraid we'll steal their jobs.

The Work Experience Program has gotten some things right. We can take a day off to interview for jobs, as long as we present written verification, and some supervisors seem to be sincerely trying to help. I just hope the program will turn out to be a concerted effort to aid those who want to work, not just a political Band-Aid. □

Donald Mackey lives in Brooklyn.

Foreign Affairs

copied Reed cos

Bread we need to work w/ Sta to work thru issues - BC

Copied Gary Walters (usher) Bowles

Telegraph Herald
SUNDAY, MARCH 16, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

To Gary Walters Eyk TBL

Tri-State

To contact us with:
Iowa news: 800/562-6035
Wisconsin news: 800/562-6021
Illinois news: 800/562-6031

AMY GILLIGAN
CITY EDITOR
319/588-5671
800/553-4801

A footnote to history

Antique: Galenian's bed is identical to Lincoln furniture in the White House

By JOEL PATENAUDE
TH staff writer

GALENA, Ill. — Under intense pressure to explain who slept in the bed he made for large donors to the Democratic Party, President Bill Clinton might want to escape to Galena.

Once there, Clinton could rest in a bed identical to the now infamous Lincoln bed.

Better yet, this bed could be available "at a significant cut rate from what the White House charges," said Galena antique dealer Charles Primrose, standing at the foot of the bed inside the gutted mansion he is restoring.

Charles Primrose
$30,000 purchase

Primrose, who spent $30,000 in 1989 for the bed and a matching dresser and armoire, finds the scandal swirling about the Lincoln bedroom historically fascin- ating — and opportune.

"It's my thinking that this bed was in existence when Mrs. Lincoln bought the other one," he said. "I bought it thinking this was a distinct possibility."

The entangled grapevines that border the bed's 11-foot high headboard of Brazilian rosewood closely match the details in photos of the White House bed — photos that recently appeared in numerous national publications and on network news shows.

Primrose bought the bedroom set from the Piqua, Ohio, estate of Albertine Hicks, a 91-year-old woman who inherited the furniture, which was purchased in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1858.

Since no one has come forward to say they have another bed like the one he bought at a nationally advertised auction, Primrose suspects the two beds are the only ones in existence.

"Over 30 years of collecting, I've never come across something like this," said Primrose, an investor in the stock market and collector of high-style Victorian furniture.

Two Lincoln historians said it is possible duplicates were made. However, one expert recalled seeing photos of another bed like the one in the home of the first family and doubted either was made by a midwest manufacturer, as Primrose contends.

Primrose bought the bedroom set from the Piqua, Ohio, estate of Albertine Hicks, a 91-year-old woman who inherited the furniture, which was purchased in Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1858.

At that time, Cincinnati was the home of Mitchell and Rammelsberg, a large furniture manufacturing company known for its plain affordable chairs, as well as "enormous, monumental bedroom sets," Primrose said.

"I am extremely confident the bureau and armoire were made by Mitchell and Rammelsberg. That they came together with the bed is too much of a coincidence."

But its unlikely the bed bought by Mary Todd Lincoln from a store in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1861 was made by that company, said William Seale, a historian with the White House Historical Association in Arlington, Va.

"I've never heard that suggestion, but the bed wasn't a unique piece," Seale said.

Some historians have claimed that the famous Victorian, rococo-style, was "made to order to accommodate Lincoln's long, lanky frame."

But Seale and Howard Holzer, a Lincoln historian and vice president for communications at New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, believe Mary Todd Lincoln simply came across the bed.

A copy of the receipt, obtained by Primrose, indicates that Mary Todd Lincoln paid $800 of a $7,500 bill on the bed, two armchairs, a sofa and four chairs. Much of the rest was spent on draperies.

What enraged Abraham Lincoln was the fact that his wife overspent by $6,700 the $20,000 allocated by Congress for White House redecorating.

"It was very embarrassing to the president, and he yelled and screamed at her, saying he wouldn't allow it," Holzer said.

The press repeatedly criticized Mary Todd Lincoln's shopping sprees and penchant for throwing large elegant parties while the country was consumed by the Civil War.

"It doesn't seem logical that during an unpopular war, Lincoln's wife would be out shopping," Primrose said.

"It would stink in the nostrils of the American people," Lincoln said, if he asked Capitol Hill for more money to pay for "flub-dubs for this damned old house" while soldiers went without blankets.

The appearance of impropriety requiring damage control in connection to activities in the Lincoln bedroom has returned.

Among the more than 900 people who have stayed overnight in the bedroom since 1993 were many large contributors to Clinton's re-election campaign.

Guests in the room contributed more than $5.3 million to the Democratic National Committee in 1995 and 1996, according to CNN.

This has raised questions about the legality of how the Democratic Party used public property in their fund-raising efforts.

But Holzer said, "The room has always been full of people trying to bend the president's ear." To suggest Clinton was the first to allow influential people to stay there "is a lot of over-excited nothingness," he said.

Lincoln, however, never slept in the bed but used the room as an office and meeting room for his Cabinet. He wrote the Gettysberg Address and first read the Emancipation Proclamation there.

Holzer suggested that Primrose turn the building he is restoring into a motel "and charge people to sleep in the bed."

Primrose, a member of Galena's Historic District Advisory Board for 11 years, said he has a certificate to open a guest house.

"Anything is possible," he

TH: Jeanine Brown

Charles Primrose, of Galena, Ill., owns a replica of the Lincoln bed that has been linked to the controversy over fund raising using the Lincoln room at the White House.

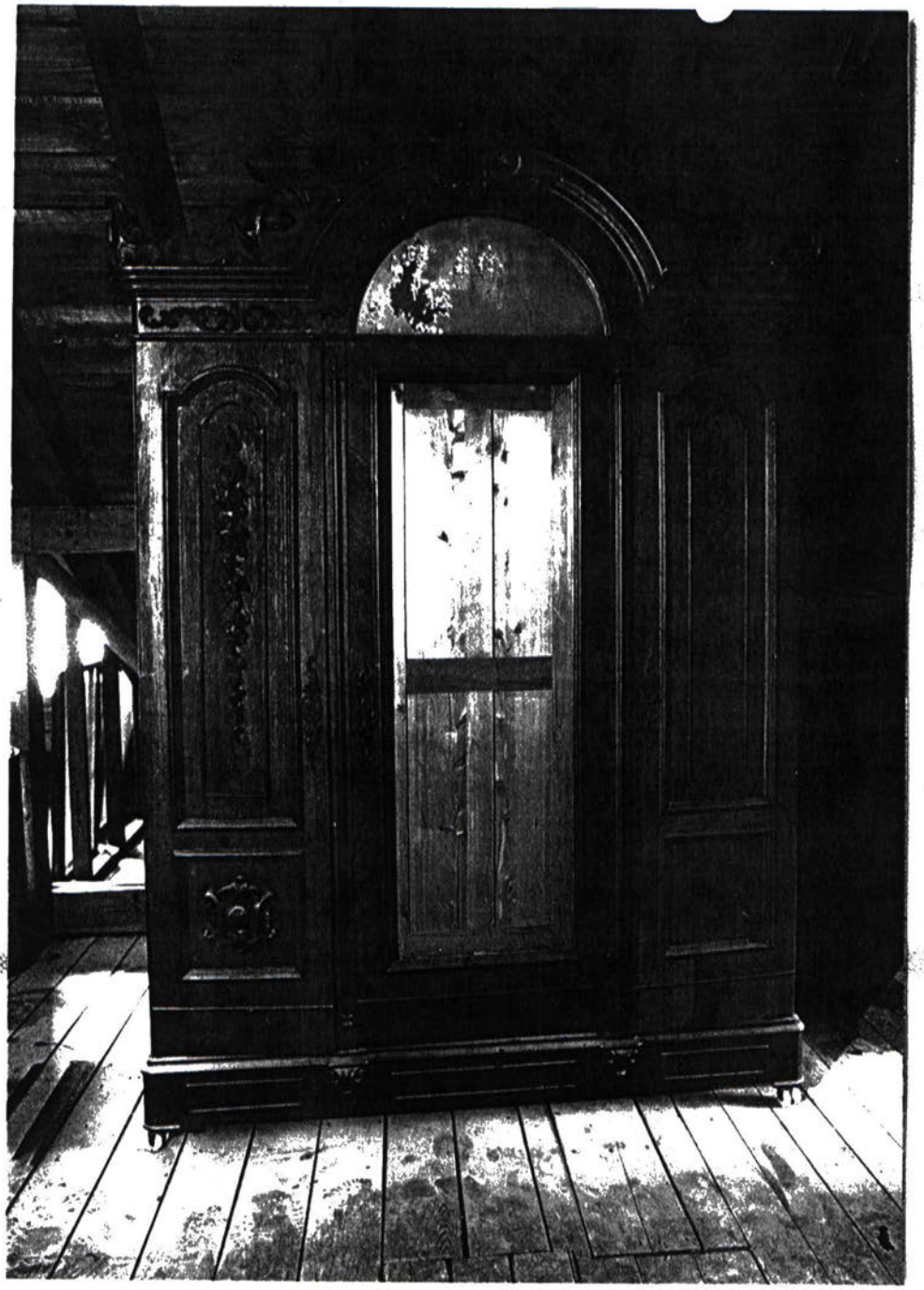
Symph brings the bra

Added punch: Orc invites collegian blow off the roo explosive score

Vitality — one of this needed and least-evident plenteously abundant in subscription concert of Symphony Orchestra, Music Director Nicholas Five Flags Center on Satu

Joel Blahnik's festival a condensed musical p Czech nation from the 1 the present, opened the Dubuque premiere. Com who dedicated "Slava" to Dominican Congregation was in attendance for th this vivifying, energizing work. So were brass musi Tri-State Wind Symphony and the University of W teville, who played from to round out the sonoriti liantly orchestrated work

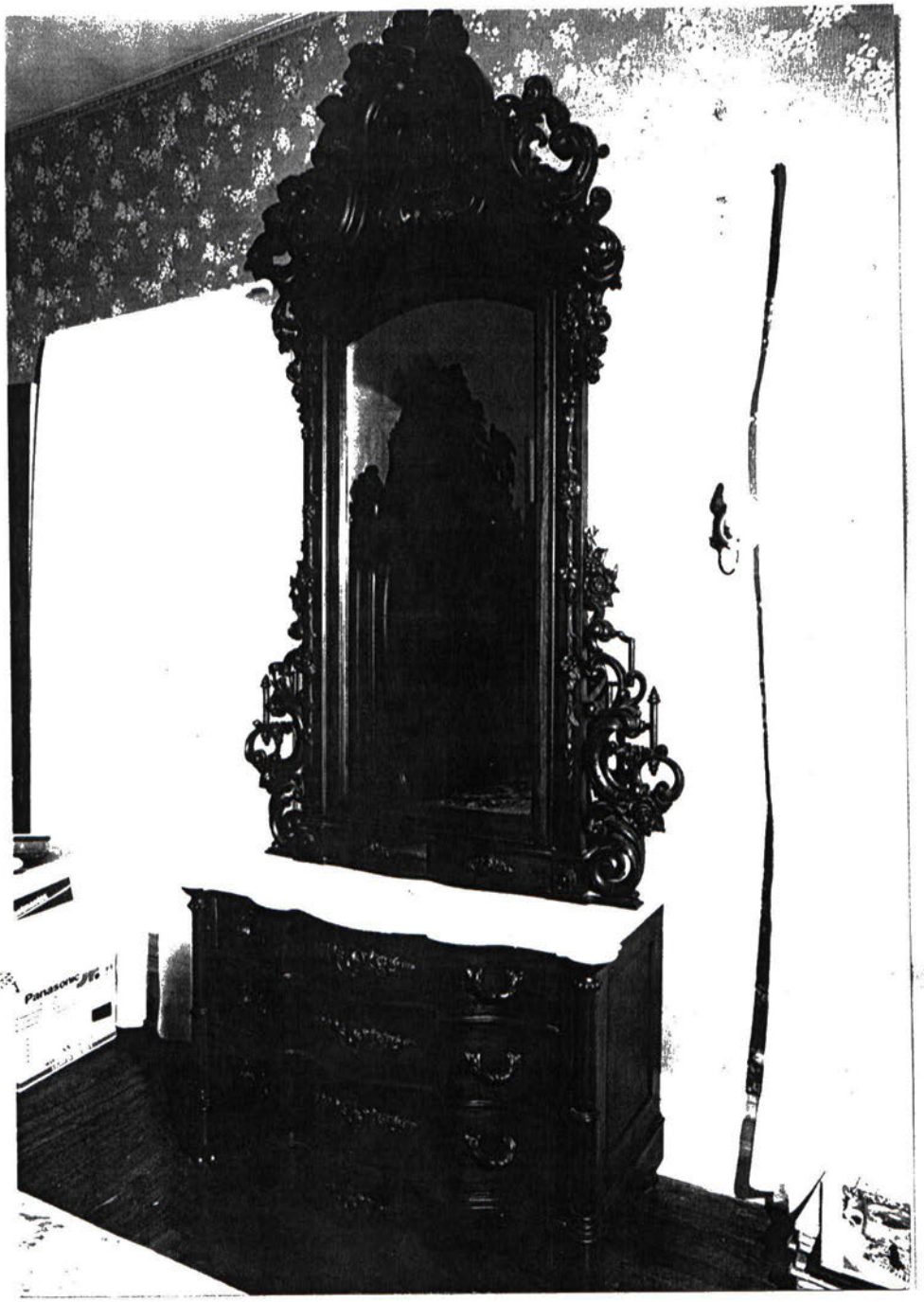
The magnum opus of th Dvorak's Piano Concerto soloist Radoslav Kvapil at the piano. This performance is significant in the music history of Iowa — already connected to Dvorak — because Kvapil performs the score as the vigorous Czech master scored it, an event so momentous that scholar of Czech music, Dr. Ju-



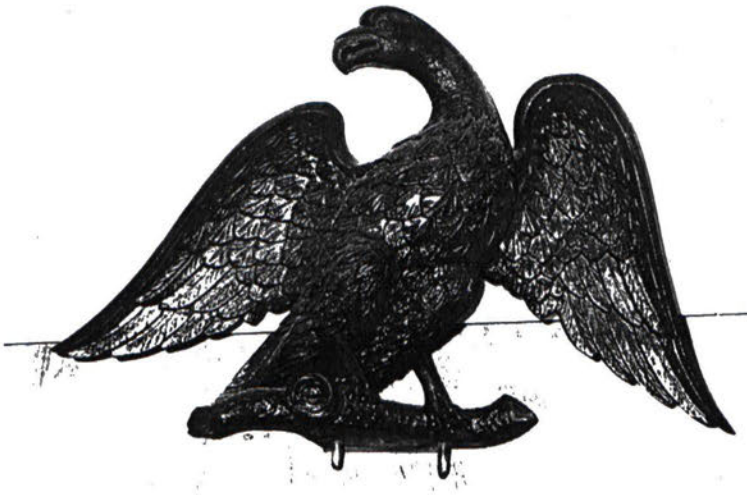
Wardrobe shown
in attic of Hicks
house where it was
stored for 108 years
1881-1989 missing
mirror & carvings
have been restored.

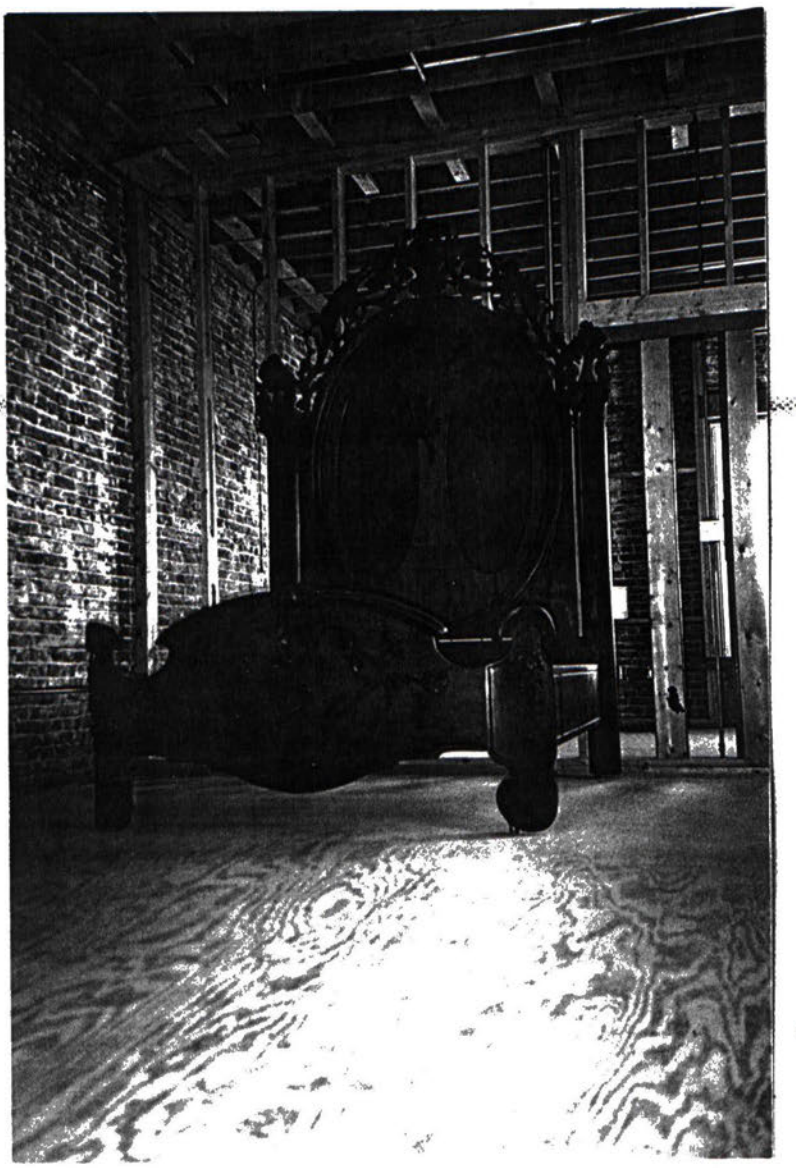
Also original
crest eagle was
off at the time of
this photo
Photo of eagle
included
≈ 10'6" tall

Bel
≈ 9'6" Tall
1 bird on footboard
2 in crest
Woodpeckers?


Panasonic

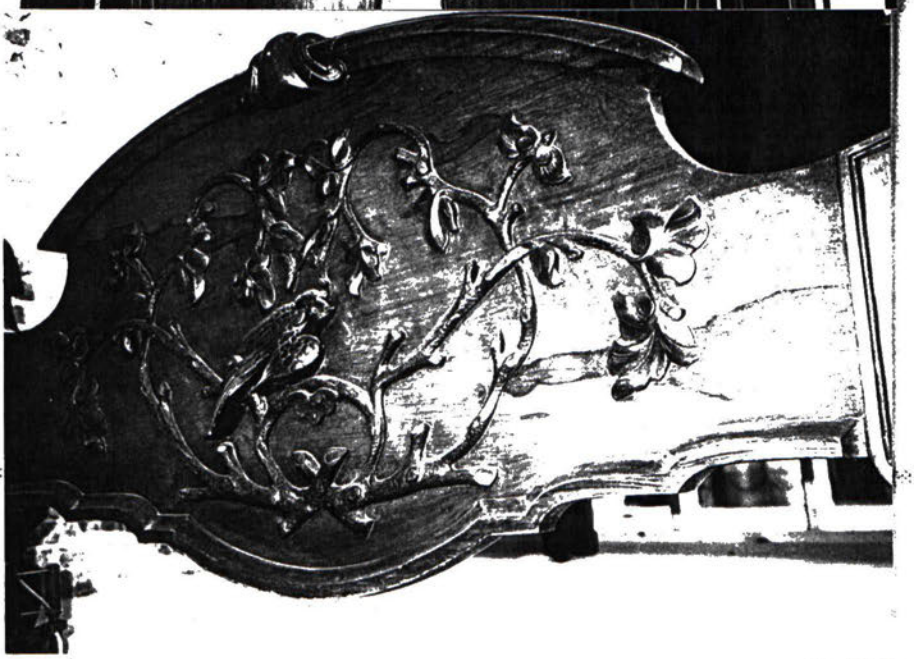
Dresser
≈ 10'6" Tall
Photo of eagle in
crest included
Photo in Hicks
house





Eagle from
top of Wardrobe

Bed photo
that better
shows true color
of the finish.



Kelly L. Ellis-Soliman
Sales Manager

WYNDHAM FRANKLIN PLAZA HOTEL

17th. & Race Streets
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103
Direct: 215-448-2942 Fax: 215-448-2853
Hotel: 215-448-2000

JIM DORSKIND:
please coordinate
the reply.

President Clinton ~

Welcome to the Wyndham Franklin Plaza Hotel & Philadelphia we hope you enjoy your stay. We look forward to another great visit with you, please let us know if we can do anything -

Kelly Ellis-Soliman ~

Kelly L. Ellis-Soliman
Sales Manager

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Mrs. Clinton -

Please accept these gifts from the staff at the Wyndham Franklin Plaza Hotel. We appreciate you choosing the Wyndham and we hope you enjoy your stay. Please let us know if there is anything we can do to assist you.

Kelly Ellis-Soliman

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April 25, 1997

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

Dear President Clinton,

Many thanks for participating in our recent interview on Jackie Robinson and the current status of race relations. Please know that portions of the interview were used in our special program on the anniversary of the day baseball's color barrier ended. We also broadcast the entire interview on another program. Excerpts were also used on the Today Show.

Knowing your keen interest in sports and your lack of time to listen to the radio, I have taken the liberty of enclosing a tape of the Jackie Robinson special program. I hope you enjoy hearing yourself in the same line-up as Robinson, Tiger Woods, Hank Aaron and other sports stars.

Sincerely,

Peter Maer
White House Correspondent

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate the reply.

Todd,

I will send to Jim once you have seen.

C.

