

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. note	To [friend] from Maggie Williams (2 pages)	12/06/96	Personal Misfile
002. letter	To Maggie Williams from A. Leon Higginbotham, Jr. (1 page)	02/06/97	Personal Misfile
003. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton (partial) (5 pages)	01/20/97	b(6)
004. note	To Maggie Williams from Lucy Hackney (3 pages)	03/06/97	Personal Misfile
005. note	To Maggie Williams from Kevin re: State of the Union (2 pages)	n.d.	b(6)
006. letter	To Maggie Williams from Pearl-Alice Marsh (1 page)	03/08/97	Personal Misfile
007. letter	To Maggie Williams from [friend] (10 pages)	01/10/97	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Maggie Williams (Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 10359

FOLDER TITLE:

Personal [Folder 2] [2]

2013-0359-S

rv1441

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

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THE DISSIDENTS

Amount of Fine Was a Sticking Point

By KATHARINE Q. SEELYE

WASHINGTON, Jan. 21 — As Speaker Newt Gingrich was formally reprimanded today, Democrats and Republicans alike seemed preoccupied about the implications of the \$300,000 sanction against him, while his lawyer said that the fine was originally nearly three times as high.

"Early in the negotiation process, the numbers began as high as \$800,000 and worked their way down, to multiple hundreds, then to \$500,000, then to \$300,000," J. Randolph Evans, one of Mr. Gingrich's lawyers, said in an interview.

Still, some Republican members remained aghast at the \$300,000 figure and the possible precedent it might set, thinking it was far too harsh for Mr. Gingrich's actual transgressions.

"This is unprecedented and can be levied on everyone," said Representative Tom DeLay of Texas, the majority whip, voicing on the House floor a fear that many other members expressed privately. Mr. DeLay, who holds the No. 3 position in the Republican hierarchy, was among 26 members of his party to vote against the recommended reprimand and sanction, most of them saying the punishment was too severe.

As to how Mr. Gingrich should pay the money, Republicans said privately they were caught in a Catch-22. From a political standpoint, they thought Mr. Gingrich should pay the fine out of his own pocket; privately, they worried that he could set a precedent that would force any member who was sanctioned to do likewise.

The concerns have led to a general call for overhauling the ethics process so members cannot be fined so easily. Some members are calling for a "loser pays" policy in which a member who brings a charge that is dismissed would pay for the committee's costs. But the Republicans were not ready to take on that task today, preferring to try to wrap up the Gingrich case and move on to more productive business.

But as members emerged from a private meeting this morning with Mr. Gingrich before the vote to reprimand him, many said the \$300,000 fine — or "reimbursement" as his supporters described it — was the main subject.

"The issue being discussed was whether others could afford that," said one Northeast Republican. "It's an unusually high amount. And just because he can afford it, it doesn't mean the rest of us can. It may as well be a death sentence."

The Speaker's salary is \$171,500. Representative Nancy L. Johnson, the Connecticut Republican who headed the ethics committee until it disbanded today, said: "The concern was less about the monetary penalties for the Speaker, but setting the precedent."

Representative Marge Roukema, Republican of New Jersey, joked that she was waiting to meet a billionaire "but I haven't found him yet." Still, she said, "The Speaker should take charge and do the right thing and set the example" and pay out of his own pocket. She said doing so would "help restore and rehabilitate the Congress."

Many agreed that their future financial health was at stake. Even though they earn annual salaries of \$133,600, with generous benefits, some members said they saw today's action as one more step in a tightening of the financial noose, starting with their being forced a few years ago to give up honorariums for speaking engagements.

"They are very nervous that their political enemies will wipe them out," said an aide to a top Republican. "You get someone to launch a bogus ethics complaint, and the next thing you know, it won't be \$300,000 like today, but what if it's \$20,000? People will say Newt did nothing and got hit with a \$300,000 reimbursement; what's it going to take for me to be hit for \$50,000?"

Representative Gerald B. H. Solomon, Republican of upstate New York and chairman of the Rules Committee, who also voted against the recommended sanction, said: "A precedent like this jeopardizes the willingness of people to serve in the House of Representatives because they and their families' financial well-being could be put at risk for unintentional acts."

He said the result would be "another House of millionaires, like the Senate," or "a collection of political hacks who couldn't otherwise earn a living in the private sector."

The \$300,000 figure was arrived at through bargaining in the ethics committee, and then, Mr. Gingrich's lawyer said, by a calculation of how much Mr. Gingrich's misleading statements had cost the committee.

"The early numbers bore no relation to the cost incurred," Mr. Evans said of the \$800,000 proposal, adding that James M. Cole, the special counsel leading the investigation, "designed them to connote seriousness or to pacify whichever members he needed to pacify to get them to sign on to the agreement."

But Representative Nancy Pelosi of California, one of two Democrats on the subcommittee that investigated the charges, said she had not heard of any such figure.

From his own perspective, Mr. Evans said, "We tried to calculate as best we could the percentage of time that was allocated to addressing the two inaccurate letters and apply that

percentage to what we were told were the expenses incurred to date. They were \$300,000 to \$500,000. We said one-third of the time was spent dealing with those letters, so that's how we arrived at \$300,000." Mr. Gingrich agreed to that sum, which was one reason cited by many members today for why they voted to impose it.

Mr. Cole, who was not available today to comment on reports of the higher sanction, said on Friday that the \$300,000 was not the result of a calculation but was "the product of the seriousness of the violation."

Mr. Evans said that was true from Mr. Cole's point of view. "From their perspective," he said, "it was not a calculation, it was a pound of flesh. From our point of view, we were thinking about some kind of precedent being set for the idea that if you submit inaccurate information, you'll be responsible for reimbursing the committee for a part of that cost."

Mr. Evans said it would take about two weeks to complete the research on whether Mr. Gingrich should reimburse the \$300,000 from his own pocket, from his campaign funds, from his political action committee or possibly from a legal defense fund, like one President Clinton has established.

Reich Takes Brandeis Post Over a Return to Harvard

File Personal

WALTHAM, Mass., Jan. 21 — Robert B. Reich, the outgoing Labor Secretary, will not return to Harvard, where he spent most of his career, but will instead join the faculty of Brandeis University next fall as a professor of social and economic policy, Brandeis announced today.

Mr. Reich will establish a Center on Jobs, the Economy and Society at the Heller Graduate School for Advanced Studies in Social Welfare at Brandeis, continuing the work that has filled his career, first at Harvard University and later in the Cabinet.

"I have dedicated my life to ensuring that the economy works for everyone," Mr. Reich said. "A central tenet of my writings and the policies I put into place as Labor Secretary is that our ability to thrive as a nation depends on the capacities of our people who work productively together — both as participants in an economy and as members of a society."

In his four years in Washington, Mr. Reich fought for pension plan

protections and a higher minimum wage, earning a reputation as an outspoken liberal voice in the Cabinet. The university hopes that he will attract other public officials and academics to the center to work on the problem of economic inequality, which Mr. Reich calls a dangerously growing trend.

Before joining President Clinton's team in 1992, Mr. Reich lectured for 12 years at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. Asked today why he was not returning to Harvard, he said at a news conference: "I'm of the belief that you don't go back to what you did before. I maintain the highest regard for the institution, but it's time to do something else. This is a marvelous opportunity."

Mr. Reich, 50, resigned shortly after Mr. Clinton's re-election, saying he wanted to spend more time with his family. He has two sons, aged 12 and 15, with his wife, Clare Dalton, an associate dean at Northeastern Uni-

versity Law School in Boston.
JULIE FLAHERTY

Penn State Merges With Dickinson Law

What does a major university do if it is interested in adding a law program, but does not want to increase the number of lawyers entering the job market each year?

That is the situation Pennsylvania State University in State College has faced for years. Last Friday, it solved the problem: its board voted to merge with an existing institution, the Dickinson School of Law in Carlisle, about 100 miles away.

The merger gives Penn State a way to educate those students in-house, and it gives Dickinson Law access to Penn State's formidable fund-raising operation and electronic information system. Beginning in July, Dickinson's 520 law students will receive Penn State degrees, and

Dickinson employees will be placed on the university payroll.

The merger of the two institutions will leave intact Dickinson Law's governing board but will give Penn State a voice in naming the next dean. Dickinson Law was not in any financial trouble but wanted help on future capital campaigns, said Christy Rambeau, a Penn State spokeswoman. The law school will remain in Carlisle.

The 163-year-old law school, one of seven law schools in Pennsylvania, brings to 24 the number of post-graduate programs at Penn State, which also offers degrees in medicine, engineering and business.

"The one component we've always felt we missed is the law," said Bill Mahon, a spokesman for the university, which was founded in 1855.

JACQUES STEINBERG

Books of The Times: Weekdays

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1997
The New York Times



Mrs. Elizabeth Perry Wells
6 Morning Glory Ct
Toms River NJ 08755



4000



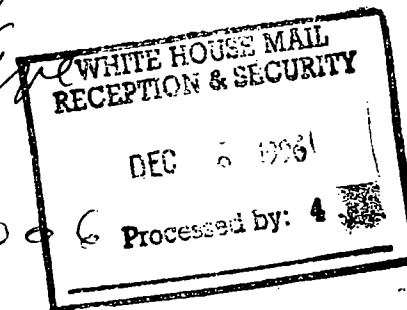
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Ms. Margaret Williams
Chief of Staff for Hillary Rodham Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Ave
Washington, D.C. 20006



Personal

Albore

Elizabeth Perry Wells
6 Morning Glory court
Toms River, NJ 08755-3233
(908) 341-8686

Ms Margaret Williams
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D C.

Dear Ms Williams:

Greetings to you from Toms River, N.J. and "Happy Holidays, Best of Luck in the New Year. I am a resident here and have never had the pleasure to meet you. I am one of these people who keep up with current events and especially anything regarding that big "White House."

I am an African American born in Charleston, S.C. but lived in Northern New Jersey most of my Adult life until I retired from AT&T after 31years, 10 mos., and moved to South Jersey in Nov., 1993.

Nice to see you as Chief of Staff for the First Lady. I often wished I could have worked in a govenment position in Washington. That is until I saw the terrible attacks on this Administration. Many times I cringed during the testimony hearings.

"Admirable" is the word for you Margaret, along with your strength, honesty, and Integrity and your Mom giving you full support and reminding you to be cool, and to display "Humility." To me I considered the grueling testimony so unfair; But "Hats off to you." Should you ever come to New Jersey, or New York, I'd love to have lunch with you. With your position, that may not be possible, maybe after the next four years. I can also understand if such communication could never be returned, simply because the public has done such atrocities.

