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DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Maria Echaveste to POTUS re: Director for the Women's Office [partial] (2 pages)	08/14/1997	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 10305

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files: Monday, August 18, 1997

2019-0774-S

rs3369

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

15700 13-05:11

August 13, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-14-97

FROM: JOHN H. GIBBONS *JHG*

SUBJECT: Mir Update (5:00 pm EDT)

There have been some press reports concerning a possible shortage of water on board the Mir, and I wanted to give you the current facts.

The Mir crew relies on two types of water. The first is bottled water, which is delivered with each Russian Progress resupply launch as well as with each Space Shuttle docking mission. The second is recycled water, or "technical water," that is derived from condensation in the module and crew waste water. NASA estimates that there are roughly 400 liters of water (bottled and technical) remaining on the Mir. At the normal consumption rate, this supply should last at least through October 3. The Space Shuttle is scheduled to deliver additional water and other supplies to the Mir between September 28-30. NASA has advised that the Shuttle could even launch as early as September 22 if necessary. Also, there is a Progress resupply scheduled for October 4, and we are urging the Russians to consider an earlier launch date.

There is some concern that the technical water on board (about 160 liters) may be contaminated with antifreeze from the coolant system. Tomorrow morning at approximately 8:16 am EDT, a sample of Mir's technical water will be returned to Earth along with cosmonauts Vasily Tsibliev and Alexander Lazutkin. NASA estimates it will take a week to run lab tests on the water to see if it is still consumable. If it is not, the crew will have to ration the bottled water supply until the Space Shuttle resupply arrives.

Looking forward, NASA and the Russian Space Agency plan to hold a press conference on Monday to discuss the internal spacewalk and repair mission scheduled for August 20.

cc: The Vice President
Mr. Bowles, Chief of Staff
Mr. Berger
Mr. Emanuel
Mr. Fuerth
Ms. Mathews
Mr. McCurry
Mr. Podesta

*CoS
Gibbons
Copied*

Chen.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date August 18, 1997

To: Scheduling

From: The Staff Secretary

For appropriate action.

PAUL A. RADER
General

FOUNDED 1865

THE SALVATION ARMY

WILLIAM BOOTH, FOUNDER

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS

P.O. BOX 289

615 SLATERS LANE

ALEXANDRIA, VA 22313

OFFICE OF
THE NATIONAL COMMANDER

August 7, 1997

BY FAX

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

Dear Mr. President:

Re: Proposed White House Visit

For many years, the person occupying my position as National Commander of The Salvation Army in the United States has had opportunity for a brief visit with the President. Since taking office on November 1, 1995, members of my staff have made countless contacts with members of the White House staff, attempting to arrange a visit for me, but we have not been successful.

The demands on your schedule are remarkably heavy. However, I am confident you would be open to considering such a visit as a priority. As you know, The Salvation Army began in London in 1865 and is now in 102 countries around the world. We have been in the United States since 1880 and have nearly 10,000 centers and units of operation in this country. In fact, many call us "the world's largest social services organization". For four consecutive years, the *Chronicle of Philanthropy* has written us up as "America's Favorite Charity". You may have also seen a copy of an interesting article in the most recent issue of *Forbes Magazine*, a copy of which is attached for your convenience. I know I do not need to "sell" you on The Salvation Army, Mr. President. No doubt, you are already aware that for many years all letters addressed to the President and First Lady by needy people around the country have been referred to the Army for investigation and response. We have been pleased to provide that service for the White House and will want to share a report on the most recent year's service with you.

You are aware that we have been on the job for many years, providing service to people as long as necessary following major disasters and that we work closely with FEMA. In fact, James Lee Witt and his staff are very helpful in this ongoing working relationship.

*Scheduled for
Staff Sec*

To Doriskind for reply?
Yes — No ✓

*Scheduling
for reply*

President William J. Clinton
August 7, 1997
Page -2-

Some weeks ago, Secretary Donna Shalala invited me to her office to discuss Welfare Reform and requested that we keep her and her staff informed from time to time on the impact of the changes in legislation on the lives of people in the local communities across the country. We are very glad to do so and feel we have our finger on the "pulse" of hurting people.

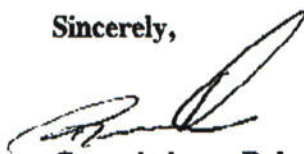
All of this is said to set my request for a chance to meet briefly with you in context. Many such requests must come to your staff, so we are looking for a definitive signal as to whether such a meeting is possible and would like to spare ourselves and the busy people around you the embarrassment and awkwardness of continuing our follow-up contacts. We had hoped that the contacts made by Secretary Shalala's office, Senator Sam Nunn and James Lee Witt would have been helpful in "opening the door".

With apologies for writing directly to you, I would be grateful if I could have some word one way or the other as to whether such a conference is possible. We will then be very happy to work with designated staff in coordinating dates.

I pray for you, Mrs. Clinton and Chelsea each morning and will continue to ask the Lord to give you wisdom for the awesome responsibilities you carry. It was good to meet you briefly at the Presidents' Summit in Philadelphia. I hope to have opportunity for a follow-up conversation in the Oval Office.

Warmest regards!

Sincerely,



Commissioner Robert A. Watson
NATIONAL COMMANDER

RAW:tem

We assume our readers monitor their investments carefully.
We suspect they are distressingly casual when they invest in charity.

Peter Drucker's Picks

By Robert Lenzner and Ashlea Ebeling

THERE ARE more than 600,000 charitable organizations in the U.S.—all clamoring for your money. Universities, hospitals, museums, symphony orchestras, church groups, medical research, food for the hungry.

Americans do respond. They gave away \$120 billion in 1996.

Was it wisely given? We turned to Peter Drucker for an answer. Best known as a management expert, Drucker has been working with the

nonprofit sector for decades. He knows the good ones and the not-so-solid ones.

Drucker calls the nonprofits the "social sector" of the American economy. He is a fervent believer in the importance of this sector at a time when social wants and needs are many and most government programs are costly, self-defeating failures. That these nonprofits be well managed is, in Drucker's view, as

important as that the private sector be well managed.

Drucker calls the Salvation Army "by far the most effective organization in the U.S. No one even comes close to it in respect to clarity of mission, ability to innovate, measurable results, dedication and putting money to maximum use." Those are his principal criteria: clarity of mission, innovative ability, clear definition of results and willingness to measure



Forbes • August 11, 1997

Innovative
foster care
The 1996
Drucker Award
went to Li
Social Services
of Illinois
Family Program
After the
infected
died, Jo
and George
were a
the Social
family



The conscience of America

International Rescue Committee-trained health care worker aids a Rwandan child.

performance.

Drucker says the Salvation Army qualifies on all grounds. And when it comes to measuring results, it has one of the highest performance rates at the lowest cost. One in every four participants in its alcohol rehabilitation program reports total sobriety, good social adjustment and steady employment six months after finishing. Last year 5 million individuals, mostly single-parent families, were placed in transitional housing by the Salvation Army. After placement, the Army helps them find work and permanent housing.

"They know how to work with the poorest of the poor and the meanest of the mean," says Drucker.

If Drucker places the Salvation Army at the peak, there are other organizations that also get high marks from him. Drucker admires the way the American Heart Association educates people about the risks of cardiovascular disease, the U.S.' biggest killer. Age-adjusted death rates for coronary heart disease have been declining. Life expectancy has risen, and the actual number of deaths from heart disease has fallen by 3% over the past decade. He thinks this charity deserves some of

the credit for this achievement.

He singles out Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., an 85-year-old organization with 3.4 million members, as "about the only organization that has integrated minority children and volunteers successfully." He gives credit to Frances Hesselbein, former director of the Girl Scouts, now president of the Peter F. Drucker Foundation for Nonprofit Management (*see box, opposite*).

"Frances brought black, Hispanic and Asian mothers into the leadership of most councils," says Drucker. She also ran an organization with 800,000 volunteers helping 2.6 million girls aged 5 to 17 understand the ethic of living up to their highest potential."

Among multinational charities, Drucker especially admires the International Rescue Committee, which channels \$80 million annually to refugees in such shattered places as Afghanistan and Rwanda. In the former Yugoslavia, for instance, IRC repairs homes, schools, and hospitals. It also makes loans to women and demobilized soldiers to help them start small businesses.

Other international operators who win his praise are CARE, Catholic

Relief Services and World Vision. "These people," Drucker says, "are the real American ambassadors abroad. They are our real diplomatic service, the conscience of America. They have measurable results, though the total collapse of anything that can be called civilization in so many parts of the world has made it harder and harder for them to have lasting results."

Among cultural nonprofits, Drucker singles out the St. Louis Symphony Orchestra. It not only supports the orchestra, but also has reached out to the community to promote appreciation of classical music. It sends musicians to perform in community churches and schools. It runs music schools that

presently enroll 3,000 students, and it is hoping to have 10,000 by the year 2000.

In the area of church nonprofits, Drucker is a big fan of the Leadership Network. This Dallas-based outfit helps pastors of churches become more innovative and entrepreneurial. It holds forums for ministerial staffs, on the principle that churches can learn a lot from the world of business.

Drucker also praises the California Community Foundation. This Los Angeles-based outfit screens nonprofit organizations within Los Angeles county and monitors their results. Donors to the foundation can pick their charity and be assured that the foundation will see to it that the money is well spent. The foundation gives \$1,000-a-year scholarships to minority students at California's community colleges and then follows up by monitoring their academic record. It claims that with the scholarships as an added incentive, only about 1% of the students it supports leave college.

The foundation also supports Pacific Clinics in Pasadena, which supplies mobile outreach teams to serve the mental health needs of 300 low-income adults who would not otherwise have access to treatment.

The California foundation accepts gifts of as little as \$10,000, using at most 1.5% for administrative costs. In return it helps donors select the charities their gifts will be used to support.

Last year's Peter F. Drucker Award for Nonprofit Innovation went to the

Second Family Program of the Lutheran Social Services of Illinois, in Des Plaines, Ill. Second Family links HIV-infected parents with AIDS services, and develops second-family placement plans for children before their parents' death.

Since 1993 the program has

matched 76 children from 32 HIV-affected families with foster families. This saved the state of Illinois almost \$1 million in child welfare costs.

Armed with Drucker's list of blue-chip nonprofits, we asked what a \$5,000 bequest would accomplish. The responses appear below.

Drucker's golden rules of giving

"DON'T SEND your check to a charity that can't tell you what you're getting for your money," warns Frances Hesselbein, president and chief executive officer of the Peter F. Drucker Foundation for Nonprofit Management. A distressingly small number of our nonprofits can comply.

Peter Drucker, management guru, art collector and savant, has committed the royalties from his book *Managing the Nonprofit Organization* (\$250,000 so far) to the Drucker Foundation. Its goal is to help make nonprofit organizations perform more effectively.

Drucker and Hesselbein believe that Americans will give more if they can be assured their donations are used wisely and efficiently.

The foundation's "golden rules" involve several basic organizational steps that sound straightforward but are often difficult to execute. "Revisit the nonprofit's mission statement," says Hesselbein. "That's the first step. You have to know who you are and what you're trying to accomplish."

"Then, identify your primary customers. Many



Reducing drugs and crime

A Boys & Girls Club activity center at a public housing site.

can't do that. Third, listen to the customers to find out what services they want. Then measure the results and plan for the future."

Hesselbein and her staff are on a continual talent search for innovative organizations. She applauds the Boys & Girls Clubs of America for opening 320 clubs in public housing projects. A local favorite of hers is New York's Children's Aid Society, which started a model public school program in 1992, since copied across the country. Attendance at the school is 92%, the highest in its district.

Hesselbein's driving purpose: "To find local groups that have measurable results that can be replicated in other areas."

What will \$5,000 buy at each of Drucker's selected nonprofits?

American Heart Association
Dallas
214-373-6300
Thirty-five classroom multimedia health kits, with stethoscopes, videos and games.

Boys & Girls Clubs of America
Atlanta
404-815-5700
Support of club activities for 25 children for a year.

California Community Foundation
Los Angeles
213-242-7489
Five one-year scholarships to community colleges.

Children's Aid Society
New York City
212-949-4936
Sponsorship of six students in a community school.

Girl Scouts of the U.S.A.
New York City
212-852-8000
Supports girls' leadership institutes.

International Rescue Committee
New York City
212-551-3029
66 hand pumps for wells providing water to 400 families in Azerbaijan.

Leadership Network
Dallas
800-765-5323
A three-day forum for 25 senior church leaders.

Lutheran Social Services of Illinois
Des Plaines, Ill.
847-635-4600
Emergency medication for HIV-infected parents.

St. Louis Symphony Orchestra
St. Louis
314-533-2500.
290 half-hour music lessons, or 24 musician-in-school appearances.

Salvation Army
Alexandria, Va.
703-684-5500
1,500 Thanksgiving or Christmas dinners for needy people.

—R.L. and A.E.

'97 AUG 12 PM 6:57

Betty -

I met Melba this weekend and she asked me to pass this on to you. I heard her sing and she was great!

-Debi Mohile
(OPL - x65157)

8-12-97

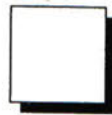
Can we do
response?

To Doriskind
for reply?

Yes ☒ No ☐

Just with
Ask Debi Mohile
what to say... assume
something like "I was
given a gift
it sends a powerful
message, etc."

B



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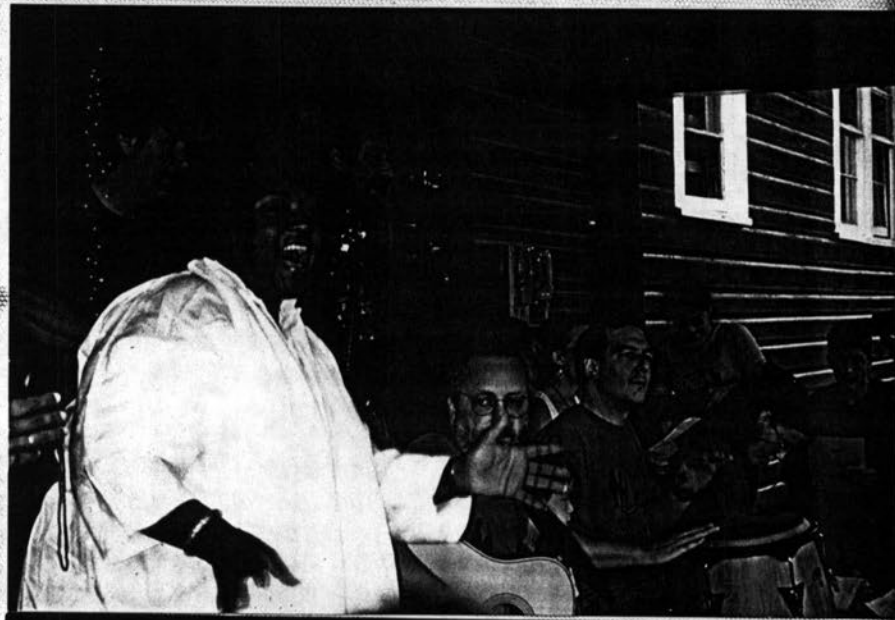
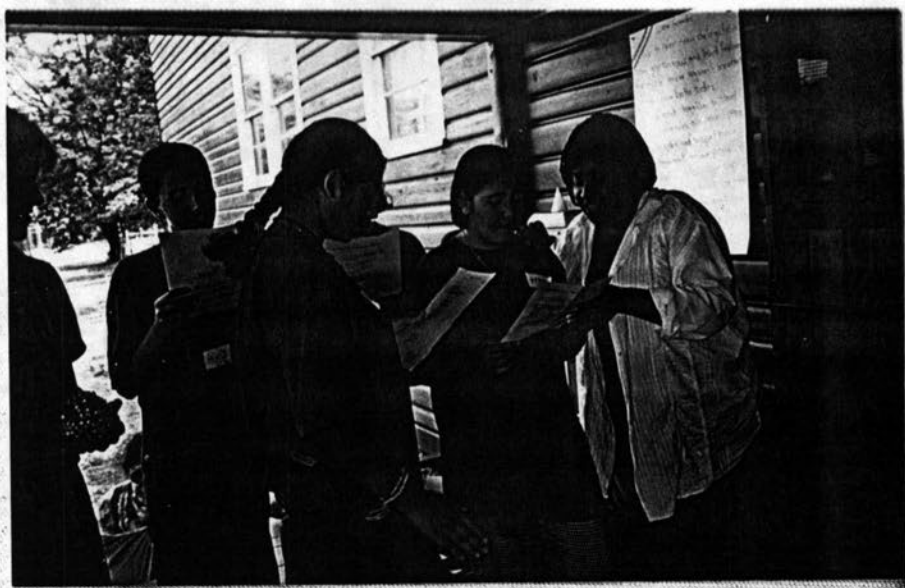
MAY WE ALL OF EVERY LANGUAGE COME TOGETHER AS ONE
ALTHOUGH FROM DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE PLANET
WE SHARE THE SAME BLESSED SUN

OCEANS APART AND CONTINENTS DIVIDE US
LET LOVE AND COMPASSION BE THE TIES THAT BIND US
SEEK UNDERSTANDING, FIND COMMON ANSWERS
ONE NATION, ON UNITED WORLD

CHILDREN OF THE WORLD, WE MUST BE UNITED
THIS IS OUR CHALLENGE TODAY
ONE PURPOSE CHOOSE LIFE
WAR IS NOT THE ANSWER
PEACE AT ALL COST WE MUST DECIDE

OCEANS APART AND CONTINENTS DIVIDE US
LET LOVE AND COMPASSION BE THE TIES THAT BIND US
SEEK UNDERSTANDING, FIND COMMON ANSWERS
ONE NATION, ONE UNITED WORLD
ONE NATION, ONE UNITED WORLD

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

87 AUG 12 5:30

Memorandum for the President

FR: Wayne Skinner

Wayne

DT: Tuesday, August 12, 1997

RE: FYI: Potential charity concert

I have been contacted by an acquaintance of mine, Mike Myers, who works with Phil Collins about putting together a charity concert similar to Farm Aid or Live Aid here in Washington next year to benefit American charities. They see the concert as several hours long with a range of artists that could be held every year or two. The concert would raise money through ticket sales and a "900" number so people could call in. Phil Collins has been involved with the Princes' Trust Concert, which is held every year in London, and Live Aid that was held here in the U.S.

Phil Collins has been working with Genesis, Peter Gabriel and others regarding the potential concert. He would like to name the concert and foundation "The Presidents' Trust". I told them that might be harder to do since the "Office of the President" is not a monarchy. As of today, they are calling the concert idea "The Concert America Foundation". Phil Collins would like to set up a meeting with you to discuss the idea. I asked them to send me the information and I would send it to your scheduling office. They said they would also like to have you as "Honorary Chair" if things couldn't work out with the name.

Thanks.

To Dowdkind for reply?
Yes ☒ *No* ☐

*Call Wayne
re: honorary chair
request. Should have
written request from org
probably*

LUDVIK F. KOCI
PRESIDENT

DETROIT DIESEL
CORPORATION



*Stay
Sec*

August 8, 1997

17 AUG 12 PM '97

The President
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

I wanted to add my concern to the information in the attached letter one of our key employees sent regarding the UPS strike.

Our economy has truly been driven forward by the tremendous improvements in rapid and dependable communication and transportation. This has been taken for granted but it has allowed the major gains United States' industry and commerce have made in achieving efficient use of assets and people.

If the strike continues to the extent that people change their mode of operation because they no longer believe it dependably available, it will have far-reaching and subtle negative impacts upon the economy for a long time.

With him, I urge any actions which can be taken under the Taft-Hartley Act be done quickly to bring this to an end.

Very respectfully yours,

L F Koci

*To Respond for
reply?*

Yes ☒ No ☐

DETROIT DIESEL
CORPORATION*Hayes*
**AUGUST 5, 1997**

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THE WHITE HOUSE
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20500

DEAR PRESIDENT CLINTON:

I am asking for your assistance in a matter that greatly impacts my business and thousands of other businesses around the country. The issue is the International Brotherhood of Teamsters strike against United Parcel Service.

My business relies on UPS to ship 15,000 packages each year which amounts to approximately 60 shipments each day. Those packages simply will not go anywhere, endangering our business and that of our customers. Mr. President, for every day this strike is allowed to continue it will cost our company approximately \$2100.00. Left unsettled it impacts our employees, subcontractors, suppliers, and families of all involved.

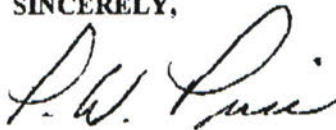
Timely delivery of material to our assembly and manufacturing operation is imperative for the continuation of quality products to our customers. UPS is an integral partner of our supply chain.

Specifically, I am asking you to use your Presidential powers under the Taft-Hartley Act to intervene in this strike and get UPS back to work. Each day represents a serious setback to our currently robust economy. In more human terms, it also represents serious problems for the employees of UPS, our company and all the other facilities that rely on UPS to conduct their business.

I fail to see how it is in anyone's best interest to let this strike continue. I urge you to do whatever you can to get UPS back to work and let the company and the union settle their differences in a manner that does not rely on holding my company, and thousands of other businesses hostage.

I thank you in advance for your help.

SINCERELY,



P.W. PRICE
MANAGER, TRANSPORTATION

CC: SECRETARY ALEXIS HERMAN....DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
N. A. VASSALO....DETROIT DIESEL CORPORATION



President William J. Clinton
August 7, 1997
Page -2-

Some weeks ago, Secretary Donna Shalala invited me to her office to discuss Welfare Reform and requested that we keep her and her staff informed from time to time on the impact of the changes in legislation on the lives of people in the local communities across the country. We are very glad to do so and feel we have our finger on the "pulse" of hurting people.

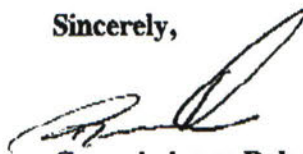
All of this is said to set my request for a chance to meet briefly with you in context. Many such requests must come to your staff, so we are looking for a definitive signal as to whether such a meeting is possible and would like to spare ourselves and the busy people around you the embarrassment and awkwardness of continuing our follow-up contacts. We had hoped that the contacts made by Secretary Shalala's office, Senator Sam Nunn and James Lee Witt would have been helpful in "opening the door".

With apologies for writing directly to you, I would be grateful if I could have some word one way or the other as to whether such a conference is possible. We will then be very happy to work with designated staff in coordinating dates.

I pray for you, Mrs. Clinton and Chelsea each morning and will continue to ask the Lord to give you wisdom for the awesome responsibilities you carry. It was good to meet you briefly at the Presidents' Summit in Philadelphia. I hope to have opportunity for a follow-up conversation in the Oval Office.

Warmest regards!

Sincerely,



Commissioner Robert A. Watson
NATIONAL COMMANDER

RAW:tem

Patricof & Co

8-12-97

August 4, 1997

To David for reply?

Yes ☒ No ☐

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

Coordinate with NSC?

Yes ☒ No ☐

Dear Mr. President:

Patricof & Co.
Ventures, Inc.
445 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10022
Tel 212-753-6300
Fax 212-319-6155

Frankly, I had written you this letter a month ago and decided not to send it since I was concerned about the timing and getting involved in an issue which is so complicated that it is better that amateurs such as myself stay away. Unfortunately, developments in recent days have heightened even further the issues such that I think any thoughtful individual cannot avoid voicing his opinion.

I speak specifically of the turbulent conditions that exist currently in the Middle East and the breakdown of the peace process. In the long run this is a situation which serves no one's purpose well.

I recognize that it is a complicated issue and there are many strong opinions on both sides. Nevertheless, I want to add my voice to those who urge you to get the administration involved in assisting the process in spite of the risk of offending one group or another. The peace process is pivotal to the success of our foreign policy in the world, and while there are many who would like to see us sit on the sideline and not impose pressure on either side, I believe that only a Presidential initiative, which would involve personal and public involvement by both you and Secretary Albright, can get the peace process back on track.

In addition to my other activities, I am an active member of the Jewish community and as an American citizen as well, I can assure you that should you take a more active role, you will have a strong vocal support from a broad cross section of individuals across the country who believe that we are at a critical juncture and only your intervention in the process will bring the parties to the table. I recognize this is a sensitive issue, but I want you to know that this is an important issue which needs your credibility to move forward.

- 2 -

I hope this reaches you before your vacation and in that context, I wish you and Hillary a period of quiet enjoyment and relaxation.

With kindest regards,

Sincerely,

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

Alan J. Patricof
Chairman

AJP:rbm

Staff Copy

HUNTON & WILLIAMS

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August 7, 1997

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

**Line Item Veto Candidates in
The Taxpayer Relief Act:
The Mischaracterization of Section 508
(The American Farm and
Ranch Protection Provision)
as "Special Interest Legislation"**

*To Doriskind
for Reply?*

yes ☒
no ☐

8-14-97

Dear Mr. President:

This letter is written out of a personal, private concern for the future of American's open spaces, not on behalf of a client or collection of special interest groups.

One of my top priorities as governor of Virginia was the encouragement of the state's perpetual open-space easement program. That program was part of a broad legislative package enacted in the Mid-60's to preserve open-space in face of the growing trend toward intensive urbanization. The threat of uncontrolled urban sprawl has been particularly acute in the so-called urban corridor stretching south from the Washington, D.C. area to Richmond and then east to Norfolk. One of the state agencies created to accept gifts of developments rights from landowners in the form of perpetual open-space easements is the Virginia Outdoors Foundation. Over the past three decades, it and its companion agency, the Virginia Board of Historic Resources, has done an excellent job in collecting these easements. And I am proud that their efforts really took off in my Administration.

Section 508 of the Taxpayer Relief Act would afford significant, though limited, federal inheritance tax relief to family farms on which these easements exist. This would reward farm owners who have given such easements in the past and encourage others who have not considered giving them now and in the future. It has been brought to my attention by my many friends in the conservation groups in Virginia who support Section 508 that someone in the

HUNTON & WILLIAMS

The President
August 7, 1997
Page 2

Administration who is analyzing the provisions of the Act for you has characterized Section 508 as "special interest" legislation because "no more than one hundred persons nationwide would benefit from it." Such a characterization makes the provision a prime candidate for the line item veto.

The characterization is wrong for two reasons. First, the gifts of perpetual open space easements not only benefit the landowner through limited tax relief, but of far greater importance they benefit the public and state and local governments of assuring preservation of significant open space areas in the midst of urban development. Thus, the number of beneficiaries is in the millions, not less than 100. Second, if one looks only at landowners who might benefit from the inheritance tax break, the number must be vastly greater than 100 nationwide. As of this date, the Virginia Outdoors Foundations alone holds perpetual open space easements on 500 tracts with more than 100,000 acres protected. Thus, there are more than 100 potential farms that would qualify in Virginia alone.

