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STOUFFER *Mayflower* HOTEL

- Easy Support.

~~Great~~

Catharine Follum

She indicated she wouldn't
get here until 11⁴⁵
p.m.

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STOUFFER *Mayflower* HOTEL

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STOUFFER *Mayflower* HOTEL

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STOUFFER Mayflower HOTEL

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STOUFFER *Mayflower* HOTEL

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STOUFFER *Mayflower* HOTEL

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STOUFFER *Mayflower* HOTEL

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~~June~~
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"The returnees expressed disappointment that their departure and return to Cuba had not automatically qualified them for expeditious migration into the United States," the spokesman said, adding: "We have received additional reassurances today by the Cuban authorities that there will be no harassment of the returnees."

Graham's scrutiny

In Washington, Florida Sen. Bob Graham vowed to monitor possible mistreatment of Cubans returned to the island. Graham said he had raised the allegations of mistreatment Thursday with White House officials.

"They informed me that this morning U.S. representatives in Cuba were meeting with the highest officials in the diplomatic corps of the Cuban government to raise our concerns about these allegations," Graham said, adding that he would press to make sure the Cuban government "will fulfill the commitments that were made that no one who is returned to Cuba will be treated in an adverse manner."

Aid to come

On a related matter, Graham said White House officials assured him that federal aid would be forthcoming to offset relocation costs and job-training for the refugees to be resettled from Guantanamo. The specific dollar amount, he said, has not been determined.

As the sun set Thursday, more than 250 Cubans gathered in Coconut Grove at La Ermita de la Caridad, a cherished shrine to the patron saint of Cuba, to pray for their friends and relatives in Cuba. It was a peaceful counterpoint to events Wednesday, in which five people were arrested in scuffles with police. Three of those arrests occurred outside Spanish-language station WAQI-Radio Mambi, and two others during a protest at The Herald building.

Herald staff writers Don Bohning, Alfonso Chardy, Oscar Musibay and Dexter Filkins contributed to this report.



NECTOR GABINO / Herald Staff

NEWS CONFERENCE: Jose Miro Torra of Brigade 2506, left, Roberto Rodriguez Aragon of Junta Patriotica Cubana, center, and Ramon Saul Sanchez of the Cuban National Commission announce the next steps the coalition will take in protest.



ROBERT L. STEINBACK

U.S. should let go Haitian kids at Guantanamo

M.H. 5-12-95 (MMH)
Hope is spreading among some Haitian refugee advocates' organizations that U.S. Attorney General Janet Reno may be near announcing a policy change allowing most of the 229 Haitian minors still being detained at Guantanamo Bay to enter the United States.

If the rumor is true, it's long past time.

If it's not, Americans of conscience should crank up the pressure on Washington to bring the children here. Kids shouldn't suffer for the sins we adults have wrought on their world.

The rumor is based only on an optimistic assumption. It seems some low-level government staff members have made inquiries of certain refugee resettlement groups to make sure their promise to find relatives or sponsors in the United States for the 229 minors, ages 3 to 17, is still firm.

One source, however, said the inquiries were more than that: They were requests that the agencies get ready to resettle the kids in the United States.

There was no indication whether the inquiries came in response to orders from the top, or only to recheck preparations just in case something changed.

The timing could be key: Evidently, the inquiries came after frustrated Haitian teenagers at Guantanamo loosed a disturbance on the base Wednesday. Could the injustice of imprisoning children in a tropical parking lot for 11 months be wearing on consciences in Washington?

A Justice Department spokeswoman said she had no knowledge of such a shift in policy.

Spokesmen for several resettlement organizations would make no official statement Thursday afternoon regarding a possible policy change. After so many months of frustration, they were worried — and this is a sad commentary on relations with our own government — that just voicing such a hope might cause U.S. policymakers to back off.

"I hope it's the case that recent events point in that direction," said John Swenson, head of the Migration and Refugee Services office of the U.S. Catholic Conference in Washington.

Florida Rural Legal Services attorney Cheryl Little, one of South Florida's most tireless advocates for Haitian refugees, said she had no word of an imminent change in policy.

But Little was hopeful that a report she delivered to Reno's office this week might lead to reconsideration. The report details numerous failures of current U.S. repatriation policy in Haiti — including a girl supposedly returned to a father who in fact had been dead for years. It also chronicles the suffering of the Guantanamo kids: reports of clinical depression, attempted suicides, even hunger strikes.

'Emotional pain'

"The children have been in a lot of emotional pain and we haven't done anything to help them," Little told me.

The United States was right to repatriate Haitian refugees after the civilian leaders chosen by the people returned to power. Expedient return of children to sound families is also defensible.

But it has always been wrong to detain children in such brutal conditions as Guantanamo for any length of time. It was more wrong to hold them after detained Cuban children and their families were admitted in October. It is intensely wrong to hold them in a never-ending search for relatives in Haiti who may not exist, when all of the children have either relatives or promises of sponsorship here.

The injustice is now incalculable, with 20,000 Cuban detainees of all ages granted entry.

Bill Clinton and Janet Reno: Do the right thing. End this government-sponsored child abuse. Admit every child at Guantanamo into the United States without further delay.

UNDER THE NEW POLICY M.H. 5-12-95
CWA

Cubans' fate is in their hands

AFTER a night of disturbing dreams, C. Samsa woke up one morning and saw that he had been transformed into a repellent Caribbean insect. Like Gregor Samsa, his Czech uncle, C. had no clue as to the causes of his metamorphosis.

Thus, on May 2, 1995, Cubans awoke to discover that they had been changed into undesirable insects. The immoral Tarnoff-Alarcon migration pact consummated a transformation that was in the making since last August.

Clearly, Cuba's Samsas have my solidarity. After all, I am one of them. Poor Gregor Samsa, roach-like protagonist of Franz Kafka's *Metamorphosis*, also arouses my sympathy. Indeed, Samsa shares the Cuban people's inability to convey the depths of their suffering to the world.

My solidarity has its limits, though. (So did the shocked Samsa family's.) I thus have little sympathy for Cubans who are branding "Clinton and the Americans" as "traitors."

The easy thing to do after May 2 is to accuse the American government of "betrayal." The hard thing for many Cubans is to assume responsibility for the legacy of disasters with which we've burdened Cuba. Our unwillingness to own up to our responsibility is a sure sign that we are suffering from acute "victimitis," a neurosis whose sufferers blame others for their own sins, especially if the "others" are omnipotent Americans.

"Well," proponents of the betrayal syndrome might retort, "surely we can't be faulted for Cuba's mess? Cubans didn't ratify the Platt Amendment; and in 1898 we put up a spirited resistance against the American occupation. Moreover, the Cuban people didn't support Castro's totalitarian turn in 1959, and we didn't leave the island *en masse*. We all stayed and fought in support of the six exile divisions that landed at the Bay of Pigs. Also, Cubans didn't work as informants against Castro opponents at the behest of the Committees for the Defense of the Revolution, State Security, the CIA, or the FBI. And no Cuban with White House access supported Clinton's Guantanamo policy last August."

In this way, the myth of betrayal takes shape. My objections to it shouldn't be read as an exoneration of the United States for its share of sins in Cuba's tragedy. Rather, they should be seen as a summary of my conviction that Cubans must shoulder the heaviest responsibility for their fate.

Emigres who get into bed with U.S. congressmen and presidents give up



RAMON
MESTRES
EDITORIAL
BOARD

Emigres who get into bed with politicians give up the right to know about American 'infidelity.'

the right to howl about American "infidelity." Led by Jorge Mas Canosa, some of the same Cuban Americans who are now demonizing Clinton swooned at his feet last August. At the time they fell over themselves praising Clinton's "tough" stance against Castro. Now, they say, the White House has acted behind their backs, implementing another brutal variant of a *Realpolitik* that places alleged national interests above moral principle.

This particular outcry falls on (my) deaf ears. So did the rationalizations of some of those very same emigres when they practiced their version of *Realpolitik*. At various times they also placed the alleged interests of their cause above the ethical reasons that should have guided them. Hence, to fight the Cuban dictatorship, they enlisted the help of dictators. To struggle against Castro's *caudillismo*, some of them set themselves up as pigmy *caudillos*.

Even now a few of these characters continue to appeal to the alleged "political realism" of the worn "My enemy's enemy is my friend" by sanctifying their alliance with Sen. Jesse Helms. Doesn't it matter to them that Helms is a champion of right-wing authoritarians, racists, and people who clamor for a closed-door immigration policy?

Another metamorphosis ahead

It could be argued that Clinton has implemented just such a policy in the Caribbean, with Fidel Castro's cooperation and with the support of the vast majority of the American people.

Which brings me, finally, to the Fernandina affair. Months before his death on May 19, 1895, Jose Marti suffered a devastating setback at the hands of a *bona-fide* traitor. This informant led U.S. authorities to three ships loaded with weapons destined for the insurrection that was about to start in Cuba. The feds confiscated the vessels and their cargo at Fernandina Beach, near Jacksonville. Instead of raging against American "traitors" though, Marti immersed himself again in the task of preparing for war in Cuba.

Like Marti in 1895, the Cuban people are all by themselves. Clinton's Cuba policy aimed to transform us into Caribbean Samsas. Yet the president has inadvertently handed us the opportunity to undergo another kind of metamorphosis: We can assume responsibility for our fate and, in the struggle against Castro's Kafkaesque, become a truly independent people.

Let the Haitian kids in!

M.H. 5-12-75 Immigrant/HAITI

Guantanamo's simmering pot, in which more than 200 Haitian children continue to stew, boiled over on Wednesday when they set fire to their tents and pelted U.S. soldiers with rocks and

oranges. The eruption should surprise no one behind the Clinton administration's misguided handling of these young detainees, for that policy alone fuels the fire under that hot pot.

There were no major injuries — this time. Next time — and the conditions there dictate that there *will* be a next time — injuries dealt to the children or soldiers may be more severe.

The administration cannot — never could — justify its unfair, discriminatory policy of detaining Haitian children long after admitting Cuban children to this country. Sending the Haitian minors back to Haiti — the administration's current policy — is untenable and wrong. Most of those still at Guantamo have either family or sponsors in the United States.

Some have no family at all. All are too young to languish in an increasingly empty camp while remote U.S. officials find excuses for repatriating them. The only honorable way out is to grant these minors the same humanitarian parole granted to more than 20,000 Cubans.

A report by Florida Rural Legal Services and the Immigrants' Rights Project documents several children who have been sent back to Haiti to face the

FROM GUANTANAMO

After up to 11 months of detention, these minors deserve the same rights granted Cuban detainees.

worst of circumstances: abandonment, being lodged with strangers, or suffering lasting separation from parents or family living here.

The State Department and the United Nations High Com-

missioner on Refugees dispute these reports.

Whichever story is true, neither one supports Attorney General Janet Reno's declaration that the U.S. government wants only to serve these children's best interest. Their best interest, given their 11 months of sequestration, lies neither at Guantamo nor in an uncertain future back in Haiti. Their best interests lie in U.S. parole.

The U.N. refugee commissioner has been given the unenviable job of making a case-by-case assessment of each child. Not surprisingly, U.N. personnel have run into criticism both for moving too quickly to send kids back *and* for moving too slowly to dispose of the cases.

The nonprofit group Save the Children was enlisted late in the process to make home visits in Haiti before children are sent back there. That is helpful, certainly. Some of the children do have a parent or relatives in Haiti, and every effort should be made for reunification there if circumstances warrant.

Ms. Reno should admit the children to the United States. Then those who merit repatriation can be sent to Haiti from here. They have suffered Guantamo's deprivations long enough.

Handling a 'Hot Idea'

Contrary to the representations of the story "Citizen Burned Offering SBA a Hot Idea," Federal Page, April 18], the U.S. Small Business Administration likes and encourages "hot ideas." We provide countless entrepreneurs whose stock-in-trade is innovation with access to capital, and we serve as their advocate.

This agency is not dragging its feet in pursuing Steve Ludsin's idea. It is working to show the man The Post calls a "high-gear sort of person" how to implement his proposal in a way consistent with the law.

Like other government agencies, the SBA must follow the laws that determine how to handle proposals it did not request. Taking shortcuts in the process could end up costing taxpayers time and

money. The SBA remains interested in Mr. Ludsin's proposal. The agency has not moved the goal posts farther away from him but has tried to explain how the goal can be reached.

As the law requires in a case such as this, the SBA published its intention to make a sole-source award to Mr. Ludsin's firm. This ensures that the government has a chance to discover and consider other possibilities before committing federal funds to the first, or most aggressive, company that approaches it with a "new idea." Basically, the marketplace has a chance to comment on whether what was presented to the agency is unique. No one is permitted to steal the idea.

Mr. Ludsin may have a "hot idea" but not necessarily a unique one in using a particular communications medium to advertise government properties for sale. The agency is taking the necessary steps to consider a contract for Mr. Ludsin, but it should not exclude other entrepreneurs who can complement his potential services.

Many of the legal and business issues and the "hot ideas" the SBA handles require a careful, polite response consistent with the law. That approach can best safeguard taxpayers' interests and convert "hot ideas" to real results.

Steven A. Ludsin

I thought this would be of interest to you.

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222 MONDAY, MAY 22, 1995

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

My Ordeal at the SBA

I was deeply disturbed by the revisionist history practiced by Small Business Administrator Philip Lader in his May 3 letter "Handling a 'Hot Idea,'" I am the "citizen" described by Guy Gugliotta in his news story "Citizen Burned Offering SBA a Hot Idea" [April 18]. Mr. Gugliotta's account of my ordeal was more accurate than Philip Lader's damage-control piece.

It is fair to say that Philip Lader arrived in midstream vis-a-vis my 1994 pilot program. I began my discussions with Frankie R. Rowles, the previous SBA administrator, in May 1993 and received a commitment for the pilot

program on Dec. 1, 1993. Therefore, for Mr. Lader to assert that the SBA wasn't dragging its feet regarding renewal of my contract is a gross exaggeration. This wasn't a "new idea," because I had already performed six months of work pursuant to the 1994 contract. The 1995 proposal I resubmitted was for a follow-on contract. The law specifically exempted my unsolicited proposal from any notice requirement but the SBA added another 2½ months to the process by invoking that requirement.

The SBA delays ended up costing the taxpayers time and money, be-

cause they wouldn't meet with the buyers I produced in January 1995 until my contract was resolved.

To characterize my efforts as shortcuts is blasphemous. The SBA must be more sensitive to the expense of the procurement process for small business. I will share my sentiments with my colleagues at the upcoming White House Conference on Small Business, to which I am an appointed delegate. The SBA's response to my ideas and proposals was anything but polite.

STEVE LUDSIN
New York



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

FAX TRANSMITTAL

TO: Alexis Herman, Assistant to the President and Director
of Public Liaison

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PHONE NUMBER: 456-6455

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FROM: Leslie Thornton, Deputy Chief of Staff and
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PHONE NUMBER: 401-3001

MESSAGE: File re July 6 Exert.

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COVER STORIES

By RICHARD LACAYO

CARE TO SEE THE CHIEF THEATER OF OPERATIONS IN the culture wars? Just take a stroll through the Sherman Oaks Galleria, a twinkling mall in California's San Fernando Valley. This is where the great outpouring of pop culture comes to market, a market that caters to all the moods of the American disposition, from moonglow to bloodlust. At Sam Goody's, the chain record store, the CD bins are stuffed with amiable releases by Hootie and the Blowfish and Boyz II Men. But they also hold the gangsta rap of Bloods and Crips and Tupac Shakur. Nearby, at the Time Out video arcade, Jordan Trimas, 16, is playing *Primal Rage*, a game in which dinosaurs tear one another to pieces. "Sure, the violence influences kids," he shrugs. "But nobody can do anything about it."