1755 S. Jefferson Davis Highway, Arlington, VA 22202
Phone (703) 413-8390

Girl Learns Meaning Of Mother's Journey From Welfare to Work

For Once-Jobless Woman, 'Take Our Daughters to Work Day' Is a Special Event

By Jon Jeter
Washington Post Staff Writer

An estimated 5 million girls went on the job yesterday with their parents as part of Take Our Daughters to Work Day, the nationwide effort to boost girls' confidence. That 13-year-old Antonia Summer was one of them is at once almost heroic and miraculously mundane.

Jobless for years, Antonia's mother, Phyllis, left the welfare rolls for a $6-an-hour job as a dental assistant in Howard County three months ago. Before yesterday, the last time the 32-year-old Summer had taken her daughter to work with her was more than a decade ago, and neither of them remembers much about it.

But this trip was altogether different, something of a long, arduous journey, and one that advocates say carries tangible and intangible rewards for welfare recipients that the government is coaxing into jobs.

Less than a year ago, Phyllis Summer went to her daughter on a warm August night and said that she'd had enough of the abusive boyfriend they were living with in a small North Carolina town. Together, Phyllis and her eldest daughter rounded up the three younger children and headed north. They ended up in Columbia, for no other reason than Phyllis saw the suburb on the map and her intuition said that was the place to make a new life.

Penniless and homeless, Summer applied for public assistance just as Howard County, Maryland and much of the nation were beginning to retool the way they help the poor. In the last three years, tens of thousands of jobless women have left the dole for the workplace, and the welfare overhaul signed into law last summer by President Clinton has so far only accelerated that momentum.

Whether the overhaul will really curb poverty over the long haul is anyone's guess at this point. Critics of the welfare-to-work effort say that the job market cannot easily absorb 2 million new workers over five years, and that even if it did, most would still be poor, working for wages slightly higher than most states' cash benefits.

But nearly everyone agrees that there is a value in work that goes beyond income. Even in the poorest families, the children of mothers who work are generally healthier and happier than the children of mothers who don't, according to a study by Carol A. Emig, a policy analyst for Child Trends, a Washington-based research firm.

See DAUGHTER, B2, Col. 3

DAUGHTER, From B1

"The whole concept behind welfare reform is about integrating people into the mainstream," said Scott Oostdyk, deputy director of Virginia's Department of Human Services. "For people who have been isolated from that, the idea of discipline, of organizing your day and doing something productive and returning home at the end of the day richer than when you left is the goal.

"If you live strictly in an econometric world, you can't picture these intangibles, but all of us know intuitively that this is the right way to raise our children."

Phyllis Summer is a disciple of that philosophy. Required to look for work by Howard County's social service workers, Summers "put in resumés at every store in [Columbia] Mall," she said yesterday.

No one called, and Phyllis woke up most mornings and told her daughter that they could do anything she wanted that day as long as it was within walking distance and didn't cost so much as a dime.

"She had to grow up so fast," Summer said of her daughter in between patients at Gateway Dental.

When things were going particularly bad, Phyllis would get this pain in her neck, and it would hurt so bad that she couldn't speak to someone standing at her side without turning her whole body.

Antonia tensed every muscle in her neck and jaw, affected a cartoonish grimace, and like some B-movie Frankentstein, she mimicked her mother's strained, stiff motions. "You would walk around like this," she teased yesterday, giggling. Phyllis did her best to hold it in, but couldn't suppress the laughter.

"She's a lot less snappish now," Antonia said of her formerly irritable mom.

Things took a turn for the better on the day last fall that Vicki Cooper walked into the county social services office to find an assistant for her newly opened dental office. She scooped up Phyllis almost immediately.

"It's worked out wonderfully," said Cooper, who is the same age as Summers and had to go retrieve her baby daughter from day care yesterday when she got sick.

"I'm just really happy now," Summer said. "I can give my daughter an allowance now, and I can be more of a role model for her, and that just feels so wonderful."

At this, Antonia put her arm around her mother and pulled her close, like a doting daughter.

"I'm really proud of her," she said. "It sounds like I'm talking about *my* daughter, doesn't it."

The Washington Post
FRIDAY, APRIL 25, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

(2) R Reed
FYI
(1) We should do a nice letter to her

copied
Reed
COS

Todd,

I will send to Jim once you have seen.

S.

5-5-97

JIM DORSKIND:

Please coordinate the reply.

Hollywood women's PAC decides to face out

Dissolves after decrying state of fund-raising

By Jill Lawrence
USA TODAY

BEVERLY HILLS, Calif. — "No more business as usual," the Hollywood Women's Political Committee declared in a defiant farewell ad last month in *Daily Variety*. As if politics had ever resembled the usual in the fragrant gardens and antique-crammed living rooms of these insistent liberals.

For 13 years these entertainment-industry VIPs rebelled against the rituals of the political money system even as they raised and contributed millions and became a glittering focal point for Hollywood activism. They are disbanding their 275-member political action committee in the same spirit, poking the system in the eye with a sharp stick.

Unshackled from their PAC identity, they have a few thoughts on political fund-raising: Sick. Broken. Obscene. Out of control. Stomach-turning. Disgusting. You're like a pusher. An enabler. You can't look at yourself in the mirror.

"We had to get out of this hypocritical morass we were in," says Marilyn Bergman, Oscar-winning lyricist of *The Way We Were* and dozens of other standards, reflecting in her cozy sitting room. "We were becoming part of the problem instead of part of the solution."

The Hollywood women are quitting the PAC business with a broadside against "the buying and selling of political office." They want limits on contributions, spending and television costs, and ultimately a system of government-funded campaigns.

The group closes its doors June 30, but its last meeting is today. The featured guest is Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala.

Democratic reaction to the dissolution is running the gamut from scorn to depression, from no-great-loss to relief that individual members plan to keep on giving to politicians they like. EMILY's List President Ellen Malcolm, whose group raises money for Democratic women who support abortion rights, accuses the Hollywood women of deserting the battlefield.

"They make all their comments about feeling corrupt. I don't feel corrupt," she says. "The only way to make a difference is to get in there and fight hard."

By Alan Berliner

Getting out of 'this hypocritical morass': Members of Hollywood Women's Political Committee attend a voter registration event in Los Angeles. From left: Marilyn Bergman, Susan Grode, Lily Tomlin, Paula Weinstein and Anthea Sylbert.

By Doug Mills, AP

In Beverly Hills: President Clinton and actress-singer Barbra Streisand at a fund-raising gala in September 1996

The Hollywood Women's Political Committee was born in 1984 to counter Ronald Reagan conservatism. Sitting around a table on Bergman's patio, amid the roses and bougainvillea, the dozen founders drafted principles that ranged from environmental protection and nuclear disarmament to abortion rights and campaign finance reform. It took them six months.

"They were wonderful times," says Pat Tourk Lee, executive producer of HBO's *Comic Relief*. "It was like the '60s — we could take to the streets, we could change things."

The Hollywood women's first event, a 1984 Mondale-Ferraro benefit with Lily Tomlin and Neil Diamond, took in $771,000 and established them as serious players. They quickly became famous for sophisticated fund-raising galas featuring Barbra Streisand, Goldie Hawn and countless other super-celebs.

The initial reaction had been patronizing. More than one politician treated members as designer-dressed ladies who lunch. In fact, they were powerful industry insiders and well-informed, highly opinionated activists. From George Mitchell to George Stephanopoulos, no guest went unchallenged. "We do have a tendency to put people on the spot," says TV executive Barbara Corday, creator of *Cagney & Lacey*. "I think that's a good thing. We care."

But their style and their demands earned them a reputation as difficult. They resisted handing over money to the Democratic Party's House and Senate campaign committees to dole out to candidates; they wanted to control who got it. And they insisted that candidates endorse all their principles.

Some veterans smile now at their once brazen behavior. Sen. Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., a liberal icon, "wasn't pure enough for us about something," Bergman says. The ensuing argument in her living room was "pretty nervy. But we felt that where we put our money and our passions, we could put our mouths."

They breached political protocol even more grievously in 1986. Democratic Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey, arriving in Los Angeles for a campaign fund-raiser, was greeted by their ad in *Variety*, the show business daily, urging the Hollywood community to withhold donations until Bradley stopped supporting the Nicaraguan contras. Bradley was shocked; industry executives courting him were furious.

The women discovered that "when you break taboos, you don't die," says Susan Grode, an entertainment lawyer whose clients include *The Simpsons* creator Matt Groening. A year later the committee became the only PAC to testify before Congress for campaign finance reform. It argued, among other things, for the abolition of PACs.

Over the years, the group's role extended well beyond celebrity fund-raisers. It introduced hundreds of women to political giving. It produced public service announcements and other materials for liberal interest groups to use as their own.

When Democrats sought help two years ago battling Republican plans to curb Medicare growth, committee members produced a videotape featuring actor Carroll O'Connor and two of TV's *Golden Girls*, Rue McClanahan and Estelle Getty. Thousands of copies circulated to nursing homes and senior centers. Members of Congress were barraged with calls and letters as a result.

The committee had a good year in 1992, when it helped elect Bill Clinton and four female senators. But the liberals' high was followed by a low: the 1994 elections, in which Republicans took over Congress.

The money system, with its exploding costs and demands, was gnawing at the Hollywood women as well. "The pressure on us from Washington was completely out of control," says Margery Tabankin, a former executive director. "The amount of money being spent and raised was never enough."

President Clinton, meanwhile, signed a welfare reform bill that drove liberals to despair. Then there was the Democrats' fund-raising mess. "It was so over-the-top discouraging to a group of people who are completely committed to cleaning up politics," says Tabankin. But she and others insist they would be disbanding anyway. They were at the point of diminishing returns.

Campaign finance reform crusaders were elated at the dramatic move. But some experts disapproved. "It's very short-sighted. I don't expect it to count for much," says political scientist Herbert Alexander, head of a University of Southern California foundation that studies campaign financing. Committee members simply felt, Grode says, that "someone must do something."

The decision to disband the Hollywood Women's Political Committee, like the founding, came in Bergman's garden. There were tears in many eyes. But some were looking toward a new beginning. "There is a brief vacuum," says Tabankin. "But I find it very hard to believe that something fresh and new won't emerge. I've lived in California long enough to believe in reincarnation."

Boxer, Feinstein reaped the benefits

LOS ANGELES — The Hollywood Women's Political Committee circumvented campaign finance restrictions as well as any political action committee before deciding to disband.

Political action committees (PACs) are limited by law to giving $10,000 to any candidate — $5,000 in a primary election and $5,000 in a general election. But there are other ways to help.

Sen. Barbara Boxer, a liberal California Democrat with close ties to the Hollywood women, was among the candidates and causes reaping financial benefits from their unique ability to recruit big-name talent and plan major events and produce them professionally.

One example was a Sept. 16, 1992, presidential gala, "Voices for Change." The Hollywood women teamed up with the California Democratic Party, the Democratic National Committee/Victory Fund and the campaign committees for Senate candidates Boxer and Dianne Feinstein. They formed a legal entity called a joint fund-raising committee.

The women's PAC arranged and ran the whole event. President Clinton was there with an all-star lineup: Barbra Streisand, Mike Nichols, Elaine May, Tammy Wynette, Dustin Hoffman, Danny DeVito, Michelle Pfeiffer, Annette Bening, Warren Beatty, Christine Lahti, Sarah Jessica Parker and Christian Slater.

The $1.2 million take was divided among the sponsoring organizations. Boxer's campaign received $81,293.

It was not her first check that year from an event bearing the Hollywood women's stamp. A July 1 "Women for a Change" dinner for nine female Senate candidates featured Streisand, Goldie Hawn, Lily Tomlin, Judy Collins, Melissa Etheridge, Melissa Manchester, Dionne Warwick, Mary Chapin Carpenter and Cybill Shepherd. Boxer's share of the $280,000 proceeds was $33,215.

"My heart sank" at the news the PAC was folding, Boxer says. But members told her they would continue personally supporting "candidates they believe in." Boxer received more than $75,000 from members for her 1992 race.

By Jill Lawrence

USA TODAY
THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

Cover

We really should
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was — important to me
also to mention in Cairo -
how that budget is over a big
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RR

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Sperling
COS

China Cheats (What a Surprise!)

The New York Times
THURSDAY, APRIL 24, 1997

By Gary Milhollin

WASHINGTON

Satellite photos now reveal that a state-owned Chinese company deliberately deceived Washington officials in 1994 when it claimed it was importing American machine tools for civilian purposes. Instead, it diverted them illegally to a missile factory.

This should come as no surprise. The Clinton Administration's penchant for putting trade above national security has convinced China that even the greatest outrages will go unpunished.

The equipment came from Columbus, Ohio, where it had been used to produce the B-1 strategic bomber. The shipment included high-tech milling and measuring machines and a giant stretch press used for bending huge pieces of metal; all required export licenses from the Commerce Department. The state-run Chinese company, Catic, said the equipment was to go to a new machining center in Beijing to be used in making civilian aircraft. But the center didn't even exist when the licenses were applied for. Nonetheless, the Commerce Department approved the shipment over the protest of Pentagon officials who were convinced the machines would be diverted to military producers.

Pentagon officials say the Chinese insisted on the machine tool sale at the same time the United States was trying to get the Chinese to buy aircraft from McDonnell Douglas, a deal that Commerce Secretary Ron Brown went to China to complete and that President Clinton announced with great fanfare two months after the licenses for the machine tools were granted.

The stretch press went straight to a missile factory 800 miles from Beijing, where a special building was created to house it. The satellite photos show that the factory was under construction even as the Chinese were promising Administration officials they would use the press at the Beijing machining center. Catic also implied at the time that the plant in Beijing was almost ready, which was also not true.

Commerce Department investigators, indignant at those and other deceptions, urged in late 1995 that Catic be punished with trade sanctions. But that course was rejected at the department's higher levels, where officials have clung to the myth that engaging China is the way to get it to change its ways.

Where has our engagement policy actually gotten us? Since 1994, China has refused even to talk to us seriously about its exports of weapons of mass destruction. Despite its promises in 1992 and 1994 to stop selling missile technology, American satellites and intelligence agents have observed regular travel by Chinese missile technicians to Pakistan and have documented steady transfers of missile-related equipment. A Pakistani factory for the production of missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads is expected to be ready for operation within the year. It was built with Chinese help.

In addition, China has been outfitting Iran with poison gas ingredients and equipment for at least five years, something the United States has done little to stop.

Our policy toward China is essentially the same one that we followed toward Iraq before the Persian Gulf war. By selling Saddam Hussein what he wanted, the State Department said, we would persuade him to stop being a rogue. Haven't we learned our lesson?

If we really want to engage the Chinese, we have to show that we are willing to punish them when they break the rules. We should indict Catic for its illegal diversions and banish from American trade the Chinese companies that are spreading poison gas and missile technology to Iran and Pakistan. Until we show we are serious, outrages like the Catic deal will continue. □

Steve
I would show
this to
Pres —
GB

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

Copied
Berger
COS

Journal

FRANK RICH

The Liars' Club

Big Tobacco has gotten away with murder for years — and may yet again if we don't scrutinize every term of its latest "surrender" — but what's even more appalling is that its executives get away with lying under oath. Last week marked the third anniversary of that incredible TV moment — the Zapruder film of the cigarette wars — in which top executives of the seven leading tobacco companies raised their right hands before Congress and God and then swore that they didn't believe cigarettes to be addictive.

> No truths, no consequences.

Such swaggering corporate arrogance — which brought no punishment to any of the odious seven — may pollute the moral atmosphere of the country as much as secondhand smoke poisons any lungs. And it continues right now, even as Big Tobacco supposedly capitulates to its antagonists.

In a scoop on Sunday, The Miami Herald published transcripts of sworn depositions taken from tobacco executives 10 days ago in a class-action suit against their industry. Andrew Schindler, president of R. J. Reynolds, testified that cigarettes are no more addictive than coffee or carrots. Alexander Spears, chairman of Lorillard, said under oath that he didn't think Americans "die of diseases caused by cigarette smoking." Mr. Spears is the same man who three years ago presented Congress with a chart showing that nicotine levels in cigarettes had dropped 10 percent since 1982; it later turned out that nicotine levels had in fact *risen* by 10 percent-plus.

Of all the lies, though, the most galling are those involving children. If American adults want to smoke, that's their business; I was a smoker myself. What makes Big Tobacco criminal is its targeting of young customers to replace the cancer-nailed old ones — and its lying as it asks us to believe that it's doing nothing of the sort. Despite Joe Camel and all the logo-laden gear promoting the Marlboro Man — despite the voluminous studies showing that this advertising correlates directly to the recent steep rise in teen-age smoking — Big Tobacco still maintains it isn't pursuing kids. Only last November a spokesman for R. J. Reynolds, perpetrator of Joe Camel, declared that "obviously we would never do anything that would appeal to younger smokers." Obviously!

Whatever deal it makes, Big Tobacco will continue to target children, even if with more covert marketing (Internet games instead of cartoons). As Elizabeth Whelan writes in a compelling critique of the current negotiations to be published next week by her organization, the American Council on Science and Health, "The cigarette industry is no stranger to crisis, and it excels at making lemonade from every lemon thrown at it." What's more, Big Tobacco's ability to lie to the public without consequences emboldens other corporations to do the same.

Anheuser-Busch, which seduces potential young drinkers with its own answer to Joe Camel, Budweiser frogs, now just follows the cigarette purveyors' script. "We do not target our advertising toward young people, period," its spokesman said this month — even as research on the Bud campaign by the Center on Alcohol Advertising shows that the beer mascot is now better known to children aged 9 to 11 than Smokey Bear.

Exactly like Big Tobacco, Big Alcohol says its ads are designed only to inspire brand loyalty among adults. (Sometimes Big Alcohol *is* Big Tobacco: Miller beer is a division of Philip Morris.) Both industries also disingenuously purport that young people can't get their product anyway. Never mind that half of American high school seniors use alcohol and that it is fueling the leading cause of teen-age death, car accidents.

Since nothing else has worked, and none of these corporations appear to have any shame, maybe it's time for the law to hold their executives to account for their sworn statements, which often are in direct contradiction not only of scientific fact but of internal documents now being revealed from their own company vaults. If that fails, we may have to rely on divine intervention. Last Friday, only four days after he testified under oath in Florida that nicotine is not addictive, Mr. Schindler of R. J. Reynolds lost his North Carolina vacation home to a fire that caused $1 million in damage. Suspected cause: a construction worker's careless toss of a lighted cigarette butt. □

5-5-97
Dan - I still don't get this. It's a party isn't it? No cause involved. Since when does Potus honoring Chair private parties? It other P's are doing it, I guess we'll

copy chron
original to
Burkhard

be jammed. But if the request is inappropriate, we should tell the story about saying no. We can always send a nice letter. ~~How long~~ Let's see it other P's are accepting.

Paul

'97 APR 23 AM11:15

HONORARY PARTICIPATION REQUEST

Please return to Woyneab Wondwossen, Room 93

Today's Date: April 22, 1997

Date of Request: 4/9/97

Request for: POTUS/FLOTUS

Type of Request: Honorary Co-Chairs

Requestor Name: Mr. Lou Ivey

Address:
800 North Carolina Avenue, SE
Washington, D.C. 20003

Contact Tel. #: (202)546-4784

Event Date: 6/17/97

Event Description: Tribute to Abner and Zoe Mikva

Notes: This is a nonprofit event organized by an informal group of friends and colleagues to honor Abner and Zoe Mikva for their record of public service. In addition to the President and First Lady, President and Mrs. Bush, President and Mrs. Carter and President and Mrs. Ford are the proposed Honorary Co-Chairs.

The President and First Lady should ACCEPT.

Recommendations:

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

Comments:

4/28/97
Just Don — please tell me. Why would we accept on a par with others? And isn't it odd to do this for just a bunch of friends, not a good cause? Should we accept before Carter, Bush and FC?
L.

4-9-97

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

97 APR 9 AM 8:51

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

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

HONORARY PARTICIPATION REQUEST

Please return to Woyneab Wondwossen, Room 93 '97 APR 21 AM 11:35

Today's Date: April 17, 1997

Date of Request:	3/24/97
Request for:	POTUS/FLOTUS
Type of Request:	Honorary Chairpersons
Requestor Name:	Mrs. Ginny Mancini
Title:	Founder
Organization:	Society of Singers
	10430 Wilshire Blvd, Penthouse 4 Los Angeles, California 90024
Contact Tel. #:	(310) 475-0414
Event Date:	6/23/97
Event Description:	All-Star Salute to Lena Horne
Notes:	In addition to commemorating Lena Horne's 80th birthday, this event will raise funds for the health and welfare benefits of professional vocalists. Ms. Horne will receive an award in recognition of her musical achievements and devotion to civic causes. Senator John Glenn wrote to the President in support of this effort. The President and First Lady should ACCEPT.
Recommendations:	MW _____ TS OK (Unless otherwise noted, a yes answer will automatically generate a message as well as acceptance of the honorary position).
Comments:	4/28/97 Why? Because it's Glenn? Because it's Lena Horne? What ~~is~~ the country of Singers? Is it national? T.

Copy chron original to Dorskind ✓

Dear Barbara

Ginny Mancini

20135

January 3, 1996

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

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton,

You have recently paid tribute to five extraordinary artists who were this years Kennedy Center honorees. In 1984 Lena Horne was so acknowledged for her multifaceted career and her brilliant vocal artistry.

Next June 23rd, in celebration of her 80th birthday, the Society of Singers will present an all-star salute in her honor in Avery Fisher Hall at Lincoln Center. Dina Merrill and I will Co-Chair the gala evening, with Pierre Cossette on board to produce.

I am writing to hopefully enlist your participation as the Honorary Chairpersons of this gala event. We are enormously pleased to have the enthusiastic support of a host of individuals in the entertainment, social, corporate and political communities who recognize that singers underscore and impact our lives and society in general.

There are many professional vocal artists without health and welfare benefits to sustain them who look to the Society of Singers for immediate assistance in times of need. Most fundraising benefits call upon singers to give of their talent in the name of charity. These events are meant to give something back.

