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001. note	From Terry re: attachments (partial) (1 page)	nd	P6/b(6)
002. fax	From Liz Carpenter to Terry Edmonds (partial) (1 page)	01/18/96	P6/b(6)
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COLLECTION:

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Speechwriting
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FOLDER TITLE:

1-20-96 Barbara Jordan Funeral Houston, TX

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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]
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- 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]

Terry Edmonds, Speechwriting
Office # 192

BOX 4

Barbara Jordan Funeral
Juvenile Offenders
Kentucky
Kick Butts Day
KIIS & Unite Concert
Labor
Sec. of Labor ~ confirmation, etc. of Alexis Herman
La Raza Convention
Lawrence Eulogy
Clinton Administration - Legislative Accomplishments
Manchester Crime, NH
Maryland State Legislature
McCaffrey Swearing-In Cmny.
Medicaid - 7/25/95
Memos from Counsel and Special Counsel
Mfume Swearing-In Cmony.
Michigan State Legislature
MLK Day
Montana
Mt. Zion AME Dedication
NAACP
Annual NAACP Convention
NAACP- HRC
NAACP Legal Defense Fund
Nat'l Assoc. Homebuilders

ENCLOSURES FILED OVERSIZE ATTACHMENTS

10983

NARA 8435

**REMARKS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
THE FUNERAL OF BARBARA JORDAN
GOOD HOPE MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH
HOUSTON, TEXAS
JANUARY 20, 1996**

[Acknowledgements: Let me begin by recognizing someone who could not be here today, Barbara's mother, Mrs. Arlyne Jordan; I want to also recognize Barbara's sisters, Bennie Creswell and Rose Mary McGowan; her brother-in-law, John McGowan; her Aunt and Uncle Mamie and Wilmer Lee; President Carter; Governor Bush; my good friend Ann Richards; Mayor Bob Lanier; Rev. Cofield and honored guests...]

I last saw Barbara this past October when I delivered my speech on race relations at the University of Texas in Austin. Seeing her in the audience both warmed my heart and quickened my blood. She was a great friend and a great critic. I knew that she would be listening to every word, and that I'd hear about it later if I didn't say the right things.

Though I am saddened by her passing, I am honored to be here today to celebrate the life of one of this century's most eloquent warriors for justice. Through the sheer force of the truth she spoke and the poetry of her words, Barbara Jordan always managed to stir our national conscience and make us sit up and listen.

She made us listen in 1974 when she said of the Preamble to the Constitution, "We, the people. It is a very eloquent beginning. But when the document was completed, on the 17th of September in 1787, I was not included in that 'We the People.'"

She made us listen in 1976 when, as the first black woman to deliver a keynote address at the Democratic National Convention, she spoke of the difficulty of creating a sense of national community. She said, "If each of us remembers, when self-interest and bitterness seem to prevail, that we share a common destiny, I have confidence that we can form this kind of national community."

She made us listen in 1992 when she honored me by giving the keynote address at the convention that nominated me President. "The American dream is slipping away from too many people," she said. "It is slipping away from too many black and brown mothers and their children..."

Barbara Jordan's was among the most outspoken moral voices of our time. Wherever she stood, and whenever she could she jolted the nation's attention in artful and articulate defense of our Constitution, the American Dream, and the commonality we share as American citizens.

Her faith in America was whole and unshakable, in spite of the rigors of growing up poor and black in the segregated South. The source of her optimism -- the things that guided her most along the path of success were family and community. The well-spring of her faith flowed from all of you: a loving family, a caring church, teachers and mentors at Phillis Wheatley High School and Texas Southern University who inspired and required excellence, mentors and role models like Lyndon Johnson, Ann Richards, her debating coach, Tom Freeman, and her many friends.

Barbara Jordan loved all of you and she loved Texas. She felt a deep pride in her state and that pride flowed through her blood. But above all, Barbara Jordan loved America. And she always challenged us to use our great power in the on-going struggle to live up to our highest ideals. Whether the issue was immigration reform or political ethics, she set the highest standards of fairness and decency and challenged us to reach them. In 1994, I had the special privilege of presenting her the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest honor given to civilians by our country. And I am forever grateful for the outstanding job she did as the Chair of the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform. The issue of immigration is sensitive, but as always, Barbara's criteria were fairness, equality, and the rule of law. And she was particularly sensitive to the needs of innocent children.

She once said, "All we are trying to do is make this government of the United States of America honest. We only ask that when we stand up and talk about one nation under God with liberty and justice for all, we want to be able to look at the flag, put our right hands over our hearts, repeat those words and know that they are true."

If Barbara Jordan was not in the Constitution when it was first written, she made sure that once she got in, she was not about to be put out. She was an American and her sense of citizenship -- that each and every American had equal standing -- gave her an enormous determination to protect the power of the Constitution for generations to come. That's what she was doing when she was called home -- working with students at the University of Texas LBJ School of Public Affairs to ensure that the next generation of our public servants would be worthy of the legacy she worked so hard to build.

Barbara Jordan was a classic American individual. She took to heart the advice of her Grandpa Patten who advised her as a little girl, "You just trot your own horse and don't get into the same rut as everyone else." All her life, Barbara Jordan was perfectly willing to stand alone. Her determination to stand apart if need be, had little to do with aloofness, and a great deal to do with her sense that you lived your integrity every day. She was after all Barbara Jordan, a Texan, an American, a citizen who believed and lived the American Dream.

I'd like to close by reading a few lines from a poem by Stephen Spender. It was a favorite of Barbara's, who liked to read it aloud. It could have been written about her:

I think continually of those who were truly great.
Who, from the womb, remembered the soul's history...
Who wore at their hearts the fire's center.
Born of the sun they traveled a short while towards the sun,
And left the vivid air signed in their honor.

Barbara Jordan has left our vivid air signed with her honor.
Barbara, "We, the People" will miss you.

Thank you.

psychiatrist's office. We know that there was absolute complete direction in August 1971 when the president instructed Ehrlichman to "do whatever is necessary." This instruction led to a surreptitious entry into Dr. Fielding's office.

"Protect their rights." "Rescue their liberties from violation."

The South Carolina ratification convention impeachment criteria: those are impeachable "who behave amiss or betray their public trust."

Beginning shortly after the Watergate break-in and continuing to the present time, the president has engaged in a series of public statements and actions designed to thwart the lawful investigation by government prosecutors. Moreover, the president has made public announcements and assertions bearing on the Watergate case which the evidence will show he knew to be false.

These assertions, false assertions, impeachable, those who misbehave. Those who "behave amiss or betray their public trust."

James Madison again at the Constitutional Convention: "A president is impeachable if he attempts to subvert the Constitution."

The Constitution charges the president with the task of taking care that the laws be faithfully executed, and yet the president has counseled his aides to commit perjury, willfully disregarded the secrecy of grand jury proceedings, concealed surreptitious entry, attempted to compromise a federal judge while publicly displaying his cooperation with the processes of criminal justice.

"A president is impeachable if he attempts to subvert the Constitution."

If the impeachment provision in the Constitution of the United States will not reach the offenses charged here, then perhaps that eighteenth-century Constitution should be abandoned to a twentieth-century paper shredder. Has the president committed offenses and planned and directed and acquiesced in a course of conduct which the Constitution will not tolerate? That is the question. We know that. We know the question. We should now forthwith proceed to answer the question. It is reason, and not passion, which must guide our deliberations, guide our debate, and guide our decision. ■

PRESIDENT GERALD FORD TAKES OFFICE AFTER NIXON'S RESIGNATION

"My fellow Americans, our long national nightmare is over."

MICHIGAN'S GERALD FORD, Republican House minority leader and a lifelong man of the Congress, was appointed by Richard Nixon to replace Spiro Agnew after that vice-president stepped down to avoid prosecution. When Nixon was also forced to resign, Ford became the nation's first appointed president.

After the trauma of Watergate, the country needed reassurance. Ford was determinedly plain—"a Ford, not a Lincoln"—and his first address to his fellow citizens as president was both solemn and simple. The speech, drafted by his veteran aide Robert Hartmann, made use of balanced phrases ("troubles our minds and hurts our hearts"; "not elected me as your president by your ballots, and so I ask you to confirm me as your president with your prayers") and concluded with the Lincolnesque "as God gives me to see the right" and the Wilsonian "God helping me."

This was a highly effective short speech, and the words "our long national nightmare is over" touched a chord. Mr. Ford never again reached these oratorical heights.

□ □ □

The oath that I have taken is the same oath that was taken by George Washington and by every president under the Constitution. But I assume the presidency under extraordinary circumstances never before experienced by Americans. This is an hour of history that troubles our minds and hurts our hearts.

Therefore, I feel it is my first duty to make an unprecedented compact with my countrymen. Not an inaugural address, not a fireside chat, not a campaign speech—just a little straight talk among friends. And I intend it to be the first of many.

I am acutely aware that you have not elected me as your president by

Senate, assigning to the one the right to accuse and to the other the right to judge, the framers of this Constitution were very astute. They did not make the accusers and the judges the same person.

We know the nature of impeachment. We have been talking about it awhile now. "It is chiefly designed for the president and his high ministers" to somehow be called into account. It is designed to "bridle" the executive if he engages in excesses. "It is designed as a method of national inquest into the conduct of public men." (Hamilton, *Federalist*, no. 65.) The framers confined in the Congress the power if need be, to remove the president in order to strike a delicate balance between a president swollen with power and grown tyrannical, and preservation of the independence of the executive. The nature of impeachment is a narrowly channeled exception to the separation-of-powers maxim; the federal convention of 1787 said that. It limited impeachment to high crimes and misdemeanors and discounted and opposed the term "maladministration." "It is to be used only for great misdemeanors," so it was said in the North Carolina ratification convention. And in the Virginia ratification convention: "We do not trust our liberty to a particular branch. We need one branch to check the others."

The North Carolina ratification convention: "No one need be afraid that officers who commit oppression will pass with immunity."

"Prosecutions of impeachments will seldom fail to agitate the passions of the whole community," said Hamilton in the *Federalist Papers*, no. 65. "And to divide it into parties more or less friendly or inimical to the accused." I do not mean political parties in that sense.

The drawing of political lines goes to the motivation behind impeachment; but impeachment must proceed within the confines of the constitutional term "high crimes and misdemeanors."

Of the impeachment process, it was Woodrow Wilson who said that "nothing short of the grossest offenses against the plain law of the land will suffice to give them speed and effectiveness. Indignation so great as to overgrow party interest may secure a conviction; but nothing else can."

Common sense would be revolted if we engaged upon this process for petty reasons. Congress has a lot to do. Appropriations, tax reform, health insurance, campaign finance reform, housing, environmental protection, energy sufficiency, mass transportation. Pettiness cannot be allowed to stand in the face of such overwhelming problems. So today we are not being petty. We are trying to be big because the task we have before us is a big one.

This morning, in a discussion of the evidence, we were told that the evidence which purports to support the allegations of misuse of the CIA by

the president is thin. We are told that that evidence is insufficient. What that recital of the evidence this morning did not include is what the president did know on June 23, 1972. The president did know that it was Republican money, that it was money from the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, which was found in the possession of one of the burglars arrested on June 17.

What the president did know on June 23 was the prior activities of E. Howard Hunt, which included his participation in the break-in of Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist, which included Howard Hunt's participation in the Dita Beard ITT affair, which included Howard Hunt's fabrication of cables designed to discredit the Kennedy administration.

We were further cautioned today that perhaps these proceedings ought to be delayed because certainly there would be new evidence forthcoming from the president of the United States. There has not even been an obfuscated indication that this committee would receive any additional materials from the president. The committee subpoena is outstanding, and if the president wants to supply that material, the committee sits here.

The fact is that yesterday, the American people waited with great anxiety for eight hours, not knowing whether their president would obey an order of the Supreme Court of the United States.

At this point I would like to juxtapose a few of the impeachment criteria with some of the president's actions.

Impeachment criteria: James Madison, from the Virginia ratification convention. "If the president be connected in any suspicious manner with any person and there be grounds to believe that he will shelter him, he may be impeached."

We have heard time and time again that the evidence reflects payment to the defendants of money. The president had knowledge that these funds were being paid and that these were funds collected for the 1972 presidential campaign.

We know that the president met with Mr. Henry Petersen twenty-seven times to discuss matters related to Watergate and immediately thereafter met with the very persons who were implicated in the information Mr. Petersen was receiving and transmitting to the president. The words are "if the president be connected in any suspicious manner with any person and there be grounds to believe that he will shelter that person, he may be impeached."

Justice Story: "Impeachment is intended for occasional and extraordinary cases where a superior power acting for the whole people is put into operation to protect their rights and rescue their liberties from violations."

We know about the Huston plan. We know about the break-in of the

9TH DOCUMENT of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Public Papers of the President

August 8, 1994

CITE: 30 Weekly Comp. Pres. Doc. 1646

LENGTH: 1878 words

HEADLINE: Remarks on Presenting the Presidential Medals of Freedom

BODY:

The President. Thank you very much. Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to the White House. As you might imagine, one of the great pleasures of the Presidency is selecting recipients of the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest honor given to civilians by the United States of America.

If I might begin on a very personal and immediate note, last fall this annual ceremony was held on a very happy day for me and for those of us who want a safer and more humane United States. It was the day we made the Brady bill the law of the land. Today as we gather here, Congress is on the verge of voting on the most comprehensive anticrime bill in history. But that bill has been held hostage for 11 days by certain special interest groups. So as we recognize the contributions of civilians to our country's way of life, I'd like to take this opportunity to call on those groups who are blocking the crime bill to let it come to a vote and ask the other citizens of the United States to ask the Congress for the same thing. Many people we honor here today have given their whole lives to enriching the fabric of the future, and we can do no less.

This afternoon we will present the Presidential Medal of Freedom to nine remarkable individuals whose service to our democracy and to humanity has advanced the common interest of freedom-loving people, not only here at home but throughout the world: Herbert Block, the late Cesar Chavez, Arthur Flemming, Dorothy Height, Barbara Jordan, Lane Kirkland, Robert Michel, and Sargent Shriver.

The medals these Americans receive today has a special history. It was established by President Truman in 1945 at first to reward notable service in the war. In 1963 President Kennedy amended the award for distinguished civilian service in peacetime. The honorees that year included the singer Marian Anderson, Justice Felix Frankfurter, diplomat John McCloy, labor leader George Meany, the writer E.B. White, playwright Thornton Wilder, and the artist Andrew Wyeth. By the time that first ceremony was held here in the White House in December of 1963, President Johnson had added to the roll of names President Kennedy and His Holiness Pope John XXIII.

Listen to this: At that time, Under Secretary of State George Ball said that the President is establishing what we can proudly call an American civil honors list. How many of our greatest citizens, who went on to achieve other things, said that the greatest thing that could ever be said about them was that they were good citizens. That is true in every way of those we honor today.

Herbert Block, or "Herblock" as we know him, became an editorial cartoonist

Public Papers of the Presidents

with the Chicago Daily News in 1929, not a very good year to begin writing funny cartoons. [Laughter] His long and prolific career has spanned the Presidencies of 11 different Presidents. The fact that he gets to choose the targets in cartoons may have something to do with the longevity of his career. His cartoons have appeared in the Washington Post since 1946, the year I was born. [Laughter] He educates and persuades public opinion with effectiveness, artistry, warmth, and great good humor. He has a big heart. He sides with the little guy, people of common sense, and all who hold healthy irreverence for any sort of pretensions.

Cesar Chavez, before his death in April of last year, had become a champion of working people everywhere. Born into Depression-era poverty in Arizona in 1927, he served in the United States Navy in the Second World War and rose to become one of our greatest advocates of nonviolent change. He was, for his own people, a Moses figure. The farm workers who labored in the fields and yearned for respect and self-sufficiency pinned their hopes on this remarkable man, who with faith and discipline, with soft-spoken humility and amazing inner strength led a very courageous life and in so doing brought dignity to the lives of so many others and provided for us inspiration for the rest of our Nation's history. We are honored to have his wife, friend, and longtime working partner, Helen Chavez, to be with us today to receive the award.

Arthur Flemming served every President from Franklin Roosevelt to Ronald Reagan as the Republican member of the Civil Service Commission, as a member of the Hoover commission on the executive branch established by President Truman, as Director of Defense Mobilization and a member of President Eisenhower's National Security Council, and as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. In addition to being an able administrator, Dr. Flemming is also a respected educator and former journalist. Over the course of his long and eminent career in public service, he contributed to the struggles for Social Security, civil rights, and most recently health care reform, something for which the First Lady and I are particularly in his debt. These three struggles he calls the greatest domestic crusades of his lifetime.

James Grant is the remarkable executive director of the United Nations Children's Fund, UNICEF, where he has tirelessly waged a global crusade on behalf of the world's children. Like his father before him, he was born and raised in China, where he took up his family's tradition of offering assistance abroad and first went to work for the United Nations at the end of World War II. In the fall of 1992 he helped to broker a brief ceasefire during the siege of Sarajevo and personally directed the safe passage of a convoy carrying winter supplies of clothing, blankets, and food. As the international community's guardian of innocent children in troubled regions, he oversees the delivery of humanitarian assistance that without him might otherwise never reach those in need.