At the Sherman Oaks multiplex, it's the same mixed bag. On the wide screens there's a face-off between the two top-grossing films of the week. *Casper* (the Friendly Ghost) offers his doe-eyed version of mortality against the merry bloodbath that is *Die Hard with a Vengeance*. But over at Taco Bell, 15-year-old Christopher Zahedi will tell you he prefers the rougher stuff. "I liked the part in *Pulp Fiction* where the guy points a gun and says a prayer from the Bible and then kills everybody," he offers. "You hear the gun go *brrrr*. It's cool."

In their worst nightmares a lot of parents can also hear that gun go *brrrr*. They aren't so sure it's cool, just as they aren't so sure it's cool when they come across the more stomach-turning specimens of pop music in their kids' CD collections. That's why, when Bob Dole went to Los Angeles last week to blast the entertainment industry, he touched a chord that transcended the party politics

ATION

Bob Dole's broadside against sex and violence in popular culture sets off a furious debate on responsibility

his remarks were shrewdly crafted to serve. Though popular culture has a long and proud history of offending the squares, during the current decade it has particularly kept its sharpest edges to the front. Whatever is scabrous and saw-toothed and in-your-face is probably brought to you by the major labels and the big studios. For parents, the pervasive electronic culture can start to look like some suspect stranger who hangs around their kids too much, acting loutish, rude and drunk.

It was that anxiety Dole was speaking to when he accused the powers behind American movies, music and television of flood-

Dole said he could not even repeat the toxic lyrics of rappers like Ice-T.

UNPOPULAR CULTURE

How concerned are you about the amount of violence depicted in movies, television shows and popular music?

Very concerned	Fairly concerned	Not very concerned	Not at all concerned
52%	25%	14%	9%

How concerned are you about the amount of sex depicted in movies, television shows and popular music?

Very concerned	Fairly concerned	Not very concerned	Not at all concerned
44%	26%	16%	13%

How much responsibility should the groups listed below have in reducing the amount of sex and violence in entertainment?

	Great deal of responsibility	Some responsibility	Not much responsibility	No responsibility
American consumers who buy, watch or listen to this entertainment	61%	27%	4%	5%
Entertainment companies, like movie studios and record companies	55%	33%	7%	4%
Creative artists, like actors, directors and musicians	47%	38%	8%	6%
Retail businesses, like record stores and movie theaters	34%	40%	15%	10%
The government	29%	29%	12%	28%

Do you favor or oppose each of the following as a way to reduce the amount of sex and violence in popular entertainment?

	Favor	Oppose
Tighten parental supervision	93%	6%
Warning labels on records	83%	15%
Voluntary self-restraint by entertainment companies	81%	15%
Government censorship	27%	68%

Does the depiction of violence in movies, television shows and popular music have each of the following effects?

	Has effect	No effect
Numbs people to violence so that they're insensitive to it	76%	21%
Insures young people to violence	75%	23%
Tells people that violence is fun and acceptable	71%	27%

As a way to improve the moral climate of this country, would you support or oppose each of the following?

	Support	Oppose
More restrictions on what is shown on television	68%	32%
More restrictions on the lyrics of popular music	62%	36%
More restrictions on what appears in the movies	61%	37%

DOLE WARNED AGAINST "NIGHTMARES OF DEPRAVITY" FROM MEDIA COMPANIES

ing the country with "nightmares of depravity." Warning that the more extreme products of pop culture threaten to undermine American kids, he called on the large media companies to swear off the hard stuff. "We must hold Hollywood and the entire entertainment industry accountable for putting profit ahead of common decency," Dole said, then raised the heat considerably by singling out one company, Time Warner, the media giant that includes the largest American music operation, the Warner film studio and a stable of magazines, including TIME. One day after Dole's speech, William Bennett, the former Education Secretary and drug czar, sent letters to Time Warner board members asking the company to stop distributing rap with objectionable lyrics.

Later in the week, Dole's wife Libby announced that she would be selling more than \$15,000 in Walt Disney stock after learning that Disney, through its subsidiary Miramax, is the distributor of *Priest*. The controversial film, which her husband had already denounced several weeks ago, depicts a gay clergyman and a sexually active straight one. And coming soon from Miramax is *Kids*, a raw depiction of a sex-obsessed, drug-bleary day in the life of some New York City teens. It's the sort of thing Mickey Mouse would have to peek at through trembling white-gloved fingers.

To be sure, Dole's remarks were an unmistakable pitch to the culturally conservative wing of the Republican Party, which will have a lot to say about who becomes the next G.O.P. presidential candidate. Dan Quayle, their favorite son, never entered the race. Pat Buchanan, their guilty pleasure, is probably too extreme to be elected. Even before it turned out that he once invested in an R-rated film, Phil Gramm of Texas had left them cold. Until recently, so had Dole, who never showed much interest in the politics of virtue before the Christian right emerged as a power bloc in the party. In an effort to gain their attention, he has been sniping for months at Hollywood. Last week's salvo was like a proposal of marriage.

But Dole's attacks resonate beyond the party faithful, in all senses of the word. In a TIME poll conducted at the end of last week





by Yankelovich Partners, Inc., 77% of those questioned said that they were very concerned or fairly concerned about violence in the media; 70% said the same about media representations of sex. With numbers like those, it's a safe bet that Campaign '96 will also be Murphy Brown II, a further chapter of the conservative assault on Hollywood that Quayle launched in 1992.

"What we need is a national debate over the relationship of liberty to virtue," says Gary Bauer, the former Reagan White House aide who is president of the Family Research Council. "If you expose children to uplifting and noble material, you're more likely to have noble citizens. If children are wallowing in sexual images and violence, that is bound to have an impact on those who are most vulnerable."

In Hollywood, whose denizens have already been ridiculed for getting too close to the Clinton White House, the outraged response to Dole has been quick and complete. The speech was "a '90s form of McCarthyism," said Oliver Stone, whose *Natural Born Killers* was on Dole's hit list of objectionable films. "I don't think the public is that stupid," said Clint Eastwood. TV producer Norman Lear said he was "turned off by the excesses in some films" but insisted that Hollywood these days is making more pictures like *The Lion King* and *A Little Princess*.

In his attack on purveyors of offensive pop culture, Dole took pains, at least for now, not to hit some prominent Republicans. When he cited a list of recent family films that were also sizable box-office hits, Dole included not only *The Lion King* and *Forrest Gump* but also *True Lies*, a movie that reduced a small army of bad guys to blood-splattered pieces. Then again, it starred Arnold Schwarzenegger, a G.O.P. musclem. Another sometime Republican, Bruce Willis, is the star of *Die Hard with a Vengeance*, one of the many brutal-fun action pictures that escaped Dole's wrath. So did the gleefully smutty-minded Fox television network and its contributions to the history of crotch-grabbing, such as *Married... With Children*. Fox is owned by Rupert Murdoch, a major contributor to conservative causes.

ONE DAY AFTER THE SPEECH, which was written largely by Mari Maseng, wife of conservative columnist George Will, a Dole aide admitted that the Senator also had not seen most of the movies he talked about, nor had he heard most of the music. On Friday aboard his Gulfstream jet, Dole finally popped *Natural Born Killers* into the vcr. "Probably ought to take a look so I can say

I've seen this thing," he joked to a TIME reporter over the phone. "Then we can always throw it out the window."

Count on it to keep coming back. The violent and raunchy streak in civilization runs deep and long into the past. More teenage boys might be attracted to the classics if they knew about Homer's graphic descriptions of spear points ripping through flesh in *The Iliad* or the quarts of stage blood needed for any production of *Titus Andronicus*. As for sex, the lewd posturings in some paintings of Hieronymus Bosch would be rated NC-17 if they showed up at the multiplex.

But the rise of capitalism over the past two centuries has meant that all the resources of technology and free enterprise could at last be placed at the disposal of the enduring human fascination with grunt and groan. By the early decades of the present century, there had emerged in the U.S. an entertainment industry that would eventually prove to be all-pervasive and ever more given to decking out our base impulses with sweaty and imaginative detail. It awaited only the youth culture that began stirring and shaking in the 1950s to take full advantage of the possibilities in rock, films and TV. The result was a pop culture more pointed and grown up, but also more shameless and adolescent; some-



times both at the same time. The great skirmishes against the blue-nosed guardians of culture—the Hays Office that policed movies in the '30s or the network censors who tormented the Smothers Brothers in the late '60s—became the stuff of baby-boomer folklore.

The complications set in during the '90s, when the boomers who were once pop culture's most dedicated consumers became the decision makers at media companies—but also the parents of the next generation. Pulled one way by their lifelong instinct for whatever is sensational, unsanitized or unofficial, they find themselves dragged in the other direction by their emerging second thoughts as citizens and parents.

Dole says he's not interested in government censorship, which in any event hasn't worked very well in the past. In the best tradition of Patrick Henry, Americans generally don't have much patience with government interference in First Amendment rights of expression, even when they may not much like what's being expressed. In the most highly publicized attempt in recent years to set the law on pop music, three members of 2 Live Crew were arrested in Florida in 1990 after a live perfor-

DOLE'S SPEECH WAS A " '90s FORM OF MCCARTHYISM," SAID OLIVER STONE



mance. It took a local jury just two hours to acquit them on obscenity charges.

But the First Amendment applies only to attempts by government to restrain expression. It says nothing about decisions made by private media companies, and it does nothing to prevent them from choosing which songs or programs they will or will not promote. Five years ago, Simon & Schuster canceled plans to publish *American Psycho*, the sado-chic novel by Bret Easton Ellis, after advance complaints about passages detailing the sexual torture and mutilation of women. (It was subsequently published by Knopf, a division of Random House.) "It's our responsibility," says Martin Davis, then chairman of Simon & Schuster's corporate parent Paramount. "You have to stand for something." This is just the sort of thing that Dole says he has in mind: self-restraint on the part of producers and distributors. "I'm just saying sometimes you have to have corporate responsibility and remember the impact on children."

Some media execs claim there isn't much that companies can do to restrain artists once they have them on their rosters. "Artists make records, not record companies," says David Geffen, the film and record

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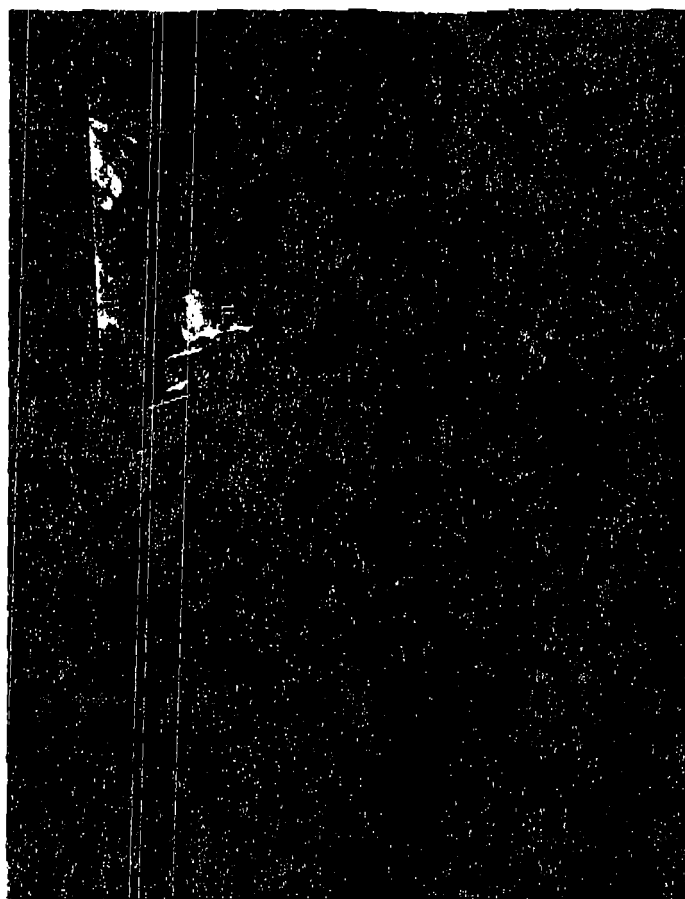
and we have the right to decide with regard to the playing of same." When 1993 statistics showed that violent crime in Kansas City, Missouri, had risen 200% in one year, FM station KPRS decided no longer to broadcast violent, sexually explicit or misogynist rap. Under the new policy, KPRS rose from third to first place in the local ratings.

Though the cultural-pollution issue looks like an easy win for the Republicans, it's not a clean sweep. As the debate develops in weeks to come, the soft spots in their arguments are likely to become more apparent. For a party committed to free-market principles—and which also wants to defund public television and end government oversight of the airwaves—a problem is that pop culture represents the free market at its freest, meaning most able to make a profitable pitch to the grosser appetites. Some of the most violent American films, like the Stallone-Willis-Schwarzenegger action pictures, are also among the most successful American film exports because their bang-bang simplicities translate easily across cultural boundaries. Says Democratic Senator Bill Bradley of New Jersey: "The free market that the economic conservatives champion undermines the moral character that the social conservatives desire."

In the aftermath of the Oklahoma City bombing, the conservatives are also stuck with their own problem of violence in the media—and it's not just Schwarzenegger's body counts. "Jackbooted thugs," the description of federal law-enforcement agents in a fund-raising letter from the National Rifle Association, is a kind of cop-killer lyric in itself. So is "aim at the head"—radio talk-show host G. Gordon Liddy's suggestion for greeting federal law-enforcement agents at your door.

Republicans who talk about the real-life consequences of pop-culture vulgarity still scream at the suggestion of any link between talk-show belligerence and Oklahoma City. Americans aren't so sure. In the TIME poll, 52% of those questioned said they believed that strong antigovernment rhetoric inspires people to violence. And a lot of Americans are already suspicious of any attempt to use the culture issue as a way to evade discussion of every-

SOMETIMES YOU HAVE TO REMEMBER THE IMPACT ON CHILDREN."



power of the cultural-pollution issue and hope to position themselves prominently before Republicans get a lock on it.

They can point out, for example, that Tipper Gore was among the first crusaders against obscene rock lyrics. First Lady Hillary Clinton has made frequent, if muted, denunciations of media vulgarity, and now seems to be turning up the volume, most recently in her appearance on *Oprah*. And sandwiched into Bill Clinton's long State of the Union message in January was a plea to Hollywood "to assess the impact of your work and to understand the damage that comes from the incessant, repetitive, mindless violence and irresponsible conduct that permeates our media all the time."

In an interview with TIME last week, Vice President Gore stepped up the rhetoric. "Some of the decisions made by executives in the entertainment industry, the advertising industry, the creative community, have been obscene and atrocious." It was fine with him, Gore added, to try to shame corporate executives into reining in their product, though he rejected the notion that "shaming alone is a magic solution."

thing else that contributes to the fraying of American life, from threadbare schools to the flood of guns. In the TIME poll, 55% of those questioned agreed that if candidates want to improve the nation's moral climate, there are more important issues to concentrate on than sex and violence in the entertainment industry.

WITH THOSE WEAK POINTS IN mind, Bill Clinton took a swipe at Dole last week at a town meeting in Billings, Montana. Without mentioning the Senator by name, Clinton observed pointedly that "there are some public officials in our country who are only too happy to criticize the culture of violence being promoted by the media but are stone-cold silent when these other folks are talking and making violence seem O.K."