Your acceptance of this request would not only validate Ms. Horne's incredible artistry but her role as an activist for Democratic ideals and civil rights which she has demonstrated over the years.

I look forward to your early reply and send my best wishes and congratulations on your re-election.

1(212) 333-5858

Sincerely,

Ginny Mancini

Mrs. Henry Mancini

10430 Wilshire Blvd., Penthouse 4, Los Angeles, CA 90024 Tel. (310) 475-0414 Fax (310) 470-8879

rec'd 3/24/97
DWO

UNITED STATES SENATOR
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20510-3501

JOHN GLENN
OHIO

February 28, 1997

Leg. Affs. defers to you...

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

MAR 4 PM2:18

Dear Mr. President:

Mr. Henry Mancini, one of our finest composers, passed away a couple of years ago. He was one of our very close friends and we had spent much time together. His death was a true loss for our nation.

His wife, Ginny Mancini, has been extra active for many years through professional and charitable organizations. She wrote to you earlier this year about an event she is sponsoring in New York on June 23, 1997, in honor of Lena Horne's 80th birthday and also to benefit the many professional vocal artists without health and welfare benefits who look to the Society of Singers for assistance in times of need.

Ginny wrote to you earlier to ask you and Mrs. Clinton to be Honorary Chairpersons of this gala event. I am happy to give my most enthusiastic support to this event.

I would be very happy to provide you with any additional information you or your staff may require, and hope you will find it possible to lend your support.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Best regards—

John Glenn

John Glenn
United States Senator

JG/nc

PRINTED AT PRIVATE EXPENSE

HONORARY PARTICIPATION REQUEST

Please return to Woyneab Wondwossen, Room 93

Today's Date: April 30, 1997

'97 MAY 1 AM 11:16

Date of Request:	4/16/97
Request for:	POTUS
Type of Request:	Honorary Chair
Requestor Name:	The Honorable John Spellman
Title:	Governor
Organization:	Spirit of 2000 Committee 700 Securities Building 1904 Third Street Seattle, Washington 98101-1123
Contact Tel. #:	(206) 623-5967
Event Date:	4/9/97 - 12/31/2000
Event Description:	The Spirit of 2000
Notes:	The state of Washington will commemorate the arrival of the new century with this three-year program featuring parades, school activities, and a fireworks show. The President should REGRET.
Recommendation:	TS YW (Unless otherwise noted, a yes answer will automatically generate a message as well as acceptance of the honorary position).
	Comments:

Copy chron

original to

Dorsk and

ID# 214590

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: APRIL 15, 1997

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE JOHN D. SPELLMAN

SUBJECT: ASKS PRESIDENT TO SERVE AS HONORARY CHAIR OF (WA)'S CELEBRATION OF THE YEAR 2000; SUGGESTS THAT THEIR THEME, "SPIRIT OF 2000" BE PRINTED ON AIR FORCE ONE BY THE BOEING COMPANY

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY (STAFF NAME)	ACTION CODE	ACTION DATE YY/MM/DD	DISPOSITION TYPE RESP	C D	COMPLETED DATE YY/MM/DD
SCOTT MICHAUD	ORG	97/04/15			
REFERRAL NOTE:					
DAN BURKHART	RSI	97/04/15		C	97/04/15
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					
REFERRAL NOTE:					

COMMENTS: (WA) WASHINGTON STATE

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: 1 MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: ____ ____ ____

IG MAIL USER CODES: (A)_____ (B)_____ (C)_____

*ACTION CODES:	*DISPOSITION	*OUTGOING CORRESPONDENCE:
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION	*A-ANSWERED	*TYPE RESP=INITIALS OF SIGNER
*C-COMMENT/RECOM	*B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL	* CODE = A
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE	*C-COMPLETED	*COMPLETED = DATE OF OUTGOING
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET	*S-SUSPENDED	
*I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC		
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY		
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE		
*X-INTERIM REPLY		

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE (ROOM 75,OEOB) EXT=2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS MANAGEMENT.

214590

"The Spirit Of 2000" ©

Saluting The Arrival Of The New Millennium -- The 21st Century

The Hon. William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC

April 9, 1997

Dear Mr. President:

Inspired by the words in your State Of The Union address to the Congress, we have organized a three-year program to mark the arrival of a new century.

As your words rang out a call to action..."**we don't have a moment to waste...there will be just over 1,000 days until the year 2000; 1,000 days to prepare our people; 1,000 days to work together. My fellow Americans, we have work to do. Let us seize the days and the century.**"

Paraphrasing the title which America's "Lone Eagle" used on the airplane in his record-shattering flight from America to Paris -- the Spirit of St. Louis -- we have named our statewide effort "The Spirit of 2000." We would like your reaction to a suggestion that our theme "Spirit of 2000" be printed on Air Force One by the Boeing Company.

Our new governor, mayors, congressional delegation, business and labor, men and women and children from many walks of life, old and young, minorities of every description are being enrolled in our massive effort for an All-American tribute to the new millennium.

We invite you to serve as honorary chair of this state's celebration and respectfully suggest that your staff contact each state governor offering your willingness to serve as honorary chair for every state and urge them to organize an action committee.

(more)

1904 Third Avenue #700 * Seattle, Washington 98101-1123
Telephone/Fax 206-623-5967 * www.spirit2000.com

APR 1 1 1997

2-2-2-2

We are in the process of using "The Spirit of 2000" format for parades, street dances, a public lighting of a massive ball of light to use on a building to illuminate a huge 2000 electric starburst at 12 midnight December 31-January 1, 2000; fireworks shows, school essay contests, first babies of the new millennium, activities in every city, first cross-world and cross-nation telephone call and web message, etc. in the initial seconds of the new millennium.

As a suggestion that we would appreciate your passing on to Treasury Secretary Rubin is the creation of a $2000 EE Bond which we (and similar celebrations) could purchase for prizes to school children (for best essays etc) and "first babies," special events, etc. It has potential for nationwide sale.

We look forward to your participation even though you probably will be personally officially involved in ceremonies in New York or the District of Columbia.

One of our vice chairs -- Jack Gordon -- has worked with the National Governors Conference and with Governors for our two World's Fairs in Seattle (1962) and Spokane (1974). He suggests your staff may wish to propose the parade of ships from many countries which sailed into New York's harbor in 1976, the 200th birthday of our nation. Our Executive Director, Bill Sears, has joined our team and a "Committee of 2000" to facilitate our activities. President Ford's files may have additional information on the New York and various state activities.

A United Nations observance is another suggestion we submit for your consideration as an international event.

Sincerely,

GOV. JOHN D. SPELLMAN
Co-Chair

GOV. ALBERT D. ROSELLINI
Co-Chair

HONORARY PARTICIPATION REQUEST

Please return to Woyneab Wondwossen, Room 93 '97 MAY 2 PM1:17

Today's Date: May 2, 1997

Date of Request:	4/8/96
Request for:	POTUS/FLOTUS
Type of Request:	Honorary Chairpersons
Requestor Name:	Ms. Annemarie Conroy
Title:	President
Address:	Partners Ending Domestic Abuse Cissie Swig - Honoree Third Floor - Suite 302 340 Pine Street San Francisco, California 94104
Contact Tel. #:	415/837-0895
Event Date:	6/2/97
Event Description:	Dinner honoring Roselyne Swig
Notes:	The group works with agencies in San Francisco to raise money and awareness for domestic violence prevention. Melanne Verveer recommends the First Lady accept this request. The President should REGRET; the First Lady should ACCEPT.
Recommendations:	

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

Comments:

copy chron

original to Dorsey

UNLESS YOU'VE STOOD *in my* SHOES

an evening honoring
Roselyne "Cissie" Swig
benefitting
Partners Ending Domestic Abuse

JUNE 2

Ann -
Were we able to get this done?
Thanks

April 8, 1997

Ms. Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Room 100 OEOB
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Ms. Verveer:

Mrs. Swig suggested that I send a letter to you seeking the participation of President and Mrs. Clinton as Honorary Chairpersons of our June 2, 1997 event honoring Mrs. Swig for her work in the area of domestic violence. We were encouraged to contact you directly after the two of you spoke recently at an event in Washington, D.C.

I am the current President of Partners Ending Domestic Abuse, an organization founded and organized by Mrs. Roselyne (Cissie) Swig.

The mission of our organization is to act in a partnership -- for fundraising, awareness and advocacy purposes -- with the consortium of agencies in San Francisco which deal directly with the victims of domestic violence. The agencies comprising the San Francisco Domestic Violence Consortium provide legal assistance, counseling, a hotline, referral services, shelter and other services to victims. The consortium structure ensures that there is no overlap of services and the component agencies work together for a common goal. "Partners" makes sure that the community at large knows of the existence and work of the Consortium, acts as its advocate and raises needed funds to support the Consortium so that the component agencies can focus their time and attention on helping victims of domestic violence.

On June 2, 1997, we will be honoring our founder, Mrs. Swig, at a fundraiser at the Fairmont Hotel in San Francisco. The cocktail hour will be from 6:30 to 7:30 and dinner will immediately follow.

Board of Directors
Annemarie Conroy
President
Julie B. Harkins
Vice President
Larry Shotwell
Treasurer
Maureen Shafer
Secretary
Vicki Abballo
Shelley W. Gottlieb
Tatjana Loh
Tanya Neiman

PARTNERS ENDING DOMESTIC ABUSE
in support of the
San Francisco Domestic Violence Consortium
340 Pine St., Suite 302 San Francisco, CA 94104
phone: 415/837-0895 *fax:* 415/837-1144

We would be deeply honored, as would the Swig family, to have the President and First Lady in attendance at the event. However, knowing how difficult travel plans can be, we would be delighted to have their **permission to list them as Honorary Chairpersons for this event**. We have developed a wide breadth of support for the event and the issue of domestic violence. We have the San Francisco 49ers and the NFL participating, major corporations, Senators Feinstein and Boxer as well as Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi.

In the event they cannot attend, we would greatly appreciate **a message or greeting (to be read at the dinner) from the President or First Lady recognizing Mrs. Swig and her incredible work for so many years in the area of domestic violence**.

The President and First Lady have moved the issue of domestic violence to the forefront and we are grateful for the President's legislative, political and financial support in ending domestic violence in this country. Likewise, San Francisco has made tremendous strides over the past four years in combatting domestic violence and Mrs. Swig has played an integral role in that effort.

Any assistance you could lend to our organization in making this a special evening for Mrs. Swig would be deeply appreciated.

Thank you for your consideration of this request. We look forward to your response. If you have any questions or concerns, please direct them to me at the number listed below or at my home (415) 564-6285.

Very truly yours,

Annemarie Conroy
President

HONORARY PARTICIPATION REQUEST

Please return to Woyneab Wondwossen, Room 93

Today's Date: April 30, 1997

'97 MAY 1 AM 11:16

Date of Request: 4/10/97

Request for: POTUS/FLOTUS

Type of Request: Honorary Chairpersons

Requestor Name: Mr. Joseph N. Hankin

Title: President

Address:

Westchester Community College
Valhalla, New York 10595-1698

Contact Tel. #: (914) 785-6670

Event Date: 5/21/97

Event Description: 50th Anniversary Gala

Notes: In addition to celebrating the 50th anniversary of Westchester Community College, this program will raise funds for the school's Foundation scholarship program. The event's theme is public and private partnership in education. Govenor Pataki is a proposed Honorary Chair, but his office has not yet made a decision regarding this participation.

The President and First Lady should REGRET.

Recommendations:

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

Comments:

1 copy sharon
original Donskid

25-E

SUNY/WESTCHESTER
COMMUNITY COLLEGE
Valhalla, New York 10595-1698

DR. JOSEPH N. HANKIN
President

Scheduling

3453805

Matt Miller

APR 10

WCC CELEBRATES FIFTY YEARS

April 3, 1997

President and Mrs. William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton,

At the suggestion of Jerry Siegel, I am writing to invite you to be the Honorary Chairpersons and attend Westchester Community College's 50th Anniversary Gala on May 21, 1997. The dinner is a fundraising event for Westchester Community College Foundation's scholarship program and will accommodate 600 corporate and individuals patrons from throughout Westchester County and the New York City area.

Jerry is a member of the Board of Directors of the Foundation as well as a member of the College's Advisory Committee on International Business. Both he and his wife Ruth have been extremely supportive of the College, which is one of the oldest community colleges in the nation and the largest college in Westchester County, with an enrollment of more than 20,000. Since you both have demonstrated such a commitment to education and to community colleges in particular, we believe you are the ideal persons to chair this important event.

While we are using the dinner to mark the occasion of our 50th Anniversary, it will also serve to launch plans for our second fifty years. A cornerstone of our vision for the next century is the expansion of accessibility for our students coupled with the enrichment of our programs through a $5 million fund raising campaign focused on scholarships, campus child-care and funding for new technologies. The public announcement of *Partners in Education, The Campaign for Westchester Community College* will be made at the dinner.

To truly capture the festive spirit of these two milestones, the gala will be held at the College, under the tent of the World's Largest Circus under the Big Top - the Clyde Beatty-Cole Brothers Circus. On the following day, the circus will open for two public performances. We thought this would be a wonderful opportunity for young citizens to come to a community college campus and be a part of our 50th Anniversary celebration.

I hope you will agree to serve as Honorary Chairpersons and join us on the evening of May 21. I recently celebrated my 25th anniversary as president of Westchester Community College. Prior to coming to Westchester, I served as president of Harford Community College. I am, therefore, most heartened by your educational agenda and the efforts you have made to set a community college education as the standard for all Americans. I can think of no better way to recognize your accomplishments than for you both to join us.

Sincerely,

Joseph N. Hankin
President

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 5, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR MIKE MCCURRY

THROUGH: TODD STERN

FROM: JIM DORSKIND

SUBJECT: CINCO DE MAYO, 1997

Attached is the President's message for CINCO DE MAYO, 1997, which you may want to release to the media.

Thank you.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

CINCO DE MAYO, 1997

Warm greetings to everyone celebrating Cinco de Mayo.

The life of our nation has been continually renewed and strengthened by the many different people who choose to come here and become our fellow citizens. Each brings a part of his or her own heritage, which over time becomes part of our common heritage. As we seek to become a more united people, we must not forget our roots, for they remind us of who we are and of what we have to share with others.

This year, as we celebrate the 135th anniversary of the Mexican Army's triumph at the Battle of Puebla, we realize anew how much our nation has been enriched by the people and culture of Mexico and how closely our futures are intertwined. The U.S.-Mexican relationship is one of the closest our nation has today, and it is most appropriate that my visit to Mexico should begin on Cinco de Mayo.

On this day devoted to victory, pride, and independence, let us rededicate ourselves to strengthening the bonds of friendship and partnership between Mexico and the United States. Let us work together to ensure that the legacy of courage and freedom we commemorate on Cinco de Mayo will continue to inspire us as we look forward to the promise of the twenty-first century.

Hillary joins me in extending best wishes for a wonderful holiday.

Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

CINCO DE MAYO, 1997

Warm greetings to everyone celebrating Cinco de Mayo.

The life of our nation has been continually renewed and strengthened by the many different people who choose to come here and become our fellow citizens. Each brings a part of his or her own heritage, which over time becomes part of our common heritage. As we seek to become a more united people, we must not forget our roots, for they remind us of who we are and of what we have to share with others.

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On this day devoted to victory, pride, and independence, let us rededicate ourselves to strengthening the bonds of friendship and partnership between Mexico and the United States. Let us work together to ensure that the legacy of courage and freedom we commemorate on Cinco de Mayo will continue to inspire us as we look forward to the promise of the twenty-first century.

Hillary joins me in extending best wishes for a wonderful holiday.

WILLIAM J. CLINTON

# # #

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 3, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Tab C - Reed Jennings COS

FROM: PHIL CAPLAN

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

(A) **Original text of Stan Greenberg's op-ed in the NYT on Tony Blair.** Forwarded by Rahm at your request. Rahm notes that the "pull out" quote that appeared in the Times was not in the piece as submitted for publication by Stan.

(B) **ABC/Washington Post Poll on volunteering.** Forwarded by Rahm who thought you should see that 77% of those surveyed support government funding of volunteer programs.

(C) **Focus groups on Medicare spending shifts conducted for Society of Thoracic Surgeons.** Forwarded by Rahm who thought you might find it interesting. Six focus groups were conducted in Baltimore, Houston and Clearwater in April. Heart surgeons were held in very high esteem. Participants felt that decreasing reimbursements to heart surgeons was the wrong place to make cuts in Medicare and that cuts will have a negative impact on access to, and quality of, health care: fewer doctors will accept older patients and those that do will be overworked; patients will be forced to wait for heart surgery or denied coverage. Participants felt this is government intrusion -- HCFA is making this decision without consulting medical professionals.

(D) **Boston Globe piece on money loaned to a GOP thinktank.** Forwarded by Rahm. Article details that a Chinese businessman arranged a $2.2 million loan to the Republican National Policy Forum and then wrote "one-China" articles for the Forum's magazine hoping to influence the GOP Platform. Funds for the loan came from Mr. Ambrous Tung Young's Hong Kong business and were transferred legally to an American subsidiary, although a former Republican official is quoted as saying, "It was Hong Kong corporate money." Young then wrote the articles backing Chinese unification. The GOP has closed the National Policy Forum and has defaulted on $500,000 of the loan.

(E) **Berger memo on Mexico paper given to the Hill.** You saw a piece in The Economist that said the Administration sent a "crude and patronising" paper to the Hill and asked Sandy if this was true. It is true -- ONDCP inadvertently inserted the paper into certain

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

'97 MAY 3 AM10:29

Memo to: The President

From: Rahm Emanuel

Re: Attached

Date: May 3, 1997

I thought you would find the attached interesting.

PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES

THE MELLMAN GROUP
RESEARCH-BASED STRATEGY

TO: The Society Of Thoracic Surgeons

FROM: Public Opinion Strategies
The Mellman Group, Inc.

RE: Key Findings From Focus Groups On Medicare Spending Shifts

DATE: May 1, 1997

The Mellman Group and Public Opinion Strategies conducted six focus groups of registered voters on behalf of The Society Of Thoracic Surgeons in April 1997. Groups were held in Clearwater, FL; Houston, TX and Baltimore, MD. Three groups were conducted among senior citizens, and three among 40 to 59 year olds. Respondents were excluded from participating if they or anyone in their household has worked in the fields of politics, the government, or the media. Participants were selected to represent a range of demographic and political backgrounds.

Focus group participants feel that decreasing reimbursements to heart surgeons is the wrong place to make cuts in Medicare. Without any prompting, these participants express outrage and disbelief when they learn that HCFA has proposed cutting reimbursements for heart bypass surgery by 40%. They are angered by HCFA's decision to tamper with this life-saving surgery and the depth of the proposed cuts.

These voters hold heart surgeons in remarkably high esteem. Respondents have tremendous respect for, and trust in, heart surgeons because of the life-saving, highly-skilled and stressful work they perform. Participants recognize the lengthy and costly education and training heart surgeons receive. They also recognize the cost of malpractice insurance (no one was surprised by an $80,000 per year figure). Hence, they believe

Heart Surgery Is The Wrong Place To Make Cuts

There's cuts to be made in a lot of things; we hear it everyday on television. I don't think that cutting this kind of program is a way to go. (Baltimore male, senior)

Cut it to bits and pieces? Start cutting these ones who say take an aspirin and I'll see you in the morning. (Baltimore male, senior)

The bottom line here is there is a life involved, you know, it's us as individuals, or our spouses, or a loved one. (Clearwater female, 40-59 yrs)

I believe that it will decrease the amount of services given to the patient, and I don't see any good that's going to come out of it. The patient is the person that's going to suffer. (Baltimore male, senior)

These Cuts Are Seen As Drastic

All the risk involved for $1,100? (Clearwater female, 40-59 yrs)

Forty percent is too much. (Baltimore female, senior)

They won't even do it for that. I wouldn't trust a surgeon if he was only paid that much money to operate on me. (Baltimore male, senior)

It's too big a cut. (Baltimore female, senior)

I'll move to Sweden. (Clearwater male, 40-59 yrs)

Before the surgeon had to do two surgeries to make the same amount as the private physician. Now he's got to do five. (Baltimore male, 40-59 yrs)

There would be a lot of dead people because every one of those heart specialists is going to get the heck out. (Houston male, senior)

They believe that these cuts will have a negative impact on both access to, and the quality of, health care. When focus group participants simply learn of proposed cuts in reimbursements, without any prompting, they envision a variety of undesirable outcomes. They believe that fewer young doctors will choose to become heart surgeons, that fewer heart surgeons will accept Medicare recipients, and that those who continue to perform bypass surgery on seniors will have to do almost twice as many operations to break even. In the end, they believe Medicare patients will suffer as they are operated on by over-worked surgeons, denied coverage, or forced to wait for this surgery. These participants are all aware (through personal experience, friends or relatives) the speed with which heart that these surgeons should be generously compensated for the work they do, and guess that they receive an average of almost five times what they are actually reimbursed for bypass surgery. When these respondents learn that Medicare currently pays surgeons between $2,300-$2,800 per operation, they are shocked and convinced that surgeons must be receiving more money from supplemental insurance or from another source (which is not true for Medicare cases). They feel the current reimbursement rates are too low, and hence, are outraged that HCFA would make further cuts.

Quality And Access Will Suffer

Well I think if they're going to have to operate on many, many more patients, you are not going to get the quality of care that you had. (Baltimore female, senior)

It will be like an assembly line. Boom, get this one out, get another one in. (Clearwater male, 40-59)

If I were a doctor, I would try to hustle those Medicare patients out of my office as fast as possible, they're taking up too much time for too little money. (Clearwater male, 40-59 yrs)

They'll take a private patient. Why should he have to get a lower rate from a Medicare patient and get three times the amount from a private person? (Baltimore female, senior)

They're going to turn down Medicare patients. (Houston female, 40-59 yrs)

I don't think Medicare patients will be able to find a doctor to help them. (Clearwater female, 40-59 yrs)

If you have a shortage of good heart surgeons, and you need heart surgery, you would worry about it. You know you would begin to have waiting lists. (Houston female, 40-59 yrs)

disease can be treated. Because this procedure is seen as time-sensitive and life-saving, waiting is not considered a viable option.