Dorothy Height is one of the world's most tireless and accomplished advocates of civil rights, the rights of women, and the health and stability of family and community life. From the days when she helped Eleanor Roosevelt to organize the World Youth Conference in 1938, she has remained engaged in the public arena for 60 years and more. As a leader of the National Council of Negro Women and the Young Women's Christian Association, she's been a powerful voice for equal opportunity here and in developing nations around the world. In recent years, her Black Family Reunion celebrations have reminded our society that self help

and self reliance within loving extended families are the dominant cultural traditions of the African-American community.

For 20 years Barbara Jordan has been the most outspoken moral voice of the American political system, a position she reached soon after becoming the first black Congresswoman elected from the deep South from her native Texas in 1972. From national platforms she has captured the Nation's attention and awakened its conscience in defense of our Constitution, the American dream, and the commonality we share as American citizens. As professor of ethics and public policy at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, she ensures that the next generation of our public servants will be worthy of the legacy she has done so much to build.

Lane Kirkland has been at the center of the American labor movement for almost 50 years. After serving in the merchant marine during the Second World War and his subsequent graduation from the School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University, he became a researcher for organized labor in the same year that he worked as a 26-year-old speechwriter in the 1948 campaign of Harry Truman and his running mate, Alben Barkley. Throughout the cold war, when some leaders saw only the threats to our freedom overseas and neglected the barriers to freedom and inequality within our own land, Kirkland showed America that you can stand up to communism abroad just as forcefully as you can stand up for working men and women here at home. As president of the AFL-CIO for the last 15 years, he has helped to teach us that solidarity is a powerful word in any language and that a vibrant labor movement is essential to every free society.

Robert Michel has served in the United States House of Representatives since 1957. That is the second longest tenure of any Republican in American history. As minority leader in the House for the last 13 years, he has served his party well, but he has also served our Nation well, choosing the pragmatic but harder course of conciliation more often than the divisive but easier course of confrontation. In the best sense he is a gentleman legislator who, in spite of the great swings in public opinion from year to year, has remained always true to the midwestern values he represents so faithfully in the House. He retires at the end of this year, generally regarded by Democrats and Republicans alike as one of the most decent and respected leaders with which any President has had the privilege to work.

Sargent Shriver is the man who launched the Peace Corps 33 years ago. Because of his creativity, his idealism, his brilliance, the Peace Corps remains one of the most popular Government initiatives ever undertaken. From the time he and his wife, Eunice, helped to organize a conference on juvenile delinquency for the Attorney General in 1947 to his efforts for public education in Chicago in the 1950's, to his leadership of Head Start and legal services and now the Special Olympics, Sargent Shriver has awakened millions of Americans, including many in this administration, to the responsibilities of service, the possibilities of change, and the sheer joy of making the effort.

These recipients of the Presidential Medal of Freedom represent different political parties, different ideologies, different professions, indeed, even different ages. Their different eras, different races, different generations in American history cannot be permitted to obscure the fact of what they share in common: an unusually profound sense of responsibility to improve the lives of their fellow men and women, to improve the future for our children, to embody the best of what we mean by the term "American citizen." By their remarkable

records of service and by their incredible spirit, we have all been enriched.

And now I would ask the military aide to read the citations as I present the Medal of Freedom.

[At this point, Major Leo Mercado, Jr., USMC, Marine Corps aide to the President, read the citations, and the President presented the medals.]

The President. Ladies and gentlemen, in closing let me say that I couldn't help thinking, as the citations were read and I looked into the faces of our honorees and their families, friends, and admirers here, that we too often reserve our greatest accolades for our citizens when they are gone. I wish that Cesar Chavez could be here today. I am grateful that his wife is here, and I am so grateful that all these others are here.

Let us remember today that the greatest gift any of us can give the Founders of this Constitution and this Republic is to emulate the work of these citizens whom we honor today, every day, each in our own way.

Thank you for being here. God bless you all.

NOTE: The President spoke at 4:40 p.m. in the East Room at the White House.

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March 2, 1984, Friday, Late City Final Edition

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SECTION: Section A; Page 16, Column 4; National Desk

LENGTH: 1022 words

HEADLINE: IMMUNE TO THAT POTOMAC FEVER

BYLINE: By BARBARA GAMAREKIAN

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, March 1

BODY:

The view from Austin, Tex., of the legislative going-ons in the nation's capital has led one former member of Congress to conclude that people in Washington do not really know what the rest of the country feels and thinks.

Barbara Jordan, after three terms as a member of the House of Representatives, shook the legislative dust from her feet six years ago and returned to her native state to teach at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas. Professor Jordan is to be back in town tomorrow to speak at the annual dinner of The Joint Center for Political Studies, an affair that is billed as "A Salute to Black Elected Officials."

In a telephone interview from her university office, Miss Jordan discussed the perspective of the political world from the college campus.

"One sometimes gets the feeling," she mused, "that the Washington politician feels that all wisdom resides in the nation's capital. That is not the view of the people on the outside, the people I am now working with and communicating with. Distance has a way of lessening the impact of what the Federal Government does."

Experience in Government

Her years in Congress, she said, were gratifying. "They taught me how the national governmental process really works - where the soft spots are, what to look for, where the frustrations arise," Miss Jordan said. "Having experienced those things has made me a better teacher."

One of the soft spots in the political process, she says, is the need for compromise. "It is always present in government, but you need to be able to frame the arena for compromise," she explained. "That is the kind of thing I

Barbara Jordan, a Lawmaker Of Resonant Voice, Dies at 59

A1

By FRANCIS X. CLINES

Continued From Page A1

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17 — Barbara Jordan, the black Congresswoman and scholar who stirred the nation with her Churchillian denunciations of the Watergate abuses of President Richard M. Nixon, died today in her home state of Texas at the age of 59.

Afflicted with multiple sclerosis, Ms. Jordan died from viral pneumonia as a complication of leukemia, according to officials of the University of Texas in Austin, where she taught.

Ms. Jordan, the first black elected to Congress from Texas after Reconstruction, retired from the House in 1979 after three terms to teach political ethics at the university's Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, never losing her potent talent for public speaking even from the confines of a wheelchair.

Most recently, her rich, impassioned voice was heard once more in Congress when, as chairwoman of the Commission on Immigration Reform, she spoke out last year against a proposal to deny automatic citizenship to the children of illegal immigrants born in this country. "To deny birthright citizenship would derail this engine of American liberty," she warned with the same eloquence that mesmerized her American audience on July 25, 1974, when Representative Jordan argued for the impeachment of President Nixon.

Ms. Jordan, whom her students recalled as never being without a copy of the Constitution in her purse, rooted that Watergate speech in her faith in the Constitution's promise and in her personal history as a child of the Jim Crow South.

"I felt somehow for many years

that George Washington and Alexander Hamilton just left me out by mistake," she declared, catching the nation's attention with measured, sepulchral oratory from her seat on the House Judiciary Committee. "But through the process of amendment, interpretation and court decision I have finally been included in 'We, the people.'"

Then, with a smoldering glance across the proceedings of the historic Constitutional crisis, Ms. Jordan added, "My faith in the Constitution is whole, it is complete, it is total, and I am not going to sit here and be an idle spectator to the diminution, the subversion, the destruction of the Constitution."

Ms. Jordan was one of American politics' pioneer black women. In 1966, she was elected as the first black state Senator in Texas history, and went on to be the first woman and first black elected to Congress from Texas. In 1976, she was the first black woman to deliver a keynote address at the Democratic National Convention, riveting her audience on national television as she spoke masterfully from the stage at New York's Madison Square Garden.

"All blacks are militant in their guts," she told an interviewer during her first Congressional campaign. "But militancy is expressed in different ways."

As a model of the Democratic politician from the New South, Ms. Jordan was less an angry or confrontational liberal than an imposing master of the process and its details. A

An eloquence that remained undiminished despite illness.

consummate politician from her earliest days in the Texas Legislature, Ms. Jordan won a seat on the House Judiciary Committee though only a freshman by importuning her political mentor and friend, former President Lyndon B. Johnson, to pull some strings.

"She proved that black is beautiful before we knew what it meant," Mr. Johnson said of her. His widow, Lady Bird Johnson, led Texans in mourning their native daughter. "I feel a stabbing sense of loss at the passing of a good friend," Mrs. Johnson said today.

Ms. Jordan's political prowess saw her ascend to the post of Speaker pro tem in the Texas Senate six years after having arrived there as a political oddity and an outcast.

The youngest of three sisters, Barbara Charline Jordan was born on Feb. 21, 1936, into the poverty of Houston's Fourth Ward. She attended Houston's segregated public schools, and graduated magna cum laude with debating honors from the all-black Texas Southern University. Her father, Benjamin, a Baptist minister, moonlighted as a warehouse clerk to help her pay for college, where her scholarship and assertiveness were honed.

As leader of the debating team, Ms. Jordan, known as B.J. to her friends, later proudly recalled maneuvering the Harvard team to a draw. "When an all-black team ties Harvard, it wins," she said.

Ms. Jordan received a law degree in 1959 from Boston University and was soon at practice from her family's dining-room table. Eventually, she had a second-story office above a print shop near her family's simple frame house.

"I never wanted to be run of the mill," she told Molly Ivins, the Texas writer who was a friend since 1969 and likened interviewing Ms. Jordan to "a bit like grilling God" because of the care, scholarship and booming authority of her speech.

"We were poor," Ms. Jordan said of her strict but loving upbringing. "But so was everyone around us, so we did not notice it."

When Miss Jordan was 11, she quit her piano lessons — a defiant act that angered her father. He told her that the only good jobs for black women were in teaching music or in performing, and asked her what she intended to do if she could not play the piano. "I don't know," she recalled telling him, "but I'll manage somehow."

As a Congressional newcomer, Ms. Jordan served notice that she had received 80 percent of the vote and would therefore have far broader interests than the Black Caucus agenda, and would hardly be a "female chauvinist."

"You know, Barbara wasn't really that concerned about the guilt or innocence of Nixon," said Representative Charles B. Rangel, the Manhattan Democrat who served with Ms. Jordan on the impeachment hearings. "She was most concerned that the Constitution not be distorted for political reasons."

Some of Ms. Jordan's earliest politicking was as a young lawyer when she directed one of Houston's first voter drives in support of the Kennedy-Johnson ticket in 1960. She lost her first two bids for elective office in rough-and-tumble, racism-tinged bouts. But she succeeded when state legislative districts were finally redrawn and she became the first black of either sex to be elected to the Texas Senate since 1883.

Even amid the political turmoil of 1974, when Congresswoman Jordan contended that the Watergate conspirings had put the nation "on the edge of repression and tyranny," the outspoken Texan still led with her optimism. During that summer of the Watergate crisis, she took care to visit the graduates of Howard University and urge them: "Reaffirm what ought to be. Get back to the truth; that's old, but get back to it. Get back to what's honest; tell gov-

ernment to do that. Affirm the civil liberties of the people of this country. Do that."

Ms. Jordan is survived by her mother, Arylenne; two sisters, Bennie Creswell and Rose Mary McGowan, and a brother-in-law, John McGowan, all of Houston.

Continued on Page B10, Column 1

THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JANUARY 18, 1996

Clinton Aide Takes Blame for Ousters

By DAVID JOHNSTON

WASHINGTON, Jan. 17 — Denying that Hillary Rodham Clinton directed or ordered him to purge the White House travel office, a former Presidential aide told a House committee today that he alone ordered the dismissals of the seven employees.

"The First Lady did not direct me to terminate the travel office employees," the former aide, David Watkins, said. "She did not order me to fire them. She did not command me to fire them."

But Mr. Watkins, the former top administrative official at the White House, said he was truthful in a recently unearthed memorandum in which he described Mrs. Clinton as pressuring him and others in the White House in May 1993 to dismiss the travel office employees. He said he wrote the memorandum to rebut criticisms of his actions in the incident, and to show "there was extreme pressure that I felt was from the First Lady."

"I didn't feel direct pressure from her but through others," he said.

Mr. Watkins also told the committee he did not provide a full account of Mrs. Clinton's role when White House aides investigated the incident for a report in July 1993 that criticized Mr. Watkins and three other White House employees.

The release two weeks ago of Mr. Watkins's memorandum has reignited questions about Mrs. Clinton's role in the travel office dismissals. The White House had previously said that she had played no role in the dismissals. But in the memorandum, written in the fall of 1993, Mr. Watkins said he became convinced there would be "hell to pay" if the employees were not immediately dismissed after the First Lady had demanded their ouster.

In response, Mrs. Clinton has begun an aggressive drive to defend her actions in the dismissals, and in events related to the Whitewater land dealings in Arkansas. In interviews in recent days, she has denied ordering the dismissals, carried out by Mr. Watkins on May 19, 1993. But she has acknowledged expressing concern about the travel operation and said that overly solicitous aides might have misconstrued her remarks as a desire to remove the travel staff.

Mr. Watkins, who was dismissed in 1994 after using a Government helicopter for a golf outing, testified that the memorandum's portrayal of pressure from Mrs. Clinton accurately reflected his feeling that Mrs. Clinton wanted the ouster of the travel employees and exerted pressure on him through Harry Thomason, a Hollywood producer, and Vincent W. Foster Jr., the deputy White House counsel who committed suicide in July 1993.

Overall, Mr. Watkins seemed as if he were balancing on a tightrope, as he lent support for Mrs. Clinton's statements that she was minimally involved in the dismissals but refused to repudiate his own memorandum.

The hearing of the House Government Reform and Oversight Committee, which has been investigating the travel office dismissals, was thrown into momentary confusion when Mr. Watkins invoked a House rule that permits subpoenaed witnesses to testify without the presence of news cameras or microphones. His action cut short live broadcasts by two television networks, CNN and C-Span. The White House said it did not endorse Mr. Watkins's action.

Republicans on the committee say

Under 'extreme pressure,' but not directly from the First Lady.

they are trying to determine whether White House officials tried to conceal the role played by top White House officials, including Mrs. Clinton, in the dismissals.

The White House has said that the dismissals were prompted by concerns over financial mismanagement in the office, which makes travel arrangements for the White House press corps. Republicans counter that the move was a patronage grab prompted by Mr. Thomason, who was part owner of an aviation consulting firm that could have financially benefited from the action.

Democrats have accused Republicans of using their majority status in Congress to conduct an unwarranted assault on Mrs. Clinton on the eve of the Presidential race after seven previous inquiries into the travel office dismissals have found no illegality on the part of White House officials, who had the authority to dismiss the employees for any reason.

But Representative William F. Clinger, the Pennsylvania Republican who is chairman of the committee, said today that he would continue the inquiry into the dismissals. He said he would ask Mrs. Clinton to

answer questions in writing to clarify her role in the matter.

The committee released today a chronology by Mr. Watkins of his role in the travel office dismissals. He wrote the chronology in June 1993, closer to the time of the dismissals than the recently discovered memorandum.

In the chronology, Mr. Watkins said that on May 12, a week before the dismissals, he spoke with Mr. Thomason who had said he had "bumped into Hillary & she's ready to fire them all that day."

According to the chronology, two days later, Mr. Watkins had a conversation with Mrs. Clinton on the subject. Referring to himself in the third person, he wrote, "Watkins talks to Foster — who says he's getting more pressure from First Lady to ACT." Mr. Watkins said in the chronology that he telephoned Mrs. Clinton. "F Lady says she thinks these people should be out."

Mr. Watkins testified today that this conversation was the only time he spoke directly with Mrs. Clinton on the matter. He said that during the conversation, he gave Mrs. Clinton a status report on the travel office. "I did not feel any pressure from the First Lady during my conversation," he said.

But Republican lawmakers pointed to Mr. Watkins's writings, which quote Mrs. Clinton as saying: "We need those people out. We need our people in."

"I can't say those were the precise words," Mr. Watkins said. "These were my thoughts and recollections of the conversation."

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	From Terry re: attachments (partial) (1 page)	nd	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Terry Edmonds
OA/Box Number: 10983

FOLDER TITLE:

1-20-96 Barbara Jordan Funeral Houston, TX

2006-0462-F
ry618

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]

Attachments:

- one big print copy of POTUS speech
- One small print copy of POTUS speech
- One computer disk with small print and big print versions (Jordan and Jordan.big)
- Full text of the closing poem, "I Think Continually of Those," by Stephen Spender -- recommended by Liz Carpenter.
- Text of Barbara Jordan's 1976 Convention speech
- Text of Barbara Jordan's 1992 Convention speech
- The quote used in graph 3, page 2 was sent to us by Liz Carpenter (see attached fax)
- Barbara Jordan's autobiography, **Barbara Jordan, a Self Portrait.**
- The Jan. 18 New York Times retrospective on her life
- Her current curriculum vitae

Please note: The quote from Granpa Patten on the bottom of page 2 (small print text) is from page 7 of the autobiography.