In summary, this provision is imminently in the public interest. It is by no stretch of the imagination "special interest" legislation. And I urge you not to veto it.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,



Gerald L. Baliles

Watkins Ludlam & Stennis, P.A.

Attorneys at Law

87 AUG 14 4 31 PM

633 North State Street
Post Office Box 427
Jackson, Mississippi 39205-0427

Telephone (601) 949-4900
Telecopy (601) 949-4804

H. Vaughan Watkins

Mark S. Aquadro	Stuart G. Kruger
Robert M. Arentson, Jr.	Craig N. Landrum
Jeffrey R. Barber	Robert S. Lazarus
Allan P. Bennett	Ricky G. Luke
Neville H. Boschert	David L. Martin
Robert E. Box, Jr.	Aileen S. McNeill
J. Chase Bryan	Dennis W. Miller
Whitney B. Byars	J. Douglas Minor, Jr.
Alvaro N. Castilla	Cheryn L. Netz
Carl J. Chaney	Neil P. Olack
H. Mitchell Cowan	L. Keith Parsons
C. York Craig, Jr.	Ben J. Piazza, Jr.
Christy Crockett	Pamela Prather
Thomas W. Crockett	Keith R. Raulston
Lynda M. Crouse	W. Whitaker Rayner
Jennifer R. Crowson	Stephen M. Roberts
Mark T. Davis	Thomas B. Shepherd III
Michael T. Dawkins	Roland M. Slover
William E. Dossett	Cynthia H. Speetjens
John M. Flynn	John Hampton Stennis
Virginia S. Gautier	Ernest G. Taylor, Jr.
David B. Grishman	Zachary Taylor III
Robert E. Hauberg, Jr.	Martha Ross Thomas
Kathryn H. Hester	Jim B. Tohill
John H. Holloman III	Randall B. Wall
Robert B. House	Robert H. Weaver
Peyton S. Irby, Jr.	Cory T. Wilson
Gina M. Jacobs	William F. Winter
Kristina M. Johnson	

August 6, 1997

To Dorskind
for Reply?

Yes _____

No _____

8-14-97

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

Although I no longer am officially involved with the Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, I continue to be convinced that it serves a very important function. I was dismayed when the Congress led by Representative Istook finally succeeded in placing language in the appropriation bill for ACIR that caused it to cease operating on September 30, 1996.

Since that time subsequent legislation was passed to authorize ACIR to begin functioning again for the exclusive purpose of conducting research for the National Gambling Impact Study Commission. ACIR has now been reactivated under those very restrictive conditions and is functioning under the chairmanship of Mayor Ed Rendell.

He and I and the other members of the Commission believe that it is in the public interest that the Istook language shutting down ACIR be rescinded and the Commission be permitted to resume its important work as the only agency in our federal system that acts as a sounding-board and clearing house for all levels of government.

I would, therefore, respectfully request that there be included in your budget recommendations for the 1999 fiscal year a provision that would specifically negate the language calling for the termination of ACIR. We would also request a small appropriation of no more than \$500,000. That coupled with continuing state support and fees for contractual services would permit ACIR to renew its effective work. Unless the Istook language can be removed, however, ACIR cannot function. Your consideration of this request will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,



William F. Winter

WFW/sja

**TICOPAGER***¡Comunicación al instante!*

August 12th. 1997

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500
FAX: (202) 456-2416

Dear Mr. President:

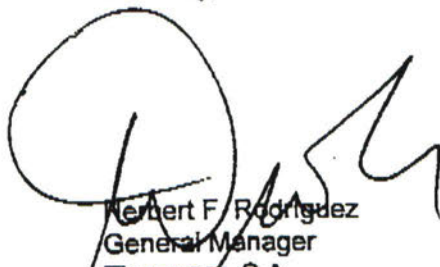
On behalf of TICOPAGER, S.A., I strongly urge you to actively work to ensure that Caribbean Basin Trade Enhancement legislation is included as part of the final version of the Tax Bill.

CBI Enhancement is vital to U.S. national interest because it will:

1. Strengthen the U.S.-based textile and apparel industry by ensuring that it can meet the challenge of Far East Competition. This legislation will help sustain and expand high-value added U.S. jobs in the textile and apparel industry that supply the assembly operations in Central America and the Caribbean. Close to two-thirds of the value of the U.S. textile and apparel imports from Central America and the Caribbean are comprised of U.S. made content to virtually no U.S. content in U.S. imports from China, Hong Kong, and Taiwan.
2. Since enactment of the Caribbean Basin Initiative the United States has developed a consistent trade surplus with the region - over \$1-6 billion in 1996. The tremendous increase in U.S. exports to the region has made the nations of Central America and the Caribbean the highest-per capital consumers of U.S. made goods in the world. The United States sold 16.4 billion dollars in goods and services to Central America and the Caribbean in 1996-over three times the amount of U.S. exports to both Eastern Europe and Russia combined.
3. The Central American nations have indicated that they are prepared to enter into a reciprocal and comprehensive free trade agreement with the United States which would further open those markets to U.S. goods and services. However, the economies of the Central American and Caribbean nations are being impacted because of the more favorable access to the United States which Mexico obtained under NAFTA. Long promised Caribbean Basin Enhancement legislation will allow these nations to remain competitive with Mexico in exchange for further liberalization of their economies.

I urge you to fully support including CBI Enhancement legislation as part of the Tax Bill.

Sincerely,



Herbert F. Rodriguez
General Manager
Ticopager, S.A.

8-14-97

Phil - send
to Dorskind?

NSC?

Dorskind - coord
w/NSC
Anna

**TICOPAGER***¡Comunicación al instante!*

FAX

TO: The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States

FAX: (202)456-2416 PAG: 2 including cover sheet

FROM: Liliana Vindas C. *Liliana Vindas C.*
Assistant to the General Manager

DATE: August 14th., 1997

REF.: ACTION REQUEST ON ENHANCEMENT LEGISLATION

Attached please find our action request on Nafta Parity.

Thanks

CC: Thomas "Mack" McLarry
Counselor to the President and Special Envoy to the Americas
The White House
(202)-456-2215

Peter Allgeier
Associate USTR for the Western Hemisphere
Office of the U.S. Trade Representative
(202)-395-9675

Regina Vargo
Deputy Assistant Secretary for the Western Hemisphere
U.S. Department of Commerce
(202)-482-4736

Amb. Jeffrey Davidow
Assistant Secretary for Inter-American Affairs
U.S. Department of State
(202)-646-0791

The Honorable William Roth (R-DE)
Chairman
Senate Finance Committee
(202) 224-5920



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
UNITED STATES SECRET SERVICE

157 AUG 15 1997

8-15
TO DOB SKIN 1)
FOR REPLY?

YES —
NO —

August 14, 1997

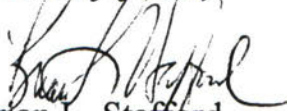
Dear Mr. President,

Four years ago, the Presidential Protective Division (PPD) adopted the Kramer Middle School to promote and enhance student educational opportunities. PPD employed a series of presentations, job-related field trips and extracurricular activities to accomplish its goal. The relationship forged with Kramer has been an absolute success, serving to stimulate student interest in other educational and social outlets and exposing the students to a unique aspect of the federal workforce.

This past school year, PPD coordinated the transfer of fifteen Secret Service IBM computers for use by the school's computer lab; arranged for Kramer students to attend White House state arrival ceremonies; conducted seven classroom presentations; escorted the entire eighth grade class through Secret Service Headquarters; and held a fund-raiser for the school sports program. On a lighter note, PPD played Kramer in basketball and (finally) won.

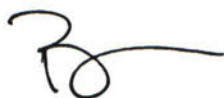
The men and woman of the Presidential Protective Division enthusiastically dedicate this year's ongoing association with the Kramer Middle School in celebration of your birthday.

Sincerely yours,


Brian L. Stafford
Special Agent in Charge
Presidential Protective Division

8-15-97

We would like an
acknowledgment for this
letter.



Art Givens

301 Brookwood Road, Suite 206
Sherwood, Arkansas 72120

Office: (501) 834-2501

Home: (501) 835-5539

August 6, 1997

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

8-15-97
To Dorskind for
Reply?
yes ☒ Agents
No ☐ Union

2nd - Schlegel - Design
Amyotrophic Lateral
Sclerosis

Dear Mr. President:

Recently on Dateline, there was a young girl crying because she could not get the drug, Myotrophin, which is the experimental drug being used by the Cephalon Pharmaceutical Company in the ALS trials. I have been taking the drug for three years, and because I started in the trials, they have agreed to give me the drug as long as I live. I think it has probably extended my life.

If I had the address of the young lady, I would 'bootleg' my medicine to her to try to help her. I'm an old man and it doesn't make much difference about me anymore. I'd like to see her, and other individuals like her, get an opportunity to take the drug.

The FDA has agreed that the drug is safe, but they are now arguing about it's efficacy. People with ALS, who generally have eighteen months to three years to live, don't give a damn about whether the drug has been proved effective! They would like to try it to see if it has any effect on their personal situation. There isn't any other drug that offers any help whatsoever.

Why should the pharmaceutical company not be required to put a disclaimer on each bottle which simply said: "the drug has not been proved to be effective for the treatment of ALS." This way, if a person still wanted to buy it and try it, they could do so.

The FDA, in this case, seems to be trying to play "big brother" to protect the dying ALS patient from being ripped off. A who is person is dying, and has the money, is willing to try anything. As long as it's safe, why would the FDA allow an individual to spend their money if they are just on the front end, that might not be effective?

If you can do anything for these other people out there, I will appreciate it. I'm going to get the drug for as long as I live, so I'm not trying to do something for myself. Like I said, if Stone Phillips would tell me the name of the girl and her address, I would secretly give her my medicine, even though it might shorten my life.

Very truly yours,

Art Givens

Art Givens

Attachment

Art Givens

301 Brookwood Road, Suite 206
Sherwood, Arkansas 72120

Office: (501) 834-2501

Home: (501) 835-5539

July 31, 1997

Barry Festoff, M.D.
Neurobiology Research Laboratory
Dept. of Veteran Affairs Medical Center
4801 E. Linwood Boulevard
Kansas City, MO 64128

Dear Dr. Festoff:

I was sorry that I didn't get to talk with you the other day when you called and talked to Marna. But, nowadays, I sleep a lot!

I hope you get some more funding for research.

I have heard that the Swiss have made some breakthroughs with reference to ALS. Do you have any information about this? I don't know whether it's purely diagnostic or if it suggests some treatment.

If I can help you in any way with anything you are attempting, please always feel free to call me.

I have written several letters to the FDA and to other individuals, urging them to take another look at Myotrophin. Even if it only had a placebo affect, it would be good for ALS patients.

Very truly yours,



Art

Attachments

A. S. "From The Kitchen Table Of"

July 1997

Linda McKnight

Dear Family and Friends: As we well know, the time is fast approaching for the FDA FINAL decision on Myotrophin! The final decision will be made by August 11th, OR before! Our letters could make the difference! We must act quickly! If you want this approved, the difference may be the outpouring of letters from us, the ALS community. Here are two address you can send those letters too--

Michael Friedman, M.D.
Acting Deputy Commissioner
Food and Drug Administration
5600 Fisher's Lane
Rm 14-71 HF28
Rockville, MD 20857

Robert Temple M.D.
Associate Dir. for Med. Pharmaceuticals
Food and Drug Administration
5600 Fisher's Lane HFD101
Rockville, MD 20857

BAD MEDICINE: The Case For Radical Reform Of American
Medical Care.

by Lawrence J. O'Brien

Key Biscayne, Florida

Copyright 1996

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN

8/18/97

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JD O'Brien
Fgr
RJ

copied
COS
RM
Jennings

Bad Medicine: The Case For Radical Reform Of American
Medical Care.

by Lawrence J. O'Brien

Key Biscayne, Florida 1996

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

There is broad agreement across the land that the medical care system in the United States is in a state of crisis which, if left to fester much longer, will threaten the economic and social stability of the nation.

The causes of this clear and present crisis are manifold and, in some instances, difficult to grasp. This stubborn reality has resulted in solutions being proposed, and being undertaken, which have covered the spectrum from the ridiculous to the sublime.

The obscurity, complexity, and variety of the underlying causes of today's crisis in medical care have led planners and legislators to wander in a Wonderland in which accustomed ways of analysing a situation are out of kilter, and in which logical thinking about the issues has been undermined.

For example, consider all of the talk among Members of Congress about resolving the crisis by getting the government out of the way, and allowing market forces to operate free of regulatory interference. The majority leader of the 105th Congress has been quoted as stating that: "the market is rational, the government is dumb". The bedrock element of a free market, however, is a reliance on the certitude that the supply of goods or services will be determined by the level of demand for those outputs. In an unrestrained marketplace, it is an immutable postulate that demand regulates supply.

Consider next the contrasting and irreducible fact that the suppliers of medical services, physicians, determine the demand for their own services. Patients are not usually in a position to decide what medical care, nor how much medical care, they will consume. They must rely upon the supplier of medical care - the physician - for these determinations. The medical profession has made certain that no other actor

in the US healthcare system than a licensed physician has the power to make a medical decision. The result is that, in the contemporary American medical marketplace, supply is quite clearly regulating demand. This indisputable fact renders the medical market irrational.

The consequent hard reality that must be faced up to is that, in the fee-for-service setting, there is currently no effective limit on the level to which the "demand" for physician services may rise.

These inverted and perverted "market forces", left unchecked in a fee-based and increasingly commercialized medical care system, can only lead to national bankruptcy.

As one illustrative example, even in such specialties as diagnostic radiology, where the referring physician would seemingly be the regulator of demand for these services, the suppliers (radiologists reading the films), through their notations and reports, have major impact on the level of demand. Current data show variations from one major metropolitan area to another as great as four times in the per capita volume and cost of diagnostic x-rays, for populations with the same demographics. These radical variations are explained only by the relative quantity of radiologists in practice within a specific marketplace, and their degree of dominance in that marketplace. A radiologist's notation: "Normal, however recommend retake within thirty days to be safe." constitutes a perfect example of supply regulating demand, and presents a clear illustration of how physician income may easily be doubled by means which are virtually undetectable outside of the medical profession.

This example also explains why a price-control strategy in medical care would be doomed to failure. In American medicine, when the unit price of a service declines in value, the units of service simply go up, so that physician income will either remain constant, or increase. There is overwhelming evidence of this phenomenon occurring continuously over the past three decades.

"I know what you're thinking about" said Tweedledum; "but it isn't so, nohow".

"Contrariwise", continued Tweedledee, "if it was so, it might be; and if it were so, it would be; but as it isn't, it ain't. That's logic".

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: July 28, 1997

ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----

SUBJECT: District of Columbia FY '98 Budget and Financial Plan and
Executive Summary

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☐	McCURRY	☐	☐
BOWLES	☐	☐	McGINTY	☐	☐
McLARTY	☐	☐	NASH	☐	☐
PODESTA	☐	☐	RADD	☐	☐
MATHEWS	☐	☐	REED	☐	☐
RAINES	☒	☐	RUFF	☐	☐
BAER	☐	☐	SMITH	☐	☐
BERGER	☐	☐	SOSNIK	☐	☐
ECHAVESTE	☐	☐	SPERLING	☐	☐
EMANUEL	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
GIBBONS	☐	☐	TARULLO	☐	☐
HILLEY	☐	☐	VERVEER	☐	☐
IBARRA	☐	☐	WALDMAN	☐	☐
KLAIN	☐	☐	YELLEN	☐	☐
LEWIS	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
MARSHALL	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
			_____	☐	☐

REMARKS: Please return report to this office after review.
If you would like a copy of this report to keep, contact
this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: JULY 28, 1997

97 AUG 11 PM 4:57

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: MR. JOHN W. HILL JR.

SUBJECT: ENCLOSURES COPIES OF THE OPERATING AND CAPITAL
BUDGET BOOKS THAT SUPPORT THE BUDGET FOR THE
GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FOR
FISCAL YEAR '98

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C D	COMPLETED YY/MM/DD
TIM SAUNDERS		ORG	97/07/28			97/08/05
<i>Dodd Stern</i>	REFERRAL NOTE:	A	97/08/05			
	REFERRAL NOTE:					
	REFERRAL NOTE:					
	REFERRAL NOTE:					
	REFERRAL NOTE:					

COMMENTS: ENCLOSURE

Not for the President's Xmas Hall to the Congress.

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

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

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

S

District of Columbia Financial Responsibility
and Management Assistance Authority
Washington, D.C.

July 23, 1997

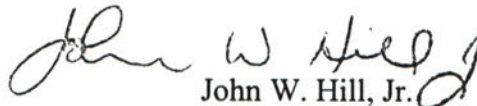
The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

208349
208349

Dear Mr. President:

Enclosed are copies of the operating and capital budget books that support the budget for the government of the District of Columbia for Fiscal Year 1998, as approved by the District of Columbia Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Authority ("Authority") on June 15, 1997. The Authority acted pursuant to Section 202 of District of Columbia Financial Responsibility and Management Assistance Act of 1995, as amended, Public Law 104-8.

Sincerely,


John W. Hill, Jr.
Executive Director

Enclosures



**DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA
FY 1998
BUDGET AND FINANCIAL
PLAN AND EXECUTIVE
SUMMARY**



Prepared for the
Congress of the United States
Submitted by the
**Financial Responsibility and
Management Assistance Authority**

June 1997



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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: July 24, 1997ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----

SUBJECT: Final Report FY '97, Volume 1: Framework for Environmental Health
Risk Management; Volume 2: Risk Assessment and Risk Management in
Regulatory Decision-Making

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☐	McCURRY	☐	☐
BOWLES	☐	☐	McGINTY	☒	☐
McLARTY	☐	☐	NASH	☐	☐
PODESTA	☐	☐	RADD	☐	☐
MATHEWS	☐	☐	REED	☐	☐
RAINES	☐	☐	RUFF	☐	☐
BAER	☐	☐	SMITH	☐	☐
BERGER	☐	☐	SOSNIK	☐	☐
ECHAVESTE	☐	☐	SPERLING	☐	☐
EMANUEL	☐	☐	STREETT	☐	☐
GIBBONS	☐	☐	TARULLO	☐	☐
HILLEY	☐	☐	VERVEER	☐	☐
IBARRA	☐	☐	WALDMAN	☐	☐
KLAIN	☐	☐	YELLEN	☐	☐
LEWIS	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
MARSHALL	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
			_____	☐	☐

REMARKS: Please return report to this office after review.
 If you would like a copy of this report to keep, contact
 this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

✓ DATE RECEIVED: JULY ²⁴~~28~~, 1997

'97 AUG 11 PM 4:58

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: DR. GILBERT S. OMENN

SUBJECT: SUBMITS FINAL REPORT VOLUME 1 FISCAL YEAR '97
 ✓ FRAMEWORK FOR ENVIRONMENTAL HEALTH RISK
 MANAGEMENT and Volume 2 Risk Assessment and Risk Management
In Regulatory Decision-Making.

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
		ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
TIM SAUNDERS		ORG	97/07/28		C 97/08/05
<i>John Stern</i>	REFERRAL NOTE:	A	97/08/06		/ /
	REFERRAL NOTE:		/ /		/ /
	REFERRAL NOTE:		/ /		/ /
	REFERRAL NOTE:		/ /		/ /
	REFERRAL NOTE:		/ /		/ /

COMMENTS:

*Not for the President'smittal to the Congress. Note: the
 Commission shall cease to exist not later than 9-months after submitting
 its final report (4-24-98).*

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

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

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

S

Commission on Risk Assessment and Risk Management

July 21, 1997

Office
529 14th Street, NW; Suite 452
Washington, DC 20045
202-233-9537 Facs: 202-233-9540

The President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Five years ago Speaker Tom Foley appointed me to the Presidential/Congressional Commission on Risk Assessment and Risk Management. We were convened in May 1994, and the other nine Commissioners elected me Chair. Of the Commissioners, Peter Chiu of California, Alan Kessler of Pennsylvania, and Sheila McGuire of Iowa were your appointees.

We had a very productive and highly visible course of action, with monthly meetings alternately held in DC and around the country for public input (except during the months of government shutdown or threatened government shutdown during 1995). We contributed to Congressional hearings and many other forums. We accomplished all of our activities and output with just three excellent staff persons.

We have had excellent cooperation from the Administration, as well as Congress on both sides of the aisle. Lynn Goldman of EPA has been our official liaison person and a very knowledgeable and helpful partner in our work. Administrator Browner and many others at EPA have taken a great interest in our activities and recommendations. In the Executive Offices, Sally Katzen and Jack Gibbons have been particularly close to our efforts, and Katie McGinty convened a group to accept our report and indicate ways in which its recommendations could be implemented.

We developed a new Framework for Environmental Health Risk Management that puts various environmental problems into public health and ecologic context and engages stakeholders from the start. This Framework is beginning to take hold in a way that we hope will be the counterpart to the risk assessment process recommended by the National Academy of Sciences/National Research Council "Red Book" report of 1983. In response to friendly public comment on our 1996 Draft Report, we created a special reader-friendly Volume 1 of our Final Report dealing with the Framework and providing examples of effective and ineffective efforts to engage stakeholders and put

Gilbert S. Omenn, Chairman
School of Public Health and
Community Medicine
University of Washington
Seattle, Washington

Alan C. Kessler, Vice-Chairman
Buchanan Ingersoll
Philadelphia Pennsylvania

Norman Anderson
American Lung Association
Augusta, Maine

Peter Y. Chiu
Kaiser Permanente
Milpitas, California

John Doull
Kansas University Medical Center
Kansas City, Kansas

Bernard D. Goldstein
Environmental and Occupational Health
Sciences Institute
Piscataway, New Jersey

Joshua Lederberg
Rockefeller University
New York, New York

Sheila McGuire
Iowa Health Research Institute
Boone, Iowa

David P. Rall
Former Director, National Institute of
Environmental Health Sciences
Washington, DC

Virginia V. Weldon
Monsanto Company
St. Louis, Missouri

Gail Charnley
Executive Director

Sharon Newsome
Associate Director

Joanna Foellmer
Designated Federal Official

*Congressionally authorized to investigate and make recommendations on the use of risk assessment
and risk management in Federal regulatory programs*

July 21, 1997

problems into context. You were sent a copy earlier this year right after our unveiling in a major meeting in the Rayburn House Office Building January 29. Another copy is enclosed along with Volume 2 of the Final Report recently made available by us and the government Printing Office and also widely accessed on the Internet.

We've had a huge challenge during the change in leadership of the 104th Congress and in the cross-fire of various interest groups. It is gratifying to have made a mark that nearly all groups appreciate as highly constructive and useful. We are eager to see our recommendations and work carried forward by the Congress, the agencies, and many other groups.

We are eager to see our work carried forward by the agencies, The Congress, and many other groups.

Sincerely yours,



Gilbert S. Omenn, MD., Ph.D.

Chair, Commission on Risk Assessment
and Risk Management
Professor and Dean, School of Public
Health, University of Washington

cc: Peter Chiu
Alan Kessler
Sheila McGuire
Vice-President Gore
Administrator Browner
Asst. to the President Gibbons
Asst. Administrator Goldman
Administrator Katzen
Chair McGinty

Enclosures

Panel Presses New Ways to Assess Pollution Hazards

■ **Environment:** Plan could ease attacks on single sources, lead to broader approach. Board named by Clinton and Congress urges wide-ranging overhaul.

By JAMES GERSTENZANG
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—A scientific commission appointed by President Clinton and Congress is recommending a far-reaching overhaul of the way the nation determines the potential risks posed by pollutants in the air, water and workplace.

If carried out, the plan could relax the nation's attack on single sources of air pollution—factory smokestacks, for example—and launch a broader campaign on all elements contributing to fouled air. The effects would reach across American life, from factory and farm to urban air and beaches.

The revisions are expected to win the support of the Environmental Protection Agency as well as many members of Congress and industry groups. Environmental organizations so far are not opposed. The commission was established in 1994 by mandate of Clean Air Act legislation of 1990.

"The result would be cleaner air for less money than we're spending," said Gail Charnley, the executive director of the panel,

known as the Commission on Risk Assessment and Risk Management.

Changes are needed, Charnley said in an interview, because—after a generation of cleaning up the worst water and air pollution by attacking the biggest polluters—"more and more resources are required to gain smaller and smaller advantages."

In a report being made public today, the panel recommends that government agencies and Congress abandon the long-held practice of setting standards and regulations based on hazards posed by individual chemicals.

Rather, it says, rules that set standards for human and agricultural exposure should take into consideration a wider range of pollution sources. Specifically, the report says:

- Instead of focusing on a single major source of a pollutant, the government could identify all sources and work to reduce emissions across the board. That approach might well reduce standards for the major source while raising them for secondary sources.

- Rather than following the current, rather general approach to attacking pollution, government should develop ways to determine priorities for individual communities based on the risks found specifically in those communities.

For example, if a community has a power plant that contributes to respiratory disease and a solid waste incinerator that poses a risk of disease linked to exposure to

heavy metals, researchers could compare the two and assign a higher priority to one of them.

- Consideration could be given to the interaction and cumulative impacts of various pollutants. For example, the report notes that the small particles of air pollution to which hydrocarbons are attached can increase the risk of cancer.

The panel also is calling for citizens, political officials and industries in each community to be more involved in setting the rules for their locality.

An example of the new approach might be found in the nation's attempts to limit exposure to benzene, a chemical linked to some cases of leukemia.

Under the existing rule-making procedures, if wisps of benzene are slipping out of a factory smokestack, regulators would impose limits on how much of the chemical could be emitted in any given period. Charnley said that they would not be required to focus on such other producers of benzene as motor vehicles, the source of 60% of benzene in the air, or other benzene sources, such as cigarette smoke or household cleaning products.

The course recommended by the commission would not ignore the factory emissions, Charnley said. However, she said, "if your goal is to reduce the leukemia risk, then you might decide that only to focus on that stack will not have a detectable impact" and that greater attention should be paid to the other sources of benzene.

The recommendations reflect a recent trend in regulation, which has the support of the Clinton administration. Under the new approach, government places greater emphasis on establishing a cooperative, rather than adversarial, relationship with the industries they oversee and looks at environmental hazards in a broad context, rather than emissions from individual smokestacks.