For Democrats, criticizing Hollywood amounts to biting the hand that feeds them. Media-company executives and major stars contributed heavily to Clinton's 1992 campaign and to Democratic coffers generally in last year's congressional elections. Even so, the Democrats appreciate the potential

It's also not as easy as it sounds. Some decisions by media companies may seem like no-brainers. How many rap songs about slicing women's throats does the world really need? But most other judgments of taste are more difficult calls. Both of the films that Dole deplored, *Natural Born Killers* and *True Romance*, happen to have been written by Quentin Tarantino. He's also the explosively gifted director of *Pulp Fiction*, the great cockeyed movie where that guy quotes from the Bible and the gun goes *brrrrr* and some younger viewers think it's cool—lots of older viewers too. In the effort to achieve a kid-friendlier culture, do we want to end up with a sanitized one, free of the worst excesses of "death metal" but also purged of Tarantino? Or of sassy but not salacious rappers like Salt-N-Pepa? Or even, let it be said, deprived of the mixed bag of gifts and gas that is Oliver Stone?

The culture wars won't just be conducted in board rooms and at candidates' debates. For some time to come, they will surely be going on within our families and homes, and sometimes within ourselves as well. —Reported by James Carney and Michael Duffy/Washington, Patrick E. Cole and Margot Hornblower/Los Angeles and John Moody/New York



TOUGH TALK ON ENTERTAINMENT

Everybody agrees it's vulgar and violent. The question is why, and what should be done about it



DE GUSTIBUS NON EST DISPUTANDUM WAS THE WAY THE ancient Romans put it: there is no point arguing about matters of taste. But that was easy for the Romans to say; they—and their children—weren't awash in a tide of explicit films, TV programs and recorded music. We

are. And the consequences of this condition—even the question whether there are any consequences—have spurred arguments that grow more intense as mass entertainment becomes more pervasive. In the aftermath of Bob Dole's latest attack on Hollywood, *TIME* asked some prominent people who produce or comment on the arts for their reactions:



IN ONE SCENE OF OLIVER STONE'S FILM *Natural Born Killers* the hero drowns his girlfriend's father in a fish tank and kills her mother by tying her down on her bed, pouring gasoline on her and burning her alive. Meanwhile, a raucous, laugh-filled sound track tells the audience to regard this slaughter as the funniest thing in the world. Is it any wonder that millions of Americans are concerned about kids growing up in a culture that sends such messages—or that someone who wants to be our President would talk about it?

A lot of the commentary about Bob Dole's remarks on Hollywood has focused on whether he has gained political advantage from them, and I think there is no question but that he has. Not so much because he has positioned himself better with the cultural right, but because, as Americans across the political spectrum realize, he is right—just as President Clinton was right a few years ago when he castigated rap singer Sister Soujah for saying that blacks have killed one another long enough and that it was time for them to start killing whites. When you glamourize murder, as *Natural Born Killers* does; or glorify violence against women, as does 2 Live Crew; when lyrics are anti-Semitic, as

Public Enemy's are, or advocate hatred of gays and immigrants, as those of Guns N' Roses do, it's not just conservatives who know something has gone wrong; any thinking liberal does too.

Those producing this garbage tell us we're naive. *Natural Born Killers* isn't an attempt to profit from murder and mayhem, says Oliver Stone. It's a send-up of the way the tabloid press exploits violence—a claim that would be a lot more convincing if Stone would contribute to charity the multimillion dollar profits the movie earned last year. Time Warner CEO Gerald Levin, whose company produced *Natural Born Killers* and has put out much of the most offensive music, says that rappers like Ice-T are misunderstood: when Ice-T chants "Die, die, die, pig, die," he is not really advocating cop killing, but trying to put us in touch with the "anguished" mind of someone who feels this way.

This is nonsense—rationalization of the most obvious sort. What we need to do, each of us as individuals, is let those who are polluting the culture know that we are going to embarrass them and shame them until they stop, until they use their vast talents and resources to put us in touch with our best selves—instead of with the worst parts of our nature.



WHICH IS MORE THREATENING TO AMERICA—the violence, obscenity, sexism and racism of movies and records, or the stark reality these movies and music reflect? If a messenger, even one who happens to be black and a rapper, arrives bearing news of a terrible disaster, what do we accomplish by killing the messenger?

I wasn't around when black people were barred from playing drums. But I know the

objections to African drumming weren't aesthetic; Southern legislators feared the drums' power to signal a general slave revolt. I was around when finding black music on the radio was a problem. Growing up in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, the only way to hear the latest rhythm-and-blues sounds after dark was searching the scratchy hyperspace for *Randy's Record Shack* beaming up from Nashville, Tennessee.

Banning, ignoring, exploiting, damning black art has a long history. Protecting black freedom of expression and participation at all levels of society began just yesterday. So it's not accidental that politicians reaffirm the doublespeak and hypocrisy of America's pretensions to democracy. Let's deregulate everything; let the marketplace rule. Except when rap music captures a lion's share of the multi-billion dollar music market. Then, in the name of decency and family values, we're duty bound to regulate it. On the other hand, in areas of the economy where black people are appallingly underrepresented—the good jobs, for instance, that enable folks to maintain families—we should abhor intervention because it's not fair.

The best art interrogates and explodes consensus. Recall how traditional African-American gospel music, transformed in the 1960s to freedom songs, the oratory of Martin Luther King and the essays of James Baldwin inspired and guided us. But

we can't have the best art unless we are willing to risk living with the rest, the second rate and 15th rate, the stuff that eventually Xs itself because its worthlessness teaches us not to buy or listen.

We must not lose patience and stop paying attention. We must not mistake jingoism or propaganda or sensationalism for art. We must not fear change, fear the shock and disruption true art inflicts. We must not smother what we don't want to hear with the drone of morally bankrupt, politically self-serving Muzak.



AS A COLUMNIST WHO OFTEN WRITES ABOUT how American parents of every color, income and political stripe feel they're engaged in a losing war with cultural swill, I was glad to hear Bob Dole lambaste the entertainment industry. Every parent I know feels bombardment; who cares who thrusts it under the microscope?

Sure, it's hypocritical. Dole, who long ignored the issue, is playing politics by reducing a complex and unwieldy problem to too-easy sound bites. But who isn't? People who execrate Dole for hypocrisy in blasting movies in which fictional characters use the same assault weapons he supports in real life ignore that his most

passionate attackers make fortunes off the depravity they're protecting. Free speech invokers who say only parents are responsible for policing what their children hear and see overlook that even good parents—who've never been busier or had a more pervasive pop culture to contend with—are sometimes too overwhelmed to fight. Bad parents—and there are millions—aren't even trying. But we all must share the planet with the kids they're raising badly.



I DON'T KNOW WHICH IS MORE APPALLING—the conservatives' hypocrisy or the entertainment industry's sanctimony.

There are solid arguments here, both Dole's and the libertarian response. You'll never know it from what you hear or read. That's because the debate, as framed by Dole and the entertainment industry, is not about values or freedom. It's about popularity. Hollywood calls popularity money; politicians call it votes.

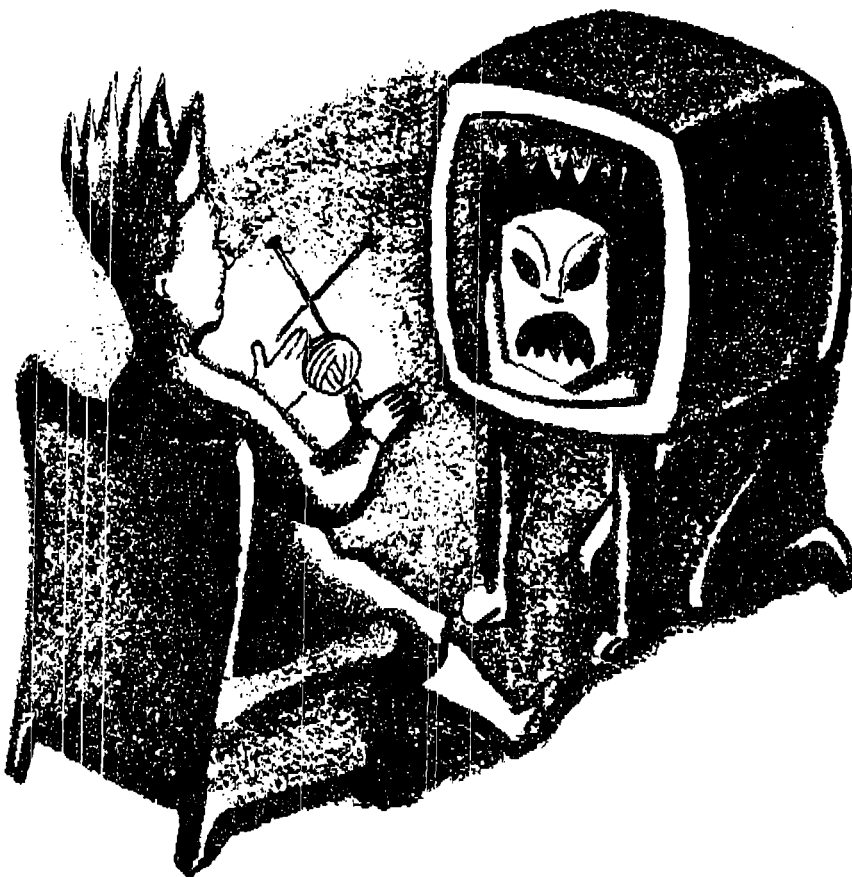
The entertainment conglomerates are fond of invoking the First Amendment. That's because there's precious little excuse for what they've been up to the past 20 years. We've worked so long and hard at making audiences dumber, they have actually become dumber.

Is Dole up to anything different? Several years ago, I was involved in a public debate over a film I adapted from Nikos Kazantzakis' *The Last Temptation of Christ*. It was assailed as blasphemous by religious conservatives, most of whom had not seen the film. I realized at the time it didn't matter whether they had seen it. This was not a debate about the spiritual values of *Last Temptation*; this was a fight about who controls the culture. *Last Temptation*, like other cultural totems—flag burning, Robert Mapplethorpe, gun control, NEA, abortion—had become a symbol of cultural hegemony.

Yes, the entertainment industry is an empty, soulless empire. I can't bring myself to defend many of the films now made; I can't even defend those Dole approves of. Hollywood must examine itself. Its greed is sickening. It must judge the social impact, not just the popularity impact, of what it does. So must politicians who seek to exploit cultural values.



PEOPLE LIKE POP CULTURE—THAT'S WHAT makes it popular. Movies drenched in sex and gore, gangsta rap, even outright





pornography are not some sort of alien interstellar dust malevolently drifting down on us, but products actively sought out and beloved by millions. When fighting to abolish the NEA and other government support for the arts, conservatives are quick to condemn "cultural elitism" and exult the majority tastes served by the marketplace. So how can they turn around and blame entertainment corporations for following the money and giving mass audiences what they want? Talk about elitism!

I too dislike many pop-culture products, although probably not the ones that bother Senator Dole. But the fact is, no system of regulation or voluntary restraint is going to have much effect on mass entertainment. And I'd like to hear how Dole squares his antiviolenence stand with his ardent support for the N.R.A. and the overturning of the assault-weapons ban. Guns don't kill people; rap music kills people? Oliver Stone movies kill people? Please.

Ultimately, culture reflects society—for a violent nation, violent amusements. But if Senator Dole and his fellow conservatives are serious about elevating American tastes, they'd do better to encourage greater variety in culture than to seek to homogenize it even further. Let them increase the NEA budget until it at least equals that for military bands. Let them restore to the public schools the art and music and performance programs that have been cut in the name of "getting back to basics." Let them support public radio and television—or not complain when the kids watch *Beavis and Butthead* and their par-

ents watch *Married ... With Children*, a show whose raw humor at the expense of family values enriches not some Hollywood liberal, by the way, but Newt Gingrich's publisher, Rupert Murdoch.

That Dole and other cultural conservatives claim to speak out of concern for women is particularly galling. What have they ever done for women? These are the same people who were silent when Republican Congressmen compared poor single mothers to mules and alligators, who want to ban abortion. If these men want to do something about entertainment that insults women, why not start with Rush Limbaugh and his references to pro-choice women as "feminazis"? Oh, but I forgot. Criticizing gangsta rap for demeaning women is defending "American values." Criticizing right-wing talk radio for doing the same is "politically correct."

SENATOR BOB DOLE'S RECENT ATTACKS ON hip-hop music and violent films are as ugly and transparent as some of the so-called gangsta rappers he wants to huff and puff and blow away. Like those of the worst rappers, Dole's views sound tinny and half-desperate. Like the lamest films, Dole goes for the spectacular (guns, violence, melodrama) rather than the substantive (love, sex, race, class). The main thing Dole, weak rappers and weak movies share is an ultimate goal: money. Staten Island hip-

hoppers Wu-Tang Clan said it best with their 1994 hit single, *C.R.E.A.M. (Cash Rules Everything Around Me)*.

The mass of folks going to the movies and buying records are in their teens, 20s and early 30s. The optimism of *Forrest Gump* rang false for a lot of us. *The Lion King* offered moments of uplift that faded when the lights came up. But hip-hop songs such as KRS-One's *Build & Destroy*, Gang Starr's *Just to Get a Rep* and Tupac Shakur's *Holler If Ya Hear Me* sound fierce and true, reflecting in mood and content the real world around me and many hundreds of thousands of fans.

Yes, sexism runs rampant through hip-hop. But it, like the violence in the music, runs rampant through the world, and needs to be protested and dealt with—not just silenced on the whim of an ambitious politician. The assumption that simply because the Notorious B.I.C. raps around gunfire in a song, people are going to run out and shoot stuff up is insulting and tired. We are trying to make sense of the world—just like every generation has had to do. Forgive us if our salve is your sandpaper, but we are not you—and we're not sure we want to be.

I APPLAUD SENATOR DOLE. ALMOST BY ANY measure, the airwaves have become the pathways for too much trash. Violence without context and sex without attachment come into our homes too frequently in ways that we cannot control unless we are monitoring the television constantly.

Studies show that by the time a kid reaches 18, he's seen 26,000 murders on TV. That has implications. It creates a sense of unreality about the finality, pain, suffering and inhumanity of brutal violence. The question really is, What is government's role? The answer has got to be more citizenship in the boardroom, not censorship. The public has got to hold boards of directors, executives and corporations accountable for making money out of trash.

For example, if you see something that offends you, find out who the sponsor is, find out who's on its board of directors, find out where they live, who their neighbors are, their local clubs, churches and synagogues. Send a letter to the members of the board at their homes and ask whether they realize they are making huge profits from the brutal degradation of other human beings. Then send a copy of that letter to all of their neighbors and friends. You can also begin to put economic pressure on a corporation. Because the market that the economic conservative champions undermines the moral character that the social

conservative desires, you have to try to introduce it into the functioning of the market a moral sensibility that is usually absent.



POLITICS SEEMS TO ME MUCH LIKE THE practice of stage magic. The magician is rewarded for appearing to perform that which we know to be impossible. We onlookers agree to endorse his claims and applaud his accomplishments if he can complete his performance before getting caught out. Similarly, we know, in our hearts, that politicians running for office are, in the main, mountebanks. They promise us an impossible future, or in the case of Senator Dole, a return to an imaginary pristine past.

It is in our nature to credit the ridiculous for the sake of the momentary enjoyment it affords. We do so at the magic show, at the car showroom and during the electoral process. It has long been the favored trick of the Republican Party to seek support through the creation of a villain. This imaginary being, whose presence stands between us and a Perfect World,

this pornographer, this purveyor of filth, this destroyer of the family is he or she who used to be known by the name of communist, fellow traveler, labor agitator. Other historical names include nigger lover, papist, Yellow Peril, faggot and Jew.

It is the pleasure of the demagogue to turn otherwise sane people one against the other by this ancient trick, in order to further his or her own personal ends.

Yes, popular culture, in the main, is garbage. Perhaps it always has been. I don't know. I know we have a legitimate human desire for leadership, and Senator Dole's demagoguery corrupts this desire into a search for a victim and a longing for revenge. Whether as entertainment or politics, I find such actions objectionable.