Also note that I conferred with the following people on the speech: Ray Marshall of the LBJ School, per the President's request. Ray's numbers are work: 512-471-6242; Home: (b)(6) [001]
(b)(6). Bob Armstrong, Asst. Sec. at Dept. of Interior. Work: 202-208-5676. Kevin Sullivan, Dept. of Ed -- work: 202-401-0831. Liz Carpenter -- 512-327-4242 -- mobile number: (b)(6).

Good luck.

Terry

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

January 17, 1995

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

Hillary and I were deeply saddened to learn of the death of our good friend, Barbara Jordan. Her eloquent voice, which articulated the views and concerns of millions of Americans, was always a source of inspiration to us. Barbara's words flowed with heartfelt conviction and her actions rang of indefatigable determination as she challenged us as a nation to confront our weaknesses and live peacefully together as equals.

I am personally appreciative of her efforts to address the difficult problem of illegal immigration as Chair of the Commission on Immigration Reform. Hillary and I join the University of Texas, the nation and all those who fight for equal rights and justice in mourning the death of a great woman and a gifted public servant. We extend our deepest sympathies to her family.

Change: from what to what?

Why not change from a party with a reputation of tax and spend to one with a reputation of investment and growth. A growth economy is a must.

We can grow the economy and sustain and improve environment at the same time. When the economy is growing and we are taking care of our air and soil and water , we all prosper. And we can do all of that.

When I say something like that, I certainly do not mean the thinly disguised racism and elitism which is some kind of trickle-down economics. I'm taking about an economy where a young black woman or a young black man born in the Fifth Ward in Houston -- my town -- or South Central Los Angeles, or a young person in the colonias of the lower Rio Grande Valley, I'm talking about an economy where those persons can go to a public school, learn the skills that will enable her or him to prosper. We must have an economy that does not force that migrant worker's child to miss school for a full day so that she can work at less, at less than the minimum wage and, doing that, the family can still only afford one meal a day. That is the moral bankruptcy of trickle-down economics. Change, change, change. We can change the direction of America's economic engine and become competitive again. The American dream is not dead.

but we have to do it. We have to do it, because the idea of justice between generations, that idea mandates that the baby boomers -- that's our ticket -- the baby boomers and their progeny are entitled to to a secure future. They are. However, however, if we are going to ask those who receive benefits to sacrifice, there must be equity in sacrifice. Equity in sacrifice. That idea says that we will sacrifice for growth, but that everybody must join in the sacrifice, not just a few. Equity in sacrifice means that all will sacrifice equally, equally, equally. That is, that is the person who is retired on a fixed income, the day laborer, the corporate executive, the college professor, the Member of Congress -- all must sacrifice for equity.

I close my remarks by quoting from Franklin Roosevelt's inaugural address, which he made in 1933. Franklin Roosevelt made that address to a people longing for change from the darkness and despair of the Great Depression. And this is what Roosevelt said: "In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory." Given, given the ingredients of today's national environment, maybe, maybe -- just maybe, we Americans are poised for a second "Rendezvous with Destiny."

It is not dead. It is gasping for breath but it is not dead.

We can applaud that statement and know that there is no time to waste because the American dream is slipping away from too many people. It is slipping away from too many black and brown mothers and their children; the American dream is slipping away from the homeless of every color, of every sex; it's slipping away from those immigrants living in communities without water and sewage systems. The American dream is slipping away from those persons who have jobs, jobs which no longer will pay the benefits which will enable them to live and thrive because American seems to be better at building war equipment to sit in warehouses and rot than in building decent housing. It's slipping away, it's slipping away from those workers who are on indefinite layoffs while their chief executive officers are taking home bonuses which equal than the worker will ever make in 10 or 20 or 30 years.

We must frankly acknowledge our complicity in the creation of the unconscionable budget deficits, acknowledge our complicity and recognize, painful though it may be, that in order to seriously address the budget deficits, we must address the question of entitlements, also. That's not easy,

As president I hold the responsibility for choosing the best path to that goal and then leading the nation along it.

I pledge to you tonight that I shall meet this responsibility with all of the strength and wisdom I can command in accordance with your hopes, mindful of your concerns, sustained by your prayers.

Thank you, and good night. ■

REPRESENTATIVE BARBARA JORDAN MAKES THE CONSTITUTIONAL CASE FOR THE IMPEACHMENT OF NIXON

"I am not going to sit here and be an idle spectator to the diminution, the subversion, the destruction of the Constitution."

BARBARA JORDAN, a lawyer, the first black woman elected to the Texas state senate, was a member of the House Judiciary Committee that contemplated the impeachment of President Nixon for "high crimes and misdemeanors." As the hearings began, Republican Representative Latta of New Jersey, a Nixon defender, invited "those who propose impeachment to marshal the hard facts in support of their position."

Representative Jordan of Texas opened with an attention-grabbing line thanking Chairman Peter Rodino for "the glorious opportunity of sharing the pain of this inquiry." Her presentation juxtaposed quotations from early constitutional ratification debates on the matter of impeachment with certain actions of Mr. Nixon's aides. Delivered in her deep, ringing voice, with her oratorical technique of exaggerated enunciation of long words, her opening statement gripped the audience in the room and watching on television. It earned her the role of keynoter at the 1976 Democratic National Convention.

□ □ □

Mr. Chairman, I join my colleague Mr. Rangel in thanking you for giving the junior members of this committee the glorious opportunity of sharing the pain of this inquiry. Mr. Chairman, you are a strong man, and it has not been easy but we have tried as best we can to give you as much assistance as possible.

Earlier today we heard the beginning of the Preamble to the Constitution of the United States, "We, the people." It is a very eloquent beginning. But when that document was completed, on the seventeenth of September in 1787, I was not included in that "We, the people." I felt somehow for many years that George Washington and Alexander Hamilton just left me out by mistake. But through the process of amendment, interpretation, and court decision I have finally been included in "We, the people."

Today, I am an inquisitor. I believe hyperbole would not be fictional and would not overstate the solemnity that I feel right now. My faith in the Constitution is whole, it is complete, it is total. I am not going to sit here and be an idle spectator to the diminution, the subversion, the destruction of the Constitution.

"Who can so properly be the inquisitors for the nation as the representatives of the nation themselves?" (*Federalist*, no. 65.) The subject of its jurisdiction are those offenses which proceed from the misconduct of public men. That is what we are talking about. In other words, the jurisdiction comes from the abuse of violation of some public trust. It is wrong, I suggest, it is a misreading of the Constitution for any member here to assert that for a member to vote for an article of impeachment means that that member must be convinced that the president should be removed from office. The Constitution doesn't say that. The powers relating to impeachment are an essential check in the hands of this body, the legislature, against and upon the encroachment of the executive. In establishing the division between the two branches of the legislature, the House and the

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Barbara Jordan
Curriculum Vitae

Education:

L.L.B. Boston University, 1959

B.A. Texas Southern University (Political Science and History), 1956

Honorary Doctorate Degrees: 31 - including Harvard University, Princeton University, Notre Dame University, Brandeis University, William and Mary, Wake Forest University, and Tuskegee Institute

Experience:

1982 - Lyndon B. Johnson Centennial Chair in National Policy, The Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, The University of Texas at Austin

1979 - 82 Lyndon B. Johnson Public Service Professorship, LBJ School of Public Affairs

1972 - 78 United States House of Representatives, Congresswoman from the 18th District of Texas

Member: House Committee on the Judiciary; House Committee on Government Operations; Steering and Policy Committee of the Democratic Caucus

Major Legislative Achievements Enacted into Law: Amendments to the Voting Rights Act which expanded its coverage and provided for the printing of bilingual ballots; repeal of federal authorization for state "Fair Trade" laws which sanctioned vertical price fixing schemes; detailed mandatory Civil Rights enforcement procedures for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the Office of Revenue Sharing

1966 - 72 Texas Senate: elected as Senator to the Texas State Legislature

1972 - President Pro Tempore, Texas Senate

1972 - "Governor for a Day" - first black woman "Governor" in United States history

1960 - 66 Private Legal Practice, Houston

Administrative Assistant to the County Judge of Harris County

Professional Organizations:

American Bar Association

Fellow of the American Bar Foundation

State Bar of Texas

Massachusetts Bar

District of Columbia Bar

Publications:

Barbara Jordan: A Self-Portrait, with Shelby Hearon (Doubleday, 1979).

"Individual Rights, Social Responsibility," *Rights and Responsibilities*, November 1978, pp. 9-17.

The Great Society: A Twenty-Year Critique, edited with Elspeth Rostow (Austin: The LBJ Library and the LBJ School of Public Affairs, 1986).

"Reflections on the Constitution," *The Houston Lawyer*, Sept.-Oct. 1987, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 8-10.

Corporate Boards:

The Mead Corporation, member of the Board of Directors

Texas Commerce Bancshares, Inc., member of the Board of Directors

Federal Home Mortgage Loan Corporation (FREDDIE MAC), member of the Board of Directors

Burlington Northern Santa Fe, Inc., member of the Board of Directors

Northrop-Grumman Corporation, member of the Board of Directors

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Advisory Boards:

Chair, Immigration Reform Commission
Founder and member of the Board of Directors, People for the American Way
Member, Presidential Advisory Board on Ambassadorial Appointments, 1979-81
Hearings Officer, National Institute of Education Hearings on Minimum Competency Testing

Awards & Honors:

Recipient of Harvey Penick Award, 1995
Recipient of Sylvanus Thayer Award, West Point, 1995
Recipient of Sara Lee Corporation Frontrunner Award, 1994
Recipient of Seton Hall University School of Law, Sandra Day O'Connor Medal of Honor, 1994
Recipient of Presidential Medal of Freedom, 1994
Recipient of Joseph Prize for Human Rights, 1993
Selected "One of the most influential American women of the 20th century," by a survey for the National Women's Hall of Fame, 1993
Recipient of the Nelson Mandela Award for Health and Human Rights, 1993
Inducted into The African-American Hall of Fame, 1993
Recipient of the 77th NAACP Spingarn Award, 1992
Recipient of the Eleanor Roosevelt Val-Kill Medal, 1992
Recipient of the National Civil Rights Museum Freedom Award, 1992
Recipient of the Bess Wallace Truman Award, 1992
Recipient of the Tom C. Clark Equal Justice Under Law Award, 1991
Recipient of the Elmer B. Staats Public Service Careers Award, 1990
Inducted into The National Women's Hall of Fame, 1990
Dedicated in her name, the 1990 edition of the *Annual Survey of American Law* by New York University School of Law
Recipient of the Harry S. Truman Public Service Award from the Harry S. Truman Scholarship Foundation, 1990
Recipient of the 21st Charles Evans Hughes Gold Medal of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, March 5, 1987
Appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to serve on a panel to conduct hearings on the role of multinational corporations in South Africa and Namibia, September 1985
Recipient of the Eleanor Roosevelt Humanities Award, State of Israel Bonds, 1984
Voted "Best Living Orator" by the International Platform Association, 1984
Elected to the Texas Women's Hall of Fame, Public Service Category, 1984
Selected by *World Almanac* in 1986 as "One of the 25 Most Influential Women in America" (for the twelfth consecutive year)
Hosted a PBS television series entitled "Crisis to Crisis with Barbara Jordan," which premiered in July 1982
Selected by the editors of *Ladies Home Journal* as among the "100 Most Influential Women in America"
Selected as first choice in a poll conducted by *Redbook* magazine on "Women Who Could be Appointed to the Supreme Court," October 1979
Presented Keynote Address at the National Democratic Convention, 1976
Selected by *Time* magazine as one of the "Ten Women of the Year," 1976

1992 Convention

MONDAY • JULY 13

narrow little strip that disappeared, winding its way through a distant gap. And she would say to me, "You know what's so great about this place? You can get anywhere in the world from right here."

Thanks to her and to God, the United States Marine Corps, and the Democratic Party, I did go somewhere. But I've never really left that mountain valley. Shirley and I, our children, and their children still live in the little Appalachian town of Young Harris. And tonight one of my sons is sitting in front of a television in the living room of that same rock house my mother and her neighbors built so many years ago.

Tonight let our message be heard in every living room in every home in America. Wherever families and friends are gathered, let them know this: We have a leader and a Party and a Platform that says to the everyday working people of this country, we will fight your fight, we will carry your cause, we will ease your burden.

We will hear all the voices of America—from the silky harmonies of the gospel choirs to the rough-edged rhythms of a hot country band, from the razor's-edge rap of the inner city to the soaring beauty of the finest soprano. We hear your voice, America, we hear your voice. We will answer your call, we will keep the faith and we will restore your hope. Thank you. God bless you. God bless America. (Applause)

(Musical interlude)

A video tape introducing former Representative Barbara Jordan from Texas was shown

ANNOUNCER: Ladies and gentlemen, please welcome Barbara Jordan.

(Standing ovation)

Address by Former U.S. Representative Barbara Jordan from Texas

REPRESENTATIVE JORDAN: It was at this time, it was at this place, it was at this event 16 years ago, I presented a keynote address to the Democratic National Convention. I remind you, with modesty, I remind you that that year, 1976, we won the Presidency. (Applause)

We won it. Why not repeat that performance in 1992? (Applause) We can do it. We can do it. We can do it.

What we need to do, Democrats, is believe that it is possible to win. It is possible. We can do it.

Now, you have heard a lot about change tonight. Every speaker here has said something about change, and I want you to talk with me for a few minutes about change, but I want you to listen to the way I have entitled my remarks: "Change From What to What?" From what to what?

This change, which is very rhetoric-oriented—rhetorically oriented—this change acquires substance when each of us contemplates the public mind. What about the public mind?

There appears to be a general apprehension in the country about the future. That apprehension undermines our faith in each other and our faith in ourselves, undermines that confidence. The idea that America today will be better tomorrow has become destabilized. It has become destabilized because of the recession and the sluggishness of the economy. Jobs lost have become permanent unemployment rather than cyclical unemployment. The public mind—public policy-makers are held in low regard. Mistrust abounds.

In this kind of environment, it is understandable that change would become the watchword of this time. What is the catalyst which will bring about the change we're all talking about? I say that catalyst is the Democratic Party and our nominee for President. (Applause)

We are not strangers to change. Twenty years ago we changed the whole tone of

the Nation after Watergate abuses. We did that 20 years ago. We know how to change. We have been the instrument of change in the past. We know what needs to be done; we know how to do it. We know that we can impact policies which affect education, human rights, civil rights, economic and social opportunity, and the environment. These are policies—these are policies which are embedded in the soul of the Democratic Party; and embedded in our soul, they will not disappear easily.

We as a Party will do nothing to erode our essence. We will not. But there are some things which ought to change. We need to change them. But the fact that we are going to change things should not cause any apprehension in our minds, because the Democratic Party is alive and well. It is alive and well. (Applause)

We will change in order to satisfy the present, in order to satisfy the future, but we will not die. We will change, but we will not die.

From what to what? Why not change from a Party with a reputation of tax and spend to one with a reputation of investment and growth? (Applause)

A growth economy is a must. We can grow the economy and sustain an improved environment at the same time. When the economy is growing and we are taking care of our air and soil and water, we all prosper, and we can do all of that. When I say something like that, I certainly do not mean the thinly disguised racism and elitism which is some kind of trickle-down economics. (Applause)

I will tell you the kind of economy I'm talking about. I'm talking about an economy where a young Black woman or a young Black man born in the 5th Ward of Houston (my town) or South Central Los Angeles, or a young person in the colonias of the lower Rio Grande Valley—I'm talking about an economy where they can go to a public school, learn the skills that will enable her or him to prosper.

We must have an economy that does not force that migrant worker's child to miss school for a full day so that she can work

at less than the minimum wage—and doing that, the family can still only afford one meal a day. That is the moral bankruptcy of trickle-down economics. (Applause) Change. Change. Change.

We can change the direction. We can change the direction of America's economic engine and become competitive again. We can make that change and become proud of the country that we are.

Friends in the Democratic Party, the American Dream is not dead. It is not dead. It is gasping for breath, but it is not dead. (Applause)

We can applaud that statement and know that there is no time to waste, because the American Dream is slipping away from too many people. It is slipping away from too many Black and Brown mothers and their children. The American Dream is slipping away from the homeless of every color, of every sex.

It's slipping away from those immigrants living in communities without water and sewage systems. The American Dream is slipping away from those persons who have jobs which no longer will pay benefits which will enable them to live and thrive, because America seems to be better at building war equipment to sit in warehouses and rot than in building decent housing. It's slipping away. (Applause) The American Dream is slipping away from those workers who are on indefinite layoffs while their chief executive officers are taking home bonuses which equal more than the worker will ever make in 10, 20 or 30 years. (Applause)

We need to change the decaying inner cities from decay to places where hope lives. As we undergo that change, we must be prepared to answer Rodney King's haunting question: "Can we all get along? Can we get along?" I say we answer that question with a resounding yes. Yes. Yes. (Applause)

We must change that deleterious environment of the '80s, that environment which was characterized by greed and hatred and selfishness and mega-mergers and

"Why not change from a Party with a reputation of tax and spend to one with a reputation of investment and growth? And I certainly do not mean the thinly disguised racism and elitism which is some kind of trickle down economics."