Moving resources from heart surgery to prevention is perceived as a cut in the Medicare benefit, not a shift in priorities. These respondents believe that preventive care is essential and can decrease the likelihood of heart disease. However, they think it would be wise to invest time and resources in prevention for younger people. They believe that by the time people qualify for Medicare benefits, it is too late for prevention. These focus group participants, both those under and over 65, argue that seniors are resistant to changing their behavior and that, often, heart damage has already occurred. As one senior explained, "It should be spent before we're 65. Sixty-five is too late. Whatever damage is done is there." "Once you get to a certain age in your life, some of the things that they're saying you should do aren't going to do you any good anymore," concurred a younger voter. Moving Medicare resources from heart surgery to preventive care makes no sense to these respondents.

They See This As A Cut, Because Prevention Is Deemed Unrealistic With This Population

I see it as a cut. (Baltimore male, 40-59 yrs)

It's going to be a problem for the people that have already got blocked arteries. I mean, you can't counsel them, you've got to start way back. (Clearwater female, senior)

There's no sense in trying to start them once you get to a certain age, because your body ... has already formulated whatever it's going to do. (Baltimore male, 40-59 yrs)

Once you get that old, you've spent a lifetime on bad habits. Why waste the money? (Clearwater female, 40-59 yrs)

When you're on Medicare, you've reached a certain age and you're not going to change. You're not going to do preventive care." (Houston female, senior)

Too late now to tell me not to eat the fat on pork. (Baltimore male, senior)

All this is follow up, the counseling and the prevention ... but don't give up the service, or having that option of fixing me first. Don't be telling me what I should do when I may be dying. (Baltimore female, 40-59 yrs)

Voters are upset at this government intrusion – HCFA is making this decision without the input of medical professionals. There is significant bewilderment at HCFA's plans, because participants fear this is another case of government bureaucrats making rash decisions without the input of medical professionals. They desire a situation where doctors and government can sit down at the table to determine what is best for the lives of Medicare beneficiaries.

In summary, these respondents do not see the current proposal as a shift in priorities, but as a cut in Medicare's benefits which will undermine both access to, and the quality of, health care. They believe HCFA should examine other areas in which to make cuts, but not impede this life-saving procedure.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

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April 24, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
SYLVIA MATHEWS

FROM RAHM EMANUEL

SUBJECT RACE RELATIONS

Attached is a memo from S.M. Miller on how to frame the issue of race relations that I think you will find interesting.

Copied
Emanuel
COS

Agree - Bill Should
be a Focus of Our Work

The Commonwealth Institute
186 Hampshire Street, Cambridge, MA 02139-1307. (617) 547-4474

April 15, 1997

Mr. Rahm Emanuel
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Emanuel,

In President Clinton's quest for a productive way of framing race relations, he might draw on the theme of respect.

I enclose a brief note on respect that draws on other writings of mine. The issue of respect extends to issues of gender and class as well and could cast race relations as a broader question of the quality of American life.

Sincerely,

Mike

S.M. Miller
Senior Fellow

Research Professor of Sociology
Boston College

Encl.

PRRAC

Poverty & Race

POVERTY & RACE RESEARCH ACTION COUNCIL

January/February 1996 *Volume 5: Number 1*

RESPECT!

by S.M. Miller and Karen Marie Ferroggiaro

The ultimate test of a society is not only how well its citizens live but how they feel about themselves and others. The basic (though not exclusive) standard of a society is that people feel good about themselves, that they are respected, respect others and have self-respect. Respect and self-respect shape what happens to people, politically and economically as well as socially.

Respect and self-respect are now burning questions of inequality, policy and politics. They share the public spotlight with the distribution of income and wealth as our society's central stratification worries.

At a time of widespread unemployment, declining real wages, welfare state tightening and profound fears about the economic future, it may appear strange to point to these terms of social appraisal and personal feelings as the cutting edge of policy and understanding inequality. But economic difficulties have fed rather than undermined the significance of respect. Emphasizing respect and self-respect as questions of inequality does not downgrade the importance of poverty and economic inequalities or concerns with the level and distribution of income and wealth, for the adverse consequences of these pressing issues are most manifest among those who are disrespected. Low respect leads to low income, as

(Please turn to page 2)

A few weeks ago we received an end-of-the-year contribution of $1,000 from an old friend of progressive causes. An accompanying note said: "I am somewhat confused by your notice on page 14 [of the November/December *P&R*] asking for contributions. . . . We had the impression that you had sufficient funding from somewhere. . . ."

It's perhaps understandable that we give that impression, since we ourselves give out small grants for social science research that supports advocacy work and distribute *P&R* without charge.

But the reality is quite different. We have a staff of four persons and are stretched pretty thin financially. One of our two major funders, after four years of support, has decided to turn its attention elsewhere. Unless we can come up with some significant additional funds, we will have to cut back on our activities in 1996.

The most promising source of additional funds is you folks who read *Poverty & Race* and from all the comments we get, we know you value it. Less than 10% of you have responded to our several pleas for voluntary contributions ("subscriptions"). If even half the readers sent in an average of $25, we'd have 1/3 of our budget covered. If you all did, and even made some larger contributions (a bunch of $50, $100 and larger contributions have come in, we're delighted to say), we'd be able to fund and commission many more research projects and the effective advocacy work that follows.

PLEASE USE THE CONTRIBUTION FORM ON PAGE 22 AND BE AS GENEROUS AS POSSIBLE. CONTRIBUTIONS ARE TAX DEDUCTIBLE. THANK YOU.

Chester Hartman
Executive Director

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(RESPECT!: Continued from page 1)

evidenced in many employers' reluctance to hire African-Americans, and low incomes reinforce the lack of respect for particular groups, for then they can be, and often are, characterized as reluctant to work. Today, respect and self-respect are central components of an enlarged concept of citizenship. Furthermore, as we continuously re-learn, economics is not all if we seek to redress the manifold injustices of society. Today, therefore, respect and self-respect are central components of an enlarged understanding of inequality in society.

Respect is not a minor question of politeness and niceties. While individuals may be told that they are "different" from the appraisals of their identity group or class, that does not change how the group is perceived and treated. Nor is it restricted to the personal irritations that afflict those who are disrespected because of their identity group or class standing. As a component of social capitals—the nonmonetary assets of cultural background, network connections, trust and know-how—it influences these economic and political assets. Respect affects how we are treated, what help from others is likely, what economic arrangements others are willing to engage in with us, when reciprocity can be expected.

The desire for respect, then, is not a silly, empty game for prestige or status. It opens doors, invites communication, wins cooperation, breeds money and power. It is part of the competitive game, providing access, information and responsiveness. In short, *respect is a resource.*

Disrespect has many benefits for those who seize for themselves the right to be judges: it gives them a feeling of superiority; it enhances their chances of capturing rewards in economic and political markets. Those who can authoritatively give or withhold respect have economic, political and social power. As economic gaps widen, disrespect and revulsion toward the losers grow.

Respect and self-respect are central components of an enlarged concept of citizenship.

A sense of shame inhibits individual or group action. The consequence is to strengthen the position of those who already have power. Inflicting shame is a weapon. That is one of the reasons identity groups that are testing the economic, political and/or social limits on them develop a history that corrects distorted or neglectful mainstream accounts and gives members of the group a more positive view of itself.

Public/Collective Respect

At issue here is not individual respect, but what might be called public or collective respect the respect that is generally allocated to a group as a whole, whether on the basis of social identity or economic position.

The problem of public respect is not new; struggles about it have been occurring for a long time. What is new is understanding respect and disrespect as issues producing and maintaining inequalities and social stratification. Public respect and group self-respect affect not only the command over economic and political resources of marginalized groups, but the character of their daily lives as well. That is why the objective of greater economic and social equality has to be joined to the promotion of respect and self-respect. It is not better incomes and a better distribution versus lessened disrespect, but the pursuit of both that is important.

While we often talk about rights, respect is less often the explicit topic of discussions about social justice. Rights are important. But it is also important to realize that rights and respect go hand in hand. Legally sanctioned and enforced rights are basic, but respect plays a crucial role in the development and implementation of rights. Whether and how rights are enforced (e.g., the behavior of the police) is affected by the respect accorded to a given group. Respect and rights are reciprocal: the emergence of rights contributes to or enforces respect; respect encourages the development and implementation of rights.

The United States is undergoing a not-so-silent revolution about respect. Many groups—such as women, gays and lesbians, African Americans and Latinos—demand it. The growing significance of public respect and identity group self-respect is evident in the heightened public and personal sensitivity about harassment, racism, sexism, ageism, homophobia and multiculturalism. The situation discomforts the many who do not understand ("why are they making such a fuss?") or oppose ("they're going too far") the new demands for respect. The quest for respect is often met by irritation and counteraction.

Collective respect is unevenly distributed: Asians, Latinos, and African-Americans know that in general whites gain an automatic measure of respect because of the color of their skin; women are regularly accorded less respect than men; a construction worker applying to a bank for a housing loan is treated with less respect than a doctor or lawyer. Disrespected segments encounter distorting opportunities and obstacles. Their life-chances are shaped by degrees and types of disrespect. It has deep effects on their daily life as well as on long-term prospects.

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Survey Research Data

Survey data by the University of Chicago's National Opinion Research Center (NORC) confirm that white evaluations of blacks and Latinos are strongly negative, especially when compared with white self-ratings. Almost one-third of whites surveyed thought blacks and Latinos were unintelligent, while only one-fifth thought they were intelligent. (The rest rated them in a middle category.) By contrast, nearly three-fifths of whites rated their own racial group as intelligent, and only 6% rated them as unintelligent. On another question inquiring whether various identity groups were hard-working or lazy, whites again had a high opinion of their own work habits (57% hard-working, only 5% lazy), while denigrating Latinos and blacks: for Latinos, whites' ratings were 26% hard-working, 37% lazy; for blacks, whites' ratings were 18% hard-working, 47% lazy. While the NORC survey does not convey a completely negative assessment by whites, it does confirm the widespread feeling among African Americans and Latinos that the white community does not think of them with respect, and that this judgement carries over into behavior.

Class Disrespect

Disrespect has a class bias. As economic gaps widen, disrespect and revulsion toward the losers grow. In the contemporary United States, attitudes about poverty, especially that of African-Americans, often condemn the sufferers rather than criticize the conditions that produce low incomes and marginalization. The pejorative term "underclass" indicts the inner-city poor, largely but not exclusively defined as African-Americans, who are considered the authors of their poverty because of their presumed cultural practices.

Those whom we would exploit or dominate we first disrespect and then attribute the subordination to the presumed disreputable condition or attributes of the dominated. Viewing a group as a deficient in some human qualities or desirable social practice makes it easier to mistreat them. Slavery seemed acceptable when those enslaved were not regarded as fully human. Holocausts do not appear reprehensible when the victims are seen as threatening or lacking the positive qualities that the perpetrators believe they themselves possess. This is the social construction of the "other." Guilt is banished.

Constructing the "other" in a negative fashion simplifies the ability to oppress. It eases one's conscience to believe that exploited workers are dumb, depraved and undeserving of respect. Those who are deemed "different" or "less worthy," be it because they are believed incompetent, improvident, work-shy or engaged in disapproved cultural styles, are regarded as undeserving and available for social and economic denigration.

Respect is a resource.

The Golden Rule is reversed: treat "the others" as you would *not* have your group treated. Those who treat others with disrespect are according themselves the right to think and act as superior. Such outlooks and behaviors distort the self-assigned superiors as well as damage those who are disrespected.

Negative feelings about the "others" develop or intensify during difficult, strained times. For example, economic difficulties have fueled the fear of immigrants. Concern about "those Mexicans" has resulted not only in barriers to immigration but in physical and political attacks in many countries, including the United States.

Forms of Disrespect

Societal pressures and strains promote scapegoating and disrespect. One group can be played off against another, as in the long-time setting of poor whites against poor blacks in the U.S. South. Right-wing hate groups such as the Aryan Nation and the KKK are current threats. Calls for "English only" and anti-immigration policies such as California's Proposition 187 reflect fears about demographic and social changes occurring in the United States.

Disrespect takes many forms: discrimination, physical action, prejudice, mocking, segregation, marginalizing, automatic relegation to subordinate positions, harassing, demonizing, stereotyping, over-generalizing and much more. Both stereotypes and institutional practices are essential processes of disrespect. Culturally, disrespect is produced by the media, in our schools and in our everyday practice, such as language. Economically, disrespect is produced in institutional practices such as housing and school segregation and employment discrimination.

All too frequently, schools are prominent agencies for disrespect. They have labeled some classes and identity groups as having low educability and made them feel that they are stupid in one way or another. They have, for example, convinced girls that they were not good in science and mathematics, though with increased awareness this disabling is now less frequent. African-American students, especially those who come from one-parent families, are sometimes characterized as having "educational deficits" when they enter school and therefore unable to learn. Many African-American school and college students have teachers and peers who display open disdain for their competence and potential. For some, schools educate; "the educational others" often are made to feel and act dumb. Disrespect and low self-respect feed each other.

Yet schools contribute to the perpetuation of disrespect in other ways as well. Many examinations, especially the SAT, which is required for college entrance, are cited for racial bias against

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PRRAC Has E-mail!!

Yes, PRRAC has finally caught up with the late 90s and has an E-mail address: prrac@aol.com.

(RESPECT: Continued from page 3)

non-whites. Further, elementary school books portray a United States which is homogeneous, which has only one history, and disrespected groups are often portrayed stereotypically and or negatively, or omitted altogether.

Perhaps nowhere do we learn more about who we are and how we view ourselves than in the mass media. Television, by providing us with a mediated version of reality, has the potential to influence us into believing in that reality and modifying our attitudes and behavior accordingly. A wealth of research conducted over more than three decades demonstrates that indeed television has become an important aspect of our social life, capable of influencing our attitudes, values and behavior. When media portrayals of disrespected groups reinforce negative stereotypes, disrespect is perpetuated and ingrained.

Television news is no less complicit. Media accounts mainly report on African-Americans when welfare, crime or violence are involved. Latinos gain attention mainly when illegal immigration is the focus. The activities of those who are not poor or who are attempting to improve communities get much less attention (unless they are celebrities). The public's false impression is that most African-Americans are poor and on welfare and that underclass conditions are their usual way-of-life. Hollywood has contributed to the stereotyping of African-Americans, especially the young, as mainly poor, hostile and violent.

The Consequences

Disrespect and fear join to create a disturbing situation for young black males. They are bitter about the disrespect shown by those white people and police who assume their presence means crime or violence will occur. For example, in a February 1993 Gallup Poll, 80% of blacks surveyed said that the police treat suspects from low-income neighborhoods differently. Furthermore, when asked whether they felt the U.S. justice system is biased against black people, 68% of blacks responded yes, compared to 33% among white respondents. Consequently, getting "respect" becomes an important goal. That concern may lead to a tough demeanor, which in turn may cause some whites and police to feel more threatened and respond with more disrespect and force. Thus, a vicious circle is created where the disrespected demand respect and are in turn disrespected even more.

The respect accorded to particular identity groups significantly affects their participation in the economy and the way that politics responds to their needs and interests. Respect determines, to a major extent, economic interactions and national attention and help. Two examples: the loss of tax revenues through the deductibility of mortgage interest and property tax payments is much greater than government spending on housing subsidies for low-income families, but the latter expenditure is frequently battered in Congress, while merely placing a cap on the deductibility of very high mortgage interest payments is difficult to pass; and crimes such as rape and murder in African-American neighborhoods receive much less police attention than rape and murder in white areas.

Rights and respect go hand in hand.

Respect is part of the competitive game. Well-respected identity groups have an easier time than those low in respect in gaining information, access and responsiveness. In short, respect pays off. When a figure like Richard Whitney, the head of both the New York Stock Exchange and a prominent brokerage firm, was jailed for misappropriating customers' funds, the event was treated as an aberration, not as an indictment of his identity group. That is not the fate for the member of a less respected identity group accused of criminal activity. Then, the response is more likely to be: "What can you expect from those people."

Respect has political payoffs which may also contribute to economic gain. Useful networks and connections are constructed by and for respected identity groups. Their members are in positions to help one another and do so--although they may think of the reciprocity as simply the way business is done: you do business with people you know. They have access to political leaders and the media, are consulted on issues important to them, are treated seriously, and are often considered disinterested voices for "the national interest." By contrast, those identity groups marked by low respect are derided as "self-seeking" or "special interests." They are often unflatteringly described as "strident," "unruly" or "loud," making it easy to discount their views.

At the policy level, contrast the way that farmers, students and AFDC recipients are treated. Farmers receive enormous subsidies that maintain high prices, which burdens us all. They are not described as "on welfare" or attacked as "chiselers," suffering from "the culture of dependency." Reduced tuition fees and below-market-rate loans for some less advantaged college students are not criticized as encouraging irresponsibility or regarded as a welfare handout. Former college students who do not repay their loans are often treated lightly. Welfare recipients, however, are not accorded similar latitude.

A Vicious Cycle

The result is a vicious cycle: members of disrespected groups and classes stand a substantial chance of needing public assistance because of the obstacles they encounter in trying to achieve a decent outcome; a negative view of welfare recipients reinforces the lack of respect for them, which results in low benefits; inadequate income leads to a difficult existence that reinforces not only low collective respect, but often low self-respect as well.

Where we live is largely determined by how much money we have. Those who are relegated to low-status, low-paying jobs usually live in low-income

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(RESPECT!: Continued from page 4)

neighborhoods or ghettos that are neglected by the municipality, dirty and unsafe. Thus, disrespect has consequences of immediate personal safety as well. This can be seen in the fact that there has been a rise in TB cases among low-income persons, as well as high infant mortality rate among disrespected groups.

Thus, what is needed is not limited to quantitative and qualitative economic improvements. Changes in the social fabric, in people's daily experiences and in their relationships are imperative. If powerlessness, disconnection, disrespect and hierarchy at home, at work and in the community are obstacles to a healthy functioning society, then genuine participation and the promotion of respect and collective respect would contribute to a healthy society.

Cartoon by Matt Wuerker. Used with permission.

Solidarity

Solidarity, a word much more widely used in Europe than here, is a broader term than community. Solidarity implies mutual concern and responsibility on the part of people who may be socially or geographically distant. More specifically, solidarity – at least in European discourse – signifies concern among those who are doing well for those who are faring poorly. For example, the Swedish solidarity wage policy followed by unions, with membership and government support, improved the wages of low-level workers more than those of higher-paid employees, thus reducing the income gap. The animating spirit was that of "one nation."

The keys to building a sense of solidarity, then, are the narrowing of social distance and the involvement of diverse people in common pursuits. Widening the scope of local decision-making is likely to encourage more people to participate in community affairs. Federal- and state-funded programs could require broader-based local participation and self-determination. Community service programs to which individuals could voluntarily contribute for the good of the locality or nation could make a difference. Simply put, inducements to community solidarity can call forth latent desires for mutual aid.

Ending discrimination and disrespect is central, but how to design policies to accomplish this is a difficult task. How can public policy bolster group respect and self-respect, while reducing disrespect? There is a need for programs that go beyond promoting individual self-esteem to influencing how social identity groups are viewed and treated.

Solidarity, a word much more widely used in Europe than here, is a broader term than community.

Lessening economic inequalities is crucial, but their decline does not assure that disrespected identity and class groups will automatically experience less disturbing daily experiences. Contrary to the childhood taunt that only sticks and stones hurt, words and deeds do damage, resulting in anger or repression and in blocked access to important economic, social and political resources. Dollars count, but so do group respect and collective self-respect.

S.M. Miller, a PRRAC Board Member, is Director of the Joint Project on Equality at the Commonwealth Institute (186 Hampshire St., Cambridge, MA 02139, 617/547-4474). He is also research professor of sociology at Boston College; a board member of Share the Wealth; and Member of the Society and Health Program, New England Medical Center, Harvard School of Public Health. Karen Marie Ferroggiaro is a graduate student at Boston College and research associate at the Joint Project on Equality. □

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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May 3, 1997

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Kagan
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE REED
ELENA KAGAN

SUBJECT: DPC WEEKLY REPORT

1. Education Town Hall Meeting: We are working to arrange an "Education Town Hall Meeting" focused on your national testing initiative. This meeting, currently scheduled for May 22, will provide you with an opportunity to explain what high standards are really all about -- perhaps by actually working through a couple of sample questions from the NAEP test. You will take questions from an audience of educators, parents, and students. We are exploring a number of possible locations for this event, with Kentucky the leading contender at the moment.

2. National Testing Initiative: Secretary Riley testified last week on your testing initiative before the House Subcommittee on Early Childhood, Youth and Families; in addition, DPC and DoEd representatives met with Frank Riggs and Dale Kildee, the Chair and Ranking Member of the Subcommittee, on the initiative. The meetings and testimony made clear that we have strong support among Democrats on the Subcommittee for your initiative -- particularly from Kildee, George Miller, and Patsy Mink. On the Republican side, Riggs and Mike Castle are also supporters, though Riggs believes that the Administration should seek Congressional authorization before taking steps toward national testing. Unfortunately, Rep. Goodling is now expressing serious concerns about the initiative, mostly on the ground that the tests will lead to ranking individual schools. We will attempt to allay Goodling's concerns, while working closely with Congressional supporters on both sides of the aisle to support our effort to sign up states for the initiative.

3. Follow-up to Service Summit: We are preparing for your signature a letter to major nonprofit organizations and religious groups that will explain your new proposal, announced at the Service Summit, to partner with them to expand AmeriCorps. The letter will highlight the success of non-profits, such as the National Council of Churches and the Boys and Girls Clubs of America, in using AmeriCorps scholarships and will urge other non-profits and religious groups to put AmeriCorps members to work in their programs.