In California, the Wilson administration has been attempting to streamline environmental regulation in general, embarking on a course that critics fear would weaken some safeguards and tolerate higher risks.

Officials at the EPA praised the report as consistent with the views the agency's administrator, Carol Browner, has taken.

RISK MANAGEMENT: AGENCY PRIMER

Commission issues 71 recommendations for crafting better federal rules

Current risk management procedures are often too simplistic, or, conversely, too complex, to be effective and relevant, concludes the Presidential/Congressional Commission on Risk Assessment & Risk Management in its final report. Created by the Clean Air Act Amendments of 1990 and formed in 1994, the commission has recommended 71 specific changes in the way federal agencies address environmental and health issues.

The recommendations are tailored to the regulatory activities of the Environmental Protection Agency, the Occupational Safety & Health Administration, the Food & Drug Administration, and the Departments of Agriculture, Energy, and Defense.

The issue of how federal agencies should perform risk assessment and risk management is a major component in the drive for regulatory reform. Industry and business generally believe proper application of these methods will reduce costs and make regulations more effective. Citizen's groups and environmental organizations often see them as obfuscatory and far too time-consuming.

Gail Charnley, executive director of the commission, says, "The commission felt that in order to get to the next level of problem solving, there was a need to get away from the chemical-by-chemical and media-by-media approach to regulation." Despite apparent statutory restrictions to taking such a broad approach, there are ways for agencies to be more comprehensive in their outlook. The commission, she explains, is encouraging Congress to hold joint oversight hearings on these issues and to include this broader approach in current statutes as they are reauthorized.

Gilbert S. Omenn, chairman of the commission and dean of the University of Washington's School of Public Health & Community Medicine, Seattle, cites indoor air pollution as an example of problems that are not being adequately addressed. "Indoor air pollution often poses

a greater health risk than outdoor air pollution, but it is largely unregulated," he says. So the report recommends that Congress address this issue in a coordinated way, harmonizing the activities of the several regulatory agencies with statutory responsibility for indoor air pollution. According to Omenn, such coordination is not currently happening for indoor air pollution and other important problems.

"We have to send a message to Congress that, instead of having everything looked at by very narrow subcommit-

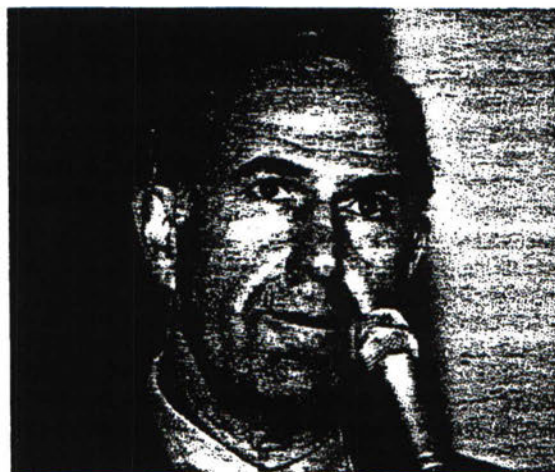


Photo by Linda Raber

Omenn: many problems not adequately addressed

tees, it is going to have to look at problems that overlap, as in the real world," Omenn says. This would save agency officials time, as well, and make their testimonies more relevant, he believes.

At the American Industrial Health Council (AIHC), which for several years has worked for improved risk assessment and risk management in government decision-making, Executive Director Gaylen M. Camera is pleased with the final report. "Overall, the commission did an excellent job," Camera says. She believes that sections on peer review, ecological risk assessment, and the use of "bright lines" in risk analysis are very significant.

Another issue Camera cites is judicial

review of regulatory decisions. This was one of the stumbling blocks to regulatory reform in the previous Congress and probably will be again in this Congress. The commission recommended that Congress reject expanded judicial review of risk assessment and cost-benefit analysis. "That is the right direction," Camera says.

Specific commission recommendations sometimes hit at the heart of existing regulatory schemes. For FDA, the commission says, a standard of reasonable certainty of no harm for all population groups should be applied in making all food safety decisions. At OSHA, it says a streamlined process is needed to develop permissible exposure limits for air contaminants in the workplace, a problem the agency has been struggling with for years.

Possibly because of its long history of trying to manage various risks, EPA was the target of many of the commission's recommendations. For example, the commission developed a tiered approach

for EPA to use in analyzing and managing risks posed by hazardous outdoor air pollutants, and it suggested that more consideration be given to future land uses when EPA assesses risks at Superfund sites. Changes in procedures under the Clean Water and the Safe Drinking Water Acts were suggested as well.

Omenn says the commission realizes that EPA, FDA, OSHA, and the other agencies are already swamped trying to meet statutory and court-mandated deadlines with limited resources. "Some of our recommendations will take up

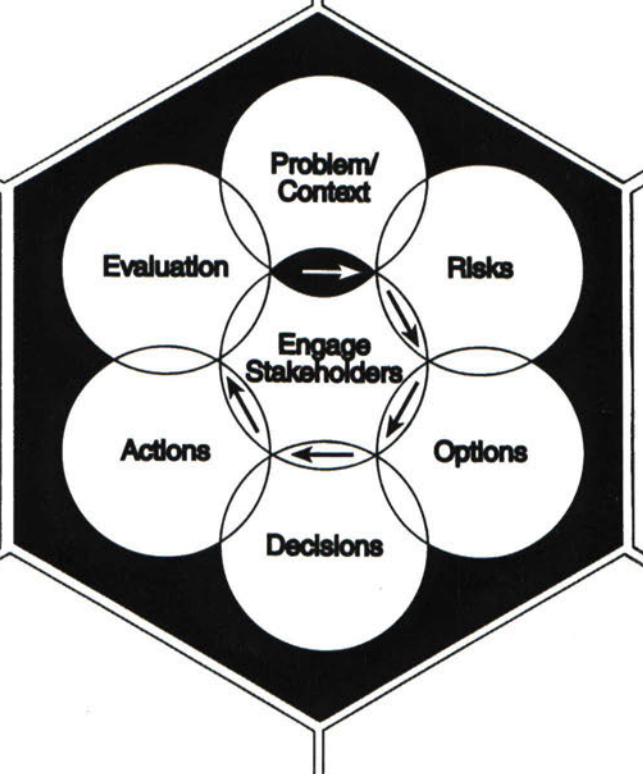
more resources up front," he admits. "But we are quite certain that they would save resources in the end, because of better and more accepted regulatory decisions."

The impact any presidential commission will have on future activities is never clear. Charnley says this commission will be using the next few months to hold public meetings and workshops to make its recommendations more widely known. "For example, we are planning a workshop bringing together leaders in public health with leaders in environmental health to discuss ways they can work more closely together."

And AIHC's Camera thinks just having the commission in place has influ-

Final Report
Volume 1
1997

Framework for Environmental Health Risk Management



The Presidential/Congressional
Commission on Risk Assessment
and Risk Management

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Final Report
Volume 2
1997

Risk Assessment and Risk Management In Regulatory Decision-Making

The Presidential/Congressional
Commission on Risk Assessment
and Risk Management

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WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: July 28, 1997 ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: -----SUBJECT: Annual Report of the U.S. Sentencing Commission, FY '96

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☐	☐	McCURRY	☐	☐
BOWLES	☐	☐	McGINTY	☐	☐
McLARTY	☐	☐	NASH	☐	☐
PODESTA	☐	☐	RADD	☐	☐
MATHEWS	☐	☐	REED	☐	☐
RAINES	☐	☐	RUFF	☒	☐
BAER	☐	☐	SMITH	☐	☐
BERGER	☐	☐	SOSNIK	☐	☐
ECHAVESTE	☐	☐	SPERLING	☐	☐
EMANUEL	☐	☐	STRETT	☐	☐
GIBBONS	☐	☐	TARULLO	☐	☐
HILLEY	☐	☐	VERVEER	☐	☐
IBARRA	☐	☐	WALDMAN	☐	☐
KLAIN	☐	☐	YELLEN	☐	☐
LEWIS	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
MARSHALL	☐	☐	_____	☐	☐
			_____	☐	☐

REMARKS: Please return report to this office after review.
 If you would like a copy of this report to keep, contact
 this office. Thank you.

RESPONSE: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: JULY 28, 1997

'97 AUG 11 PM 4:57

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE RICHARD P. CONABOY

SUBJECT: SUBMITS A COPY OF THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE
UNITED STATES SENTENCING COMMISSION, WHICH
CHRONICLES THE MAJOR ACTIVITIES AND
ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE COMMISSION IN FY '96

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
		ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C-COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
TIM SAUNDERS		ORG	97/07/28		C 97/08/05
<i>Todd Stern</i>	REFERRAL NOTE:	A	97/08/05		1/1
	REFERRAL NOTE:				
	REFERRAL NOTE:				
	REFERRAL NOTE:				
	REFERRAL NOTE:				

COMMENTS: ENCLOSURE

Not for the President's Knechtel to the Congress.

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

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

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

S

UNITED STATES SENTENCING COMMISSION
ONE COLUMBUS CIRCLE, NE
SUITE 2-500, SOUTH LOBBY
WASHINGTON, DC 20002-8002
(202) 273-4500
FAX (202) 273-4529



July 22, 1997

238347 
Lundberg

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Pursuant to section 997 of title 28, United States Code, I am pleased to provide a copy of the *Annual Report* of the United States Sentencing Commission, which chronicles the major activities and accomplishments of the Commission in fiscal year 1996. Presented with the *Annual Report* is the inaugural edition of the Commission's *Sourcebook of Federal Sentencing Statistics*. This *Sourcebook* contains descriptive statistics on the application of the federal sentencing guidelines and provides selected district, circuit, and national sentencing data for fiscal year 1996.

The Commission remains committed to developing and implementing effective sentencing policies for the federal criminal justice system in cooperation with all branches of government. Please feel free to contact the Commission at any time if we can be of service to you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Richard P. Conaboy".

Richard P. Conaboy
Chairman

Enclosure

UNITED STATES SENTENCING COMMISSION
ONE COLUMBUS CIRCLE, NE
SUITE 2-500, SOUTH LOBBY
WASHINGTON, DC 20002-8002
(202) 273-4500
FAX (202) 273-4529



June 20, 1997

MEMORANDUM:

TO: Members of Congress
Article III Judges
U.S. Attorneys
Federal Public and Community Defenders
Chief U.S. Probation Officers

FROM: Richard P. Conaboy
Chairman

SUBJECT: 1996 Annual Report
1996 Sourcebook of Federal Sentencing Statistics

On behalf of the Sentencing Commission, I am pleased to present to you copies of our 1996 *Annual Report* and 1996 *Sourcebook of Federal Sentencing Statistics*. The *Annual Report* presents an overview of the Commission and chronicles major Commission activities and accomplishments in fiscal year 1996. This is the inaugural year for the *Sourcebook*, which contains descriptive statistics on the implementation of the sentencing guidelines and provides selected district, circuit, and national sentencing data. The tables and figures that make up the *Sourcebook*, for the most part, mirror those that were found in previous annual reports. The Commission adopted the two-volume format to present important sentencing information in a more "user friendly" manner.

As always, the Commission extends its appreciation to those in the field who diligently work with our guidelines and provide us with the information necessary to monitor sentencing in federal courts.

Please do not hesitate to contact the Commission if we can be of assistance in any way.

1996 Sourcebook of Federal Sentencing Statistics

UNITED STATES SENTENCING COMMISSION



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1996 Annual Report

UNITED STATES SENTENCING COMMISSION



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UNIVERSITY OF THE PACIFIC

Stockton - San Francisco - Sacramento

Donald V. DeRosa, President

August 12, 1997

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

Dear President Clinton:

It is an honor for me to tell you that the University of the Pacific Alumni Association will recognize our distinguished alumna, Chrissie Collins (Class of '28), with its "Distinguished Public Service Award" for her voluntary leadership of Medic Alert, the nation's leading emergency medical information service. This nonprofit membership organization is credited by its members with saving 80,000 lives since it began in 1956.

I bring this to your attention for two reasons: First, because of your deep and abiding interest in voluntarism, and second, because I believe Mrs. Collins deserves our nation's highest honor, the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

With her late husband, Dr. Marion Collins, she co-founded the organization in Turlock, California. It now serves 2.2 million Americans and 1.6 million people abroad, and addresses the highest priority of all: protecting and saving lives. At 91 years of age, Mrs. Collins remains a life director, committed to her original goal of closing the gap between those who have medical identification and those who need it.

For 41 years, she has spearheaded Medic Alert's growth, from a family-based nonprofit service organization to an international membership organization.

That is why I believe she is an excellent candidate for the Presidential Medal of Freedom. She contributes not only to the health and well being of Americans, but to the protection of people all over the world. As such, she epitomizes the highest values of voluntarism.

It is noteworthy that 76 percent of adults over 50 recognize Medic Alert, according to a recent national survey. Others, particularly those in the emergency medical community and the 425,000 Californians who are members, are intimately acquainted with Medic Alert's lifesaving mission. They, too, would applaud your recognition of this remarkable woman, who, at age 91, is an inspiration to us all.

Thank you in advance for your consideration of Chrissie Collins for this high honor.

Sincerely,



Donald V. DeRosa
President

cc: Tod Stern
Program Manager
The White House

8-17-97

HUD, Union Agree on Downsizing Plan

27% of Departmental Jobs to Disappear in Reorganization, Consolidation

By Judith Havemann
Washington Post Staff Writer

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Andrew M. Cuomo and the American Federation of Government Employees agreed yesterday on a major reorganization of the department that will entail the consolidation of operations at scattered cities across the nation and a loss of more than 27 percent of HUD jobs.

Cuomo and Mortimer Coward, president of HUD's largest union, hailed the agreement as a "model of how government reinvention should be carried out—in a union management partnership."

The parties agreed to:

- Allow the final implementation of the previously announced HUD staff reductions to be delayed by two years, until the year 2002.
- Give current HUD employees first crack at new jobs resulting from the consolidation.
- Establish a labor-management team to oversee the consolidation plan.
- Help the department implement its management reforms on a fast-track basis.

The national reorganization was announced to agency employees earlier this month, sparking concerns that some workers would lose their jobs or be forced to transfer to distant cities. Enforcement operations, for example, would be centralized in New York. The downsizing was announced in 1995 under Cuomo's predecessor, Henry Cisneros, and 3,000 jobs have already been eliminated, HUD officials said.

HUD has not indicated yet how many employees might face transfer from headquarters.

Cuomo said the agreement was designed to prevent employees from facing "rif" or reductions in force. The staff will be reduced from 10,300 to about 7,500 largely through buyouts and attrition.

About 60 percent of the HUD staff will be eligible for retirement in 2000, Coward said.

Cuomo said that the agreement makes sense for taxpayers because it should save money as well as give HUD workers a stake in making the reorganization plan work. A buyout costs the government about \$25,000, Cuomo said, while a rif costs \$30,000 to \$40,000.

HUD officials said about \$20 mil-



HUD Secretary Andrew M. Cuomo, center, celebrates pact with union chief Mortimer Coward, left, and White House Chief of Staff Erskine B. Bowles.

lion had been budgeted to provide about 1,000 buyouts.

Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-N.Y.) and Rep. Rick Lazio (R-N.Y.), two congressional committee chairmen heavily involved in housing issues, were traveling yesterday and could not be reached for comment on the union-management agreement.

"No union wants to see downsizing," said Coward, but AFGE attorneys counseled him that he might lose if he fought the plan, and "if we lost, we would lose big."

Government unions are relatively powerless because they lack the right to strike or bargain over wages. Virtually all government union issues are negotiated with one eye on the department and another on the oversight committees on Capitol Hill.

Coward said that one of the reasons the union signed off on the reorganization plan was because "Congress was getting more upset."

The scandal plagued department is the only agency in government to be officially labeled "high risk" by the General Accounting Office, and Congress has ordered Cuomo to clean it up or face having it abolished.

Moreover, said Coward, it made sense to agree that the work force should be reduced to 7,500 because in

the political atmosphere of Washington, departmental fortunes ebb and flow with the congressional and presidential elections.

In any year, he said, "7,500 may suddenly metamorphosed into 17,000."

Department and union officials negotiated throughout the weekend before reaching an accord to work together on the consolidation. The plan, known as the HUD 2020 Management Reform Plan, will take HUD's "backroom activities"—record keeping, accounting administration and others—and consolidate them nationally, using private sector compartmentalization as a model.

"The agreement is believed to be the first of its kind between a federal agency and a labor union to work together to reduce the size of an agency," Cuomo and Coward said in a joint statement.

White House Chief of Staff Erskine B. Bowles, making his first visit to HUD, hailed the pact. He said HUD was making good progress in its efforts to reinvent itself. He declined to say whether HUD was ahead of the rest of the government in its management reforms. "Some are at the same level and some have a ways to go," he said.

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14, 1997

To Doriskind
for reply.

Shed do
to me letter
Unionhead's
this
Be

8-17-97

TRENDLINES

A Free Trade Area of the Americas

'Son of NAFTA': Soon to Be Playing to . . . Yawns?

By Paul Blustein
Washington Post Staff Writer

At long last, the battle over free trade is about to be joined anew.

After a couple of years waiting for the right political moment, the Clinton administration plans to launch a major campaign in the second week of September to win congressional authority to negotiate new trade deals. Its top goal is the creation of a Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) bringing all of Latin America and the Caribbean into a pact similar to the North American Free Trade Agreement. The theory is, since free trade with Mexico and Canada is a good idea, free trade among all 34 democracies in the hemisphere will be *fantastico*.

But while fans of NAFTA will almost certainly like the arguments for the FTAA, even they may find themselves wondering whether it merits heavy breathing.

As the administration itself admitted in a recent study, NAFTA's impact on the U.S. economy has been "modest," generating neither the bonanza of jobs that its proponents touted nor the massive job losses predicted by its foes. That raises the question: How much of a fight is the FTAA worth? Politically, the battle will widen the rifts in both parties between moderates and populists. Critics of free trade deals such as House Minority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) will score points by observing that while some Americans benefit, others—typically workers with low skills and incomes—are likely to suffer from an accord that intensifies competition with cheap-wage countries.

The administration's chief
See TRENDLINES, E9, Col. 1

TRENDLINES, From E1

argument is that, as the chart at right shows, South America is a fast-growing market for U.S. exports. So Washington had better position itself to take maximum advantage of the region's promise, because preferential deals are already being struck by others—particularly among the South Americans themselves, whose biggest trade bloc, called Mercosur, encompasses Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay.

"Over 20 trade agreements have been concluded in our hemisphere," says U.S. Trade Representative Charlene Barshefsky, "none of which include the United States, but all of which will disadvantage our export performance."

The evidence in the chart cuts another way, however. It shows that exports to the Mercosur countries have skyrocketed in the 1990s despite the preferential access enjoyed by manufacturers based within the bloc. That's because U.S. exporters also benefit from the overall lowering of barriers and economic liberalization that member nations have instituted. While sales of U.S. products would presumably rise even faster under an FTAA, it's hard to imagine that the impact on the U.S. economy would be much greater than NAFTA's modest results. After all, only 8 percent of U.S. exports go to South America and other Western Hemisphere countries not included in NAFTA. And exports account for just 11 percent of U.S. gross domestic product.

O, course, U.S. exports and jobs are by no means the only issue at stake. Indeed, in NAFTA's case, the much more important goal in the mind of most U.S. policymakers was to help stabilize a country with millions of people within walking distance of a 2,000-mile border with the United States. Arguably, NAFTA succeeded brilliantly on this score, because when Mexico plunged into recession in 1995, the government kept its NAFTA pledges and largely continued on its path of economic reform, rather than revert to failed statist policies as it did during a similar crisis in the 1980s.

FTAA enthusiasts make similar arguments about how important it is for South America to remain stable and reform-oriented. But while U.S. commercial interests would clearly be hurt if, say, economic turmoil hit Brazil or Argentina and caused their governments to jack up tariffs, the administration will be hard pressed to make a compelling case about the geopolitical importance of such countries, which are a long walk away.

Not that the administration lacks other arguments. Few economists would take issue with Barshefsky's assertion that "when trade barriers are lowered, we win," because U.S. tariffs are already low—about one quarter of the average Latin American tariff.

Moreover, as Barshefsky puts it, "the status quo moves us backwards." What she means is that unless Washington cuts its own free trade deal with Latin America, U.S. firms stand to lose sales to foreign competitors who gain an edge from the pacts their governments strike. Canada's free trade agreement with

Chile, for example, means that "we've spotted the Canadians an 11 percent price advantage in the Chilean market," according to Barshefsky, referring to the average Chilean tariff that Canadian firms no longer have to pay.

But U.S. firms aren't about to be cut out of the Latin American market, notwithstanding the dark warnings from administration officials about Japanese and Chinese diplomats thronging the region's capitals in pursuit of deeper ties. (Such admonitions hark back to Clinton's claim during the NAFTA debate that the Japanese would leap at the chance to strike their own deal with the Mexicans if the Americans didn't—a statement that evoked much bemusement in Tokyo.)

So the FTAA isn't going to generate a cornucopia of jobs. Nor is it the last hope for the United States to stave off a carve-up of the Western Hemisphere by rival powers. What it offers, experts say, is a more solid grounding for growth and trade in the hemisphere, by improving the odds that important countries such as Brazil will open their economies and thrive.

The argument for extending the NAFTA south is a very long-term argument, that Latin America is growing, and the United States has a natural commercial advantage already in Latin America, and this is a way to cement that," said Greg Mastel, a trade specialist at the Economic Strategy Institute, a Washington think tank. "But I'm not sure it's one of the three top challenges facing the United States."

The Washington Post

THURSDAY, AUGUST 14, 1997

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By JOEL KOTKIN

HOUSTON—Virtually unnoticed by the national media, Houston has been staging arguably the most dramatic urban turnaround in America. A decade ago it was widely reviled as an abject example of an overbuilt, busted oiltown whose decline, liberal journalist James Fallows pointedly noted, was "deeply gratifying to many people." Today cities both East and West would do well to learn from Houston how to rebuild a shattered economy.

Houston's resurgence has been powered by maintaining the right entrepreneurial climate, which has spawned the growth of new companies in everything from trade and specialty manufacturing to technology. In the process, the region has recovered all the roughly 200,000 jobs lost during its prolonged recession, adding nearly a half million jobs since 1986. Unemployment, which was more than 10% at the height of the early-'80s oil bust, is now roughly half that.

Of course, other cities are staging their own resurgences, often based on growth in a particular industry—high-tech in San Jose, entertainment in Los Angeles, finance in New York. But Houston's recovery has been broadly based: Last year Houstonians started 53,000 new businesses, more than any of the nation's seven largest cities except Los Angeles. On a per-capita basis, Houston's start-up rate was four times Philadelphia's and Chicago's, two and half times New York's and roughly twice Los Angeles's.

This small business-led upsurge springs from a combination of factors that any major city must look to for economic recovery: relatively low business costs, a civic culture supportive of entrepreneurial opportunism and an emerging minority, largely immigrant, business community. Many cities have these separately, but none has put them to work together as effectively as Houston has.

Low cost has been a traditional Houston advantage, one that is particularly important to new and growing businesses. According to a recent survey in *Regional Financial Review*, overall costs in Houston are roughly 18% lower than in Los Angeles, almost 25% below San Francisco and Seattle, and roughly 35% lower than New York's. For developers of office properties, the differences in local taxes and fees are even more striking: According to Vertex, Inc., a Pennsylvania-based consultancy, Houstonians pay half the city and county business taxes Los Angeles do, and roughly one-fifth what New Yorkers and Philadelphians pay.

Low costs have attracted entrepreneurs such as Andrew Segal, a New York native who, after graduating from New York University Law School in 1994, headed out to Texas to make his fortune. Young, aggressive and full of entrepreneurial energy, Mr. Segal decided to stake his nest egg on properties in both Dallas and Houston, cities not fashionable at the time among the real estate "experts" who regarded Texas' oversupply of office towers as a disaster. But to Mr. Segal and other savvy investors—including more recently the legendary Bass Brothers adviser, Richard Rainwater—Houston's predicament represented an enormous opportunity. "The whole real estate infrastructure here was dead," Mr. Segal recalls from his Boxer Properties office on downtown Houston's seedy Main Street. "These buildings had lost 90% of their value overnight in the oil bust. It was a totally open field."

With owners desperate to unload their properties at a fraction of cost, Mr. Segal was able to lower rents and entice new ten-

ants. As Houston's office market improved, buildings he had purchased at \$4.75 a square foot now fetch \$8 to \$9. Last year alone Mr. Segal leased some 600,000 square feet and added 400 new tenants. And after decades of scraping the bottom, Houston's rents are increasing faster now than those in any of the largest U.S. cities, helping Mr. Segal propel his overall revenues above \$17 million. "What I did is turn my focus on smaller companies and start-ups because that's where the growth is," he says.

Although Mayor Bob Lanier deserves credit for boosting this resurgence, Mr. Segal and others on the scene also point to the local culture's well developed tolerance for the vagaries of entrepreneurial activity.

Start-Up Power

Business created per 100 population in 1996 for 10 largest metro areas.

Houston	1.61
Dallas	1.50
Los Angeles-Long Beach	0.85
Detroit	0.76
Atlanta	0.69
Boston	0.64
New York	0.60
Washington, D.C.	0.55
Chicago	0.40
Philadelphia	0.39

Source: County Data Corp.

ties. In old business hubs such as his hometown of New York, Mr. Segal says, people are too concerned with their place in the hierarchy, craving status more than aggressively seeking risks. In Houston, he's met older entrepreneurs willing to speak openly about making and losing fortunes, which makes failure a less daunting prospect. "No one's ashamed to be out there trying to make it," he says.

But if these cowboy entrepreneurs might seem gruff to Ivy League M.B.A.s, young entrepreneurs have found many of them highly supportive of the upstarts rapidly transforming the city. The Greater Houston Partnership, a local nonprofit, even has programs for experienced executives to assist the new generation. Charlie Wilson, the 27-year-old founder of SeaRail International, a local salvage company, credits advice from older Houston entrepreneurs for helping maintain his focus in building his company. "Being an entrepreneur is essentially lonely but here you can be part of a community too," Mr. Wilson explains. "These guys put me on the spot all the time, challenging how I do my business. You build a real camaraderie with them. In some ways, Houston's still a small town where everyone knows everyone and people like to see other people succeed. It's part of the magic of the place."