REGARDLESS OF THE POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM that may propel the rising attack on the entertainment industry, the attention is more than a good thing because our mass popular culture is the most influential in the world. But when questions are raised about that industry's irresponsible promo-

tion of certain material, the industry's executives tell us it has no influence. Everyone has to know that is a steaming pile of shuck. At its best, popular art has been part of our ongoing redefinition of American life, moving us to question our prejudices and our political policies, our social fears and the ways in which we live our personal lives.

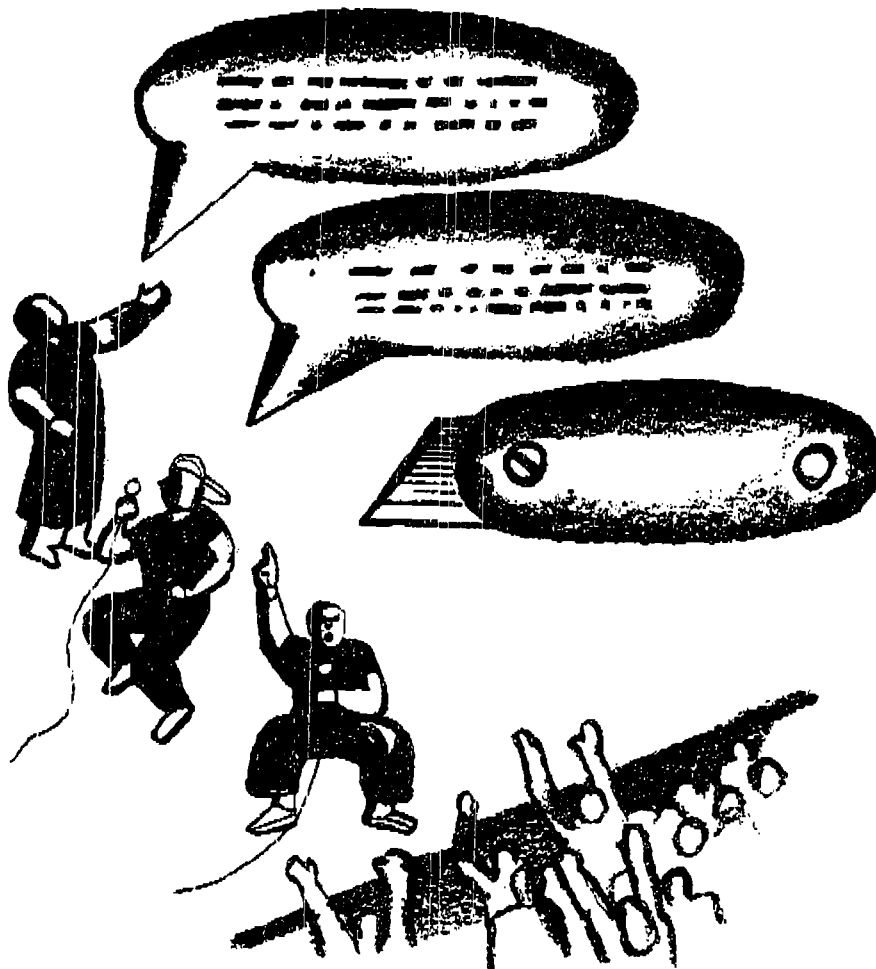
But what we are faced with now is the panting exploitation of all our worst inclinations. We see the cult of slut chic in which Madonna has been such an influence across all lines of race and style that video after video looks like a combination of film-school virtuosity and bimbo routines with a backbeat. We see films in which dramatic intensity is replaced by the shock of gore that takes place in a ruthless universe of amoral one-liners derived from James Bond.

Narcissism and anarchic resentment are promoted in such a calculated fashion that numskull pop stars pretend to be rebels while adhering to the most obvious trends. The executives who promote these performers say that the issue is one of "freedom of expression," while others claim that we are getting "reports from the streets." But the rapper Ice Cube told an interviewer that his work was for young people and that if his audience wanted something else he would give it to them. That is not the statement of a rebel.

These people are not about breaking taboos, they are about making money, and they know where to draw the line. A few years ago, there was an understandable controversy about the anti-Semitic statements of Professor Griff when he was a member of the rap group Public Enemy. He was soon gone from the group. That is a perfect example of how responsibly the industry can work. We will hear no "reports from the streets" that give voice to the mad ravings of Khalid Muhammad or Louis Farrakhan, regardless of the young black people who cheer them at rallies. We have no idea how often the words "nigger," "bitch" and "ho" have been recorded in gangsta rap, but we can be comfortably sure that no rap group will ever be signed and promoted if it uses the word "kike" as frequently. Nor should it be.

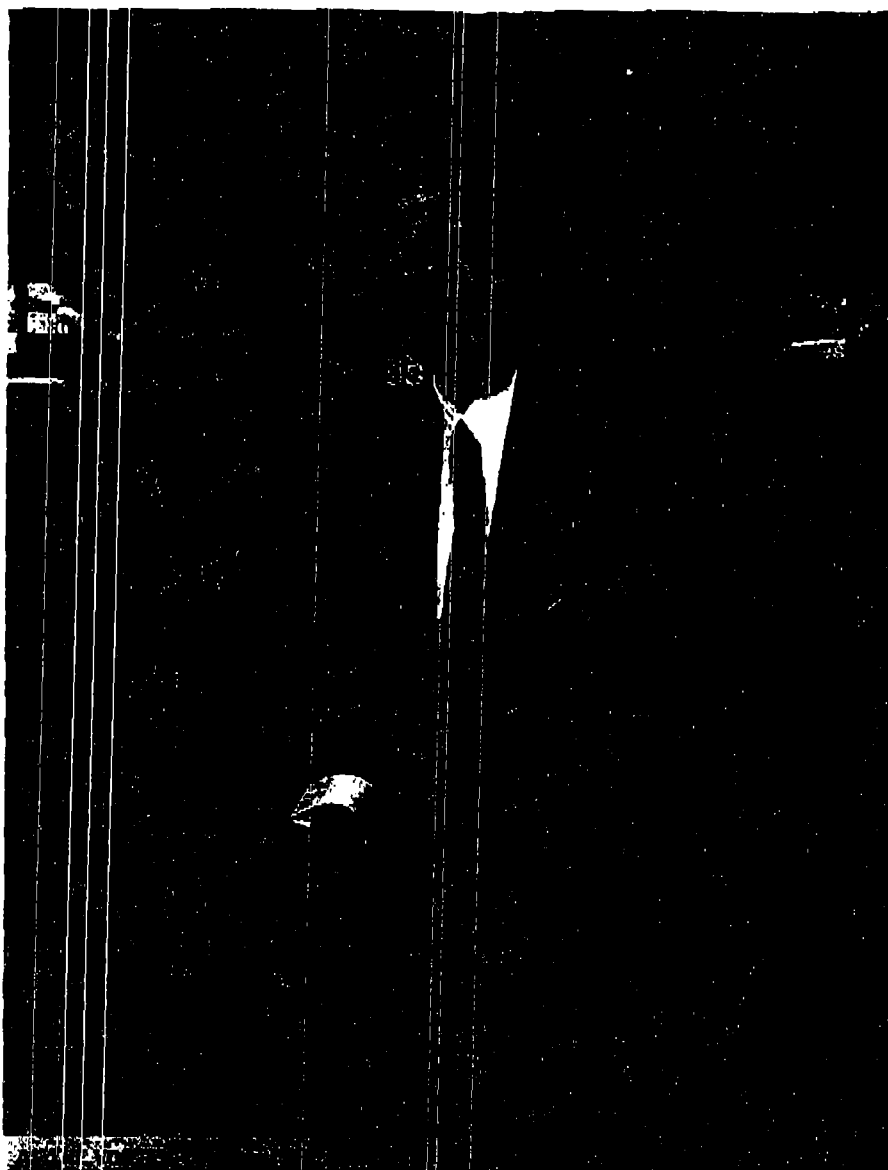
Why is this? Because the Third Reich proved beyond all reasonable doubt what the constant pumping of hate-filled images and inflammatory statements can do to a culture. I do not believe censorship is the answer. But I have no doubt good taste and responsibility will not limit the entertainment industry's ability to provide mature work that attacks our corruption, challenges our paranoia and pulls the covers off the shortcomings that Balkanize us. What we need is simply the same sense of responsibility and dire consequences that we bring to the issue of anti-Semitism. —Compiled by

Andrea Sachs and Suzanne Washburn



A COMPANY UNDER FIRE

Targeted as the chief cultural offender, Time Warner struggles to define itself



By RICHARD ZOGLIN

SENATOR ROBERT DOLE'S BROADCAST last week was hardly the first occasion on which Time Warner has found itself the target of a crusade against pop culture. Two weeks earlier, William Bennett, the former Secretary of Education, and C. DeLores Tucker, head of the National Political Congress of Black Women, brought their campaign against offensive rock lyrics to the annual Time Warner shareholders' meeting at New York's City Center. At one point in the

meeting, Tucker rose from the audience and delivered a 17-minute attack on violent and misogynistic lyrics in songs recorded by Time Warner performers. At the end of her speech, about a third of the packed audience burst into applause. Among them, notably, was a member of the Time Warner board of directors: Henry Luce III, the son of TIME's founder.

No company likes to be told it is contributing to the moral decline of a nation. "Is this what you intended to accomplish with your careers?" Senator Robert Dole asked Time Warner executives rhetorically last week. "You have sold your souls, but must

you debase our nation and threaten our children as well?" At Time Warner, however, such questions are simply the latest manifestation of the soul-searching that has embroiled the company ever since the conglomerate was born in 1990. It's a self-examination that has, at various times, involved issues of social responsibility, creative freedom and the corporate bottom line.

At the vortex of this debate is chairman Gerald Levin, 56, who took over for the late Steve Ross in 1992. On the financial front, Levin is under pressure to boost the sagging stock price and reduce the company's mountainous debt, which will increase to \$17.3 billion after two new cable deals close. He has promised to sell off assets and restructure the company, but investors are waiting impatiently. At the same time, he must still mediate between squabbling factions in a company with two distinct corporate cultures that were mingled but never quite merged when Time Inc. acquired Warner Communications.

The flap over rap is not making life any easier for him. A cerebral, low-key chief executive, Levin has consistently defended the company's raunchy rap music on the grounds of freedom of expression. In 1992, when Time Warner was under fire for releasing Ice-T's violent rap song *Cop Killer*, Levin described rap as a legitimate expression of street culture, which deserves an outlet. "The test of any democratic society," he wrote in a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed column, "lies not in how well it can control expression but in whether it gives freedom of thought and expression the widest possible latitude, however controversial or exasperating the results may sometimes be. We won't retreat in the face of threats of boycotts or political grandstanding."

Levin would not comment on the debate last week, but there were signs that the chairman was backing off his hard-line posture, at least to some extent. During the discussion of rock lyrics at last month's stockholders' meeting, Levin asserted that "music is not the cause of society's ills" and even cited his son, a teacher in the Bronx, who uses rap to communicate with students. But he talked as well about the "balanced struggle" between creative freedom and social responsibility, and he announced that the company would launch a drive to develop industry-wide standards for the distribution and labeling of potentially objectionable music.

The 15-member Time Warner board is generally supportive of Levin and his corporate strategy. But insiders say several of them—notably Luce, former U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills and former baseball commissioner Fay Vincent—have echoed Bennett's concerns in conversations with Levin. "Some of us have known for many, many years that the freedoms under the First Amendment are not totally unlimited," says Luce. "I think it is perhaps the case that some people associated with the company have belatedly come to realize this."

ONE KEY FIGURE IN THE DEBATE IS Richard Parsons, the former chairman of Dime Bank Corp. who was named to the No. 2 position of Time Warner president last October. Parsons, an African-American and a Republican, is reportedly trying to persuade Levin to make some accommodation that would defuse the issue. But company insiders say a more important move may have been the replacement in May of Warner Music chief Robert Morgado with Michael Fuchs, Levin's longtime colleague at HBO. Company sources say Fuchs' appointment was at least partly motivated by Levin's perception that Warner's fiercely independent music labels needed a stronger boss who could lead the way to developing tougher standards. The speculation from one well-informed source is that Levin and Fuchs may be preparing for a subtle U-turn in company policy on rap: first pursuing the new set of standards Levin mentioned at the annual meeting, then inviting in recording artists, producers and executives to answer a few critical questions: Do they in fact have standards of decency? What are they? What if anything is over the line? After that could come an explicit code of behavior for artists and distributors—and a retreat from some of the more egregious offenders. The process may well be slow

and deliberate, if only to make sure the desired results stick.

Meanwhile, company sources happily volunteer the information that rap music represents only a small slice of Time Warner's total revenues: \$85 million last year, about 2% of the \$4 billion that the music division generates and an even tinier fraction of Time Warner's \$15.9 billion in annual revenues. Translation: if the company were forced to scale back on rap, the bottom-line impact would be minimal.

The Dole controversy has opened up other fault lines in the Time Warner empire. As head of HBO, Fuchs was frequently at odds with the top executives at Warner Bros. film division, Robert Daly and Terry Semel. Some speculate that Daly and Semel were not unhappy to see Fuchs—the one company official assigned to respond publicly to Dole's attack—taking all the corporate heat. When Robert Friedman, head of advertising and publicity for Warner Bros. films, was asked for a comment on Dole's speech, he interestingly passed the buck. "It's not a movie issue," he said. "It's more a music issue."

Of course it is both, and more. In one sense, Time Warner's role as the pop-culture world's designated lightning rod seems perfectly appropriate. As the world's largest media and entertainment conglomerate, the company is big enough to have multiple examples of virtually every product that might give people offense, from cheesy talk shows to loud heavy-metal bands. The fact that it is based in America (unlike many of its giant rivals, like Sony and Bertelsmann) makes it a compelling target. The company may also have presented an inviting bull's-eye



for Senator Dole because of its history of supporting Democratic candidates and causes. During the 1992 presidential campaign, Time Warner and its subsidiaries contributed disproportionately more to Democratic than to Republican candidates—though company figures show the discrepancy disappeared in the last congressional campaign.

Some company defenders charge that Dole was unfairly singling out Time Warner for what is a culture-wide problem. For instance, he criticized two Warner movies—*Natural Born Killers* (a box-office success) and *True Romance* (a flop), both based on stories by Quentin Tarantino—but ignored Tarantino's critically acclaimed but equally violent *Pulp Fiction* and *Reservoir Dogs*, both released by Miramax, a division of Walt Disney Co. Disney also owns Hollywood

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Dole's speech. Yet Time Warner...
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affiliated with Warner Records) rejected a Ceto Boys album because of its explicit lyrics about mutilating women and having sex with dead bodies. The album was immediately distributed by another Warner label.

Company officials argue that it is futile to try to stamp out rap by clamping down on a single company. When Ice-T withdrew his *Cop Killer* song after the 1992 controversy and left Warner Records, he was instantly picked up by another label. Warner record officials note that other major record companies—who are, after all, Time Warner competitors—have pointedly failed to come to Time Warner's defense over the issue of rap. "Obviously," says one senior Warner record executive, "if just Time Warner falls and commits harakiri, that will be great for people who hate the company. But it won't do anything to change

Records, whose performers include such controversial rappers as Prince Akeem.