Hon. Barbara Jordan

debt overhang. Change it to what? Change that environment of the '80s to an environment which is characterized by a devotion to the public interest, public service, tolerance, and love. Love. Love. (Applause)

We are one, we Americans. We are one. And we reject any intruder who seeks to divide us on the basis of race and color. We honor cultural identity. We always have. We always will.

But separatism is not allowed. (Applause) Separatism is not the American way. We must not allow ideas like political correctness to divide us and cause us to reverse hard-won achievements in human rights and civil rights. (Applause)

Xenophobia has no place in the Democratic Party. We seek to unite people, not divide them. As we seek to unite people, we reject both White racism and Black racism. This Party will not tolerate bigotry under any guise. (Applause)

Our strength in this country is rooted in our diversity. Our history bears witness to that fact. E Pluribus Unum—from many, one. It was a good idea when the country was founded, and it's a good idea today. (Applause) From many, one. That still identifies us. We must frankly acknowledge our complicity in the creation of the unconscionable budget deficits—acknowledge our complicity and recognize, painful though it may be, that in order to seriously address the budget deficit, we must address the question of entitlements also. (Applause)

That's not easy, but we have to do it. We have to do it because the idea of justice between generations, that idea, mandates that the baby boomers—that's our ticket (Applause)—the baby boomers and their progeny are entitled to a secure future. They are. However, if we are going to ask those who receive benefits to sacrifice, there must be equity in sacrifice. That idea says that we will sacrifice for growth but that everybody must join in the sacrifice, not just a few.

Equity in sacrifice means that all will sacrifice equally. Equally. That is, the person who is retired on a fixed income,

the day laborer, the corporate executive, the college professor, the Member of Congress—all must sacrifice for equity. (Applause)

One overdue change, which you have already heard a lot about, is already under way. And that is reflected in the number of women now challenging the councils of political power because they have been dominated by White male policy-makers and that's wrong. (Applause) That horizon of gender equity is limitless for us, and what we see today is simply a dress rehearsal for the day and time we meet in convention to nominate Madam President. (Applause)

(Chants of "We want Ann!")

This country can ill afford to continue to function using less than half its human resources, less than half its kinetic energy, less than half its brain power. We had a 19th-century visitor from France named de Tocqueville. De Tocqueville came to America, and he was asked—"If I were asked"—this is de Tocqueville—"If I were asked," he said, "to what singular substance do I mainly attribute the prosperity and growing strength of the American people, I should reply"—de Tocqueville said—"I should reply, to the superiority of their women." (Applause)

(Chants of "Barbara!")

I can only say the 20th century will not close without the presence of women being keenly felt. (Applause)

We must leave this Convention tonight with a determination to convince the American people to trust us. The American electorate must be persuaded to trust us, the Democrats, to govern again. (Applause)

That is not easy, but we can do it. Public apprehension and fears about the future have provided very fertile ground for a chorus of cynics, and these cynics go around saying that it makes no difference who is elected President of the United States. You must say to those cynics: You are perpetuating a fraud. It does make a difference who is President. (Applause)

"E Pluribus Unum — from many, one. It was a good idea when the country was founded and it's a good idea today."

"Equality in sacrifice means that all will sacrifice equally. Equally."

"American's are poised for a second rendezvous with destiny."

Hon. Barbara Jordan

1992 CONVENTION PROCEEDINGS

A Democratic President would appoint a Supreme Court justice who protects liberty rather than burden liberty. (Applause) A Democratic President would promote principles, programs, policies which help us help ourselves.

Now, there is another agenda item which has arisen. Character has become an item on the political agenda of 1992. The question of character is a proper one. But if you were to exercise a well-reasoned examination of the question of character, what you discover is that the whole question falls into emotionalism rather than fact. (Applause)

You know how dangerous it is for us to make decisions based on emotion rather than reason. James Madison, the founder of the Constitution, the father of the Constitution, warned us of the perils of relying on passion rather than reason.

There is an editor, a late editor of the (Emporia), *Kansas Gazette*, William White, who had this to say about reason, and it's very, very pertinent. The quote: "Reason has never failed man. Only fear and oppression have made the wrecks of the world." (Applause) It is reason and not passion which should guide our decisions. The question persists—who can best lead this country at this moment in our history? (Applause)

I close my remarks by quoting from Franklin Roosevelt's inaugural address, which he made in 1933. Franklin Roosevelt made that address to a people longing for change from the darkness and despair of the Great Depression.

And this is what Roosevelt said: "In every dark hour of our national life a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory."

Given the ingredients of today's national environment, maybe, just maybe, we Americans are poised for a second rendezvous with destiny. (Applause)

(Musical interlude)

ANNOUNCER: Ladies and gentlemen, please welcome once again Mr. Phil Driscoll.

"Battle Hymn of the Republic"
was performed by Phil Driscoll and
the New York Restoration Choir

(Musical interlude)

GOVERNOR RICHARDS: Now, to close this first session of the 41st Democratic National Convention on an ecumenical note, it is my pleasure to introduce Pat Shea of Utah. He is a distinguished member of the Democratic National Committee, Democratic candidate for Governor of Utah. And to assist Pat Shea, Mark Maryboy will translate his benediction into the Navaho language. Mr. Maryboy is a member of the Navaho Tribal Council of San Juan County, Utah; County Commissioner. Ladies and gentlemen, we bring you Pat Shea and Mark Maryboy. (Applause)

**Benediction by Pat Shea
from Utah and
Commissioner Mark Maryboy
from San Juan County, Utah**

MR. SHEA: Stop. Let us pray. Remember John Kennedy. Let us pray. Remember Dr. Martin Luther King. Let us pray. Remember Robert Kennedy.

MR. MARYBOY: (Translates into Navajo)

MR. SHEA: Silence. Silence. Thought. God bless Barbara Jordan. (Applause)

MR. MARYBOY: (Translates into Navajo)

MR. SHEA: May we, as we close our first night of celebration, pause for reflection about our purpose in being here, reflect on our dedication to more than individual gain.

one who knows me knows I am not very flexible. I rarely if ever do anything out of character. I am not saying that's good, but right now it is not comfortable for me to change my habits.

Liz: Barbara, people have mentioned you as becoming a future President, Vice-President or Speaker of the House. Do you feel that any of those roles are in your future?

Barbara: I don't know any politician who writes anything out of their political future, so I am not writing anything out of my political future. I just want to be what I am and do the best that I can do, and if an opportunity for movement in some direction occurs, be ready to take it.

Lady Bird: That's what I mean by elasticity!

Liz: And here's a question for you, Mrs. Johnson. If you were a young woman today, would you combine a career with marriage or would you be content to be primarily a wife and mother?

Lady Bird: Gee, I think it depends on how interesting it was being a wife and mother, and what sort of a husband I had. (Laughter)

Liz: Well, if you had the same husband or the same sort of husband as LBJ?

Lady Bird: Well, I assure you that if I had the same husband I would not be having a career! (Laughter)

Liz: Let's talk a little more about relations between races. In your own life-span, how have you seen the relationships between the races change?

Barbara: I was born in 1936 and went

to a segregated high school, a segregated undergraduate school and then on to law school in the North. During those years, when segregation was the code and the code could not be breached, conversations between black and white people in the South were almost nonexistent. Yet today, it would be the exception if there were not multi-racial groups included in the development of any community-type activity, the schools or even the churches. As you know, they were the last to get through the racial barriers; churches should have been the first but they were the last. I have seen that community that I knew as a child just break down piece by piece with blacks easing out and whites easing in. And the flow back and forth has become easier as the years have passed.

Lady Bird: The most obvious thing is when the signs came down. In my childhood you would go to the depot and there would be two waiting rooms and the sign above one "COLORED" and written above the other "WHITE," and there would be two drinking fountains and one would say "COLORED" and one "WHITE." That wasn't so long ago, and yet it seems like a part of our very distant past.

Liz: Why do you think race relations in the South are more placid at this time than they are in the North?

Barbara: I think it goes back to what I talked about earlier, about our caring about each other. In the South, black people and white people have always

cared about each other. They have been willing to lend a hand if a hand was needed. We were not strangers. When integration came to them in the North, the racial mixtures at lunch counters and hotels and morels was all surface. They had never developed any feeling of warmth for a person as a person.

Lady Bird: Yes, we have been side-by-side and shared many experiences, and in the long run it had to be easier for us.

Liz: What do you think is going to happen in the North?

Barbara: I don't know, because what Lady Bird and I are talking about is something that developed over a period of years. I don't know how you can put the tension and hostility and meanness to rest in the North because we don't have that much time. They're just going to batter each other's brains out until they become exhausted from the fray, and then start to live together.

Liz: Are you pessimistic about it?

Barbara: Oh, I'm just the world's greatest optimist. I'm not pessimistic at all. They are going to work through it. It's going to be painful, probably more blood is going to be shed, more people are going to be hurt, but ultimately I think they will work through it—from sheer exhaustion if nothing else.

What I would like to see is the time when race just is not a factor at all, when we need no more laws, when we don't have to talk about the subject any more. I want to see the day come in the State of Texas and

To page 124

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shocked me, but then I knew all the time it would be best for me to move on. But I was impressed and touched that he should be so passionate about it.

Liz: Let's talk about the heritage you both share. What part of your Southern heritage makes you love it, and what part makes you most ashamed?

Barbara: Well, Liz, I can say what makes me love the South is the feeling people have for each other. We take care of each other in the South. We really do. Now, what makes me ashamed is that we had to for a long time in the South put a ceiling on that caring. We cared for people but if you got into problems of race, then somehow the cap was placed on the caring and you were out into strange and foreign territory. That makes me ashamed but, I hasten to add, things are changing.

Liz: What mental picture do you see when you think of caring? I think of funerals and the neighbors coming from miles around with pies and name markers on the bottom of the pie plates.

Barbara: Just the simple things, like when you could just call on just about anybody in your neighborhood or the neighborhood on the other side of town and say, "Look, I need some help over here—my child is sick. I need a doctor and I can't afford to pay for the proper kind of care." That money would be forthcoming. You could just count on that. Why, I had an experience just lately. A friend of mine was driving

from the Northeast to the South and had car trouble. She was very dispirited because she couldn't get her car fixed. Then a car rolled in with Arkansas license plates, and she said, "Ohhh, this is going to be my savior." And you feel that if you're having difficulty, if you run out of gas, look for a Texas license plate or a Southern license plate and you'll just about know that somebody is going to stop and take care of you and not rip you off in the process (Laughter). I mean it. I just don't think, driving in New York or Pennsylvania or some of those other states in the Northeast, that you could have car trouble and that anybody with that license plate would give you a hand. I really don't.

Liz: Mrs. Johnson, what part of your Southern heritage makes you love it and what part makes you ashamed?

Lady Bird: Liz, I suppose I think of scenes of dusty summer roads and me walking along barefooted and maybe some roses climbing along the fence, sort of the very tangled hedgerows in East Texas. So it's visual memories in part for me. Also, it's the summers with my kinfolks in Alabama, sitting on the porch while the women shelled peas and talked about genealogy, who-married-who and how many children they had.

As for what makes me ashamed, it's very hard for me to talk about a land I love that way. On the other hand, with great satisfaction, I think about the progress we have made in the relatively

short span of my lifetime. I agree with Barbara, things are changing. Things have changed.

Liz: President Johnson was always quoting his father about small-town living in the South. Do you remember that quote when his father said, "I don't want to die in the hospital in Temple. Take me back to Johnson City—"

Lady Bird: "...where people knew when you were sick and cared when you died and loved you while you lived."

Liz (Smiling): Uh-huh. Now, let's talk about today and the new energy and vitality of the Sunbelt. Where do you think it's coming from, and why has the Sunbelt become such an exciting place to live?

Barbara: I think it comes from the people of the region. We have always had the resources, but we were treated by the rest of the country as a little stepchild. They thought we just didn't have the culture or pizzazz to join the rest. But the older regions have become like stick-in-the-muds and now they are looking at us. We have the resources, we have the money, we've got the land, we've got the people and we've got the space. They don't have space in the Northeast. The people are on top of each other. They can't breathe because they are compressed in tiny little boxes. We can still go out and see blue sky. You have difficulty seeing blue sky through those high rises. So, we're coming alive because of the people and because the older areas of the country have just about had

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when my husband said 'get rid of the odors, or get rid of the cat!'

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recreation? They would tell me, "well, we ride horses," and I would say, "Now, that's nonsense. Ride a bicycle! That's what we do in the city, and you ought to try to do that." So I did consider myself a child of an urban area with just a little tidbit of disdain for the country.

Also, I was very, very serious about playing, which made me think that someone really had it in for me when I had to start going to school, because it cut down on my playtime.

Liz: These were childhood games? With dolls?

Barbara: (Very firmly): No, I didn't play with dolls (Laughter). I was what was called—fondly, I hope—a "Tom-boy." My toys were bicycles and scooters and water pistols.

Liz: When you were growing up, Mrs. Johnson, did you think of yourself as privileged?

Lady Bird: No, it never occurred to me.

Liz: You didn't think, "I'm a rich little girl"?

Lady Bird: No. My father was the man in the community who everybody looked to. His nicknames were "Mr. Boss" and "Cap Taylor" but, goodness, that just meant he had lots more to do than everybody else and seemed to work a lot harder.

Barbara: You know, it's very funny, now, Lady Bird, you never thought about being privileged and I never thought about being poor. When you're a child, you are just living and you've got parents and you've got

their willful and common belief in the confidence that everything was going to be taken care of and I really didn't have to worry about it.

Lady Bird: That was the way it was with me, too. I remember, though, that I was off at the University in Austin when the Depression really got bad. When the banks closed, I got a letter from my daddy with a dollar bill in it. You know, you couldn't write checks for three or four days. I had a phone call from my daddy and he said, "I sent you the last money out of the cash register and I hope you cashed a check before because I don't know what's going to happen." I never had heard the slightest uncertainty in my daddy before, and it did occur to me maybe for the first time that the world could go awry.

Liz: What person in your own home influenced you the most, and how?

Barbara: I would say that my father had perhaps the greatest influence.

He wasn't a very affectionate man. He was a rather strict disciplinarian, and he had certain standards that he expected his children to adhere to. You knew that, you just knew that. Now, he helped us with our studies but I hated for him to assist me, in my arithmetic in particular, because he made me feel so dumb. He would say, "You ought to know that!" and, "Why don't you know that?" I didn't think it was such a great experience while it was taking place, but hindsight tells me he really did have the greatest influence on my life.

One expression that in my mind was, "I'll stick with you and go with you as far as you want to go." Now that let me know that I had a decision-making role in that little encounter because he said, "I'll stick with you as far as you want to go." He had not set any limits for me. He left that up to me. Whatever I sought, he was standing back there ready to help.

Liz: I think you have said he took time off, even though he was a man who worked at his job six days a week and was a Baptist minister on Sunday, to attend if your sisters or you were in a school program.

Barbara: Yes, he would take time off to come to the school to hear me give my speech or hear Bennie play the piano or Rosemary sing a solo, and he would always cry, no matter what we did (Laughter). He would always cry, and you would think you did poorly but he was just laughing and crying all the time (More laughter).

Lady Bird: I am sure it was my daddy also who influenced me the most. Although he was in no part a person who laid out rules, somehow he just let me know he expected me to behave sensibly and I wanted very much for him to approve of me. I remember a time when I was wondering what I should do when I got out of the university and I said, "Well, maybe I'll just come home and stay for a while," and home, after all, was a pretty circumscribed life in the little community of Karnack. And Daddy looked at me very sternly and said, "No, you won't. There's more for you than this." And it sorta



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Mix cheese, butter, celery salt, paprika and Worcestershire sauce together until smooth. Stir in radishes and onions. Chill several hours to blend flavors. Spread on RyKrisp...the whole grain rye snack cracker. Makes 1½ cups.

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A CONVERSATION BETWEEN LADY BIRD JOHNSON AND BARBARA JORDAN

The two most famous women of the Sunbelt share their memories of the past and their hopes for the future. BY LIZ CARPENTER

I FIRST met Lady Bird Johnson 34 years ago when I arrived in Washington and called on my congressman, Lyndon B. Johnson of the 10th Congressional district of Texas. He was temporarily away in the South Pacific serving in the Navy at the beginning of World War II. She was standing in for him. That's where you always found her through their 38 years of public service in Washington or Texas—standing in or by his side: at a podium to make a speech, around the courthouse squares shaking hands, or elegant in a soft yellow chiffon gown dancing in the East Room.

Barbara Jordan is a generation younger than Lady Bird Johnson. It was Lyndon Johnson, then the ex-President, who led me to her in a crowded ceremony at the Texas State Capitol. She was a State Senator and had already established herself as the smartest one in the bunch. That was 1970. In two years, she was in the Congress and a freshman member of the House Judiciary Committee, transfixing and inspiring all America when she said, during the Watergate hearings, "My faith in the Constitution is, whole, it is complete, it is total."