The East Coast media have missed this "magic," but the word is spreading around the country and the world. Since 1990 Houston has been the only major city in the U.S. to receive both large-scale migration from abroad and from within the U.S. Its Asian business community, in particular, has played an enormous role in reviving Houston's downtown, creating scores of businesses including restaurants, retail outlets, real estate developments and financial services. Asians, along with a largely Latino work force, have revived industries like food processing, helping key an expansion of local manufacturing employment, now growing at better than 3% annually.

The immigrant role became most critical when the Houston economy tanked in the 1980s. Domestic migration to the city went into a temporary reverse, with a net loss of over 140,000 between 1985 and 1990. But the immigrants kept coming from abroad, nearly 200,000 over the past decade. Since 1980 Houston's Latino population grew by between 17% and 27% while its share of Asians grew from barely 2% to more than 4%. By 2000 Latinos, Asians and African-Americans will constitute more than two-thirds of Houston's population.

During the hard times and demographic shifts, Asian entrepreneurs like Don Wang saw enormous opportunities. In 1987 Mr. Wang founded Metrobank, which now has assets of over \$300 million and is Houston's ninth-largest bank. Today Mr. Wang and his largely Asian, Hispanic and African-immigrant clientele are welcomed into the inner circles of Houston's business leadership, many of whom regard them as being among the saviors of Houston's economy. "In the 1980s everyone was giving up on Houston, but we stayed. It was cheap to start a business here and easy to find good labor," Mr. Wang says. "We consider this is the best place to do business in the country, even if no one on the outside knows it."

Maybe it's time the media mavens and policy wonks start paying attention. Certainly cities from New York to Los Angeles ought to examine the Houston comeback, which has combined immigration, a respect for entrepreneurship and low costs into a model recipe for restoring the faded hopes of urban America.

Mr. Kotkin is a fellow at the Pepperdine Institute for Public Policy and a senior fellow with the Pacific Research Institute.

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8-17-91

Marriage With No Easy Outs

By Amitai Etzioni

Your local ice cream parlor, after selling only ice cream for years, suddenly starts offering frozen yogurt as well. Is this an imposition on customers, who are now "required" to make a choice? Are they being "coerced to think"?

This is the way some critics have characterized a new Louisiana law that, as of Friday, will allow couples to choose between the standard "no-fault" marriage and a "covenant" marriage.

Couples choosing a covenant marriage pledge to enter matrimony only after serious deliberations. They agree to try to resolve potential marital conflicts through counseling if either spouse requests it and to seek divorce only by a mutually agreed upon two-year separation or under a limited set of circumstances, like adultery, abuse, imprisonment for a felony and abandonment. The law also allows married couples to renew their vows and to recast their commitment as a covenant marriage.

Basically, the new Louisiana law provides couples with a ready-made contract that, like all contracts, becomes enforceable by the state once it is entered into freely. In effect, Louisiana is providing a new form of prenuptial agreement, focused not on what happens to assets if the couple divorces, but on how to make divorce less likely.

The Louisiana Legislature, which is not widely known for social innovations, has come under criticism for this imaginative act. Some critics have said that the law imposes new constraints on marrying couples because they are forced to make a choice between the old no-fault and the new covenant marriage.

The feminist writer Katha Pollitt has characterized the law as "forcing" couples to make a choice. Margaret Carlson of Time magazine even suggested that the choice was "theoretical" because after Friday couples would no longer dare choose what she calls Marriage Lite over Marriage Plus. If only she would accept bets.

Most people would agree that allowing individuals to make choices is the exact opposite of coercion. Indeed, the Louisiana legislation provides a model of how a state can foster what it considers a virtue — in this case, stronger marriages — by giving people the opportunity to be virtuous, but not penalizing them if they choose not to.

If this approach were extended to other areas, more teachers would allow pupils to do extra schoolwork to improve a bad grade, rather than merely telling students they should do better next time. Anti-abortion forces might stop emphasizing a ban on abortion and instead offer even more pregnant women support services and help with adoption.

A state may favor some types of behavior over others, but it should promote these by giving people expanded options, rather than forcing them to behave in a preordained manner. And Louisiana couples who are in a rush to marry or for any other reason refuse to deliberate their joint future will not need to elope; they will still be able to marry the old-fashioned, no-fault way.

We are all better off if those who tie the knot are prepared for the commitment. Yes, divorce is sometimes called for. But most divorces are damaging, painful and costly for all involved. Moreover, studies show that about 20 percent of those who avail themselves of premarital counseling decide not to marry, thus perhaps sparing themselves from a bad marriage and a messy divorce.

Some critics of the Louisiana law have argued that slowing down divorce is poor public policy because children are better off when feuding couples break up; they are no longer subject to incessant conflict or hostile silence.

Yet at issue here are not physically or psychologically abusive marriages, because these can be dissolved without undue difficulty under the new law. But for two people who have simply grown apart or are otherwise discontent, a divorce will be delayed for at least two years rather than the standard six months. This time could give the couple a chance to work things out.

The issue is not whether our divorce laws should be tailored for the small percentage of marriages that are seriously abusive, but whether the legal system now makes divorce too easy or too difficult. Are there millions of couples for whom a delayed divorce would cause serious and irreparable harm? Or are millions of couples calling it quits too easily?

To put it differently, should only "disposable" marriages be available to couples — or should there also be an option that encourages them to work harder at sustaining their marriages?

Far from joining with those who would abolish no-fault divorce and replace it with vows that severely restrict divorce, Louisiana has left the choice completely to the couples. Do they prefer to start with the promise of an easy exit, or are they willing to slow down before they quit?

The fact that some critics object to this modest, moderate step speaks to what is wrong in our divorce-prone culture.

Amitai Etzioni, the founder and director of the Communitarian Network, is the author of "The New Golden Rule: Community and Morality in a Free Society."

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1997

Liberties T V O

MAUREEN DOWD

Letter From the Hunk

George Magazine
October 1997
Editor's Letter

TOO SEXY FOR MY VIEWS

I've learned a lot about posing nude recently. But that doesn't make me desire to do it any less. If anything, to be reminded of the possible perils of succumbing to what's stupid only makes it more alluring.

I know my last editor's letter, swiping at my loser cousins and showing off my incredibly defined torso, made waves. It was my first venture into serious commentary. And now everyone is gathering, like urchins at a hanging, to wonder: If I'm all cage, no bird.

I don't get it. I mean, no one has seen a piece of cotton anywhere near my pecs in 17 years, and now they start griping about bad taste? I have simply refined the role of glossy magazines. Why put out a magazine to show other people's skin when you can put out one to show your own? Ask not what others' skin can do for you...

Everyone missed the artistic rationale for my nude scene. The issue featured Fascinating Women in Politics. We had women like Ann Coulter, another one of those leggy right-wing blondes who become instant pundits because they are leggy right-wing blondes. She said some really thought-provoking stuff, about feminism being nothing more than anger at men "when they don't call the next day," and about how it was "really male inventions — vacuum cleaners, washing machines — that have freed women up" to work outside the home. Wow! And we had Ellen DeGeneres's lover, Anne Heche, who doesn't have anything to do with politics but was kind enough to pose in a see-through black teddy with her hand way below her heart.

We put Kate Moss naked on the cover as Eve with a snake. And then I posed naked as Adam with an apple dangling above my head, in really cool Caravaggio lighting with baby spots on my biceps. Adam and Eve? Archetypal image? I can't believe I have to connect these dots. It's chiaroscuro, pantloads.

Is there any other magazine editor in America who would dare do what I just did? I put my muscles where my money is.

My cousins are furious that I called them poster boys for bad behavior. They think I'm such a narcissist that I can't stand it when anyone else gets attention. They say my par-

ents hogged all the attention and now I'm doing the same thing. They even accused me of telling my wife to keep her eyes cast down in front of the cameras and to wear Prada slimmers so she doesn't get more glamour shots than me. That is so silly. I have a whole magazine that exists for no other reason than to publicize me.

They think I broke the Kennedy code of omertà. Joe dismissed me as

Nude with 'tude.

My cousin Michael dated his baby sister as "a hedge against mortality." O.K., maybe reaching for immortality was too flowery a way to describe statutory rape — though he will be remembered for a long time. But I resent everyone saying I should have addressed the issue of family scandals in a deeper way. Don't they understand that deep is out?

Carolyn got mad about my musings on temptation. She wanted to know what I meant when I said I was playing Hamlet with my will power, when I asked should I or shouldn't I?

Look, I am John-John, prince regent of a nation that worships celebrity, and a lot of temptations come my way. I've been tempted to go to George's editorial meetings and put some content into this magazine, but I've resisted. That would cut into the time I need for my three workouts a day. I've been tempted to read a book or newspaper and see what the big fuss is about policy, but I've resisted. That would cut into my evening activities. I've been tempted to do something more meaningful with my magic aura than persuading Barbra Streisand to truss herself up like Betsy Ross and Drew Barrymore to pose as Marilyn Monroe singing "Happy Birthday" to my dad.

I've heard about substance abuse, and I'm staying away from substance. To whom much is given, much is expected, right? Cheers. John Kennedy

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Bill Goodling

More Testing Is No Solution

If testing is the answer to our education problems, it would have solved them a long time ago. American students are tested, tested, tested, and the Clinton administration is proposing to test our children again.

Contrary to The Post's Aug. 7 editorial, "Get On With Student Testing," regarding President Clinton's national test initiative, the proposal is not "bogged down in politics and process." The proposal is bogged down because Americans don't want and don't need a new national reading test for fourth-graders and a new national mathematics test for eighth-graders.

Though the president and Secretary of Education Richard Riley are convinced that more testing is the way to boost the academic achievement of American students, I disagree—and so do many of the nation's governors, educators, legislators, and members of Congress (both Republican and Democratic). To date, only six governors

have indicated interest in the president's proposal.

The Post is correct in saying that I intend to block funding for the initiative, but my effort is not political. It's common sense. As a former teacher,

Taking Exception

principal and school superintendent, I know the value and purpose of testing. I also know that we don't need new national tests. The president's proposal comes at a time when we already have plenty of testing. Nearly all the states and many local school districts have their own testing programs. We already have two federally funded tests. The first and oldest is NAEP (the National Assessment of Educational Progress), which is a sampling of students in various subjects. The second test is provided under TIMSS (the Third-International Mathematics and

Science Study). All of this testing occurs above and beyond the classroom tests that teachers create.

As a result of all this testing, we know that nearly half our students are not performing as well as they should be. We should help these students—not test them again. The Post editorial maintains that new national tests are needed in order to "identify a child's academic weaknesses and plan improvements." This is already accomplished through the panoply of tests already in use. Moreover, test developers and publishers maintain they are creating uniform tests that are comparable state to state and school to school. I have other concerns with the administration's proposal:

■ The administration is sending mixed signals. Since 1993 President Clinton and Secretary Riley have actively pushed their Goals 2000 program, which encourages, and provides funds for, states to create their own standards and tests. In essence, the administra-

tion has backed decentralized reform. Now, with this new test proposal, it appears to be backing centralized reform. Why the switch?

■ The development of national tests is too controversial for the administration to act without congressional review or authorization. The administration has no bill, nor has it indicated any intention of seeking legislation for this initiative. For instance, federal legislation allows for NAEP. But the U.S. Department of Education has quickly planned these new tests without wide public input. In addition, valid tests take years to construct. The fast-track nature of this initiative alarms many educators and policymakers.

■ New national tests could lead to inappropriate and unfair comparisons of schools and students. For instance, we already know that suburban students in Upper St. Claire, Pa., will, in all likelihood, outperform students from center city Pittsburgh. Why? Students from Upper St. Claire have more edu-

cational advantages. No reason exists to develop another test to show us the deficiencies of disadvantaged students.

■ Tests don't generate higher academic performance. The administration and the U.S. Department of Education have talked as if a new national test will create better students. It won't. Standardized tests assess performance; they don't generate it. And with any testing proposal we should be wary of the tendency of teachers to teach to the test.

■ New national tests could lead to a national curriculum. In developing new assessments, the tendency is to create a new curriculum to match those assessments. But like new national tests, a national curriculum is something Americans don't want and don't need. Local control is a hallmark of American education. Given what happened with the federally funded U.S. history standards project (a dismal initiative that generated political correctness rather than history), we

don't need to engage in any effort that could lead to a national curriculum. Unlike the NAEP tests, which are governed by an independent board, these new tests will come from the U.S. Department of Education. That puts the department in an extremely powerful position in our local schools.

Instead of developing new national tests, I would rather send dollars to the classroom, bolster basic academics and increase parental involvement. I want to direct federal resources to family literacy and preschool readiness. I also want to take steps to improve teacher preparation and the teaching and learning conditions in our schools. Those should be our priorities—not more testing.

The writer, a Republican representative from Pennsylvania, is chairman of the House Committee on Education and the Workforce.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1997

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We need a strong
negotiator to bring
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THE PRESIDENT WAS SEEN

8-17-97

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U.S. Plans to Sell Uranium-Enrichment Operations

By JOHN J. FIALKA
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—The U.S. government is preparing to sell one of the most complex, expensive and secretive businesses spawned by the Cold War: the nation's two uranium-enrichment facilities — one near Paducah, Ky., the other near Portsmouth, Ohio.

They are part of U.S. Enrichment Corp., a federal corporation located in Bethesda, Md., that Congress and the Clinton administration have decided to put on the block. USEC is the world's leading producer of nuclear power-plant fuel, supplying 80% of U.S. needs and a third of the world's market. The transaction is likely to be the largest and most complicated sale of a federally run business ever, eclipsing the \$1.6 billion sale of Conrail in 1987.

"There is no instruction manual for this one," explains one official at the Treasury Department, which is preparing the sale. The deal will require an enormous balancing act between many interests. Unions and local politicians fear that some of USEC's 5,000 well-paying jobs are at stake at plants built in the early 1950s to feed the U.S. nuclear-weapons program.

Russian Weapon-Conversion Deal

Now the plants' job is more humdrum—making nuclear power-plant fuel — but USEC still carries a hangover from the old days. Whoever buys USEC takes over its job managing an \$8 billion deal with the Russians to convert their nuclear warheads into U.S. nuclear-plant fuel. The huge U.S. plants could produce the fuel more cheaply from material here, but the Bush and Clinton administrations wanted to use up some of Russia's huge stockpile of atomic bomb material.

(Uranium becomes "enriched" through a process of collecting and concentrating the element's more volatile chemical isotopes after the uranium is turned into a gas and pumped through porous membranes. The level of enrichment in power-plant fuel is 5%. In nuclear weapons it is over 93%.)

Along with the Russian deal, prospective buyers also worry about inheriting environmental problems. The miles of pipes, valves and gaskets in USEC's plants leak an enormous amount of freon gas, a type of gas that scientists say is eating a hole in the protective ozone layer in the earth's upper atmosphere.

"We've been talking to the appropriate agencies over the course of the last 18 months trying to define some of these risks," says James Graham, a senior vice president of General Atomics, which has formed a consortium with Lockheed Martin Corp. and AlliedSignal Inc. to consider buying USEC.

Then there is the matter of haste. The



William Timbers Jr.,
USEC president

THE SALE OF U.S. ENRICHMENT

Corp. is likely to be the largest and most complicated sale of a federally run business ever, eclipsing the \$1.6 billion sale of Conrail in 1987.

Clinton administration has earmarked an anticipated \$1.6 billion from the sale for next year's budget. The Treasury Department must soon figure out whether it can get a better deal from prospective bidders or whether to sell USEC through a new stock offering on Wall Street.

Mixed Signals

But the nuclear industry is definitely sending up mixed signals about purchasing USEC. A spokesman for General Electric Co. says it "has absolutely no interest in that at all." Meanwhile, another nuclear industry veteran, Westinghouse Electric Corp., says "we are following it closely."

To lend a dash of international intrigue, one of the most avid potential buyers is Pleiades Group Ltd., a New York company with close ties to Viktor Mikhailov, the powerful head of Russia's Ministry of Atomic Energy. Pleiades has assembled a board that includes former Bush and Reagan administration figures and says it has secured a \$1.2 billion loan from France's Banque Paribas for the sale.

Pleiades is also supported by the Oil, Chemical & Atomic Workers union, which represents workers at both plants. But the company is opposed by U.S. officials, who say its involvement could violate at least three laws that prohibit the sale of U.S. nuclear facilities to a company that is influenced by a foreign entity. However, Naseer Hashim, general counsel of Pleiades, says: "We have no such control or influence."

Net of \$304 Million

Whoever winds up buying USEC will get some of the nation's highest, most sensitive technology. It is called the Atomic Vapor Laser Isotope Separation process, potentially a much cheaper way of making enriched uranium that is in the prototype stage. USEC plans to spend \$1 billion developing it.

Finally, USEC has cash. It had net income of \$304 million last year on revenue of \$1.4 billion. Analysts believe that

profits will continue at that level for at least the next five years because USEC has lucrative nuclear-fuel supply contracts with Japanese electric utilities and contracts for rock-bottom electricity prices with U.S. utilities.

Jeff Holzschuh, managing director for Morgan Stanley Dean Witter Discover & Co., an energy group, who has been named the transaction manager for the sale by the Treasury Department, is bullish. "This is a company that has very good cash flow, the ability to pay a good dividend and has the capacity for some growth," he says. If Treasury opts for a stock offering, he predicts it would be "well received" by Wall Street.

William Timbers Jr., the president of USEC and a former investment banker, has been grooming it for the possibility of a sale since 1993. He noted in a recent speech that there are "environmental, security and competitive reasons" why nuclear power will be needed in the 21st century. (One upside of the stock market approach for Mr. Timbers and other USEC managers is that they would be more likely to keep their current jobs than if USEC were sold to an existing company.)

Daniel Einbund, vice president of New York Nuclear Corp., a nuclear-fuel brokerage firm, says USEC stock could be more risky than portrayed by Mr. Holzschuh or Mr. Timbers because its price will depend, in part, on future moves by Russia and Japan. "I'm not sure that too many people are all that interested," he adds, noting that uranium prices have been flat.

The uranium-enrichment plants were placed in rural Appalachia in the 1950s because their sites promised cheap power supplies and sources of skilled labor. This presents another political aspect of the deal. Local lawmakers worry that a private owner dealing with a huge influx of Russian uranium might opt to close down one of the plants to save money.

"There are some real negative possibilities if this isn't watched very closely," says Ted Strickland, an Ohio Democrat whose district includes the Portsmouth plant. The facility provides the main source of well-paying jobs for four communities along the Ohio River, he notes. (Workers are paid up to about \$22,000 and managers about \$40,000.) "I just think we need to be very cautious and proceed with our eyes wide open."

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GURU GOBIND SINGH FOUNDATION

Mailing Address: P.O. Box 933, Rockville, Maryland 20851
13814 Travilah Road, North Potomac, Maryland 20850

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14 August, 1997

William Jefferson Clinton,
President, United States of America
The White House,
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the Sikh community in the United States we wish to open a dialogue with your administration to address, in a progressive and iterative fashion, issues of common importance to all of us.

Sikhs have contributed to American society since the beginning of this century and now number about 500,000 in this country (20 million worldwide). Although we are one of the most visible minorities in this country, our outlook is not insular - but rather expansive and ecumenical. Our fervent desire is to participate in and contribute to all facets of American life and, when called upon, to sacrifice for our country. We do not ask for special dispensation, but the right to practice our religion unencumbered by ignorance, discrimination, and malice.

We have faced and overcome many important hurdles along the way--we have been denied citizenship, prevented from owning land, and not allowed to unite our families. We have made much progress. Nonetheless, important challenges remain to be met in the interest of promoting a fair and equitable society:

- Sikhs continue to suffer from workplace discrimination by failure of local and regulatory agencies to recognize the inalienable external tenets of our religion.
- Sikh students similarly suffer from discriminatory policies related to the tenets of our religion. Many instances are resolved by dialogue and education but a disturbing number end up needlessly in litigation.
- For reasons that are unclear to us, Sikhs are excluded from serving in federal law enforcement agencies because of our turbans and beards.
- Sikhs continue to be excluded from serving in the federal armed forces (even in non-combat roles) despite our unparalleled record of service and sacrifice in the cause of freedom. Up to the 1980s Sikhs had served in active duty roles in the US Armed Forces. While we recognize concerns about protection against chemical and biologic weapons, recent advances in technology address these issues.

Demolishing the barriers that prevent Sikhs from fully participating in American democracy and public life will undoubtedly benefit both the Sikh community and the general American polity. As the one hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the first Sikh in the United States approaches, we look forward to the achievement of this significant goal.

Mr. President, I on behalf of Guru Gobind Singh Foundation, National Sikh Center, and Sikh Media Action & Resource Task Force (SMART) invite dialogue with you or your designated representatives to explore possible solutions to these issues.

Respectfully,

Rajwant Singh
Executive Director
Guru Gobind Singh Foundation

SC/HRC

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ARTICLES

Racial Attitudes and the "New South"

James H. Kuklinski and Michael D. Cobb
University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Martin Gilens
Yale University

An abundance of survey research conducted over the past two decades has portrayed a "new South" in which the region's white residents now resemble the remainder of the country in their racial attitudes. No longer is the South the bastion of racial prejudice. Using a new and relatively unobtrusive measure of racial attitudes designed to overcome possible social desirability effects, our study finds racial prejudice to be still high in the South and markedly higher in the South than the non-South. Preliminary evidence also indicates that this prejudice is concentrated among white southern men. Comparison of these results with responses to traditional survey questions suggests that social desirability contaminates the latter. This finding helps to explain why the "new South" thesis has gained currency.

If two factors have historically differentiated the South from the rest of the country, they are the scope and the tenacity of racial beliefs and attitudes. Born into a culture characterized by rigidity and extreme traditionalism, southerners for more than one hundred years opposed any form of integration. As U. B. Phillips bluntly put it in 1928, the "cardinal test of a southerner" is the conviction that the South "shall be and remain a white man's country" (quoted in Black and Black 1987, 196).

By many popular and academic accounts, a "new South" emerged during the late 1970s and 1980s. Unlike the South of old, this transformed region of the nation holds no distinction as the bastion of racism in American life. Quite the contrary: Because racial bigotry has declined dramatically among the people whose very culture and tradition were founded on a belief in the inferiority of black people, antiblack prejudice among southern whites now closely mirrors that found among nonsoutherners. Others question this widely accepted conclusion, however, pointing to the white South's transformation from a Democratic to a

The Institute of Government and Public Affairs at the University of Illinois provided various forms of support for this project. We thank Robert Rich, the director, for his generosity. This study was supported by the National Science Foundation (SES-8508937).

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A similar story emerges with respect to the effects of education (Table 4). Those who have attended college express less racial intolerance than those who have not, but still much more than nonsouthern whites. Although the small number of cases precludes a multivariate analysis, it would appear that racial prejudice is lower among well-educated young people than among others living in the South.

Finally, Table 4 reports the difference in racial attitudes between men and women. Of the three characteristics we have considered here, gender far outdistances the other two as a predictor of racial animosity. More than 70% of the southern white males in our sample become angry at the thought of a black family moving in next door, while only an estimated 4% of the southern white females do. This is an astounding difference, about which we must be skeptical. We find no evidence, however, that the women falling into the sample of southern respondents are either better educated or younger, on the whole, than the men. Nor do the men appear to overrepresent conservatives, Republicans, the less educated, and the like. Even supposing that the gender gap is exaggerated in these data, one conclusion seems beyond dispute: given the chance to say what they really feel about a black family moving in next door, southern white men reveal a dramatically different attitude from that of their female counterparts.

In the context of this finding, it is timely to reiterate exactly what the list experiment measures: not some considered, rational calculation about a black family moving in, but a strong, visceral reaction to the very thought. If our estimates even approach accuracy, then racial animosity continues to pervade the culture of the southern group that retains a hegemonic hold on most of the region's institutions. In analyses not reported here, we found nothing in our data—greater fear of blacks, more widespread adherence to traditional values, and so forth—that begins to explain why.

A HIDDEN SOUTH?

Why have more investigators not identified the widespread antiblack sentiment among southerners that our unobtrusive measure has uncovered? We have offered one hypothesis: the kinds of questions commonly asked in surveys—"Do you favor or oppose a black family's moving in next door?" "Do you favor or oppose interracial dating?"—require respondents to answer the interviewer directly. Wanting to avoid any appearance of prejudice, they underreport their true level of racial animosity.

The Race and Politics Survey includes a wide array of obtrusive measures of racial attitudes to test this hypothesis, so many that we cannot report the responses to all of them here.¹⁴ We have selected three items for consideration.

¹⁴The patterns across the whole array of survey items are remarkably consistent. Some items differentiate the regions better than others, but we found nothing, overall, to change our conclusion.

Racial Attitudes and the "New

The first takes the traditional respondents receive and that a deals with integration and the prejudice. The other two items selected respondents receive on In both experiments, the target difference is made, distinguishes on experimental question is to compare that each version, just like the the interviewer directly and experimental survey question v

The first item asks respondents houses in white suburbs. Like integration. Whereas the former blacks in general. All else being into the suburbs, should evoke a black family's moving in next person than blacks' moving immediate, the other distant and in predominantly white suburbs

A large majority of white respondents voice approval over blacks owning the *Somewhat Favor* and *Strongly Oppose*. 89% of nonsoutherners support Recall, in contrast, our earlier experiment express anger at the idea of a implausible that 80% of southern same time 42% express anger a neighborhood. In this case, either the traditional measure or the un we cannot fully rule out the latter

Since the traditional item measures we can also ascertain whether the houses in the suburbs matches the family item. Among southern respondents *Strongly Oppose*, respectively, black valent figures among nonsoutherners opposing is roughly equivalent to again identifies more widespread much greater prejudice in the South

¹⁵This said, it should not go unnoticed directly.

8-17-97

Return - good piece for

Money Gains Access. So What?

By Nelson W. Polsby

THE issue of access to politicians — who should have it and how much they should have — has gotten mixed up in the debate about political money. Access is what contributions are supposed to buy for individuals who wish to influence politicians. This is giving access a bad name, even though the term refers only to a claim on the attention of politicians, not to the delivery of any particular outcome.

Yet access is essential to the operations of any democratic political system. Suppose nobody had access to political decision-makers. Could political leaders then make decisions based on the merits as they saw them? The problem is that on a wide range of issues it is impossible to speak of merits without knowing who out in the political system wants what and how badly, and how many they are.

A political system that permits direct communication between leaders and followers is probably a good and necessary thing. It is informative for legislators. Moreover, in the American case, the right to "petition for the redress of grievances" is written into the Constitution, so most plans to reduce or curb access to officials would almost certainly be unconstitutional.