Still, whoever else may be doing it, Time Warner has undeniably made itself a major presence in the outer reaches of hard-edged rap. It may not be the largest distributor of rap music (the German-based Bertelsmann Music Group accounts for an 19.5% share of the rap market, compared with Time Warner's 16.4%), but it is home to several of the biggest and baddest performers, due largely to its ownership stake in Interscope, a small label that releases Tupac Shakur, Dr. Dre and Snoop Doggy Dogg. (Earlier this year, Time Warner increased its ownership in Interscope from 25% to 50%.) The standards of taste at Warner Music labels, moreover, have at times seemed extraordinarily lax. Several years ago, Geffen Records (then

what kids are exposed to. It will just shift profits from one company to another." Critics respond that this has nothing to do with what may or may not be Time Warner's corporate responsibility for what it purveys.

After the Time Warner shareholders' meeting last month, Tucker and Bennett aired their grievances directly in a testy meeting with company executives, among them Levin and Fuchs. It started badly: when company officials refused Tucker's request that they read aloud the lyrics of *Big Man with a Gun*, a song by the alternative-rock group Nine Inch Nails (sample: "Maybe I'll put a hole in your head/ You know, just for the f--- of it"), Tucker angrily walked out of the meeting for a time. Bennett's direct-as-a-bullet charges ("Are you folks morally disabled?") were met by philosophizing and historical perspective

("Elvis was more controversial in his day than some rap lyrics are today") that Bennett took to be patronizing. When Bennett responded to one of Levin's comments by exclaiming, "Baloney!" Levin stalked out of the room.

"I was impressed with the lack of candor," said Bennett. "It was extremely pompous. Here were these guys in \$4,000 suits making us feel like we were lucky to be getting the time of day." Company officials, on the other hand, assert that while Tucker was reasonable and focused on solutions, Bennett seemed intent on confrontation and publicity. "He came in with no information and no credentials to discuss any of this intelligently," says Fuchs. "I guess he thought he was the self-appointed marshal riding in on a white horse to be the arbiter of morals."

The Dole attack was in some ways even more brutal—and potentially more dangerous. Unlike Bennett, Dole is a powerful politician, the majority leader of the Senate; at a time when Congress is considering communications legislation that could drastically affect Time Warner's cable businesses, Levin & Co. could be forgiven for taking his speech as a direct threat of legislative retribution. Warner Music officials privately worry that Washington politics could dictate the corporation's response.

Those who know Levin, however, consider that unlikely to be the decisive factor. More probably, it will be mounting pressure from—and increasing attention to—what appears to be a very real clamor on behalf of common sense and public sensibilities. "It's a real moment for Time Warner to decide what it is," says a senior Warner Music executive. The likeliest outcome at the moment, though, is that his division will not be entirely pleased by the answer.

—Reported by Jeffrey H. Birnbaum and Michael Duffy/Washington, Adam Cohen and Barbara Rudolph/New York and Jeffrey Rensner/Los Angeles



1993 Prince Akeem, whose lyrics allegedly implicated a former murder, was arrested for sexual assault.

1994 Ice-T's *Cop Killer* song, which created a good bit of controversy, was pulled from his movie *Maternal Mortality*.

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1995 Ice-T's *Cop Killer* song, which created a good bit of controversy, was pulled from his movie *Maternal Mortality*.

Aleysha Proctor

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CAREER MANAGEMENT

THE LOOKS THAT

KILL CAREERS

ABOUT A DECADE AGO, CURTIS Crawford, now president of AT&T's \$2.7 billion microelectronics division, received some simple yet priceless advice from his boss. Then a neophyte AT&T'er eager to make a good impression, Crawford asked his boss the age-old question, "What do I have to do to be successful at this job?" Anticipating a pious lecture, Crawford was dumbfounded when his boss said simply, "Show up for work."

(Not sure if his manager understood the sincerity of the question, Crawford queried again, to which his boss replied, "Show up

The external elements of one's image—from attire to office decor—may seem superficial, but they're extremely important. Here's how to assess what's right for you.

early." Stumped but intrigued, Crawford pried some more. Finally, his boss shared his full but shockingly simple success mantra: "Show up. Show up early. And show up dressed to play."

Well, the point is not new, but it is worth repeating. Master the basics. Without them the rest won't account for much. While the key to success is no longer so simple—and for African-Americans it never was—certain fundamental dos and don'ts ride the waves of change untouched. Knowing them won't ensure your success, but blowing them will taint everything else you do right.

By Rhonda Reynolds

THE RITES AND RITUALS OF CORPORATE COUTURE

"You have seven seconds to make an impression. People see your clothes before you even open your mouth. And make no mistake, everything you say following those first few moments will be weighed by how you look," says image consultant Aleysha Proctor of the Studio Elle Company in Capitol Heights, Md.

This is particularly true of African-Americans who, despite corporate diversity initiatives, must still scale a wall of subjective assumptions and offensive stereotypes in most face-to-face dealings with white America. Thus, the basic rules of corporate couture for blacks go beyond the routine advice. Yes, you should skip the fads and invest in quality, classic clothes that will clean and travel well. And no, quality is not a synonym for expensive. No one is suggesting that you go into debt to buy Giorgio Armani when your budget dictates J.C. Penney. Regardless of cost constraints, there is no excuse for not having an attractive wardrobe that will continue to look good for at least three years with the help of some inexpensive upkeep.

That requires buying clothes that will not fall apart; that will not shine or fray after three visits to the dry cleaner; that won't fade or curl after a few turns in the washing machine.

"It's one thing to acquire expertise in your field, but the longtime value is the impression you leave clients, co-workers and bosses," says Jonathan Vaughters, a vice president for marketing services with Heller Financial, a commercial lending firm in Chicago.

Once you have the quality issue down, you must focus on perception. "For African-Americans, looking too formal can project an image of being unapproachable," says Jean Patton of Color Education Resources in New York. "Black executives must be aware of context, impact and the appropriateness of that impact. As a manager you want to exude authority, not instill fear." While the color codes for corporate America remain the same (don't even think of not



owning a navy or charcoal gray suit), you must be aware of your appearance and its impact, and make adjustments as you see fit. A male vice president at Bristol Myers Squibb Co. in New York, who is brown-skinned and stands well over six feet tall, has purposely stocked his work wardrobe with medium-hued suits. As a tall, black man, he knows that he already cuts an imposing—to some, intimidating—figure. Lighter-colored suits, he says, minimize that impact.

Impeccable grooming is also key, especially if you choose to wear braids, a full beard or some other style that runs counter to traditional corporate culture. Consistency is also crucial. A sound image cannot be built by "dressing up" three times a week and stepping in some days as if you just left a rap concert.

SAY CHEEESE . . .

Imagine having your "look" directly affect fund-raising for the earth. Well, as national director of communications for Greenpeace, Gasby Greely believes her corporate photo does just that, since it "represents the organization, its professionalism, image and credibility." Contributions to Greenpeace topped \$38 million last year, thanks in part to Greely's efforts.

Corporate photos can be important advancement tools. They enable you to make a strong impression before you even meet a client, the press or, in some cases, a future employer. Anita Robertson, a financial consultant for Merrill Lynch in Los Angeles, believes so strongly in the value of a good corporate photo that she had head shots taken at her own expense. She says it's been worth every cent. "Finance and investments seem to scare people," Robertson says. "They think it's a foreign language. My photo makes me look friendly and approachable. People get a sense that they can relate to me. Plus, I get additional media exposure which helps me acquire more clients."

Unlike Robertson, most executives polled on this topic cringed at the mention of their corporate photos the way some people do at their driver's license

picture. Wrong reaction. There's too much at stake not to make sure these photos portray your best, not worst, side. If you work at a large firm, this photo will be sent to the press to announce your hire, promotion or any other achievement you have worked hard for. Why let a drab picture detract from your accomplishments? And, what about your community involvement? Do you want the same tired corporate mug shot to continue popping up in the local newspaper or church bulletin?

It's true that achieving a satisfactory corporate photo can be a painstaking process. But if you take the right steps, the end result be worth it. Start with a professional photographer and be prepared to lead the shoot, particularly if the photographer seems inexperienced or uninterested. You have far more at stake than he or she does. Schedule the shoot at a relatively stress-free time. If you feel pressured, it will show on your face.

Be sure the lighting is flattering to you. You can check this by asking to see a Polaroid before the actual pictures are taken. (This is also a good time to check your makeup, hair, pose and outfit for problems.) If you are being photographed after a caravan of nonblack employees, the lighting will have to be adjusted and you should politely request that the photographer double-check it.

Ray Robinson, vice president, corporate relations at AT&T, went so far as to secure an outside photographer schooled in the arts of lighting and shading for African-Americans to take his photograph. The extra homework paid off.

If you have a few pounds that you don't want to make immortal, ask ahead of time what color the background will be and plan to blend in. If aging is a concern, opt for black-and-white photos when possible. As a practical matter, women and men should wear makeup that will reduce shine, cover blemishes and even out skin tone. If you are unskilled at makeup application, it's worth hiring a professional, even if you have to pay for it yourself. And by all means, as you rise in status, keep your photo as up-to-date as your résumé.



BUSINESS ETIQUETTE 101

There's more to etiquette than knowing which fork to use for the appetizer and how to tactfully pick up the lunch tab. Here are some helpful pointers:

- Always hand your card to the receptionist when you visit another company. That way he or she will get your name right when introducing you.

- Use a person's title when introducing him or her to people outside of your office or department, even if you are on a first-name basis.

- Sure, you know to use cutlery from the outside in, and you can maneuver around all of those drinking glasses at the annual industry awards dinner. But when attending a business meal, always brush up on your manners beforehand, especially if you will be breaking bread with clients or guests from other countries. Make sure your behavior shatters the stereotypes of "the ugly American" and African-American.

- For no-fault business menus, follow this munching order: Request a light meal and skip anything fussy (clams on the half shell) or messy (lobster dishes that come with a bib). Be decisive and matter-of-fact about ordering. Remember, the food is not the main event.

- Rather than moving from small talk into business, do your business first and try to wrap up as much as you can during the appetizer. If you can't, stay focused on the purpose of the meal, even if it means leaving food on your plate. You can always eat later.

- Similar rules apply at large receptions and conventions. Don't succumb to a full-plate faux pas. Know why you are there and act accordingly. "If you look like you're eating your last supper, you will miss vital networking opportunities," says Terrian Barnes, vice president of minority and women's affairs for the International Franchise Association in Washington. "People are watching, and they will bypass you, meet

CAREER MANAGEMENT

someone else and let you eat. That could have been a prospective client, a well-connected colleague or even your next boss," Barnes says.

■ To drink or not to drink is one of the most pondered questions for executives. Try these rules of thumb. Don't drink if you are trying to seal a deal, if you are with a client, potential client or boss who doesn't drink, or if alcohol causes you to look or act even the least bit dopey. In all other cases, know your limit, and stop at least one drink short of it. There are a lot of mistakes you can recover from in professional circles; making a drunken fool of yourself is not one of them.

Need additional help? Consider *Power Schmoozing: The New Etiquette for Social & Business Success* by Terri Mandell. Sections on working the room and hosting successful parties will help make you quite a company asset.

PUNCTUALITY POWER PLAYS

As an executive recruiter, Juan Menefee, president of Juan Menefee and Associates in Oak Park, Ill., is privy to the executive requirements that don't make it into the job description. After all of the degrees and awards are tallied, "employers want promptness," says Menefee.

But being punctual does not always mean being on time. Menefee, who always prided himself on being a respectable 15 minutes early for any appointment or day's work, learned that lesson in 1984, while toiling in middle management at Proctor & Gamble.

Menefee's moment of truth came at an 8 a.m. district sales meeting. Stellar in his finely pressed shirt and wing-tipped shoes, his memory bank brimming with current sales figures, Menefee arrived at 7:40 a.m. "ready to greet people as they walked in the door." He was shocked to find himself the last to arrive. "You have to look around, pay attention to the corporate culture and corporate clock," says Menefee.

For African-Americans, this is a particularly touchy issue. "C.P."—as in



Colored People's—time is no joke. In our own social circles, promptness has not been a priority. But the laxity that is fine on the home front is totally unacceptable at work. So, when it comes to workplace punctuality, strive to beat your boss, your colleagues and the clock.

DECKING THE WALLS . . .

Eric McKissack, co-chief investment officer at Ariel Capital Management in Chicago, has a limited-edition Jacob Lawrence lithograph entitled *Harlem Street Scene* adorning his office wall. It's part of the black-owned investment firm's stunning 20-piece collection of African-American art.

But most black executives don't have the home office decorating their working quarters, and even fewer work at firms where African heritage is indoctrinated into the corporate culture. So, in decorating their work spaces, many black executives skip Afrocentric items altogether because they are not sure how to meld their cultural and corporate identities.

"When in doubt, don't ask higher-ups for advice," counsels interior designer Courtney Sloan of Alternative Designs in Jersey City, N.J. "Just zero in on the nuances of who we are and prop up things that are more subtle, like desk trinkets or small sculpture. Skip the African masks on the walls. Instead, work with African color schemes, textures and fabrics."

If you are concerned about your own tastes, you can get quick tips from a designer for about \$75 an hour.

Executive recruiter Menefee confides his own decorating rule-of-thumb: "The higher you go up that proverbial corporate ladder, the more you can and should express an ethnic pride and show a strong sense of self. A few well-placed and tasteful artifacts can shout that you are confident about your skills, heritage and image. And by any standard, those are the makings of a promotable employee." □

The DLC Fax

The Democratic Leadership Council

Tuesday, June 6, 1995

Welfare Reform—Fast Train Off The Tracks

Not so long ago, welfare reform looked like a fast train leaving the station. President Clinton and Speaker Gingrich had made the issue a top priority. What's more, public opinion polls showed large majorities not only favoring reform, but saying they would even spend more money in the short run for a plan that genuinely put welfare recipients to work.

But as the Senate prepares for its welfare debate, work-based welfare reform is off the tracks. Barring a last-minute turn, the most promising opportunity to reform welfare in a generation will have been lost and the failure of our conventional left-right politics to solve problems demonstrated once more.

The House bill passed in March retreats from any national commitment to reform. Instead, it dumps the problem on the states through a series of "block grants," imposing an array of new "strings" on the federal money, including a punitive cutoff of legal immigrants and unwed teen mothers. The bill also denies states enough money to do much of anything with the welfare population other than reduce benefits and deny coverage, while failing to supply any positive incentive to put welfare recipients to work.

On May 26, the Senate Finance Committee reported legislation that dashed any hopes that the Senate GOP would come to the rescue of work-based welfare reform. This bill also arbitrarily limits federal funding in a way that is guaranteed to frustrate state efforts to place recipients in private sector jobs. Moreover, the bill takes a new step

Save this date! Fri., 6/23 - Forum on Teen Pregnancy and Second Chance Homes, with DLC Chair Sen. **Joe Lieberman** and PPI VP for Dom. Pol. **Kathleen Sylvester**. 10am-12 noon, 562 Dirksen SOB. More details TBA.

away from reform: The one element of the current welfare system that states will be required to maintain is the discredited JOBS program, which cycles welfare recipients through ineffective education and training programs instead of immediately placing them in actual jobs. In fact, both GOP bills impose penalties on states if they do not enroll a high percentage of recipients in JOBS-type "work activities," an approach that reinforces the welfare bureaucracy's obsession with the number of people in programs, rather than the number moved out of programs into work.

Sadly, both the Clinton Administration and the Democrats' one-time champion on welfare issues, Sen. Moynihan, are now identified with proposals that largely pour more money into the existing welfare system. The last hope for getting welfare reform back on track could arise next week, when Sens. Daschle, Breaux, Mikulski, Lieberman, and perhaps others are expected to unveil a new Democratic alternative. This group of Democratic senators has looked closely at PPI's own distinctive proposal, called Work First.

Work First would replace the current system of income maintenance payments and education and training programs with an employment system focused on linking welfare recipients to private sector jobs. It would in part use job placement vouchers that would build a competitive market of job placement and support services.

