

NATIONAL JOURNAL'S CongressDaily/A.M.

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 12, 1997

Personal

Alternative Resolution Hits Mexican Anti-Drug Failures

Claiming that "things are changing by the minute" and that Congress may not vote to overturn President Clinton's certification that Mexico has done enough to fight the drug war, **Sen. Kay Bailey Hutchison**, R-Texas, is circulating a sense of Congress resolution hitting Mexican enforcement failures — but taking no action. However, key House leaders Tuesday said there is no plan to substitute softer language for the resolution of disapproval of Clinton's action that the House is scheduled to take up Thursday. "There are some members that had some concerns that wanted to soften it up," **House Majority Whip DeLay** said. But he said the resolution of disapproval, as passed by the House International Relations Committee, "could very well" pass by a veto-proof margin of more than two-thirds of the House. **House Majority Leader Arney** also predicted the committee-passed resolution "will pass" on Thursday and said GOP

leaders would offer no softer sense of the Congress resolution as an alternative.

House Ways and Means ranking member Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., Tuesday said, "I don't see where there's any backing off of the anti-Mexico feeling." Rangel added that while he plans to vote to sustain Clinton's position to certify Mexico, he is "thoroughly frustrated" with the drug certification process — which he said he helped put in place. "It's not working at all," Rangel said. With the pending resolution of disapproval, Rangel said, "we're insulting Mexico instead of hurting them." **Senate Majority Leader Lott** told reporters Tuesday that the issue will not come up in the Senate until next week at the earliest and declined to say what form of resolution the Senate would consider. "We're looking at what the House is doing," he said.

A draft copy of Hutchison's resolution obtained by *Congress-*

Continued on Page 10

SCHEDULE

SENATE

Convenes at 9:30 a.m. to consider the nomination of Federico Pena to be energy secretary, with 40 minutes of debate. A vote expected at 12:30 p.m. on the Pena nomination, after which the Senate will consider a resolution by **Sen. Ernest Hollings**, D-S.C., regarding campaign finance. Additional roll call votes are expected.

HOUSE

Convenes at 11 a.m. to consider a resolution requesting the president to submit a balanced budget and H.R. 852, Paperwork Reduction Act Amendments.

SENATE COMMITTEES

APPROPRIATIONS

JUSTICE APPROPRIATIONS

Commerce-Justice Subcommittee hearing on FY98 appropriations for the Justice

Continued on Page 11

Newt Pushes 'Civility' Proposals

House Speaker Gingrich Tuesday said he expects to approve "in the near future" proposals designed to restore a measure of civility to the House. The recommendations are being prepared by sponsors of last weekend's bipartisan House retreat, which was attended by 191 House members. "We had a tremendous number of good ideas," Gingrich told a press conference held by the retreat's organizers. "I hope they're going to come back to both parties and make recommendations. Both [**Minority Leader**] **Gephardt** and I have already indicated to a number of them that we will say yes." Among the proposals receiving serious consideration are moving one-minute speeches to the end of the legislative day, and convening regular meetings of the two parties' leaders and occasional joint sessions of the party conferences, said **Rep. Ray LaHood**, R-Ill., one of the chief organizers of the Hershey, Pa., retreat.

"If we are going to have civil debate, we don't need to begin by trashing one another," LaHood said. Members from both parties plan to meet Thursday to discuss specific steps. "We are going to do our best to elevate the debate," said **Rep. David Skaggs** of Colorado, the chief Democratic sponsor of the retreat. "We are trying to unpoison the well." Meanwhile, as Gingrich Tuesday was promoting proposals to make the House more civil, the often-caustic speaker appeared to be the model of civility himself. Suggesting that last weekend's retreat be made an annual event, Gingrich said: "It reminded all of us first of all to act like adults ... Having people get to know each other as human beings, getting to know

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**National
Journal**

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Evan Personnel

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2101

Margaret A. Williams
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
Old Executive Office Building
Room 100
Washington, DC 20500

October 15, 1996

Dear Ms. Williams:

Kim Lafferty, my supervisor in Senator Kennedy's office, suggested that I send you a copy of my resume. I am interested in a staff position or internship in your office.

Currently, I am working in a dual internship for Senator Edward Kennedy and Senator Joe Lieberman. My responsibilities include researching current issues, preparing briefings on various congressional hearings, responding to constituent mailings and answering constituent's calls.

Recently, I had the opportunity to work with the Commission on Presidential Debates on a one week assignment through Senator Lieberman's office. This opportunity was very interesting to me and reinforced my interest in working in the Washington environment.

I am a recent graduate of New England College with a degree in Business Administration. Throughout college I was involved with the Student Senate, and last March I was selected to represent New England College at the Cairo International Model United Nations.

As an intern for both Senator Joe Lieberman and Senator Kennedy I have gained a strong understanding of how two different Senate offices function successfully. Please feel free to contact me at Senator Kennedy's office at 202/224-4543 or at home: 202/543-3473.

I would be grateful for the opportunity to meet with you or your staff for a personal interview.

Sincerely,

John Brian Sumner
JohnBrianSumner

John Brian Sumner
323 Maryland Avenue Apt #1
Washington DC 20002
(202)543-3473

Education:

May 1996	New England College, Henniker, NH B.A. Degree in Business Administration Graduated with 3.19 GPA (Last semester abroad)
January 1995	Winterim program, University of New Hampshire (Three week exchange program studying Irish history, politics and literature, in Maynooth, Ireland)
December 1994	University of New Hampshire, Durham, NH A.S. in Business Management

Work Experience:

Fall 1996	Internship, Office of Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Washington DC Responded to constituents mailings, answered constituents phone calls, assisted staff on research projects
Fall 1996	Internship, Office of Senator Joseph Lieberman, Washington DC Researched current issues, prepared briefings on various congressional hearings, responded to constituents mailings and answered constituents phone calls
Summer 1996	Clerk, Medaphis, Anesthesia Billing Company, New Britain, CT Prepared patients insurance and surgery information for billing, filing and archiving
Spring 1996	Internship, Argo Eclipse Interactive Limited, Chichester ,West Sussex, England. Growing Internet provider. Hands on experience in sales, customer service, strategic planning, advertising and marketing
Summer 1995	Assistant Manager, O'Brian Landscaping, East Granby, CT Oversaw site development in absence of manager
Spring 1995	Group Manager, Organizational Behavior Course Managed 5 -person student casework team, responsible for directing group towards bi-weekly paper and presentation

Summer 1994	Entrepreneur, Rent -A- Student Developed and managed landscaping business, earned revenues of \$2,000
Fall 1993	Housing Manager of Property, Phi Kappa Theta Fraternity Motivated 45 active members for weekly activities & maintenance

Activities:

Fall 1996	Volunteer , Commission on Presidential Debates (CPD) Hartford, CT - Runner, responsible for assisting media staff and CPD staff for the full week
Spring 1996	Representative , Model United Nations, Cairo, Egypt - Represented New England College (NEC) during one week of intensive United Nations simulation
Spring 1996	Member , Student Senate, NEC Arundel, England - Appointed by faculty & staff
Spring 1996	Member Drama club, NEC Arundel, England - volunteered for two acts in spring production
Fall 1995	Member , NEC, Arundel Committee, NEC Henniker, NH - Appointed by Student Senate, 1 year term
Spring/Fall 1995	Chairman , The Blue Chip Association, NEC Henniker, NH - Stocks and Bonds Investment Club
Spring 1995	Volunteer , Wings of the Dawn, NEC Henniker, NH -Home for injured birds

Computer Skills:

Microsoft Office, Word Perfect, Lotus 123, Excel, Internet

Interests:

Skiing, Wind Surfing, Investing, Travel

References:

Available upon request

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
LABOR AND HUMAN RESOURCES

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6300

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FREE SUSAN McDOUGAL

If ANYTHING ever cried out the need for judicial reform, the Susan McDougal incarceration for refusing to "make a deal to stay out of jail by lying" is it!

America is SUPPOSED to be a "FREE" country. That SHOULD include the freedom to testify or not testify.

Authorized by: *Oliver S. Tershansy*

Oliver S. Tershansy

Executive Director

PRESS RELEASE

For Immediate Release

File Personal

Gingrich Investigation Is No Double Jeopardy

To the Editor:

Gay Hart Gaines's accusation of double jeopardy in the investigation of House Speaker Newt Gingrich (Op-Ed, Oct. 2) is absurd. An ethics investigation is not a legal prosecution, and the lack of a conviction is hardly proof that Mr. Gingrich and his political action committee, Gopac, have done nothing wrong.

Federal District Judge Louis Oberdorfer's ruling against the Federal Election Commission charges was not a "vindication" of Mr. Gingrich and Gopac, but a narrow ruling based on a misreading of the 1976 Buckley v.

Valeo case. The judge declared that to violate Federal election law, Gopac must have contributed money directly to Mr. Gingrich's campaign committee. He dismissed as irrelevant the proven fact that Gopac spent money on behalf of Mr. Gingrich's campaign.

As I found in my research for a book on Mr. Gingrich, Gopac officials stressed in planning memos at the time that "Newt must be re-elected." Gopac's executive director, Jeffrey Eisenach, told donors that "to help Newt" was "the most single high priority we've got in dollars."

The term "Newt support" comes directly from Gopac's own staff members, who referred to the \$250,000 spent annually on Mr. Gingrich's behalf. This nearly equaled the amount spent on the campaign by Mr. Gingrich's opponent, who lost the race by only 974 votes.

How much investigation should Gopac and Mr. Gingrich be forced to take? As much as is necessary to hold them accountable for violating the law.

JOHN K. WILSON
Chicago, Oct. 2, 1996

To the Editor:

Gay Hart Gaines's plaintive Oct. 2 article, "Double Jeopardy for Gingrich," gives itself away in the first sentence: "How much investigation is one group and one man supposed to take?" Does the word "Whitewater" mean anything to her? A nonpartisan call for an end to the rabid scandal-mongering would have been more effective.

JILL HECHT
Medford, Mass., Oct. 3, 1996

Calling D'Amato

To the Editor:

Your report on how Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato wields vast power in Albany (front page, Sept. 30) did not mention a special-interest group that he seems to hold at a distance: his constituents in Manhattan.

Our block association, representing 1,600 people, Republicans, Democrats and independents, has often reached out to elected officials for help. Senator D'Amato is the only one who does not respond. Callers to his office are not permitted to speak with an aide. They are instructed to write letters, but are not permitted to fax those letters to the New York City office. Once sent, there is no response, save perhaps a jejune form response half a year later.

STANLEY BULBACH
Chairman, 200 Block West 15th St.
Block Association
New York, Oct. 3, 1996

Does Valujet Pay Enough Attention to Safety?

To the Editor:

"Reviving Valujet" (editorial, Sept. 30) valued an important conclusion that the Federal Aviation Administration's decision to allow the airline to reopen for business, over the objections of its labor union, was based on "an unacceptably low standard."

You say that "the F.A.A. should have grilled" Valujet's president on his response to safety lapses and accidents in the aftermath of the crash last spring in the Florida Everglades.

Such reactive actions as grilling, or even forcing out the president of a company that lacks "safety culture," do not solve any safety-related problem. They only give a false sense of safety and security.

According to several studies, including one by the General Accounting Office in 1990, safety culture is a disciplined approach to operations by highly trained staff who are confident but not complacent, follow good procedures and practice good teamwork and effective communication. Safety culture is an insistence on a sound technical basis for actions and a rigorous assessment of problems.

Two general components of the safety culture are the necessary framework within an organization and the attitude of staff at all different levels. To achieve safety culture at technological companies, individual employees must have a questioning attitude, a rigorous and prudent

approach and necessary communication.

Valujet has suffered from the lack of the safety culture in its organizational system. Has it changed that much — established a true "safety culture" — to warrant the F.A.A.'s re-certification and public trust? Let's hope that the National Transportation Safety Board answers these vital questions at its November hearings on the May 11 Valujet accident.