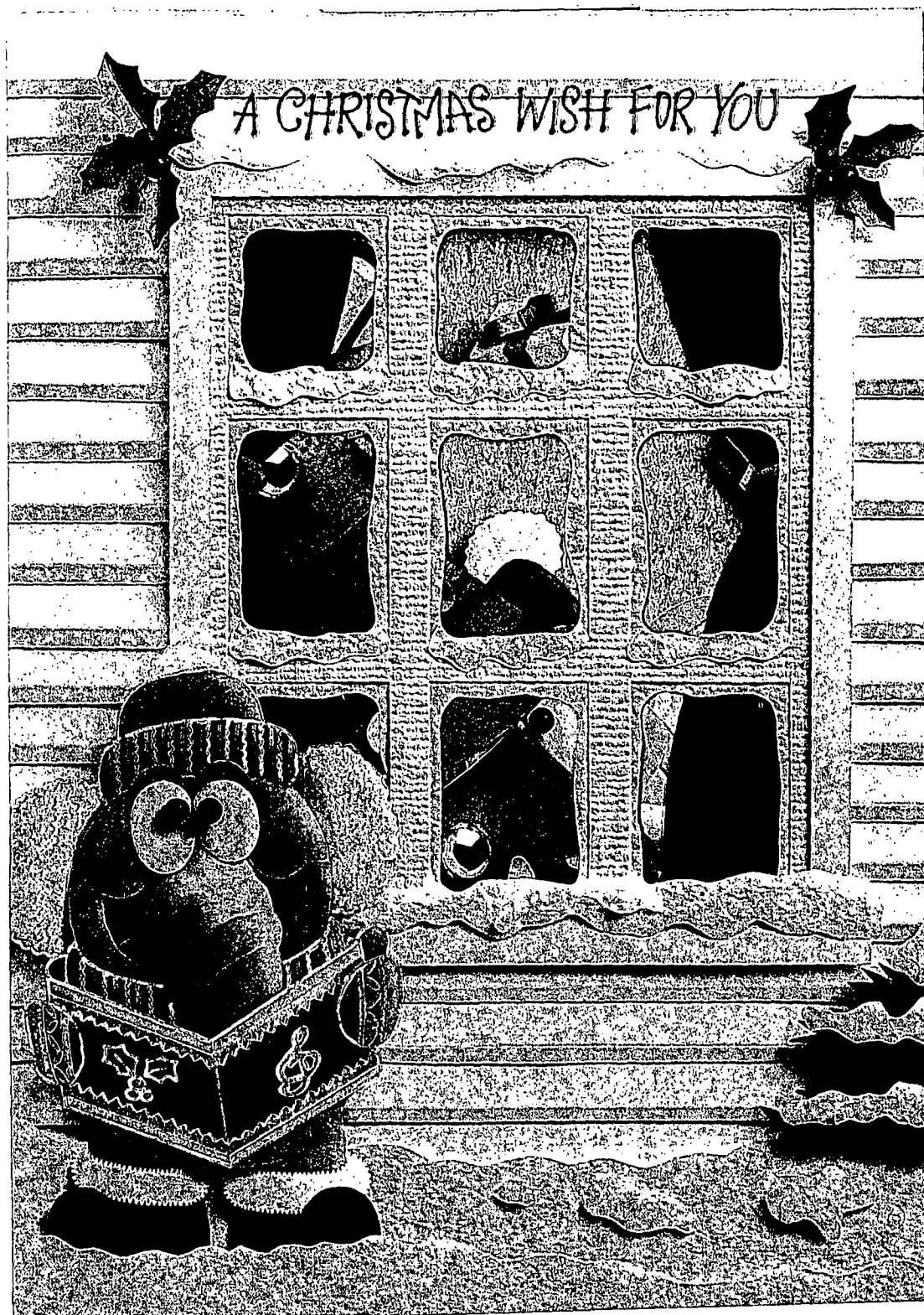
In closing, again "Best Wishes to you and your Family in the New Year.

Respectfully,


Elizabeth Perry Wells

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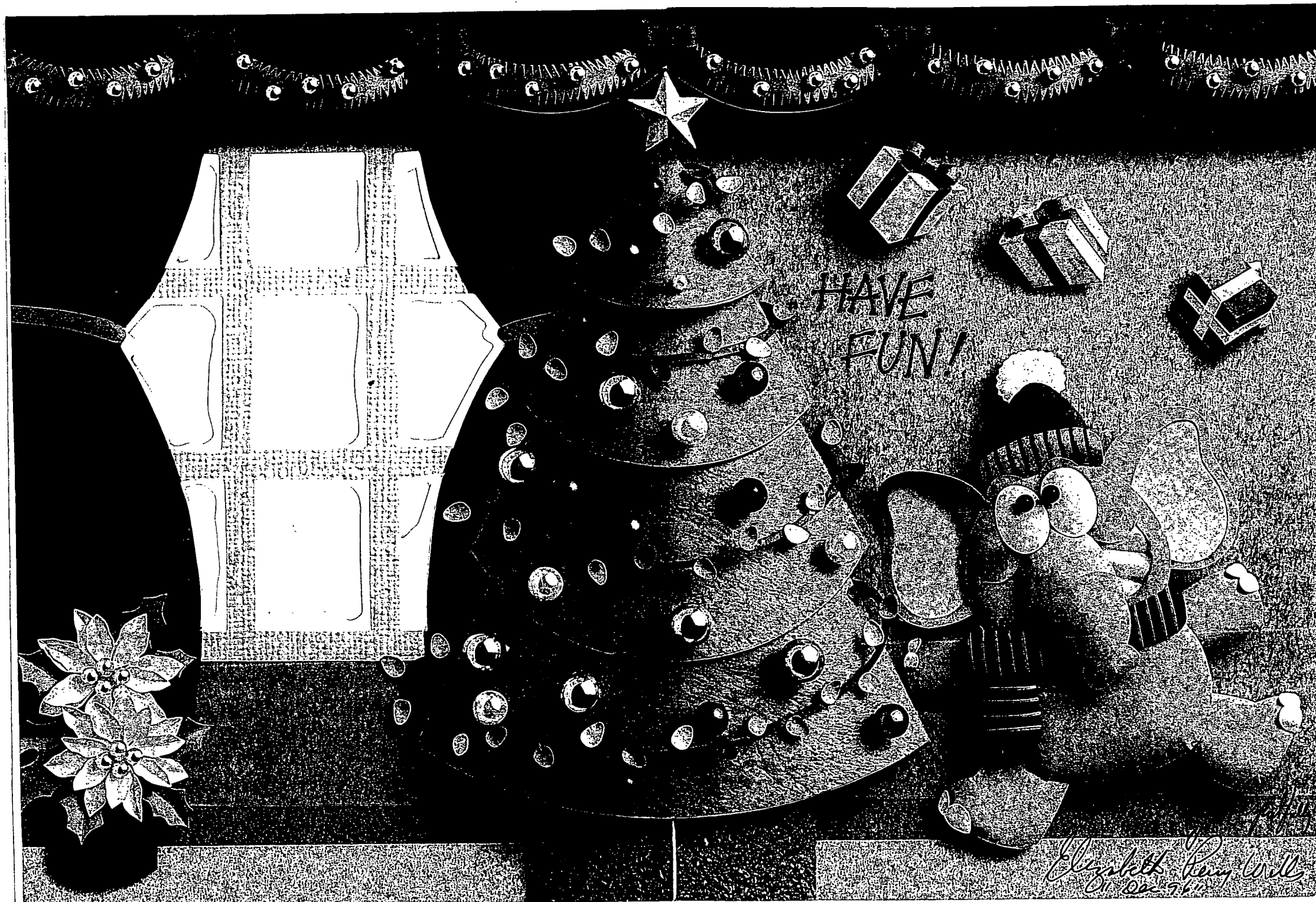
POP UP
((S.E.V.))

GLORY MOON



5908

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**



Maggie—

Wishing you a holiday season filled with
Life's Most Essential Things:
a quiet moment,
hugs,
good health,
a hand to hold,
and laughter to keep you company
all year long.

Roshann Darris and Tom Cohen
Justin, Tessa and Colby

Sending you a big hug for an especially
wonderful year ahead! :)  Roshann

5514 Oak Street • Kansas City, MO 64113
18161 822-9400

Julia Shapiro

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kandis kids



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Personal

Maggie

— 12/10/96

Dear Margaret Williams

Thanking you for
all that you have
done for all of us
Americans and world
citizens.

Best of Holidays
to you and staff and
your families.

Most humbly yours
Michael A. Caudill B.J.

P.S.
Don't like how the Senate
treated you. Drink two glasses
of white wine before you go again
it'll help the nerves settle. It
works for me.

Ms. Margret Williams
White House
Washington, D.C.

Thank
You

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personal

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★ IN ★
'96

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COMMENTS: Congresswoman Maxine Waters

would like for you to attend
the CBC's swearing-in
ceremony if your schedule
permits.

Please contact Leah Allen
in her office to confirm your
participation at (202) 225-2201

Thanks • Happy New Year!
Minyon Moore

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to a
Ceremonial Swearing-In
for
The Congressional Black Caucus
105th Congress*

Tuesday, January 7, 1997

9:30 am

*The Library of Congress
The Jefferson Building, Great Hall
(East Capitol and 1st Street, SE)*

Special Guests

*The Honorable Constance Baker Motley
Senior Judge, U.S. District Court
Southern District of New York*

Dr. William H. Cosby, Jr. and Dr. Camille O. Cosby

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for a
guest*

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File Personal

The State Dining Room

9:59 A.M. EST

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you very much, Mr. Vice President and Tipper and ladies and gentlemen. Hillary and I are delighted to welcome you to the White House. We look forward to these breakfasts. As Al said, we have been doing them on a regular basis now, normally around -- just after Labor Day as we sort of rededicate ourselves to the labor of the new year, but this year, we are doing it now for two reasons: one is, obviously, this is on the brink of the Inauguration and a new four-year term for the President and for our country; the other is, we were otherwise occupied last Labor Day. (Laughter.)

This is a wonderful day to be here. We asked Father Stephanopoulos to pray today because, as all of you know, this is the celebration of Epiphany in the Christian faith, a time of recognizing Christmas in the Orthodox tradition. I also wanted you to pray so that I could say that we were all very impressed with the size of the book contract that -- (laughter) -- that your son got, and we know we can depend upon you to make sure the Church gets its 10 percent of that contract. (Applause.) We are very proud of him and very grateful to have him here.

This is the day in the Christian tradition when the wise men came bearing gifts for the baby Jesus. And we have much to be thankful for and much to pray for, but I think what I would say today is that I asked you to come here to share with me your thoughts and to share with you some of ours in the hope that we might all become wiser.

I am very grateful for the progress that our country has made in the last four years, grateful that we have been given a chance to play a role in that progress, and mindful that whatever has been done which is good has been done by us together.

One of my college roommates, who I think is a really smart guy, said to me the other day when we were together and joking about our lost youth, he said, oh, and one other thing, as he was leaving, he said, don't ever forget that great presidents do not do great things, great presidents get a lot of other people to do great things. (Laughter.) And there is over 250 million of us now, so that's a lot of greatness if you can get us all to do the right thing, which I thought was an interesting way of saying in part what the magic and genius of democracy is all about.

So we're thinking a lot now about how we're going to build our bridge to the 21st century, what we're going to do in this next term. I've listened to all of these experts talk about how hard it is for presidents to be effective in the second term because,

after all, they just got reelected because things went well in their first term not because they had actually thought through what they were going to do in their second term. But we've tried to overcome that disability.

There are a lot of particulars that we could discuss today, but what I'd like for you to think about a little bit, from your perspective and what you can do -- two things: what are we going to do; and secondly, and more importantly I think, how are we going to do it, in what spirit shall we proceed.