There is much that is different and much that is alike in the soft-spoken gentleness of Lady Bird Johnson and the judicial crispness of Barbara Jordan. FAMILY CIRCLE, for this Sunbelt issue, joined the two in conversation at the imposing LBJ Library in Austin, Texas. Their words give evidence of the new winds that have been sweeping the South, mixing the old and the new. They speak of a South on the move. They speak of a South that has overcome.

Liz: Both of you were born and grew up in Texas. When you think of home and childhood, what are your main memories?
Lady Bird: I remember a house,

LIZ CARPENTER, also a Texan, has been a newspaperwoman and political observer for the past 34 years. She was Mrs. Johnson's press secretary in the White House.



a red-brick house, two stories with white columns, where I was born and spent my whole life, except for my years at college, until I left there to be married. There were old cedar trees in the front yard. It was built by slave labor back before the Civil War. I went to school in a little one-room schoolhouse nearby, walking and taking my lunch in a pail. There were never more than eight children. And when I was the last one left, they finally closed the school.

Looking back on it, I suppose I should have been lonely. As a matter of fact, I wasn't. I walked every brook, knew every spring, went through every pinewood, looked for the first violets. But there was not much companionship, and it resulted in making me very shy. When I finally had to go off to school, I thought everybody else knew more than I did about getting along together. And I'm sure I was right about that too.

Liz: Barbara, what do you remember?

Barbara: Liz, as you know, I was born in central-city Houston in the area that I now represent in the Congress. As a child, we lived in a modest brick house. Now the reason we had a brick house is that Franklin Roosevelt got elected President and they had the R.F.C. and the Home Finance Corporation. I can remember my grandfather extolling the virtues of Roosevelt who made it possible for him to save that little brick house!

I listened to Lady Bird Johnson talking about trees in her yard. I had forgotten all about having two large cedar trees in our front yard. They were like gigantic Christmas trees and we never could understand why we couldn't cut those trees down and just move them inside and put the lights around them for Christmas.

I thought of myself as coming from a big city, because on occasion we would go into the rural areas to visit our country cousins, and I used to think how in the world can anybody live out here (Laughter)! I would say, "What do you do for

of this Nation. The future is in our hands to
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 ry much, ladies and gentlemen.
 in honoring two Democrats who provided a
 pitol Hill, leadership that has transformed
 erment of this country have been beyond
 ing is of special significance, since both have
 ck re-election to the next Congress.
 Leader of the United States Senate —
 as you can tell, and is as respected today as
 ership of the United States Senate in January
 or longer than anyone in this Nation's history
 ay diminished his innate sense of fairness, his
 to be heard in the making of our laws, and his
 ce and wisdom to the vital role that the Senate
 y's foreign policy.
 or draws to a close, he can look back on thirty-
 at has truly made a difference in the kind of
 not say that about many people, but you can
 eld could not be with us this evening, I should
 rising as we honor this great American Senator,
 ontana. (Standing ovation.)
 very much. Thank you very much.
 es? I see the television cameras working down
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 e can move around and pay attention.
 s of Congress settle down in the next century to
 ese turbulent years, the contribution of one
 rge.
 a Rhodes scholar of Oxford, this native of the
 d to Congress in 1946, a member of the famous
 erwhelmingly elected ever since, usually without
 n't even bother to run anyone against him; they
 ng these three decades of service, this man has
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 reat patience and understanding, always deter-
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 of this country.
 ction as Speaker of the House for three terms,
 h him, every good fortune in his retirement from
 y to him that we shall miss him very much.
 nan of rare quality, a remarkable American, a
 stand and honor the Honorable Carl Albert of

**Statement of the Honorable Carl Albert,
 Speaker of the United States House of Representatives**

Speaker Albert: Thank you, Bob, for this recognition which I shall never forget.
 Thank you for what you have done for the Democratic Party.
 Thank you, my colleagues and my friends everywhere for making a Democratic
 landslide the surest political reality of our Bicentennial Year. (Applause.)
Chairman Strauss: Thank you, Mr. Speaker.
 Let me take a minute and just point out that a note has just been handed to me
 here. I would like to call your attention to a very special guest who is with us here
 this evening.
 Mr. Harry Heckheimer, of the Bronx, New York, believe it or not was Floor
 Manager for "Champ Clark" in the 1912 Democratic Convention. His man lost
 and they nominated Woodrow Wilson on the 46th ballot. He still campaigns and
 will be 100 years old this year.
 Let's give a hand to Mr. Harry Heckheimer. (Applause.)
Chairman Strauss: Wherever you are, Mr. Heckheimer, God bless you.
 Now, may I again urge that you be courteous enough to please clear the aisles
 and be quiet for a special, a very, very special occasion.
 May I have your attention as I present our second Keynote Speaker of this
 Democratic Convention who will now be introduced by a short film.
 (A film was shown.)
Chairman Strauss: Ladies and gentlemen — (A standing ovation.)
Chairman Strauss: Ladies and gentlemen — (A standing ovation.)
Chairman Strauss: You are neither ladies nor gentlemen. (A standing ovation.)
Chairman Strauss: Ladies and gentlemen, in case you do not know it, may I
 now present our second Keynote Speaker, the Honorable Barbara Jordan,
 Democrat, of Houston, Texas. (A standing ovation.)

**Statement of the Honorable Barbara Jordan,
 A United States Representative from
 The State of Texas.**

-1976
 Convention

Representative Jordan: Thank you. (Applause.)
Representative Jordan: Thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for a very warm
 reception.
 It was 144 years ago that members of the Democratic Party first met in
 Convention to select a Presidential Candidate.
 Since that time Democrats have continued to convene once every four years and
 draft the Party Platform and nominate a Presidential Candidate. Our meeting this
 week is a continuation of that tradition.
 But there is something different about tonight. There is something special about
 tonight.
 What is different? What is special?
 I, Barbara Jordan, am a Keynote Speaker. (A standing ovation.)
Representative Jordan: A lot of years have passed since 1832, and during that
 time it would have been most unusual for any national political party to ask a Bar-
 bara Jordan to deliver a Keynote Address.
 But tonight, here I am.
 I feel — I feel that notwithstanding the past, my presence here is one additional
 bit of evidence that the American Dream need not forever be deferred. (Applause.)
Representative Jordan: Now that I have this grand distinction, what in the
 world am I supposed to say?

I could easily spend this time praising the accomplishments of this Party and attacking the Republicans; but I don't choose to do that.

I could list the many problems which Americans have. I could list the problems which cause people to feel cynical, angry, frustrated; problems which include lack of integrity in Government, the feeling that the individual no longer counts, the reality of material and spiritual poverty, the feeling that the Grand American Experiment is failing or has failed.

I could recite these problems, and then I could sit down and offer no solutions. But I do not choose to do that either.

The citizens of America expect more. They deserve and they want more than a recital of problems.

We are a people in a quandary about the present. We are a people in search of our future. We are a people in search of a national community.

We are a people trying not only to solve the problems of the present — unemployment, inflation — but we are attempting on a larger scale to fulfill the promise of America.

We are attempting to fulfill our national purpose: to create and sustain a society in which all of us is equal. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: Throughout our history, when people have looked for new ways to solve their problems and to uphold the principles of this Nation, many times they have turned to political parties. They have often turned to the Democratic Party.

What is it — what is it about the Democratic Party that makes it the instrument the people use when they search for ways to shape their future?

Well, I believe the answer to that question lies in our concept of governing. Our concept of governing is derived from our view of people. It is a concept deeply rooted in a set of beliefs firmly etched in the national conscience of all of us.

Now, what are these beliefs?

First, we believe in equality for all and privileges for none. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: This is a belief — this is a belief that each American, regardless of background, has equal standing in the public forum — all of us. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: Because we believe this idea so firmly, we are an inclusive, rather than an exclusive Party.

Let everybody come. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: You know, I think it no accident that most of those immigrating to America in the Nineteenth Century identified with the Democratic Party. We are a heterogeneous party made up of Americans of diverse backgrounds. We believe that the people are the source of all governmental power; that the authority of the people is to be extended, not restricted. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: This — this can be accomplished only by providing each citizen with every opportunity to participate in the management of the Government. They must have that, we believe. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: We believe that the Government which represents the authority of all the people, not just one interest group, but all the people, has an obligation to actively — underscore actively — seek to remove those obstacles which would block individual achievement, obstacles emanating from race, sex, economic condition. The Government must remove them, seek to remove them. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: We are a Party — we are a Party of innovation.

We do not reject our traditions, but we are willing to adapt to changing cir-

cumstances when change in order to a

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Representative Jor ning.

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ment. (Applause.)

Government which represents the
st group, but all the people, has an
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remove them, seek to remove them.

we are a Party of innovation.
re willing to adapt to changing cir-

cumstances when change we must. We are willing to suffer the discomfort of
change in order to achieve a better future.

We have a positive vision of the future founded on the belief that the gap
between the promise and reality of America can one day be finally closed.

We believe that. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: This, my friends, is the bedrock of our concept of gover-
ning.

This is a part of the reason why Americans have turned to the Democratic Par-
ty.

These are the foundations upon which a national community can be built.

Let all understand that these guiding principles cannot be discarded for short-
term political gains. They represent what this Country is all about. They are in-
digenous to the American Idea, and these are principles which are not negotiable.
(Applause.)

Representative Jordan: In other times — in other times I could stand here and
give this kind of exposition on the beliefs of the Democratic Party, and that would
be enough. But today that is not enough. People want more. That is not sufficient
reason for the majority of the people of this country to decide to vote Democratic.

We have made mistakes. We realize that. We admit our mistakes.

In our haste to do all things for all people we did not foresee the full con-
sequences of our actions, and when the people raised their voices, we did not hear.
But our deafness was only a temporary condition and not an irreversible condi-
tion. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: Even as I stand here and admit that we have made mis-
takes, I still believe that as the people of America sit in judgment on each Party,
they will recognize that our mistakes were mistakes of the heart. They will
recognize that. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: Now we must look to the future. Let us heed the voice
of the people and recognize their common sense. If we do not, we not only
blaspheme our political heritage, we ignore the common ties that bind all
Americans.

Many fear the future. Many are distrustful of their leaders, and believe that
their voices are never heard. Many seek only to satisfy their private wants, to
satisfy their private interests.

But this is the great danger America faces, that we will cease to be one nation,
and become, instead, a collection of interest groups, city against suburb, region
against region, individual against individual, each seeking to satisfy private wants.

If that happens, who then will speak for America? Who then will speak for the
common good?

This is the question which must be answered in 1976. Are we to be one people,
bound together by common spirit, sharing in a common endeavor, or will we
become a divided nation?

For all of its uncertainty, we cannot flee the future. We must not become the
new Puritans, and reject our society. We must address and master the future
together.

It can be done if we restore the belief that we share a sense of national com-
munity, that we share a common national endeavor. It can be done.

There is no Executive Order, there is no law, that can require the American peo-
ple to form a national community. This, we must do as individuals, and if we do it
as individuals, there is no President of the United States who can veto that deci-
sion. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: As a first step, we must restore our belief in ourselves. We are a generous people. Why can't we be generous with each other? We need to take to heart the words spoken by Thomas Jefferson: "Let us restore to social intercourse that harmony and that affection without which liberty and even life are but dreary things."

A nation is formed by the willingness of each of us to share in the responsibility for upholding the common good.

A government is invigorated when each one of us is willing to participate in shaping the future of this nation.

In this election year, we must define the common good, and begin again to shape a common future. Let each person do his or her part. If one citizen is unwilling to participate, all of us are going to suffer. For the American idea, though it is shared by all of us, is realized in each one of us. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: And now, what are those of us who are elected public officials supposed to do? We call ourselves public servants, but I'll tell you this: We, as public servants, must set an example for the rest of the nation. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: It is hypocritical for the public official to admonish and exhort the people to uphold the common good, if we are derelict in upholding the common good. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: More is required, more is required of public officials than slogans and handshakes and press releases. More is required.

We must hold ourselves strictly accountable. We must provide the people with a vision of the future. If we promise, as public officials, we must deliver. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: If we, as public officials, propose, we must produce. If we say to the American people, it is time for you to be sacrificial, sacrifice; if the public official says that, we must be the first to give. We must be. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: And again, if we make mistakes, we must be willing to admit them. We have to do that. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: What we have to do is strike a balance between the idea that government should do everything and the idea, the belief, that government ought to do nothing, strike a balance. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: Let there be no illusions about the difficulty of forming this kind of a national community. It's tough, difficult, not easy. But a spirit of harmony will survive in America only if each of us remembers that we share a common destiny. If each of us remembers, when self-interest and bitterness seem to prevail, that we share a common destiny, I have confidence that we can form this kind of national community. I have confidence that the Democratic Party can lead the way. I have that confidence. (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: We cannot improve on the system of government handed down to us by the founders of the republic. There is no way to improve upon that, but what we can do is to find new ways to implement that system and realize our destiny.

Now, I began this speech by commenting to you on the uniqueness of a Barbara Jordan making a keynote address. Well, I am going to close my speech by quoting a Republican President, and I ask you that, as you listen to these words of Abraham Lincoln, relate them to the concept of a national community in which every last one of us participates:

"As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master . . ." (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: " . . . This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference is no democracy." (Applause.)

Representative Jordan: Thank you. (Standing ovation.)

(Whereupon
had on the floor
(Representative
the delegates.

Chairman S.
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late. We shall
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Rabbi Feldman
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Amen.

Chairman Strauss
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is no democracy." (Applause.)
; ovation.)

(Whereupon, the band struck up "The Eyes of Texas" and a demonstration was
had on the floor.)

(Representative Jordan returned to the podium to acknowledge the response of
the delegates.)

Chairman Strauss: Ladies and gentlemen, thank you very much.

I should like to call your attention with great pride first to the speaker we just
presented, but secondly, and somewhat more modestly, we started two minutes
late. We shall adjourn following the benediction by Rabbi Emanuel Feldman of
the Congregation Beth Jacob, Atlanta, Georgia. We shall then adjourn two
minutes early.

Rabbi.

Benediction

By Rabbi Emanuel Feldman, Congregation Beth
Jacob, Atlanta, Georgia

Rabbi Feldman: Blessed art Thou, Lord, our God, King of the Universe, who
giveth of his wisdom to mere flesh and blood. As we embark on America's third
century of freedom, we offer thanks to You who guides the destinies of individuals
and of nations, and as we begin this day, the process of choosing our nation's
leadership, remind us, oh Lord, that You are our only leader.

And as we approach the halls of power and influence, remind us also that our
power is mortal and temporal, while Yours is immortal and everlasting, for in the
midst of the tumult and clatter of these proceedings, we need to listen to the still,
small voice within us, which is Yours.

Teach us anew those concepts which are the bedrock of this nation, that liberty
is more than merely a word, compassion more than a slogan, honesty more than a
catchword, justice and mercy and equality more than platitudes.

We ask of You not material things. Of these we in this land have been blessed in
much abundance, but rather we ask things of the spirit for this great republic. May
we leave forever behind us hypocrisy and greed and meanness of spirit, and ul-
timately, may we arrive where we started 200 years ago.

Oh Creator of all men, grant us the will and the energy to create a society in
which we can have confidence in ourselves, trust in our fellow men, and faith in
You, and may Your own promise in your Holy Bible be fulfilled in our own time,
Benosatte shalom b'horets, and I will bestow peace upon the land, and you shall
lie down and none shall make thee afraid.

Amen.

Chairman Strauss: Ladies and gentlemen, may I announce that the Presidential
nominating petitions must be filed with the Convention Secretary, Dorothy Bush,
no later than 6:00 p.m. on Tuesday, July 13th.

The Chair will now entertain a motion to recess two minutes early, until 3:30
p.m. tomorrow afternoon.

Does the Chair hear a motion?

The Chair hears a second.

The Chair declares the first session recessed.

Thank you very much for a wonderful evening.

(Whereupon, at 11:32 o'clock p.m. the above-entitled session was concluded.)

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- 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]
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- 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]

LIZ CARPENTER

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Fax to number:

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Attention:

Jerry Edmunds

Date:

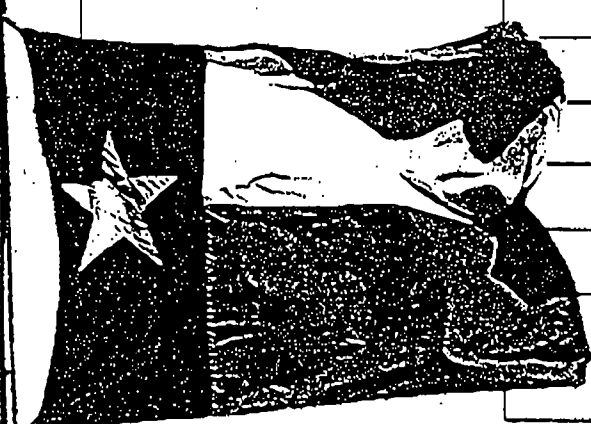
Jan 18

From:

Liz Carpenter

Number of pages:

Additional comments:



This poem was
a favorite of
Barbara Jordan's
to read about —

It would be great
if the President read
it — or part of it —
for it truly applies to her

[002]

LIZ CARPENTER

(b)(6)

Phone:

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Fax: 512-327-4272

Mobile:

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Date: 01/18/96 Time: 08:42

JFriends, Colleagues Remember Former Rep. Barbara Jordan

AUSTIN, Texas (AP) It is former Rep. Barbara Jordan's powerful voice that people remember best: Words rolled like gentle thunder from her lips.