NAJMEDIN MESHKATI
Los Angeles, Oct. 2, 1996

The writer is associate executive director of the Institute of Safety and Systems Management, University of Southern California.



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THE NEW YORK TIMES

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1996

Ayatollah California

To the Editor:

I was about to fire off a sarcastic dissent to Jonathan P. Berkey (letter, Oct. 3), who palliated the Taliban's brutal application of Islamic codes in Afghanistan by comparison to "say, the Los Angeles Police Department's application of California law."

At least the L.A.P.D. does not drag peaceable citizens out of their homes and beat them to death for victimless crimes, I reasoned.

Then I read your news article of the same day on Dan Lungren, California's Attorney General, who closed down a cannabis buyers' club and is now asking newspapers to censor the "Doonesbury" comic strip for making light of his campaign against the medical use of marijuana. A homegrown ayatollah!

HUGO S. CUNNINGHAM
Boston, Oct. 3, 1996

Keep on Trucking

To the Editor:

In his zeal to advance his notions on how freight should be moved in the United States, William Vandersteel (letter, Sept. 25) engages in some distortions about trucking.

The trucking industry has an improving safety record. While the miles driven by large trucks increased by more than 37 percent over the last decade, the truck-involved fatality rate dropped by 34 percent. From 1994 to 1995, the number of fatalities from truck-related accidents fell by 241, while overall fatalities on the highway rose by 1,122.

Our commitment to safety is substantiated by our initiatives like a tenfold increase in roadside truck inspections; our long support of the 55 mile-per-hour speed limit; research and public outreach on driver fatigue; random, mandatory drug and alcohol testing, and a nationwide ban on radar detectors in trucks. We'll spend \$6 billion over the next 10 years to put anti-lock brakes in all trucks.

Commercial trucks generated 44 percent of Federal highway-user taxes collected in 1994 but accounted for just 15 percent of total miles driven.

With demands on the freight industry growing and diversifying, trucking will — and should — continue to carry the lion's share of freight in the United States safely and efficiently.

THOMAS J. DONOHUE
President and Chief Executive
American Trucking Associations
Alexandria, Va., Oct. 2, 1996

For the Good of All, Study Those Ancient Bones

To the Editor:

The proposed reburial, without further study, of a 9,300-year-old skeleton by the Umatilla Indian tribe (news article, Sept. 30) highlights some of the challenges posed by the Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act. Although it addresses Native American demands for tribal control of ancestral remains, the law does not adequately take into account the fact that genes, culture traits and language are not inherited in neat tribal packages, but spread, contract and change fairly independently over time.

When human remains are many hundreds of years old, affiliation with a specific present-day tribe may be extremely problematical. The law assigned the skeleton to the tribe in Washington State on whose aboriginal lands it was found, but provided no way to consider the possibility that this individual might be related to most other Western tribes, or that it might represent a population that had died out. Nor did the law provide for scientific studies to ad-



David Suter

dress the interests that other tribes and the general public might have in the early peopling of the Americas.

The Society for American Archeology hopes that the tribe that has claimed the ancient Washington skeleton will reconsider and permit additional studies to be conducted. In

a recent case in southeast Alaska, studies of perhaps even older human remains found in a cave are being planned in consultation with the tribal governments.

The investigation of skeletal remains is often a highly charged issue because of differences between traditional religious and scientific approaches, but other aspects of archeological study are often less contentious. Cooperation between tribes and archeologists is common, and numerous tribes have cultural heritage programs that include archeology.

A recent meeting of our group explored ways to make archeological research more relevant to Native Americans and traditional knowledge more useful to archeology. The papers, most by Native American scholars, will be published next spring, and royalties will help pay for scholarships for Native American archeology students.

WILLIAM D. LIPE
President

Society for American Archeology
Washington, Oct. 2, 1996

Don't Come to America Looking for a Handout

To the Editor:

Re "Immigrants' Burden" (Op-Ed, Oct. 2): George Soros may have had his broken leg set for free in England after World War II, but had he been treated in the United States — where he eventually made his millions — he would have had to borrow money from a friend or perhaps a local Hungarian-American group to pay the bill, or work it off.

The point that seems to elude him and other liberals is that we cannot have it both ways in this country. We cannot be an entrepreneurial, dynamic nation of risk-takers and at the same time expect our government to pick up the pieces every time we stumble or fail. There was a time when immigrants came to this country with expectations of freedom and opportunity, and that was all. Now too many come with the promise of a government handout.

No one denies that immigrants occasionally need a helping hand, but let it come first from friends, family

and religious and civic organizations and then, only as a last resort, from the government.

The first thing an immigrant should read after arriving on these shores is the help-wanted section of the newspaper, not an application for food stamps.

WILSON GRABILL
Princeton, N.J., Oct. 2, 1996

Immigrant Loans

To the Editor:

George Soros (Op-Ed, Oct. 2) makes a bold case for dignifying the plight of legal immigrants by setting up the Emma Lazarus Fund. Is he willing to fulfill his own pledge of allegiance by endorsing, in the spirit of capitalism, the concept of an interstate "co-op" bank? What we legal immigrants need in the short run is a welfare-size cash grant that accrues interest much like the student loan of a typical American college graduate.

ALEX PEDRAM
Ithaca, N.Y., Oct. 3, 1996

School of Americas Must Answer for Past

To the Editor:

Re "School of the Dictators" (editorial, Sept. 28): For a documentary now being completed, I spoke with people from three Latin American countries who all link torture training to the United States Army's School of the Americas. Two were trainees. The third, after his wife had been killed by a school-trained torturer, found one of the torture training manuals the Pentagon now admits was used by the school.

One former trainee talked about homeless people used by the school to demonstrate torture. He said a physician instructor showed students where and how to torture, and injected the blindfolded human guinea pig with powerful drugs to keep them alive after the torture.

The Pentagon says the torture manuals were withdrawn in 1991, but does not mention this was seven years after the school had relocated from Panama to Fort Benning, Ga. The Under Secretary of the Army, who does not condone these manuals, told me that "the school is responsible for its curriculum."

Now that it is clear the curriculum included execution, torture and blackmail, questions must be raised: Who authorized this instruction, who taught it, what laws were violated?

The Rev. Roy Bourgeois, a spokesman for the grass-roots School of the Americas Watch, is in a Federal prison because he and 12 others symbolically re-enacted the 1989 murder of six Jesuit priests on the grounds of the school where the murderers had been trained. In El Salvador, the actual murderers received amnesty.

ROBERT RICHTER
New York, Sept. 30, 1996

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 4, 1996

File: The Press

THE WASHINGTON POST COMPANY

1150 Fifteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20071

KATHARINE GRAHAM
Chairman of the Executive Committee

September 27, 1996

Dear Hillary,

I can't thank you enough for the beautiful breakfast you gave for the Nina Hyde Breast Cancer Research Center. You gave pleasure to everyone there. Many, if not most of them, had never been to The White House before and were thrilled. It increased the visibility of the benefit greatly.

I realize that you took great trouble to give this event and that you had to wedge it in before you left for your campaign commitment in Connecticut. I knew you were leaving. So did Princess Diana, who had moved up her arrival a day to be there. After your departure, we simply moved over a little and it was not a problem.

To receive 120 people for a seated breakfast is a great effort. It was very much appreciated.

Affectionately,



Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



Personal
File: The Press

The Boomers' Acid Test

Dole Aide Decries Stories On Past Marijuana Use

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Six years ago, John Buckley wrote a novel in which a White House speechwriter is blackmailed by a former roommate over having sold small amounts of marijuana while in college.

"I'm part of a generation that can be blackmailed for having done something that was a natural part of being an adolescent in the 1960s and '70s," the protagonist says in describing the resulting media witch hunt.

Now, as communications director for Bob Dole's campaign, Buckley is suddenly living his fictional nightmare. Reports in the Boston Phoenix and on WJLA-TV here, charging Buckley with having used and sold marijuana at Hampshire College in the late 1970s, mushroomed into front-page news last weekend and forced him into damage-control mode.

"It's illegitimate to say that a generation who had different standards should be

See BUCKLEY, C2, Col. 1

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1996

BUCKLEY, From C1

bounced from the possibility of public service," Buckley, 39, said yesterday. He declined to confirm or deny past drug use, saying that this "absurd obsession" was no longer "relevant" and that he fully supports Dole's campaign against teenage drug use.

In a political world in which President Clinton, Vice President Gore, White House spokesman Mike McCurry, House Speaker Newt Gingrich and Rep. Susan Molinari have admitted trying pot in their youth—along with millions of middle-aged policymakers, journalists and other Americans—the question is obvious: Why is this news?

The story traveled a circuitous route. The producer who did the piece for Channel 7 is a former classmate of Buckley's who initially called to warn him about the Phoenix inquiry. WJLA led its Friday newscast with the report and the next day asked people on the street what they thought of the controversy. (Most didn't care.)

The story achieved new visibility Sunday when the Hartford Courant led a front-page interview with Dole by quoting the Republican nominee as dismissing the reports about Buckley. "I don't think it has any relevance at all," Dole said. Still, Buckley decided to skip the presidential debate in Hartford that day to avoid becoming a distraction.

The Sept. 26 article in the Phoenix, an alternative weekly, said that since

*"The good news is
that most news
organizations didn't
take the bait."*

—John Buckley

Buckley "is one of the top aides crafting the candidate's anti-drug message," his own past behavior is fair game.

"I certainly don't think that using marijuana should be an issue in the campaign, and that was precisely my point," said Phoenix reporter Gareth Cook, who says even current marijuana use should be regarded less harshly than harder drugs such as cocaine. "What I was trying to say with the story is that there's a real hypocrisy here."

Gary Wordlaw, WJLA's vice president for news, said: "The Dole camp opened this door about drug use by the other side of the campaign. . . . Mr. Dole made it an issue in relation to Mr. Clinton. He made comments about staff members at the White House who were using drugs in the past. We felt then and feel now that becomes the subject of a news story."

Buckley disputed such reasoning, saying Dole has never criticized past drug use by baby boomers and has assured him his job is not in jeopardy. "Other than salaciousness and doing a hit on someone in politics, there's no reason to do a story on this connected to Dole," he said.

Buckley said Dole's television ad mocking an MTV appearance in which Clinton joked about not inhaling marijuana as a student was not a criticism of the president's youthful behavior but

of the example he set for young people as a candidate in 1992. He said Dole's comments about past drug use by some White House aides have been limited to questioning the administration's security procedures.

Describing himself as "angry" about "a bad journalistic practice," Buckley said those who used drugs 20 years ago "should not be subject to this sort of idiocy. . . . The good news is that most news organizations didn't take the bait."

Buckley is on leave from his job as senior vice president at Fannie Mae. A nephew of William F. Buckley, he has worked for the SoHo Weekly News and written music reviews for Rolling Stone and the Village Voice.

The Phoenix piece quoted five former classmates—only one of whom allowed his name to be used—as saying that Buckley used marijuana socially at Hampshire College in Amherst, Mass., before graduating in 1979. Two of the unnamed classmates alleged that Buckley sold small amounts to friends.

"Sure he smoked pot, but that's not a big deal," Ed Benfey, who lived in the same building, was quoted as saying. "John was like everyone else."

WJLA began its story this way: "Tonight, a top Dole adviser stands accused of being a former drug user. Jim Clarke has this News Seven exclusive report on drugs and the Dole campaign."

Clarke said that Dole "has made prior drug use a fitness test disqualifying folks from serving in important government positions, especially White House staff positions." Dole Press Secretary Nelson Warfield said that is "not accurate," noting that Dole has questioned only recent drug use by White House aides and "never wavered in his support for Susan Molinari as the Republican convention keynote speaker after she acknowledged making a mistake with marijuana while in college."

Buckley assailed WJLA producer Roger Mellen for first calling him as a Hampshire College alumnus to say he had been contacted by a Phoenix reporter digging into Buckley's past. Mellen later called back to say he was doing the story himself and wanted an on-camera interview.