In any great democracy there are always differences about what are we going to do. There always have been, there always will be, and these are altogether healthy. It would be -- America wouldn't last very long, I think, if 100 percent of the people agreed 100 percent of the time on 100 percent of the issues. What keeps us going -- we all know that none of us has perfect and infinite understanding of these complex matters facing our country and facing the world. But we have devised a system -- we have nurtured and maintained it now for over 200 years -- in which people can reconcile their differences and come to a consensus and an agreement which will push the country forward. So we are enlarged when we come to agreement after honest debate in the right way; we are diminished if, in the way we treat each other, we preclude the possibility of resolution and going forward.

And at times like this, when things are changing so much, we need the right spirit more because we have more to decide, more to deal with. And yet, at times like this, we are in some ways put at risk by the absence of that spirit of reconciliation and respect.

There are several specific things I hope we can talk about later that I think we could reach broad agreement on. For example, some of you think I made a mistake when I signed the welfare reform bill, and I don't. But one thing that we all ought to be able to agree on is, the bill will not succeed -- the bill does nothing, it just changes the rules. It doesn't put anybody to work. In four years, we have reduced by 2.1 million the number of people on welfare, the biggest reduction in history, by doing the kinds of things that now this bill requires every state to do. We just went out and worked with the states and came up with innovative ways to get around old rules and regulations and do them anyway. Now, every state has got to try to do that for every person.

My objective here is, once and for all, to take the politics out of poverty and to treat all able-bodied people the same at the community level. What I long for is a system of community-based support for people who are out of work through no fault of their own, but a system of community-based norms that require people who can work to work when there is work.

Now, if you say that everybody who is able-bodied can only stay on welfare two years continuously unless the state decides to continue to support them for some other reason -- and we did give a fund so that hardship cases could be treated in that way -- then every community has to have a system for putting those people to work.

Now, let me pause at this and you can all think about this: This new law gives every state the right to give the welfare check to any employer, including a church, as an employment and training subsidy, who will hire someone from welfare. If every church in America just hired one family, the welfare problem would go way down. If every church in America challenged every member of that church who had 25 or more employees to hire another family, the problem would go away and we would really have a system in which in times of recession we'd have more people unemployed at the community level, in good times we'd have fewer people, but we would always have a community-based commitment that crossed party lines and religious lines and every other line to give able-bodied people the dignity of work and support them in the most important work they do, which is raising their children.

The second thing I wanted to talk about a little bit is this whole business of immigration. The things I don't like about the welfare law have nothing to do with welfare and everything to do with the way we tried to save money, I thought unfairly, on legal immigrants.

Our administration has done a lot to cut down on illegal immigration, but we believe that legal immigration has served our country well. It has, however, made us more diverse. And so immigration is really the touchstone where we deal with not only what are we going to do, but how are we going to do it. I believe that we have learned a lot in 220 years -- really more than 300 years -- about how hard it is for people of different races to get along. We know that that is difficult in all societies and all times, and it's something you just have to keep working at.

But now America is not a white and black America. America is a country with scores, hundreds of different racial, ethnic, and religious groups. Our biggest county, Los Angeles County, now has over 160 different racial and ethnic groups within one county. But it's all over America. Wayne County, where Detroit, Michigan, is, has now over 140 different racial and ethnic groups. Detroit was a place where we used to think of where you basically had white ethnics who immigrated from Central and Eastern Europe and African Americans and white Southerners who immigrated out of the South because they couldn't make a living in places like my home state in the Depression and later. Now, 140 different racial and ethnic groups.

How are we going to deal with that? Against the

background of what you see in Bosnia, Rwanda, Northern Ireland, the Middle East, all of these things, these destructive impulses people have, how can we prove in America that we can all get along -- without giving up our basic beliefs but in finding a ground of mutual respect? It seems to me that that may be the single most significant decision facing the United States. We have a lot of other things we have to deal with in the next four years, the whole question of the entitlements burden when the baby boomers retire and education initiatives that I intend to push and finishing the work of balancing the budget and all that, but if we can all find a way to hold up to the world not only the example of our freedom but the example of our freedom in the 21st century global interdependent world in which anybody from anywhere can live here, and if you show up for work or you show up for school and you do what you're supposed to do and you're a good citizen, you can be part of our country and we'll respect your faith, we'll respect your differences and we'll find a way to work together, then I believe the preeminence of the United States will be assured throughout the next century. And I think you have to think about it in long terms like that.

What causes a society to rise and fall? We, clearly, are proving that we're getting back to our basic values. The crime rate is going down. You saw the -- has gone down for several years in a row for the first time in 25 years. We have inequality among working people going down -- and I'm very proud of that -- for the first time in 20 years. We have a lot of our other social problems being ameliorated, the teen pregnancy rate dropping substantially for the first time in a good while -- that drugs, alcohol, tobacco are still a problem for very young people. Drug use is going down in society as a whole but still going up among young people.

So, we're on the cusp here, maybe, of turning a lot of our social problems around. We know what we ought to do. Can we do it in the right way, in a spirit of reconciliation? And can we recognize that in this exciting new world there's no way in the world for us to know the answer to all these questions that are out there before us?

And that's the last point I'd like to make. If we do things in the right way, we'll get enough of the right answers to keep moving our country forward and to keep doing the right thing for the rest of the world. And we won't be right all the time, but that's just because we're human. So that's the last thought I would like to leave with you.

The beginning of wisdom, I think, is humility and respect for what you may not know. Now, we were talking around the table here about the last speech Cardinal Bernardin gave in which he said that the precious gift of time should not be wasted on acrimony and division. And he said that knowing he had just a little bit of

time left. The truth is, all of us just have a little bit of time left. He just knew it and we don't. And three weeks or 30 years, it's a little bit of time in the life of a country, the life of the world. So I say to you -- I ask for your guidance, for your prayers for our country, for the efforts that all of us are making. I ask for your specific involvement -- particularly in the two issues I've mentioned, on the welfare and immigration issues. But most important of all, I ask for your help in creating a sense of reconciliation, the right sort of spirit in which we can deal with these issues. As people of faith on this Epiphany, I think we should all ask that that be made evident to us. Thank you and God bless you.

END

10:12 A.M. EST

Message Sent To: _____

Judith Hope
State Chair

☆
THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE
THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE
THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE
THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE
THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE
THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE
THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE

File Personal

I thought this might
be of interest to you.

Judith

★
 THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE
 THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE
 THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE
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 THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE

New York State DEMOCRATIC ACCOMPLISHMENTS

in 1996

- New York delivered 3,756,177 votes to William Jefferson Clinton, for a plurality of 1.8 million votes, the largest margin of victory in America.
- Produced a Clinton-Gore victory in 52 of 62 counties, the highest number of counties ever to vote for a Democratic President. Many of them went Democratic for the first time ever.
- Delivered 59 per cent of the total vote to Clinton-Gore, for a 29 point margin of victory— second only to the state of Massachusetts in big state victory margins.
- Dramatically reversed the 1994 Republican tide by re-election all of our Democratic Congressional incumbents, including GOP targeted Rep. Maurice Hinchey and Rep. Louise Slaughter. Increased our Democratic Congressional majority by electing Carolyn McCarthy, Nassau County, in one of the most Republican districts in the nation.
- Beat back a multimillion dollar campaign by the Republican State Committee to take over the majority in the State Legislature by targeting 21 Democratic Assembly Members. Coordinated campaign efforts with Speaker Sheldon Silver and the Democratic Assembly Campaign Committee to actually increase our Democratic majority in the State Assembly (95 to 54) with Ann Carrozza's victory in Queens.

- Working closely with Senator Martin Connor and the State Senate Campaign Committee, picked up two new State Senate seats with the elections of Neil Breslin in Albany and Vincent Gentile in Brooklyn and Staten Island, narrowing the Republican advantage to only 7 seats in the coming legislative session (27 to 34).
- Continued grassroots rebuilding, winning numerous local contests including judicial races and Democratic town board majorities, many in historically Republican-dominated areas for the first time ever.
- The State Party provided unprecedented support to targeted Democratic Congressional candidates including technical, staffing, direct financial, media, polling, GOTV, and over 1,500,000 pieces of mail.
- Achieved an unprecedented level of coordinated campaign strategy and activity in partnership with friends in New York's labor community, Emily's List, DACC, DSCC, Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, and activist community and civic organizations.
- Created statewide Advisory Boards of democratic leaders from the legal, business, women's, environmental, and education communities.
- In the month before election day, provided election and registration information to over 80,000 individuals who visited our award winning world wide web site: www.nydemis.org.

Judith Hope
State Chair

John Sullivan
Chair of the Executive Committee

★ **New York State Democratic Committee**
30 East 29th Street • Suite 300
New York, NY 10016
Voice: 212-725-8825
Fax: 212-725-8867
www.nydemis.org

THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE
THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE
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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

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**N.Y. Dem party chief calls for
probe of money transfers**

**Republican donor wants
cash back**



The New York Times

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 20, 1997

Senator D'Amato Shuffles the Money

Senate Republicans who want to demonstrate that their investigation into campaign-finance abuses will be genuinely bipartisan have an easy way to prove their fairness. They can make Senator Alfonse D'Amato's creative fund-raising practices one of their initial targets.

Mr. D'Amato heads the National Republican Senatorial Committee, which solicits donations to help Senate candidates. But as a Times article by Leslie Wayne pointed out this week, a big chunk of that money wound up in Mr. D'Amato's home state of New York, where \$1.9 million was given to Gov. George Pataki's 1998 re-election campaign. An additional \$360,000 went to the state Republican Party, and \$435,000 was given to three Republican candidates for State Supreme Court.

The Senator insists that what he did was not illegal, or even skirting the line of legality. But it was surely deceptive, given the fact that the contributors to the senatorial committee whose money wound up helping Mr. Pataki and those upstate judicial candidates were often not informed where their money had gone.

At least one donor, Paine Webber, attempted to write its check in a way that would make it impossible to transfer it to a local or state candidate. Paine Webber underwrites municipal bonds, and Federal regulations bar such companies from giving to state and local candidates. Yet Paine Webber's \$30,000 donation to the Senatorial Committee wound up in the New York State Republican Party's "house-keeping account." So did \$105,000 from executives at Goldman Sachs, another underwriter that specifically prohibits employees from giving to the house-keeping account.

Even if Mr. D'Amato did not break any law, he certainly smashed the spirit of state and Federal campaign-finance regulation. State law limits individuals to \$28,000 in contributions to gubernatorial candidates. But Mr. D'Amato took a \$100,000 senatorial donation from the cosmetics executive Ronald

Lauder and transferred half that amount to Governor Pataki's war chest.

It might be impossible to determine if there were any conversations between Mr. Lauder and Mr. D'Amato about how Mr. Lauder could give more to Mr. Pataki than state law allows. The Senate investigators will face the same obstacle when they try to trace some of the contributions to the Clinton campaign. But in both cases, the question needs to be asked.

The Senate investigators should also examine the relationship between Mr. D'Amato's fund-raising and his role as chairman of the Senate Banking Committee. They might, for instance, want to find out what compelled a Wyoming resident who runs a Delaware-based mutual fund to give \$69,900 to a campaign on a New York State environmental bond referendum just when Mr. D'Amato was reviving a bill to reduce state regulation of mutual funds. The media campaign the Wyoming man helped pay for used the relatively unpopular Mr. D'Amato as the center of its commercials, which featured a tribute by the Senator's daughter to his concern for the environment.