How, then, do we assure ourselves that the right people are gaining access to political leaders? There can be no foolproof assurances. Politicians themselves generally regulate their exposure to outside influences. For example, they tend to give more attention to communications from their constituencies — where people can vote for (or against) them.

Only detailed knowledge of the transactions between leaders and followers can help us sort out whether any given communication or pattern of communication is one of three things: bribery, where a politician takes money and delivers some result he would not otherwise deliver; extortion, where a politician shakes

down followers by offering them his or her attention at a price; or the making of an alliance, where like-minded leaders and followers band together to achieve outcomes they both favor.

While bribery and extortion are illegal, making alliances is not. The fact that it is difficult from a distance to tell them apart leads to suspicions and to charges about the "appearance of impropriety."

But actual illegal behavior is seldom alleged or discovered. This is in part because it is hard to prove but perhaps also because it does not often occur.

We might imagine that some American politicians grant access exclusively to citizens who give money to their campaigns. But surely not many American politicians do this. There are many other reasons

Politicians meet with people for a lot of reasons.

for alliances between politicians and ordinary people. It is hard to believe American politicians would not and do not understand these reasons. Of course we know they do. They give access to citizens who have influence in the communities they represent, to the employers and the union leaders of large numbers of their constituents, to old friends and neighbors, to professional and occupational and fraternal colleagues. No money need change hands for access to be granted.

Perhaps, then, we can safely abolish or outlaw the flow of money to leaders from those who seek to influence them. Even if we were to do so, politicians would still ration access,

since there are only 24 hours in their day. And we must still assume that those members of society who are in various ways resourceful — rich, educated, well-connected — would continue to do better at obtaining access.

It is dangerous, however, to restrict the supply of something that is increasingly demanded, including money. Politicians need money because they must advertise themselves in order to be elected and re-elected. Nearly everywhere in the United States political parties are too weak to supply the money that candidates need — and they may be immobilized from doing so during primary elections, when members of the same party are competing with one another for the votes of sizable electorates. So candidates must take the initiative and raise the money themselves.

The Supreme Court says they may spend their own money on their own campaigns as a way of giving expression to their views of public policy. Restricting all other money, including money that comes from political action committees and political parties — merely gives advantages to the rich and famous, advantages they scarcely need.

So, oddly enough, restricting money in the political system appears to be a good way to assure that more political leaders will be recruited from among the rich. And rich politicians may feel most comfortable giving access primarily to other rich people.

It makes sense to worry if money is the only basis on which politicians grant access. But if there are other reasons why politicians do so, then the connection between money and access shrinks accordingly. □

Note to Readers

The Op-Ed page welcomes unsolicited manuscripts. Because of the volume of submissions, however, we regret that we cannot acknowledge an article or return it. If manuscripts are accepted for publication, authors will be notified within two weeks. For further information, call (212) 556-1831.

Correction

An Op-Ed article yesterday on the recently enacted balanced-budget legislation misstated a Congressional estimate two years ago of Federal Government spending between 1998 and 2002. Congress projected spending of nearly \$8.7 trillion during that period.

Nelson W. Polsby is director of the Institute of Governmental Studies at the University of California at Berkeley and co-author of "New Federalist Papers."

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 13, 1997

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More Informers Buy a Break On U.S. Sentence Guidelines

Potential for Abuse Worries Many in Justice System

By Roberto Suro
Washington Post Staff Writer

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INFORMER, From A1

Like other federal inmates facing a long prison stretch, Danny Hostetter knew the only way out was to turn informer and give prosecutors something so valuable that they would cut him a break.

Hostetter, convicted on federal narcotics charges in Florida, worked hard to be a good snitch, but he didn't know much. He told investigators about several of his fellow drug dealers. He even offered to let federal agents use his mother's house for undercover operations. But prosecutors rejected every offer because they didn't think his information was good enough to buy him any time off.

Then, according to a recent federal indictment, two successful informers allegedly offered to sell Hostetter information about an impending drug shipment. Hostetter could trade the information to prosecutors, the two informers proposed, according to the indictment, then ask for a reduction in his prison sentence after the shipment was seized and the smugglers were busted.

The informers—a convicted drug runner and a retired police officer—allegedly bragged about other customers who had traded their information for time off. For \$40,000, they promised, they would give Hostetter the goods on a meaty case, one big enough to win him "good credit" with prosecutors.

Trading information for freedom has become a booming business in the federal criminal justice system. In 1989, when new sentencing guidelines went into effect, less than 4 percent of defendants who received

See INFORMER, A12, Col. 3

mandatory prison terms were awarded reductions in exchange for assistance to prosecutors. Today, more than 20 percent of all convicted inmates facing mandatory sentences get some kind of break by cooperating with prosecutors. Among convicted drug traffickers, who now make up a majority of the federal prison population, the number of inmates who cut deals with prosecutors climbs to about 40 percent.

The rise in the number of sentence reductions for informers has left some defense lawyers, prosecutors and judges worried that the federal criminal justice system is increasingly susceptible to abuse by desperate inmates and overzealous law enforcement officials.

"I have come to believe that the greatest single threat to the truth-seeking mission of the criminal justice system is inexperienced or unprofessional use of criminals as sources of information," said Judge Stephen S. Trott of the 9th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, who writes and lectures on the ethical and legal dilemmas of using informers.

Jail-house snitches are nothing new, of course, but recent changes in the federal justice system have greatly increased the impetus for criminal defendants facing long prison terms to seek cooperative relationships with prosecutors. The temptation for inmates to purchase or fabricate information also has increased, some criminal justice experts say.

There are several reasons for this. In 1984, Congress abolished parole for federal crimes and established a strict regime of long mandatory sentences just as the size of the federal prison population was quadrupling, the result of big increases in narcotics convictions. More recently, Congress has taken steps to reduce inmates' access to free legal advice and restrict their avenues of appeal, allowing fewer defendants to seek new trials or shorter sentences.

"We now have a system with a growing number of inmates facing mandatory sentences with no safety valve except the option to cooperate with the government," said Samuel J. Buffone, a Washington attorney who has served as an adviser to the U.S. Sentencing Commission.

This was precisely the situation in which Danny Hostetter found himself. In 1993, he had been sentenced to 16 years after pleading guilty to drug trafficking charges involving nearly 50 pounds of cocaine. He also pleaded guilty to two charges of obstruction of justice.

According to court documents, the obstruction charges stemmed from a Hostetter plan to arrange the murder of the informers who had turned him in and to manufacture evidence and bribe witnesses to show he had been beaten by police at the time of his arrest. Evidence of Hostetter's crimes came to police by way of an informer, a former partner of Hostetter's in the cocaine business who saw a chance for a reduced sentence.

Informers typically cut their deals with prosecutors when their cases are resolved, usually through a plea agreement. At that point, a prosecutor interested in converting a criminal defendant to an informer can ask a judge for a "downward departure" in his or her sentence. When Hostetter agreed to plead guilty, he failed to get that kind of deal, and by 1995 he was left with the more difficult task of convincing prosecutors that he

had learned something useful after he had been incarcerated, something that merited a sentence reduction.

According to the federal indictment filed recently, one of Hostetter's attorneys, Howard Freidin of Fort Myers, Fla., told Hostetter that another of his clients might be able to help. Leonardo Velazquez had been caught running drugs, but he had been sentenced to only five years of probation because he had become an informer for a Drug Enforcement Administration task force operating out of Naples, Fla. Freidin allegedly advised Hostetter that for a fee, Velazquez would arrange a narcotics arrest and seizure and then falsely claim that Hostetter was the source of the information.

The plot gradually expanded, according to court documents. Velazquez was allegedly working with Michael Woods, a former sheriff's deputy who had been assigned to the DEA task force and had become a DEA informer after retiring. Another attorney, Paul D. Lazarus, also allegedly became involved with Freidin in brokering the arrangement.

According to court documents, Hostetter and his mother, Beth Sol-

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The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1997

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E. J. Dionne Jr.

Tolerating Our Differences

BOLTON LANDING, N.Y.—President Clinton's initiative on race is already running into the classic problem of American ventures in brotherhood and sisterhood: We can be nice or we can be honest, but we rarely manage both.

This is not a cynical statement. Nice means we try to get along, respect each other and not pick fights. Honest means we're upfront about our differences, not only between blacks and whites but also among blacks, whites, Asians and Latinos. Each group has a very complex relationship with the others—and, if we're being really honest, each is self highly diverse.

The largest problem facing Clinton's Commission on Race Relations deciding on its goal. If it is seeking universal understanding, it will almost certainly fail.

Sure, whites should understand it African Americans confront a legacy of slavery, segregation, discrimination and racism. This can be even the most successful African Americans feel separate from a society they see as hostile.

Moreover, nonwhites (and, for that matter, non-Protestants) should appreciate that for all their flaws, our Anglo Saxon founders created a regime and nurtured an idea that provided unparalleled freedom for outsiders and dissidents. Slavery and segregation could not survive in the climate they created. The American paradox is that we began with a Constitution that permitted slavery and a Declaration of Independence whose core idea subverted slavery.

But a presidential commission won't make us all think along certain lines. It needs to find practical goals—and practical ways of encouraging us to meet them. To that end, every member of the commission should read "On Toleration," a book by Michael Walzer, my favorite contemporary political philosopher, published this summer by Yale University Press.

"Toleration" sounds minimalist—you "tolerate" what you can't stand. That is its strength. Historically, it's extraordinary to achieve, as Walzer puts it, "the peaceful coexistence of groups of people with different histories, cultures and identities."

We forget what a big deal this is. Toleration, Walzer writes, "sustains life itself because persecution is often to the death." Toleration "also sustains common lives, the different communities in which we live."

Walzer then offers this brilliant aphorism: "Toleration makes difference possible; difference makes toleration necessary."

The genius of Walzer's little book—at 112 pages, it's shorter than the reports commission members will be required to read—is how realistic it is about the contradictions confronting those who would create an open society.

He is especially good at dissecting our strange time when individuals have very weak attachments to their communities. This only makes them long for stronger identities and shout louder in claiming how important those identities are. "American society is a collection of individuals with multiple, partial identities." How many of us are honest enough to admit that?

Walzer's book should not be oversimplified, so I'll deal with only two of the challenges he poses.

One is the core difficulty of affirmative action. On the one hand, it's obvious that America owes recompense for its past deeds against African Americans. Failing to open opportunities reinforces black feelings of isolation and encourages the very sort of black separatism that whites condemn. "Intolerance," Walzer notes, has "group-sustaining effects."

Yet affirmative action is not truly egalitarian. It aims only to "produce similar hierarchies" among groups "by supplying the missing upper, professional or middle class to the most subordinate groups." Affirmative action "causes real injustice to particular individuals" who are "usually members of the next-most-subordinate groups" and thus "breeds politically dangerous resentments."

Can the Clinton commission—and the president himself—grapple with the fact that affirmative action may be simultaneously just and unjust? Can it come up with alternatives?

Walzer is also wise on the dual—and contradictory—obligations of a free society: We seek the possibility of both "individual assimilation and group recognition."

We think, rightly, that people, whatever their race, ethnicity or religion, enjoy their rights as individuals. Yet we also acknowledge that individuals live in groups and that each group, especially minorities, has a right to "a voice, a place, and a politics of its own." How can we square these two goals?

Walzer's conclusion is that toleration is easier in societies where economic inequalities are not vast, where individuals have opportunities for advancement, where intermediate associations—family, ethnic, union, political—are strong. A fair conclusion is that to deal with race, we need to think beyond race. Without social justice, there will be no racial justice. Can the president's commission help us think that through?

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J. Winston
JR

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, AUGUST 12, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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Ambassador
communication
problem!

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lewis

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Subj: FW: REALLY FUNNY
Date: 97-06-27 10:21:19 EDT
From: bendik@hsc.usc.edu

IF PRESIDENT HAS BEEN

8-17-97

-- On Thu, 26 Jun 97 16:42:39 PDT bendik@hsc.usc.edu wrote:

THIS IS FUNNY STUFF

Recently reported in the Massachusetts Bar Association Lawyers Journal, the following are questions actually asked of witnesses by attorneys during trials and, in certain cases, the responses given by insightful witnesses.

1. "Now doctor, isn't it true that when a person dies in his sleep, he doesn't know about it until the next morning?"
2. "The youngest son, the twenty year old, how old is he?"
3. "Were you present when your picture was taken?"
4. "Were you alone or by yourself?"
5. "Was it you or your younger brother who was killed in the war?"
6. "Did he kill you?"
7. "How far apart were the vehicles at the time of the collision?"
8. "You were there until the time you left, is that true?"
9. "How many times have you committed suicide?"
- 10.Q: "So the date of conception (of the baby) was August 8th?"
A: "Yes."
Q: "And what were you doing at that time?"
- 11.Q: "She had three children, right?"
A: "Yes."
Q: "How many were boys?"
A: "None."
Q: "Were there any girls?"
- 12.Q: "You say the stairs went down to the basement?"
A: "Yes."
Q: "And these stairs, did they go up also?"
- 13.Q: "Mr. Slatery, you went on a rather e'laborate honeymoon, didn't you?"
A: "I went to Europe, Sir."
Q: "And you took your new wife?"
- 14.Q: "How was your first marriage terminated?"
A: "By death."

*Dear Mr. President,
I thought you'd
enjoy this. It's hard
not to laugh out loud
Abraham Lincoln*

(cont.)

Q: "And by who's death was it terminated?"

15. Q: "Can you describe the individual?"

A: "He was about medium height and had a beard."

Q: "Was this a male, or a female?"

16. Q: "Is your appearance here this morning pursuant to a deposition notice which I sent to your attorney?"

A: "No, this is how I dress when I go to work."

17. Q: "Doctor, how many autopsies have you performed on dead people?"

A: "All of my autopsies are performed on dead people."

18. Q: "All of your responses must be oral, OK? What school did you go to?"

A: "Oral."

19. Q: "Do you recall the time that you examined the body?"

A: "The autopsy started around 8:30 p.m. ."

Q: "And Mr Dennington was dead at the time?"

A: "No, he was sitting on the table wondering why I was doing an autopsy."

20. Q: "You were shot in the fracas?"

A: "no, I was shot midway between the fracas and the navel."

21. Q: "Are you qualified to give a urine sample?"

A: "I have been since early childhood."

-----End of Original Message-----

Name: Dr. Ken Bendik

E-mail: bendik@hsc.usc.edu (Ken Bendik, D.M.D.)

Date: 6/26/97

Time: 4:42:39 PM

-----End of Original Message-----

Name: Dr. Ken Bendik

E-mail: bendik@hsc.usc.edu (Ken Bendik, D.M.D.)

Date: 6/26/97

Time: 4:52:08 PM

----- Headers -----

ENTERPRISE

Hiring by Fast-Growing Small Firms Cuts Welfare Rolls

Many of the Jobs Are Attributed to Labor Shortages, Not Altruism

By JEFFREY A. TANNENBAUM
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

The current drive to move people from welfare to work is getting a big boost from fast-growing small companies, a survey showed.

But much of the hiring found by the Coopers & Lybrand survey appears to result more from labor shortages than from any company goal to hire welfare recipients, interviews with some of the employers involved indicated. For these companies, at least, the most effective advocate of welfare-to-work is turning out to be not President Clinton, but the economy.

In the Coopers & Lybrand survey, more than one-quarter of fast-growing companies queried said they have already hired some workers from the welfare rolls. And more than 60% of the companies said they were interested in helping move people off the dole and into jobs, the big New York accounting and consulting firm noted.

Idea Is 'Catching On'

"Helping welfare recipients' transition into America's work force is catching on among the country's fastest-growing companies," Coopers & Lybrand said. Its survey covered 444 rapidly growing companies with annual sales of between \$1 million and \$50 million; half of the respondents described their businesses as high-tech.

Some of the fast-growing companies said their constant need to hire people in a tight market is encouraging them to broaden their horizons. For instance, Cheap Escape Co., a Richmond, Ohio, publisher of direct-mail magazines named J.B. Dollar Stretcher, said it has hired three workers from the welfare rolls during the

past several years, including a receptionist.

"I don't care where people come from as long as they do a good job," said Robert J. Minchak Jr., president of Cheap Escape, which has 65 employees. He added, however, "I'm not making a special effort to hire people off the welfare rolls."

Business Temporary Services Inc., in Overland Park, Kan., said the labor market has become so tight that eight months ago, it began sending lists of available jobs to social-service agencies, trade schools and other organizations. "All are conduits, in one way or another, for people coming off welfare," said Kenneth R. Bayer, president of the employment agency.

Benefit Cuts Are Cited

Partly as a result, the agency has helped place at least 50 people from the welfare rolls into jobs, Mr. Bayer said. The agency's initiative doesn't account for all of the placements, the executive added. He said that growing numbers of welfare recipients, having seen cuts in their benefits or facing cuts shortly, have begun actively seeking employment. "Now they're seeing they can't live off the dole forever," Mr. Bayer said. "These are not dumb people."

Not every fast-growing company that has hired former welfare recipients has had a long-term productive experience. Major Motion Inc., an Indianapolis producer of leotards with 40 employees, said it hired three welfare recipients in sewing jobs in 1995. But none of the three is still with the company. Company Controller Schuyler Culver said Major Motion—while actively seeking workers in a tight market—is making no special effort to attract welfare recipients.

Even some companies that happen to have hired numerous people from the welfare rolls argue that it would make little sense to tailor recruitment efforts to attract such workers.

Key Personnel Inc., a Holland, Mich., employment agency, said it has two former welfare recipients on its own staff and has hired at least 30 others during the past 18 months to fill slots at clients' facilities.

But in seeking workers, "it would be silly to focus on welfare," said Sabrina Steketee, president of Key. At least in southwestern Michigan, welfare recipients are too small a group to justify targeted marketing, she said. Ms. Steketee described the labor shortage as "horrendous," requiring broad appeals to the general population.

Despite some employers' skepticism, President Clinton and the Small Business

Administration, among others, have been vigorously urging companies to hire former welfare recipients. During a trip to St. Louis Tuesday, the president met with welfare-to-work advocates and underscored his commitment to the issue.

At the same time, more than 300 companies in the St. Louis region, including many small ones, pledged to hire welfare recipients, said Eli J. Segal, president of the Welfare to Work Partnership, an industry-sponsored program formed in May to promote the idea.

At a Washington meeting with business leaders today, SBA officials are expected to discuss strategies for spurring small-business hiring from the welfare rolls. "I personally intend to make this a top priority in the months ahead," said Aida Alvarez, the SBA's top official.

SBA Set-Aside Will Aid Women-Owned Businesses

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — The Small Business Administration said it plans to make it easier for white women entrepreneurs to qualify for its principal set-aside program, which traditionally benefited mainly minority business owners.

"It's about time," said Terry Neese, president of the National Association of Women Business Owners and owner of an Oklahoma City temporary-employment agency.

Women have long sought to get more benefit from the SBA's "8(a)" program, which is meant to increase the number of federal procurement contracts given to those considered socially and economi-

cally disadvantaged. The SBA said the changes are expected to be made final within 90 days.

Although women-owned businesses are growing rapidly, they obtained only 1.7% of the \$197.5 billion in federal contracts available during the year ended Sept. 30, 1996. That was up from 1.3% in fiscal year 1992, but far short of what women business groups would like to see, Ms. Neese said.

About 6,000 firms participated in the 8(a) program last year, and nearly all were minority-owned. The SBA acts as the prime contractor in federal contracts involving the 8(a) program, and awards subcontracts to eligible firms.

August 15, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Craig Smith and Nick Baldick

RE: Rhode Island Political Briefing

Presidential Election Results

1992			1996		
Clinton/Gore	213,299	47%	Clinton/Gore	220,592	60%
Bush/Quayle	131,601	29%	Dole/Kemp	98,325	27%
Perot/Stockdale	105,045	23%	Perot/Choate	39,965	11%

1996 State Election Results

YOU carried Rhode Island in 1996 by a wide margin. U.S. Senator Claiborne Pell's retirement left an otherwise safe Democratic seat open. In a highly partisan and negative race, Rep. Jack Reed (D) defeated State Treasurer Nancy Mayer (R) 63%-35%.

In the race to fill Reed's seat, the action was predominantly in the Democratic primary. Joe Paolino (D), the U.S. Ambassador to Malta, was the favorite, but he lost to Lt. Governor Robert Weygand (D), who was heavily backed by the AFL-CIO. Weygand sailed to an easy victory in the general election.

Freshman Rep. Patrick Kennedy (D) scored an easy victory in the first CD, winning 70% of the vote. It should be noted that Rep. Kennedy has been very vocal in his support of Minority Leader Dick Gephardt's presidential aspirations. Democrats gained 1 seat in the State Senate and 2 seats in the State House, increasing their overwhelming majorities in both chambers.

1998 Gubernatorial Race

With no Senate contest in 1998, all eyes in Rhode Island will be on the gubernatorial race. Although Governor Lincoln Almond (R) now appears poised to run for reelection, his somewhat curious pre-election year behavior raised some eyebrows. Early this summer, Almond's campaign fund had less than \$1,000 on hand and \$40,000 of debt from the 1994 race. Almond has also kept a very light travel schedule. Rumors also began to surface that Almond--who is suffering from arthritis--was not prepared to wage a hard fought campaign. Hence, some speculated that he was trying to set up his Lt. Governor, Bernard Jackvony (R), as his heir apparent. Almond now appears to be gearing-up for the 1998 contest. In July, Almond met with Iowa Governor Terry Branstad (R) who chairs the Republican Governor's Association, and in late July Almond held his first fundraiser since taking office in January 1995. Almond's recent quote in the August 2nd edition of the *Providence Journal-Bulletin* may well have put to rest any doubts about his intentions of running: "When the time comes to politick, I'll politick. I can politick with the best of them."

On the Democratic side, former State Senator Myrth York (D) has assembled an exploratory

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committee and has begun raising money. York defeated incumbent Governor Bruce Sundlun (D) in the 1994 Democratic primary before narrowly losing the general election to Almond. Other potential Democratic candidates include State Senate Majority Leader Paul Kelly (D), Secretary of State James Langevin (D), U.S. Attorney Sheldon Whitehouse (D), and former Warwick Mayor and two-time gubernatorial candidate Frank Flaherty (D). York would be the likely favorite in the primary, especially if she faces more than one foe, but she could emerge severely wounded from a crowded field. York is susceptible to charges of being too liberal.

With modest approval ratings (50%) and a narrow victory in 1994 (47%), Almond is potentially vulnerable in 1998. Almond also may be damaged by his support for the highly unpopular proposal to buy out the Roger Williams Medical Center in Providence (see Hot Issues section). However, if Rhode Island's economy continues to thrive, Almond will be a slight favorite to win a hotly contested race.

HOT ISSUES

Columbia/HCA Takeover of Roger Williams Medical Center

The potential takeover of the Roger Williams Medical Center has dominated the headlines in Rhode Island over the past few months. Rhode Island's hospital system has a well established history of non-profit health care. However in February, Columbia/HCA, the nation's largest hospital chain, announced plans to buy the Roger Williams Medical Center, a non-profit hospital in Providence. It should be noted that Columbia/HCA is owned by the family of Tennessee Senator Bill Frist (R). At the same time, Tenet Healthcare Corporation introduced a proposal to purchase another non-profit medical facility in Rhode Island--Landmark Medical Center in Woonsocket. The possible incursion of both Columbia and Tenet into Rhode Island has sparked a heated debate over for-profit medical care and the state government's role in the health care industry.

The public hostility to the potential takeovers of both Roger Williams and Landmark prompted the legislature to try to block the plans. An initiative passed both chambers of the General Assembly which limited corporations to the purchase of only one non-profit hospital in the state every three years. Both Columbia and Tenet objected to the new law, claiming that it would unfairly limit their ability to provide efficient healthcare services. Governor Almond vetoed the measure, but the State House and State Senate both easily overrode Almond (the House voting 73-15 and the Senate voting 32-18). The override was a significant political blow to the Governor and the state's Republican leadership who sought to kill the bill. The legislation has severely encumbered the attempts by both Columbia and Tenet to buy non-profit facilities.

The possible buy out plans are further complicated by the much publicized legal troubles of Columbia. Since a March raid by federal officials on Columbia's El Paso, Texas facilities, the company has been in the spotlight for possible Medicare fraud. Thus far, three executives of the hospital chain have been indicted and more arrests are expected. Thomas J. Frist Jr., the new head of Columbia, has taken steps to try and restore the company's image. In his effort to overhaul the company, Frist has announced that Columbia will no longer fight to enter areas where community opposition exists. This could very well mean that the company plans to put the acquisition of Roger Williams on hold for the time being.

In light of the controversy surrounding Columbia, Attorney General Jeff Pine has publicly expressed concern over the sale of Roger Williams saying: "It is safe to say that I have concerns about where that [federal] investigation is going, and concerns about whether or not we should be inviting this particular entity into this state." Because the Attorney General's office has final authority on whether a deal can take place, Pine's comments do not bode well for a successful buy out. Rep. Patrick Kennedy (D-01) has publicly urged the Attorney General to kill the sale of Roger Williams to Columbia: "You have the legal power to object to this transaction in court. I urge you to take such action as quickly as possible on behalf of all the citizens of Rhode Island." There also has been talk recently of Columbia merging with Tenet. The possible union of the corporations would likely present an additional obstacle to their independent ventures to purchase hospitals in the state. Because of the new legislation, a merged healthcare company would likely not be able to buy both Roger Williams and Landmark. Despite this, Landmark officials have said that it was premature to worry about a merger.

Due to the many legal and legislative controversies surrounding the issue, it will be some time before the futures of Roger Williams or Landmark will be determined.

Healthcare Law Boosts State Health Director's Authority

In addition to limiting hospital purchases, the healthcare legislation bestowed a new arsenal of powers upon the director of the State Department of Health. Patricia Nolan, appointed director by Governor Almond two years ago, was given the authority to stop hospitals from closing clinics and emergency rooms. The law also gave Nolan broad powers to help protect the public's interests in hospital sales, mergers, and consolidations. In addition, Nolan was given further investigative authority to compel executives to turn over documents that relate to hospital takeovers.

Fidelity and Trade Unions Battle Over Wages

The country's largest mutual fund company, Fidelity Investments, is currently building a \$75 million regional facility in Smithfield. The project has been plagued by problems due to Fidelity's refusal to commit to hiring only union workers. Tension grew in April when Fidelity passed up bids from Rhode Island-based union contractors and awarded electrical contracts to two non-union Massachusetts firms. The move touched off a protest led by the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 99.