"I thought it was despicable for someone to play a double role," Buckley said, "first as an early warning system that someone's going to do a sleaze piece on you and then turning around a week later and saying, 'Hey, I'm going to be an investigative journalist.'" Mellen did not respond to a request for comment.

Once the story was trumpeted by a Washington television station, others jumped in. Reuter reported that the Dole campaign "was rocked by allegations" about Buckley's marijuana use. United Press International carried a similar story, which was published in the Washington Times, as did the Houston Chronicle.

Opening his novel "Statute of Limitations" to a passage about an out-of-control media, Buckley said he wrote the book because he feels strongly about what it calls "pharmacological McCarthyism." At the same time, he said, "we've learned a lot of lessons since the 1960s. I personally have known people who have lost years of their lives to drug use."

The Reliable Source

By Ann Gerhart and Annie Groer

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1996

■ There are few views as breathtaking and romantic as the District from the top of the Capitol Dome. And that's where Tony Rudy, press secretary for Rep. Tom DeLay (R-Tex.), popped the question Monday to Lisa Watson, legislative assistant to Rep. Dana Rohrabacher (R-Calif.). The duo were up there on the sort of tour not available to your average visiting 4-H Club. Access through the little door that leads outside is controlled by the Capitol Architect's office, and the tours are restricted to Senate and House members and their staff.

And yes, Watson accepted. They'll marry sometime next year. ■ Former Smashing Pumpkins drummer Jimmy Chamberlin, who was canned by the rest of the group after keyboardist Jonathan Melvoin died of a drug overdose, pleaded guilty yesterday to disorderly conduct. Chamberlin was arrested in July and charged with a misdemeanor drug possession after Melvoin died at New York's Regency Hotel shortly after the two had injected heroin.

Chamberlin pleaded guilty to the reduced charge before New York Criminal Court Judge Donna Recant as part of a deal in which he will undergo drug treatment, the Associated Press reported.

■ Labor Secretary Robert Reich will join Dorothy Height and the National Council of Negro Women tonight at the Willard Hotel. The



FILE PHOTOS



REUTERS

gig, which celebrates the publication of the NCNW's first book, with contributing authors Julianne Malveaux and Marian Wright Edelman, is the first in a three-day schedule of events. Gladys Knight will also be at the Willard, but we were told she's not planning to sing. And tomorrow, Maya Angelou will perform with Ashford and Simpson at a black-tie gala benefit to launch the Dorothy I. Height Leadership Institute.

■ Artists Christo and his wife, Jeanne-Claude, say that their next art project will be to cover the Arkansas River and to erect tall gates in New York's Central Park. At a presentation in Hamburg, Germany, Monday, the pair said that "Over the River" would involve covering the Arkansas River with up to six miles of fabric, Reuter reported.

■ Michael Jackson performed for the first time on the African continent Monday night, entertaining more than 60,000 fans in the North African city of Tunis on his world tour HIStory II, Reuter reported.

"I love you all," Jackson shouted, sparking hysteria among the densely packed crowd. A dozen or so fainted.

Knight, top, visiting; Christo, heading for the river; Jackson, whipping up a frenzy in Tunis.

No Stone Turns Up

Don't look for Sharon Stone at any of the events connected with the weekend display of the AIDS memorial quilt on the Mall.

She never planned to be here, despite publicity to the contrary, says no less an AIDS activist than Elizabeth Taylor, who will be here and who issued her own piece of advice:

Don't try to gin up a battle of the AIDS divas between Stone and La Liz. Let's take this one admonition at a time.

The sultry Stone is a tad sensitive to any suggestions she's a no-show after she skipped a 1995 breast cancer fund-raiser here.

"Last week Sharon had something to do abroad and she missed an [AIDS] event and some people got their knickers in a twist," said Taylor, founder of the American Foundation for AIDS Research, for which Stone is fund-raising chairman.

Although the Whitman-Walker Clinic here—one of four sponsors of Saturday night's candlelight march, which Taylor will lead—lists Stone among 22 visiting stars, Taylor told The Source yesterday that "Sharon never said she would go. She never said she was not going. She never committed to Whitman-Walker."

He'd Love to Come, But . . .

■ Washington-based British journalist Martin Walker has just published a book about President Clinton as the ultimate meritocrat: "Bubba with brains, a redneck with a Rhodes scholarship" is the dust jacket description of Walker's old Oxford chum and baby boom leader of the Free World.

Last night's revelers who jammed the Ritz-Carlton Hotel to toast "The President We Deserve: Bill Clinton: His Rise, Falls and Comebacks" were either to the manner born (a tony foreign ambassador or two) or to the manner acquired (scads of lawyers, political operatives and journalists).

Walker's wife, writer Julia Watson, handed out red-and-white bumper stickers for the guests' Volvos, Lexi and Jags.

The subject of all this ink was invited but did not attend. "He's resting tonight," a White House spokesman said.

Clinic spokesman James Millner said yesterday that Whitman-Walker "was told that she was coming. We didn't list anyone who was just lending their name in support and not appearing. We in no way meant to mislead anyone and we regret any inconvenience to anyone."

Taylor, by phone from Dallas, insisted there is room aplenty for a roomful of stars to fight AIDS. "We are both working our [tushes] off to do as much as we can for AIDS. . . . It's not a thing of ego. It's an issue of getting things done."

MARTIN WALKER
THE
PRESIDENT
WE
DESERVE

File Personal:
The Press

Robert J. Samuelson

Feats Of Fiction

*'For good or ill,
Clinton has had little effect
on the economy.'*

The great fiction of this election is that the president is responsible for the economy, deserving credit for its successes and blame for its failures. The fiction was on display at the first presidential debate, when President Clinton extolled the 10 million jobs created since 1992 and Dole criticized the economy's growth as too slow. Although statistics can be produced to "prove" each claim, the larger truth is that—for good or ill—Clinton has had little effect on the economy. It would have behaved the same if Clinton's cat, Socks, had been president.

Presidents sometimes can affect the economy, but their influence is usually indirect, unintended or long-term. Presidents Kennedy and Johnson adopted activist Keynesian economic policies to create permanent "full employment"; the unintended effect was double-digit inflation generated by easy-money policies at the Federal Reserve. Richard Nixon imposed wage-price controls in 1971 to enhance his reelection prospects; when controls were lifted, inflation exploded and triggered the steep 1973-75 recession. Ronald Reagan abided the Federal Reserve's harsh assault on inflation (13.5 percent in 1980) that raised unemployment to almost 11 percent in late 1982.

But presidents are mainly economic spectators. Our \$7.5 trillion economy is too huge and complicated for them to steer in any meaningful sense. Its performance mostly reflects the private decisions of companies, workers and consumers. They respond to many influences: new technologies, shifting tastes, investor pressures for profits, new competition, manager competence or ineptness, workers' skills and motivation. Government policies (taxes, regulations) are only one set of influences, over which presidents' control is usually modest or nonexistent.

The present economic expansion is now in its 67th month. This exceeds the average post-World War II expansion (50 months) but is less than the expansions of the 1960s (106 months) and of the 1980s (92 months). The distinction of this expansion is the failure (so far) of inflation to rise. When private economists analyze these trends, they rarely mention Clinton.

Consider a report by William Dudley, chief economist for the investment banking firm of Goldman Sachs. He attributed the recovery's durability to four factors: (a) Companies are determined not to let their work forces or inventories become bloated—problems that in the past have triggered recessions; (b) housing now has better access to credit than in the past, making construction patterns more stable; (c) global markets provide new sources of demand and more price competition; and (d) businesses can increase capacity more quickly, blunting inflation.

Or take a commentary by Donald Straszheim, chief economist for Merrill Lynch, on inflation. Clinton is a no-show here, too. Straszheim cites a number of reasons to explain why inflation has remained tame, including: the commitment of the Federal Reserve to contain it; "globalization . . . stimulating worldwide competition and the pursuit of the lowest cost production"; "technology advances . . . improving efficiency [and] allowing lower prices"; and corporate "cost cutting and restructuring."

Clinton's claim to have engineered the recovery rests on the alleged effect of his 1993 budget plan. It supposedly lowered interest rates. The claim is accepted by many political reporters. In a recent op-ed column [Oct. 2], David Broder wrote that the deficit-reduction plan was "credible enough . . . to allow the Federal Reserve Board, under Republican Alan Greenspan, to ratchet down interest rates and produce the remarkably healthy economy that is sustaining Clinton's reelection bid."

This sounds plausible, but Broder's facts and Clinton's argument are demonstrably wrong. When Congress passed the budget plan in August 1993, the Fed Funds rate—an overnight lending rate controlled by the Federal Reserve—was 3 percent. It had been there since Sept. 4, 1992. The next change occurred on Feb. 4, 1994, when the Fed raised the rate to 3.25 percent. The increase was the first in a series that lifted it to 6 percent by early 1995. Long-term interest rates (not controlled by the Fed) behaved similarly. In 1993 they had drifted down; that continued after enactment of the budget plan. Then they drifted up. In 1993 rates on 30-year Treasury bonds averaged 6.59 percent. In 1994 they averaged 7.37 percent.

The point is that interest rates aren't mechanically determined by budget deficits. For the moment, other influences (inflationary expectations, the state of the business cycle) count for more. Mostly, Clinton's been lucky. He first ran in 1992 when the economy was near the low-point of the business cycle—and people were feeling sour. Now the economy may be near the business cycle peak—and people are feeling much better.

Dole might have rebutted Clinton's claims by saying just that. Instead, he unwittingly strengthened Clinton's case by embracing its basic assumption: that the president makes the economy. Dole then unsuccessfully argued that the economy is in lousy shape. It's true, as he says, the economy's growth has been slow by postwar standards. But one possible explanation is that the official statistics may understate economic growth by underestimating productivity.

The size and intrusiveness of government are issues worth debating for both political and economic reasons. Dole may be correct that lower taxes, less regulation and less litigation would improve the economy's growth rate. But the probable effect is relatively small (say 0.1 percent to 0.3 percent of GDP annually) and would almost certainly occur after a first or even a second Dole term. The effects of smaller or larger government—for good or ill—are mostly long-term in nature.

The pretense that presidents can manipulate economic growth is a political expedient that, though understandable, ultimately feeds distrust of government. It stirs discontents that government cannot easily erase and fosters expectations that it cannot readily fulfill. It creates an artificial debate that detracts from other issues—political philosophy, personal competence and character—that matter in a president. A worthy campaign would have discarded the fiction; this one hasn't.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1996

Wendell E. Primus

The Safety Net: It Works

Considering the level of rhetorical abuse and conflicting public information about our prior welfare laws, it is no wonder many Americans assume our safety net government programs are a failure, creating dependency and producing poverty. Contrary to the prevailing political wisdom, poverty figures the Census Bureau issued last month show that government welfare programs do work. The figures show that both the number and the percentage of individuals removed from poverty by safety net programs reached an all-time high in 1995.

These census data show that without government programs, 57.6 million people would have been poor last year, but when government benefits are counted—including food stamps,

“Poverty figures the Census Bureau issued last month show that government welfare programs do work.”

housing, school lunch and earned-income tax credit (EITC) benefits—the number of poor people plummets to 30.3 million. In other words, the safety net programs lifted 27 million people out of poverty.

In addition, most of those who remain poor are significantly less so than they would have been without the safety net. The census data show that safety net programs reduced the depth of poverty by 70 percent.

To be sure, we cannot determine exactly how individuals and institutions would have acted if Social Security and means-tested programs did not exist. But the conclusion that emerges from these data is inescapable—when the safety net is strengthened, poverty is reduced, and when the safety net weakens, poverty is increased.

Consider what happened in the last two recessions. During both the recession of the early 1980s and the downturn of the early 1990s, the number of people who were poor before receipt of government benefits climbed by 10 million to 11 million people. When benefits and taxes are taken into account, the number of poor people still grew by 11 million during the recession of the early 1980s; some people were lifted out of poverty by government benefits, but others were pushed into poverty by the taxes they paid. But in contrast, during the recession of the early 1990s, the number of poor people grew only 5.5 million—half as much—when benefits and taxes are taken into account. Why? Because the safety net was much stronger.