The Democrats have admitted that they, too, shuffled money from their Senate election committee to local races. But Republican senators might still wonder why \$2.3 million in donations that were supposed to help build their majority went instead to New York state committees, and particularly to Mr. Pataki, who does not face the voters for a year. The next-largest state recipient was a Republican candidate for governor in Virginia, who is up for election this year and got only \$275,000.

Given Mr. D'Amato's influence, individual senators may not complain. But Senator Fred Thompson of Tennessee, head of the committee charged with investigating fund-raising abuses, should ask these questions. In doing so, he would take a huge step toward establishing the credibility of his inquiry into Democratic wrongdoing.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1997

Senate Campaign Cash Diverted to N.Y. GOP

By Blaine Harden
and Charles R. Babcock
Washington Post Staff Writers

Some donors who wrote sizable checks last year to a national campaign committee headed by Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-N.Y.) thought they were giving money to help elect Republican Senate candidates across the country.

But without their knowledge—and, in many cases, to their chagrin—a healthy chunk of that money was diverted to state and local races in D'Amato's home state. Democrats reeling from charges of improper presidential fund-raising were quick to criticize the practice, reported in yesterday's New York Times.

Despite the uproar, however, other Democrats acknowledged that their party has done the same thing as the National Republican Senatorial Committee (NRSC) chaired by D'Amato. The Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee transferred \$2.8 million to state and local candidates in the last election cycle, including \$1.6 million to state candidates in California. D'Amato's GOP panel earmarked \$5.9 million for local candidates, with \$2.3 million going to state candidates in New York including D'Amato's close ally, Gov. George E. Pataki (R).

D'Amato, at a Washington news conference, strongly defended the money-shifting. But the controversy

See D'AMATO, A4, Col. 4

N.Y. GOP Got Senate Campaign Cash

D'AMATO, From A1

threw a spotlight on yet another strange wrinkle in the handling of "soft money," or donations to the political parties that are supposed to be used for party-building activities. Unlike contributions to candidates, which are limited to \$2,000 for a primary and general election, there are no limits on soft money donations to the committees. And committee chairmen such as D'Amato have great leeway in spreading this money around.

Thus, donors to D'Amato's Senate fund-raising panel had no idea that \$275,000 of their money was being funneled to James S. Gilmore III, a Republican running for governor of Virginia. Among those whose checks were transferred to local candidates, according to the Times, were cosmetics executive Ronald Lauder, Goldman Sachs, US West Communications, Paine Webber Group and Morgan Stanley.

"What we did was done this year by both parties," D'Amato told reporters. "I think we have to set the record straight. What we did was not only within bounds, it was absolutely necessary. We're not looking to spend more money on state and local races than we have to. This idea that this is somehow close to the line . . . is just not the case."

The shifting of money from the national to the state level is but one ingredient in a confused cauldron of questionable fund-raising practices from the 1996 campaign that are likely to be examined next month by the Senate Governmental Affairs Committee.

In a letter to Sen. Fred D. Thompson (R-Tenn.), the panel's chairman, the New York Democratic Party yesterday asked that D'Amato's "highly questionable" money transfers be investigated as part of a "bipartisan, fair and even-handed investigation" of fund-raising abuses. Democrats fear that the primary focus of Thompson's committee will be improper fund-raising in the campaign to reelect President Clinton.

"It is an exceedingly complicated, almost Byzantine structure that [the Republicans have] created here. Contributors who thought they were writing a check to elect a U.S. senator were in fact contributing to candidates in the state," said Judith Hope, New York's Democratic chairman.

Under federal election rules, the parties can use soft money to help pay part of their administrative costs. If they choose to do so, they are required to spend the same ratio of funds on non-federal candidates—a requirement that both parties cited yesterday. The GOP committee steered 35 percent of its soft money to state and local



Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato holds news conference on transfer of donations.

Mark A. Miner, a spokesman for Virginia's Gilmore, said it is important that the state's governorship stay in GOP hands this year. "The Gilmore contributions came after the federal election cycle was over. This was surplus cash that was available; this was money given after the election cycle," Miner said.

Paul Johnson, executive director of the Democratic Senate committee, said his group raises soft money because "we do have an interest in building a farm team of future Senate candidates, in having a healthy Democratic Party at all levels."

But Johnson said the Republican committee's \$1.9 million transfer to Pataki, which D'Amato has acknowledged ordering, was more than the Democrats spent last year in any single state.

Asked if New York state candidates received a disproportionate share of the money, D'Amato said that the allotment was "based upon party effort." Those state parties that produced the strongest participation in the election cycle received more money, while in other cases "there was little participation."

He said he saw no comparison between the NRSC's activities and the questionable fund-raising practices of the Clinton White House and the Democratic National Committee. "This is an open book; this is not an analogy between people who make illegal contributions," D'Amato said. "This is apples and oranges . . . an attempt by some to attempt to establish that this is wrong. . . . They're doing this for their own demagogic purposes."

Still, the money-shifting surprised and disappointed some well-heeled donors who thought they were giving money to maintain a Republican majority in the Senate, not to help D'Amato-backed candidates in New York.

"I gave the money openly. There

wasn't any subterfuge. I wanted it to go to the National Republican Senatorial Committee. It was not my intention for the money to go to Mr. Pataki's campaign," said William R. Jordan, a urologist from Fayetteville, N.C., who last year wrote a \$50,000 check to the NRSC.

Jordan said he had no idea that his money had gone to New York until he was called last month by a reporter.

"I am not going to give money again unless I have some assurance about what is going to happen to it. I certainly feel like my wishes were not complied with," Jordan said.

Ann McBride, president of Common Cause, which is lobbying for a ban on soft money, said D'Amato "has developed a very sophisticated Laundromat." She said he raised money for one purpose and then sent it to his home state "where it will clearly in the future help him politically. And in the process disclosure and limits get lost."

McBride challenged the rationale of Senate and House campaign committees in raising non-federal money at all. "What is the NRSC doing in the business of raising soft money?" she asked. "Their sole job is to elect Senate candidates. There is no reason or rationale why they should be in the business."

Kent Cooper, a former Federal Election Commission official who is now director of the Center for Responsive Politics, a group that tracks political money, said: "Anyone who wants to gain favor with Senator D'Amato doesn't care how he makes out the check. The reason for giving and D'Amato's reason for receiving is to give him more power. Money provides that power. It doesn't provide a voice for those who can't contribute."

Staff writer Guy Gugliotta contributed to this report.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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TUESDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1996

POLITICS & POLICY

The Facts on Alfonse



Sen. Alfonse D'Amato

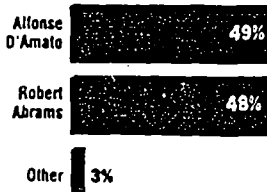
Age: 59

First elected to the Senate, 1980

Seat up for re-election, 1998

Chairman, Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee

1992 Election Results



D'Amato, Facing Tough Re-Election, Recasts Himself as Supporter of Women

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—New York Republican Sen. Alfonse D'Amato is a kind of one-man political dynasty.

Alfonse the First was the celebrated "Senator Pothole," for whom no constituent request was too shallow to fill. Then there was Alfonse the Second, the hard-nosed politician, hammering Democrats from one end of the country to the other and holding hearings to highlight Bill and Hillary Rodham Clinton's roles in the so-called Whitewater affair.

Now, there's Alfonse the Third, a soft-spoken environmentalist who's green as grass and a loving champion of women's causes, with his daughter at his side to prove it. Sen. D'Amato is a bellwether of America's changing political climate; look at where he's coming from and you get a pretty good notion of where Republican, or even the nation's, politics are heading. "I've got to say," says the New York state Democratic chairwoman, Judith Hope, "his political instincts are pretty keen."

'He's Shedding His Skin Again'

What's going on here, say Mr. D'Amato's critics, is that the senator from Long Island is getting ready for another tough re-election battle in 1998, which will be a kind of World War II for both parties in the Empire State (New Yorkers also will be voting for governor). If that means recasting himself as kind and gentle, so be it. "He's shedding his skin again," says Marist Institute pollster Lee Miringoff.

For the gregarious Mr. D'Amato, winning has never been easy. With his popularity scraping rock-bottom, he seemed doomed in 1992, but a bitter, bruising primary fight among overconfident Democrats produced state Attorney General Bob Abrams, who ran tentatively and made the terrible mistake of calling Mr. D'Amato, an Italian-American, a "fascist." The senator, quite properly, said he was outraged. So were a lot of swing voters.

Mr. D'Amato won, of course. But now his popularity ratings, hovering around 34%, are still scraping bottom. Sensing a problem, he has been making

American people."

One of Mr. D'Amato's biggest problems has been a growing feeling on the part of many voters that he's an enemy of the environment, a feeling many voters have about Republicans generally.

Not very surprising, in fact: For 1995 and 1996, the League of Conservation Voters listed Sen. D'Amato's environmental record as zero, meaning that on the 13 issues that the organization examined, he voted against it every time. The average rating for all senators was 46%. He wasn't much better in 1993 and 1994, either; for those years, his record was 4%.

So who steps out earlier this year as the lone-wolf champion of New York state's \$1.75 billion Proposition One, a clean-water, clean-air bond issue? Come forward, Sen. D'Amato. Not only did he endorse the proposition, he raised \$1.6 million on his own for TV ads urging voters to get behind it. The proposition, championed by Republican Gov. George Pataki, a D'Amato protégé, would pay for improved sewage plants, cleanup work at polluted sites and even electric cars for state employees.

The ad promoting the bond issue is classic Al D'Amato, a candidate for chutzpah-of-the-year awards. It's a kind of political twofor, aimed at both environmental voters and women. The women's vote is another problem for Mr. D'Amato, for his gender gap is a political Grand Canyon. Exit polls on Nov. 5 — he was tested even though he wasn't on the ballot — showed 41% of male voters interviewed looked at him favorably; for women, the figure was 25%.

The bond ad opens with the senator's daughter, Lorraine, standing in front of a house, declaring: "Good neighbors always help each other. My dad taught me that, Al D'Amato."

The scene then switches to a boardwalk by the ocean, with Mr. D'Amato surrounded by fresh-faced children. Lorraine is still talking. "That's why he's done so much for so many. And why he's fighting now to shut down that incinerator plant in Long Beach. . . . It's also why

Democrats' Complaints

If environmentalists were nonplused, Democratic Party leaders were apoplectic. "It's nothing but a way for Al D'Amato to spend money he couldn't spend otherwise to improve his own terrible position in the polls to get ready to run again in 1998," says Ms. Hope, the party's state chair.

She and her party have filed a complaint with the Federal Election Commission in Washington saying the only purpose of Mr. D'Amato's \$1.6 million campaign was to advance the senator's own political fortunes. The complaint asserts that Mr. D'Amato avoided federal campaign laws by establishing two campaign committees in New York, Renew New York Committee and Renew New York Environmental Bond Act Committee, to raise the money to pay for what are, in essence, Sen. D'Amato re-election ads.