``When Barbara spoke with that deep, booming voice, it was as though she was speaking from tablets of stone,'' former Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen said. ``She had a presence as few people do.''

That voice was stilled Wednesday. Ms. Jordan died at age 59.

One of the first two blacks elected to Congress from the South since Reconstruction, Ms. Jordan was remembered for transcending partisan politics by setting tough ethical standards and devoting her life to the pursuit of justice.

Whether passionately defending the Constitution during the Watergate hearings or exhorting fellow Democrats at the 1976 and 1992 national conventions, hers was a voice born to be heard formal, eloquent, deep and powerful, befitting the daughter of a Baptist minister.

``Barbara's words flowed with heartfelt conviction and her actions rang of indefatigable determination as she challenged us as a nation to confront our weaknesses and live peacefully together as equals,'' President Clinton said.

With her election to the state Senate in 1966, she became the first black member since 1883 and the first black woman ever elected to the Texas Legislature. In 1972, she became the first black woman elected to Congress from the South.

Ms. Jordan died of pneumonia thought to be a complication of leukemia, said George Christian, a friend of Ms. Jordan and former press secretary to President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Ms. Jordan had been ill for years with multiple sclerosis, and used a wheelchair and walker.

Former Gov. Ann Richards, to whom Ms. Jordan served as ethics adviser, said she was brokenhearted by her death.

``America has lost a patriot, a trailblazer, a hero,'' said Richards, also a Democrat.

Ms. Jordan ``in a sense was the conscience of the nation,'' Richards said. ``She could always be counted on to rise above whatever was the political fray of the moment and say what was the right thing to do.''

Republican Gov. George W. Bush said Ms. Jordan's great legacy was proving that ``you can get in the arena, you can defend the cause you think is important ... but you can do so in a way that holds the public confidence, in a way that is unquestionably honest and aboveboard.''

State Land Commissioner Garry Mauro recalled her ``awesome'' presence from his days as a state Senate clerk: ``I thought I heard God speaking, and it turned out to be Barbara Jordan.''

Once considered a possible vice presidential candidate, Ms. Jordan left politics after three terms in the U.S. House, choosing in 1979 to teach at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas.

After leaving Washington, she shunned the limelight and devoted

her energy to her students, who fondly called her ``B.J.''

Former U.S. Rep. Peter Rodino, former chairman of the Judiciary Committee, recalled his first meeting with Ms. Jordan after her election to Congress. ``She came in to see me, I'll never forget, opened her mouth, spoke a few words, and I remember thinking, `This is a woman I certainly want on this committee.'''

It was during the committee's 1974 hearings on whether to impeach President Nixon that Ms. Jordan won a national reputation.

``The gentle lady from Texas,'' as former Rodino called her, stirred television audiences across the country when she declared: ``My faith in the Constitution is whole, it is complete, it is total.''

One person in the audience said it sounded ``as if the gates of heaven had opened.''

At the time of her death, Ms. Jordan was chairwoman of the independent U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform.

She graduated with honors from Texas Southern University where she was a member of the debating team that defeated Harvard University and studied law at Boston University.

She practiced law in Houston and got her start in politics licking stamps in the 1960 Kennedy-Johnson campaign.

``One night we went out to a church to enlist Negro voters and the woman who was supposed to speak didn't show up. I volunteered to speak in her place and right after that, they took me off licking and addressing,'' she once said.

In 1976, her Democratic Convention speech was so remarkable, it quickly spawned rumors she might be the vice presidential nominee.

But in 1977, she announced she would not seek another term.

``The longer you stay in Congress, the harder it is to leave,'' she said then. ``I didn't want to wake up one fine sunny morning and say there is nothing else that Barbara Jordan can do.''

APNP-01-18-96 0842EST

Barbara Jordan, respected former lawmaker, dies

3-term congresswoman was 59

By Hugh Aynesworth
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

DALLAS — Former Texas Rep. Barbara Jordan, among the most respected black women in 20th-century politics, died at an Austin hospital yesterday morning after a lengthy illness. She was 59.

She suffered for years with multiple sclerosis and more recently contracted leukemia. Medicine taken for heart difficulty was said to have caused other complications.

George Christian, an Austin political consultant and close friend of Miss Jordan's, said she actually died of pneumonia, a complication of the leukemia.

He said she had been hospitalized during the Christmas holidays but improved enough to return home last week. She went back to the hospital Monday.

"Barbara's words flowed with heartfelt conviction and her actions rang of indefatigable determination as she challenged us as a nation to confront our weaknesses and live peacefully together as equals," President Clinton said in a statement yesterday.

"She was the personification of dignity and integrity, a constantly driving force for good," said Lady Bird Johnson from her ranch.

"She was a much bigger symbol

than Democrat politics," said Gov. George W. Bush, when told of Miss Jordan's death. "She is ethics. She is honesty. She was a pioneer."

The governor, whose father, former President George Bush, also began his national career as a Houston congressman, said Miss Jordan became "bigger than just a Texas phenomenon."

"She was a rare combination of eloquence, brilliance, integrity, compassion and soul," said the Rev. Zan Holmes, a Dallas activist, "and she brought that all to bear for the cause of justice."

"I admired her tenacity and brilliance," said Dallas Mayor Ron Kirk, who knew Miss Jordan as a student and, later, when he served as Texas secretary of state.

In a 1988 interview, Miss Jordan explained why politics attracted her early: "I discovered that if you want to do anything to impact hundreds and thousands of people, that politics was the way to do that. Most occupations do not give you that kind of opening."

After a career that took her from licking stamps for the Kennedy campaign in 1960 to the state Senate and Washington, Miss Jordan served three terms in the House before giving way to illness.

She returned to Texas in 1979 to become a professor in the LBJ School of Public Affairs at the Uni-

versity of Texas. She lived near the school and had been wheelchair-bound for several years.

Her resonant, eloquent voice first gained wide renown during the 1974 Watergate hearings. But Texans long before had been in awe of the black woman who combined grace and dignity with an unrelenting push for equal rights for minorities and women.

Although Watergate hearings lifted her to fame, she often said she took no pleasure in the role she played. "My faith in the Constitution is whole. It is complete. It is total," she said at the time.

Twice she gave stirring keynote speeches to Democratic National Conventions, in 1976 and 1992.

In each case, she pleaded for unity and understanding, fairness and a sense of ethics. After the first keynote speech, some thought she might be a vice-presidential candidate, but she knew her health would not permit it and made no effort to get it.

She usually spoke candidly, whether it pleased her party or

not. "We must frankly acknowledge our complicity in the creation of the unconscionable budget deficit," she told delegates at the 1992 Democratic convention.

In 1966, after two tries to become a state legislator, she became the state's first black female state senator since Reconstruction. Six years later, she and Atlanta's Andrew Young became the first two blacks from Confederate states to serve in the House in this century.

Born Feb. 21, 1936, Miss Jordan was the daughter of a Baptist minister in Houston's mostly black Fifth Ward. Though her father, Ben, pinched pennies to help her go to all-black Texas Southern University in the 1950s, she often credited the vision and help of her grandfather and her TSU debate coach with pushing her toward higher expectations.

In recent years, she was largely isolated from politics except for serving as chairman of the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform.

The Washington Times
THURSDAY, JANUARY 18, 1996

New Hampshire voters find little to get them excited

Electorate bored with GOP hopefuls

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

CONCORD, N.H. — Despite thousands of hours and millions of dollars spent in this state by GOP hopefuls over the last two years, New Hampshire's Republican voters are listless and even bored.

"I can't remember a primary that seemed this dull," says Doris Ploss of Manchester, a waitress who won't give her age but acknowledges she has several grown children and goes back quite a few primaries.

Fifty-seven percent of New Hampshire Republicans said they were paying very little or only some attention, according to a Jan. 7-10 survey conducted by the Boston Globe and WBZ-TV.

"It's the candidates," Mrs. Ploss says, referring to a group that dwindled from 10 to eight after California Gov. Pete Wilson and Sen. Arlen Specter of Pennsylvania dropped out. New Hampshire Republicans seemed inclined to give them little more than the time of day.

That left the field to Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas; billionaire publisher Steve Forbes; Sen. Phil Gramm of Texas; Pat Buchanan; former Tennessee Gov. Lamar Alexander; former Ambassador Alan Keyes; Rep. Robert K. Dornan of California; and businessmen Charles Collins and Morrie Taylor.

Except for Mr. Dole, Mr. Forbes and Mr. Buchanan, the rest seem stuck in the single digits in telephone surveys of likely GOP voters here and in most other states.

"Dole's 72, he'll be 77 at the beginning of a second term," says Mrs. Ploss. "Forbes, he's OK, I guess. Gramm, I don't think we're ready to have a Japanese first lady."

She was referring to Wendy Lee Gramm, Mr. Gramm's wife. Mrs. Gramm's grandfather left Korea, not Japan, to become an indentured servant of a sugar cane company in Hawaii.

Jon Gross, 37, founder and owner of a computer sales and repair shop in Manchester, is not one of the disaffected. He says politics fascinates him, especially in the intimate setting of New Hampshire.

Mr. Gross thinks he found his ideal Republican in Mr. Forbes, who surprised many by entering

"I can't remember a primary that seemed this dull. . . . It's the candidates."

— Doris Ploss of Manchester

the race late and riding media advertising past the rest to a close second behind Mr. Dole.

"His success hasn't surprised me," said Mr. Gross. "His TV and radio ads are continuous. You get the impression he has spent more money than the other candidates combined, and after a while you start listening to the message."

"It's a message of simplicity, of being against taxes and being a non-Washington person," he said.

But Mr. Alexander has been making just that pitch, spending a lot on media here and doing it earlier than almost anybody else.

"His image on the TV commercials is of a guy walking with a plaid shirt on, but I don't hear policy coming through. I don't think he has communicated a message. I know he is a governor, or was one. But a flannel shirt is not policy."

Mrs. Ploss isn't much enamored with Mr. Gramm's Georgia-Texas accent. Mr. Gramm actually tried to do something about the local resistance to his pronunciation.

In a televised debate here last year, he completely dropped the Southern drawl, but public acceptance testing by his media experts showed that potential Gramm voters thought he sounded phony or at least disingenuous.

Is Mr. Gross, nonetheless, surprised Mr. Gramm isn't running neck and neck with Mr. Dole, as many political insiders a year ago predicted he would?

"No, because nine months ago I expected Dole to be so far at the top of the heap that Gramm and nobody else would matter. I know Gramm is supposed to be the true conservative, but I think even he goes too far in that direction."

So will Mr. Gross be voting for Mr. Forbes on Feb. 20? Not exactly.

"Unfortunately, I changed parties in April, not because I don't think the Republican Party understands small businesses like mine," Mr. Gross confided.

der guards, by deporting twice as many criminal aliens as ever before, by cracking down on illegal hiring, by barring welfare benefits to illegal aliens. In the budget I will present to you, we will try to do more to speed the deportation of illegal aliens who are arrested for crimes, to better identify illegal aliens in the workplace as recommended by the commission headed by former Congresswoman Barbara Jordan. We are a nation of immigrants. But we are also a nation of laws. It is wrong and ultimately self-defeating for a nation of immigrants to permit the kind of abuse of our immigration laws we have seen in recent years, and we must do more to stop it.

The most important job of our Government in this new era is to empower the American people to succeed in the global economy. America has always been a land of opportunity, a land where, if you work hard, you can get ahead. We've become a great middle class country. Middle class values sustain us. We must expand that middle class and shrink the underclass, even as we do everything we can to support the millions of Americans who are already successful in the new economy.

America is once again the world's strongest economic power: almost 6 million new jobs in the last 2 years, exports booming, inflation down. High-wage jobs are coming back. A record number of American entrepreneurs are living the American dream. If we want it to stay that way, those who work and lift our Nation must have more of its benefits.

Today, too many of those people are being left out. They're working harder for less. They have less security, less income, less certainty that they can even afford a vacation, much less college for their kids or retirement for themselves. We cannot let this continue. If we don't act, our economy will probably keep doing what it's been doing since about 1978, when the income growth began to go to those at the very top of our economic scale and the people in the vast middle got very little growth, and people who worked like crazy but were on the bottom then fell even further and further behind in the years afterward, no matter how hard they worked.

We've got to have a Government that can be a real partner in making this new economy

work for all of our people, a Government that helps each and every one of us to get an education and to have the opportunity to renew our skills. That's why we worked so hard to increase educational opportunities in the last 2 years, from Head Start to public schools, to apprenticeships for young people who don't go to college, to making college loans more available and more affordable. That's the first thing we have to do. We've got to do something to empower people to improve their skills.

The second thing we ought to do is to help people raise their incomes immediately by lowering their taxes. We took the first step in 1993 with a working family tax cut for 15 million families with incomes under \$27,000, a tax cut that this year will average about \$1,000 a family. And we also gave tax reductions to most small and new businesses. Before we could do more than that, we first had to bring down the deficit we inherited, and we had to get economic growth up. Now we've done both. And now we can cut taxes in a more comprehensive way. But tax cuts should reinforce and promote our first obligation: to empower our citizens through education and training to make the most of their own lives. The spotlight should shine on those who make the right choices for themselves, their families, and their communities.

I have proposed the middle class bill of rights, which should properly be called the bill of rights and responsibilities because its provisions only benefit those who are working to educate and raise their children and to educate themselves. It will, therefore, give needed tax relief and raise incomes in both the short run and the long run in a way that benefits all of us.

There are four provisions. First, a tax deduction for all education and training after high school. If you think about it, we permit businesses to deduct their investment, we permit individuals to deduct interest on their home mortgages, but today an education is even more important to the economic well-being of our whole country than even those things are. We should do everything we can to encourage it. And I hope you will support it. Second, we ought to cut taxes \$500 for families with children under 13. Third, we ought to foster more savings and personal re-

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The New York Times, March 2, 1984

try to communicate to my students - yes, compromises are necessary, but you can help frame the environment for compromise. Once you frame that environment you know how far you can go and how far you cannot go. It's a matter of being certain of your position on issues and ideas and how much can be traded off."

Her decision to leave Congress at the height of her prowess as a legislator stunned Washington power-brokers.

She once told an interviewer that as a young woman growing up in a segregated community and later practicing law at her kitchen table, she had always wanted "to be something outstanding." And that she was. In 1966, she was the first black woman elected to the Texas Senate; in 1972, she was elected to Congress with 81 percent of the vote in her district; in 1975, she was a top choice of 700 political opinion leaders as a woman they would consider having as President; and in 1976, she was keynote speaker at the Democratic National Convention.

'Epitome of New Politics'

She was praised by President Johnson as "the epitome of the new politics." As a member of the House Judiciary Committee charged with examining evidence bearing on the possible impeachment of President Nixon, she mesmerized television audiences with her eloquence and speech-making power. Speculation was rife about her political future. An appointment to the Supreme Court? A Cabinet officer? A Vice President?

The question of why she left political life, she dismisses with this explanation: "I had a political stint which I felt was very successful, and then I decided to do something else,"

She is, she says, immune to Potomac Fever and has "not once" regretted her decision. She acknowledges, however, that it is the political arena that effects social change.

Friday night's dinner comes at the close of the Fourth National Policy Institute, a four-day conference here for black elected and appointed officials. "The dinner normally draws about 900 people, but it looks like its going to be closer to 1,200 or 1,500 this year," said Eddie N. Williams, president of the Joint Center. "Getting Barbara Jordan was quite a coup."

"I'm still pulling my speech together," said Miss Jordan, who explained that these days she speaks as little as possible. "What I want to discuss is what it means to be an elected official in 1984,"

However one thing is predictable. People will listen. Her commanding physical presence and a resonant voice of thundering eloquence is known to electrify audiences.

Hopes for Women in Politics

The New York Times, March 2, 1984

Although Miss Jordan has taken herself out of politics, she observed: ''I think women will be a tremendous force in the 1984 election. I don't feel that a woman will be on the national ticket this year but I bet you there will be a woman on the ticket for 1988.''

As for the Rev. Jesse Jackson's new role in national politics, she said: ''I think Jesse is doing a positive thing in encouraging black participation in the process, and to that extent, his candidacy is good. He has highlighted issues which would not have been highlighted except for his presence in the race. The black vote will be a significant factor in this campaign.''

These days, Miss Jordan practices law and teaches three graduate seminars each week on ethics, political values and local government elections systems. In 1979, she co-authored, with Shelby Hearon, her autobiography: ''Barbara Jordan: A Self- Portrait.