The recession of the early 1980s hit just as we were making most poor mothers with earnings ineligible for Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), subjecting more low-income working families to taxes, cutting food stamps, removing individuals from disability rolls and letting AFDC benefits erode sharply in purchasing power. By the recession of the early 1990s, things had changed—Congress and the White House had acted on a bipartisan basis to expand the EITC substantially, restore food stamp benefit cuts, enable more disabled children to enter the Supplemental Security Income program and extend AFDC to more two-parent families. In addition, some states had secured waivers enabling more low-income working parents to receive AFDC. Further major improvements were made in 1993 in both the EITC and food stamps.

The link between the strength of the safety net and poverty among children is especially strong. The number of children removed from poverty by government benefit programs doubled between 1983 and 1995. Not coincidentally, federal expenditures for children increased by 50 percent on a real per capita basis during the same period. It is no mystery why the safety net is now lifting more children out of poverty than ever before.

Also of interest is the fact that most of the children the safety net now removes from poverty are children in working families. Their families' low wages are supplemented by various safety net benefits.

Furthermore, a strengthened safety net appears to have contributed as much or more to the low poverty rates in 1995 as the strengthening of the economy. Compare 1989, the peak year of the economic recovery of the 1980s, to 1995. In 1989, some 20 percent of Americans were poor before receipt of government benefits. In 1995, some 22 percent—a larger number—were poor before government benefits. In other words, the economy, by itself, lifted fewer people out of poverty last year—and also fewer children—than it did in 1989. After government benefits are factored, however, the poverty rates both for the overall population and for children were lower last year than in 1989. A stronger safety net made the difference.

Today, few elected officials are willing to defend the U.S. social welfare system. Yet the hard fact is that the safety net lifts millions of children, elderly people and others out of poverty. Yes, poverty remains much too high, particularly among minority children. And yes, our current welfare system has badly needed reforming. But the welfare system did not merit the shredding it will receive as a result of enactment of the new welfare law.

Years from now, we are likely to look back at 1995 and 1996 as the time when our child safety net was strongest. Only in the world of campaign rhetoric can one ignore the evidence cited here and conclude that cutting federal safety net expenditures by \$54 billion over the next six years (and allowing the states to withdraw another \$40 billion), as the new welfare law does, will improve rather than weaken the safety net.

When the next recession hits and federal funds fail to expand automatically to meet rising need because welfare is now a block grant, these problems will intensify. Let us hope that by that time, the White House and Congress have ended the politicization—and scapegoating—of poor families and have acted in a bipartisan manner to repair the damage to a safety net that, for all its flaws, has accomplished a great deal.

The writer resigned in August from his job as deputy assistant secretary for human services policy in the Department of Health and Human Services.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1996

> File Personal

Judges Hand Blacks Longer Prison Times

District Has Wider Than Average Discrepancy

By Mary Pat Flaherty
and William Casey
Washington Post Staff Writers

No one knows why and no one has studied the issue head on, but black defendants continue to receive slightly longer federal prison sentences under a system that was supposed to do away with racial disparity.

The difference amounts to a few extra days on lesser sentences and a few weeks extra time on multi-year sentences, according to a Washington Post analysis of 79,000 federal sentences handed down during the 1994 and 1995 fiscal years.

The analysis lends credence to a widely held perception among black Americans that they fare worse than whites under the federal criminal justice system. But some experts said the slim nationwide racial discrepancy is the best that could be hoped for in courts that deal with about 40,000 defendants a year.

Nationally, blacks got about 2 percent longer jail terms than whites, the Post analysis shows. But the difference was greater in some regions, including the District of Columbia where blacks got sentences longer by 12 percent in 1994 and 9 percent in 1995.

The disparity between blacks and whites in Maryland matched the national figure in 1994 but rose to 10 percent in 1995. In eastern Virginia, blacks got longer sentences than whites by about 5 percent in 1994 and 7 percent in 1995.

At the U.S. Sentencing Commission, which administers the guidelines, officials said they could offer no explanation for the sentencing gap between similarly situated black and white defendants. The commission, which is supposed to monitor the impact of its sentencing process, has yet to independently study racial disparities that have been a growing source of concern in minority communities.

Presented with the results of the Post's study of sentencing in the District, U.S. Attorney Eric H. Holder Jr. said, "I can't explain it. I have no idea. Zero. But the task for us is to determine if that disparity does exist here, why it exists. Any instance would be troubling."

Racial disparities are greatest under mandatory minimum laws—the patchwork of bills passed by Congress that set blanket, nonnegotiable penalties for select crimes that are considered a particular danger to the community, mostly involving weapons and drugs such as crack cocaine. Controversy over racial



ASSOCIATED PRESS

OPTIMISTIC: Judge William W. Wilkins Jr. says average sentencing disparity is within tolerable range.

disparities in crack cocaine cases erupted last year into a series of riots in federal prisons across the country.

But the gap also surfaces in sentences set under the U.S. Sentencing Guidelines. The rules cover most federal crimes and were promoted by Congress and the commission as a finely calibrated system that would use complex regulations and a mathematical formula to flatten out any personal biases that surfaced in sentencing.

Fourth Circuit Judge William W. Wilkins Jr., who oversaw the writing of the sentencing rules as the head of the first U.S. Sentencing Commission, said the relatively low difference between sentences of black and white defendants is encouraging. "I'd say it shows the system is working. I'm not saying that's perfect but once you get disparity within a tolerable range you have to accept some of that," Wilkins said in an interview. But the number is less comforting to Wilkins's successor, Judge Richard P. Conaboy, the commission chairman since 1994. "What does that 2 percent say? I don't know what the right answer to that question is. If we get it down to 2 percent disparity, is that the best we can do? It may be that there are going to continue to be some disparities," Conaboy said in a recent interview.

More troubled by the numbers was Wayne Budd, the commission's only African American member, who said the agency should be taking a harder look at disparities. "Overall, people of color seem to receive higher

sentences, even when you have an apples compared to apples and oranges to oranges. Whites are given the least restrictive alternatives to prison. There may be logical explanations of this. We don't know why."

For its analysis, The Post used a conservative approach: eliminating cases in which special circumstances drastically skewed prison terms—including defendants who got leniency in exchange for becoming government informants and those involved in crimes covered by the mandatory minimum laws.

That left about 43,000 cases that by the definition of the federal guidelines were similar: where both the white defendant's and black defendant's criminal record and current crime left them facing the same sentencing options. For example, if a defendant faced between 30 months and 37 months under the sentencing rules and he got a sentence within that span, he was included in the analysis.

Even under that purest application of the sentencing rules, however, black defendants wound up getting sentenced to the higher end of the span than whites. That means they received roughly four days more on punishments for the mildest crimes, about a week longer on mid-level crimes and six

weeks more jail time on the most serious crimes.

To Holder, who chairs a recently appointed task force on racial disparity for the Justice Department, the national difference revealed in the Post analysis is troubling. "It's stereotypical and gives me concern because it's yet another example of where black people aren't treated in an equitable way. The

distinction is small, but the important question is why is that there?"

Nationally there was no gap between the sentences given Hispanics and white defendants last year, and a 2 percent gap in 1994.

It's not only racial disparity that surfaces in the sentencing statistics. Women nationally got sentences lighter by about 10

percent each year than similarly situated men, The Post's analysis showed.

Regionally, the gap between men and women in 1994 was smaller with women getting six percent less prison time in the District and 2 percent less in eastern Virginia.

In Maryland, women got sentences that were longer by 2 percent.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1996

HUD Awards Public Housing Funds

\$716 Million Granted for Demolition, Construction and Relocation

By Vernon Loeb

Washington Post Staff Writer

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros yesterday awarded \$716 million in grants to 74 communities nationwide for demolition of substandard public housing, new construction and rental assistance for displaced families.

Two-thirds of grant awards—\$477 million—will go to housing authorities through a program Cisneros said is transforming public housing by encouraging local officials to demolish vacant units and replace them with less dense, mixed-income developments.

The other \$239 million, Cisneros said, will go to fund rental assistance so that 15,000 families displaced by demolition can rent apartments in the private housing market. A total of 22,100 public housing units have been demolished under President Clinton, with 17,000 more slated for demolition with funding awarded yesterday. HUD estimates that 100,000 substandard units will be demolished by 2000.

HUD's emphasis on demolition comes after Cisneros and congressional Republicans crafted legislation last year waiving prior HUD regulations that mandated one-for-one replacement to demolish public housing—a prohibitively expensive requirement that effectively blocked the use of de-

molition as a tool for fighting urban blight.

While Congress recently failed to enact a major revision of the country's public housing laws that would have made this and other temporary regulatory measures permanent, Cisneros said HUD would continue trying to make its regulations as flexible as possible.

Along with an end to one-for-one replacement, Cisneros said, new HUD regulations would continue to provide local housing officials greater latitude in spending capital funds and designing new developments aimed at attracting working families. HUD will also continue encouraging local officials to adopt stricter admissions policies and hire private managers to run public housing.

The grants awarded yesterday, Cisneros said, "will allow us to continue transforming public housing developments from isolated ghettos of poverty, crime and despair into neighborhoods of hope and opportunity."

Chicago, which is working toward turning 35 percent of its developments over to private managers, was awarded \$122 million yesterday, by far the largest grant received by cities nationally. Chicago was followed by Atlanta, \$45.8 million; Pittsburgh, \$45.1 million; Detroit, \$34.2 million; New Orleans, \$32.2 million; Cleveland, \$29.7 million; Baltimore, \$25.8

million; Washington, \$25 million; Charlotte, \$24.5 million; Louisville, \$23 million; and New York, \$21.9 million.

D.C. housing officials said the city's grant consists of three segments: \$16.7 million for 713 rent-subsidy certificates under the so-called Section 8 program, \$6.3 million for 258 Section 8 relocation vouchers and \$2 million for partial demolition at two developments in Southeast Washington, Fort Dupont Addition and Stoddard Terrace.

David I. Gilmore, the District's public housing receiver, said the D.C. Housing Authority has taken full advantage of HUD's new regulatory flexibility in devising redevelopment plans at Fort Dupont and Stoddard.

Fort Dupont will be reconfigured as a mixed-income neighborhood in partnership with current residents and a private housing developer still to be selected, he said. Stoddard will be renovated with federal subsidies, he said, after families remaining there are relocated to private apartments through the use of Section 8 vouchers.

Cisneros said HUD will award another \$550 million in grants in May. The funds were approved by Congress last month. Last week, HUD awarded \$259 million in grants to 650 communities as part of separate program to fight crime, drugs and gangs in public housing.

How the Court Files Were Analyzed

*By William Casey

Washington Post Staff Writer

The Washington Post's analysis of federal sentencing guidelines used computer tapes to go beyond statistics compiled annually by the U.S. Sentencing Commission. Tapes were provided by the commission and the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, a research clearinghouse associated with the University of Michigan.

The files included detailed information on cases sentenced in fiscal years 1990, 1994 and 1995. Most figures used in The Post's analyses were developed using 1994 and 1995 files, which contained about 79,000 cases.

One important indicator of how the sentencing system is functioning is the agreement rate between the pre-sentence report prepared by a probation officer and the final sentence. For its comparison, The Post used the high and low end of each sentence as proposed to the court by the probation officer, then compared it to the final sentence. If the probation officer recommended sentencing between 46 months to 57 months and the final sentence was 24 months, that case was recorded as a disagreement.

The Post also examined sentencing disparities by

race, gender and ethnic background. The Post used a conservative approach, eliminating any case involving judicial departures or mandatory minimum sentences. The remaining cases, sentenced by the commission's own rules, should have been handled identically.

The federal system is built on a grid made up of 258 boxes or cells, each setting a range of possible prison time for a crime. A defendant's criminal record and the facets of his current case position him in one of those boxes.