4. Welfare-to-Work: As you know, you will help launch Eli Segal's Welfare-to-Work Partnership at an event at the White House on May 20. We think that you also will be able to announce at this event Department of Transportation pilot grants to 25 states to develop welfare-to-work transportation plans. This announcement will underscore the importance of

transportation services in making welfare reform work and will promote your proposal (in the NEXTEA bill) to provide $600 million in grant funds to improve these services. We may be able to announce that some of the businesses represented at the White House event have committed to providing matching funds for such welfare-to-work transportation efforts.

5. Welfare Reform and College Attendance: You recently asked about reports that states are telling welfare recipients to drop out of college so that states can meet the welfare law's work requirements. The welfare law, of course, does not require states to take such action, and right now we do not know how many states are doing so. But because there is no broad exemption from the work requirements for college students, states may well insist that these students engage in work activities for the requisite number of hours (now 20 hours per week).

- To alleviate this problem, we are working with DoEd and HHS on ways for the Administration to inform colleges of how they can use work study to help students on welfare meet the work requirements and still complete their degrees. Many Americans work their way through college: in 1993, 38% of undergraduates worked at least 35 hours a week, while 16% worked between 21 and 34 hours a week. Colleges can make it easier for welfare recipients to combine work and college by providing work study opportunities that meet the work requirements. Although most colleges limit work study to 10 to 15 hours a week, there is no limit in federal law: colleges can provide as many hours as necessary to meet the student's financial need. Secretaries Riley and Shalala should write a letter to colleges clarifying what colleges can do and encouraging them to take such action.

6. Volunteer Liability Bill: The Senate passed 99-1 last week a bill to protect volunteers of nonprofit organizations or governmental entities from liability. The Administration issued a SAP opposing a prior version of the bill, which offered immunity not only to volunteers, but also to the organizations for which they work. The SAP stated: "The overbroad definitions used in the bill -- which might apply to hate groups, street gangs, or violent militias -- make this takeover of state law very troubling." After Senator Leahy dubbed this bill the "Ku Klux Klan Protection Act" and every Democrat voted against it, the Senate narrowed the bill to protect only volunteers themselves. We will continue work on the bill, which because of hasty amendment and passage is now sloppily drafted, to ensure that it is fully consistent with the views you have stated on tort reform generally.

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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

May 2, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: KATHLEEN A. McGINTY

RE: CEQ WEEKLY REPORT

THE PRESIDENT'S COUNCIL ON SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The President's Council on Sustainable Development held its first meeting of 1997 this week. The Council's work over the next two years will focus upon: (1) building strong metropolitan communities by bringing together center cities and surrounding suburbs to reduce traffic congestion, clean up brownfields, move people from welfare to work, prevent crime, and curb urban sprawl; (2) building consensus among government, industry, and environmentalists on steps that can be taken to implement future international treaties to reduce greenhouse gas emissions; (3) fostering US international leadership on sustainable development, with an emphasis on recommendations concerning investment in the developing world consistent with the principles of sustainable development; and (4) hosting a national symposium in early 1998 to highlight the accomplishments of the sustainable communities movement that is arising across the nation.

DREDGING IN THE PORT OF NEW YORK AND NEW JERSEY

On Wednesday, May 8, we will be rolling out two critical parts of the dredging plan that the Vice President announced last summer for the Port of New York and New Jersey. First, the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) will issue its proposed regulation for closing the offshore Mud Dump Site and designating a larger remediation site to address historic contamination. Second, the Army Corps of Engineers will issue a series of final permits that will ensure that long-stalled dredging projects will move forward.

Senator Bob Torricelli (D-NJ), Representative Bob Menendez (D-NJ), and Representative Frank Pallone (D-NJ), with whom we developed the plan, will join Administration representatives (we expect EPA Administrator, Carol Browner, and Secretary of the Army, Togo West) in making these announcements at a press conference on Wednesday morning. The event is timed to precede a similar event that Governor Christine Whitman (R-NJ) is planning for Thursday, to ensure that the Governor cannot take credit for the progress has been made under the plan. The Governor declined our invitation to join our event.

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AMENDMENTS TO THE ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT

Republicans in both the House and Senate have used recent floods in California as an excuse for sponsoring proposals that would exempt all flood control projects from important requirements of the Endangered Species Act (ESA). In fact, effective emergency procedures are already utilized to deal with the ESA and other environmental requirements during flood emergencies. For example, during the recent California flooding, the Fish and Wildlife Service implemented ESA provisions which allowed emergency actions in disaster areas to be taken quickly without the Act's normal "prior consultation" requirements.

We have sent statements of Administration policy to both the House and Senate stating that the Administration opposes the House bill, H.R. 478 by Representative Wally Herger (R-CA), and the Senate emergency supplemental bill (which includes this provision), and that the Secretary of the Interior would recommend a veto if they pass. The House bill may be offered as an amendment to the House emergency supplemental bill when it goes to the floor next week. Democrats in the House, led by Representative Vic Fazio (D-CA) and some moderate Republicans, are working on alternative proposals that are consistent with the Administration's policies. There may be a similar development in the Senate. However, the proponents of these measures also are gaining considerable support.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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May 2, 1997

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: **JOHN HILLEY** JH

SUBJECT: **WEEKLY LEGISLATIVE REPORT**

House of Representatives

1. **Aviation Authorization:** On Tuesday, April 29, the House passed (414--7) the FAA Research, Engineering, and Development Authorization Act of 1997 (HR 1271). This legislation would authorize $672 million through fiscal 2000 for research, engineering and development programs, a 4 percent increase from fiscal 1997 appropriations levels.

2. **Farmland Conservation:** On Tuesday, April 29, the House passed (325--92, with one Member voting present) an Administration-opposed resolution (HR 1342) which would allow farmers who plant their crops in the fall to extend their expiring Conservation Reserve Program agreements for one year. The program aims to move highly erodible land from production for 10 year periods and pays annual rent to farmers who agree not to work the land and enroll it in the program. The Agriculture Department believes the bill would block it from enrolling new land into the program and opposes the measure.

3. **Welfare Law:** On Tuesday, April 29, the House passed by voice the Welfare Reform Technical Corrections Act of 1997 (HR 1048). This Administration-supported legislation which would: sharpen definitions and clarify language on such issues as mandatory work requirements and eligibility criteria for needy families, including disabled people and immigrants; clarify that prison inmates cannot receive Social Security benefits or Old Age Disability Insurance; and extend until February 1998 the deadline for the Social Security Administration to determine children's eligibility for certain benefits and would give states an additional three months to submit biennial welfare plans.

4. **Adoption Promotion:** On Wednesday, April 30, the House passed (416--5) the Adoption Promotion Act (HR 867) which aims to shift social workers' focus from reuniting families to finding adoptive parents for children in foster care who have been victims of abuse. This Administration-supported resolution gives states greater discretion to determine when families should be reunited and would require officials to actively pursue adoptions for children who have been in foster care for 18 months or more.

5. **Housing Overhaul:** On Wednesday, April 30, the House began consideration of the Housing Act of 1997 (HR 2). The measure would turn over decisions about tenants and rents to local authorities. A SAP released Wednesday, April 30, stated that the Administration supports many of the bill's objectives, but opposes the bill unless it is amended. The House resumed

consideration of the bill on Thursday, May 1, and is expected to complete consideration on Tuesday, May 6.

6. **Committee Funding:** On Thursday, May 1, the House passed (262--157) the Committee Funding Resolution for the 105th Congress (H.Res. 129). This resolution provides $150 million; a $550,000 increase over last year's levels.

The Week Ahead

In addition to completing consideration of the Housing Act (HR 2), the House is expected to take-up the Juvenile Justice bill and the Supplemental Appropriations Act (HR 1469).

Senate

1. **Herman Nomination:** On Wednesday, April 30, the Senate confirmed (85--13; all Democrats voting in favor) the nomination of Alexis Herman to be Secretary of Labor.

2. **Volunteer Liability:** On Thursday, May 1, the Senate passed (99--1) S. 543, the Volunteer Protection Act, as amended. This legislation is a compromise negotiated by Senators Coverdell and Leahy and would provide protection from liability suits for volunteers in lawsuits regarding their actions. The measure, as amended, limits liability of volunteers for acts or omissions of the volunteer on behalf of the organization or entity if: the volunteer is acting within the scope of the their responsibilities; the volunteer was properly licenced, certified, or authorized for the activities or practices in the state in which the harm occurred; and the harm was not caused by willful or criminal misconduct, gross negligence, reckless misconduct, or a conscious, flagrant indifference to the rights or safety of the individual harmed by the volunteer.

The bill also eliminates joint and several liability of the individual volunteer for non-economic loss in any civil action against a volunteer based on an action of a volunteer acting within the scope of the volunteers's responsibility. The limitation on liability does not apply to conduct that: involves a defendant convicted of crime of violence; constitutes a hate crime or a sex offense; involves a defendant under influence of alcohol or drugs; causes harm through operation of motor vehicle; and does not extend to organizations or entities. This is a good compromise, but the Administration will work for further improvements in the House.

3. **FY97 Supplemental Appropriations:** On Wednesday, April 30, the Senate Appropriations Committee cleared (16--12; Senators Feinstein and Dorgan joining Republicans voting in favor) legislation providing $8.4 billion in supplemental appropriations for FY97. Senator Daschle announced this week that Democrats will not filibuster the bill, preferring instead to "get the President's veto over with." During the mark-up, the Committee approved (15--13; party line vote) an Administration-opposed amendment which would avoid government shutdowns by automatically enacting a stopgap spending bill at 98% of prior-year levels for any appropriations bill not enacted by the October 1 start of the new fiscal year. Senator Stevens said he will find offsets in budget authority to help reduce the bill's impact on the deficit. The measure contains several other contentious amendments including:

a. An Administration-opposed provision establishing a $125 million Social Services Block Grant for assistance to legalized aliens losing their Supplemental Security Income benefits on August 22. During the mark up, Senator Murray said that she would offer a floor amendment to strike the block grant provision; and

b. Administration-opposed language sponsored by Senator Craig to waive the Endangered Species Act for many flood control projects and repairs; and

c. An Administration-opposed provision prohibiting the Commerce Department from developing a plan for the 2000 decennial census that would use sampling.

4. Product Liability: On Thursday, May 1, the Senate Commerce, Science, and Transportation Committee cleared (11-9 party line vote) S. 648, a Gorton-sponsored products liability bill similar to the bill vetoed last year. The Administration opposes the bill in its current form.

The Week Ahead

The Senate will turn to consideration of S. 672, FY97 Supplemental Appropriations on Monday, May 5.

cc: The Vice-President
Erskine Bowles
John Podesta
Sylvia Mathews

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

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5-5-97

May 2, 1997

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: **KITTY HIGGINS**

SUBJECT: **Summary of Cabinet Weekly Reports**
April 25 - May 2, 1997

DEPARTMENT OF TREASURY

- **G-7:** On April 27, Secretary Rubin hosted G-7 Finance Ministers and the Central Bank Governors for the Spring Meetings of the IMF and World Bank. The meetings highlighted some of the key economic and financial issues that will be profiled at the G-8 Summit in Denver, CO.

  Macroeconomic Developments: G-7 Finance Ministers agreed to monitor developments and cooperate as appropriate on exchange markets. The Ministers urged Russia to reform its tax policy and administration and to deepen structural reform; Ukraine to implement its ambitious reform agenda; and Africa to continue moving toward democratization, financial sustainability and more market-oriented economic policies.

  Financial Stability: G-10 working groups presented reports on Electronic Money and Financial Stability in Emerging Market Economies.

  Corruption: Noting the adverse effects of bribery and corruption on economic development, the G-7 Finance Ministers urged the multilateral development banks to help countries fight corruption. In advance of the OECD ministerial in late May, the finance ministers called on members of the OECD to reach agreement on the criminalization of bribery and to eliminate the tax deductibility of bribes of foreign officials.

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- **Community Policing:** On April 30, COPS Director Brann announced the release of the Advancing Community Policing solicitation at the Police Executive Research Forum Annual Conference in Washington, D.C. Under this program, $35 million will be available to agencies highly committed to community policing to support organizational change efforts or to establish Community Policing Demonstration Centers.

- **Medical Marijuana:** On April 11, District Judge Fern Smith found that plaintiffs in Conant v. McCaffrey (N.D. CA) had raised "serious questions as to the constitutionality" of the federal government's policy of advising doctors that they risk federal prosecution or revocation of their controlled substance registrations if they provide their patients with oral or written recommendations to use marijuana pursuant to CA Proposition 215. On April 21, the court denied a motion for clarification on this point without comment, and extended the TRO until May 1. The parties are currently engaging in settlement negotiations that were mandated by the court. Negotiations are expected to conclude shortly and the court will issue a ruling on the motion to dismiss and plaintiffs' pending motion for a preliminary injunction.

- **CT Fair Housing:** On April 24, DOJ filed a Fair Housing Act complaint against the City of Milford, CT, arising out of the City's withdrawal from a subsidized scattered site housing program that HUD had already funded and that the City had already commenced. The complaint alleges that the City violated the Fair Housing Act when it took steps to terminate the housing program in response to neighborhood opposition that itself was motivated by fears that the subsidized housing would be occupied by persons from the largely minority neighboring cities of Bridgeport and New Haven.

- **LA Redistricting:** On April 24, the district court in Theriot v. Parish of Jefferson, LA (E.D. La.) upheld the constitutionality of a majority-black parish council district that had been drawn to remedy a violation of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act. DOJ participated as a defendant-intervenor in support of the plan that resulted in the creation of the majority-black district.

- **TN Federal Affirmative Action Case:** On April 18, the jury in Safeco Insurance Co. v. City of White House (M.D. Tenn.) ruled that an insurance carrier was liable under a performance bond for damages to a TN city for the failure of the carrier's insured, a prime contractor on an EPA-funded contract with the city, to engage in good faith outreach and recruitment efforts to solicit minority and women-owned businesses pursuant to an EPA affirmative action program. EPA declined to approve the project as a result of the contractor's failure to comply with the requirements. Previously, the judge had ruled that the requirements were constitutional on their face, rejecting the insurer's argument that they were invalid under Adarand. The Justice Department participated in the case on behalf of EPA, which was a co-defendant.

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- **MO Medicaid Waiver:** On April 21, MO officials met with HHS representatives to discuss the State's tax disallowance issue and to present a concept paper for an addendum to their pending section 1115 demonstration proposal. The pending proposal is, at the State's request, "on hold" in the review process. The concept paper would expand Medicaid eligibility to children up to 18 years of age and with family incomes up to 300 percent of the Federal Poverty Level (FPL). The State would also make working parents moving off of welfare eligible for Medicaid for up to two years, subject to certain conditions. The State indicated the Governor cannot expand eligibility without a guaranteed tax base and wanted to talk with HCFA about a process for resolving whether the state had an improper tax. HCFA is reviewing the issue.

- **Mad Cow Disease:** On April 23-24, an FDA advisory panel met to assess whether bovine spongiform encephalopathy (BSE), or "mad cow" disease poses any risk to the safety of imported gelatin used in FDA-regulated products. After hearing the evidence and discussing the issues, the majority of panel members concluded that there was not enough scientific evidence to confirm that gelatin poses no risk and that there is need for continuing and further research on the effect of the manufacturing process in inactivating the causative agent. FDA is evaluating the panel's conclusions.

- **Utah Blood Bank:** On April 25, FDA suspended the product and establishment licenses for Intermountain Health Care, Inc. (IHC) blood bank and collection facilities in Salt Lake City, UT, and elsewhere in UT, because of numerous serious violations of federal regulations designed to protect the safety of the nation's blood supply. Although FDA has no information at this time that these violations resulted in the use of infectious blood products, recent FDA inspections of several IHC facilities suggest the potential for unnecessary risks. IHC supplies 80 percent of the blood for the State. To ensure an adequate supply of blood and blood products, the firm is cooperating with FDA to identify alternate sources of blood from other suppliers.

- **Oral Health:** This week, the American Dental Association (ADA) will be announcing in its weekly report that the Surgeon General plans to release a Surgeon General's Report on Oral Health. The ADA will be a consultant on the report, which will be prepared independently by the Surgeon General and Public Health Services agencies.

- **Food Safety:** On May 2, a report was submitted in response to your request, DHHS, EPA, and USDA have developed a report for you on enhancing the safety of the nation's food supply. On May 12, the Vice President will make the announcement.

- **Quality Commission:** The first meeting of your Commission on Consumer Protection and Health Care Quality will be held on May 13.

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- **Cloning:** On May 2, the National Bioethics Advisory Commission will meet to review commissioned papers on selected topics related to the prospect of human cloning and to continue development of its report to you. The Commission is on a schedule to produce its report by early June.

- **Immunization Program:** On May 6, the Senate Labor and Human Resources Subcommittee on Public Health and Safety will hold a hearing on the reauthorization of the immunization program. Walter Orenstein, Director, National Immunization Program, CDC, will testify.

- **Medicare Fraud:** On May 6, the House Ways and Means Subcommittee on Health will hold a hearing on the President's proposals to eliminate Medicare fraud and abuse. Bruce Vladeck, Administrator, HCFA, and Michael Mangano, Principal Deputy Inspector General, HHS, will testify.

- **Informed Consent Procedures:** On May 8, the House Government Reform and Oversight Subcommittee on Human Resources and Intergovernmental Relations will hold a hearing on the processes for securing informed consent in clinical trials.

- **Medicare for Veterans:** On May 8, the House Veterans' Affairs Subcommittee on Health will hold a hearing on the Veterans Medicare Reimbursement Demonstration Act which would establish a demonstration project to provide Medicare reimbursement for health care services offered to certain Medicare-eligible veterans in VA selected facilities. Kathy Buto, Associate Administrator for Policy, HCFA, will testify.

- **AIDS Vaccine Research:** The May issue of *Nature Medicine* includes a report from a team of researchers, supported by the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID), on a new DNA-based vaccine which protected two chimpanzees against HIV-1, the virus that causes AIDS. Unlike standard vaccines, which are formulated from dead or weakened viruses, the new vaccine directly incorporates attenuated HIV-1 genes rather than proteins produced by viral genes. The researchers suggest that further studies of the method are warranted. NIAID has not issued a formal response to the report. Researchers suggest that this reduced diversity and the resulting reduced ability of the immune system to recognize certain antigens may be key to the development of immunodeficiency in patients with HIV. These findings support early treatment of the disease, before elements of the immune system are significantly depleted.

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- **Reverse Mortgage Fees:** The Senate passed by voice vote a bill to crack down on unscrupulous "estate planners" who charge seniors high fees for information on reverse mortgages. The bill gives HUD power to outlaw fees form information that HUD makes available for free to homeowners. Some brokers charges fees up to ten percent of the mortgage amount.

VETERANS AFFAIRS

- **Medicare Reimbursement Program:** Legislation for this pilot program is delayed while the Health Care Financing Administration, OMB, and VA iron out a memorandum of agreement for implementing the pilot. The House Veterans Affairs Committee staff has expressed concern regarding these delays. Chairman Stump and Ranking Member Evans have introduced their own version of this legislation, and have scheduled a hearing for May 8.

- **Health-Insurance Reimbursements:** Our legislative proposal to allow VA to retain health-insurance reimbursements for non-service-connected care is not moving. Both the House and the Senate Veterans Affairs Committees have indicated that in the absence of a budget resolution that resolves the PAY-GO issues involved in this proposal, they cannot advance the proposal. Meanwhile, the Appropriations Committees have to decide how to appropriate VAs Medical Care account, without knowing whether funds for third-party reimbursements, will be available for furnishing health care to veterans. In the worst-case scenario, the appropriation would be straight-lined from FY96, as the Administration has proposed, but the third-party proposal would not be enacted, leaving VA with a major funding shortfall.

- **Sexual Harassment:** Congressional and media interest in VAS zero-tolerance policy toward sexual harassment in the workplace continues -- primarily from the viewpoint that VA has not dealt harshly enough with a few senior managers accused of harassment. VA is responding to follow-up questions from the House Veterans Affairs Committee's April 17 hearing, and preparing for a Senate Veterans Affairs Committee hearing scheduled for May 15.

- **AFGE Labor Agreement:** On April 28, Secretary Brown and the National President of the Associated Federal Government Employees (AFGE) signed a new labor-management agreement between AFGE and VA. The first labor-management agreement between AFGE and VA was signed 15 years ago. The new agreement covers almost one-half of VAS employees and is the first to include coverage of doctors, dentists, podiatrists, optometrists, registered nurses, physician assistants, and expanded-duty dental auxiliaries. The new agreement enhances VAS commitment to become an employer of choice by incorporating family-friendly practices.

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- The *Detroit Free Press* ran an editorial reminding the public that while the recent strawberry incident was of great concern, the public should not lose sight of how important the National School Lunch Program is and the changes the Administration has made to improve the nutritional standards.

- **Welfare Reform Update:** Last week, USDA withheld approval pending receipt of additional data of a request from IL to exempt individuals residing in an additional 38 communities in Cook County from the provisions in the welfare reform bill, which limits Food Stamp Program participation to three months in any 36-month period for able-bodied adults without dependents between ages 18-50 unless the individuals are employed an average of 20 hours per week or are participating in a work program. The state requested exemptions for 10 communities based on unemployment rates 20 percent above the national average during a the past two years.

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

- **Brookhaven National Laboratory:** On May 1, Secretary Peña held a press conference at the Lab to release the findings of a DOE Office of Oversight report that found serious problems in the Lab's handling of environment, safety, and health programs and in DOE's management of the Lab. The Secretary will announce an action plan to address these problems, including an immediate competition to select a new contractor to manage the Lab, the appointment of a senior DOE official to manage the Lab during the transition, and a 30-day review to conclude with further recommendations.

- **CO Crash Recovery:** The DOE-developed Airborne Multisensor Pod System, which includes a synthetic aperture radar system, was used to help the U.S. Air Force with recovery efforts on the A-10 aircraft that recently crashed in CO. This system is unique because of its capability to gather images and topographic data through cloud cover. The synthetic aperture radar also has some ability to penetrate into snow. The data gathered by AMPS is now being evaluated at DOE's Sandia National Laboratory, and DOE hopes to provide a detailed topographic model of the crash site next week. Media interest is anticipated.