''Being a professor gives me the opportunity to work with the next generation of governmental managers and use my experience to help them become better public servants,'' she said. ''I view what I am doing now as an extension of my past political life. Young people are so much brighter today than I feel I was at the age of 22 and 23. They seem much more sensitive to events and the impact of events, they have more simple raw information than I had at that age. The technological explosion, the information expansion, all of this has sort of given them an inside track on knowledge. I feel both confident and comforted about this generation moving into the corridors of power.''

And what of Barbara Jordan? Will another cycle in her life bring her back to those corridors of power?

There was a pause, and then, in measured tones once so familiar in Washington, she replied: ''There is a cliché which politicians use, 'Never say never.' I adhere to that.''

GRAPHIC: photo of Barbara Jordan

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: #June 17, 1987#

productivity.

It's a cogent plan. Productivity surely is the key to economic growth. But investment requires money, and so far Mr. Clinton has barely begun to tell where to find it. He calls for dismayingly small cuts in defense and no large tax increases, and exaggerates administrative savings, especially in health care. The failure to capture the peace dividend alone is enough to raise worries about how well he would stand up to Congress.

There have, however, been some hopeful signs of candor at the convention. The keynoter Barbara Jordan, for instance, solemnly pronounced the need for "Equity of sacrifice. That idea says that we will sacrifice for growth, but that everybody must join in the sacrifice, not just a few."

It would be reassuring to hear words like that from the nominee. There must be room, somewhere between empty oratory and suicidal candor, to express a commitment to sharing the burden.

Sharing the burden: That could also be a motto for America's relations with the world. Can the public trust his global leadership? With the end of the cold war, the President may no longer be The Leader of the Free World. But he remains the most important one. Mr. Clinton talks sense about a list of foreign

johnnie colemon

The charismatic Chicago minister has witnessed the mushrooming of her congregation from 35 members in 1956 into more than 10,000 today. Her 32-acre Christ Universal Complex is the Windy City's largest religious facility. Among the highlights: the Johnnie Colemon Institute for students who want to live more abundantly.

barbara jordan

The former congresswoman from Houston is revered for her courage to take a position on the tough issues and for her soulful eloquence in doing so. Voted one of the ten most influential American women of the twentieth century by the National Women's Hall of Fame, the professor at the University of Texas is readying a new generation to lead the nation.

evelyn k. moore

If it takes a village to raise a child, she is a chief. The executive director and founder of the National Black Child Development Institute labors to ensure that our children have the resources and support they need to thrive. She leads 42 institute affiliates in 23 states as they fan out to tutor, mentor and encourage youths.

book is Dirty Politics: Deception, Distraction and Democracy.

VEDA JELLEN

State director for Senator Slade Gorton, Jellen helped draw new congressional and state legislative districts in 1991. She was political director of the state party, vice chair for Bush/Quayle '92, and executive director for Bush/Quayle '88 and Reagan/Bush '84.

HUDA JONES

President of the National Federation of Republican Women, Jones has been involved in politics since 1964. She spearheaded the fund raising drive to purchase NFRW's new \$ 900,000 headquarters and is broadcasting TV commercials nationwide to promote the federation.

BARBARA JORDAN

The LBJ Centennial Chair in National Policy at University of Texas at Austin, Jordan is known for her oratorical powers and elective firsts: first black member of the Texas state senate and first black woman elected to Congress from the South. She is a respected teacher and publisher.

4TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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August 8, 1994, Monday, BC cycle

LENGTH: 340 words

HEADLINE: CLINTON PUSHES FOR CRIME BILL AT MEDAL CEREMONY

DATELINE: WASHINGTON, Aug 8

BODY:

President Clinton Monday used an awards ceremony honouring House Republican leader Bob Michel and eight others to plead anew for an end to delaying tactics blocking congressional passage of a \$30 billion crime bill.

Michel, who is retiring from Congress at the end of this term after 36 years of service, and eight other prominent Americans were presented the Medal of Freedom, the nation's highest civilian award.

"As we gather here, Congress is on the verge of voting on the most comprehensive anti-crime bill in history, but that bill has been held hostage for 11 days by certain special interest groups," Clinton said.

"So as we recognise the contributions of civilians to our country's way of life, I'd like to call on those groups who are blocking the crime bill to let it come to a vote and ask the other citizens of the United States to ask the Congress the same thing," the president added.

Some conservatives oppose the bill because it bans 19 types of semiautomatic assault weapons. Liberals are upset because it does not include a provision allowing appeals of death sentences based on racial bias.

Clinton has singled out the National Rifle Association for trying to kill the bill. He said in his national radio address Saturday that it was time for Congress to vote on the bill and "stop fooling around with it."

Besides Michel, an Illinois Republican who was praised as a "gentleman legislator" by the Democratic president, honourees included R. Sargent Shriver, the original Peace Corps director; Arthur Flemming, a one-time Health and Human Services Secretary who served every president since Franklin Roosevelt; and Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO labour federation.

Also honoured were Herbert Block, a Washington Post editorial cartoonist better known as "Herblock"; civil rights activist Dorothy Height; UNICEF chairman James Grant and legal scholar Barbara Jordan.

Labour organiser Cesar Chavez received the Medal of Freedom posthumously. The award was accepted by Chavez's widow, Helen.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

Congress in 1938, she has remained engaged in the public arena for nearly 60 years.

As a leader of the National Council of Negro Women and the Young Women's Christian Association, Height has been a powerful voice for equal opportunity in America and in developing nations overseas. In recent years, her Black Family Reunion Celebrations have reminded our society that self-help and self-reliance within loving extended families are the dominant cultural traditions of the African-American community.

Barbara Jordan, for twenty years, has been the most outspoken moral voice of the American political system, a position she reached soon after becoming the first black congresswoman elected from the Deep South, from her native Texas, in 1972.

From national platforms, she has captured the nation's attention and awakened its conscience in defense of the Constitution, the American Dream, and the commonality we share as American citizens. As professor of ethics and public policy at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, she ensures that the next generation of America's public servants will be worthy of the legacy she has already built.

Lane Kirkland has been at the center of the American labor movement for almost 50 years. After serving in the Merchant Marine during World War II and his subsequent graduation from Georgetown's School of Foreign Service, Kirkland became a researcher for organized labor in the the same year that he worked as a 26-year-old speechwriter in the 1948 presidential campaign of Harry Truman and his running mate, Alben Barkley.

Throughout the Cold War, when some leaders saw only the threats to our freedoms overseas and neglected the barriers to freedom and inequality within our own borders, Kirkland showed America that you can stand up to communism abroad just as forcefully as you can stand up for working men and women here at home. As President of the AFL-CIO for the last fifteen years, Kirkland has helped to teach us that "solidarity" is a powerful word in any language and that a vibrant labor movement is essential to every free society.

Robert Michel has served in the United States House of Representatives since 1957, the second-longest tenure of any Republican in American history. As Minority Leader in the House for 13 years, Michel has not only served his Party well, he has served our country well, choosing the pragmatic but harder course of conciliation more often than the divisive but easier course of confrontation.

Michel is a gentleman legislator who, in spite of great

What is precious is never to forget
The essential delight of the blood drawn from ageless springs
Breaking through rocks in worlds before our earth.
Never to deny its pleasure in the simple morning light
Nor its grave evening demand for love.
Never to allow gradually the traffic to smother
With noise and fog the flowering of the spirit.

Near the snow, near the sun, in the highest fields
See how these names are fêted by the waving grass,
And by the streamers of white cloud,
And whispers of wind in the listening sky;
The names of those who in their lives fought for life,
Who wore at their hearts the fire's center.
Born of the sun they traveled a short while towards the sun,
And left the vivid air signed with their honor.

In a time of darkness and confusion, poetry again expresses the flowering of the spirit of a greater humanity, of dreamers and workers, the yea sayers stubbornly "bringing light to life," leaving "the vivid air signed with their honor."

ELIZABETH BISHOP

[1911-1979]

PRESSED for a statement of writing principles embodying her theory of poetry, Elizabeth Bishop replied: "No matter what theories one may have, I doubt very much that they are in one's mind at the moment of writing a poem or that there is even a physical possibility that they could be. Theories can only be based on interpretations of other poets' poems, or one's own in retrospect, or wishful thinking." Elizabeth Bishop's poetry has challenged and withstood analysis because of its peculiar fusion of free whimsicality and intellectual control.

She was born February 8, 1911, in Worcester, Massachusetts, was graduated from Vassar College, and traveled widely. After she received a Fellowship for her volume, *NORTH AND SOUTH*, she was, for a while, Consultant in Poetry to the Library of Congress. Her origin and long sojourns in the South may account for the distinctive color

Stephen Spender (1909-)

1213

And show the children to the fields and all their world
 Azure on their sands, to let their tongues
 Run naked into books, the white and green leaves open
 The history theirs whose language is the sun.

Without being didactic Spender is essentially an interpreter of baffled but onward-struggling men; with all its modern imagery his is a poetry prompted by a moral sense. The depths of his moral convictions are sounded in the lines beginning "I think continually of those who were truly great." In one of the noblest rhapsodies of the period, Spender praises the pioneers, the unsung fighters, firebringers, children of the sun. In a lyrical ode (see page 976) O'Shaughnessy celebrated the poets who built up the world's great cities:

One man with a dream, at pleasure,
 Shall go forth and conquer a crown;
 And three with a new song's measure
 Can trample an empire down.

Spender extends the implication. He exalts "those who in their lives fought for life, who," he says in a triumphant coda:

... wore at their hearts the fire's center.
 Born of the sun they traveled a short while towards the sun,
 And left the vivid air signed with their honor.

Such lines have an almost Shakespearean eloquence. They are authoritative; most of all, they are noble.

I Think Continually of Those

By:
 Stephen
 Spender

I think continually of those who were truly great.
 Who, from the womb, remembered the soul's history
 Through corridors of light where the hours are suns,
 Endless and singing. Whose lovely ambition
 Was that their lips, still touched with fire,
 Should tell of the spirit clothed from head to foot in song.
 And who hoarded from the spring branches
 The desires falling across their bodies like blossoms.

SOME THOUGHTS ON B.J.

Barbara Jordan loved Texas and loved her mentor Lyndon Baines Johnson just as much. She felt a deep pride in her state and that pride flowed through her blood.

But above all, B.J. loved America.

If she was not in the Constitution when it was first written, as she so eloquently told America during the Watergate hearings, she made sure that once she was in, she was not about to be put out.

She was an American and her sense of citizenship -- that each and every American had equal standing -- gave her an enormous determination to protect the majestic power of the Constitution for generations to come. The Constitution, her Constitution, would remain untouched. (inviolate)

B.J. was also a woman who could "get down." She loved her friends, stayed up late, drank her scotch, followed women's basketball long before it became popular, and she loved the music of Lou Rawls. She liked to live. She was after all -- a Texan.

Barbara Jordan was above all representative of the American Individual. She was perfectly willing to stand alone. Her determination to be herself, to stand apart if need be, had little to do with aloofness, and a great deal to do with her sense that you lived your integrity every day. She was after all Barbara Jordan, an American, a citizen, an American who believed and lived the American Dream.



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OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

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LEVEL 1 - 18 OF 49 STORIES

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The Record

July 15, 1992; WEDNESDAY; ALL EDITIONS

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A18

LENGTH: 814 words

HEADLINE: BARBARA JORDAN

SOURCE: Wire services

BODY:

It was at this time, it was at this place, it was at this event 16 years ago I presented a keynote address to the Democratic National Convention. I remind you, with modesty, that that year, 1976, we won the presidency.

Why not repeat that performance in 1992? We can do it. We can do it.

What we need to do, Democrats, is believe that it is possible to win. It is possible. We can do it.

There appears to be a general apprehension about the future. That apprehension undermines our faith in each other and our faith in ourselves...

In this kind of environment, it is understandable that change would become the watchword of this time. What is the catalyst that will bring about the change we are all talking about? I say that catalyst is the Democratic Party and our nominee for president.

We are not strangers to change.

Twenty years ago we changed the whole tone of the nation after Watergate abuses. We know how to change.

We know what needs to be done and how to do it. We know we can impact policies in education, human rights, civil rights, economic and social opportunity, and the environment.

These are policies which are imbedded in the soul of our party, and imbedded in our soul; they will not disappear easily.

We as a party will do nothing to erode our essence. We will not.

We will change in order to satisfy the present, in order to satisfy the future, but we will not die.

The American dream is not dead. It is not dead.



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The Record, July 15, 1992

It is gasping for breath but it is not dead.

We can applaud that statement and know there is no time to waste because the American dream is slipping away from too many people. It is slipping away from too many black and brown mothers and their children; the American dream is slipping away from the homeless of every color and sex...

The American dream is slipping away from those workers who are on indefinite layoffs while their chief executive officers are making bonuses that equal more than the worker will make in 10 or 20 years.

We need to change the decaying inner cities from decay to places where hope lives. As we undergo that change, we must be prepared to answer Rodney King's haunting question, "Can we all get along? Can we all get along?" I say we answer that question with a resounding yes. We must. We must.

We are one, we Americans, we're one, and we reject any intruder who seeks to divide us on the basis of race and color. We honor cultural identity. We always have. We always will.

But separatism is not allowed.

Separatism is not the American way. We must not allow ideas like political correctness to divide us and cause us to reverse hard-won achievements in human rights and civil rights. Xenophobia has no place in the Democratic Party. We seek to unite people, not divide them. As we seek to unite people, we reject both white racism and black racism. This party will not tolerate bigotry under any guise. Our strength in this country is rooted in our diversity.

I close my remarks by quoting from Franklin Roosevelt's inaugural address. Franklin Roosevelt made that address to a people longing for change from the darkness and despair of the Great Depression. And this is what he said: "In every dark hour of our national life, a leadership of frankness and vigor has met with that understanding and support of the people themselves which is essential to victory."

Given the ingredients of today's national environment, maybe...

just maybe, we Americans are poised for a second "rendezvous with destiny."

LANGUAGE: English

LOAD-DATE: May 8, 1995



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"humiliated all the women of America with his shameless performance."

Feinstein, the last of the group to speak, dismissed Republicans who referred to the wave of female candidates as "just gender politics." "It's not just about gender. It's about an agenda, an agenda of change," Feinstein said.

Ron Brown's return to the podium for his speech energized Jerry Brown's delegates again. Some of them pressed toward the podium and frequently succeeded in drowning out the speaker.

But Ron Brown managed to grab the audience's attention when he talked about "a kid from Harlem" becoming party chairman and about Democratic victories in congressional and state elections since he became chairman three years ago.

Ignoring the protests, Brown said: "Never, in a generation, have we Democrats been so united," and then he mocked Bush's 1988 pledge not to raise taxes. "Read our lips: No second term," Brown said as he criticized Bush for protecting the rich, breaking promises to protect the environment and improve education, being unconcerned about domestic issues and blaming others for problems of his own making. "No second term; no second term," the delegates responded enthusiastically.

Hitting the Key Note - 1992 Convention

Brown's speech rallied the crowd just before the keynote address or, in this case, the keynote addresses. Instead of one speaker, the Democrats opted for three.

The Garden appearance was a homecoming of sorts for Sen. Bill Bradley of New Jersey. A local favorite, Bradley had been a star forward for the New York Knicks basketball team, and a banner with his name and number hung from the rafters.

But the buildup did not necessarily suit Bradley, who delivered a serious but uninspiring speech, often having trouble overcoming the buzz of conversation in the hall. He tried, but with only limited success, to draw the crowd into a refrain of his own: Whether the subject was unemployment, the environment, post-communist Russia or race riots in Los Angeles, Bush's response was the same, Bradley said: "You waffled and wiggled and wavered."

The Bush administration has shown a propensity to inflame wounds rather than heal them, Bradley said. But Democrats are not blameless, he said, often preferring short-term fixes to long-term solutions. He urged the Democrats in New York to stand for something as they sought to regain the White House and said all Americans ought to be willing to make personal sacrifices for the greater good.

Delegates' restlessness continued as the next keynoter, Gov. Zell Miller of Georgia, began by talking about being born in the midst of the Depression in the drafty bedroom of a rented house in the Appalachian Mountains. But Miller, who had helped Clinton win overwhelming victory in Georgia's influential primary, peppered his speech with



PHOTOS BY R. MICHAEL JENKINS

Senate candidates Jean Lloyd-Jones of Iowa, above, and Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois, right, spoke briefly. Former Rep. Barbara C. Jordan of Texas, bottom right, was the only woman among the keynote speakers.



sure applause lines as he went after Bush and Quayle and delivered the convention's first attack on Perot.

"I know what Dan Quayle means when he says it's best for children to have two parents. You bet it is! And it would be nice for them to have trust funds, too," Miller said. "We can't all be born rich, handsome and lucky, and that's why we have the Democratic Party."

Turning to the president, Miller said whether it's high taxes, the lack of affordable health care, crime-filled streets or abandoned factories, "George Bush doesn't get it."

That's why the nation can't afford to re-elect Bush, Miller said. "If the education president gets another term, even our kids won't be able to spell potato. If the law-and-order president gets another term, the criminals will run wild because our commander in chief talks like Dirty Harry but acts like Barney Fife."