Under the state's prevailing wage law, construction workers on projects related to the state must be paid the equivalent of union wages. The unions, realizing that they would be more likely to win work on the Smithfield project if Fidelity were forced to comply with the prevailing wages law, sued Fidelity for violating the wage law. However, the Rhode Island Supreme Court ruled that although Fidelity had received economic assistance from the state, the Smithfield project was a private venture and therefore not subject to the state's wage law. Although labor lost this legal battle, union workers have thus far obtained nearly 85% of the work on the Fidelity site (nearly 85%).

Rhode Island School Budget

The Rhode Island General Assembly and Governor Almond teamed up earlier this month to pass a

landmark initiative aimed at improving the state's school system. In addition to providing each school district with the same level of state aid as last year, the bill contains an additional \$26.5 million for K-12 education. These increased dollars are earmarked for improvements in the state's most needy class rooms. Some of the projects receiving funding include: an Economic Disadvantaged Student Fund with money distributed based on the number of students eligible for a free or reduced lunch; a Technology Fund to invest in preparing students for the demands of the 21st century; an Early Childhood Fund to give all students a solid academic foundation; a Professional Development Fund to support ongoing teacher preparation; a Language Investment Fund; and an Instructional Equity Fund aimed at the state's core urban centers.

In addition to increased dollars for education, the initiative also includes a number of provisions geared towards raising academic standards and strengthening accountability in Rhode Island schools. The bill mandates that all school districts implement measures to help close the gap between student performance and raise standards for all students by November, 1998.

Rape Trials of Father Louis Ward Dunn

The rape trials of Monsignor Louis Ward Dunn, a 76 year old retired Roman Catholic priest, has gained significant media attention across Rhode Island this summer. Dunn stood trial in June for two separate charges of rape. In the first case, Luccille Suzanne Farr, a 50 year old woman from California, testified before a jury that Father Dunn had raped her 32 years ago, when she was a freshman at the University of Rhode Island. On June 18th, Superior Court Judge Stephen J. Fortunato, Jr. ruled in favor of a motion filed by Dunn's attorney, Bruce Vealey, contending that the state had failed to make its case against Father Dunn. By ruling in favor of Vealey's motion, Fortunato dismissed the first case before it went to the jury. A week later, Dunn stood trial for allegedly raping a woman in her Providence apartment 15 years ago when she was a 21 year old parishioner. On June 24th, after Vealey waived a jury trial for his client Fortunato found Dunn guilty, saying that he had used his authority as a priest to "prey upon" the victim.

On August 6th, in a move unprecedented in Rhode Island legal history, Judge Fortunato awarded the priest a new trial after ruling that he erred in originally convicting Dunn. Fortunato cited two issues he learned of after the trial as the basis for reversing his own decision. Fortunato claimed that Father Dunn was not adequately represented in his trial because Vealey had never tried a capital felony case before. Fortunato questioned Vealey's legal experience despite the fact that Vealey had successfully convinced Fortunato to dismiss the first case. Secondly, Fortunato contended that he was swayed by the flood of letters he received after the second trial which claimed that Father Dunn was too kind and gentle to commit rape. Fortunato stated that a more experienced lawyer would have used this "treasurer trove" of character witnesses to bolster Dunn's claim of innocence. In an emotionally charged public debate, the Rhode Island press generally has been critical of Judge Fortunato for his judicial U-turn. Fortunato has been attacked for bowing to public pressure against convicting a priest and for compromising Vealey's professional reputation in order to give Father Dunn another trial. Fortunato's self-reversal has also been called "fan mail justice." Rhode Island Attorney General Jeffery B. Pine said he will petition the Supreme Court to overrule Fortunato and restore Father Dunn's conviction.

Patriots to Providence?

In hopes of luring the NFL's New England Patriots to leave their present home in Foxboro, Massachusetts, Governor Almond is currently backing a proposal to build a new domed football stadium in Providence. The state and city have agreed on a site in downtown Providence, next to Route 95, but negotiations on financing the project are continuing. Almond has said he will present Patriot's owner Robert Kraft with a plan by Labor Day.

Narragansett Tribe Denounces Almond's Gambling Policy

On August 7th, the Rhode Island Narragansett Indians issued a written challenge to Governor Almond to stop what they call "political sabotage" against the tribe's economic goals. The Narragansett tribe cited the state's failure to recognize the tribe's sovereignty and its "double standard" on gambling, which has barred the Narragansett from building a bingo hall in Charlestown while allowing gaming to thrive at Newport Jai Alai and Lincoln Greyhound Park. Randy Noka, the tribe's councilman, wrote that the Narragansett have been closed out of the gambling industry because of "discriminatory neglect."

The Narragansett Indians are fighting a 1996 law that requires them to win state and local voter approval for proposed gambling operations. The law, penned by Senator John H. Chafee (R-RI), bolsters the federal 1978 Land Settlement Act under which the tribe agreed to follow state and local laws. Noka called both the 1978 act and Chafee's amendment roadblocks to the Narragansett's plans for a bingo hall, health center, and housing projects for the tribe's elderly and low-income members. A spokesman for Governor Almond called the Narragansett's challenge "somewhat disingenuous" because it ignores Almond's invitation last fall to discuss "economic opportunities" with the tribe.

Oil-spill Case Moved to Rhode Island Court

On January 19, 1996, the tugboat Scandia--which was towing the oil-laden barge North Cape--caught fire and became disabled during a howling winter squall. After the crew abandoned ship, the two vessels ran aground at Moonston Beach in Rhode Island dumping 828,000 gallons of diesel heating oil.

Last week, a federal judge transferred jurisdiction for civil claims stemming from the oil spill from New York to Rhode Island. The move likely will make it easier for Rhode Islanders to seek damage awards. The decision overturned a court order issued last summer that required damage claims against Eklof--the owner of the barge and tug that ran aground--to be filed in New York. U.S. District Court Judge Sidney H. Stein held that Rhode Island was the proper venue for court action: "The oil spill damaged the coastline and coastal waters of Rhode Island...Accordingly, the District of Rhode Island will be more convenient."

Welfare Benefits Restored

In May, as part of welfare changes passed by Congress last year, the Rhode Island Department of Human Services cut the monthly benefits of welfare recipients who live in subsidized housing by roughly \$50. The ACLU of Rhode Island filed a class-action lawsuit claiming DHS had sent insufficient notice of the reduction. Calling the original mailing "bureaucratic gobbledygook," Judge Richard J. Isreal ordered the DHS to mail new, clearly-worded notices, and to temporarily

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Possible Site for Dominican Consul

Over the past two decades, Rhode Island has developed a substantial Dominican community centered predominantly in Providence, Pawtucket, Central Falls, and Woonsocket. Dominican officials have announced that the country is considering opening a consular office in Providence to serve the commercial, travel, and immigration needs of the nearly 40,000 Dominican immigrants.

New Brown University President

Brown University has named E. Gordon Gee, formerly of Ohio State University, as the its new President. Gee replaces Vartan Gregorian, a major Clinton/Gore '96 supporter, who left the university to head up the Carnegie Foundation.

Political Data

Governor:	Lincoln Almond (R)	(47% in 1994)
U.S. Senate:	John Chafee (R)	(65% in 1994)
	Jack Reed (D)	(64% in 1996)
U.S. House	Rep. Patrick Kennedy (D-01)	69%
	Rep. Robert Weygand (D-02)	64%
State House:	84 D/16 R	
State Senate:	41 D/ 9 R	
Electoral Votes:	4	

Rhode Island Facts

- ◆ 1995 estimated population was 990,000.
- ◆ 91% of Rhode Islanders are White; 5% are Hispanic; and 4% are African American.
- ◆ The median age in Rhode Island is 34 years. 15% of Rhode Islanders are age 65 or older.
- ◆ The per capita income is \$14,981. Median household income is \$32,181.
- ◆ In 1994, 50.6% of Rhode Islanders voted of a Voting Age Population (VAP) of 729,000.
- ◆ There are 602,692 registered voters (as of 11/96) in Rhode Island.
- ◆ In 1996, turnout was 52% compared to 48% in 1992 and 48% in 1994.

State Elected Official and Legislative Leaders

Governor:	Lincoln Almond (R)
Lt. Governor:	Bernard Jackvony (R)
Attorney General	Jeffrey Pine (R)
Secretary of State:	James Langevin (D)
State Treasurer:	Nancy Mayer (R)
Speaker of the House:	John Harwood (D)
Majority Leader of the Senate:	Paul Kelly (D)

Congressional Delegation

U.S. Senator:	John Cafee (R)
U.S. Senator:	Jack Reed (D)
U.S. Rep.	Patrick Kennedy (D-01)

U.S. Rep.

Robert Weygand (D-02)

Block Island

A little over 1,000 residents live on Block Island on a year-round basis and 15,000 to 20,000 people reside there during the summer months. On any given summer day, the population of Block Island can swell to as much as 30,000.

In the 1996 election, of 958 total registered voters, YOU captured 520 votes. Dole/Kemp and Perot/Choate received 276 and 114 votes, respectively.

Dwight Eisenhower, who came ashore during a fishing trip on September 5, 1958, was the last President to visit Block Island. President Grant visited the island in 1875.

Sally
I know I have asked you
to look for this - it's
the thing I got from
HRC on Gulf War - I finally
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 10, 1995

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
8-17-97

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THE FIRST LADY

You asked me to look into the issue of Gulf War illnesses as a result of the letters the White House has been receiving, as well as the concerns directly raised with you by citizens. Many Gulf War veterans, it seems, have been left with the terrible impression that their country has forgotten them. I wanted to let you know what I have learned in the last several weeks, as I have been consulting with key government officials, Gulf War veterans and their families, and outside advocates. What I have found is that this remains a complex and elusive problem, frustrating both to those who suffer from debilitating illnesses and to the government officials working to address their problems.

Background Information:

There were 697,000 U.S. troops that served in the Persian Gulf War in 1990-91. Many had flu-like symptoms when they were there and after they came home, but it wasn't until more than a year later that concerns were raised about chronic illnesses by hundreds, and then thousands of PGW veterans, some of whom are still on active duty. Of particular concern are a variety of unexplained symptoms that do not fit any neat diagnosis.

Symptoms of the undiagnosed or "mystery illnesses" are varied, including chronic fatigue, memory loss, rashes, difficulty with sleeping, gastrointestinal disorders, allergies, respiratory problems, recurrent infections, headaches, joint pain, nasal discharge, tumors, and unusual bleeding.

Nobody knows what has caused these symptoms and it is likely that there are several causes, some of which may interact with each other. For example, if exposure to a chemical agent lowered a soldier's immune response, he or she would be more susceptible to infectious agents. The list of possible causes includes exposures to: toxic by-products from oil fires or tent heaters; depleted uranium; unapproved vaccinations and anti-nerve gas compound (pyridostigmine); infectious agents (leishmaniasis, malaria, brucellosis, giardiasis); chemical and biological

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MEMORANDUM FOR ~~THE~~ PRESIDENT

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warfare; pesticides; microwaves; and special paints and solvents. An alternative explanation is post-traumatic stress disorder or stress.

What is particularly unusual is the growing number of reports of spouses and children who also appear to be ill with similar symptoms, as well as reported miscarriages and birth defects. Thus far, no well designed studies have been conducted to determine whether Gulf War veterans are more likely to have family members with these problems than other veterans. However, the VA and CDC have examined this issue with the limited data that are currently available, and they believe that there is no evidence to support these complaints.

VA and DOD Registries

PL 102-585 directed VA to establish a Persian Gulf War Veterans' Health Registry that could easily be cross-referenced with a Department of Defense (DoD) registry that had been previously established under the National Defense Authorization Act for FY 1992-1993. The purpose of the Registries was to gather information about individuals that would be useful in determining whether certain exposures or experiences (especially oil fires) resulted in certain illnesses.

Unfortunately, according to a report issued on September 30, 1993 by the Office of Technology Assessment (OTA), the VA and DoD registries are not well coordinated. Additionally, OTA indicated that the registries cannot be used to determine cause-and-effect relationships between illnesses and exposures. Because the registries were constructed with emphasis on oil fire exposure, the registries are much less useful for examining other potential exposures. Similarly, the medical testing performed through the VA Registry were not relevant to the diagnosis of disorders that have now been associated with the mystery illnesses (i.e., immune dysfunction, neurologic disease, chemical sensitivities).

Of the 697,000 U.S. troops serving in the Persian Gulf war, more than 337,500 are now veterans. Approximately 40,000 veterans are currently enrolled in the VA Registry, and 85% of them are sick. Of those studied thus far, 17% complain of fatigue, 17% have rashes, 14% have unusual headaches, 14% have muscle or joint pain, and 11% have loss of memory, and 8% have shortness of breath. It is unknown how many of these have undiagnosed illnesses.

NIH Workshop on Persian Gulf War Illnesses

In April 1994, several Federal agencies co-sponsored a workshop at NIH, where a panel of experts listened to testimony from Government experts, veterans, and scientists.

They issued a report that concluded that Gulf War veterans were suffering from undiagnosed illnesses of unknown origins, but

that there was no single entity that could be reasonably called "Gulf War Syndrome." They recommended that more research be done.

Recent Reports

In June 1994, the Task Force on Persian Gulf War Health Effects of the Defense Science Board, chaired by Dr. Joshua Lederberg, issued its report on the possible exposure of US troops to chemical or biological weapons or other hazardous agents. The report concluded that there was no evidence that US troops were exposed to chemical or biological weapons, and that "the overall health experience of US troops in Operation Desert Storm was favorable beyond previous military precedent." The report also recommended "substantial improvements" in medical assessments of US troops before and after deployment, to enable DOD and VA to better assess the health effects of military service.

Although some of its findings received wide support, the report was criticized by veterans and Congress because some of its information was based on DoD reports that were not considered credible. For example the report stated that less than one tenth of one percent of the Gulf War troops have reported undiagnosed illnesses. Although the exact number is unknown, this number is considered by many to be unrealistically low and contributed to the perception of the report as a "DOD cover-up." Dr. Lederberg is a very well respected Nobel Laureate, but his selection was criticized because he has financial ties to DOD.

PL 102-585 also required VA and DoD to contract with the Institute of Medicine's Medical Follow-up Agency (MFUA) to review existing scientific, medical, and other information on the health consequences of military service in the Persian Gulf theater of operations.

The Institute of Medicine issued an interim report in January 1995. They concluded that research was needed to determine the prevalence and likely causes of Gulf War illnesses. They criticized the VA and DOD research that was underway as not adequately peer reviewed and concluded that the quality of the data was questionable.

The Senate Veterans Affairs Committee, chaired by Sen. Jay Rockefeller, issued a staff report in December 1994 that concluded that investigational drugs and vaccines were inappropriately distributed to US troops during the Persian Gulf War. Prior to the war, DOD obtained permission from FDA to use pills (pyridostigmine) in a way that was not proven safe or effective and a botulism vaccine that was not proven safe or effective. The report concluded that U.S. troops were not adequately informed of the possible risks of the drugs or

vaccines (as required by law), and that the vaccines and drugs were used in such a way that they probably would not have provided adequate protection against biological or chemical weapons.

The Senate report expressed strong concern that the pyridostigmine, which was intended to protect against chemical weapons, may have caused adverse reactions in some individuals, or may have enhanced the toxic effects of insecticides or other chemicals that were widely used in the Gulf.

Sen. Donald Riegle, Jr. issued two reports claiming that allied troops were exposed to chemical warfare, resulting from scud missile attacks or U.S. military bombing of Iraq's chemical warfare plants at a time when down-winds were unfavorable.

My meetings with DOD, VA and HHS

In January, I met with key officials from the DoD, VA, and HHS to discuss how best the Administration can respond to the concerns that have been raised. The agencies have been very engaged in addressing this issue. They are trying to improve medical evaluations and services for Gulf War veterans, conduct research that will enable them to better understand the causes of the illnesses, and provide compensation to veterans who are disabled. I received assurances that the departments are moving quickly to implement legislative provisions that you signed into law in October and November.

However, in the course of these meetings, I also learned that some of the research that the law requires to be conducted by independent researchers (such as university scientists) under grants from DoD was mistakenly being conducted by DoD. Deputy Secretary John Deutch assured me that this could be corrected, and suggested that he might ask NIH to assist DoD with a peer review system for these grants. I raised this issue with Dr. Phil Lee, the Assistant Secretary of Health at HHS, who agreed that PHS has much more expertise with peer review of grants than DOD.

Agency officials report that they are doing their best under difficult circumstances and feel besieged by Congress and the media. They claim that anecdotes, while compelling, do not constitute scientific evidence, and that Congress and the media are taking these anecdotes too seriously. In contrast, well respected scientists have testified before Congress that these "anecdotes" should be considered case studies, and point out that they may well be the first sign of significant health problems that will become obvious when research is finally conducted.

Meeting with Veterans' Service Organization Representatives

I also have had meetings with officials from the American Legion and the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Both of these meetings have been extremely helpful in helping me understand how the veterans view our Administration's role in helping Gulf War veterans. For example, I met with Steve Robertson, who is Legislative Director of the American Legion, and is himself a Gulf War veteran with multiple undiagnosed illnesses. One of his concerns was the DoD and VA view that stress was the main cause of these symptoms. He made it clear that he had experienced extreme stress in previous deployments (he gave the example of the possibility that he would have to "push the button" to launch nuclear weapons at the Soviet Union) and made it clear that his Persian Gulf experience was not at all stressful in comparison. He recited a long list of potential toxic exposures that were common in the Gulf; for example, pesticides that were sprayed everywhere, including on cooking utensils. He is very concerned that the combination of these exposures could have been much more toxic than any would have been individually. The Executive Director of the Legion, John Sommer, was clearly supportive of Steve's views.

In talking to the Commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars (Gunner Kent) and their staff, I was assured that the VFW appreciates the legislative efforts that you and the VA have made to provide medical care and compensation to Gulf War veterans. He praised this Administration's quick response, especially compared to the "15 years it took to get anything for Agent Orange." However, the VFW has conducted a survey of more than 2,000 Gulf War veterans, which found that most have undiagnosed illnesses that are not being successfully treated. (This is not a random sample, but it is worrisome nevertheless.) The VFW does not blame the VA, but they do believe that the DOD is not providing VA with the information it needs to help determine the causes of these illnesses.

Veterans and Their Family Members

I have received many letters from Gulf War veterans and their spouses, and have had the opportunity to speak to some of these individuals on the telephone as well. They express great frustration with VA and DOD, and they clearly feel that the government has not done enough to address this health problem and that the government has not taken their concerns seriously enough. The specter of the government cover-up of the dangers of Agent Orange for Vietnam veterans is frequently mentioned.

One recurring theme is that doctors at the individual VA facilities minimize the seriousness of the patients' symptoms, are not particularly well informed about Gulf War illnesses, and sometimes even ignore the law that requires VA to provide free medical care to these veterans. For example, the President of the Gulf War Veterans of Massachusetts wrote on February 9, 1995:

"Veterans are bitter, and many of the ones I speak to have concluded that they are never going to get any help from the VA system. Why? First, despite the laws which have been passed, and despite Secretary Brown's convictions, Gulf veterans are still frequently refused service in VA hospitals. The VA claims system is a disaster... (my own claim was lost for over a year, and 30 months have passed since I initially filed it.) One of the biggest problems which I have been trying to work with on a local basis is simple ignorance of the situation by many of the VA physicians who are treating us. During my Persian Gulf Registry exam in January 1994, the doctor who examined me had never heard of depleted uranium and did not believe me when I told him of the exposure."

I have also heard from veterans who have cancer or who report that an unusually high number of young Gulf War veterans have died of cancers or heart conditions. There is great fear that these fatal diseases were caused by service in the Gulf. Many veterans believe that the VA and DOD have not provided full and accurate information about deaths and diagnoses, and some staff from the agencies concur (off the record) with that assessment. I don't think that anyone knows whether there is statistical evidence of an abnormally high number of cancers or heart disease among Gulf War veterans, but it seems to me the thing to do is make sure that kind of information is available to the public, and properly analyzed by CDC. According to reports I have heard, several FOIA requests for such information have gone unanswered, or have been answered with information that is perceived to be inaccurate.

Lack of Effective Treatment

One of the major problems is that many of the undiagnosed illnesses do not respond to treatment. For example, some veterans complain of having diarrhea for 3 years, rashes that come and go but do not respond to treatment, or sensitivities to chemicals that make it impossible to go to gas stations or sit in hospital waiting rooms. Women who are married to Gulf War veterans report constant vaginal infections and pain related to sexual intercourse; neither the cause nor an effective treatment has been determined. VA does not provide medical care to spouses, so many of these women do not have access to medical tests or treatment. This is especially true if the veteran is too ill to work. This lack of health care makes it especially difficult to determine whether these illnesses are unusual or whether the major problem is lack of appropriate medical care.

In cases where VA and DOD medical facilities have been unable to effectively treat Gulf War veterans, many veterans have sought care in the private sector. Some Gulf War veterans have complained that the VA and DOD facilities are too conservative in their treatments. The countervailing point of view is that

private sector doctors are taking advantage of the desperation of Gulf War veterans, by selling useless or even dangerous diagnostic tests or treatment.

My staff has called scientists from across the country to learn more about the controversial treatments that Gulf War veterans are receiving in the private sector. Thus far, the experts suggest that there are no good diagnostic tools for determining chemical exposures to the brain, and that such diagnostic tools as SPECT scan and brain mapping have limited usefulness. One of the veterans who is very ill is currently going to a private facility for plasma phoresis at a cost of \$15,000/month. Several experts have claimed that such a painful, dangerous, and expensive treatment would be difficult to justify except on an experimental basis. So, thus far the academic experts have made statements that are consistent with VA decisions not to use those tests and treatment. However, the usefulness of treatments that have been devised for multiple chemical sensitivity and other controversial diagnoses are more debatable.

Compensation

Veterans who have disabilities that are associated with military service are entitled to monthly benefits from the VA. The maximum benefit is approximately \$23,000/year for a veteran who is considered 100% disabled.

As of ____ 1994 there were approximately ____ claims filed by PGW veterans or their survivors for general VA benefits. Approximately 10% were from veterans claiming disabilities from exposure to environmental hazards, but very few of those claims were granted. This is partly a function of the lack of diagnosis for these symptoms, and partly because it is more difficult to prove that an illness is service-connected if it is not reported until after a person leaves the military (battle wounds are obviously much easier to prove when filing a claim).

Thanks to the law that you signed in November (PL 103-), veterans whose illnesses are not diagnosed will, for the first time, be eligible to receive compensation if they can prove that they are disabled as a result of military service. The first compensation checks resulting from this law should be distributed in March. However, proving disability may still be difficult, and it will be essential to monitor this program to make sure that veterans receive the compensation that they deserve.

Working as a Team With VA, DOD and HHS

Among the VA, DOD, and HHS officials and the Gulf War veterans there is wide agreement that more targeted and coordinated research is needed. The Defense Reauthorization and the Veterans' Persian Gulf War Benefits Act that you signed in October and November include some important new research efforts, including research on the possibility that the veterans's health problems are transmissible to spouses and offspring. It is important that these efforts go forward expeditiously.

The agency officials expressed their desire to work together to ensure that the needs of Gulf War veterans are met. We agreed that we must convey to the American people that the Administration recognizes that there are serious questions that need to be resolved, and we are committed to working to address them. For example, Dr. Kizer, the VA Under Secretary for Health, admitted that some VA facilities are doing a better job than others, and indicated his strong commitment to improving that situation, so that all veterans receive the care they deserve. He also is planning a major new effort to examine whether birth defects and reproductive problems are unusually prevalent among Gulf War veterans.

As you said when you asked me to follow up on this issue, we must do our very best to guarantee that the concerns of our veterans who served our nation so nobly in the Gulf are addressed properly and honestly, with the compassion their cases merit. This must be our collective guiding principle.

I suggested to Secretary Perry and Secretary Brown that together we visit appropriate sites, such as hospitals or research centers, to demonstrate the concern of this Administration and our commitment to working together to get answers and provide assistance to those who are suffering health problems from their service during the Gulf War. My first such visit, at the VA Medical Center in Washington, DC, is scheduled for February 14.

I believe that the agencies involved are making great efforts to improve the research and services for Gulf War veterans, but that the statements made by Department officials are often perceived as defensive and less than candid. This may be partly because many of the career employees who are providing information to Department officials are themselves responsible for previous decisions. It is human nature to be reluctant to admit that mistakes might have been made; however, these mistakes were made during the previous Administrations, and we should be willing to admit that they occurred and that we must and will do better in the future. Given the enormous publicity and the increased concerns that the veterans are expressing about the

adequacy of the Administration response, I believe it is essential to be more open and let veterans and the American people know that we are not satisfied with the status quo.

I believe we can move ahead to immediately reassure the veterans and the public by moving quickly on some new initiatives, and making those initiatives public. We need to let the American people know that we are just as concerned as they are about the veterans whose illnesses are not responding to treatment. And of course, we need to move as quickly as possible to make progress on these issues.

I suggest that we consider two very public announcements in the coming weeks:

A. DoD Press Conference:

1. The message needs to be that DoD is concerned that the safety of the long-term use of pyridostigmine, alone and in combination with stress, pesticides, and other toxic chemicals, was not adequately studied under the Reagan/Bush Administration prior to the Persian Gulf War. That is why new research is now underway. DoD can announce that research is underway, and that most of it will be peer reviewed, independent research. This will have implications for future soldiers, in addition to Gulf War veterans who are ill. Of course, any future use of these agents will be reviewed in light of the results. Dr. Steven Joseph could be in charge of this effort.

2. Announce that DoD has developed new policies to make sure that all service members are adequately warned about any potential side effects from any vaccines, drugs, pesticides, decontamination agents, and other toxic chemicals that they will come in contact with. Dr. Susan Bailey is the person in charge of this effort.

3. I believe that DOD should announce that they have withdrawn a request for a permanent waiver of informed consent for the use of experimental drugs. [They may still request such waivers on a case by case basis]. This could be done by Executive Order, or Secretary Perry could make the decision.

B. President (and Secretary Brown) Announces:

1. You and/or Secretary Brown could request that the VA Inspector General investigate allegations that some VA facilities are not providing appropriate free medical care to Gulf War veterans as required by law. VA does not have enough investigative staff to do this, and anyway, the IG is preferable because it is independent of VA.

2. The VA PGW Hot Line will compile information about any reported problems regarding access to medical care or compensation, and Secretary Brown will ensure that information will be used by VA to improve those efforts.