- **Stockpile Program:** The Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC) filed a suit that charges that DOE's review of environmental studies and evaluation of alternative weapons policies, have been "grossly deficient or nonexistent, violating the letter of stipulations" in a previous settlement agreed to in 1989.

- **Bay Area Conservation Commission:** On April 29, Senior DOE officials briefed city and county elected officials in Stockton, CA, on foreign research reactor spent fuel shipments in Stockton. On May 1, senior DOE officials, accompanied by officials from the Coast Guard, the Navy, and the State Department, briefed Commission members regarding safety and transportation issues of proposed shipments of spent nuclear fuel from

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foreign research reactors through the Concord Naval Weapons Station port. The briefings should give Commission members a thorough understanding of the issues involved with these shipments and might mitigate their announced plans to file suit against the DOE.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

- **E-Rate Announcement:** DOEd has been working with the FCC to coordinate announcement of telecommunications rate discounts for schools and libraries to connect to and use the Internet. The announcement is tentatively scheduled for May 7.

- **Read*Write*Now!:** In May, Secretary Riley will appear at events across the country to launch DOEd's annual summer reading program. Events are scheduled for D.C., May 14; Boston, MA, May 15; and New York City, May 19. On May 19, Carol Rasco will visit a school in MO with Congresswoman Danner to promote the initiative.

- **Blue Ribbon Schools:** On May 20, DOEd will notify Members of Congress of designations of Blue Ribbon Schools. On May 27, DOEd is planning a satellite downlink of remarks by Secretary Riley for use by Members at events at schools in their districts.

- **Secretary's Schedule:** On May 8, Secretary Riley will be honored with a New York Academy of Public Education award in New York City. On May 17, the Secretary will receive the John Dewey Award of the United Federation of Teachers in New York City.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

- **Environment Leaders' Summit:** On May 5-6, Administrator Browner hosts environment ministers from the G-7 countries, plus Russia, at the Environment Leaders' Summit in Miami, FL. The meeting will focus on protecting the health of children from environmental hazards. The children's environmental health discussions at this meeting will serve to prepare the issue for the consideration of the Heads of State at the Denver, CO, Summit in June. Action by the Environment Leaders is anticipated on a Declaration addressing specific children's environmental health issues, including setting protective standards for children, lead exposure, safe drinking water, exposure to environmental tobacco smoke, and research on endocrine disrupting chemicals. The Environment Leaders will also address the health and weather impacts of climate change, international cooperation on environmental enforcement and compliance, and the upcoming United Nations Special Session on progress since the Rio Earth Summit.

- **Cleaner Vehicles:** On May, Administrator Browner expects to issued a final rule that would establish a framework for the voluntary National Low Emission Vehicle (NLEV) program. This framework is the culmination of several years of discussion with automakers and states and provides emissions specifications for auto companies to produce cars that are 70 percent cleaner than new cars today.

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May 2, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: **MARIA ECHAVESTE**

SUBJECT: **OPL WEEKLY REPORT** - April 26 to May 2

ACTIONS SUPPORTING PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVES

BUDGET:

- OPL will be working over the weekend in coordination with the Budget team to inform key constituencies of the details of the budget. We are planning briefings, over the next week, to provide more detailed information.

- The Committee for Educational Funding and the Coalition for Health Funding joined together to urge you and other "Budget Leaders" to support increased investments for quality education and public health research and services. We will keep in touch with these group to provide them information showing how the President's budget makes these investments.

EDUCATION:

- The Mexican American Legal Defense Education Fund identified a diverse list of researchers and experts on Hispanic education and poverty issues. Gene Sperling and others will then talk with these individuals and discuss issues such as drop out rates, standards and economic issues.

HEALTH INSURANCE FOR CHILDREN

- We met with the Child Health Foundation to discuss preliminary planning for Child Health Day in October.

WELFARE TO WORK

- We are expanding the base of support for the Welfare to Work Initiative among women business leaders who participated at the recent OECD Conference on Women Entrepreneurs in Small and Medium Enterprises. We are also identifying a number of women business owners who would like to work with the Welfare to Work Partnership and SBA's Welfare to Work Program.

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- This week we met with the National Association of Female Executives (NAFE) to solicit their participation in our welfare to work programs. NAFE is organizing their 25th anniversary Women's Summit in the fall and would like to launch a Welfare to Work program then.

- We held a briefing with religious leaders of key denominations and organizations (National Association of Evangelicals (NAE), Catholics, AME Church, National Council of Churches (David Saperstein). They voiced two concerns; they want the federal government to monitor the states plans closely since they will vary so much and for the administration (Justice, HHS and White House) to revise their rhetoric on welfare reform and the faith community.

- OPL is currently interviewing welfare recipients for a position in our office to demonstrate your commitment.

CONSTITUENT AND OTHER ISSUES:

AFRICAN AMERICAN OUTREACH

- This week, several members of Civil Rights groups voiced their concerns with the Sentencing Commission's new proposals:

  - Joe Lowery of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference called the proposals "a re-arrangement that moves in the right direction but still unfair".

  - Wade Henderson of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights said the proposals are unresponsive to the disparity issue.

  - Kwesi Mfume, NAACP president initially called the proposals encouraging but backed off supporting the recommendations, saying he wants more time to study to the issue.

  - Jesse Jackson wants to study the issue before he comments.

We are working with these groups and the Justice Department to address their concerns.

BUSINESS OUTREACH

- This week we met with the three trade associations: the Automotive President's Council, the National Association of Homebuilders and the American Society of Association Executives. We spoke to them about several of your top priorities: welfare-to-work, education standards, volunteerism and the DC initiative. We discussed using their networks, with more than 200,000 members nation-wide, to help us gain the support of CEO's nationwide for these initiatives. We are scheduling a series of follow-up meetings and work sessions.

- We coordinated a briefing for the Colorado Forum consisting of 35 opinion leaders from the Denver area, in preparation for the upcoming Summit of the 8.

HISPANIC OUTREACH

- Arturo Sandoval, the renowned trumpet player, was denied citizenship by INS based on a technicality. DOJ has been informed of the problem and hopes to resolve this issue ASAP. There has been extensive press coverage on this issue.

LATIN AMERICA TRIP

- We contacted over two hundred business and political leaders this week to notify them about your visit to Mexico. A number of people will be in the country at the same time as you and will be able to participate in several of your public events, the arrival ceremony, the entertainment portion of the State Dinner and your speech to the Mexican people Wednesday morning.

NATO ENLARGEMENT

- OPL in coordination with the Department of State coordinated a series of "house calls" to military associations. The purpose of the call was to educate the groups on the significance of NATO Enlargement with the goal of obtaining their support for this effort.

- We participated in the Central and East European Coalition's day long conference, Security and Stability in Central and Eastern Europe, on Capitol Hill. The Coalition agrees with your NATO enlargement policy, though the Baltic-Americans are still concerned.

- We participated in the Polish American Congress' Capitol Hill event celebrating Polish Constitution Day with visiting Prime Minister of Poland, members of Congress and national Polish American community leaders. The event exhibited a strong bi-partisan spirit regarding NATO enlargement as it included Sen. Barbara Mikulski and Rep. Ben Gilman.

RACE AND UNITY

- We met with Bea Fitzpatrick, a national diversity training consultant working with the "Business Leadership Diversity Initiative," a committee of corporate leaders including institutions like John Hancock, Monsanto, Harvard University, American Express, Time Warner and others. The focus of this group is to encourage CEO's to create systemic approaches which eliminate barriers to advancement of women and people of color, and to launch a nationwide campaign to diversify America's corporate leadership.

RELIGIOUS OUTREACH

- We distributed the Presidential Proclamation on the National Day of Prayer to key religious leaders and organizations, and coordinated a meeting with Vice President and 100 children from the National Children's Prayer Congress.

- Helped coordinate a White House briefing for the American Muslim Council (AMC) during their annual conference in Washington. A major concern of this group is racism against Muslims, particularly by local law enforcement. We will follow-up with the Civil Rights Division of Justice.

WOMEN'S OUTREACH

- We spoke with the Family Violence Prevention Fund to discuss the impact of welfare reform on battered women. The fund also operates National Workplace Resource Center which works to ensure that workplaces support workers who are victims of domestic violence. We discussed ways that we could raise awareness of this issue among corporate leaders as they become involved in efforts to employ welfare recipients.

UPCOMING ISSUES:

- We are exploring the possibility of an event to announce the production and distribution of over 200 million Domestic Violence Hotline Stamp Booklets to advertise the National Domestic Violence Hotline. We also held discussions on the venue for the presentation of the one year report to the Violence Against Women Act.

cc: First Lady
Mrs. Gore
Erskine Bowles
John Podesta
Sylvia Mathews
Doug Sosnik
Craig Smith
Rahm Emanuel
Kitty Higgins
Marsha Hale
Bruce Reed
Gene Sperling
Mike McCurry

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

April 29, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

FROM: **MARIA ECHAVESTE** '97 APR 29 AM8:32

SUBJECT: **OPL WEEKLY REPORT** - April 21 to April 25

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ACTIONS SUPPORTING PRESIDENTIAL INITIATIVES

BUDGET:

- The Committee for Educational Funding (an umbrella group of over 300 educational associations and advocacy groups) has issued a series of statements that are strongly opposed to an automatic Continuing Resolution that would cut or freeze education funding. We will continue to provide information to the coalition as the budget takes shape.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

- We have been informed by Barbara Turner (an original member of the Welfare to Work small business CEO's) that she and Ben Camarrata of TJX will be working together to find a location for TJX Holding to open a retail store (TJ Maxx) in the District of Columbia. Mr. Camarrata stated that he is committed to opening a new store in the District to assist in the DC development effort.

EDUCATION:

- We are developing a nation-wide business outreach plan in conjunction with Tim Newell in OSTP to follow-up on the high-tech CEO/California endorsement of education standards that will continue the effort into the other 49 states. Our plan is to reach out to major CEO's and identify a lead CEO in every state to build support and organize a state working group to endorse the standards. We hope to have this on track by June 1.

- On April 24th, Gene Sperling and I met with the Executive Committee of the Commission on Hispanic Education to solicit the members input regarding targeting the Hispanic community for the education initiative .

- We worked with DPC on the America Reads radio address event and will continue to provide support to DPC on other possible education events such as a Town Hall and a possible "urban schools" initiative.

- Briefed the Organization of Chinese American Women, where we spoke about your Education agenda.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

HEALTH INSURANCE FOR CHILDREN

- Held a staff meeting to develop OPL's Health Care strategy. Chris Jennings identified the key groups for OPL to focus on: insurers, health care providers, and businesses.

WELFARE TO WORK

- We identified a group of women who constructed a plan for small business outreach in conjunction with the Welfare to Work Partnership. They will present their plan to the Partnership next week. This is in preparation for an event here at the White House on May 20th to announce the formal creation of the Partnership, and its Board and Advisory Committee members.

CONSTITUENT AND OTHER ISSUES:

AFRICAN AMERICAN OUTREACH

- The Congressional Black Caucus held hearings this week on the plight of black farmers and is expected to bring additional pressure on the Agriculture Department to end discrimination in the implementation of its programs. We had previously circulated Secretary Glickman's report (per your suggestion) to a number of African-American media outlets. Indeed, Jet Magazine featured the report in a recent issue. We also met last week with a group of farmers to ensure the Department continues its commitment to address these issues.

The CBC is also beginning to focus attention on the lack of a presidential appointment for Cleo Fields. We will continue to monitor this matter.

- The staff-level interagency working group on affirmative action procurement reform met this week to review the status of various activities, including the Justice Department's proposed rule developed in response to Adarand. (It will most likely be published May 1 for a 60-day public comment period) While there is not full support for the Administration's proposed rule, we did provide an opportunity for input and comment from a number of organizations.

DISABILITY OUTREACH

- We worked with Lucia Wyman and others in Legislative Affairs to achieve closure regarding the FDR Memorial. Your decision to call for legislation to modify the memorial was communicated to the Disability Community and the press, for which we continue to receive congratulations.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS

- OPL (Robert Jones and Flo McAfee) worked very hard on behalf of the passage of the CWC. They helped organize the CWC event in the Roosevelt Room and located and interviewed Mr. George Clark, a WWI veteran, who was gassed during the war. They also continued to blast fax updated information from White House Legislative to veterans groups and military organizations.

GAY AND LESBIAN

- Your meeting with the lead co-sponsors of the Employment Non-Discrimination Act was very successful and received a lot of specialty press coverage. Congressman Frank (D-MA) described your willingness to work for passage of the bill as an "act of true moral leadership."

NATO ENLARGEMENT

- This week we coordinated a Department of State briefing for the American Legion Executive Board in Indianapolis on May 6, and finalized plans for a DOD/State briefing for 20-30 organizations scheduled for May 13.

PASSOVER

- Sent President's Passover Greetings to organizational, religious and community leaders throughout the country.

SUMMIT ON AMERICA'S FUTURE

- Worked with event coordinators in monitoring protest concerns, identifying observer participants, and in the amplification efforts.

UPCOMING ISSUES:

- We are finalizing arrangements for your participation in the FDR Memorial dedication ceremony. In addition, we are coordinating with other offices to extend a limited number of invitations to the ceremony.

- We are working with DPC to communicate your views to interested parties concerning the Sentencing Commission's recommendations to be released on April 29.

- We are interviewing a number of candidates to take over the Women's Office in light of Betsy Myers' impending departure.

cc: First Lady
Mrs. Gore
Erskine Bowles
John Podesta
Sylvia Mathews
Doug Sosnik
Craig Smith
Rahm Emanuel
Kitty Higgins
Marsha Hale
Bruce Reed
Gene Sperling
Mike McCurry

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

Hill briefing packages, even though NSC staff had asked ONDCP to withdraw the paper completely and substitute an NSC/ONDCP-cleared version. A copy of what ONDCP provided to the Hill is attached.

(V) **Ruff memo on Akins v. FEC.** Via Sylvia. In response to your request for a memo on this case. The Solicitor General's office has petitioned the Supreme Court for review of the D.C. Circuit's decision in Akins. At issue is the FEC's definition of "political committee" under the FECA. The FEC has determined that an organization is *not* a political committee unless its "major purpose" is campaign related, although FECA defines a political committee as one which receives more than $1,000 in any calendar year. Chuck reports that DOJ's decision to appeal does not directly affect Administration policy on campaign finance. We have not taken a position on which organizations should be subject to the FECA definitions and McCain-Feingold does not address the issue. The appeal does not create an Administration position on the substantive issues in the litigation, but rather reflects DOJ's general inclination to defend an agency's interpretation of its own statute.

(V) **Berger memo on education in North Africa**. Responds to a note you made on the April 4 Weekly Economic Briefing. The item cited a World Bank study that claimed an extra year of school resulted in a negligible impact on economic growth in North Africa and the Mid East, primarily because of rigid labor markets that give rise to a disconnect between wages and productivity. You asked, "what about what they study?" The majority of university students are concentrated in law, economics and social sciences with smaller percentages in basic sciences, medicine and technology fields. Rigid and archaic educational structures, such as keeping entry requirements high, limit the number of students in the more "economically desirable" fields.

Thx.

Take to Berger COS

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97-0 2415

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

'97 APR 28 PM11:18

April 28, 1997

Dan Africa
Wirtebrief Bruno
Woodcock

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Inquiry on Article on Education in North Africa

You recently annotated an article on education trends in North Africa in your Weekly Economic Brief, requesting more information on what students study in these countries.

According to World Bank data, (see Tab B), in Morocco and Tunisia the majority of university students are concentrated in law, economics, humanities and social sciences. Smaller percentages are enrolled in basic sciences, medicine and technology fields. Pre-selection through curricula and examinations at the secondary level, and controlled numbers of slots in the sciences and engineering limit the numbers of students in these fields, where standards are much higher than in other areas. This is typical of systems which guarantee entry into university -- the more "economically desirable" faculties maintain standards by keeping entry requirements high.

Rigid and archaic educational structures are by no means unique to North Africa, where they were inherited from the French. Shortage of resources does not appear to be a determining factor. In Saudi Arabia, for example, poor secondary education is producing unemployable youth. We have seen a report that more than half of the entering freshman at King Fahd University of Petroleum and Minerals fail by the end of the first year. Private schools are expanding rapidly in Saudi Arabia in response to these deficiencies.

Attachments
Tab A Page from April 4 Weekly Economic Brief
Tab B World Bank Data Sheet

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 2415
4-7-97

INTERNATIONAL ROUNDUP

Quebec Independence Could Entail High Costs. A recent study examining inter-provincial trade in Canada finds that Quebec is 26 times more inclined to trade with other Canadian provinces than with U.S. states, even after controlling for the effects of size and distance. This finding is consistent with other studies showing that the presence of an international border, even the Canada-U.S. border, has a very large and negative effect on trade volumes (see *Weekly Economic Briefing*, February 28, 1997). Furthermore, it suggests that an independent Quebec probably would not make up for the likelihood of lost trade with Canada by increased trade with the United States. In fact, this study found that relative to trade with the United States, Quebec's trading patterns exhibit an even stronger bias towards inter-provincial trade than do those of most other Canadian provinces.

Returns to Education Low in North Africa and the Middle East. An extra year of schooling per person resulted in a negligible impact on economic growth in North Africa and the Middle East according to a recent World Bank Draft Report. The study also finds that unemployment among educated people is rising in the region, and the return to education for the individual is falling. (This contrasts sharply with the United States and other developed countries where educational returns have been rising.) The primary explanation for these low returns to education is rigid labor markets that give rise to a disconnect between wages and productivity. The study also cites a bias in the educational system towards preparation for public sector jobs. Another important bias is the neglect of girls' education, presumably for cultural reasons. According to the study, the number of illiterate women is expected to increase before the year 2000, while the number of illiterate men is expected to decline. Women in the region with more education have fewer children, on average, and lower infant mortality.

cc: Hope / Asa
+ World Bank
What new study

French Unemployment Reaches Postwar High. The unemployment rate in France climbed to 12.8 percent in February, a postwar high. When combined with weaker-than-expected industrial output data for January and a decline in business confidence during March, the bleak unemployment picture suggests a fragile economic recovery. Despite these weak employment figures, the government of France continues to hope that stronger growth in 1997 will reduce the budget deficit and enable France to qualify for the proposed single European currency.

Tokyo Seeks to Restore Banking Sector Credibility. In an effort to reduce over-capacity in the banking sector, the Ministry of Finance introduced a 5-year restructuring plan for Nippon Credit Bank (NCB) that will require NCB to reduce its assets, sell property, and cut staff. Ministry officials asked executives of city banks and life insurance firms to increase their stakes in NCB so that the bank can maintain the required capital-to-assets ratio after it writes off bad loans from its three nonbank affiliates. The Ministry also encouraged the merger of two large banks on the northern island of Hokkaido: Hokkaido Takushoku Bank and Hokkaido Bank. Hokkaido Takushoku will withdraw from its overseas operation and concentrate on domestic retail banking.

PR 7 16:26

SPECIALIZATION OF STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION Morocco: 1995 *	
	%
Religion	2.4
Humanities	29.0
Law and Economics	37.0
Sciences	27.1
Medicine, Pharmacy and Dentistry	3.0
Technology, Commerce, Engineering	1.4
Total	100.0
* Source: Annual Statistical Yearbook of Morocco, 1995.	

SPECIALIZATION OF STUDENTS IN HIGHER EDUCATION Tunisia: 1995 *	
	%
Literature, Arts, Social Sciences, Religion	32
Law, Economics and Management	33
Basic Sciences	13
Technology	5
Medicine and Biology	12
Agriculture	2
Education	3
Total	100
* Source: Ministry of Higher Education 1996.	