Then Miller broke what had been a Democratic reluctance to attack Perot, saying the Texas businessman who has positioned himself as a political outsider has a long history of lobbying Congress for tax breaks. "Sounds to me like instead of shaking the system up, Mr. Perot's been shaking it down. Ross says he'll clean out the barn, but he's been knee-deep in it for years." The arena roared with laughter at each line, reaching its loudest point when Miller stretched his Georgian drawl and asserted, "If Ross Perot's an outsider, folks, I'm from Brooklyn."

If Bradley largely lost the delegates and Miller enlivened them, former Rep. Barbara C. Jordan of Texas held their rapt attention.

Jordan began by noting that her previous keynote speech was delivered in the same spot in 1976, when Democrats last won the presidency. Another victory is possible this year under the rubric of change, Jordan said, but she



wondered aloud what change is in the offing.

Like Bradley, Jordan warned that Democrats have to prove themselves. "The American electorate must be persuaded to trust us, the Democrats, to govern again," she said. "Why not change from a party with a reputation of tax and spend to one with a reputation of investment and growth?" Economic growth and environmental protection can occur simultaneously, she said. It ought not be a trickle-down economy, she added, but one that permits minorities in poor neighborhoods to attain the skills they need to prosper.

Spurring economic growth and lowering the budget deficit will require everyone to make sacrifices, she said, including those on entitlements, retirees on fixed incomes, corporate executives and members of Congress.

Jordan also hailed the onset of female congressional candidates, drawing huge cheers when she quoted from French author and statesman Alexis de Tocqueville: "If I were asked to what singular substance do I mainly attribute the prosperity and growing strength of the American people, I should reply: to the superiority of their women."

Jackson, Activists Provide Second-Night Drama

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Tuesday was platform night, at least in theory, but the debate over the party's manifesto was brief and uninspired. The real drama came later, when two activists who have the AIDS virus moved delegates to tears and when Jesse Jackson's rousing speech brought the convention to a fever pitch.

AIDS also got attention outside the hall, particularly in Times Square, where police estimated that 10,000 people attended a midday rally for AIDS sufferers.

A gathering of another sort was sponsored by the convention's women's caucus, which held a jubilant meeting to cheer Bill and Hillary Clinton. The presidential candidate was greeted at the podium by more than 50 women who are running for the House and Senate this year.

Clinton had a much less pleasant encounter with an anti-abortion activist earlier in the morning when he set out for a jog in Central Park. "What about the babies?" the activist asked, as he tried to hand Clinton a fetus in a clear plastic bag.

Democrats were keenly aware throughout the day that baseball fans across the country would skip watching the evening session in lieu of baseball's All-Star Game. Texas Railroad Commissioner Lena Guerrero began her speech by giving the score of the game in progress.

The Platform

Clinton's overwhelming delegate strength and Democrats' frustration with three straight presidential losses helped mute any complaints over the centrist platform that clearly reflected the Clinton view of how the Democratic Party should present itself to voters.

The platform emphasized the need for economic growth, pledged to uphold law and order and to use military force overseas where necessary, called for a cutoff in welfare benefits after two years and supported the right of states to enact death penalty statutes. The platform did include more traditional Democratic viewpoints, such as protecting abortion rights, providing civil rights for homosexuals and taxing wealthy people at higher rates. (*Text of platform*, p. 59-A)

By prior agreement, delegates pledged to former Massachusetts Sen. Paul E. Tsongas were allowed to offer and debate four minority planks. But it was a debate only in the loosest sense of the word. The speeches on both sides were brief, and most speakers for Clinton's position made



R. MICHAEL JENKINS

Jesse Jackson briefly praised Clinton, then devoted most of his Tuesday night speech to working people and the poor.

little effort to engage in a point-by-point rebuttal.

Three of the planks ultimately were rejected by voice vote. One called for investment-related tax breaks. Another, on the deficit, called for limits on government spending, including Medicare and other politically sensitive entitlements. And a third proposed increasing the gasoline tax by 5 cents per gallon to benefit new spending on infrastructure.

The hall's electronic voting system was to decide the fate of a fourth plank, which said that a middle-class tax cut and a tax credit for families with children ought to be delayed until the deficit is under control. This had been a key difference between Tsongas and Clinton during the campaign.

"Let us give Paul Tsongas his due," said Rep. Wayne Owens of Utah. "He has raised exponentially the intellectual and visionary level of debate in this campaign. . . . It is better for middle America to rebuild our economic base, to provide meaningful employment and control federal spending, than it is to give an immediate middle-class tax cut." But the plank was defeated, 963 to 2,287.

The opposition being formally dispatched, a long series of brief speeches followed, each outlining a different aspect of the platform. None of them drew much attention in the Garden, though. Brown's delegates showed their all-encompassing dissatisfaction with the platform and the convention by brandishing signs that said, "Not!" Some Clinton

ORIGINAL NON. Hand

~~Senator and now~~ Congresswoman Barbara Jordan, in speaking of Equal Rights ~~and~~ best spelled out its meaning in her no-nonsense eloquence:

✓ "All we are trying to do is to make this government of the United States of America honest. We only ask that when we stand up and talk about one nation under God with liberty and justice of all, we want to be able to look at the flag, put our right hands over our hearts, repeat those words and know that they are true."

Barbara Jordan*Curriculum Vitae***Education:**

L.L.B. Boston University, 1959

B.A. Texas Southern University (Political Science and History), 1956

Honorary Doctorate Degrees: 31 - including Harvard University, Princeton University, Notre Dame University, Brandeis University, William and Mary, Wake Forest University, and Tuskegee Institute

Experience:

1982 - Lyndon B. Johnson Centennial Chair in National Policy, The Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, The University of Texas at Austin

1979 - 82 Lyndon B. Johnson Public Service Professorship, LBJ School of Public Affairs

1972 - 78 United States House of Representatives, Congresswoman from the 18th District of Texas

Member: House Committee on the Judiciary; House Committee on Government Operations; Steering and Policy Committee of the Democratic Caucus

Major Legislative Achievements Enacted into Law: Amendments to the Voting Rights Act which expanded its coverage and provided for the printing of bilingual ballots; repeal of federal authorization for state "Fair Trade" laws which sanctioned vertical price fixing schemes; detailed mandatory Civil Rights enforcement procedures for the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration and the Office of Revenue Sharing

1966 - 72 Texas Senate: elected as Senator to the Texas State Legislature

1972 - President Pro Tempore, Texas Senate

1972 - "Governor for a Day" - first black woman "Governor" in United States history

1960 - 66 Private Legal Practice, Houston

Administrative Assistant to the County Judge of Harris County

Professional Organizations:

American Bar Association

Fellow of the American Bar Foundation

State Bar of Texas

Massachusetts Bar

District of Columbia Bar

Publications:

Barbara Jordan: A Self-Portrait, with Shelby Hearon (Doubleday, 1979).

"Individual Rights, Social Responsibility," *Rights and Responsibilities*, November 1978, pp. 9-17.

The Great Society: A Twenty-Year Critique, edited with Elspeth Rostow (Austin: The LBJ Library and the LBJ School of Public Affairs, 1986).

"Reflections on the Constitution," *The Houston Lawyer*, Sept.-Oct. 1987, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 8-10.

Corporate Boards:

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Texas Commerce Bancshares, Inc., member of the Board of Directors

Federal Home Mortgage Loan Corporation (FREDDIE MAC), member of the Board of Directors

Burlington Northern Santa Fe, Inc., member of the Board of Directors

Northrop-Grumman Corporation, member of the Board of Directors

Advisory Boards:

Chair, Immigration Reform Commission

Founder and member of the Board of Directors, People for the American Way

Member, Presidential Advisory Board on Ambassadorial Appointments, 1979-81

Hearings Officer, National Institute of Education Hearings on Minimum Competency Testing

Awards & Honors:

Recipient of Harvey Penick Award, 1995

Recipient of Sylvanus Thayer Award, West Point, 1995

Recipient of Sara Lee Corporation Frontrunner Award, 1994

Recipient of Seton Hall University School of Law, Sandra Day O'Connor Medal of Honor, 1994

Recipient of Presidential Medal of Freedom, 1994

Recipient of Joseph Prize for Human Rights, 1993

Selected "One of the most influential American women of the 20th century," by a survey for the National Women's Hall of Fame, 1993

Recipient of the Nelson Mandela Award for Health and Human Rights, 1993

Inducted into The African-American Hall of Fame, 1993

Recipient of the 77th NAACP Spingarn Award, 1992

Recipient of the Eleanor Roosevelt Val-Kill Medal, 1992

Recipient of the National Civil Rights Museum Freedom Award, 1992

Recipient of the Bess Wallace Truman Award, 1992

Recipient of the Tom C. Clark Equal Justice Under Law Award, 1991

Recipient of the Elmer B. Staats Public Service Careers Award, 1990

Inducted into The National Women's Hall of Fame, 1990

Dedicated in her name, the 1990 edition of the *Annual Survey of American Law* by New York University School of Law

Recipient of the Harry S. Truman Public Service Award from the Harry S. Truman Scholarship Foundation, 1990

Recipient of the 21st Charles Evans Hughes Gold Medal of the National Conference of Christians and Jews, March 5, 1987

Appointed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to serve on a panel to conduct hearings on the role of transnational corporations in South Africa and Namibia, September 1985

Recipient of the Eleanor Roosevelt Humanities Award, State of Israel Bonds, 1984

Voted "Best Living Orator" by the International Platform Association, 1984

Elected to the Texas Women's Hall of Fame, Public Service Category, 1984

Selected by *World Almanac* in 1986 as "One of the 25 Most Influential Women in America" (for the twelfth consecutive year)

Hosted a PBS television series entitled "Crisis to Crisis with Barbara Jordan," which premiered in July 1982

Selected by the editors of *Ladies Home Journal* as among the "100 Most Influential Women in America"

Selected as first choice in a poll conducted by *Redbook* magazine on "Women Who Could be Appointed to the Supreme Court," October 1979

Presented Keynote Address at the National Democratic Convention, 1976

Selected by *Time* magazine as one of the "Ten Women of the Year," 1976

WHITE HOUSE STAFFING MEMORANDUM

DATE: 1/19/96ACTION/CONCURRENCE/COMMENT DUE BY: 3:00 p.m. 1/19/96SUBJECT: Remarks - Funeral of Barbara Jordan

	ACTION	FYI		ACTION	FYI
VICE PRESIDENT	☒	☐	McCURRY	☐	☒
PANETTA	☒	☐	McGINTY	☐	☐
McLARTY	☐	☐	NASH	☐	☐
ICKES	☒	☐	QUINN	☐	☐
LIEBERMAN	☒	☐	RASCO	☐	☐
RIVLIN	☐	☐	SOSNIK	☐	☐
BAER	☒	☐	STEPHANOPOULOS	☒	☐
CURRY	☐	☐	STIGLITZ	☐	☐
EMANUEL	☐	☐	STRETT	☐	☐
GIBBONS	☐	☐	TYSON	☐	☐
GRIFFIN	☐	☐	WALLEY	☐	☐
HALE	☐	☐	WILLIAMS	☒	☐
HERMAN	☒	☐		☐	☐
HIGGINS	☐	☐		☐	☐
KLAIN	☐	☐		☐	☐
LAKE	☐	☐		☐	☐
LINDSEY	☐	☐		☐	☐

REMARKS:

Comments to Terry Edmonds by 3:00 p.m. today (extension 62777).
Thank you.

RESPONSE:

Jo
When I die, will
you do one like this
for me? 2.

Staff Secretary
Ext. 6-2702

DRAFT

REMARKS BY PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON
THE FUNERAL OF BARBARA JORDAN
GOOD HOPE MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH
HOUSTON, TEXAS
JANUARY 20, 1996

96 JAN 19 AIO: 03

brother,
[Acknowledgements: Let me begin by recognizing someone who could not be here today, Barbara's mother, Mrs. Arlyne Jordan; I want to also recognize Barbara's sisters, Bennie Creswell and Rose Mary McGowan; her brother-in-law, John McGowan; her Aunt and Uncle Mamie and Wilmer Lee; President Carter; Governor Bush; my good friend Ann Richards; Mayor Bob Lanier; Rev. Cofield and honored guests...]

makes her sound unyielding
I last saw Barbara this past October when I delivered my speech on race relations at the University of Texas in Austin. Seeing her in the audience both warmed my heart and quickened my blood. She was a great friend and a great critic. I knew that she would be listening to every word, and that I'd hear about it later if I didn't say the right things. She could be brutally honest and she didn't cut anybody any slack.

good
Though I am saddened by her passing, I am honored to be here today to celebrate the life of one of this century's most eloquent warriors for justice. Through the sheer force of the truth she spoke and the poetry of her words, Barbara Jordan always managed to stir our national conscience and make us sit up and listen.

She made us listen in 1974 when she said of the Preamble to the Constitution, "We, the people. It is a very eloquent beginning. But when the document was completed, on the 17th of September in 1787, I was not included in that 'We the People.'"

She made us listen in 1976 when, as the first black woman to deliver a keynote address at the Democratic National Convention, she spoke of the difficulty of creating a sense of national community. She said, "If each of us remembers, when self-interest and bitterness seem to prevail, that we share a common destiny, I have confidence that we can form this kind of national community."

She made us listen in 1992 when she honored me by speaking at the convention that nominated me President. "The American dream is slipping away from too many people," she said. "It is slipping away from too many black and brown mothers and their children..."

no → Barbara Jordan's was the most outspoken moral voice of our time. Wherever she stood, and whenever she could she jolted the nation's attention in artful and articulate defense of our Constitution, the American Dream, and the commonality we share as American citizens.

Her faith in America was whole and unshakable, ~~This~~ ⁱⁿ spite of the rigors of growing up poor and black in the segregated South. The source of her optimism -- the things that guided her most along the path of success, were family and community. The well-spring of her faith flows from all of you: A loving family, a caring church, teachers and mentors at Phillis Wheatley High School and Texas Southern University who inspired and required excellence, mentors and role models like Lyndon Johnson, Ann Richards, her debating coach, Tom Freeman, and her many friends.

Barbara Jordan loved all of you and she loved Texas. She felt a deep pride in her state and that pride flowed through her blood. But above all, Barbara Jordan loved America. And she always challenged us to use our great power in the ongoing struggle to live up to our highest ideals. Whether the issue was immigration reform or political ethics, she set the highest standards of fairness and decency and challenged us to reach them. She once said, "All we are trying to do is make this government of the United States of America honest. We only ask that when we stand up and talk about one nation under God with liberty and justice for all, we want to be able to look at the flag, put our right hands over our hearts, repeat those words and know that they are true."

If Barbara Jordan was not in the Constitution when it was first written, she made sure that once she got in, she was not about to be put out. She was an American and her sense of citizenship -- that each and every American had equal standing -- gave her an enormous determination to protect the power of the Constitution for generations to come. That's what she was doing when she was called home -- working with students at the University of Texas LBJ School of Public Affairs to ensure that the next generation of our public servants would be worthy of the legacy she worked so hard to build.

Barbara Jordan was also a classic American individual. She took to heart the advice of her Grandpa Patten who advised her as a little girl, "You just trot your own horse and don't get into the same rut as everyone else." All her life, Barbara Jordan was perfectly willing to stand alone. Her determination to stand apart if need be, had little to do with aloofness, and a great deal to do with her sense that you lived your integrity every day. She was after all Barbara Jordan, a Texan, an American, a citizen who believed and lived the American Dream.

I was proud to share this earth with her and to call her my friend and advisor. In 1994, I had the special privilege of presenting her the Presidential Medal of Freedom, the highest honor given to civilians by our country. And I am forever grateful for the outstanding job she did as the Chair of the U.S. Commission on Immigration Reform.

I'd like to close by reading a few lines from a poem by Stephen Spender. It was a favorite of Barbara's, who liked to read it aloud. It could have been written about her:

I think continually of those who were truly great.
Who, from the womb, remembered the soul's history...
Who wore at their hearts the fire's center.
Born of the sun they traveled a short while towards the sun,
And left the vivid air signed in their honor.

Barbara Jordan has left our vivid air signed with her honor.
Barbara, "We, the People" will miss you.

Thank you.

~~24~~

Franklin Roosevelt once said: "Governments can err, presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that divine justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted on different scales. Better the occasional faults of a government that lives in a spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference."

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. fax	From Liz Carpenter to Terry Edmonds (partial) (1 page)	01/18/96	P6/b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Speechwriting
Terry Edmonds
OA/Box Number: 10983

FOLDER TITLE:

1-20-96 Barbara Jordan Funeral Houston, TX

2006-0462-F
ry618

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.

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RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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- 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]

LIZ CARPENTER

FAX

Fax to number:

202-456-5709

Attention:

Terry Edmunds

Date:

Jan 18

From:

Liz Carpenter

Number of pages:

8

Additional comments:

Sorry but there
are scattered -
Look at marked
portions of
before Jordan's
quest.

[003]

LIZ CARPENTER

(b)(6)

Phone:

(b)(6)

Fax:

512-327-4272

Mobile:

(b)(6)