For a copy of Work First, please contact the DLC-PPI publications desk at the number listed below.

DLC-PPI Spring Retreat

It's been a busy month at DLC PPI and we haven't had a chance to bring you up-to-date on our most recent event. The 1995 Spring Retreat (5/18-5/21) brought DLC-PPI leaders, donors, and Democratic officials together for a "reenergizing" weekend of panels and discussions on the future of the Democratic party and the mission of the DLC.

DLC Chair Sen. **Joe Lieberman** and Vice Chair CO Gov. **Roy Romer**, along with Sen. **Sam Nunn**, Dem. Ldr. **Tom Daschle**, DNC General Chair Sen. **Chris Dodd**, IN Gov. **Evan Bayh**, CA Cntrl. **Kathleen Connell**, CA Rep. **Jane Harmon**, and EPA Admin. **Carol Browner** were on hand to discuss how the DLC-PPI can help lead our party and our country into the 21st century.

Over the course of the weekend, retreat participants took a hard look at politics and government in America, provoking honest and lively discussions on subjects such as: the changing

Democratic landscape: the burden proposed federal changes will place on states; the next stages of environmental reform; and the coming era of tax reform.

In one of the weekend's most notable panels, Romer, Bayh, and Connell laid out the impact proposed federal policies and federal "inaction" will have on their respective states. Romer called on Congress to "fix the Medicare problem," otherwise CO must sacrifice education monies to compensate for spiraling Medicare costs. Bayh, reiterating voters' fears about a better future for their children and grandchildren, stressed the need for responsible fiscal policies, including economic opportunity and job growth.

The Progressive Foundation's Center for Environmental Economics also took center stage. Director **Debra Knopman** and *A Moment on Earth: The Coming Age of Environmental Optimism* author **Gregg Easterbrook** addressed the current political climate for environmental regulation.

In Other News

Speaking of PF's Center for Environmental Economics, we are pleased to announce the official arrival of director **Debra Knopman**. Under Knopman's lead, the new center will work to develop a "second generation" of environmental policies that strengthen environmental protection and resource conservation through decentralization of regulatory control and the strategic use of economic incentives.

PPI will host a budget briefing Wed., 6/14, 9-11am, in 708 Hart SOB. PPI VP **Rob Shapiro**, Econ. Pol. Analyst **Jeff Hammond**, and Budget Analyst **Steve Tidrick** will discuss the significance and impact of the 1996 budget proposals. All are invited. For more info, call (202) 547-0001.

To order any of the publications seen in this fax or any other DLC-PPI publication, please call or e-mail the DLC-PPI publications desk at (202) 546 0007 or fird@dclppi.org.

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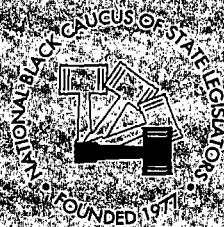
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A National Black Caucus of State Legislators Publication **THE LEGISLATOR**

March/April 1995



(L-R) Rep. James Thomas (AL); Sen. Kay Patterson (SC); Rep. Lois DeBerry (TN); Vice Pres. Al Gore.
Mrs. Gore speaks to Rep. Calvin Smyre (GA) behind VP.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION DEBATE HEATS UP

by Rep. Harold James (PA)

As if legislative plates on every political level throughout the country were not already full, incessant attacks on affirmative action have ensured that the topic has moved from the front burner into the microwave. The myths that surround the controversy seem to be drawn from the illusion that affirmative action, an initiative championed under Republican President Richard Nixon, has successfully resolved the gaping disparities between African Americans and the non-minority population. To the contrary, any serious examination of the topic renders "success" a very relative term.

Even a quick overview renders charges of reverse racism, a term sure to evoke a negative backlash among affirmative action antagonists, should slow the pell-mell rush to discard one of the few tools available for

social remedies. The *Washington African American* offered the following tidbits as food for thought in a full page overview entitled, "The Equality Myth — What if We Participated on Equal Footing With Whites?" There would be 11 more U.S. Senators; 15 more U.S. Representatives; 3.1 million fewer black children living in poverty; 6.2 million fewer black families in poverty; 657,828 more black professionals; 57,715 more blacks with bachelor degrees; the average black family would have an income \$19,568 higher; the average black household would have a net worth \$39,804 higher. The same overview provides these "African American Quick Facts" — there were 959,420 more unemployed black adults than whites in 1993; there were 6.9 million more black people

continued on page 10

AFRICAN AMERICAN SUMMIT TO CONVENE IN MAY

The current harsh political climate permeating the nation is cause for alarm. While it has always been important for African Americans to develop our own agenda and political strategies, there is no way our communities can survive these trying times if we don't take control of our future now. For this reason, a special African American Legislative Summit for congressional, state and local elected officials will convene in Washington, DC, May 19 and 20. Originally scheduled for March 31, members of Congress asked that the summit be rescheduled to accommodate the pressing demands of early congressional and state house legislative sessions.

The conveners of the summit are the Congressional Black Caucus, National Association of Black County Officials, National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials, National Black Caucus of State Legislators and the National Forum for Black Public Administrators.

In announcing her support for the summit, NBCSL President Lois DeBerry said, "If ever there was a time for black folk to get it together, that time is now. We have to all get on the same page and stop trying to reinvent the wheel every time we face a problem. There's nothing new happening

continued on page 12

I N S I D E

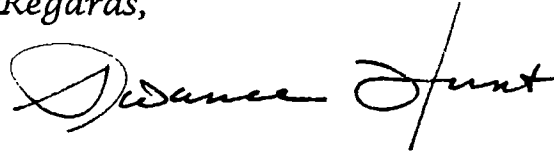
- 2 President's Message**
- 3 Round Table**
- 5 International News**
- 8 Roll Call**

The Hunt Alternatives Fund

JUN - 8 1995

*I am proud of my philanthropic work through
The Hunt Alternatives Fund and thought
you might find this report on our activities of
interest.*

Regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Swanee Hunt". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the word "Regards,".

*Swanee Hunt
Chair*

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1994 ANNUAL REPORT

THE HUNT ALTERNATIVES FUND

1994 ANNUAL REPORT

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Cover:

"La Familia Martinez" by Denver artist Tony Ortega. Mr. Ortega lives and works in the Highland neighborhood of Northwest Denver. His colorful works often depict the themes of family, community, and the rich traditions of Hispanic culture.

*Suzanne*

United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

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TO: Alexis Herman - NSC
FAX: 456-2983

FROM: RICHARD A. NUCCIO
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THE HERALD, THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 1995

United Way launches Guantanamo job service

By JOHN LANTIGUA
Herald Staff Writer

Cuban refugees at the U.S. Navy Base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, soon will have a resumé service at their command so they can start job hunting even before they reach the mainland United States.

The United Way of Dade County will send a team of business and legal professionals to the base today for a three-day stay to begin a job counseling program. The Cuban refugees there, almost 20,000, are mostly young men. They already have been approved for entrance into the United States.

"There are lots of refugees who arrive here and only about one out of 20 knows what is expected when he is looking for work," said United Way spokesman Tamara

Klingler. "The system they are coming from is just about the opposite of our system here. They need to know about the relationship between worker and employer here. We are trying to speed up that orientation process."

The order in which the refugees will come is determined by a lottery. Klingler said the sooner a refugee is expected to leave the camp, the higher up he will be on the list for job counseling.

The new program is called the Guantanamo Refugee Assimilation Project, or GRASP. The purpose of the first trip is organization, but volunteers hope to begin regular counseling duties in July.

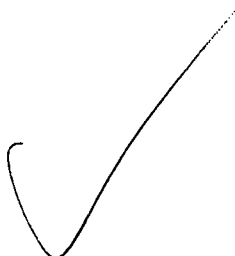
Besides the resumé service, the GRASP volunteers also will conduct orientation programs that cover the legal and employment

rights of American workers and their responsibilities. GRASP will help professionals arrange for exams to validate the degrees and licenses they held in Cuba.

The volunteers will try to generate job opportunities for the refugees in South Florida and develop a job bank. They also are hoping to begin a mentoring program to match refugees who are athletes and artists with local athletes and artists.

In addition, GRASP volunteers will assist other agencies already working with more than 200 Haitian children still Guantanamo, specifically helping them reunite with family members in the United States.

Five volunteers will fly to Guantanamo today. They will travel on a jet donated by the law firm of Steel Hector & Davis.



The DLC Fax

Notice! *The DLC Fax* will not be broadcast on Tues., 7/4, in honor of Independence Day. We'll see you next on 7/11.

The Democratic Leadership Council

Tuesday, June 27, 1995

PPI's Second-Chance Homes Becomes Senate Democrats' First Alternative

"...it is specific, it is immediate, it is realizable, it's achievable, it's practical, it's attainable, and it's terrific."

Senator Barbara Mikulski (D-MD), on PPI's *Second-Chance Homes Proposal*, 6/23/95

PPI's new plan to reduce teen pregnancy was endorsed Friday (6/23) by US Sens. Daschle, Lieberman, Mikulski, and Conrad as the alternative to Republican teen pregnancy proposals that include such punitive measures as cutting off welfare to mothers under the age 18.

Second-Chance Homes: Breaking the Cycle of Teen Pregnancy, authored by PPI's VP for Dom. Pol. **Kathleen Sylvester**, offers Congress and the nation an opportunity to move beyond conservatives' punitive proposals and liberals' defense of a failed welfare system. PPI's alternative would create a national network of "second-chance homes"—group residences in which teen mothers whose own homes are unstable or unsafe, live under adult supervision with their children, while meeting their social and personal obligations for receiving welfare support. These community-based homes, with seed money and guidance from the government, would foster the three fundamental elements teen mothers need if they are to have a chance to succeed: socialization, nurturing and support, and structure and discipline.

Second-chance homes would offer a unique opportunity for a partnership among teen mothers, the government, and communities. Under PPI's proposal, teen mothers would use portions of their federal assistance (AFDC, HUD subsidies, etc.) as program fees to offset the costs of the homes. The government would supply the startup funds necessary to create a national network of homes, providing guidance and evaluation and acting as a catalyst for community action. Finally, community-based

groups from Rotary Clubs and fraternal organizations to senior citizen and youth groups would supply the element now missing in attempts to help teen mothers and their children: a connection to the communities and their values.

PPI's second-chance homes proposal would initially target teen mothers under age 18 for the following three reasons: 1) teen mothers under age 18 are the most likely of any welfare recipients to become long-term recipients of welfare; 2) the requirement for many teen mothers to live in such homes sends a strong message to young females: Society no longer offers unconditional, open ended financial support for teens who bear children out of wedlock; 3) mothers under age 18 represent only a small percentage of unwed teen mothers (Of the nearly 296,000 unmarried teen mothers on welfare, 67,000 are under age 18). Not only are these mothers in need of the most help, but their small number represents a manageable start for communities ready to get involved.

PPI does not propose these homes as a guaranteed solution to the problem of teen pregnancy, but rather as a promising idea. The prototype for these homes have produced some notable results: fewer second pregnancies, dramatically increased school completion rates for mothers, reduced incidence of child abuse, better maternal and child health, increased placement for adoption, higher employment rates, and reduced welfare dependency.

The idea is worth trying. If we cannot find a way to help teen mothers, their children will pay the price. Many of the nine million children now living in welfare families are scripted to repeat the lives of their parents. We must intervene and break the cycle before these children, too, become a new generation of disadvantage.

For a copy of *Second-Chance Homes*, contact the DLC-PPI publications department at the number listed below.

In the States

Denver, CO - DLC leaders and members in CO have begun crafting a New Democrat agenda for the state. On 6/8, the CO DLC hosted a public policy forum with CO DLC leaders, including former CO Gov. **Dick Lamm**, State Sen. Min. Ldr. **Mike Feeley**, House Min. Ldr. **Peggy Kerns**, and CO Dem. Party State Chair **Mike Beatty**.

The forum was the first in a series to be held this summer, as the CO DLC positions itself to become yet another DLC chapter with or in the process of developing a New Democrat agenda. By the end of 1995, the CO DLC plans

to conduct a statewide convention to vote on the agenda.

New York, NY - The NY DLC is hosting a breakfast forum this morning (6/27), 8:15-9:30am, with the Progressive Foundation's **Doug Ross**. Ross, former Assistant Secretary of Labor in the Clinton Administration, will speak to a small gathering of DLC members about PPI's labor initiative, *A G.I. Bill for American Workers*. Breakfast is being held in the offices of Ashby Hileman at Marks & Murase, 399 Park Avenue, 21st floor. Call (212) 802-4709 for more info.

Washington, DC - PPI Senior Fellow **Ed Kilgore** and DLC Field Director

Simon Rosenberg spoke to an overflow crowd of College Democrats at the National College Democratic Convention, yesterday (6/19). Kilgore and Rosenberg offered the DLC's perspective on the state of Democratic politics and encouraged the up and coming Democratic leaders to become more engaged in the debate of the future of their party. More than 75 of yesterday's convention participants signed up for DLC membership.

To order any of the publications seen in this fax or any other DLC-PPI publication, please call or e-mail the DLC-PPI publications desk at (202) 546-0007 or field@dleppi.org.

This fax is broadcast to thousands of public officials, citizen activists, and supporters in the DLC network nationwide.

c/o *The DLC Fax*, Democratic Leadership Council, 518 C Street NE, Washington, DC 20002

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8/10/95*

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WASHINGTON **Afro-American** AND THE WASHINGTON TRIBUNE

Volume 103 No. 31

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Angry Black publishers say Clinton let them down

By Frances Murphy
Washington AFRO Publisher

An angry group of publishers of Black newspapers accused the Clinton administration of not living up to its commitment to the Black press made during the 1992 successful presidential campaign of Bill Clinton.

Bob Bogle, president of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, (NNPA) the trade association of the Black press, told Democratic National Committee chair R. Fowler and Sen. Christopher J. Dodd (D-Conn.) that his 205-newspaper member group, which has over 11 million readers each week, is not happy with either the access to the White House given to the Black press or the amount of

support these small business owners are getting.

Both Mr. Fowler and Sen. Dodd had come to the Howard University Inn on Thursday, March 16 to talk to the Board of Directors of NNPA about affirmative action and other items now on the Clinton administration's agenda, but these business owners were more interested in promises made and not kept. Mr. Bogle said, "The Democrats are still taking us, and our readers, for granted."

They reminded the Democratic leadership that their 1992 Democratic victory was due largely to the massive turnout of Black voters who supported Mr. Clinton. They also stated that the recent

Continued on page A13

Black press speaks to Clinton

(Continued from page A1)

election which saw the Republicans gain control of both the House and the Senate was due partly to the large number of Black voters who stayed home and did not vote. They foresee a similar defeat for the Democrats in 1996 unless things change.

In 1991, Mr. Clinton met with owners of the Black press and promised he not only would be supportive but he would consult them on Black-oriented issues. Many publishers noted that once Mr. Clinton was installed in the White House they had difficulty getting access, not just for their reporters but as business owners. One publisher noted that when leaders of the Democratic party or the president visited her town her newspaper was denied press credentials to cover the visit.

After the meeting with the Democratic leadership, a call reportedly was made to the White House indicating that the publishers were on the way and were "mad as hell."

Mr. Bogle told Presidential Press Secretary Mark McCurry at a meeting in the Old Executive Office Building next to the White House that it was obvious the Black press had been mistreated by the Clinton administration and that his organization was aware that the "Democrats need us but the Republicans want us."

Alexis Herman, assistant to the president and Director of Public Liaison, who has worked hard to open

communications lines with the Black press, promised the publishers and White House aides that she would take it upon herself to erase the issues creating the division between them.