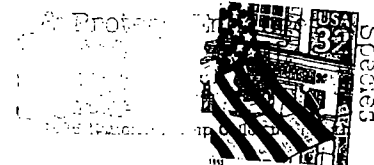
The Democrats singled out the presence of Hushang Ansary, identified as former Iranian minister of economy and finance and onetime chairman of National Iranian Oil Co., as "clear evidence of the improper purpose behind the advertising." Mr. Ansary, from Houston, contributed \$25,000, the complaint says, even though he has no apparent interest in environmental problems in New York state. He does, however, the Democrats say, have significant concerns about matters that come before the Senate Banking Committee, of which Mr. D'Amato is chairman.

"The inference is inescapable that Mr. Ansary's sudden and inexplicable interest in New York's bond referendum is in fact an impermissible contribution to Mr. D'Amato's re-election effort," the complaint says. Action by the election commission is pending. Lisette McSoud, a spokeswoman for Mr. D'Amato, responded: "Mr. Ansary is an American citizen, has a home on Long Island and has a right to participate." Mr. Ansary couldn't be reached for comment.

Meanwhile, Mr. D'Amato, who didn't respond to an interview request, is doing his part to lower his voice. No more nasty Whitewater hearings. No more hard-hitting campaigns against Democrats running for the Senate, like the ones he orchestrated as chairman of the GOP Senate campaign committee. Now, he's exposing Swiss-Nazi financial relations during World War II and raising questions about what happened to the assets of Holocaust victims and their families deposited in Swiss banks during and after the war.

"It's the new and improved Al D'Amato," says Ms. Hope, the Democratic chairwoman. "But it won't work. I won't let it happen."

☆
THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE
THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE
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THE NEW YORK STATE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE



Ms. Margaret A. Williams
Chief Of Staff To The First Lady
The White House
Old Executive Office Building
Room 100
Washington, D.C. 20500

30 East 29th Street, New York, NY 10016

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED



Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
003. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton (partial) (5 pages)	01/20/97	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Maggie Williams (Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 10359

FOLDER TITLE:

Personal [Folder 2] [2]

2013-0359-S

ry1441

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P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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

SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
MONDAY, JANUARY 20, 1997
FINAL*

*File
Personal*

WASHINGTON, D.C.

HRC LEAD ADVANCE:

PATRICK HALLEY

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202/244-7969

HOME

WHCA

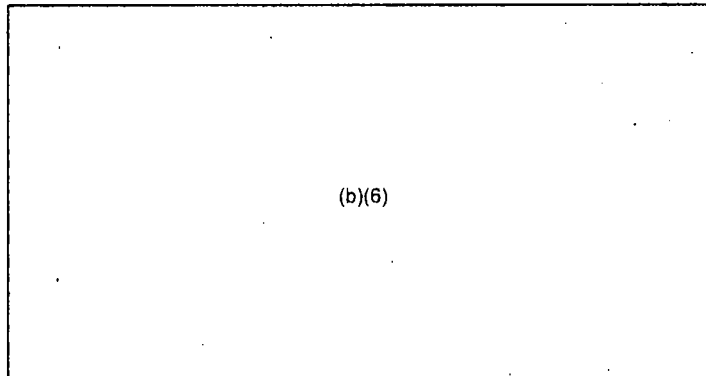
4461

INAUGURATION DAY

PREV RON

The White House

6:00 am



[003]

7:45 am -

DEPART The White House
VIA Presidential Motorcade
EN ROUTE Metropolitan AME Church
[drive time: 5 minutes]

7:50 am

ARRIVE Metropolitan AME Church

Greeters:

- Bishop Anderson, Second Episcopal District, AME Church
- Reverend Lewis Charles Harvey, Pastor, Metropolitan AME Church

8:00 am - **INAUGURAL PRAYER SERVICE [w/ POTUS]**
9:30 am Metropolitan AME Church
 POOL PRESS

FORMAT:

- The ☒Call To Worship☒ is given by Bishop Vinton R. Anderson.
- A musical response is performed by CeCe and BeBe Williams.
- The invocation is given by Reverend Jane Holmes Dixon.
- A musical response is performed by Mickey Mangun and the Messiah Singers.
- Reverend Louis-Charles Harvey makes welcoming remarks.
- Reverend Jesse Jackson makes remarks.
- A hymn is performed by Wintley Phipps.
- A prayer for the nation is offered by Father Leo O'Donovan.
- A hymn is performed by Phil Driscoll.
- An Old Testament reading is given by Rabbi Harold Kushner.
- A Qu'ran reading is given by Iman D. Wallace Mohammed.
- A New Testament reading is given by Archbishop Spyridon.
- A congregation hymn is performed.
- A Prayer for the National Leaders is offered by Bishop Chandler Owens.
- A hymn is performed by Carolyn Staley.
- A hymn is performed by Junice Sjostrand.

- A Prayer for the President is offered by Dr. Don Argue.
- A musical selection is performed by Willow Creek Vocal Group.
- Reverend Anthony Compolo makes remarks.
- ❖Amazing Grace❖ is performed by Jennifer Holliday.
- A choral response is performed by the congregation and soloists.
- The benediction is offered by Dr. Luis Palau.
- The President and **the First Lady** depart.

9:40 am **DEPART** Metropolitan AME Church

9:45 am **ARRIVE** The White House

9:50 am - **DOWN TIME**
10:20 am Residence

10:25 am **PROCEED** to the State Floor [w/ POTUS]

Note: The President and the First Lady will greet members of the Congressional Inaugural Committee at the North Portico.

10:30 am **JOINT CONGRESSIONAL INAUGURAL COMMITTEE COFFEE**
10:50 am [w/ POTUS]
Blue Room
CLOSED PRESS

PARTICIPANTS:

- The President
- The First Lady
- The Vice President
- Mrs. Gore

- Senator John Warner
- Senator Wendall Ford
- Senator Trent Lott
- Senator Thomas Daschle
- Speaker Newt Gingrich
- Representative Dick Armey
- Representative Richard Gephardt
- John Chambers

- Terry McAuliffe
- Ann Jordan
- John Hilley
- Craig Smith
- Deborah Wilhite
- Dan Dutko
- Laura Hartigan
- Susan McGill

10:55 am **DEPART** The White House
 VIA Motorcade
 EN ROUTE United States Capitol
 [drive time: 10 minutes]
 OPEN PRESS

(b)(7)e

11:05 am **ARRIVE** United States Capitol

11:10 am - **HOLD**
11:20 am Room S-105
United States Capitol

Note:

(b)(6)

Note: The President's Holding Room is (S-104). Following a brief hold. The President and First Lady will meet the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies in EF100.

11:20 am **PROCEED** to Inaugural Platform

11:22 am **ARRIVE** Inaugural Platform

11:26 am The President proceeds to Inaugural Platform along with Bill Livingood, Sergeant of Arms, United States House of Representatives and Greg Casey, Sergeant of Arms, United States Senate and members of the Joint Congressional Committee on Inaugural Ceremonies.

11:29 am The President arrives Inaugural Platform

11:30 am - **INAUGURAL CEREMONY**
11:58 am The United States Capitol
OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- Off-stage announcement of the President, accompanied by Senator John Warner, to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.
- Senator John Warner, Virginia, calls the Inaugural Ceremony to order and makes welcoming remarks.
- The invocation is offered by the Reverend Billy Graham.
- *The Pledge of Allegiance* is recited.
- A musical selection is performed by Children of the Gospel: The Next Generation.

11:58 am **THE VICE PRESIDENTIAL OATH OF OFFICE WILL BE ADMINISTERED TO ALBERT GORE, JR. BY ASSOCIATE JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT, THE HONORABLE RUTH BADER GINSBURG.**

-- A musical selection is performed by Jesse Norman.

-- Senator Wendell H. Ford, Kentucky, introduces the President.

11:59 am **THE PRESIDENTIAL OATH WILL BE ADMINISTERED TO WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON, BY THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES, THE HONORABLE, WILLIAM H. REHNQUIST.**
 (45 seconds)

12:00 pm - **INAUGURAL ADDRESS**
 12:40 pm The United States Capitol
 OPEN PRESS

-- The President delivers Inaugural Address.

-- A musical selection is performed by the Immanuel Baptist Church Sanctuary Choir and Orchestra.

-- A selection is read by Miller Williams.

-- The benediction is delivered by the Reverend Gardner C. Taylor.

-- The National Anthem of the United States is performed by Santita Jackson, accompanied by the Resurrection Choir.

12:45 pm **PROCEED to the President's Room [w/ POTUS]**

12:50 pm **ARRIVE the President's Room [w/ POTUS]**

Note: **The President will sign a Presidential Proclamation.**

1:00 pm **PROCEED to Statuary Hall [w/ POTUS]**

Note: **The President and First Lady will greet the five choirs who performed at the Inaugural Ceremonies in the Rotunda.**

1:10 pm -
1:50 pm

CONGRESSIONAL LUNCH [w/ POTUS]
Statuary Hall
The United States Capitol
POOL SPRAY

FORMAT:

- Off-stage announcement of the President and the First Lady, accompanied by Senator John Warner, to Ruffles and Flourishes and Hail to the Chief.
- Senator John Warner makes welcoming remarks.
- The invocation is delivered by Reverend Billy Graham.
- Lunch is served.
- Senator John Warner proposes a toast to the President and introduces Senator Wendell Ford.
- Senator Wendall Ford presents gifts to the President and Vice President.
- The Vice President makes brief remarks.
- Senator John Warner introduces Speaker Newt Gingrich.
- Speaker Newt Gingrich makes remarks.
- Senator John Warner presents the President with an official inaugural photograph.
- The President makes remarks.
- The benediction is delivered by Reverend Taylor.
- The President makes remarks.
- Upon conclusion of remarks, the President and the First Lady depart.

Note:

The President and First Lady will proceed to holding room to change into parade attire.

2:00 pm DEPART United States Capitol
 VIA Presidential Motorcade
 EN ROUTE The White House
 [drive time: 40 minutes]

Note: The President and the First Lady depart from the
 East Capitol steps. The President will review the
 troops from the steps before he proceeds to the
 motorcade.

2:40 pm ARRIVE The White House

Note: The motorcade will arrive at the South Portico.

2:45 pm The Vice President and Mrs. Gore proceed to the
 Presidential Reviewing Stand via North Portico.

2:47 pm PROCEED to the Presidential Reviewing Stand
 [w/ POTUS]
 VIA North Portico

2:50 pm - INAUGURAL PARADE [w/ POTUS]
5:20 pm Presidential Reviewing Stand
 Pennsylvania Avenue
 OPEN PRESS

5:25 pm PROCEED to The White House [w/ POTUS]

5:30 pm

(b)(6)

NOTE: ALL INAUGURAL BALLS ARE BLACK TIE AFFAIRS.

7:05 pm DEPART The White House
 VIA Presidential Motorcade
 EN ROUTE Capitol Hilton Hotel
 [drive time: 5 minutes]

7:10 pm ARRIVE Capitol Hilton Hotel

Greeters:

- Joseph Frank, National Commander, American Legion
- Barbara Frank

- Mary Kay Grantham
- Herbert Grantham
- Robert Spanogle, National Adjutant
- Paul Bucha, President, Congressional Medal of Honor Ceremony
- John Summer, Executive Director, American Legion

7:15 pm **"SALUTE TO HEROES" INAUGURAL BALL**

7:35 pm Capitol Hilton Hotel

OPEN PRESS

Note: **Ninety Medal of Honor Recipients will be in attendance.**

Note: **The President and First Lady do not dance at this event.**

FORMAT:

-- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.