Using this grid, a defendant positioned at level 22 for his crime, with an extensive criminal record that puts him in criminal history category 4, should face between 63 and 78 months of prison time. In this instance, a 72-month sentence corresponds to a point within the range that is 60 percent of the cell's width of 15 (78 minus 63). A similar defendant given a 66-month sentence would still be in the same box, but his shorter sentence falls at 20 percent of the cell's width.

This approach allowed disparity figures to be calculated and compared for the whole grid and for groups of defendants by race, ethnicity or sex, even though sentencing ranges differ from box to box.

William Casey is director of computer-assisted reporting.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 9, 1996



Photo Box

810 HARBOR INN Terrace
Coral Springs, FL 33071
954-796-2583

My dear Maggie,

God is so faithful,
I always wanted to meet
and uphold you and God
gave me that opportunity.

It was a pleasure
meeting you and I
thought you might like
this picture, so, I have
enclosed it for you.

Remember, Greater is He
who is in you and he that
is in the world.

God loves and so do I.
You are always in my
heart and prayers.

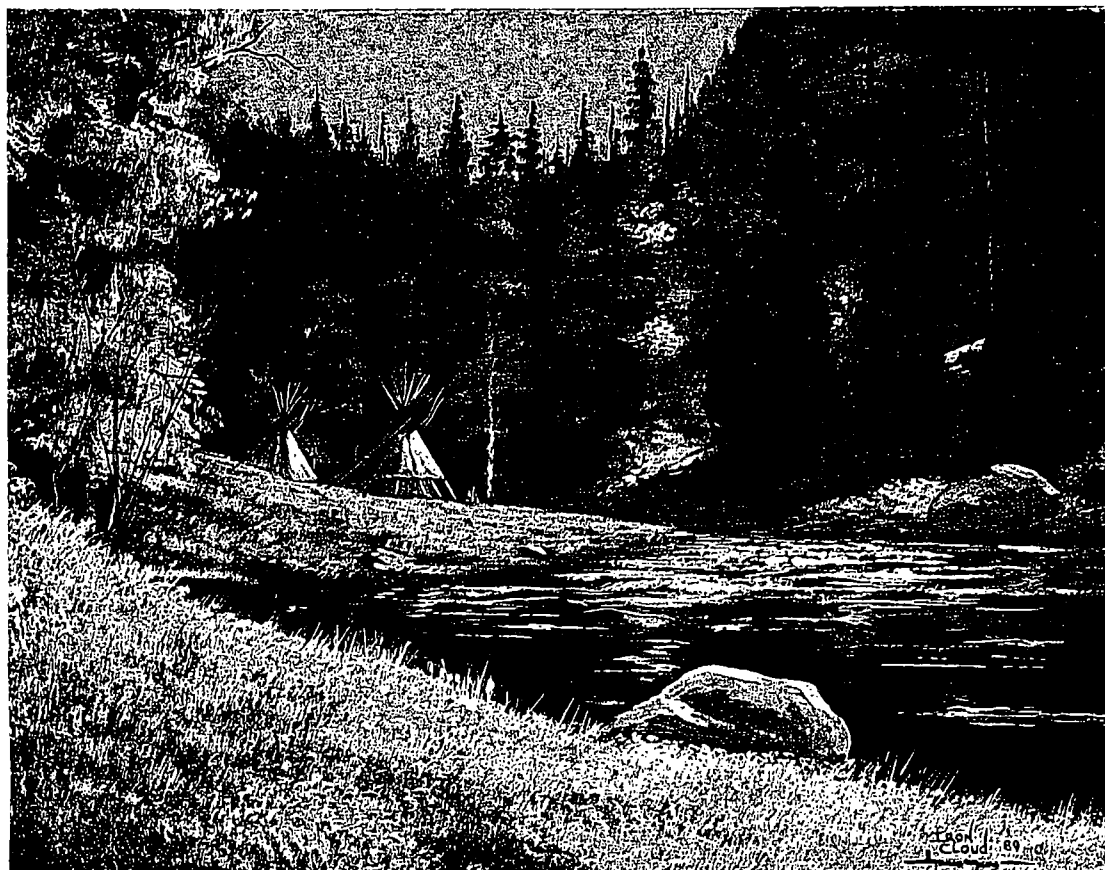
Sincerely,
Joann

Personal
File

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

All that the Lakota needed for living was provided by nature. Over centuries, a simple, economic and environmentally sensitive life-style developed. Within a short time, they had all the comforts of home on the hunting trail: a tipi, running water, wood, grass for horses, and plenty of fish, wildlife, fruit and roots of the land.

*Summer Camp
Del Iron Cloud*





Jasmin Barnaby
810 Harbor Inn Ter
Coral Springs, FL
33071



Ms. Maggie Williams
Office of The First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20050

September 12, 1996

Dear Ms. Williams:

I have always thought of Bob Woodward as a real "jerk" who probably sends his mother a congratulations card on his birthday.

I was really livid when he appeared on Larry King and other talk shows with his snide remarks about Mrs. Clinton and Eleanor Roosevelt.

Obviously, he never read Royal Feud by Michale Thornton. On page 285, paragraph three, Mr. Thornton tells how Queen Eliza beth (now the Queen Mother) used a spiritualist medium to contact her husband, the dead King.

I doubt if even Mr. Woodward would have had the audacity to make the same comments against the Queen Mother that he made about Mrs. Clinton.....

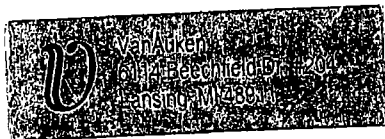
As a senior, I can't wait until October to vote absentee for the reelection of President Clinton and Vice President Gore.

Very truly yours

B. Van Auken

Mrs. B. Van Auken

Enc.



HRC -
Thought you might
find this amusing
I've already
responded
Maggie

File
Personal

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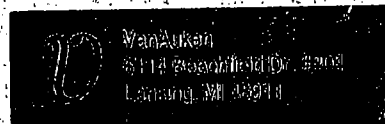
Very truly yours

B. Van Auker

Mrs. B. Van Auker

Enc.

*File
Personal*



*Return
to Maggie*

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION



FOR THIRTY YEARS, ELIZABETH, ENGLAND'S BELOVED QUEEN MOTHER, REFUSED TO MEET HER SISTER-IN-LAW WALLIS SIMPSON, THE TWICE-DIVORCED AMERICAN WOMAN WHO CAPTURED KING EDWARD VIII'S HEART AND COST HIM THE THRONE. HERE, FINALLY, IS THE TRUE, BEHIND-THE-SCENES STORY OF THE MODERN-DAY WAR OF THE ROSES.

MICHAEL THORNTON

Ballantine/Biography/33682/\$4.95



Nov. 1986

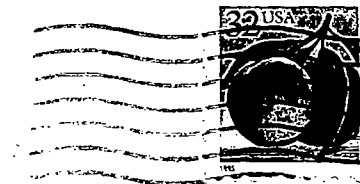
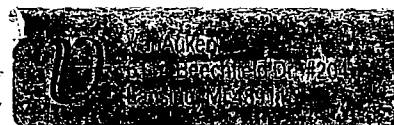
by herself, Princess Margaret and the other royal ladies—was not merely unwelcome but out of the question.²¹ This would mean relegating Wallis to the back row of the seats occupied by the twenty-seven non-royal duchesses, among whom she technically ranked last of all. Since this, or the Duke's attendance without her, would be an obvious source of criticism, it was decided to invite neither of them, on the grounds that the Duke, as a former sovereign, albeit an uncrowned one, could not properly attend and witness the coronation of one of his successors on the throne. It was a specious argument, for there was no existing precedent concerning an abdicated uncrowned monarch, and the Windsors were bound to view the decision as the latest in a long line of petty humiliations.

The widowed Queen finally left Buckingham Palace and moved into Clarence House on May 18, only fifteen days before the Coronation. Some of the higher-up Palace officials 'couldn't think why the Queen Mother stayed on here so long—not that she will relish the move to Clarence House for there won't be the number of servants there that she's accustomed to'.²²

Once installed in her new home, only a few hundred yards from the Palace, Elizabeth sent for a spiritualist medium, Lilian Bailey, who conducted a seance for her in an attempt to communicate with the dead King. It was apparently successful, for afterwards, in a gesture of gratitude, the Queen Mother 'unpinned her brooch and fastened it to Miss Bailey's lapel'.²³ As far as it is known, this was the Queen Mother's only recourse to spiritualism, and, in view of her lifelong adherence to orthodox Christianity, it seems that some particular dilemma must have impelled her.²⁴

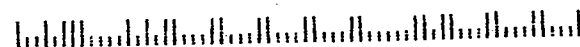
Opinion at the new court was not unanimously in favour of continuing the ostracism of the Windsors. Both Queen Mary's sister-in-law and her niece, Princess Alice, Countess of Athlone and the Duchess of Beaufort, had strongly urged reconciliation. The Queen Mother, responding to the pressures around her, may have wondered at this point, with Queen Mary no longer on the scene, if she was justified in maintaining an unrelenting attitude towards her brother-in-law and his wife. If the spirit of George VI expressed any views on this dilemma, they must have been adverse, for another fourteen years were to pass before the Duchess of Windsor would meet his widow.

On June 2, the Queen Mother received an affectionate and moving reception from the London crowds as she drove in her



Ms. Maggie Williams
Executive Asst to Mrs. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

01



*File
Personal*



Mount Vernon College

Office of the President

September 26, 1996

Ms. Margaret A. Williams
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
and Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20503

Dear Ms. Williams:

Thank you so very much for your remarks on September 17th when the Women's College Coalition and Mount Vernon College came to participate "At the Table" in what was a most memorable occasion. The evening before, Secretary Shalala and Congresswomen Woolsey and Slaughter came to our campus and spoke to the President, Presidents of Student Government Associations and Mount Vernon students about policy considerations that effect the lives of women. None of us are likely to forget this remarkable occasion which you made even more special. All of us will treasure this memory for a very long time.

With gratitude and best regards.

Yours sincerely,

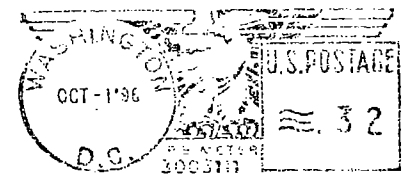
LucyAnn Geiselman
President

LAG/ct



Mount Vernon College

Office of The President
2100 Foxhall Road, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20007



Ms. Margaret A. Williams
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
and Assistant to the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20503

Personal
File -
The Press

November surprise

We're not sure what to make of Hillary Rodham Clinton's eyebrow-raising remarks at this year's Democratic National Committee fund-raiser, but it's almost worth voting for President Clinton in November to find out what she and Vice President Al Gore have in store for their country.

"I'm here to tell you that in the second term, Al and I are breaking out and we are not going to let Bill Clinton and Tipper Gore have all the fun," said a laughing Mrs. Clinton, having already pointed out to the crowd that her husband and Mrs. Gore were actually a team, and that they share not only the "same approaches in life," but also the same birthday.

"But I'm not going to go any further. I don't want to spoil the surprise," the first lady teased Democrats at the gala at the Washington Convention Center.

"But among the many reasons why you should vote for and work for and contribute to Bill Clinton and Al Gore is to see what happens after the election, when Al and I feel totally at ease to be our real selves," she said.

Republicans have been having fun with the video of late, not sure whether the first lady's joke was on her Democratic audience or on them.