But, Mr. Bogle's words really rang true later that evening when the Republican National Committee entertained the publishers at the Capitol Hill Club.

There to greet the publishers at an elaborate reception was not only Cong. J.C. Watts (R-Okla.) but senators, congressmen, GOP leaders and Black staff members from the offices of House Speaker Newt Gingrich and Senate Majority leader Bob Dole.

The NNPA board was in Washington, D.C. to celebrate Black Press week and the 168th anniversary of the publishing of the first Black newspaper by John Russwurm.

During the week the group and local publishers had a meeting with Mr. Gingrich, held a reception and luncheon at the National Press Club where the speaker was Dr. Henry Foster, the Clinton appointee for U.S. Surgeon General.

Mr. Bogle said of Mr. Gingrich, "He met with us and talked to us about issues and programs that made sense. Many publishers who came were totally against Newt and the Republican but are now taking a second look."

Dr. Foster, whose speech was nationally televised from the National Press Club,

explained his "I Have Future Program" that he developed at Meharry Medical School to stress abstinence and steer at-risk teens toward positive choices. He called this the Meharry experiment the White press had chosen to ignore.

Dr. Foster, who was joined on the dais by Dr. Henry Ponder, president of Fisk University, was introduced by and publicly endorsed for the Surgeon General's post by the Rev. Jesse Jackson. Dr. Foster told the group, "I will be confirmed." The NNPA Board of Directors also endorsed Dr. Foster.

Locally, the 15 publications in Washington, D.C. area joined in the celebration by writing stories about the Black press in their newspapers and in appearing on TV and radio shows to talk about the Black press. In addition, over 60 churches participated in Black Press Sunday and Mayor Marion Barry declared March 12 to 19 Black Press Week.

Bob Nash Takes On Challenge Of White House Personnel Office

FLA photo
views
MARCH 29

Washington, D.C.-- Bob J. Nash, a longtime aide and friend of President Bill Clinton, has been handed a new challenge in the Clinton administration -- serving as the architect and implementer of a new and improved Office of Presidential Personnel.

As Assistant to the President and Director of White House Personnel, Bob Nash says his biggest challenge will be assuring that the presidential appointments made throughout the country look like America, and consist of people who are both highly competent and committed to the President's agenda.

Nash, who is viewed by both peers and others as an asset to the President in whatever capacity he finds himself, has served as Undersecretary for Rural Economic Development at the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) over the last two years.

"Rural and economic development has been a major part of my personal and professional life," he says. For 20 years he has played an integral part in the changes made in rural development throughout the country. For seven of those years he sat two doors down from then Governor Clinton, as his Chief Advisor for Economic Development for the State of Arkansas. He also served in Clinton's cabinet as Director of the Arkansas Finance Authority.

cently, "Secretary Mike Espy and I were able to raise rural development on America's radar screen. As a result of the President's strong commitment and that of Secretary Espy, we made significant strides in changing the culture of doing business with America's rural areas and with our poorest of citizens.

"Secretary Espy made a commitment to open up USDA to all people, all geographic areas. Our efforts included increasing resources for small and disadvantage farmers, and for rural development projects, such as water, sewer and housing. We have done a lot, but certainly not enough. There is still so much to do in areas like the Mississippi Delta, the Appalachia and the Southwest -- areas which encompass the poorest counties in North America."

Why such intense interest in rural development? Nash points out that he is, first of all, a product of America's rural south, growing up in a farm environment and being taught that the greatest satisfaction in life is "eating and living off the sweat of one's own brow."

In 1982, Nash says, it became clear to him that Governor Bill Clinton, a young, southern politician who also grew up in a small rural town, understood that area's needs and had a vision for change and improvement.

was immediately tapped as a key advisor in initiatives such as the Mississippi Delta Commission, the Southern Growth Policies board, the Southern Governor's Association, as well as the National Governor's Association.

"Each of these groups, at some level, addressed the issue of rural economic development. I was charged, as the Governor's economic advisor, with strategy, policy and implementation of his rural and economic initiatives," Nash says.

Nash says the basis of his interest in rural development also includes a theory that he shares with his friend and employer, Bill Clinton: "The simple belief that in rural economic development, there lies tremendous potential for people who are dependent to become more independent, thus more productive citizens, mothers, and fathers ... increasing their chances at achieving the American dream."

Back to his move to the White House. Though he admits some ambivalence in leaving an area that gives him such personal satisfaction, Nash says his life has been one big challenge after another.

"My whole reason for pulling up roots and coming to Washington, D.C. was that I believed in Bill Clinton and what he is trying to do for Americans - for people like me, and all people. I serve at



confidence enough in my abilities to ask me to do this job, I feel grateful and honored, and I look forward to the challenge."

Nash apologized for sounding as if he was on a campaign trail for the President, but made it clear that he believes William Jefferson Clinton will certainly go down in history, "After all the dust settles," as the greatest president, bar none, in American history.

On a personal note, Nash says he took a different kind of giant step in December, when he married Janis Kearney, another Arkansas native and Clinton appointee. Kearney serves as director of Public Affairs for the U.S. Small Business Administration. The couple has a total of three children -- all from former marriages --

Washington University Medical Center; Eric, who attends the University of Arkansas at Little Rock, and Darryl, who attends Morehouse College in Atlanta.

Washington political pundits believe Nash's new challenge is especially significant, that in time he will play a much more critical role of helping design the Clinton Administration's next two -- or possibly six -- years. Without a doubt, the history behind Bob Nash's relationship with the President makes this prediction plausible.

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TODAY!!

Bob Nash, Long-Time Clinton Aide Takes On Challenge Of White House Personnel Office

Washington, D.C. — Bob J. Nash, longtime aide and friend of President Bill Clinton, has been handed a new challenge in the Clinton administration—serving as the architect and implementer of a new and improved Office of Presidential Personnel.

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"During my two years at Agriculture," Nash said recently, "Secretary Mike Espy and I were able to raise rural development on America's radar screen. As a result of the President's strong commitment and that of Secretary Espy, we made significant strides in changing the culture of doing business with America's rural areas."



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"Early in Governor Clinton's tenure," Nash says, "He was immediately tapped as a key advisor in initiatives such as the Mississippi Delta Commission, the Southern Growth Policies board, the Southern Governor's Association, as well as the National Governor's Association."

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medical intern at George Washington University Medical Center; Eric, who attends the Morehouse College in Atlanta.

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OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

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ORGANIZATION: White House

PHONE NUMBER: 456-6455

FAX NUMBER: 456-2983

FROM: Leslie Thornton, Deputy Chief of Staff and
Counselor to the Secretary

PHONE NUMBER: 401-3001

MESSAGE: 447 p.m. July 6

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19.

ATHENS, OHIO, MESSENGER, June 11, 1995

p. 1

Riley tells grads to speak out with positive options

By RICHARD HECK
Messenger staff writer

U.S. Secretary of Education Richard Riley urged Ohio University graduates Saturday to become involved for the community good, and took a jab at conservative voices in the process.

"Find your public voice," said Riley, who delivered the keynote address at OU's 241st commencement exercises on Saturday. "In this time of intense democracy, with the public airways full of so much anger, we need to respond with positive options to shrill voices of division, wedge issues and cynicism.

"Help bring America together. Articulate a vision of America — a moral center — that is positive and inclusive. Do not cede free speech to those who are only fearful and angry," Riley said.

Addressing a record crowd of more than 15,000 people in the Convocation Center, Riley, a former governor of South Carolina, commended the more than 2,600 students earning bachelors degrees for their work and community effort. He cited specific efforts, such as AmeriCorps, Habitat for Humanity, assisting at local food banks and homeless shelters and working towards protecting the environment.

"You have been involved," Riley said. "I juxtapose your sense of community — your willingness to use your time for the common good — with the angry voices in our land who would have you believe that all is lost in America and that a spiritual crisis is growing each and every day."

Referring to the recent bombing in Oklahoma City, Riley said he was alarmed that Americans are becoming fearful of the future.



— Messenger photo by John Halley

BE INVOLVED — Richard Riley, U.S. Secretary of Education, tells Ohio University graduates to be a positive force against the voices of cynicism. Riley spoke at Saturday's commencement at OU.

"There is an intensity about our times that is leading us to simply talk past one another," Riley said. "We are tuning each other out — listening to loud and hollow voices. We are beginning to drift apart when it comes to our responsibilities to each other."

Riley conveyed greetings to the audience from his boss, President Clinton, and thanked university officials for the support of Clinton's new direct lending program for student aid. "President Clinton and I believe that access to higher education must be part of our national agenda in this new era of informa-

tion," he said.

"Unfortunately, there are some in Washington who want to move in the other direction," Riley said. "I urge you to tune into this issue. For these are decisions that will impact you and define the educational hopes of many who will come after you."

On the lighter side, the crowd enthusiastically applauded Riley's announcement that he became a grandfather Friday just hours before departing for Athens.

At Friday's commencement exercises for graduate and medical students, OU biology professor Irwin Ungar told graduates to strive for continued academic excellence and to remain persistent.

"I think that the perseverance that you have shown in attaining your degrees is of great significance to you up to this point, and this attribute will prove to be very important in your future activities," Ungar said.

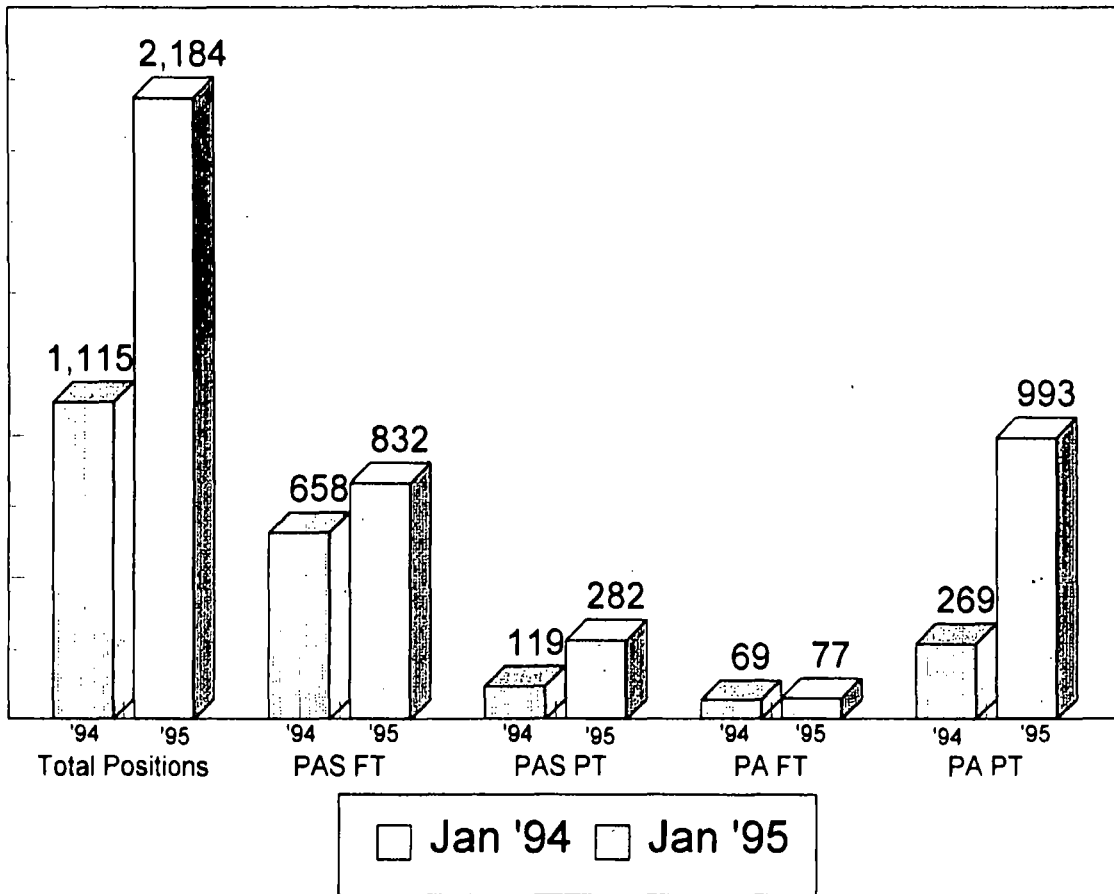
"The continued excellence of the reputation of Ohio University is based on your future performance," Ungar said. "This is a big responsibility to place on your shoulders, but I am sure that your achievements will both further enhance the reputation of the university and allow you to achieve your goals."

Saturday's commencement marked the largest number of graduating seniors ever at the university, OU President Robert Glidden told the crowd. During the past year, more than 4,100 people earned bachelors degrees from OU, and another 1,100 masters, 120 PhDs and 88 medical degrees were awarded, according to OU officials.

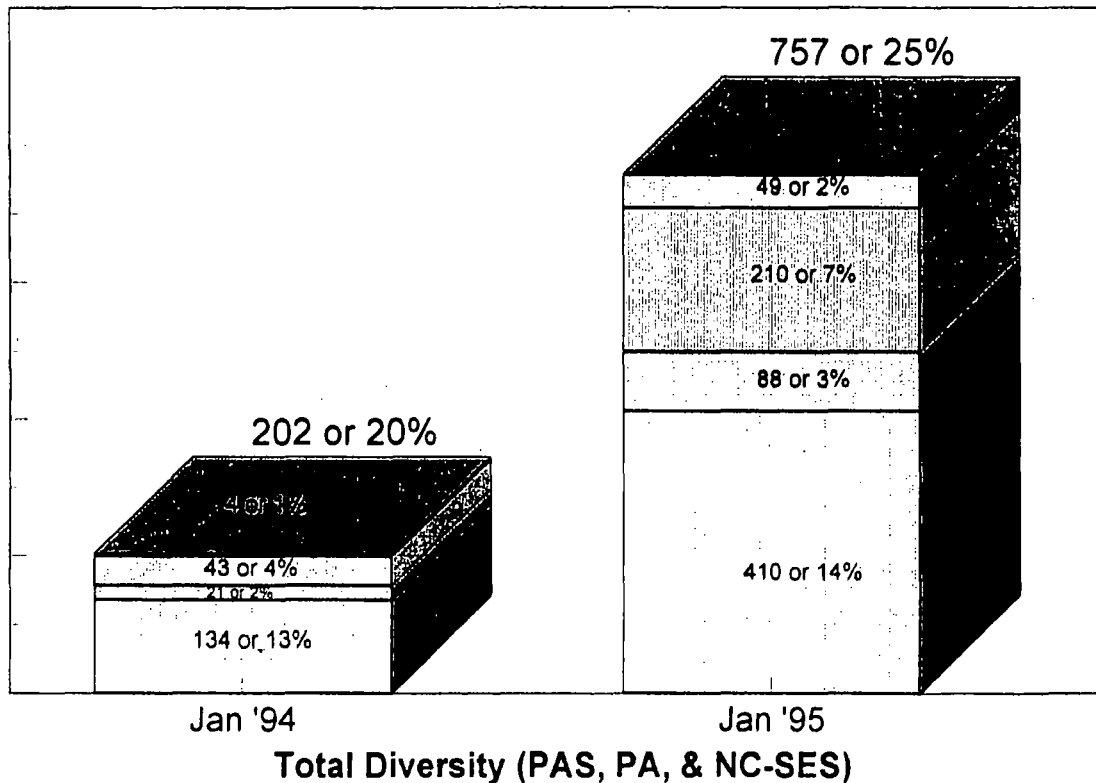
Saturday's graduation exercises also brought out probably the largest crowd to ever fill the Convocation Center. Virtually every seat was filled, and spectators lined the walkway below the upper balcony, forcing officials at one point to urge the crowd to step back into the Convo's concourse.