3. The lack of mortality statistics has angered some veterans groups. The VA could announce that, in response to requests from veterans groups, the VA will analyze data from PGW veterans who have died, and CDC will work with them to evaluate whether the number of deaths or diagnoses are unusual.

4. The VA will include information about ill spouses and children, including miscarriages and stillbirths, on the PGW Health Registry starting [insert date]. VA is already including information about birth defects. This will help provide information about whether an unusually large number of these problems are occurring. Dr. Ken Kizer has also proposed an even more ambitious surveillance system for reproductive problems among veterans, which he should announce.

5. Announce that the first compensation checks for undiagnosed illnesses will be sent in March.

Blue Ribbon Panel

I also believe that we should consider a new "blue ribbon" panel to examine these issues. This panel should have a broader mandate than the Lederberg panel, and should not include members who have contracts or consulting relationships with DOD or VA, or the chemical industry. In order to have credibility with veterans and the public, we need to make sure that the panel includes scientific experts who have reputations as being consumer-oriented or absolutely objective. The panel should have an adequate staff that enables them to monitor the many activities of these three agencies for at least one year.

We may want to consider "reinventing" the concept of a blue ribbon panel to make it less reliant on the expertise of a large number of extremely busy scientists. Unfortunately, such experts are often perceived as relying too heavily on the information provided by the agencies. Perhaps the focus should be on a small top-notch, independent investigative staff that is advised by a small number of well-respected experts, such as Admiral Zumwalt, a medical ethicist, and a small number of scientists.

cc: Leon Panetta

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 11, 1997

177-1012-10150

RE: [illegible] HAS BEEN

8-17-97

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: RAHM EMANUEL
SUBJECT: LOS ANGELES TIMES ARTICLE ON ACADEMIC
STANDARDS

This is the standards article I mentioned in my weekly report. I believe that Ronald Brownstein does an excellent job of framing the education standards debate. I thought that you would find the article interesting.

cc Sec. Riley
Thurman
BReed

Copied
Winston
Riley
Reed
Cos
Emanuel

National Perspective

Call for Academic Standards Could Face Test From Civil Rights Law

RONALD BROWNSTEIN

WASHINGTON OUTLOOK

WASHINGTON—President Clinton's education agenda revolves around a simple proposition: that all students should be held to uniform standards through stiff national tests. "We must demand high standards of every student," he insists.

Meanwhile, his Education Department seems to be moving toward an interpretation of civil rights law that could challenge the entire concept of objective academic standards as a threat to racial equity.

Even for a president accustomed to accommodating contradiction, that's a daunting chasm. The time may be coming when Clinton has to choose between common standards in education and a civil rights community uneasy about their implications. It's an either/or question for a president who usually prefers multiple choice.

"This administration has never dwelled too long on philosophical clarity and consistency in anything it has done," said Chester Finn, an education expert at the conservative Hudson Institute. "But you would think one of these would eventually have to yield."

This conflict entangles the priorities of divergent decades. Education reformers today are trying to extract higher performance from students by subjecting them to tests with teeth. About half the states now require students to pass standardized exams to graduate from high school. At the cutting edge, Chicago now requires students to pass tests for promotion from the third, sixth, eighth and ninth grades.

But this standards movement is approaching a collision with the spreading reach of the "disparate impact" doctrine—a cornerstone of early 1970s civil rights law. Disparate impact holds that seemingly

race-neutral standards—like tests—can violate the federal civil rights statutes if they have a disproportionate effect on minorities or women.

Disparate impact analysis has been applied primarily to hiring decisions; typically, an employer might be compelled to drop a requirement for high school diplomas if that standard tends to exclude minorities and he can't demonstrate a clear business necessity for demanding it.

Now, however, the Education Department is hinting at widening the use of disparate impact analysis in education. Last month—in response to a petition from a coalition of civil rights groups—the department agreed to investigate the University of

The time may be coming when Clinton has to choose between common standards in education and a civil rights community uneasy about their implications.

California's process for admitting students to its three law schools now that the state regents have banned the use of racial preferences.

With preferences barred, the UC law schools rely primarily on grades and test scores. Since minority acceptances have plunged at the most exclusive campuses this year, the civil rights groups argue that those traditional academic standards are having a "discriminatory effect" and thus violate the civil rights laws.

In a recent interview with David Savage of The Times, Judith Winston—until last week the Education Department's chief lawyer and now the director of Clinton's racial advisory panel—wouldn't comment directly on the California investigation. But, echoing the groups' complaint, she said the government could challenge universities basing

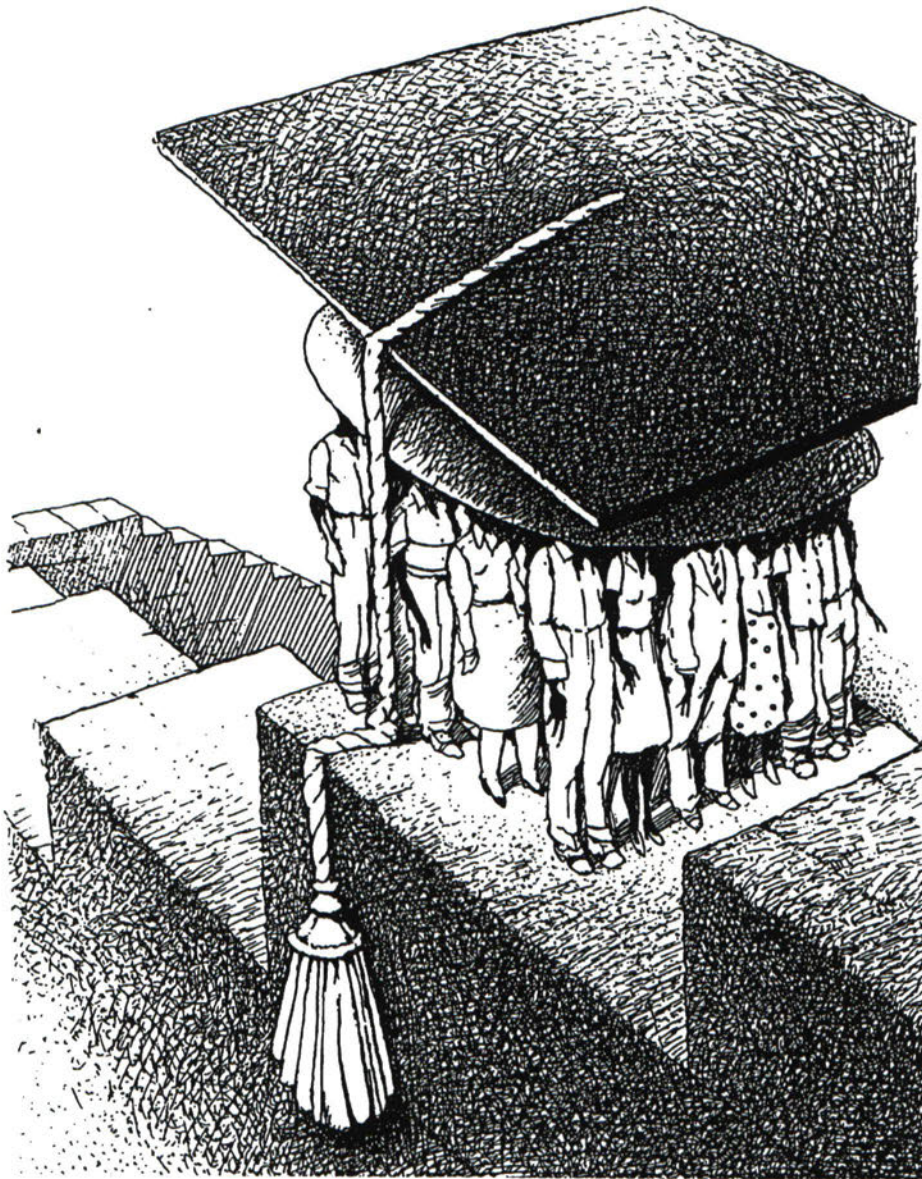
admission on "race-neutral criteria" such as grades and test scores if the use of those measures reduces minority opportunities and cannot be justified as an educational necessity. In other words, holding all applicants to the same standard could still constitute discrimination if it produces racially unequal results.

That argument has enormous implications not only for higher education, but the very push for standards in primary and secondary education that Clinton has championed. If the Education Department rules that objective educational standards can violate civil rights law because they disadvantage minority students, the door would be flung open for racial challenges to the proliferating use of tests for graduation and promotion in lower grades.

Already, civil rights groups are watching with suspicion the higher failure rates for minority students—especially those from low-income areas—in many communities that have imposed high-stakes testing. Last week, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund sought an injunction against a North Carolina county that has required students to pass tests to advance to the next grade. More lawsuits are likely as more communities adopt tests with consequences.

So far, the Education Department has moved cautiously in this area. It hasn't prevented any states from imposing tests. But in 1994, it exhaustively investigated whether Ohio's new high school graduation exam had a "disparate impact" on minorities, before finally approving the test—amid sharp criticism of the probe from House Republicans. Last month, the department negotiated an agreement that allowed Texas to continue its testing program, but required greater monitoring to ensure that minority students were being taught the material on the exams.

Civil rights groups are justified in demanding such protection—and careful examination of the tests that states are imposing. All levels of education can rely too heavily on standardized tests: as more communities



WILLIAM BRAMHALL / For The Times

condition promotion or graduation on an exam, minority parents are unlikely to be the only ones with second thoughts. "These tests shouldn't be the sole determinant of whether a student has mastered a particular area," said Stephon Bowens, an attorney in the North Carolina case.

But the answer can't be to repudiate standards as a form of discrimination: To do so is to declare society incapable of effectively educating minority and poor children.

Ultimately, closing the racial gaps in educational performance will require a reconstruction of social order, economic opportunity and family structure in America's most blighted

neighborhoods. More immediately, it calls for aggressive school reform and greater efforts to reclaim the students drifting behind—like the \$50 million Chicago has poured into summer school this year for the nearly 44,000 kids who flunked its promotion tests.

But in graduate school admissions and grade school testing alike, attacking high academic standards amounts to shooting the messenger. The standards "put the spotlight on the problem," said Chris Pipho of the Education Commission of the States. "Now the question is, what are we going to do about it?"

Ronald Brownstein's column appears in this space every Monday.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT
8-17-97

July 22, 1997

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT
FROM RAHM EMANUEL
SUBJECT ARTICLE BY RON BROWNSTEIN

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RA

I think you will find the attached article from Sunday's Los Angeles Times by Ron Brownstein interesting. As you know, Ron Brownstein has followed you since 1991 and understands the new paradigm you have introduced to politics. I am sure that it is no surprise to you that I agree with his column and would be willing to discuss it further per your request.

Copied
Emanuel
CAS
Winston

WASHINGTON OUTLOOK

Clinton Seeks Dialogue on Race, but He Must Go Beyond
Same Old Talk

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN

PREV STORY

NEXT STORY

he news flash from last week's first meeting of President Clinton's advisory board on race is that America is a racist country. Deeply, broadly racist. Perhaps irredeemably racist.

Board member Angela Oh, a Los Angeles lawyer, set the tone early on when she said the panel should not waste its time documenting the extent of discrimination because it was so widespread. "I don't need the data," she said. "I don't think any of us need the data; we know it's there."

John Hope Franklin, the prominent African American historian who chairs the board, then raised the ante. Racism, he said, pervaded American life: "Our whole country, our whole practices are suffused with it," he said. "Hardly an aspect of American life has escaped the baneful touch of this awful thing called racism. . . . Wherever you go, you are going to see this."

The closest to a dissenting note came from Judith Winston, the general counsel at the Education Department who was just appointed the panel's executive director. "Most Americans are not and do not consider themselves racist," she said, before quickly adding that we have nonetheless "internalized . . . racist concepts and stereotypes."

Racism is America's original sin, the great blot on our egalitarian ideals. But it's also possible to read American history as an imperfect, contradictory, but persistent effort to overcome it.

However slowly, the trend line has been to enlarge the circle of freedom. Eventually, America did end slavery, overturn state-sponsored segregation and provide equal access to the ballot. Thirty years ago, two-parent black families earned only two-thirds as much as similar white families; today they earn 87% as much. In

8-17-97

1958, only 4% of whites said they approved of interracial marriage; today the figure is 61%, according to the Gallup Poll.

"It is impossible to live in America in 1997 and not recognize . . . an enormous amount of progress has taken place," said Linda Chavez, president of the neoconservative Center for Equal Opportunity.

You can argue this round or flat, but mostly you will argue this to impasse. Surely America is not a colorblind society; just as surely as it has made gains on many fronts. The real point is that this is the wrong argument. Clinton set out to open a new dialogue on race. But there's no quicker way to inflame old antagonisms than to base the dialogue on the assertion that American society is drenched in racism "wherever you go."

"That's not a dialogue," said one Democrat, "that's a monologue."

The president once understood this. When Clinton came out of a meeting with black community leaders in the home of Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Los Angeles) just days after the Los Angeles riots in 1992, he didn't talk about a society "suffused" with racism; he talked about the importance of increasing access to credit so that more people in South-Central could own their own homes and businesses. Throughout the day, his focus was on grass-roots "empowerment" through programs that linked opportunity and responsibility.

What Clinton recognized then was that the best way to attack race-related problems was to focus less on the polarizing divisions of race than on the underlying problems themselves. Candidate Clinton emphasized race-neutral programs--such as education or health care reform--that nonetheless offered tangible benefits to minorities. The aim was to move beyond a ritualized debate over racism and reparation toward practical measures that could help the needy of all races--and draw broader public support than an approach that targeted benefits solely by race.

In office, Clinton has only imperfectly implemented this idea. The left complains that he failed to guarantee universal health care or ensure public-service jobs for welfare recipients facing time limits. Conservatives carp at his increasingly reflexive defense of affirmative action. But he can also claim progress in fulfilling his original vision.

Clinton has increased access to capital for minorities through invigorated enforcement of fair-lending and community-reinvestment laws and subsidies for community development banks. He's boosted cities with billions of dollars to hire more police and launch empowerment zones. He's signed increases in the minimum wage and tax relief for the working poor, and this year's budget will provide increased health care coverage for uninsured children and tax breaks for hiring former welfare recipients.

This agenda may not be equal to the challenge, but it's the right battlefield. In the landmark Bakke affirmative action case 19 years ago, the late Supreme Court Justice Harry Blackmun memorably declared, "In order to get beyond racism, we must first take account of race." Today's imperative reverses his logic: To deal with the problems of race, we must go beyond race. At a time when society is skeptical of new government initiatives, and federal power is divided between the parties, the only plausible agenda for racial progress is one that aims to help all those already trying to help

8-7-92

themselves--white and minority alike.

✓ In contrast, Clinton's advisory panel appears intent on viewing all issues through the prism of race. But in an America growing ever more diverse, that's a blueprint for social division and political irrelevance. With that compass, it's not hard to imagine the panel producing conventionally liberal recommendations on issues such as crime and social spending that Clinton quietly disowns.

✓ The best service Clinton can offer on race is to articulate an agenda that encourages Americans to emphasize their common interests and values--not their racial differences and historic grudges. His decision to focus his speech to the NAACP last week on the importance of demanding high standards from all students marks an important step in that direction.

✓ But to truly inspire a new dialogue on race, Clinton will need to push further. Jim Sleeper, author of the provocatively titled upcoming book, "Liberal Racism," frames the larger challenge well: "Our best leaders," he writes, "are those who show their neighbors, every day, how to leave subgroup loyalties at the doors of classrooms, jury rooms, hiring halls and loan offices."

That's far better advice than anything Clinton's advisory panel has offered so far.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 15, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN

8-17-97

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: TODD STERN *TOS*
PHIL CAPLAN *Phil*

SUBJECT: Presidential Medal for your second term

The U.S. Mint traditionally strikes a medal commemorating the term of each President, including the terms of re-elected Presidents. This memo seeks your approval of the design for your second medal.

Medal design. Attached is a photograph of your first medal, which features your portrait on the front, and an image of the White House and a quote from your 1993 Inaugural on the back. Since President Kennedy, each medal has featured the President's portrait on the front and a quote from a significant speech on the back. With the exception of your medal and President Reagan's, the back of the medals also included the Presidential seal. Although you can design the medal any way you wish, we recommend that your second medal include your portrait on the front and an image of the White House and a quote from a major speech on the back.

Approve ☒ Disapprove ☐ Discuss ☐

Quote for the back. The quote on your first medal was: "There is nothing wrong with America that cannot be cured with what is right with America." After researching major speeches from late 1996 and early 1997 and consulting with Don Baer, Ann Lewis, and Michael Waldman, we have come up with the quotes listed below. We recommend you choose one of the following, or let us know if you have other thoughts:

"Our greatest responsibility is to embrace a new spirit of community for a new century. For any one of us to succeed, we must succeed as one America." (Inaugural)

summary ✓ "For no matter what our differences -- in our faiths, our backgrounds, our politics -- we must all be repairers of the breach." (State of the Union -- Ann prefers; or in the alternative, this quote without the "faiths, backgrounds" offset)

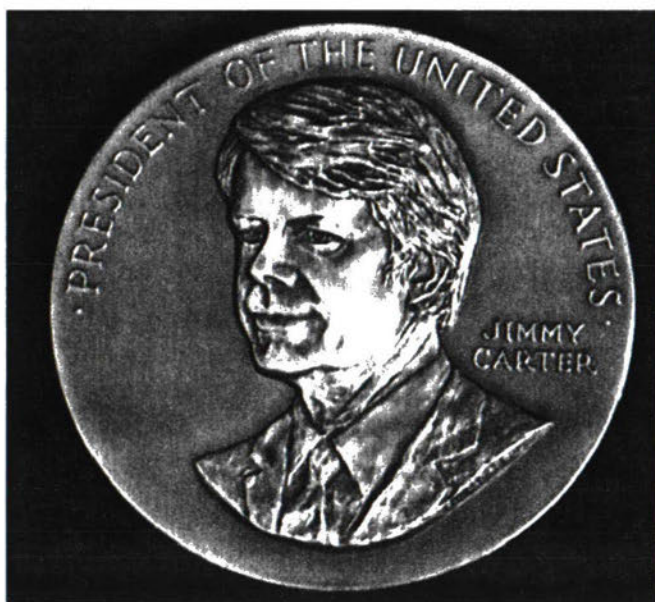
"Let us lift our eyes toward the challenges that await us in the next century." (Inaugural)

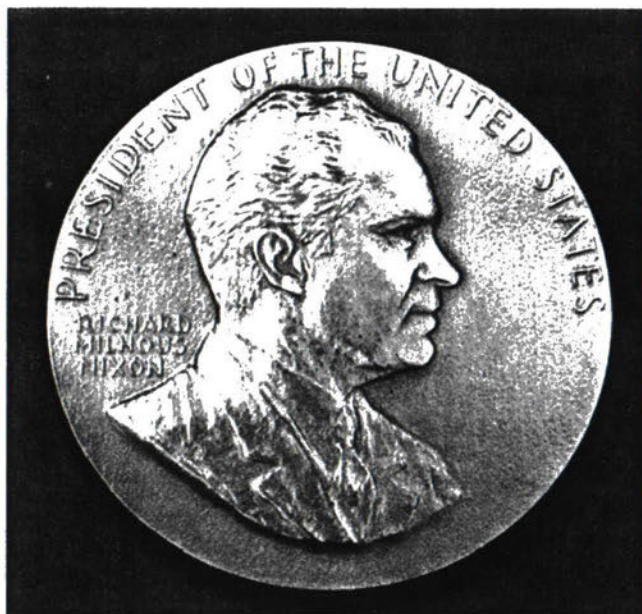
"With a new vision of government, a new sense of responsibility, a new sense of community, we will sustain America's journey." (Inaugural)

"By our dreams and labors, we will redeem the promise of America in the 21st century." (Inaugural)









THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 15, 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN
8-17-97ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL R. BERGER

SUBJECT: Presidential Delegation for the Panama Canal Congress

*Do they want a
message from him?
Unlikely to
be necessary yet.*

*Copied
LOS
Berger*

Purpose

To demonstrate U.S. support for the Universal Congress of the Panama Canal.

Background

From September 7-10, the Universal Congress of the Panama Canal will showcase the plans of the United States for a successful transition of the Canal on December 31, 1999. The Panama Canal Commission is cosponsoring the Congress. Additionally, the United States has twice cosponsored UNGA resolutions supporting the Congress, and you have previously provided a written statement of congratulations on the Congress.

Mack McLarty and Rodney Slater have agreed to serve as co-heads of a U.S. delegation to this event. The United States built and has managed the canal for 83 years. The Delegation would demonstrate our dedication to efficient Canal operations during the transition and our confidence in Panama's ability to manage the Canal after 1999. The Delegation would also underscore our commitment to Panama's permanent neutrality.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve a U.S. delegation headed by Mack McLarty and Rodney Slater to the Universal Congress of the Panama Canal ceremonial events September 7-10.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

17 JUL 15 1997
THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
8-17-97

August 15, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Stephanie Streett
Jennifer Palmieri

Subject: Race Event on Martha's Vineyard

cc: Sylvia Mathews, John Podesta, Bruce Lindsey, Kelly Craighead

Skip Gates has invited you to participate in a race event he is hosting on Friday, August 29 in Edgartown (please see attached). The event, a "Conversation on Race," will be a public discussion on race led by Gates, Christopher Edley, Lani Guinier, Charles Ogletree, Anne Deveare Smith, and Cornel West.

As you are on vacation, and not participating in other public events, Sylvia Mathews and other members of the race working group at the White House do not think it is necessary for you to attend this event and recommend that the invitation be regretted.

Are you okay regretting this invitation?

attachment

OK HRE
but I think not

Copied
Streett
Palmieri
Mathews
Hennrich
COS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES

Barker Center • 12 Quincy Street • Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138-3879

Henry Louis Gates, Jr., Chair
W.E.B. Du Bois Professor of the Humanities

Tel. 617.496.4170
Fax. 617.495.9490
E-Mail jkendall@fas.harvard.edu

July 9, 1997

Ms. Syliva Matthews
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, DC 20003

Dear Sylvia:

It was wonderful speaking with you a few weeks ago about the President's speech in San Diego as well as our common West Virginian heritage.

I thought you and the President might like to know of an event I am organizing in response to the Initiative on Race. On Friday, August 29th, I will be joined by Christopher Edley, Lani Guinier, Charles Ogletree, Anna Deavere Smith, and Cornel West for "A Conversation on Race." It will be held at the Old Whaling Church in Edgartown on Martha's Vineyard at 7pm. Two years ago we held a similar panel discussion on affirmative action that drew a standing room only crowd of more than 500 people.

The conversation promises to be as lively as it was two years ago, when both subtle and substantial differences of opinion emerged regarding a topic that seemed -- to some people, at least -- to have a monolithic opinion among black intellectuals. I enclose a brief article that captures some of the debate from that evening.

We would be honored if you would extend an invitation to attend this conversation to the President and First Lady during their vacation.

Thank you again for reaching out to me a few weeks ago. I was delighted to hear from you and hope that we might soon. Perhaps we could entice you to Cambridge for an afternoon.

With my best wishes,



Henry Louis Gates, Jr.

enclosure

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 15, 1997

8-17-97

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Streett

Graham

CoS

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT
LAURA GRAHAM

RE: Arkansas Trip Update

CC: NANCY HERNREICH

Please see draft schedule for Arkansas attached.

Overview

On Wednesday, September 24th, you will travel to Pittsburgh to address the AFL-CIO Convention and attend a DNC Lunch. You will then arrive in Little Rock by late afternoon, be down for the evening and remain at Mrs. Rodham's residence for the weekend. On the morning of Thursday the 25th, you will address the Central High School Commemoration where the festivities will conclude by noon. You will be down until 7:30 pm at which time, you will address the Congressional Medal of Honor Society Reception. On Friday the 26th, you will travel to Dallas for a message event and DNC Lunch, followed by a DNC Dinner in Houston. On Saturday the 27th, you will attend the Hot Springs High School Reunion and then return to Little Rock for an afternoon tailgate party and the University of Arkansas football game. On Sunday the 28th, you will be down for the day and can return to the White House at your convenience.

First Lady's Schedule

The First Lady will meet you in Little Rock on Wednesday the 24th and attend the Central High School festivities on Thursday the 25th. The remainder of her schedule for the weekend is not confirmed; however she is now considering traveling to California on Saturday the 27th. It is unclear if she would return to Little Rock or Washington for the rest of the weekend should she travel.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-17-97

Interfaith Service

The Interfaith Service hosted by Rabbi Levy is scheduled for Friday the 26th, when you will be in Texas. Rabbi Levy has offered to move the service to Thursday the 25th to accommodate your schedule, but it would be difficult for you to attend that evening. The Congressional Medal of Honor Society Reception is at 7:30 pm. (which we pushed back at your request so that you could spend more time golfing) Furthermore, you asked us earlier if you could just drop-by the service. Given the items on your schedule and the fact that the service would be moved to the 25th to accommodate you, you would probably be expected to spend a considerable amount of time there. The only other available date is Wednesday the 24th, which is your only evening off. Therefore we do not recommend you attend this service.

Are you okay with regretting this service?

Yes

☒

No

☒

Discuss

☐

NOTIONAL SCHEDULE FOR PRESIDENT 9/24 - 9/28
DC - Pittsburgh - Little Rock - Dallas - Houston - Little Rock - DC

NOTE: This is a tentative schedule. All events and times are subject to change.

Wednesday, September 24th

9:05 am	Depart White House en route AAFB [flight time: 10 minutes]
9:15 am	Arrive AAFB
9:30 am	Depart AAFB en route Pittsburgh International Airport [flight time: 55 minutes]
10:25 am	Arrive Pittsburgh International Airport
10:40 am	Depart Pittsburgh International Airport en route AFL-CIO Convention Site [approximate drive time: 30 minutes]
11:10 am	Arrive AFL-CIO Convention Site
11:15 am- 12:15 pm	ADDRESS THE AFL-CIO CONVENTION Site Tba OPEN PRESS
12:30 pm	Depart AFL-CIO Convention Site en route lunch site [drive time: 15 minutes]
12:45 pm	Arrive lunch site
12:50 pm- 1:15 pm	PHOTO RECEIVING LINE Site Tba CLOSED PRESS
1:20 pm- 2:05 pm	DNC LUNCH Site Tba POOL PRESS (Speaking Program Only)
2:15 pm	Depart lunch site en route Pittsburgh International Airport [approximate drive time: 15 minutes]

2:30 pm		Arrive Pittsburgh International Airport
2:45 pm	ET	Depart Pittsburgh International Airport en route Little Rock Adams Field [flight time: 1 hour, 55 minutes] [time change: - 1 hour]
3:40 pm	CT	Arrive Little Rock Adams Field
3:55 pm		Depart Little Rock Adams Field en route private residence [approximate drive time: 15 minutes]
4:10 pm		Arrive private residence

DOWN FOR THE DAY AND EVENING

Note: The President has the option to drop by the Central High School Museum. The museum opens on September 20th and is located across the street from the high school.