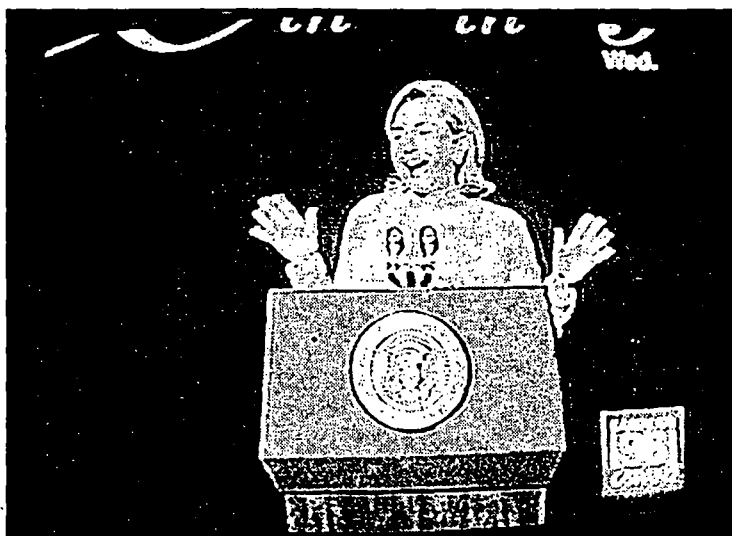
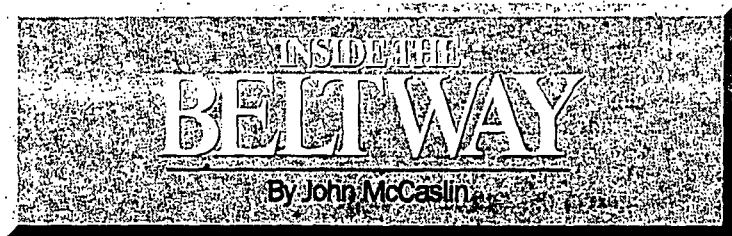
Remember Woody

Woody Jenkins couldn't have come to town at a better time.

As some polls after Sunday night's presidential debate incredibly put Bob Dole even further behind Bill Clinton, the Republican state representative from Louisiana was here as living proof that pollsters aren't always fortunetellers.

Mr. Jenkins came from behind in the polls to take first place in the recent runoff for the Senate seat vacated by J. Bennett Johnston. One poll said he'd get 8 percent of the vote, but he actually won the state's open primary with 26 percent.

Last night in Old Town Alexandria, Mr. Jenkins, whose statewide victory is being held aloft for Mr. Dole's naysayers, was on the receiving end of a



A video of Hillary Rodham Clinton talking about the fun she and Al Gore plan to have in a second term has viewers amused, and a little puzzled.

fund-raiser thrown by the American Conservative Union, of which he is a board member.

"I think Woody's victory and his eventual win in November will prove that conservatives should not be faint of heart about their convictions," said Craig Shirley, a fellow ACU board member and GOP political strategist.

Mr. Jenkins faces Democrat Mary Landrieu, a former state treasurer who got 22 percent of the vote in the runoff.

Finally, a beard

Supreme Court Justice Antonin Scalia, the scourge of courtroom advocates who argue a liberal interpretation of the Constitution, found a pre-World War I model for his game-day face.

He showed up on the bench yesterday wearing a full beard, the first sitting justice to do so since Charles Evans Hughes, who retired from the court in

1916, although he returned in 1930 for an 11-year turn as chief justice.

While his head of hair is thinning a bit in front, Justice Scalia's salt-and-pepper beard and mustache, grown during summer recess, offers heavy cover, from earlobe to earlobe and across the upper lip.

President Reagan, who nominated Justice Scalia, twice tried to appoint beards directly to the court, but Judge Robert H. Bork and Douglas H. Ginsburg fell afoul of confirmation battles.

Bureaucrats for Bill

The American Federation of Government Employees, AFL-CIO, contends it "is and has always been a nonpartisan organization," yet the union is urging federal workers to "remember our friends in November."

"Following closely on the heels of two government lockouts, gov-

ernment employees have seen what happens when a hostile Congress calls the shots," AFGE states in the October issue of its publication *Government Standard*. "And since Congress shut down America, government employees have promised to remember in November."

Without endorsing any candidate, the union is running an ad on the back page of the same publication offering for \$7 each union-made Clinton-Gore campaign buttons, personalized with the government employee's name.

"This ad not to be posted on federal property," the union wrote under the ad. "Please do not wear these buttons at your worksite."

Whoops!

"How's this for congressional relations!" says the office of Sen. John Ashcroft, Missouri Republican and accidental recipient of six pages of the Democratic Party's political strategy, sent to him by the White House, no less.

The topic dealt with how to gain politically from so-called Republican attacks on everything from Head Start and AmeriCorps to the Summer Jobs program.

A more hollow hill

Capitol Hill is a much quieter place now that the 104th Congress has adjourned and senators and congressmen returned home.

Thirteen senators announced their retirement, joining Bob Dole and Bob Packwood, who resigned for very different reasons. Among them was the jovial Howell Heflin, a retired country judge and Democrat who couldn't wait to get back to Alabama.

Proof of that came during 1996 farm-bill negotiations by the Senate Agriculture Committee.

"Committee Democrats were present," recalls Sen. Kent Conrad, North Dakota Democrat, "waiting for our Republican counterparts to finish their caucus and enter the room. Suddenly, above the din of the members, staff and lobbyists came a bellowing call, 'Sound the pachyderm horns!'"

"The judge had made it known he wasn't interested in waiting for the Republicans any longer. They promptly returned."

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1996

Rue the day

"Of all the labor groups involved in this year's campaign, none is more active than federal workers," the Wall Street Journal reports.

"When Congress twice shut down the government last winter, hundreds of thousands of angry workers suddenly found themselves temporarily unemployed, and many blamed the Republicans," reporter Glenn Burkins says.

Leaders of the American Federation of Government Employees "are desperate to stoke that anger, as is evident in the union's election-year slogan, 'We'll Remember in November.' That's also the title of a 19-minute video the AFGE has produced."

Rep. John L. Mica, chairman of a House subcommittee on civil service, is one Republican being targeted by the union. An AFGE official complained that Mr. Mica "has taken shots at us at every opportunity."

However, Mr. Mica, whose Florida district is heavily Republican and has few union workers, does not sound worried.

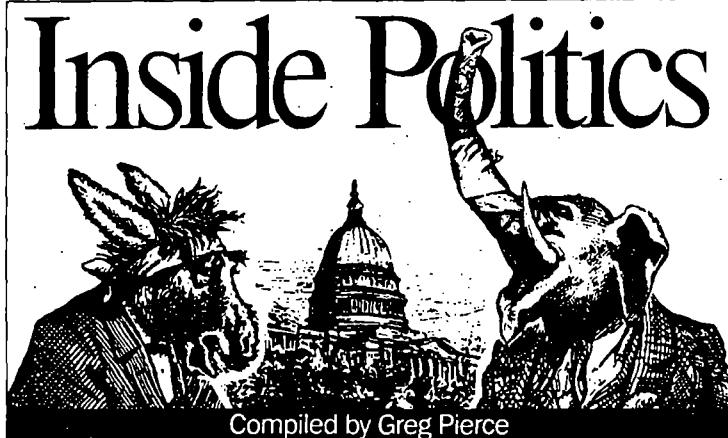
"Let them come on," Mr. Mica said. "Not only will we cream them there, but they will rue the day they ever crossed me."

Harsh light

Democratic Rep. Robert Torricelli, in the midst of a hot race for a Senate seat from New Jersey, is under fire for questionable actions back in 1984.

The Bergen County Record reported last week that Mr. Torricelli not only took care of the daughter of a fugitive sought for swindling banks out of \$34 million, but also arranged for the fugitive, Korean-American businessman and Democratic Party contributor Harvard Jee, to sign legal papers at a U.S. Embassy — and never notified authorities.

"When Record Staff Writers Michale Moore and Thomas Fitzgerald interviewed Mr. Torricelli for the story, the congressman



Compiled by Greg Pierce

wanted to know why the Jee matter, now a decade old, was a legitimate issue in this Senate campaign," the newspaper said in an editorial yesterday.

"The answer is that the situation casts a harsh light on Mr. Torricelli's judgment," the Record said.

Coming home

Raymond Flynn, U.S. ambassador to the Vatican, does not expect to continue in that role should President Clinton win a second term.

"No, I don't think so," Mr. Flynn told Reuters news agency when asked if he would stay in the diplomatic post. "Rome is eternal, but Boston is home."

The former Boston mayor, who was back in Boston to attend a dinner honoring Ireland's President Mary Robinson Sunday night, said his wife has stayed home while he has been abroad.

Bullet Poll

A Bullet Poll taken over the weekend but before the presidential debate showed Bob Dole trailing by only 6 percentage points — a 10-point gain within a week.

Mr. Clinton had 46 percent to Mr. Dole's 40 percent, according to the survey. Ross Perot had 11 percent.

Absent voters

Voter-turnout rates in the nation's big cities and suburbs have declined significantly since 1960, researchers say.

A study conducted by scholars at the University of Illinois suggests Democrats cannot focus solely on mobilizing urban voters, while Republicans need to figure out why voters in the suburbs are staying home, United Press International reports.

"It would be costly to [Republicans] to lose the 'bonus' that their suburban constituents have provided them since 1924," researchers said in the study, published in "PS: Political Science & Politics."

Nationwide, turnout in presidential elections declined to 51 percent in 1988, a 20 percent drop since 1960, researchers found when they examined voting patterns for all counties and most large cities.

"Almost all of the deterioration in turnout rates since 1960 occurred in major metropolitan areas or after 18-year-olds were given the vote in 1970," said Peter Nardulli, head of the university's political science department.

Rural areas and smaller metropolitan areas have had higher turnout rates than larger cities throughout most of American political history.

But, when compared with

other geographical locales, turnout rates in major cities have plummeted since the end of World War II, seriously eroding big-city clout in presidential elections, the study found.

Suburban areas, which have registered the highest turnout rates for most of the 20th century, also have experienced a relative decline during the past 50 years, and a significant drop-off after 1980.

Gift to politics

Thomas C. Sorensen is dying of cancer, but he hopes to leave a legacy for those interested in politics.

Mr. Sorensen, son of a crusading attorney general of Nebraska and the brother of President John F. Kennedy's special counsel, has pledged \$500,000 to the Virginia Institute of Political Leadership in Charlottesville. The institute is expected to be named for Mr. Sorensen.

"I've pledged the money as soon as I kick the bucket," Mr. Sorensen told the Richmond Times-Dispatch. "I'm very, very proud to have my name associated with it. I just wish I could give more."

Mr. Sorensen joined the U.S. Information Agency in 1951. He served in Beirut, Baghdad, Cairo and Israel. Eventually, he became the agency's deputy director.

He became Robert Kennedy's assistant campaign manager during Mr. Kennedy's bid for president in 1968. After Mr. Kennedy's assassination, he worked for Alan Cranston's successful campaign for the U.S. Senate in California.

He also managed his brother Ted's losing 1969 campaign in New York for the Senate before jumping into the world of investment firms, where his Middle East expertise served him well.

Mr. Sorensen has a rare cancer that affects only about 100 people a year. He was told in January there is no cure.

"I could do without the honor," he said. "I'd as soon as have the flu."

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1996

POLITICS

Personal File

North Carolina Democrats Seek Helms Ethics Probe

The North Carolina Democratic Party yesterday filed a complaint with the Senate ethics committee seeking a probe into published allegations that Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) and his wife officially understated their real estate holdings, including several rental properties that had no heat for years.

Helms has said any reporting failures were inadvertent. But Lisbeth C. Evans of the state Democratic Party, said in a letter to the ethics panel, "The failure to disclose may have been a deliberate attempt to hide the fact that the senator is a millionaire slumlord."

The News & Observer of Raleigh, citing tax records, reported Wednesday that Helms and his wife, Dorothy, own 15 rental properties with an assessed tax value of just over \$1 million, six more than they reported as being owned by Dorothy Helms in official disclosure forms. Twelve were listed as belonging to her, two owned jointly and one owned by the senator.

County tax records show six of the dwellings, including a jointly owned one, have no heat, according to the Associated Press. Helms spokesman Jimmy Broughton said the tax records are outdated and all the houses now have heat. But at least one tenant said he bought kerosene heaters to stay warm in winter. Another tenant said his back yard has been the scene of drug deals.