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-5-97

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

'97 MAY 2 PM3:12

May 2, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT

SUBJECT: SCHEDULING DECISIONS

CC: JOHN PODESTA & SYLVIA MATHEWS

copied Streett COS

ACCEPT

Date of Event:	Description of Event:
5/12/97 - 5/16/97	Foreign Policy Group Meeting on Bosnia *Staff Contact: Samuel Berger*
5/14/97	Ambassador Credentials Ceremony *Staff Contact: Samuel Berger*
6/9/97 - 6/13/97	Meeting with International Labor Leaders in Washington in Conjunction with Summit of the 8 Meeting *Staff Contact: Craig Smith*
6/16/97	Ceremony and Reception Honoring Members of the Friends of Art and Preservation in Embassies (FAPE) *Staff Contact: Ann Stock*
6/27/97	Meeting with Big Three Automotive CEO's, Robert Eaton of Chrysler, Alex Trotman of Ford and John Smith of General Motors, and Stephen Yokich of the United Autoworkers Union *Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste*

PENDING

Date of Event:	Description of Event:
5/12/97 - 5/16/97	Two Phone Calls in Connection with the Release of the USG Report on the Handling of Nazi Gold and Assets -- to World Jewish Congress (WJC) Head Edgar Bronfman and Swiss President Koller *Staff Contact: Samuel Berger*

REGRET

Date of Event:	Description of Event:
5/18/97 or 5/20/97	Keynote Address at the Anti-Defamation League's 19th Annual National Leadership Conference *Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste* **This proposal has been forwarded to the other principals for consideration.**
May TBD	Workplace Violence Event with the Attorney General and the Secretary of Labor *Staff Contact: Kitty Higgins* **This proposal has been forwarded to the other principals for consideration.**
May TBD	Veterans Media Roundtable *Staff Contact: Mike McCurry, Maria Echaveste* **This proposal has been forwarded to the Vice President's office for consideration.**

May 1997

Presidential Calendar

April

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June

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Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
				1 *Interviews* Boys and Girls Club Photo-Op VP Lunch Drop-by FDR Reception (Option) DNC Gala Saxophone Club Event National Day of Prayer British Elections	*2* *FDR Memorial Event* Senate Retreat, Baltimore Down for the Day at 5:30pm Hold Evening For Family Time	*3* Live Radio Address Hold Day & Evening for Family Time
4 Hold Day & Evening for Family Time School to Work Bill Anniv.	*5* Briefing for Foreign Trip Interviews Sign Asian Pacific American Heritage Month Proclamation Depart PM for Mexico RON Mexico City, Mexico	*6* Mexico City, Mexico RON Mexico City, Mexico	*7* Tlaxcala, Mexico Teotihuacan, Mexico RON San Jose, Costa Rica	*8* San Jose, Costa Rica RON San Jose, Costa Rica	*9* San Jose, Costa Rica Barbados Tape Radio Address RON Bridge Town, Barbados	*10* Barbados RON Barbados
11 Barbados RON Barbados Mother's Day	*12* Barbados RON DC	*13* Day & Evening Off	*14* Govs. Dean & Rossello Mtg. (T) Ambassador Credentials Ceremony Federal Judges Reception Foreign Policy Group Mtg. (T) Hold 1 Hour Evening Off	*15* National Peace Officers Memorial Videos (T) Hold 1 Hour (MM) Evening Off Peace Officers Memorial, DC	*16* Hold Morning for Family Time Mtg. w/ VP & Ukranian President Kuchma *Tuskegee Meeting/Event* Tape Radio Address Evening Off	*17* WH News Photographer's Assoc. Dinner (T) Armed Forces Day
18 Hold for Morgan State Commencement (T) Evening Off	*19* Day Off 2 DNC Dinners, DC	*20* Welfare-to-Work CEO Mtg. Green Bay Packers Event Hold 1 Hour	*21* US Conference of Mayors Drug Summit DSCC Fundraiser, DC	*22* Education Town Hall (T) Hold 1 Hour (MM) Down at 5pm Hold Evening for Family Time	*23* Interviews (T) Briefing for Foreign Trip Evening Off Congressional Recess (5/23 - 6/3)	*24* Live Radio Address Evening Off
25 Day & Evening Off	*26* Events at Arlington National Cemetery Foreign Travel TBD Memorial Day	*27* Foreign Travel TBD	*28* USEU Summit, Marshall Plan Speech, The Hague, Netherlands	*29* Foreign Travel TBD	*30* Day & Evening Off Tape Radio Address	*31* West Point Graduation (10am)

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June 1997

Presidential Calendar

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
1 Day & Evening Off Hold For Family Time (7:30pm)	**2** Day & Evening Off Hold For Family Time	**3** Day & Evening Off Hold For Family Time	**4** Day Off Hold For Family Time Dinner w/ Chancellor Kohl, Washington, DC Hold 1 Hour (T)	**5** Day & Evening Off Hold for Family Time	**6** Sidwell Commencement (Closed Press) Tape Radio Address Hold for Family Time	**7** Day & Evening Off Hold for Family Time
8 Day & Evening Off Hold for Family Time	**9** Intern Photo International Labor Leaders Mtg. (T)	**10** Mtg. w/ Committee of Advisors on Science and Tech. (T)	**11** DNC Dinner, DC	**12** BRT Annual Meeting (T) Hold 1 Hour (T)	**13** Hold for Travel	**14** University of California, San Diego Commencement (T) Flag Day
15 Day & Evening Off Attend US Open (T) US Open Golf Tournament, DC Father's Day	**16** Arts & Embassies Reception (T) DNC Dinner, DC	**17** Hold for Possible In-Performance	**18** Hold 1 Hour (T)	**19** Briefing for Summit of the 8 Depart for Summit of the 8, Denver, CO Summit Town Hall, Denver, CO	**20** Summit of the 8 Economic Conference, Denver, CO.	**21** Summit of the 8 Economic Conference, Denver, CO. First Day of Summer
22 Summit of the 8 Economic Conference, Denver, CO.	**23** Speech to US Conference of Mayors, San Francisco, CA Fundraising Lunch, San Francisco, CA Los Angeles Fundraising Dinner RON AF 1	**24** Day & Evening Off	**25** Annual Family Conference, TN Moseley-Braun Fundraiser, Chicago, IL (T)	**26** Hold for Travel Hold 1 Hour (T)	**27** Auto Execs. Mtg. Mtg. w/ Australian PM Howard (T)	**28**
29	**30** Hold for Travel Boston $ Lunch New York $ Gala RON DC Congressional Recess (6/30 - 7/8)					

US Open Golf Tournament, DC

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July 1997

Presidential Calendar

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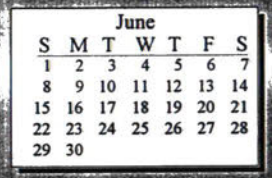
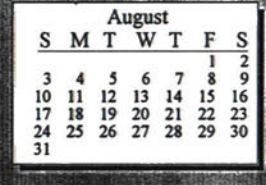
		*1*	*2*	*3*	*4* Independence Day	*5* Madrid, Spain Down Time RON Madrid, Spain
6 Madrid, Spain Down Time RON Madrid, Spain	*7* Madrid, Spain Down Time RON Madrid, Spain	*8* NATO Summit, Madrid RON Madrid, Spain	*9* NATO Summit, Madrid RON Copenhagen, Denmark (T)	*10* Copenhagen, Denmark (T)	*11* Copenhagen, Denmark RON DC	*12*
13	*14*	*15*	*16*	*17* TWA Flight 800 Crash Anniversary	*18* Intern Photo	*19*
20	*21* Hold for Possible In-Performance	*22*	*23*	*24*	*25*	*26* Hold for Travel (CA & NV) American Disabilities Act Signing ...
27 Hold for Travel (CA & NV)	*28* Hold for Travel (CA & NV)	*29* Anniv. of Children's TV Summit	*30*	*31*		

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May 1997

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
				1 USA Today Volunteerism Lunch DNC Gala FDR Reception	*2* FDR Memorial Maggie's Rehearsal Senior Dinner Dance Teen Pregnancy Event	*3* Maggie's Wedding
4 Merida	*5* Merida Mexico City	*6* Mexico City	*7* Mexico City San Jose, Costa Rica	*8* Costa Rica	*9* Barbados Costa Rica	*10* Bardados Sidwell Auction
11 *Mother's Day* Barbados	*12* Barbados	*13*	*14* Federal Judges Reception Senate Spouse's Lunch	*15* HIPPY Commencement	*16* Dinner w/ Havel (T) Harvard Violence Event	*17* Albright's 60th Bday Party (T)
18 CA Endowment $$ Los Angeles, CA	*19* Gov's Children's Conference WLF $ (T)	*20* San Francisco WLF $ (T)	*21* Congressional Club Lunch Washington Ballet Opening Women's Magazine Editors	*22* Parents Magazine SAIS, John Hopkins	*23*	*24*
25 Capricia's B'day	*26*	*27* No School	*28* Netherlands	*29* Netherlands	*30* London (T)	*31* 85th Anniversary of Girl Scouts (T)

Netherlands

April

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June 1997

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
1 Rory Eakin's Potluck Dinner	2	3 Chelsea's Prom	4	5 Upper School Awards Ceremony/ Closing	6 Sidwell Commencement 10:30am	7
8	9	10 Hamburg Mtg.	11 Philadelphia WLF $ (T)	12	13 Banneker H.S. Commencement, DC	14 Ohio Univ. Commencement
15 *Father's Day*	16 Arts & Embassies	17 In-Performance (T)	18 Chicago WLF $ (T)	19	20 G-8 Summit	21 In-Performance (T)
22 G-8 Summit	23 Phoenix $ (T) Seattle $ (T)	24	25 Gore Family Conference Kellogg Foundation Conference (T)	26 Riverdance Opening (T)	27	28
29	30 Washington Principal Leadership					

May

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July 1997

HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON

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June S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30		1	2	3	4	5 Madrid, Spain
6 Madrid, Spain	7	8	9	10 Vienna (T)	11	12 Catherine & David Wdding Gore's Wedding
13	14	15	16	17	18	19
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27	28	29	30 NSO Concert [T]	31	August S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31	

May 1997

VP BLOCK: FOR DISTRIBUTION

April

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June

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Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
				1 9:15 private meeting FDR Awards / 45m calls KS Lunch with POTUS Polish PM mtg NSA Seattle speech prep DNC Gala / Sax club	*2* AFTeachers DC 4pm Democratic Senators Retreat FDR Event Hoit 20 min staff time Baltimore, MD	*3* NOTE: Strawberry Festival (Humboldt,TN) May 3-10 New York
4 Public Service Recog Week School to Work Bill anniv.	*5* 1 hour phone calls KS Congressional calls Departure photos (2) POTUS departs PSRW breakfast on Hill Qatari FM meeting Seattle speech prep 1 Hour NAVOBS	*6* 1 hour phone calls KS AFL-CIO reception NAVOBS BENS reception/ Burson st tm Eisenstat Report (T) Ital Amb Salleo NSA Lunch on the Hill	*7* E-rate Dom Pol announcement Gips staff time RON Seattle (T) Arkansas JJ Dinner	*8* Boeing Visit Seattle - Microsoft event	*9* 1 hour phone calls KS 60 m KT meeting Al Whitehead FF JE Peoria basketball photo	*10* POTUS Foreign Travel - May 6-12
11 Mother's Day	*12* 1 hour mt REGO Dr. Gibbons staff time Food Safety announcement (T) Kuchma briefing 45min	*13* 1 hour phone calls KS Annapolis initial meeting . Brownfields (T) Kuchma briefing 45min Note: NM Spec. Election	*14* Brownfields (T) Family Conference dinner Greet Kuchma Andrews AFB Hoit 20 min staff time Hold 1 hour + RK Mtg.	*15* 1 hour phone calls KS Enviro breakfast (T) Gips staff time Police Officers' Mem. 1pm Video time 1 Hour NAVOBS	*16* 1 hour phone calls KS Brownfields (T) Gore/Kuchma Lunch & Mtg POTUS Mtg with Kuchma	*17* NOTE: Memphis in May BBQ Festival 5/15-17 Armed Forces Day
18	*19* **Gore's Anniversary**	*20* Fam Con press roundtable (T) Weldon / Oceans dinner Hold 1 hour + RK Mtg.	*21* 1 hour phone calls KS Gips staff time US Conf Myrs Drug Summit: 9:00 a E. Room (T)	*22* 1 hour Elaine 1 hour phone calls KS Commencement Speech Prep Space Day Dom Pol (T) Speech prep	*23* 1 hour phone calls KS Annapolis Commencement Annapolis, MD Memorial Day Recess	*24* NOTE: Memphis in May Sunset Symphony NOTE:Congressional Recess 5/23-6/3
25	*26* Memorial Day observed	*27* 1 hour phone calls KS Nashua Chamber of Com Public event New Hampshire	*28* RaleighL/AtlantaD DNC(T)	*29* 1 hour phone calls KS CPA Dinner DC Enviro breakfast (T) Fam Con staff time Gips staff time Hoit 20 min staff time	*30* 1 hour phone calls KS Dr. Gibbons staff time 1 Hour NAVOBS	*31* POTUS West Point Commencement Sub Cab Retreat opening 9:45

POTUS Foreign Travel and EU Summit Netherlands 5/26-5/29

Memorial Day Recess

June 1997

VP BLOCK: FOR DISTRIBUTION

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
1 Memorial Day Recess	*2* 1 hour phone calls KS 1 Hr staff time:Fam Con Note: Small business week OPL	*3* 1 hour Elaine + Gubernatorial Primary NJ	*4* 1 hour phone calls KS Hold 1 hour + RK Mtg.	*5* **Kristin's B-Day** New Jersey Primary Note:Harvard Commencement	*6* 1 hour phone calls KS Chelsea's Commencement Gips staff time	*7* Race for the Cure
8 **NCS Commencement**	*9* 1 hour phone calls KS 1 Hour NAVOBS	*10* 1 hour phone calls KS NEA salute to Excel Din DC	*11* 1 hour phone calls KS Anniversary of WH Conf on Sm. Business Gips staff time	*12* Dr. Gibbons staff time Enviro breakfast (T) Fam Con briefing 90 m (T) TN Fam Con press (T) Hold 1 hour + RK Mtg. Note: WH Commission on Character Dev. EK	*13* NOTE: Riverbend Fest (Chat, TN)13-21 Houston, Corpus C (T)TX	*14* DNC & State party Flag Day Ohio -Cin,Youn (T),Colum
15 Father's Day	*16* 1 Hr staff time:Fam Con Fam Con prep 1 hour (T)	*17* 1 hour Elaine 1 hour phone calls KS Gips staff time	*18* Hold 1 hour + RK Mtg. National PTA Mtg	*19* 1 hour phone calls KS Fam con prep 1 hr (T) 1 Hour NAVOBS	*20* 1 hour phone calls KS First day of summer Summit of the 8 on Economics in Denver	*21* National PTA Mtg Louisiana JJ
22 Summit of the 8 on Economi...	*23* Conference Press & Prep Gordon Dinner Nashville Family Conference VI	*24* BBQ 5:30 pm (T) Dinner 7:00 pm (T) Fam Con Exprt Frm 1-5p (T) Press time RON Nashville	*25* Conference meetings 8:30-4pm Morning shows-T POTUS at Family Conf.	*26* 1 hour phone calls KS Enviro breakfast Gips staff time Hold 1 hour + RK Mtg.	*27* 1 hour phone calls KS	*28* Independence Day Recess
29 Independence Day Recess	*30*					

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July 1997

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		1 Independence Day Recess	2 1 hour phone calls KS Gips staff time 1 Hour NAVOBS	3 1 hour phone calls KS Enviro breakfast	4 Independence Day	5
6 Independence Day Recess	7	8	9 1 hour Elaine + 1 hour phone calls KS	10 1 hour phone calls KS Gips staff time	11	12
13	14 1 hour phone calls KS Dr. Gibbons staff time Note 11-15 NACo Officials Baltimore Note: 12-16 NAState Treas.	15 1 hour Elaine 1 hour phone calls KS	16	17 1 hour phone calls KS Enviro breakfast Gips staff time TWA Crash anniversary 1 Hour NAVOBS	18 Note: torch relay in Atlanta	19 Note: Centennial Park run in Atlanta
20	21 Frank Hunger's B-Day	22	23	24 1 hour phone calls KS	25	26
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May 1997

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				1 Congress Club Tea DNC GALA Private Event	2 Private Dinner	3
4	5 Interaction Recep- WH Residence	6 2:30 PM NCS Event Leadership Conf Civil Rights Dinner	7	8	9	10 Private Event
11	12	13 11:30 AM Priv mtg *video time SIDS video @ AARP	14 *Kuchma Greet Dinner at NavObs Senate Spouses Lunch w/ HRC *Kuchma (Ukraine) Visit to DC	15	16	17 *WH News Photo Dinner
18	19	20 11:30 AM Priv mtg *Fam Conf Event *Students Visit	21 Congressional Club Lunch w/ HRC DCCC Event	22 *Private Mtg.-NavObs	23	24
25	26	27 11:30 AM Priv mtg	28	29	30 *Reception- NavObs	31

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June 1997

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1	2 *Private Event	3 11:30 AM Priv mtg	4	5	6 Reception @ NavObs	7 Race for the Cure
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15	16	17 House Beautiful- NavObs	18	19	20	21
22 BLOCK -- PRIVATE	23 Family Conference - TN	24	25	26 RALEIGH, NC	27 BLOCK - PRIVATE	28
29 BLOCK - PRIVATE	30 *NYC w/ VP					

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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May 1, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: **ERSKINE BOWLES, SYLVIA MATHEWS AND JOHN PODESTA**

FROM: **ANN LEWIS, STEPHANIE STREETT AND JENNIFER PALMIERI**

SUBJECT: **MAY MESSAGE SCHEDULE**

The purpose of this memorandum is to provide you with an overview of a proposed message schedule for May that advances your agenda in the major areas outlined in your State of the Union address -- including **education, welfare reform,** and **crime and drugs** -- while also maintaining flexibility for budget-related events and announcements that will inevitably arise.

As you know, the Latin American and European trips, plus the Morgan State and West Point commencements to which you agreed yesterday, leave approximately two weeks for additional message events. We propose the following:

Education:

- Town Hall Meeting on May 22 -- could include policy announcements on standards, but emphasis would be your explanation of your standards/testing proposal, and interaction with audience.

- Radio Address on Standards on May 17 -- could announce as many as five additional states (West Virginia, Kentucky, Vermont, Massachusetts, and Missouri) that are endorsing your standards plan, and possibly other actions on standards. This will provide lead-up to the town hall meeting.

Welfare Reform:

- White House meeting with CEO's on May 20 -- to announce private sector effort to hire people off welfare.

Crime and Drugs:

- National Peace Officers Memorial on May 15 -- could include announcement of scholarships for children of police slain in line of duty, support for child safety

locks, and possibly other actions.

- U.S. Conference of Mayors Drug Summit on May 21 -- could include announcement of crackdown on narcotics money laundering through nationwide expansion of the Geographic Targeting Order (highly successful New York program requiring financial institutions certain cash transmissions to Columbia).

Race and Reconciliation:

- Tuskeegee Study event on May 16 -- lead-in to major race/reconciliation commencement address at UC San Diego on June 14.

Science and Technology/Future:

- Morgan State Commencement on May 18 -- major speech on science and technology, as discussed in April 29 memorandum on commencements.

Radio Addresses:

The following are recommended topics for Radio Addresses in May:

- May 3 -- Latin America trip set-up or budget deal
- May 10 -- Joint address with First Lady -- Push for passage of adoption bill, tie-in with Mother's Day
- May 17 -- Education standards announcement
- May 24 -- Memorial Day-related theme
- May 31 -- TBD

Please let us know your thoughts on the above.

Message Schedule -- May 1997

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
				1 Foreign Policy Press Interviews	*2* FDR Memorial	*3* Radio Address (taped) -- Latin America trip set-up
4	*5* Depart for Mexico (no public events)	*6* Mexico -- Binational Commission Meeting (open press) Signing Ceremony and Press Conference	*7* Mexico -- Speech on U.S.-Mexico Relationship Travel to Costa Rica	*8* Costa Rica -- Central American Summit Signing Ceremony and Press Availability	*9* Costa Rica -- Environmental Event (in rain forest) Travel to Barbados	*10* Barbados -- Caribbean Summit Radio Address (taped) -- Mother's Day theme Signing Ceremony
11 Barbados (no public events)	*12* Return to DC	*13*	*14*	*15* National Peace Officers Memorial (with policy announcements)	*16* Meeting with President of Ukraine Tuskeegee Study event	*17* Radio Address (taped) -- education standards
18 Morgan State Commencement (tentative)	*19* Day Off	*20* Welfare-to-Work CEO meeting	*21* U.S. Conference of Mayors Drug Summit (with GTO announcement)	*22* Education Town Hall Meeting (with policy announcements)	*23*	*24* Radio Address (live)
25	*26* Foreign Travel (TBD) Memorial Day event at Arlington National Cemetary	*27* Foreign Travel (TBD)	*28* Marshall Plan 50th Anniversary Speech USEU Summit, Netherlands	*29* Foreign Travel (TBD)	*30* Day Off	*31* Radio Address (taped) -- Memorial Day theme West Point Commencement

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PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
ADDRESS TO THE MEXICAN PEOPLE
MEXICO CITY, MEXICO
MAY 7, 1997

Thank you, Mr. President, for your gracious welcome and for the warmth with which you and the Mexican people have received us. I am honored to speak to you today in the heart of this magnificent capital...where the Toltec and Aztec civilizations flourished...and where one of the world's greatest cities grew up centuries before the first English tents were pitched in Jamestown, Virginia or Plymouth, Massachusetts.

It is also a great personal pleasure for me to be here because Mexico has been an important part of my life. Almost 22 years ago, Hillary and I came to this country for our honeymoon. We had one of the happiest times of our lives -- and Mexico won our hearts. We have so often looked forward to returning to this land of stark deserts and snow-capped mountains, thriving cities and quiet beaches. Now, we feel very much at home, and we thank you. Then and now, *Me Encanta Mexico.* [MAY-encahn-tah MAY-hee-co] [I am enchanted by Mexico.]

I come here today to celebrate the extraordinary ties that bind the United States and Mexico and help set a course to strengthen them for the age of opportunity and challenge before us as we enter the 21st century.

Our nations face a moment of unparalleled possibility -- and our hemisphere stands at the most hopeful crossroads since Hidalgo and Morelos lit the torch of liberty for Mexico almost two centuries ago. Democracy has swept every country but one in the Americas, giving people a vote

and voice in their future. Decades of coups and civil war have given way to stability and peace. Now, the people of our hemisphere are traveling the road from discord to unity...from conflict to reconciliation....from division to common cause. It is an extraordinary journey for an hemisphere.

As the Americas have welcomed democracy, they have also embraced free markets and reforms that spur growth and prosperity. Instead of exploitation, nations increasingly seek social justice for their citizens. Instead of reckless development, they strive to better protect the air, water and soil. Now, from the Arctic reaches of Canada to the Antarctic regions of Chile and Argentina, 850 million men and women navigate by the same values of freedom and opportunity...building better lives than their parents knew and passing on even brighter prospects to their children.

The electricity of change is surging through our hemisphere...and nowhere more hopefully than in Mexico. I congratulate the Mexican people for carrying forward bold political reforms that will lead in July to the most openly, freely and fairly contested elections in your history. We know from our 220-year experiment that democracy is hard work and must be defended every day. But we both know that it has produced more opportunity for people to make the most of their lives than all of its rivals. And it will do the same for all Mexicans, from the farmers of Tabasco to the entrepreneurs of Monterrey...from the Indian fishermen of Oaxaca [wah-HOCK-ah] to the factory workers of Mexico City.

Mexico is moving forward. But in many places in the Americas, though the trend is positive, the transition is not complete. The expectations of the hemisphere have been awakened -- and now we must work together to make reality meet these new hopes.

Four years ago, in this very place, we began a grand common effort to secure democracy's gains -- and to see that they work for all our people. On behalf of my Administration, Vice President Gore invited the nations of our hemisphere to the Summit of the Americas in Miami. There, acting together, we set an ambitious agenda to bring the hemisphere into closer cooperation... creating free trade throughout the Americas...deepening the roots of democracy...improving the quality of life for our peoples. We began to fulfill the age-old dream of creating a true democratic family of the Americas -- one that will shelter our people with security and prosperity in the century that will soon begin.