-- The President makes remarks.

-- The President and First Lady depart.

7:40 pm **DEPART** Capitol Hilton Hotel

VIA Presidential Motorcade

EN ROUTE Old Post Office Pavilion

[drive time: 5 minutes]

7:45 pm **ARRIVE** Old Post Office Pavilion

7:50 pm **NEW ENGLAND INAUGURAL BALL**

8:10 pm Old Post Office Pavilion

OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

-- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.

-- The President makes remarks.

-- The President and First Lady dance to *Unforgettable*.

-- The President and First Lady depart.

8:15 pm **DEPART** Old Post Office Pavilion
 VIA Presidential Motorcade
 EN ROUTE National Air and Space Museum
 [drive time: 5 minutes]

8:20 pm **ARRIVE** National Air and Space Museum

8:25 pm **MIDWEST INAUGURAL BALL**
8:45 pm National Air and Space Museum
 OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.
- The President makes remarks.
- The President and First Lady dance to *Unforgettable*.
- The President and First Lady depart.

8:50 pm **DEPART** National Air and Space Museum
 VIA Presidential Motorcade
 EN ROUTE National Building Museum
 [drive time: 5 minutes]

8:55 pm **ARRIVE** National Building Museum

9:00 pm **PENNSYLVANIA AND OHIO INAUGURAL BALL**
9:20 pm National Building Museum
 OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.
- The President makes remarks.
- The President and First Lady dance to *Unforgettable*.
- The President and First Lady depart.

9:25 pm **DEPART** National Building Museum
 VIA Presidential Motorcade
 EN ROUTE the Convention Center
 [drive time: 5 minutes]

9:30 pm **ARRIVE** the Convention Center

9:35 pm **CALIFORNIA INAUGURAL BALL**
9:55 pm Convention Center - Hall A
 OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.
- The President makes remarks.
- The President and First Lady dance to *Unforgettable*.
- The President and First Lady depart.

10:00 pm **PROCEED** to Hall C

10:05 pm **FLORIDA INAUGURAL BALL**
10:35 pm Convention Center - Hall C
 OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.
- The President makes remarks.
- The President and First Lady dance to *Unforgettable*.
- The President and First Lady depart.

10:40 pm **PROCEED** to Hall B

10:45 pm **ARKANSAS INAUGURAL BALL**
11:05 pm Convention Center - Hall B
 OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.
- The President makes remarks.
- The President and First Lady dance to *Unforgettable*.
- The President and First Lady depart.

11:10 pm **DEPART** Convention Center
 VIA Presidential Motorcade
 EN ROUTE Union Station
 [drive time: 5 minutes]

11:15 pm **ARRIVE** Union Station

11:20 pm **TENNESSEE INAUGURAL BALL**
11:40 pm Union Station
 OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.
- The President makes remarks.
- The President and First Lady dance to *Unforgettable*.
- The President and First Lady depart.

11:45 pm **DEPART** Union Station
 VIA Presidential Motorcade
 EN ROUTE Postal Square
 [drive time: 5 minutes]

11:50 pm **ARRIVE** Postal Square

11:55 pm **21ST CENTURY INAUGURAL BALL**
12:15 am Postal Square
 OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.
- The President makes remarks.
- The President and First Lady dance to *Unforgettable*.
- The President and First Lady depart.

12:20 am **DEPART** Postal Square
 VIA Presidential Motorcade
 EN ROUTE DC Armory
 [drive time: 10 minutes]

12:30 am **ARRIVE** DC Armory

12:35 am **DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA INAUGURAL BALL**
12:55 am DC Armory
 OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.
- The President makes remarks.
- The President and First Lady dance to *Unforgettable*.
- The President and First Lady depart.

1:00 am **DEPART** DC Armory
 VIA Presidential Motorcade
 EN ROUTE John F. Kennedy Center for
 Performing Arts
 [drive time: 15 minutes]

1:15 am **ARRIVE** John F. Kennedy Center for
 Performing Arts

1:20 am **NEW YORK INAUGURAL BALL**
1:40 am John F. Kennedy Center for Performing Arts
 OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.
- The President makes remarks.
- The President and First Lady dance to *Unforgettable*.
- The President and First Lady depart.

1:45 am **DEPART** Kennedy Center
 VIA Presidential Motorcade
 EN ROUTE Omni Shoreham Hotel
 [drive time: 10 minutes]

1:55 am **ARRIVE** Omni Shoreham Hotel

2:00 am **MID ATLANTIC INAUGURAL BALL**
2:20 am Omni Shoreham
 OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.
- The President makes remarks.
- The President and First Lady dance to *Unforgettable*.
- The President and First Lady depart.

2:25 am **DEPART** Omni Shoreham Hotel
 VIA Presidential Motorcade
 EN ROUTE Sheraton Washington Hotel
 [drive time: 5 minutes]

2:30 am **ARRIVE** Sheraton Washington Hotel

2:35 am **SOUTHERN INAUGURAL BALL**
2:55 am Sheraton Washington Hotel
 OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.
- The President makes remarks.
- The President and First Lady dance to *Unforgettable*.
- The President and First Lady depart.

3:00 am **DEPART** Sheraton Washington Hotel
 VIA Presidential Motorcade
 EN ROUTE Washington Hilton Hotel
 [drive time: 5 minutes]

3:05 am **ARRIVE** Washington Hilton Hotel

3:10 am **WESTERN INAUGURAL BALL**

3:30 am Hilton Hotel - International Ballroom
 OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.
- The President makes remarks.
- The President and First Lady dance to *Unforgettable*.
- The President and First Lady depart.

3:35 am **PROCEED** to Exhibit Hall

3:40 am **TEXAS INAUGURAL BALL**

4:00 am Hilton Hotel - Exhibit Hall
 OPEN PRESS

FORMAT:

- Off-stage announcement of the President and First Lady to *Ruffles and Flourishes* and *Hail to the Chief*.

- The President makes remarks.
- The President and First Lady dance to *Unforgettable*.
- The President and First Lady depart.

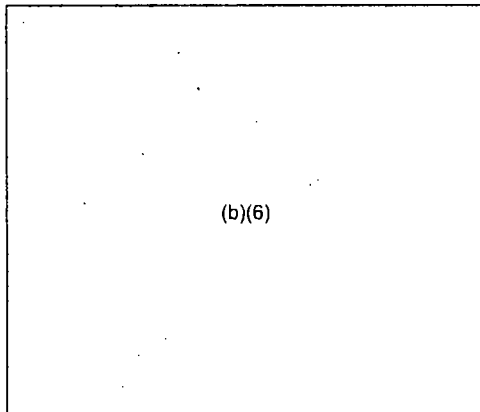
4:05 am **DEPART** Washington Hilton Hotel
 VIA Presidential Motorcade
 EN ROUTE The White House
 [drive time: 10 minutes]

4:15 am **ARRIVE** The White House

WEATHER FORECAST FOR WASHINGTON, D.C.

- Mostly sunny and cold. Wind northwest at 10 to 15 knots.
Low 18 High 29. Wind Chill to -8F.

OVERNIGHT GUESTS:



WASHINGTON, D.C. EVENTS:

KENNEDY CENTER

- Washington Opera - El Gato Montes

WARNER THEATER

- Grease!

FORD'S THEATER

- Mark Russell

NATIONAL THEATER

- Whistle Down the Wind

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
004. note	To Maggie Williams from Lucy Hackney (3 pages)	03/06/97	Personal Misfile

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Maggie Williams (Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 10359

FOLDER TITLE:

Personal [Folder 2] [2]

2013-0359-S

ry1441

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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

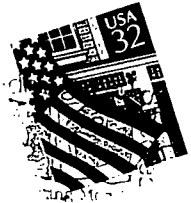
PAUL B. COSTELLO

March 7 -

Dear Maggie .

Thinking of you and
wishing you well during
this new episode. Remember
that it all passes
quickly. Keep you

File



Ms. Maggie Williams
The White House
Washington, D. C.
JO502

Personal



mind focused on your
joy in the new life
ahead.

Best regards.

Paul

925 EDGEWOOD AVENUE
PELHAM MANOR, NEW YORK 10803

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

a wonderful group of people and I
will definitely miss you all. It's
been great fun. Thanks for everything.
Best wishes.

Sincerely,

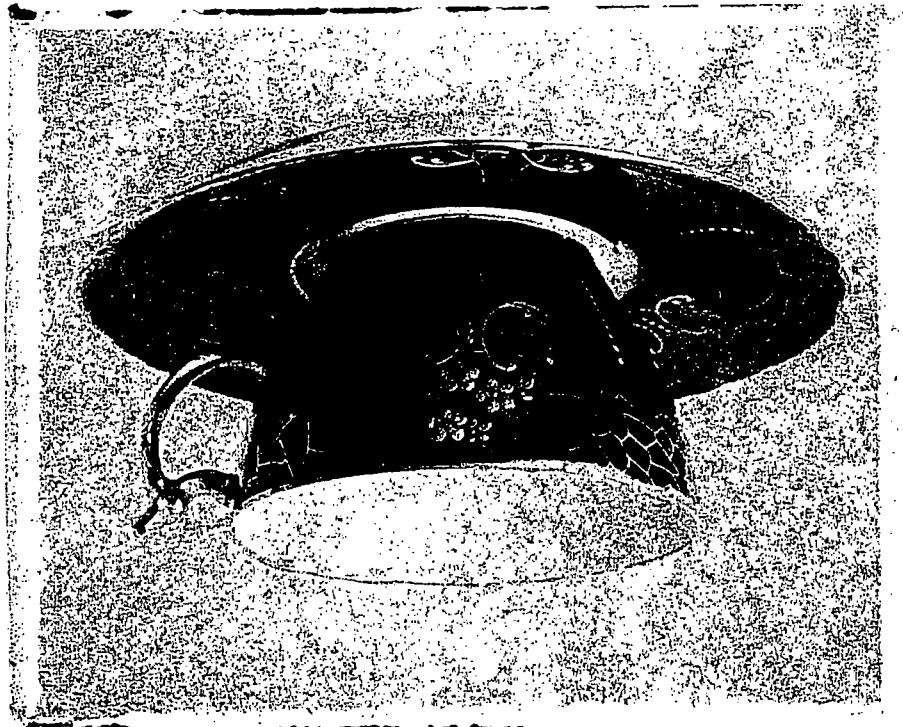
Margo Spritzer

Dear Maggie,

2.28.97

As you probably know, today is my
last day at the White House. I will
be leaving Washington in a week to
move to New York City and look for a
job.

I wanted to let you know that
I thoroughly enjoyed having the
opportunity to work with you and
your staff. The First Lady's office is



VANILLA-PECAN SHORTBREAD

6 ounces (1 1/2 sticks)
unsalted butter,
softened

1/2 cup firmly packed
light-brown sugar

2 vanilla pods, split
lengthwise and
beans removed

1 1/2 cups all-purpose
flour

1/4 cup cornstarch,
sifted

1/4 teaspoon salt

1/2 cup coarsely
chopped toasted
pecans

I've found that shortbread can be addictive. These shortbread cookies, accented with vanilla beans and studded with toasted pecans, are sure to test your willpower. Serve this golden brown, triangle-shaped shortbread with ice cream or pudding, or with brandy, espresso, or after-dinner drinks for an elegant, uncomplicated dessert.