Helms, who is seeking a fifth term, said he plans to file an amended report and sought to play down the controversy. He said he knows little about his wife's property holdings. Harvey Gantt, Helms's Democratic opponent, declined

to comment, saying it was an issue best left to Helms and the ethics committee.

Democrats contend that Helms, a former member of the ethics panel, has underreported his holdings for 12 years, even after the committee asked him for more information about them in 1990.

Morphing and Bashing in Madison

■ Madison, Wis., has always been a place where they do things differently, and now that is even true of morphing and Newt-bashing. Talk about bailing out on the revolution.

In the rest of the country, the generic political television spot goes like this: The Democratic candidate puts the face of the GOP opponent on the screen and slowly morphs, or transforms, that face into the mug of Newt Gingrich while an announcer gravely intones that a vote for the Republican is a vote for the unpopular House speaker.

Not so in Wisconsin's progressive 2nd Congressional District, centered in Madison, where Scott Klug, a moderate Republican, is running for reelection against Paul Soglin, mayor of Madison. Even before Soglin could morph Klug and Gingrich, Klug went on the air and did it himself.

In the ad viewers see a picture of Gingrich's face with Klug's lips and his voice uttering, "You've heard a lot of talk lately about how Scott Klug and Newt Gingrich are the same person." Then, as Klug boasts he was rated the "ninth most independent" Republican in the House, a newspaper collage appears on screen with headlines delineating his votes against the Gingrich revolution on various cuts in education and the environment. Gingrich's face appears again and, as the speaker's face morphs into

Klug's, the candidate concludes, "The next time someone tells you Scott Klug is Newt Gingrich, tell them they've got the wrong picture."

How does Gingrich feel about one of his troops so blatantly separating himself from the Gingrich agenda? "Scott and Newt discussed it beforehand," said Don Meyer, spokesman for the Klug campaign. "Newt said, 'Scott, we need you back here next year, you are in a traditionally Democratic district—you do what it takes to get back here.'"

Ohio's Flying Governor Shot Down

■ Ohio Gov. George V. Voinovich (R) has paid a \$1,500 fine to the federal government for ordering his state plane to take off without permission. He will also have \$3,500 in legal fees.

The incident occurred nearly a year ago at the Ohio State University airport about an hour after President Clinton had landed at the main Columbus airport several miles away. The FAA had told the governor, who had turned down an invitation to greet Clinton and was headed to tour a steel mill, he could not take off because air traffic was restricted during Clinton's visit.

Published reports said Voinovich grabbed a microphone and told the tower it could shoot the plane down if it did not like his take-off order.

Voinovich in a letter to the Federal Aviation Administration released by his office said, "I should have exercised more restraint, not lost my temper and remained at the airport until this confusing situation was cleared up." He said he believed the problem was due to a "series of mistakes" by the FAA and the Secret Service, but decided not to appeal because of the costs and time involved.

—Helen Dewar and David Maraniss

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1996

L.A. Plan Allowing Drug Users In HUD Housing Raises GOP Ire

By John Schwartz and Judith Evans

Washington Post Staff Writers

Congressional Republicans are attacking a pilot program in Los Angeles that will provide federally funded housing for people with AIDS, but will not eject people for using illegal drugs, even if they do so within the facility itself.

Such a program, they argue, appears to conflict with long-stated Department of Housing and Urban Development policies requiring expulsion for any drug use in public or assisted housing.

"Any federal program that condones illegal drug use is ill-conceived and must be changed," House Majority Leader Richard K. Armey (R-Tex.) said in a statement. "It is never compassionate to condone illegal drug use, especially with taxpayer dollars."

The criticism of the program comes as conservatives have been attempting to portray the Clinton administration as being soft on drugs and unable to produce an effective policy for combating what appears to be increasing drug use nationwide, particularly among teenagers.

While HUD generally operates under a "zero-tolerance" policy that allows tenants to be evicted for substance abuse, the program under which the Los Angeles complex operates gives cities great flexibility in creating and administering policies. The program is one of hundreds funded by a special \$171 million HUD initiative to provide federal housing and treatment for people with AIDS. The new Los Angeles program would serve people with AIDS and other problems such as drug abuse or mental illness.

A February 1996 "Request For Proposals" published by Los Angeles called for any organizations wanting to run the program to provide "Policies and procedures for drug and/or alcohol use on-site and off-site, including steps for dealing with relapsing clients to ensure their ability to remain in the program."

At least one organization that applied for the grant money, the Salvation Army, was rejected because it would not accept the provision concerning on-site drug use. "The Salvation Army felt we couldn't condone use on-site. So we didn't put that in our proposal," said Anne Calvo, executive director of the Salvation Army's Los Angeles residential care facilities for families with AIDS. The \$2.8 million grant eventually was awarded to Friends Medical Research, Inc., which plans to open the facility next spring.

Ferd Eggan, Los Angeles city AIDS coordinator, said the program was not a "glorified crack house," but was conceived as a compassionate way to deal with the complexities of AIDS sufferers who also abuse drugs. Far from condoning drug use, Eggan said, the program would provide drug treatment, intensive therapy and other services to encourage people who had relapsed to reform. Multiple offenders, however, would be referred to other substance abuse centers.

"We really were, for the sake of humanity, going to find people a place to live" who had no other options, Eggan said. "L.A. needed to create a program that took as its premise that substance

abuse is a long-term, chronic relapsing condition—and putting people out on the streets was inhumane and bad public health policy."

"No one condones active drug use," said Wendy Greuel, HUD's representative in Southern California. "However, effective drug treatment programs provide a therapeutic response to persons who may relapse and respond in a way that also protects the public safety."

Allowing substance abusers to remain in housing is an increasingly popular, but controversial, concept known as "harm reduction" and goes against the grain of more traditional therapies that would require a person to kick their habit first and then deal with other issues such as lack of housing, or poor health.

Besides Armey, Rep. Tom Coburn (R-Okla.) also sent a letter to HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros complaining about the Los Angeles program, which has also drawn fire from some members of the AIDS prevention and treatment community.

"This program is wrong and outrageous," said Shepherd Smith, president of Herndon-based Americans for a Sound AIDS/HIV Policy. "It is nevertheless a logical outcome of a permissive thought process concerning substance abuse . . . drug acceptance in this issue is widespread throughout this administration."

HUD officials argued that the policy does not contradict the Clinton administration's support for "zero-tolerance" federal laws that allow local public housing authorities to evict tenants who are accused of a single crime, including drug sales. Earlier this year, Cisneros unveiled a HUD policy that would use a housing authority's record in evicting criminals from public housing in evaluating their performance for funding under certain programs.

Although the "one-strike-and-you're-out" policy has been allowed since 1988, many local public housing authorities have been lax in implementing the approach, HUD officials said.

However, the housing programs for people with AIDS would "not fall under those rules," and the programs are considered more akin to treatment programs than traditional housing programs, a HUD spokesman said.

"The congressman has it wrong," said HUD spokesman Alex Sachs, referring to Armey's criticism. "Zero tolerance for on-site drug abuse is HUD's policy. If Los Angeles or any city funds a program that allows on-site, illegal drug use, it is in direct conflict with HUD's zero-tolerance policy."

"Given HUD's clear stand against drug abuse," Sachs said, "is the congressman suggesting that we go one step further and bar all drug abusers from drug treatment programs?"

L.A. AIDS coordinator Eggan said that the program is special to him because he has AIDS and took drugs in the past. "People have forgiven me, and made space for me to make contributions in the world," he said. "The same should be offered to other people."

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 11, 1996

Personal

National Council of Negro Women, Inc.

Get It Done!





Opening Ceremony

633 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW

Washington, D.C.

~~October~~ 10, 1996

Opening Remarks	<i>Cicely Tyson</i>
Presentation of the Colors	<i>Dunbar Senior High School ROTC Color Guard</i>
Invocation	<i>Dr. Vashti M. McKenzie Pastor, Payne Memorial AME Church</i>
Musical Selection	<i>Howard University Choir Dr. J. Weldon Norris, Director</i>
Greetings	<i>Introduction by Renee Poussaint Mrs. Cora Masters Barry</i>
Greetings	<i>Key to the City Honorable Marion Barry, Mayor District of Columbia</i>
The Occasion	<i>Dorothy I. Height President & Chief Executive Officer National Council of Negro Women, Inc.</i>
Greetings	<i>First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton</i>
Greetings	<i>Camille Cosby</i>
Greetings	<i>Susan Taylor Editor-In-Chief, Essence Magazine</i>
Reading	<i>Dr. Maya Angelou Chair, Fund for the Future Campaign</i>
Musical Selection	<i>Introduction by Renee Poussaint Howard University Choir</i>

File Personal

The sweltering afternoon was bittersweet for Hillary Rodham Clinton. Her husband was signing health-care legislation in a grand South Lawn ceremony, but it was a pale shadow of the sweeping plan she championed two years before. And she was not on the dais with the President and the congressional sponsors of the new law. Instead, the woman who wanted to be the architect of dramatic change in America was simply a guest, politely applauding.

Then the President turned to his wife in the front row.

"I believe, Hillary, that this justifies all those days on the road and all those nights you stayed up reading the incomprehensibly complex issues of health care. Thank you."

And the audience, which included some who lobbied mightily to kill her complex plan, gave her a standing ovation.

For Hillary Clinton, it was an unfamiliar role, sitting on the sidelines. For most of her life, she has received those standing ovations from behind the microphone, at the center of the action.

That's how Americans have come to know her during these last four years: giving a speech, talking to Congress, answering questions at a news conference or a high-profile interview. She offers various glimpses of herself: wife, mother, lawyer, professor, political activist, skilled campaigner. But in truth, Hillary Clinton, one of the most prominent and powerful people in America, is to many people little more than a caricature: Super Woman or Princess of Darkness.

The real Hillary, her friends say, is a complex blend of what you see and what you don't. Ambitious. Funny. Analytical. Intense. Warm. And, at her core, impelled by her deep Methodist roots to try to improve the world.

In a recent interview, sitting in a gilded armchair in the sunny Yellow Oval Room of the White House, Clinton acknowledged she finds it difficult to give a public glimpse of the private person.

"Coming into this position as someone who has always been intent about combining both my professional and public interests with my family responsibilities, I really did represent something different than has been in this role before," she said. "I believe a lot of people just didn't know what to think."

But she says she has learned to accept much of the criticism as reflected animosity.

"I had no idea that I would be such a target for my husband's opponents, because I really do think that's the primary driving force. A friend of mine who's a great hunter said, 'You've got to accept the fact that you're the decoy. He's the duck. . . .'"

Sometimes, the first lady dons a hat and dark sunglasses and simply walks outside the insular White House compound for a bit of freedom — even if a couple of Secret Service agents tag along. (Once, some tourists told her: "You look like Hillary Clinton." Her response: "So I've been told.")

Her walks are a way to escape, if briefly, the unreal life in the media bubble. Her friends say that in Arkansas, people saw her in familiar, ordinary settings such as taking Chelsea to school or strolling through a shopping mall. And those humdrum rituals were a reality check for her.

But in the White House, every move is scrutinized, magnified and usually criticized. Those who know her best say Clinton has grown more circumspect and cautious during her tumultuous years in the White House.

"The thing that bothers me," she acknowledges, "is that it is kind of like being in a constant state of readiness because you never know who is going to say something or make up something, and you are just poised to have to take it because the thing I have learned is I can't respond to it."

"But then you wonder, well, gee, you know, that's hard because that's not natural either, because when I think about most people I know, if someone comes up and insults you or your husband or says something that is untrue, you naturally say, 'Wait a minute.'"

Judy Osgood, who has known Clinton since high school, says her friend is caught in the first lady bind. The public wants to stick an easy label on its first ladies — Shrew or Sweetheart. "If she is too perfect, then they criticize the first lady for not being real," said Osgood. "We have impossible expectations. If her guard were down and she was what we think of as more herself, people would be all over her, saying she wasn't acting like a first lady."