The work began in Miami -- which we have carried forward and will continue through the Summit of the Americas in Santiago next spring -- recognizes this fundamental truth: One of the most decisive economic and political phenomena of our times is the forces of integration. Fueled by a technological revolution, these forces are bringing us all closer together, whether we like it or not. The stroke of a computer key sends ideas, information and money across our planet in a micro-second. Every day as we use products dreamed up in one country, financed in another, manufactured in a third with parts made elsewhere and sold all over the world. And we also see the dangers of these forces in an instant -- when a stock market crash or environmental disaster in a distant nation sends shock waves around the globe.

Integration is inevitable. But our reaction to it is not. In both our countries, some people would throw up walls of protection to ward off the challenge of change. But more and more, people here, in the United States and throughout the Americas understand that openness, competition

and the flow of ideas and culture make us *all* richer...that we must turn the forces that are binding us more closely to our advantage -- so they work for all our people, not against them.

That is our challenge as we enter the 21st century. As neighbors with a broader relationship than any two nations on earth -- as leaders in our hemisphere -- Mexico and the United States have a special responsibility. We must show that we can seize the opportunities and defeat the dangers of this new time better by working together -- on the basis of genuine partnership -- than we can on our own. We already have forged a relationship that has become so extraordinary in its breadth, it exceeds anything that could have been imagined only a few years ago...and cannot be defined by any one issue. From trade and finance...to health and the environment...to education and infrastructure...we are making the greatest difference on the issues that mean most to our peoples.

Now, we must carry our partnership forward -- by increasing prosperity and growth on both sides of our border...creating a better future for *all* our citizens. And *only* together can we confront the powerful dangers of this new age that defy borders...illegal drugs ...organized crime...corruption.

To forge common solutions to our common problems, we must work in a spirit of mutual respect. Your great leader Benito Juarez --whose statue stands not far from the White House in Washington -- said, "Respect for the rights of others is peace." Today I reaffirm to the people of Mexico: The peace we want is the peace of Juarez -- a peace...and a partnership...filled with respect and dignity.

We are deepening our cooperation. As never before, we are taking on the most difficult challenges our nations face.

Together, we are laying the foundations for the prosperity and security of the 21st century. Four years ago, my Administration led the fight for NAFTA. Many people in both our countries said it wouldn't work. They painted a picture of lost jobs and boarded up factories. They were wrong. NAFTA is working for America, and it is working for Mexico.

In three short years -- and despite Mexico's worst recession in this century -- trade between our nations has grown nearly 60%. Mexico is our third largest trading partner, just behind Japan, which has an economy 15 times larger -- and our exports to Mexico are 37% higher than before NAFTA, an all-time high.

For Mexico, NAFTA's benefits are just as great. Two and a half years ago, a financial crisis struck Mexico that brought real hardship as jobs vanished and inflation skyrocketed. The storm hit only days after President Zedillo took office -- but he showed vision and courage. By keeping to the path of reform...and carrying out Mexico's NAFTA obligations, he cushioned the impact of the recession. Mexico has made a remarkable turnaround. Since the crisis bottomed out, you have created one million new jobs...cut inflation by more than half...and regained the confidence of international investors.

Compare this with the crisis of 1981-82 -- when Mexico sharply raised its tariffs. Then, it took seven long years for Mexico to return to the world's capital markets; this time, only seven

months. Then it took four years for your economy to recover the lost ground. This time, only a year after the crisis, Mexico grew more than 5% and is expected to grow strongly this year too. That means your economy will have recovered twice as fast from a much deeper recession.

The resolve of the Mexican people has earned the admiration of the world. And I am proud that America put together the international stabilization package that helped see you through. You have endured punishing setbacks. But because the people of Mexico did not falter...and because we worked together...we averted severe dislocation along our border...safeguarded hundreds of thousands of jobs in both our countries...and calmed emerging markets throughout Latin America.

The numbers prove our economic partnership is working. The stories behind the numbers tell us that it has made life better for people on both sides of the border. [Mexican example tk.] Because tariffs were abolished, mammographic equipment from the U.S. became more affordable for Mexican hospitals. So our companies are selling more and creating more jobs -- and literally hundreds of thousands more Mexican women now have exams that detect tumors early and save lives. Barriers on water treatment and irrigation equipment have come down. Now, U.S. companies are helping Mexican farmers in states such as Sonora and Puebla increase crop yields and Mexican children in cities such as Monterrey and Guadaljara have healthier water than ever.

NAFTA promotes growth -- and has become an invaluable tool for improving the environment and the well-being of workers. Its institutions are working to clean up pollution in the border region, with four treatment plants already under construction. Its labor agreements are strengthening workers' rights and improving labor conditions in both our countries. [ck]

The success of our partnership shows what is within our reach as we build the Free Trade of the Americas. That's why I am working with Congress to gain support for fast track authority. With fast track, we can conclude a comprehensive agreement with Chile as our next step in building the FTAA...start work on further agreements...and multiply the benefits of trade.

But as we celebrate our accomplishments, we must remember that progress is not yet everyone's partner -- especially those who lack the skills to succeed in the global economy. We must do everything in our power so the benefits and burdens of change are shared fairly -- and the most powerful tool we have for doing that is education. By improving education, we give our people the ability to prosper in a world of ceaseless change. We give them the means to build more fulfilling lives. We unleash the power of the human mind in every citizen -- creating fairer, more free societies that come closer to answering our deepest needs and meeting our highest ideals.

At the Miami Summit, Mexico took the responsibility of leading a hemispheric education initiative. Working with Brazil, Chile and the United States, you have set our sights on lifting standards and bringing new methods and technology to the classrooms of the hemisphere. From Montreal to Montevideo, we can rekindle the passion for education that swept this country after your revolution. Your great poet, Alfonso Reyes [RAY-ez], described that as "a grand crusade for learning [that] electrified the people. Nothing equal to it has ever been seen in the Americas." Let us renew this crusade...bring its light to the summit in Santiago...help make the global economy work for all the people of the hemisphere.

Our work on trade and education is making a difference for our nations and the Americas -- but those are just pieces in the great mosaic of our relationship. We have joined forces to turn our 2000-mile border into a region of prosperity. Together, we are building bridges and roads to connect our peoples...streamlining cargo transit with high-tech scanners...and improving water supplies for the area's inhabitants.

As our cooperation grows closer, so are our peoples. Last year -- whether for shopping, touring or business -- nearly half a billion visits took place across our border. They were almost evenly divided between Americans and Mexicans -- including many people from your country who came to visit friends and family in America's extraordinary Mexican community. The United States is proud to have welcomed millions of Mexican-born immigrants. Mexican-Americans have helped build our greatest cities -- and in Congress, they have written the laws of our land. In the lifelong struggle of Cesar Chavez, we have learned about the rights and dignity of workers. Today, Ambassador Bill Richardson, whose mother came from this city, is working to bring peace in Central Africa -- and every day, he is America's voice at the United Nations. With music and food...literature and dance...Mexican-Americans have profoundly enriched our culture. They are now more than 12 million strong, and I am proud that they have helped make the U.S is the fifth largest Hispanic nation on earth....our diversity is at the heart of America's greatness.

I am committed to preserving the tradition of legal immigration that created this community in the heart of America....and to seizing the opportunities our shared border offers. But to do so, we must also work to prevent illegal immigration...and break up the criminal rings that smuggle people across our border. As we move toward this goal, I am committed to working with our

Congress to achieve a fair balance between control and compassion. The human rights of all immigrants must be fully respected. We will uphold our tradition of concern for families and children. And the United States will continue to support Mexico's efforts to create new opportunities here -- so no one feels compelled to leave home for a new start elsewhere.

This is indeed a moment of great promise. But it is also one of peril -- of new threats that defy borders and unilateral solutions. One that challenges us both is the scourge of illegal drugs -- which strikes at the very heart of our families and our institutions. Let me be clear: I do not for a minute believe that this is simply a Mexican problem. This is a problem we share -- the U.S., Mexico, the hemisphere and beyond. America, with 5% of the world's population, consumes a third of the world's cocaine. Our demand is enormous -- and the money we spend on illegal drugs fuels narcotraffickers who attack your police and prey on your institutions. But just as we share the problem, we must work together, with careful regard for each other's sovereignty and independence, to find the solutions. Let the battle against drugs unite our people, not divide them.

The costs to both of us of illegal drugs are staggering. In America, every year drugs kill 14,000 people and cost our country almost $70 billion for crime, prisons, lost work, wounded bodies, ruined lives. Every year, our law enforcement officials arrest one million people on drug charges.

In Mexico, President Zedillo has called narcotics trafficking the nation's number one national security threat. Hard experience in our hemisphere has shown how drug cartels threaten the fabric of entire societies. They corrupt law enforcement officials and the judiciary, take over legitimate businesses and banks, spread violence to offices and homes, streets and playgrounds.

Together, we will fight back -- and we will prevail. In the United States, we've begun the largest anti-drug effort in our history. More than two-thirds of its $16 billion budget will go to reducing demand. We've cut casual drug use by 50%. But among people under 18, drug use has doubled. That's why we're reaching out to young people with an unprecedented public education campaign to teach them that trying drugs is wrong. We're punishing drug pushers with tough sentences and hard time. And we are working with our partners abroad to destroy drugs at the source.

Today, I want to express my country's appreciation to the people of Mexico for your brave efforts to fight illegal drugs and the drug lords. Mexico has become a world leader in drug eradication and enacted strong new measures to combat money-laundering and organized crime. Last week, you made the tough decision to disband a drug enforcement agency that was riddled with corruption. More drug labs and landing strips have been destroyed, drug seizures are up -- including one of more than ten tons of cocaine just days ago. And I want to honor your nation's immense sacrifice in this battle. More than 200 Mexican police officers died last year because of drug violence. This terrible toll is a clarion call: to do more, to work harder and to do it together.

Yesterday President Zedillo and I took an important step forward by declaring the U.S.-Mexican Alliance Against Drugs. It is based on common respect and common sense. We will strengthen our attack on drug production, trafficking and consumption. We will crack down harder on money laundering -- and extend our fight to drug-related crimes such as arms trafficking. The future of our children rides on our determination to win this battle. As a part of our sacred commitment to them, we must succeed.

Our Alliance against Drugs is one way we are building cooperation for the coming century. But there are many others in a relationship that has become vast in its breadth....and ambitious in its depth. Yesterday, President Zedillo and I received the report of our Binational Commission. From wiping out tuberculosis in our border states...to protecting endangered species in the Pacific...to increasing educational opportunity with Fulbright scholarships...the scope of our joint efforts has become as large as the continent we share -- and it will grow and benefit us all.

Fifty years ago, President Harry Truman came to Mexico for a visit that was a turning point in the relationship between our peoples. He spoke of the need for our nations to work more closely for peace and prosperity -- and he spoke openly of the difficulties in our past. He said "I refuse to be discouraged by apparent difficulties. Difficulties are a challenge to men of determination."

Today the difficulties are not those of meeting common challenges: To deepen our democracies and strengthen freedom. To build prosperity that lifts up *all* of our people. To improve the health and education for our citizens and give them the quality of life they deserve. To protect the environment of our magnificent, shared continent. To do this, we must all be men and women of determination. We must bridge the divides of culture, history and geography -- and dedicate ourselves to achieving Juarez's noble vision of respect and peace. Then we will fulfill our responsibilities to ourselves, our neighbors and our children -- and we will realize the promise of the century about to dawn.

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& managing back to school event
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 5, 1997

cc: Melanne
Dan B.
Mark Penn
Rahm Ann Lewis
Gene S.. Maria E.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRUCE REED
MIKE COHEN

SUBJECT: National Standards and Testing: Progress Report and Strategy

With much of our education agenda tied up in the budget debate, we continue to look for opportunities to promote initiatives that don't hinge entirely on Congressional action. This memo provides you with a progress report and strategy for the two major challenges to states -- national standards and testing, and charter schools. In the near future we will provide you with updates on other legislative and budget-related initiatives.

I. NATIONAL STANDARDS AND TESTS

Our objective is to have 30-40+ states participate in the initial 1999 administration of the national tests. To reach this objective, we are working on several interrelated fronts:

A. Developing the Tests: By the end of April, the Education Department will release a Request for Proposals (RFP) for the development of the 4th grade reading and 8th grade math tests. A draft is already circulating for public comment. Contracts will be awarded by September 1. We do not yet know whether each test will be developed by a separate contractor, or whether one test developer will successfully bid to develop both. In addition, the Education Department and the test developers will establish a number of technical advisory groups and evaluation studies to assure the technical quality of the tests.

As part of the process of developing the RFP, the Education Department has held a number of public meetings with testing experts, state testing officials, test publishers, and others in the education and civil rights communities. (The Education Department has made the transcripts of these meetings, and other related documents, widely available on the Internet.)

These sessions have raised a number of important issues which will be addressed as the work proceeds.

First, virtually all groups have stressed the importance of ensuring the technical quality of the tests, and of helping parents and the public understand the nature and purposes of the tests. This is particularly important in light of experiences in a number of states in which technical problems or public misunderstandings have led to heated debate about the testing program. Some urged that the time line be slowed down to accommodate these concerns, but the Education Department continues to believe that the time line is realistic and appropriate. We agree, and see no reason to delay the Spring 1999 date for the initial test administration.

Second, a number of states anticipate a challenge in integrating these new tests into their ongoing testing programs, especially states that are now well along in developing new tests aligned with recently developed state standards. Some states would find it easier to "embed" a small number of additional test items into their existing tests, rather than administer a separate and additional test. But this approach does not appear to be technically feasible if we are to have a valid test. Other states have suggested that a 4th grade reading test would be more valuable to them if it were administered in the Fall rather than the Spring, since their goal -- like yours -- is for students to read independently by the end of the 3rd grade. The Education Department is studying this possibility.

Third, many testing experts suggested that the 8th grade math test be based on the NAEP framework rather than on the TIMSS framework. They argued that the NAEP framework is more explicit and more widely accepted among the states, and that student scores could then be reported according to the NAEP achievement levels (basic, proficient and advanced) as will be the case with the reading test. The Education Department has determined that this would be a preferable approach, and that it will still be possible to provide individual student scores in terms of the TIMSS as well, because of the very high overlap in the content of NAEP and TIMSS. Therefore, the final test will still meet your initial commitment of providing students with internationally benchmarked scores.

B. A Governing Body to Ensure the Tests Are National, Not Federal: We are working to determine how best to establish an advisory or governing body that can provide bipartisan support for this effort, and assurance that the tests measure what they are supposed to based on the widely accepted NAEP frameworks. Mike Cohen, Mike Smith and other Education Department officials have been consulting with governors of both parties, Congressional staff and others, with the aim of establishing an advisory mechanism that will garner strong bipartisan support among governors and in the Congress. Secretary Riley met last week with Gov. Thompson, and is working to set up a meeting in mid-May with a bipartisan group of 8-10 governors, hopefully including Romer, Hunt, Zell Miller, Bob Miller, Thompson, Engler, and Voinovich. Secretary Riley, Mike Smith and Mike Cohen will also continue meeting with members of Congress over the next several weeks. While the additional consultations may change our thinking significantly, our current plan is as follows:

- Create an interim, bipartisan advisory council, in consultation with governors and members of Congress in both parties. We would probably appoint governors, business leaders, and educators currently serving on related groups such as the National Education Goals Panel, ACHIEVE (the group established to follow-up last year's education summit in Palisades), and the National Assessment Governing Board (NAGB), as well as teachers, testing experts and others. The announcement of this council would be an opportunity to demonstrate bipartisan Congressional and gubernatorial support for the testing initiative. Staff-level conversations suggest that key House Republicans, including Reps. Frank Riggs, John Porter, and perhaps Bill Goodling might be willing to participate in a White House announcement of an advisory council if our consultations continue to go well.

- Once this council is established, we think it may be possible to gain NGA's endorsement for the testing initiative at the Summer meeting in Nevada. Both the ACHIEVE Board of Directors and the National Education Goals Panel will be meeting in conjunction with the NGA meeting. If your schedule permits, it would be possible for you to meet with both groups, to demonstrate broad support for your standards initiative and to help energize governors and business leaders behind common educational goals.

- These two steps would create a favorable climate for Congressional consideration of legislation to reauthorize the National Assessment of Education Progress and the National Assessment Governing Board, which are scheduled for consideration sometime in this Congress. At that time, we can determine if NAGB should assume policy responsibility for the national tests, with Congressional support. (At present, NAGB is prohibited by law from overseeing the development of individual-level tests.) These steps would also improve our ability to win any legislative battles we may face on this issue, such as any attempt to prohibit the Education Department from using funds for the continued development of the tests.

Please note that we are optimistic but not yet confident that we can secure this level of bipartisan cooperation. Much will depend upon how effectively we can enlist the help of a core group of Republican governors.

C. Building Momentum through State and Local Endorsements: As you know, we now have commitments from leaders in Maryland, Michigan, North Carolina and California, as well as the Department of Defense Schools. A number of other states look promising, including Missouri and Vermont. However, we believe that the prospects for signing up large numbers of states will depend largely upon getting a bipartisan group of governors bought in to the right advisory body. This step will take some time to work out, but is essential to sustain this effort. In the meantime, we are pursuing three major strategies to sign up states:

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1. Visits to State Legislatures: We would like to schedule trips to three more state legislatures over the next three months -- two to states that agree to sign up for the tests, and at least one to a state like Washington that is considering charter school legislation (see below). Your travel plans and upcoming adjournments in some states will make that more complicated, but we are working with the Communications and Scheduling departments to get it done. One possibility worth pursuing would be to travel to Washington State to join Gary Locke at the signing of a charter schools law. We are tracking that legislation: depending on when (and whether) it passes, a signing could take place as early as April 17 or as late as mid-May.

2. State School Officers: Last month the Council of Chief State School Officers presented the Vice President with an endorsement of your testing initiative. We are working with chief state school officers to enlist additional states. However, in many cases, even our biggest supporters (such as Rick Mills from New York) will want to secure the support of the state board of education and the governor where possible before making public commitments. Even in California, where we have broad support, Delaine Eastin and Wilson appointees on the Board of Education are already feuding over whether the state legislature needs to act before the tests can go forward.

3. Major Cities: We are also working to sign up big cities, such as Los Angeles and Boston, regardless of the respective state participation. The intent here is to further demonstrate momentum, underscore that these standards are especially important for the students and schools for which society typically has low expectations, and show that these tests can in fact be tools to lift people up, by helping to stimulate new efforts and focus existing ones to improve teaching and learning.

We believe it will be possible, over the next several months, to work with mayors, school superintendents and school boards, teachers unions, institutions of higher education, as well as parent, community and business groups in 5-10 cities. We will seek broad partnerships in each city that pledges to use the national tests, and commit to specific, locally designed efforts in each community to help prepare students to meet these standards. We will ask the Education Department to work with these cities, provide them with information on best practices, and help the cities learn from one another. Once we have a few cities in hand, a White House event announcing this partnership should generate considerable excitement and attention. It will also strengthen support for the testing initiative among core constituencies.

You can take a number of steps to add momentum to these efforts, including:

Hold a town meeting or other forum on reading and math standards. We would like to create a setting in which you interact with teachers, parents and students, and use examples of student work, sample test questions and answers, or videos of teaching to high standards, as a way of helping the public come to some concrete understanding of what the reading and math standards are really all about.

- **Meet with textbook publishers and software developers.** Such a meeting would provide you with an opportunity to urge (or enlist commitments from) publishers to upgrade the quality of textbooks by aligning them with higher standards and expectations. You could also highlight the efforts of software developers to produce materials for home and classroom use that are aligned with the standards.

- **Meet with groups involved in promoting literacy and math achievement.** Through the America Reads initiative and the Education Department's previous early reading initiative, there are several national and grassroots coalitions of groups that are supporting early reading initiatives. You can meet with these groups, at the White House or elsewhere, and emphasize the connections between their efforts to promote learning and your call for national standards and tests. In addition, as a result of a directive you issued to the Department of Education and the National Science Foundation last month, there is an interagency effort underway to organize federal agency resources, and to identify nonfederal resources (e.g., Nobel Laureates, math and science resources in the business community) that can be enlisted to support teaching and learning aimed at preparing students to meet 8th grade math standards. We will propose one or more events as part of this effort. Together, these will enable you to underscore that your testing initiative is not just about testing, but about mobilizing the nation to support learning to high standards.

II. CHARTER SCHOOLS

Another important goal is to foster the creation of 3,000 charter schools within 5 years, up from the current level of 500. One challenge is expanding the number of states with charter schools legislation. Currently 25 states and D.C. authorize the creation of charter schools; we would like to raise the number of states to 30 by the end of 1997. Over the past couple of months, progress in state legislatures has been slow, due in part to an absence of strong centrist leadership at the state level, partisan differences, and occasional opposition by state and local union affiliates. In addition, in at least one state (Virginia) the potential racial impact of charter schools emerged as an issue.

However, there are some bright spots. In Washington State this week, the governor, schools superintendent, and legislators tentatively reached agreement on a charter schools bill. Mississippi passed a final bill this week, although it authorizes only 6 schools. Charter legislation is also alive in Missouri (as part of a big post-desegregation package), Indiana, Maine, Oregon, and Nevada.

To move things forward in these states, we recommend an event in the next several weeks -- ideally the Washington State trip if it works out, but at least a radio address. The Education Department is ready to release two important reports on charter schools. One is the first-year report of a major national charter school study. A key finding is that the number one obstacle for new charter schools to overcome is lack of access to start-up funding. The second report is a

guidebook for school boards and other chartering authorities, which emphasizes the importance of effective accountability for charter schools -- an important issue, given problems that have emerged with loosely run schools in D.C. and elsewhere.

In addition, the Education Department will soon announce a new competition for charter schools funds. It is also planning a national charter schools conference in late Summer or early Fall. These activities will provide support both to state efforts and to your FY98 request for $100 million for charter schools.