Preheat oven to 325°F. Lightly butter a 10-inch glass pie pan.

Place the butter in a medium bowl and beat with an electric mixer until smooth and pale yellow. Add the sugar, vanilla beans, and vanilla extract and beat on high speed for 3 to 4 minutes until light and fluffy. Add the flour, cornstarch, salt, and pecans and mix well. Gather the dough into a ball.

Press the dough into the bottom of the prepared pie pan, building edges 1/2 inch up the sides of the pan. Cut into 12 wedges, cutting all the way through the dough. Pierce each wedge in three places with a fork. Bake for 40 minutes or until light brown. Remove from oven, recut wedges, and cool in pan to room temperature. Serve immediately, or store tightly wrapped in plastic or foil at room temperature for up to 5 days.

**PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION**

Ms. Margaret A. Williams
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

By Hand

REDMOND WALSH

January 24, 1997

Dear Maggie,

I just wanted to say thank you for all your assistance and advice. I am scheduled to see both Ann Lewis and Don Baer on Monday and will let you know how these meetings go.

I am also very interested in the trip director position, which Andrew is leaving soon. It would be a tremendous help to me if you would talk with Enskine, John Podesta, and Bruce about this.

Thank you very much for all your help.

Sincerely,

Redmond

REDMOND WALSH

**PHOTOCOP
PRESERVATION**

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
005. note	To Maggie Williams from Kevin re: State of the Union (2 pages)	n.d.	b(6)

COLLECTION:

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First Lady's Office
Maggie Williams (Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 10359

FOLDER TITLE:

Personal [Folder 2] [2]

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ry1441

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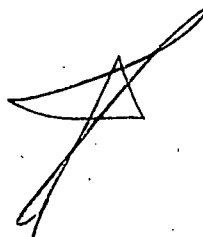
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File
Personal



Politics By the Old Rules

By Garry Wills

DEVANSTON, Ill. Despite the scandal-a-day schedule of recent weeks, President Clinton's popularity ratings are as high as ever. Washington reels with every blow it delivers at its elusive target, a man who seems not to feel the impact at all. It is a variant on Muhammad Ali's rope-a-dope tactic. This is punch-a-dope, which leaves the assailant in a vacuum, all punched out with no punches landed, so far as popular revulsion goes.

Why? Are we scandal-numbed? Cynical? Convinced that "they all do it"? Probably. But there is more. One of my favorite philosophers, Jimmy Flannery, keeps a "favors bank," in which he deposits all the help others give him. Meanwhile, he makes heavy deposits in other people's "banks," to be called on when he especially needs something. This, he believes, is what politics — or life — is all about.

Jimmy even calls it a favor when he is doing what he meant to do all along. He lets it be thought he was "bribed" into doing the right thing. He would rather be suspected of having a lower motive than stop the circulation of favors.

Jimmy is the fictional hero of Robert Campbell's detective novels about the Chicago Machine in the elder Mayor Richard Daley's time. He is a sewer official, a patronage appointee, who gets involved in the troubles of his precinct. He reflects the nostalgia many people have felt

Garry Wills, an adjunct professor of history at Northwestern University, is the author, most recently, of "John Wayne's America: The Politics of Celebrity."

over the years for the open favoritism of machine politics as opposed to the faceless bureaucracy of civil-service reformers.

Even as Jimmy has aged into the younger Mayor Daley's regime, he finds that the old rules still work for him. If you don't do favors, you don't get far in politics.

In Jimmy's world, favors done for the influential can get one an invitation to an exclusive club or an audience with Duh Mayor or an appointment with a specialist for a sick person in your precinct. They can also get you kickbacks and illegal contracts. Jimmy doesn't take these favors. Some of his associates do, but he finds that no reason for giving up his bank. It works. It makes his job possible, his life easier.

Most people expect that you will show favoritism toward those who can help you. In fact, they depend on it, at every level of life. In my own little sphere, I am constantly asked by friends to put in a good word for them with editors, agents or publish-

Why no one cares about Clinton's fund-raising.

ers. I do it when I can — what are friends for? No one expects a politician, of all people, not to do that.

In President Clinton's case, a monetary favor could get you a ride on Air Force One, a dinner (or breakfast or coffee) at the White House, a stay in the Lincoln Bedroom. This last favor has caused special shock. The use of such sacred territory borders on sacrilege — as if it would be all right to bunk down in the laundry room. But Lincoln never slept in, or even set foot in, the Lincoln Bedroom, which is a creation of the Truman Presidency.

No one complains when Chelsea's friends stay over. So can anyone

spend the night except a political or financial ally? It is hard for the public to work up rage at perks given to such allies.

If government policy is affected by the money, then complain about the policy. Bob Dole, angling for more tobacco money, opposed Food and Drug Administration regulation of tobacco, claiming nicotine is not necessarily addictive.

Does anyone think Mr. Dole was listening to scientific evidence and not the money? This favor costs too much; defending cigarettes kills people. If Mr. Clinton's supporters could be paid off with a night in the White House, that was cheap. In fact, it was a refreshing change from the Reagan era, when the President gave money to the rich in tax breaks. Having the rich give money to the President is a far better arrangement.

I have never stayed overnight in the White House. But I felt honored (as I was intended to) when I stayed at the Governor's Mansion in Springfield, Ill., and had breakfast with Republican Gov. Jim Edgar and his wife. I contributed no money to his campaigns. I just gave a lecture on Lincoln in Springfield. I suppose it helps a governor politically to be seen as a Lincoln fan in Lincoln's state. But such "favors" are not resented or resentable.

Should I have been excluded if I had given him money? Does he exclude anyone who gives him money? I hope not. As Jimmy Flannery would say, what are friends for? □

The New York Times

TUESDAY, MARCH 4, 1997

A Feminist Redefined

By Jenny McPhee

The other day, I was having lunch in a croissant shop in midtown Manhattan and eavesdropping on the people sitting at the next table. A twentysomething college-educated woman was describing her wedding plans in detail to a friend. Between discussing how much the caterer would cost and what color the bridesmaids' dresses would be, she said, with considerable embarrassment, "I can't believe I'm actually doing this, but I'm talking about me doing this. But if I don't get excited about it, who will?"

I find the subject of weddings fascinating, so I kept listening as she justified her choice of band and church, made clear why her ex-boyfriend was in the wedding party, and explained her decision not to use the designation "Ms." in addressing her invitations to women. "It just seems so, well, professional," she said, looking inside her sandwich. Then, with a bit of hesitation, she added, "I just don't want people to think that I'm, you know, a feminist or anything."

For a long time now, I've been trying to figure out what it is about that word that gives women so much trouble. The definition of feminism in my Webster's is the following: "1. Feminine character or characteristics; also, a feminine expression. 2.

Jenny McPhee is a writer and editor.

The theory, cult or practice of those who advocate such legal and social changes as will establish political, economic, and social equality of the sexes; propaganda or activity favoring the emancipation of women." Given that definition, what woman in her right mind wouldn't be proud to call herself a feminist?

I have heard many blame the feminist movement itself for having alienated women from the cause.

No 'Ms.' on the invitations to this wedding.

Feminism, they claim, has surrendered to the will of radicals and extremists, has become splintered and factious, does not have a unified and truly representative voice.

I don't buy it. All movements are fraught with extremism, infighting and power struggles. The problem with feminism goes much deeper and the woman in the croissant shop gave me a clue: shame.

Women are deeply ashamed of themselves for being women. At a moment that is clearly of utmost significance to this woman — her wedding — she is apologetic and ashamed of herself for taking center stage. Why isn't she saying, "This is

important, this is about me"?

If a woman can't allow herself to feel proud and powerful at her own wedding — a traditional rite in which a woman is both central and celebrated — then how will she feel in situations where the circumstances aren't necessarily favorable, like applying for a job or running for office?

Which brings me to the dictionary's first definition of "feminism." The word "feminism" is rooted in the concept of the feminine, and women are as prejudiced as men against the feminine, especially where issues of power are concerned. In the public sphere, (with the exception of Hollywood) most women do not find power in the so-called characteristics of our sex — from physical beauty to a reluctance to compete. We are afraid of being labeled bimbos, or ineffective.

Traditionally, we have sought power through association with a male — usually father or husband. More recently, some women have gained power by assuming androgynous appearances and acting more aggressively. I do not mean that women (or men for that matter) should not exploit male characteristics. I'm just sorry that women don't see their identity as something to be proud of, as something that doesn't need to be modified.

As women, as feminists, one of our greatest challenges is to claim the power of our feminine character — whatever we choose it to be. As the woman in the croissant shop said to her friend, If we don't get excited

White Flag in the Drug War

By Andrew Reding

The escape of an alleged Mexican money launderer just before President Clinton certified that Mexico was cooperating fully with efforts to fight drug trafficking illustrates the folly of that decision. Senator Dianne Feinstein of California deserves support in her efforts to get the Senate to pass legislation that would correct the President's error.

Most cocaine and marijuana coming into the United States crosses the 2,000-mile-long border with Mexico. Yet the White House continues to overestimate Mexico's ability to stem that flow.

Now the White House has praised President Ernesto Zedillo for the arrest this month of Mexico's top anti-narcotics official, Gen. Jesús Gutiérrez Rebollo, who was charged with collaborating with a leading drug trafficker. President Clinton said the arrest shows that the Mexican Govern-

The Senate should decertify Mexico.

ment is "saying to the world and to the people of Mexico, 'We will not tolerate corruption if we can find it and root it out, even if it is at the highest level.'" Never mind that Mr. Zedillo, who appointed General Gutiérrez two months ago, hid the news of his drug czar's arrest for 12 days, until after Mexican newspapers had broken the story.

While vigorously denouncing corruption, Mr. Zedillo has allowed the military and his anti-narcotics agency to persecute people who blow the whistle on officials who collaborate in the drug trade. In 1993, after Brig. Gen. José Francisco Gallardo Rodríguez proposed appointing an ombudsman to root out officials guilty of human rights abuses and collaboration with drug dealers, the military high command threw the general in the brig on a hodgepodge of charges, including corruption.

Although Mr. Zedillo was not President at the time of the arrest, Mexican courts have since found the

charges groundless, and the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States has called on Mr. Zedillo to release General Gallardo. Yet the general remains behind bars.

Unfortunately, the Gallardo case is not isolated. Last summer, Ricardo Cordero Ontiveros said he had resigned as head of the anti-drug agency's Tijuana office the previous November because his own agents were lazing around their base guzzling beer while agents of the Mexican Attorney General's office escorted drug shipments to the American border and acted as bodyguards for the dealers. A few weeks later, the Mexican police arrested Mr. Cordero, charging him with the very crimes he had denounced. (While Mr. Cordero's credibility is unclear, American anti-narcotics agents have corroborated some of those charges.) President Zedillo has done nothing to investigate Mr. Cordero's arrest.

In certifying the Zedillo Government, the Administration has tried to play down the importance of the designation, implying that it is merely symbolic. But decertification, which makes it much more difficult for a country to request financial aid, may be the way to push Mexico to begin a real war against drugs. □

Andrew Reding directs the North America Project, a joint venture of the World Policy Institute and Pacific News Service.

The New York Times

TUESDAY, MARCH 4, 1997

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As to the

Tracy

Ann Lewis -

Our staff is countless!