1994 in Review: Positions Filled

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1994 in Review: Commitment to Diversity



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EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

August 3, 1995

TO: MEDIA

FROM: Michele Jolin *MJ*
Council of Economic Advisers
Lawrence Haas *LH*
Office of Management and Budget

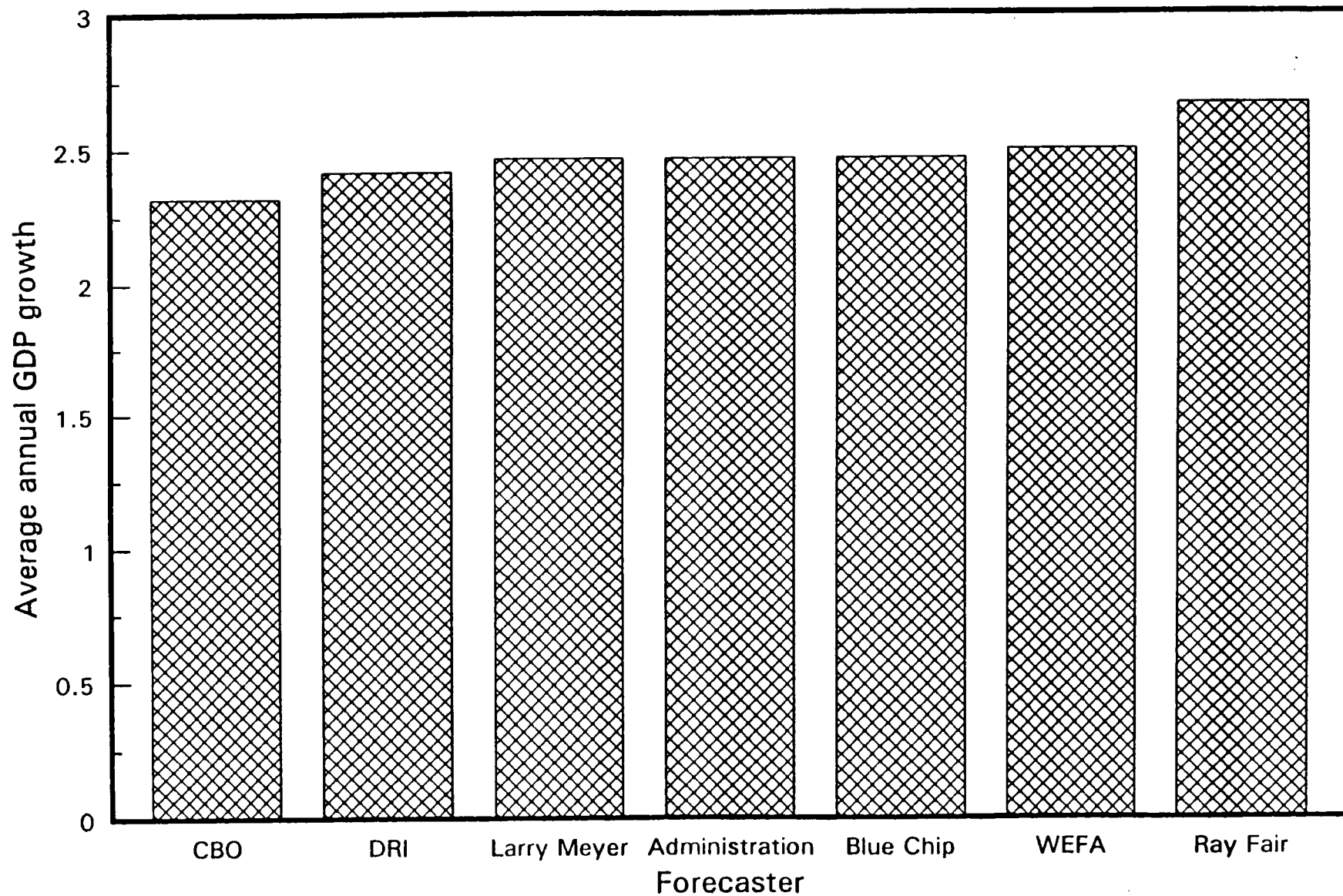
Attached are materials we hope will provide you with some perspective on the Clinton Administration's long-range growth estimates. As the chart demonstrates, the Administration's long-range forecast of annual growth is clearly consistent with the projections being made by the Blue Chip and other private forecasters.

If you have any questions, please contact Michele Jolin (395-5084) or Lawrence Haas (395-7254).

Attachments:

ALG - 7 1995

COMPARISON OF LONG-RANGE FORECASTS OF REAL GDP GROWTH (ANNUAL AVERAGE) - 1997-2002



Long-Range Forecasts for GDP growth, 1997 through 2002

Forecaster (date)	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002
WEFA (July)	2.3	2.4	2.7	2.6	2.6	2.4
L. Meyer* (August)	2.1	2.0	2.7	3.0	2.7	2.4
Ray Fair (July)	2.5	2.6	2.9	2.8	2.6	2.7
DRI (July)	2.9	2.8	2.1	2.4	2.2	2.1
Blue Chip* (March)	2.0	2.3	2.9	2.8	2.4	2.4
CBO* (January)	2.4	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3	2.3
Administration(July)	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.5	2.4	2.4

Q4/Q4 changes, except for those starred(*), which are Y/Y.

**U.S. SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION'S
Office of Women's Business Ownership's
Demonstration Program Sites**





United States Department of the Interior

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

Washington, D.C. 20240

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Complete weather, D6



Sayles spins spells

Quirky movie-maker John Sayles casts a salt-battered spell in "The Secret of Roan Inish," a magical, mystical tale of Irish lore.

WEEKEND PREVIEW, P1



Too darn HOT?

Global warming is having devastating effects on plankton, one of the richest reservoirs of life in the ocean. Researchers say 80 percent of the microscopic foodstuff has disappeared since 1980.

NEWS, C1



Don't get rug-burned

It's not every day that you shell out several thousand dollars for something to walk on. So, here are some tips to help ensure you're getting the real thing.

HE AND GARDEN, H1, H5



Today and every Friday...

Your Full Weekend Guide

FIND OUT ABOUT • MOVIES • GARDENING • CARS • SPORTS • DINING • INSIDE

THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION

FRIDAY, MARCH 3, 1995 • 50 CENTS

King home tours will resume

The last for Best



In Senior Night, Georgia Tech basketball player Travis Best celebrates his final home game with his parents, Bobbie and Leo Best. Best and fellow senior James Forrest also gave Tech something to celebrate, repelling the Yellow Jackets to a 69-67 win over the Florida State Seminoles. Article, E1

The family and Park Service reach verbal "partnership," but some issues of dispute are not settled.

By John Blake
STAFF WRITER

In the first breakthrough of a 4-month-old dispute, the King Center has agreed to end its opposition to the National Park Service's visitors center under construction on Auburn Avenue.

The King Center also has agreed to allow the Park Service to resume free tours of Martin Luther King Jr.'s birth home.

The two sides reached a verbal agreement Thursday during a three-hour meeting at the King Center. Dexter King, president of the center, said his organization and the Park Service are now in a "partnership."

Troy Lismore, superintendent of the King Historic Site, said the Park Service has pledged to help King plan the interactive museum he wants to build in honor of his father.

He said the King Center also agreed to turn over memorabilia and artifacts for use in exhibits in the visitors center.

King said it was Park Service officials' "cooperative attitude" — and complaints from frustrated tourists — that helped the process along.

"It was heartbreaking when you have kids coming up and saying, 'Why can't we go into the birth home?'" he said.

Although it is a major breakthrough, the agreement does not completely settle the dispute. The Park Service's information booth in the King Center is still closed, and the agency cannot yet include King's tomb in its tours, as it did in the past. Also, no decision has been made to resume Park Service funding to the King Center, which amounted to more than \$300,000 annually.

The major bone of contention has been rival plans to build facilities to honor King. The King Center opposed a Park Service plan for a visitors center. Dexter King contended that a federal agency should not control the King legacy.

King said birth home tours will resume Saturday between 10 a.m. and 5:30 p.m.

McTech deal violates Georgia Constitution, state says

By Harry Unger
AN WRITER

Attorney General Michael Unger said Thursday that the ultimatum-seller sponsorship deal between McDonald's and a Georgia Tech Athletic Association violates the state constitution.

Whether the unique

including \$5.4 million from McDonald's to complete financing for the renovation of Alexander Memorial Coliseum — can be salvaged remains to be seen.

The coliseum will be the site of Olympic boxing next year, but the renovation timetable may now be thrown off, said Jim Langley, Tech's vice president of criminal affairs.

Atlanta Olympic spokeswoman Donna Johnson said the venue will be ready for the Games regardless of the deal's status.

The strongly worded opinion from Bowers' office said, "The sponsorship agreement, by which McDonald's permanently acquires the preeminent right to

associate its name and reputation with the ... state, in part by prominently affixing its corporate logo on state property, ... violates the ... Georgia Constitution." The opinion was written by John Ballard Jr., senior assistant attorney general.

The long-term deal would have allowed McDonald's to put its logo on the floor of the basket-

ball coliseum, exterior of the building, and on tickets, advertising and promotions for the athletic association's events at the coliseum.

Even though Tech's athletic facilities are a private entity, Ballard said that because it rents athletic facilities from the Board of Regents, the state constitution into play.

MLK site impasse broken

King Center to allow
tours of birth home

By John Blake
STAFF WRITER

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Atlanta Constitution 3/3/95

ATLANTA CONSTITUTION 3/3/95

Carter home to be national shrine

Ex-president gives brick ranch in Plains to Park Service

By Howard Foushee
STAFF WRITER

The handsome but modest brick ranch strikes few visitors as presidential, but there's no doubt it's a comfortable fit for Jimmy and Rosalynn Carter.

But to the National Park Service, the 24-year-old house may be priceless. The Park Service announced Thursday that the Carters have donated the house and 4.3 acres of surrounding woods to become part of the Jimmy Carter National Historic Site.

"The historical significance of a home of the president of the United States is of national importance," says Fred Boyles, Carter Historic Site superintendent. It's "a snapshot of that individual, but also representative of the nation as a whole."

The Carters will retain the use of the 3,200-square-foot ranch during their lifetimes through a life estate agreement similar to those the Park Service reached with the Truman, Eisenhower and Johnson families. Eventually, the house, which the Carters built in 1961, and grounds will be opened for guided tours.

The cozy home speaks to the Carters' practicality, small-town roots and love of literature and nature.

They built in 1961, and grounds will be opened for guided tours.

"We decided shortly after leaving the White House that this is what we wanted to do, and we've checked with our four children and they all approve," Carter said from the home Thursday.

Most of the furnishings will remain. Carter, a noted woodworker, created numerous pieces of furniture, including an ample walnut four-poster in the master bedroom.

The next time the family is together, Carter said, "Rosalynn will go through the house with the kids and see which things they want to own." The Park Service will replace any im-

portant pieces the family claims with exact replicas, he said.

The home, just west of downtown Plains, faces a fish pond on a 4 1/2-acre lot the Park Service previously acquired.

Both inside and out, the home speaks to the Carters' practicality, small-town roots and love of literature and nature.

Bookshelves line every room, including the Carters' bedroom. The breakfast table, where the Carters enjoy most of their meals, is made of 350-year-old boards from 18th-century Carter's childhood home in Plains. The couple built a cedar split-rail fence and planted maple, oaks, and many other plants.

Founded in 1967, the Carter Historic Site includes the 1890 Plains Depot that served as his presidential campaign headquarters, his 1922 boyhood home and the 1921 P. High School. It is being renamed and converted into a visitors center and museum in time for the Olympic.

11/1/94

Why America's Religious Right Finds Clinton Intolerable

In some ways, he's too close to being one of their own

By Andrew Bard Schmoekler

FOR many months, like a lot of other observers of American politics, I've pondered the public battering of Bill Clinton. Why is this particular president so bitterly hated, so relentlessly savaged?

I don't hold with those who say there's nothing to explain, that it goes with the territory of being president. I'm old enough to have paid attention to eight presidents before Mr. Clinton, and I've seen nothing like this. Some mention President Nixon, but Nixon-hating wasn't like this Clinton-hating. A president whose approach to the world entails making up enemies lists is asking for enemies. But Clinton hates conflict and manifestly wants everyone to love one another. And there is no unpopular war now tearing the country apart.

Nor do I think that Clinton's political blunders or moral shortcomings suffice to explain the assault on his leadership. Clinton has failings, but it is far from clear that the balance between his virtues and his faults is objectively worse than, say, President Reagan's. And while most of the public chose to disregard Reagan's quite evident weaknesses, Clinton's are constantly magnified (as with the Whitewater affair's unprecedented ratio of smoke to fire) or even invented (as with the non-murder of Vincent Foster).

A small part of Clinton's problem may be that he's a Democrat in an office that some on the right have become accustomed to regarding as their own preserve. The bumper sticker "Bush lost - get over it" addresses this sore-loser phenomenon.

Then there is the particular nature of the opposition. Liberals think we should all get along, that niceness is the greatest public virtue - and they make lousy haters. Bible-belt conservatives choose righteous over nice any day, because their cosmos is divided between the godly and the un-. Hating the ungodly is not a moral lapse, but an obligation; part of the job description.

What makes Clinton so intolerable to Bible-belt conservatives is that he is a member of their "tribe." His voice and manner are more those of the Baptist preacher than of a mainstream politician. In his town meetings, where he reached out to people like a pastor ministering to his flock, he promised - or threatened - to tap into a powerful source of cultural energy not usually harnessed by an American president.

This energy lies close to the heart of America, for although the religious right is but a minority, it is the guardian of a core part of the underlying structure of the American moral order. That Protestant tradition

defines where authority resides and how it is to be used, how we are to deal with matters of right and wrong, and how freedom and responsibility are to be reconciled. A political leader who can combine the powers of office with these deeper springs of cultural energy might wield great influence.

Any challenge to this moral configuration would be opposed, but an American president who might be able to put an agenda of cultural transformation to the music of traditional hymns would be particularly threatening. And Bill Clinton suggested early on a very different emotional configuration from that of the traditionalists.

Where a Jerry Falwell assumes the posture of the authoritative father, Clinton's role upon taking office was that of the caring brother. "I'll tell you what to do" was supplanted by "Let me help you." Questioning Clinton's "patriotism" (recall that *patri* means father) was also a way of saying that he was not qualified to be a real leader because he refused to act like a father.

Whereas the traditional Protestant cosmology is an order of exclusion - one divided between the saved and the damned - Clinton's approach to his flock was resolutely inclusive. Whatever else it was, Clinton's gesture to accept gays in the military

was a signal that the division between the favored and the rejected was not central to his concept of his "ministry" or to his view of the American social order.

The moral order of the religious right is patriarchal, from God the Father to the organization of the family. Bill and Hillary's more egalitarian partnership was seen as a threat to that order. The response to that threat was to impugn Bill's masculinity, to depict the increase in Hillary's power beyond the traditional wife's role as diminishing the president. "Impeach Hillary" bumper stickers were a way of accusing him of not being man enough to wear the pants in his family. For the defenders of the traditional moral structure, it was urgently necessary that the moral authority of this incoming president be destroyed, and they have pursued this goal ceaselessly. Although Clinton's moral shortcomings made him vulnerable, it was really his potential moral strengths that evoked such hostility.

Had the right not succeeded in cutting Clinton down, had the moral credibility of his voice not been undermined, Bill Clinton might have effected a spiritual shift in American society more fundamental than a shift in politics alone. It was this shift, I believe, that the traditionalists of the religious right were determined to prevent.

They appear to have succeeded.

■ Andrew Bard Schmoekler writes from Virginia's Shenandoah Valley.

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