RON	PRIVATE RESIDENCE LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS
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Thursday, September 25th

8:30 am-	BRIEFING/SPEECH PREP
9:30 am	Site Tba
9:35 am	Depart private residence en route Central High School [approximate drive time: 15 minutes]
9:50 am	Arrive Central High School
10:00 am-	40TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE LITTLE ROCK CENTRAL
12:00 pm	HIGH SCHOOL DESEGREGATION SPEECH/EVENTS Central High School OPEN PRESS

Note: The President has the option to drop by the Central High School Museum. The Museum opens on September 20th and is located across the street from the high school.

12:00 pm-	DOWN TIME
7:00 pm	Little Rock, Arkansas

7:10 pm Depart private residence en route Aerospace Education Center
[approximate drive time: 15 minutes]

7:25 pm Arrive Aerospace Education Center

7:30 pm- CONGRESSIONAL MEDAL OF HONOR SOCIETY
8:30 pm RECEPTION
Aerospace Education Center
OPEN PRESS

Note: Approximately 225 Medal of Honor Recipients and their spouses
are scheduled to attend.

8:45 pm DOWN FOR THE EVENING

RON PRIVATE RESIDENCE
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Friday, September 26th

9:00 am Depart private residence en route Little Rock Adams Field
[approximate drive time: 15 minutes]

9:15 am Arrive Little Rock Adams Field

9:30 am Depart Little Rock Adams Field en route Dallas Love Field
[flight time: 1 hour, 10 minutes]

10:40 am Arrive Dallas Love Field

10:55 am Depart Dallas Love Field en route event site
[approximate drive time: 20 minutes]

11:15 am Arrive event site

11:20 am- (T) MESSAGE EVENT
12:20 pm Dallas, Texas
OPEN PRESS

12:30 pm Depart event site en route lunch site
[approximate drive time: 10 minutes]

12:40 pm Arrive lunch site

12:45 pm- 1:10 pm	PHOTO RECEIVING LINE Site Tba CLOSED PRESS
1:15 pm- 2:00 pm	DNC LUNCH Site Tba POOL PRESS (Speaking Program Only)
2:10 pm	Depart lunch site en route Dallas Love Field [approximate drive time: 20 minutes]
2:30 pm	Arrive Dallas Love Field
2:45 pm	Depart Dallas Love Field en route Houston Ellington Field [flight time: 1 hour] [time change: none]
3:45 pm	Arrive Houston Ellington Field
4:00 pm	Depart Ellington Field en route downtown landing zone [flight time: 15 minutes]
4:15 pm	Arrive downtown landing zone
4:25 pm	Depart landing zone en route hotel tba [approximate drive time: 5 minutes]
4:30 pm	Arrive downtown hotel
4:30 pm- 6:30 pm	DOWN TIME Hotel tba
6:35 pm	Depart down time site en route dinner site [approximate drive time: 5 minutes]
6:40 pm	Arrive dinner site
6:45 pm- 8:00 pm	HOUSTON FUNDRAISING DINNER Hotel tba POOL PRESS (Remarks Only)
8:10 pm	Depart hotel tba en route Houston Ellington Field [approximate drive time: 20 minutes]
8:30 pm	Arrive Ellington Field

8:45 pm	Depart Houston Ellington Field en route Little Rock Adams Field [flight time: 1 hour, 10 minutes] [time change: none]
9:50 pm	Arrive Little Rock Adams Field
10:00 pm	Depart Little Rock Adams Field en route private residence [approximate drive time: 10 minutes]
10:10 pm	Arrive private residence
RON	PRIVATE RESIDENCE LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Saturday, September 27th

9:45 am	Depart private residence en route Little Rock Landing Zone [approximate drive time: 10 minutes]
9:55 am	Arrive Little Rock Landing Zone
10:05 am	Depart Little Rock Landing Zone via Marine One en route Hot Springs Landing Zone [flight time: 30 minutes]
10:35 am	Arrive Hot Springs Landing Zone
10:45 am	Depart Hot Springs Landing Zone en route Hot Springs High School [approximate drive time: 5 minutes]
10:50 am	Arrive Hot Springs High School
11:00 am- 1:30 pm	HOT SPRINGS HIGH SCHOOL ULTIMATE CLASS REUNION Hot Springs High School Grounds Note: Festivities begin at 10:30 am and conclude at 4:00 pm. Alumni from all classes up to 1968 are invited.
1:35 pm	Depart Hot Springs High School en route Hot Springs Landing Zone [approximate drive time: 5 minutes]
1:40 pm	Arrive Hot Springs Landing Zone

1:50 pm Depart Hot Springs Landing Zone en route Little Rock Landing Zone
[flight time: 30 minutes]

2:20 pm Arrive Little Rock Landing Zone

2:30 pm Depart Little Rock Landing Zone en route private residence
[approximate drive time: 10 minutes]

2:45 pm Arrive private residence

2:45 pm- DOWN TIME
4:00 pm Private Residence

4:00 pm Depart private residence en route location tbd
[approximate drive time: 10 minutes]

4:10 pm Arrive location tbd

4:15 pm PRE-GAME FUNDRAISING PARTY
5:15 pm Little Rock, Arkansas
PRESS TBD

Note: The money raised would benefit the State Democratic Party.

5:15 pm- HOLD
5:45 pm

Note: This time is needed to allow guests attending both the pre-game party and the game enough time to get to their seats at the stadium.

5:45 pm Depart location tbd en route stadium
[drive time: 5 minutes]

5:50 pm Arrive stadium

6:00 pm- UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS VS. LOUISIANA TECH
tbd UNIVERSITY FOOTBALL GAME
Stadium

DOWN FOR THE EVENING

RON PRIVATE RESIDENCE
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS

Sunday, September 28th

tba CHURCH

tba GOLF

tba CT Depart Little Rock Adams Field en route AAFB
[flight time: 1 hour, 55 minutes]
[time change: + 1 hour]

tba ET Arrive AAFB

RON THE WHITE HOUSE

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

August 15, 1997

8-17-97

MR. PRESIDENT:

Erskine, John, and Bob Nash
have ok'd this memo going
forward.

Phil Caplan

copied
Echaveste
COS

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	Maria Echaveste to POTUS re: Director for the Women's Office [partial] (2 pages)	08/14/1997	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Todd Stern
OA/Box Number: 10305

FOLDER TITLE:

Chron Files: Monday, August 18, 1997

2019-0774-S

rs3369

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

8-17-97

August 14, 1997

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Maria Echaveste

cc: Erskine Bowles
Sylvia Mathews
John Podesta
Ron Klain

Re: Director for the Women's Office

As you will recall, we have been without a director of the Women's Office since early May. Needless to say, there has been great interest in this position. We have interviewed and spoken to more than 20 candidates --many terrific individuals.

We were looking for an individual with excellent skills in communicating and organizing outside the Beltway, but also an individual who could navigate both the internal White House environment and the intricate politics of DC-based women's groups. After much thought, reflection and consultation, I recommend that we offer Audrey Tayse Haynes the position for the position of Deputy Assistant to the President and Director of Womens Initiatives and Outreach. Her resume is attached .

(b)(6)

While [redacted] is enthusiastically supported by DC women's groups and has more substantive knowledge of reproductive rights and other issues, I believe Audrey is the better candidate with respect to communicating with women outside DC. I have discussed Audrey with several women's leaders and while they are not wildly enthusiastic, they will be supportive of your decision.

Approve Audrey Tayse Haynes : ✓

Reject: _____

AUDREY TAYSE HAYNES*Residence:*

438 Schofield Lane/P.O. Box 168
Frankfort, KY 40602
502-227-7049
fax: 502-223-1257

Business:

Cabinet for Health Services
275 East Main Street
Frankfort, KY 40621
502-564-7130

(b)(6)

Professional Experience**Appointee of the Honorable Paul E. Patton, Governor, Commonwealth of Kentucky***November 1996 - Present*

Currently serving as **Deputy Secretary of the Cabinet for Health Services**: Assist Cabinet Secretary with the administration of a \$2.5 billion budget which includes our state's medicaid program, public health system, mental health/mental retardation/substance abuse system and the regulation of Kentucky's health care providers.

Also served as **Chief of Staff for Lieutenant Governor Stephen L. Henry, M.D.** and advisor to Governor during two special legislative sessions: November 96' - reforming the Workers Compensation system; and May 97' - reforming the state's higher education system. Other principal responsibilities included management of: personnel; all public policy issues involving the Office of the Lieutenant Governor; day-to-day operations including constituent requests; and oversight of activities at the Lt. Governor's official residence. Chief liaison to all members of the Governor's Cabinet, elected Constitutional officers and legislators, while serving as primary political advisor to the Lt. Governor.

Executive Director of Business and Professional Women/USA and the Business and Professional Women's Foundation, Washington, D.C.*August 1993 - October 1996*

Served as chief executive officer responsible for the effective operation of Business and Professional Women USA and the Business and Professional Women's Foundation in order to achieve BPW's mission, "Equity for all women in the workplace through advocacy, education and information." Principal responsibilities included:

- **Administration** - responsible for the successful financial (over \$4 million budget) and personnel (27-30 professional staff) management of the Federation and Foundation, as well as the negotiation and proper administration of the collective bargaining agreement between BPW/USA and the Service International Union. Reported to a 67-member national board of directors.
- **Public Policy** - directly accountable for implementation of mission statement and national legislative platform through active support of specific public policy initiatives in all U.S. congressional districts. Provided testimony before congressional committees on issues important to working women and families.
- **Development** - obtained record levels of financial resources on behalf of the Federation and Foundation through members and corporations.
- **Membership** - responsible for administering membership services to over 70,000 members in 2,600 local organizations and 53 state organizations.

- **Education and Training** - responsible for the development of resources and programs to support issues management at the local, state and national levels. Planned, promoted and hosted an annual national conference for 2000 attendees and an annual public policy conference for 300 attendees. Assisted in the planning of 53 annual state conventions.
- **Communications** - responsible for the successful public relations and marketing of the Foundation and Federation as well as the publication of the national magazine, *National Business Woman*, in addition to serving as national spokesperson for the organization with national press outlet, i.e., television, radio and newspaper/magazines across the country.
- **Collaboration** - responsible for the successful coordination of activities between BPW/USA, the White House, Congress and the business community.

BPW/USA was founded in 1919 and is the leading advocate for working women. BPW's Foundation, established in 1956, collects, conducts, and analyzes research on issues affecting women in the workplace while providing financial assistance for women to further their education. The foundation, has awarded over \$5 million in scholarships and loans to some 7,000 women who need additional skills to advance in their careers or re-enter the job market.

Executive Director of the Kentucky Literacy Commission

February 1989 - August 1993

Duties included the management of all administrative, public relations and policy functions of the Kentucky Literacy Commission, a 32-member board appointed by the Governor of Kentucky.

Responsibilities included but were not limited to:

- Secured funding sources to modernize the computers in all local adult literacy programs;
- Administration of a balanced budget;
- Provision of matching grants to local literacy providers in all 120 Kentucky counties;
- Recruitment and training of thousands of volunteer tutors and board members while serving record numbers;
- Extensive communication with local literacy providers, local board members, Commission members;
- Soliciting of private and corporate funds via grant writing and special events;
- Public relations: speeches, radio, television, and newspapers;
- Collaboration with multiple public and private providers;
- Plan, promote, and conduct annual conferences;
- Participation in research and other data collection projects;
- Supervision of staff.

Also served as chief executive to the Kentucky Foundation for Literacy, Inc., a private partner of the Kentucky Literacy Commission governed by a separate board of directors. Duties primarily included the coordination of fund-raising events and grant writing.

Director of Human Resource Development for the Kentucky Department of Mental Health and Mental Retardation, Cabinet for Human Resources

October 1986 - January 1989

Appointed by the Commissioner of Mental Health and Mental Retardation. Duties included supervision of staff; coordination of training for the Department, consisting of over 3,000 employees in 11 hospitals, 14 regional community mental health centers, and universities. Conducted research projects as needed for program. Designed curriculum and organized training events. Coordinated regional and statewide conferences.

**Director of Prevention and Training Programs at Training and Development Resources,
Lake Cumberland Mental Health/Mental Retardation Board, Inc.**

August 1982 - October 1986

Responsibilities included: planning, designing, implementing and coordinating programs for schools, civic clubs, student assistance programs, and employee assistance programs. Presented thousands of programs with students and adults on lifestyle-related topics. Supervised staff in a ten-county area. Planned and coordinated local, regional, state, and national conferences. Marketed and managed employee assistance program contracts with business and industries. Other types of industrial contracts included Health Promotion/Wellness Programs, and Employee Training Programs.

Chemical Dependency Counselor

December 1978 - August 1982

Responsibilities included individual, group, and family counseling, liaison to the courts, and community education with the Lake Cumberland MH/MR Board, Inc., Somerset, Kentucky.

Educational Background

University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky

Masters of Social Work, 1985 (full-time student and full-time professional)

Spalding University, Louisville, Kentucky

Bachelor of Science, Social Work, 1983 (full-time student and full-time professional)

Adair County High School, Columbia, Kentucky

High School Diploma, 1977

Honors/Appointments

- Appointed in 1996 by the President of the United States and confirmed by the U.S. Senate to serve a three-year term on the advisory board of the National Institute of Literacy.
- Appointed by Governor Wallace G. Wilkinson and confirmed by the Kentucky House and Senate to serve on the Kentucky Board for Elementary and Secondary Education to oversee the implementation of the landmark 1990 Kentucky Education Reform Act, 1991-1992.
- Presented the "Martha Wilkinson Education Award" (named for former First Lady) by Kentucky Democratic Women's Club for outstanding leadership in the field of education, 1992.
- Member, Board of Trustees, Kentucky School Board Association Foundation, 1992 - present.
- Member, Board of the National Committee on Pay Equity, 1994 - 1996.
- Member of Board of Directors, Wider Opportunities for Women, 1996 - 1997.
- Member, National Steering Committee, Laubach Literacy/USA, 1993 - present.
- Outstanding Young Careerist, BPW/KY, 1983.
- Named to Kentucky Women's Leadership Network, 1993-94.
- National Leadership Trainer, BPW/USA, 1986, 1987, 1988.
- Member, National Planning Committee, The Summit on Women, Literacy and the American Workplace, 1995.

Other Affiliations

Member, Democratic National Committee Women's Leadership Forum, 1994.

Member, Kentucky Democratic Women's Club

State Chair of Ways & Means, 1991-1992, served on local committees.

Personal

Married to Michael D. Haynes, State Director of the Kentucky Youth Association/State YMCA.

Small business owner for eight years, Kelley's Garden Café, Frankfort, KY.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: August 18, 1997

Riley
Winston
Reed
Emanuel

NOTE FOR: Bowles

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you
for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

cc:

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

August 11, 1997

AUG 12 1997

RECEIVED

8-17-97

MEMORANDUM TO: THE PRESIDENT
FROM: RAHM EMANUEL
SUBJECT: LOS ANGELES TIMES ARTICLE ON ACADEMIC
STANDARDS

This is the standards article I mentioned in my weekly report. I believe that Ronald Brownstein does an excellent job of framing the education standards debate. I thought that you would find the article interesting.

CC Sec. Riley
Thurman
BReed

National Perspective

Call for Academic Standards Could Face Test From Civil Rights Law

RONALD BROWNSTEIN

WASHINGTON OUTLOOK

WASHINGTON—President Clinton's education agenda revolves around a simple proposition: that all students should be held to uniform standards through stiff national tests. "We must demand high standards of every student," he insists.

Meanwhile, his Education Department seems to be moving toward an interpretation of civil rights law that could challenge the entire concept of objective academic standards as a threat to racial equity.

Even for a president accustomed to accommodating contradiction, that's a daunting chasm. The time may be coming when Clinton has to choose between common standards in education and a civil rights community uneasy about their implications. It's an either/or question for a president who usually prefers multiple choice.

"This administration has never dwelled too long on philosophical clarity and consistency in anything it has done," said Chester Finn, an education expert at the conservative Hudson Institute. "But you would think one of these would eventually have to yield."

This conflict entangles the priorities of divergent decades. Education reformers today are trying to extract higher performance from students by subjecting them to tests with teeth. About half the states now require students to pass standardized exams to graduate from high school. At the cutting edge, Chicago now requires students to pass tests for promotion from the third, sixth, eighth and ninth grades.

But this standards movement is approaching a collision with the spreading reach of the "disparate impact" doctrine—a cornerstone of early 1970s civil rights law. Disparate impact holds that seemingly

race-neutral standards—like tests—can violate the federal civil rights statutes if they have a disproportionate effect on minorities or women.

Disparate impact analysis has been applied primarily to hiring decisions; typically, an employer might be compelled to drop a requirement for high school diplomas if that standard tends to exclude minorities and he can't demonstrate a clear business necessity for demanding it.

Now, however, the Education Department is hinting at widening the use of disparate impact analysis in education. Last month—in response to a petition from a coalition of civil rights groups—the department agreed to investigate the University of

The time may be coming when Clinton has to choose between common standards in education and a civil rights community uneasy about their implications.

California's process for admitting students to its three law schools now that the state regents have banned the use of racial preferences.

With preferences barred, the UC law schools rely primarily on grades and test scores. Since minority acceptances have plunged at the most exclusive campuses this year, the civil rights groups argue that those traditional academic standards are having a "discriminatory effect" and thus violate the civil rights laws.

In a recent interview with David Savage of The Times, Judith Winston—until last week the Education Department's chief lawyer and now the director of Clinton's racial advisory panel—wouldn't comment directly on the California investigation. But, echoing the groups' complaint, she said the government could challenge universities basing

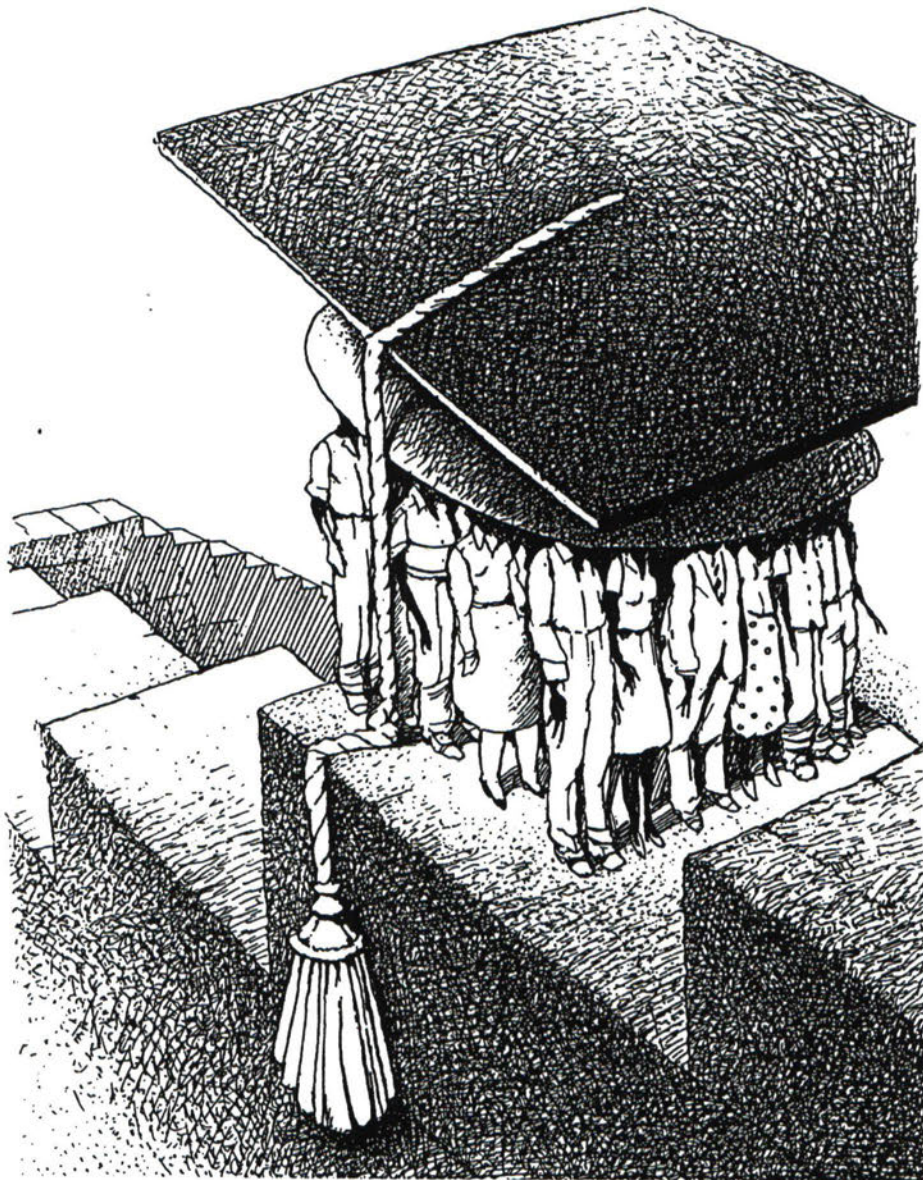
admission on "race-neutral criteria" such as grades and test scores if the use of those measures reduces minority opportunities and cannot be justified as an educational necessity. In other words, holding all applicants to the same standard could still constitute discrimination if it produces racially unequal results.

That argument has enormous implications not only for higher education, but the very push for standards in primary and secondary education that Clinton has championed. If the Education Department rules that objective educational standards can violate civil rights law because they disadvantage minority students, the door would be flung open for racial challenges to the proliferating use of tests for graduation and promotion in lower grades.

Already, civil rights groups are watching with suspicion the higher failure rates for minority students—especially those from low-income areas—in many communities that have imposed high-stakes testing. Last week, the NAACP Legal Defense Fund sought an injunction against a North Carolina county that has required students to pass tests to advance to the next grade. More lawsuits are likely as more communities adopt tests with consequences.

So far, the Education Department has moved cautiously in this area. It hasn't prevented any states from imposing tests. But in 1994, it exhaustively investigated whether Ohio's new high school graduation exam had a "disparate impact" on minorities, before finally approving the test—amid sharp criticism of the probe from House Republicans. Last month, the department negotiated an agreement that allowed Texas to continue its testing program, but required greater monitoring to ensure that minority students were being taught the material on the exams.

Civil rights groups are justified in demanding such protection—and careful examination of the tests that states are imposing. All levels of education can rely too heavily on standardized tests: as more communities



WILLIAM BRAMHALL / For The Times

condition promotion or graduation on an exam, minority parents are unlikely to be the only ones with second thoughts. "These tests shouldn't be the sole determinant of whether a student has mastered a particular area," said Stephon Bowens, an attorney in the North Carolina case.

But the answer can't be to repudiate standards as a form of discrimination: To do so is to declare society incapable of effectively educating minority and poor children.

Ultimately, closing the racial gaps in educational performance will require a reconstruction of social order, economic opportunity and family structure in America's most blighted

neighborhoods. More immediately, it calls for aggressive school reform and greater efforts to reclaim the students drifting behind—like the \$50 million Chicago has poured into summer school this year for the nearly 44,000 kids who flunked its promotion tests.

But in graduate school admissions and grade school testing alike, attacking high academic standards amounts to shooting the messenger. The standards "put the spotlight on the problem," said Chris Pipho of the Education Commission of the States. "Now the question is, what are we going to do about it?"

Ronald Brownstein's column appears in this space every Monday.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-17-97

B. Twining / C. Sandy
new reg
RK

copied
Winston
Benger
CoS

8/18/97

copied
OPL
Powder
for reply

8/19/97



१६ ਸਤਿਗੁਰ ਪ੍ਰਸਾਦਿ ॥

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

8-17-97

GURU GOBIND SINGH FOUNDATION

Mailing Address: P.O. Box 933, Rockville, Maryland 20851
13814 Travilah Road, North Potomac, Maryland 20850

ਦੇਸ਼ ਤੇਗ਼ ਦਰਿਤ

14 August, 1997

William Jefferson Clinton,
President, United States of America
The White House,
Washington, D.C. 20001

Dear Mr. President:

On behalf of the Sikh community in the United States we wish to open a dialogue with your administration to address, in a progressive and iterative fashion, issues of common importance to all of us.

Sikhs have contributed to American society since the beginning of this century and now number about 500,000 in this country (20 million worldwide). Although we are one of the most visible minorities in this country, our outlook is not insular - but rather expansive and ecumenical. Our fervent desire is to participate in and contribute to all facets of American life and, when called upon, to sacrifice for our country. We do not ask for special dispensation, but the right to practice our religion unencumbered by ignorance, discrimination, and malice.

We have faced and overcome many important hurdles along the way--we have been denied citizenship, prevented from owning land, and not allowed to unite our families. We have made much progress. Nonetheless, important challenges remain to be met in the interest of promoting a fair and equitable society:

- Sikhs continue to suffer from workplace discrimination by failure of local and regulatory agencies to recognize the inalienable external tenets of our religion.
- Sikh students similarly suffer from discriminatory policies related to the tenets of our religion. Many instances are resolved by dialogue and education but a disturbing number end up needlessly in litigation.
- For reasons that are unclear to us, Sikhs are excluded from serving in federal law enforcement agencies because of our turbans and beards.
- Sikhs continue to be excluded from serving in the federal armed forces (even in non-combat roles) despite our unparalleled record of service and sacrifice in the cause of freedom. Up to the 1980s Sikhs had served in active duty roles in the US Armed Forces. While we recognize concerns about protection against chemical and biologic weapons, recent advances in technology address these issues.

Demolishing the barriers that prevent Sikhs from fully participating in American democracy and public life will undoubtedly benefit both the Sikh community and the general American polity. As the one hundredth anniversary of the arrival of the first Sikh in the United States approaches, we look forward to the achievement of this significant goal.

Mr. President, I on behalf of Guru Gobind Singh Foundation, National Sikh Center, and Sikh Media Action & Resource Task Force (SMART) invite dialogue with you or your designated representatives to explore possible solutions to these issues.

Respectfully,

Rajwant Singh
Executive Director
Guru Gobind Singh Foundation