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Case file 10

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington D. C.

Dear Mr. President,

My experience at your State of the Union address was beyond my wildest dreams. To be recognized in such a prestigious manner left me speechless. I have always been proud to be a teacher, but today my feeling goes beyond pride. I am energized to follow your lead and do my best to help achieve first in the world status for the United States in Mathematics education.

To talk with you and Mrs. Clinton afterward at the White House reception was indeed an honor and an experience my husband and I will never forget. Our experience was heightened by the warm and cordial treatment we received from your staff. Maggie Williams, Ann Stock and Tracy LaBrecque helped make our visit so comfortable. They are without doubt, the best in the business.

Although we live in heavily Republican northwest suburban Chicago we are life long Democrats and have been strong supporters of both you and Mrs. Clinton. We are confident the country is moving in the right direction under your leadership.

I wish to extend my thanks and appreciation for being a part of your historic address. My husband Jim and I had a wonderful time and enjoyed our conversation on education in America. Our best regards to you and Mrs. Clinton.

Sincerely,

Sue Winski

Sue Winski

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The Burlington Free Press

Opinion

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Some **FATCATS** gave the President
\$100,000 campaign contributions,
and IN RETURN HE:

- ☐ supplied them with state secrets,
jeopardizing countless lives.
- ☐ sent arms illegally to a Central
American counter-revolutionary group.
- ☐ ordered IRS audits of their major
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invited them for a sleepover.
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corrupt and volatile petty dictator.
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to offshore oil drilling island.



WILKINSON
CIVILIAN
FACILITATOR

ciples of the American regime," he wrote, "require that the individual be left free to pursue his own happiness in his own way."

If Republicans can't muster the courage to eliminate the NEA, they'll never be able to do the tough stuff, like stopping the growth of entitlements. They might as well go back home and run their insurance agencies, or whatever it is they do in real life.

Why so cowardly? One reason is they don't like to be labeled philistines—or worse. Last month, for instance, New York Times columnist Frank Rich employed standard smear tactics against Rep. Peter Hoekstra (R-Mich.), who's had the audacity to plan oversight hearings for the NEA, the first since 1979.

Hoekstra also objected to several films backed by the NEA, including "Watermelon Woman," which, he said in letter to NEA chairwoman Jane Alexander, was cited by a reviewer for "the hottest dyke sex scene ever recorded on celluloid."

To Rich, this letter indicated Hoekstra himself must be a pervert—for his "curious obsession with sampling lesbian porn." Hoekstra, in fact, is a thoughtful fellow who was once vice president of Herman Miller, a furniture company admired for its beautiful design. He was merely doing his job in the most logical and practical way. This is, after all, federal money.

Which brings us to the real problem, which is that government money inevitably produces mediocre, or downright bad, art, in part because the artists who get the funding are subject to political constraints and are chosen by political appointees with their own agendas.

The answer is not to loosen the constraints (that's impossible politically and unfair to taxpayers) but to get the government out of the art business altogether. It's win-win: a smaller deficit and better art.

If you don't believe that government and art make a noxious brew, then I suggest a visit to the National Archives, which is staging an exhibition titled "A New Deal for the Arts" that shows what happens when huge sums of federal money were dished out to artists, musicians, actors, writers, photographers, and dancers between 1933 and 1943.

What you get (judging from this show) are works that are dreary, unimaginative, condescending and politicized—not much different from the worst of the socialist realism in the old Soviet Union.

Government money stifles creativity and produces "art" that's hokey and hortatory. Says an exhibition caption: "The Public Works of Art Project discouraged art that was abstract, controversial, or swayed by foreign influences." Instead, we see hand-painted

Escalating violence over several days between Israel and the Palestinians erodes whatever confidence is left in the peace process. Israel's decision to go ahead with a housing development in Har Homa in East Jerusalem is

Richard Harwood

File Persona

Judgments Against the Press

For newspaper investors, the news from Wall Street this spring is comforting. Shares of Gannett, Knight-Ridder, New York Times and Times-Mirror have hit 52-week highs. The balance sheets and share prices of other big public companies—Time-Warner, Tribune and Washington Post—are looking robust, too.

Their market performance, however, is in one sense puzzling because the news about the news business these days is not all upbeat. The network news shows—Dan, Peter and Tom—have lost about a third of their combined audience in the past 15 or so years with no sign of a turnaround. Newspaper circulation has been stagnant for decades. Fewer daily papers are sold today than in 1960 despite a 50 percent increase in the U.S. population. And down the road for both newspapers and television news departments lies the question of where new readers and viewers will come from; young people are showing scant interest in the news.

Whether the diminished role of traditional news suppliers is related in any way to the "cynicism and hopelessness" Chelsea Clinton and others detect in the American psyche is hard to say. But public attitudes toward the press are clearly not encouraging. Recent polls describe an alarming loss of trust in journalists. It appears that only one in 50 Americans believes everything newspaper reporters are telling us, and only one in 20 has complete trust in television news anchors. We are accused of bias, inaccuracy, unfairness and an unhealthy obsession with the personal lives of public figures. The fact that the credibility of the president and Congress is equally low is of no comfort to the press. We are blamed for undermining their ability to conduct public affairs.

Also troubling is the trend for several years toward larger and larger verdicts against the press in cases of libel, defamation and intrusions of privacy. A federal jury in Houston last week entered a \$222.7 million judgment against the Wall Street Journal and its parent, Dow Jones & Co., in a libel suit brought by a

brokerage firm. A particular irony in the case was the Journal's reputation as the "most trusted" newspaper in America.

Floyd Abrams, for many years a libel lawyer for the New York Times, said the award, if upheld on appeal, would "totally change the journalistic and legal landscape" and "wholly rewrite libel law." Another of the industry's lawyers, said, "This is more than a message about trends in libel law; this is vengeance."

When a Pennsylvania man won a \$30,000 judgment against Life magazine for invasion of his privacy, the Supreme Court in 1967 reversed the decision, with Justice Hugo Black observing that, "One does not have to be a prophet, I think, to foresee that judgments like the one in this case can frighten and punish the press so much that publishers will cease trying to report news in a lively and readable fashion."

Nevertheless, since that time juries repeatedly have returned multi-million-dollar verdicts against the press. Many of these verdicts are overturned after long and expensive litigation, but the problem persists. A CBS affiliate in Chicago was forced to pay a plaintiff more than \$3 million. The Knight Ridder chain settled out of court a \$24 million judgment against the Philadelphia Inquirer. A \$58 million judgment against the publisher of the Dallas Morning News was settled out of court in 1991. ABC news not long ago lost a \$10 million suit filed by a Florida banker and more recently was ordered by a jury to pay a Food Lion store in North Carolina \$5.5 million for trespass and fraud in the course of gathering its story.

It is possible and not necessarily illogical to look at these cases as uncomplicated examples of the eagerness of juries in this age of litigation to punish American corporations for real or imagined misdeeds. Manufacturers of asbestos, breast implants and other products have paid out billions to aggrieved consumers

and in some cases have been forced into bankruptcy. The tobacco industry is the object of suits that threaten its survival. Dozens of companies have been assessed huge sums for racial or sexual discrimination against workers and on environmental grounds. Malpractice suits involving doctors and hospitals have cost the health care industry billions.

Like these companies and industries, news organizations are tempting targets because they, too, control great wealth. General Electric, owner of NBC, is the largest corporation in the world with profits of more than \$6.5 billion in 1995. Walt Disney Co., owner of ABC, ranks 39th among the world's 100 largest corporations with profits of about \$1 billion a year. CBS is owned by Westinghouse. The Fox network is owned by the Australian billionaire, Rupert Murdoch. Seven big corporations control a third of the daily newspaper circulation in America and, in general, are highly profitable enterprises.

Still, whatever its resources, there is a lot of worry in the industry over the temper of American juries. Are they bent on justice or "vengeance" against corporations that are otherwise beyond their influence or control? The judgment against Dow Jones is greater than its net income last year. "Chilling effects" on how we gather and present the news are inevitable to one degree or another however appeals in pending cases turn out.

These cases have other consequences. They often reveal frailties in the practice of journalism that need to be corrected if the present atmosphere of distrust toward the press is to be improved. And they are potent reminders to an industry often perceived as arrogant and accountable only to itself that press freedom in the United States in the final analysis is hostage to the rulings and philosophical temper of judges whose interpretations of the First Amendment are not always predictable.

na. It seems that hardly any reporter who accompanied him on his recent Asia trip did not mention the disparity between the public and the private Gore.

The Post's John F. Harris, for instance, said the Gore he saw in public was mostly "cautious, calculating and wooden. . . . But an entirely different person kept lurking in the shadows. He was breezy, spontaneous and impassionate"—and, it turns out, mostly out of sight. This was the private Gore.

"Gore's public stiffness is a well-known mystery," wrote Joe Klein in the New Yorker. (Can you imagine if Klein had written "Primary Colors" about Gore? The book would read like a technical manual.) "In private he can be accessible, hilarious, and iconoclastic." Yes, indeed. This has been my experience, too. Al Gore, no doubt about it, would win big inside the Beltway where he is known. It's the rest of America where he has a problem.

And the problem is not merely one of image—not something that can be fixed by some consultant getting him to use his hands more. After all, what Gore is conveying is not, really, stiffness but a distinct distrust of his own political instincts. The man is afraid of nothing more than himself—of what he might say off the cuff.

Why that's the case is hard to say—or, maybe, impossible to know. I date a change in Al Gore to the 1988 New York Democratic primary, in which Gore simply got mauled. His performance was awful—and why not? Up to then, he had only won election in Tennessee, which is, for all its wonders, a rather small state. Suddenly, Gore got pitched into New York's darkly internecine ethnic, racial and political struggles. Everything he said was wrong.

Ever since, I think, Gore has been mechanistic—so safe in his language and demeanor that he is just plain dull. There is no greater sin in either politics or love, but a monumental dullness is what we all saw last month when Gore defended his 1996 fund-raising in a manner that left caricaturists with nothing to do. Gore does Gore better than anyone.

That performance, of course, gave heart to any Democratic politician who thinks he has the look of the next president. There are such fellows, but they are not Gore's biggest problem. That, as countless observers have (yes) observed, is Gore himself. How can he be at home in the White House when he's not at home with himself?

PHOTOCOPIED
FOR PRESERVATION

Dear Ms. Williams

March 29, 1997

I've been watching the witchhunt that is going on in Washington, and I want you to know that you have a friend that is trying desperately to help you, the First Lady, and the President. With all this talk of cover ups, pending indictments, impeachments and treason against all of you has caused me to speak up to head this off before it's too late to do anything to stop it.

I have enclosed a letter for the First Lady that I want you to place in her hands personally. It informs her of a power of right that protects her, the President and Staff from Committee, House and Senate investigative witch hunt actions. It is legal and has been available for a very long time but has never been invoked and over time has been buried and forgotten but never repealed.

Ms. Williams, you and the First Lady are not under, nor, bound by the Constitution's limits, so please don't let those people step all over you. It's very important to get this information into the First Lady's and the President's hands for your sake as well as theirs. I think you are a good lady and it really burns me to see what they are trying to do to you.

Take care my friend and Happy Easter.

Respectfully

Charles E. Corso
KC

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