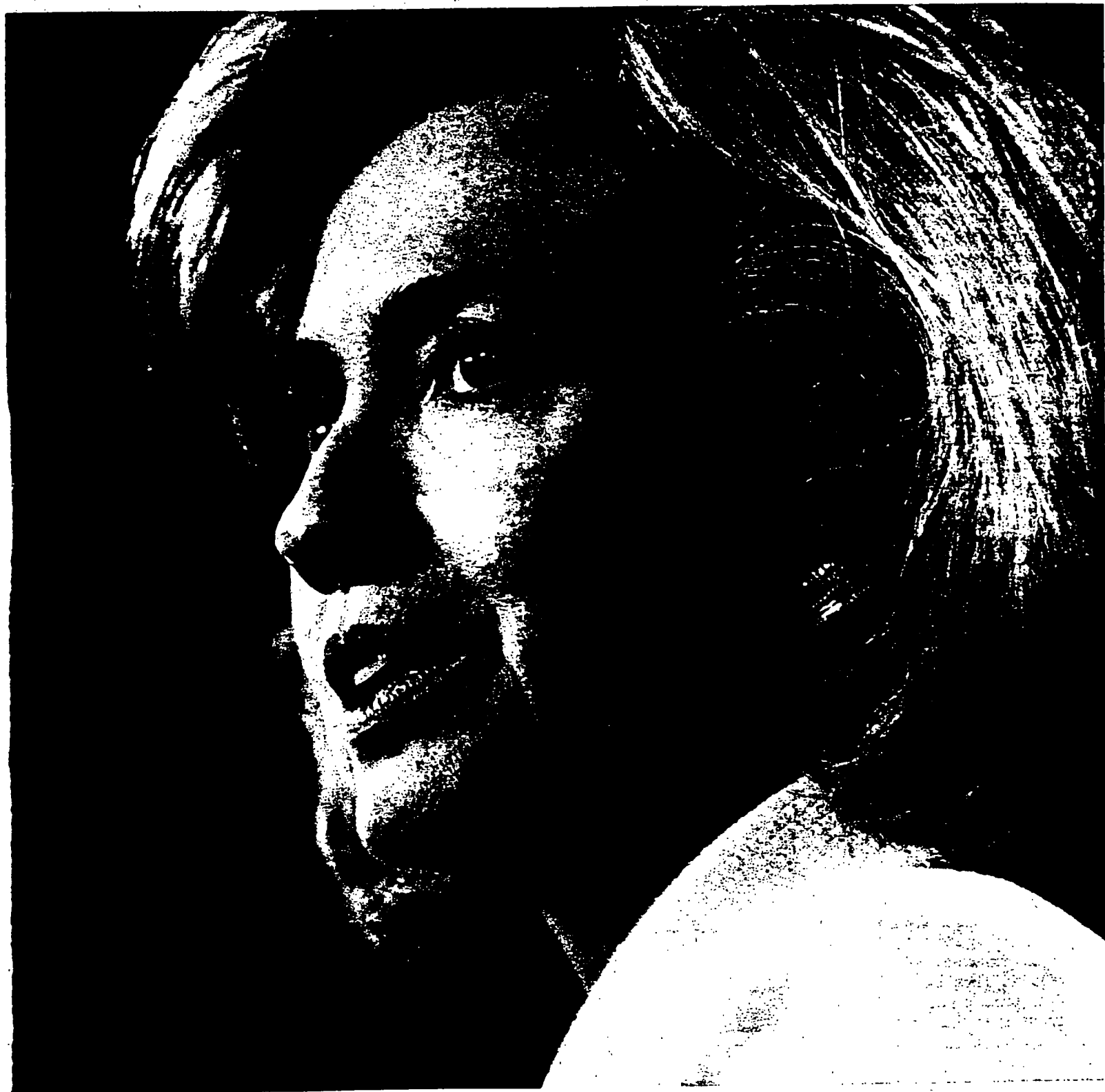
Diane Blair, a close friend who teaches political science at the University of Arkansas, says that in the last four years, she hasn't seen in public the person she has known for 20 years. "When I see her on TV, I see always a very serious person, whereas the Hillary I know has a wacky sense of humor and is laughing constantly," Blair said. "Now, she is a figure on a stage at a podium, and she is carefully tailored and under a spotlight. What I am seeing is strictly, understandably the public figure."

The public Hillary — smooth, articulate, controlled — is the Ivy League attorney who twice was named by the National Law Journal as among the nation's 100

continued on Page 12

ANGIE CANNON is a reporter in The Inquirer's Washington bureau.

e private side of the public woman



INQUIRER

Clinton

continued from Page 10

best lawyers. She's the one who led the Clinton administration's fight for national health insurance, the one who went to Capitol Hill to testify, who sat alone at the witness table, spoke without notes, and smoothly stroked the enormous congressional egos. She's also the one who steadfastly led the plan to defeat, working in secret with the task force drafting her plan, producing a confusing, politically unsellable, 1,342-page proposal that contributed to the Democrats' fall from power in the 1994 elections.

The public Hillary is the one who has been a trusted and prominent presidential adviser, and the one who has been at the center of some of the administration's biggest embarrassments: the health-care debacle, the Whitewater controversy, the White House travel office firings, the disclosure of the high-stakes commodities trading that parlayed her \$1,000 into \$100,000.

She is hardly the first presidential wife to be an influential presidential adviser or to be criticized for it. Abigail Adams was called "Mrs. President." Edith Wilson ran a "petticoat government" after her husband's stroke. Rosalynn Carter was lambasted for sitting in on some of her husband's meetings. One newspaper declared that Nancy Reagan had broadened the role to an "associate presidency."

"Every woman whom I have read about who has lived here in the past has been faced with the same dilemmas, has engendered both probably more praise and criticism than she deserved," Clinton said in her recent interview.

But her own public style, particularly her response to crisis and criticism, has a lot to do with how people view her.

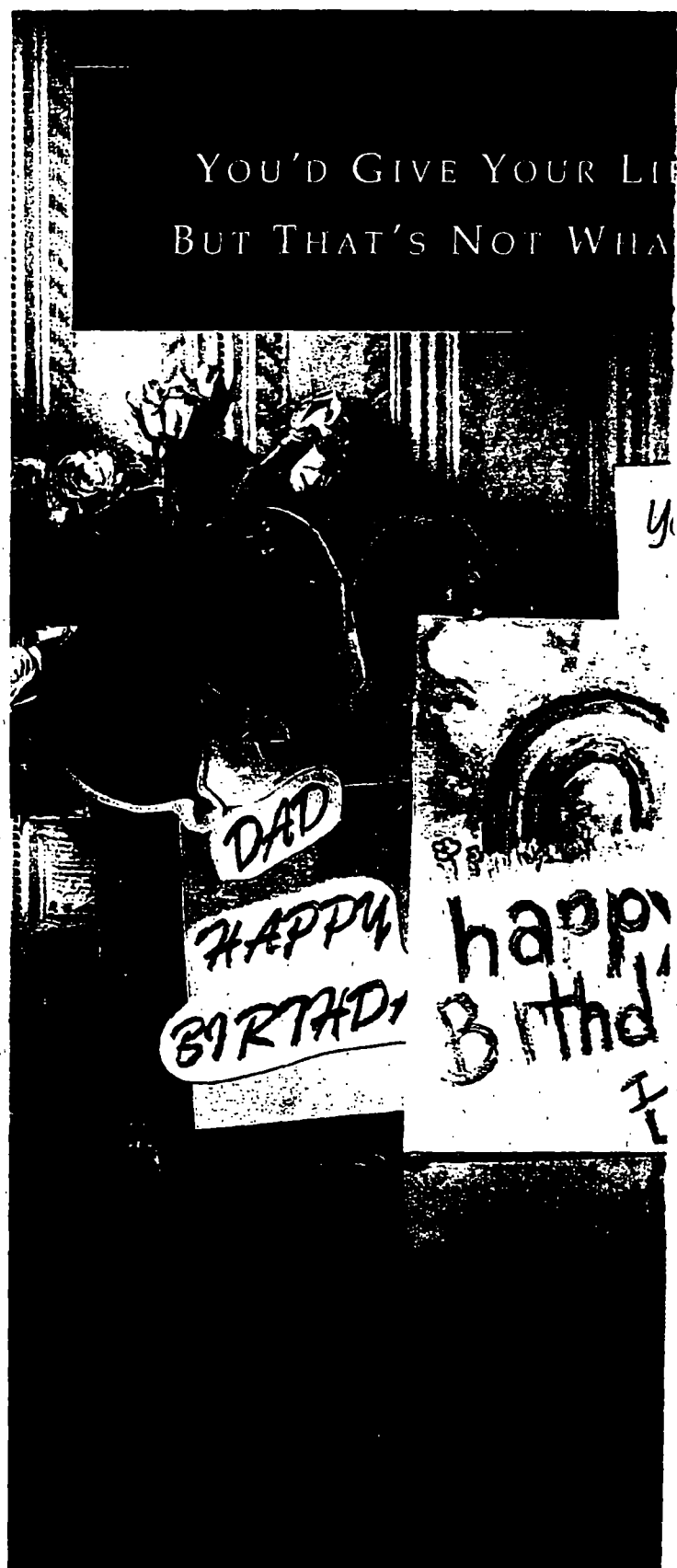
"There is the lawyering side to her, which has been really what I would ascribe a lot of her problems to," said a former White House official who asked not to be identified by name. "It is a tendency to kind of litigate everything. . . ."

"There is a difference between people who litigate and [people who] schmooze around Washington and compromise."

So who is the off-stage, off-mike Hillary Clinton?

She has a keen sense of humor and a raucous laugh. Those closest to her say she is a warm, caring, smart woman, committed to her family, friends, and social justice. She is, they say, a pragmatic achiever, but one driven by more than self.

"I think you have to be motivated by



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before and during treatment.
 Be sure to tell your doctor right
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 pain or weakness, as it may be
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altruism to endure what she has," said former Rep. Jim Cooper, a Tennessee Democrat who locked horns with her over health care. "There are a lot easier, more comfortable lifestyles she could have chosen than the one she has. She has to be truly dedicated to the public interest to keep going every day. Hers is a dedication and resolve few people have."

A former White House official said both Clintons believe that government can help people, but their methods are different.

"He is more cerebral about it, and she is more Methodist about it," the official said. "He thinks about history and how different people have done things. . . . Hers is more, 'We have 20 million children living in poverty, and how can we get more Head Start for them, and my mission is to do that.'"

At 48, Hillary Clinton is actually very traditional and can be corny in a way that the younger people on her staff would pooh-pooh in their own mothers. Among them, she is legendary for matchmaking. She has been known to walk into events at a school or a hospital, see a good-looking man, nudge an aide and whisper something like, "Oh, wouldn't he be great for" so-and-so. She wants to know who is dating whom. Once, she said about a single White House staffer: "We need to get him married off."

She says stuff like, "Okey dokey, artichokey." She delights in planning surprise birthday parties for those on her adoring, close-knit, mostly female staff.

A few were stunned the morning she was leaving a trip to Central Europe that extended past the Fourth of July. Everyone was rushing around with thousands of things to do. And suddenly, while ticking off lists of things she needed done for the trip, Hillary Clinton told her staff: "If anyone needs them, the sparklers are in this drawer."

"She was totally serious," said her surprised chief of staff, Maggie Williams.

Without question, her top priority is her family, especially her 16-year-old daughter, Chelsea, whom she has shielded from the glare of scrutiny and who has blossomed into a poised, pretty teenager trying to pick a college.

The day before her Capitol Hill testimony on health care, her husband wanted her to accompany him to New York for his first big speech to the United Nations. That night, there was a meeting at Chelsea's school. He couldn't make it back. She went instead. Only much later that night did she settle down to prepare for the congressional appearances that were so important to her

continued on next page

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health-care plan.

Another time, after the President's first State of the Union speech, there was a small celebratory gathering afterward at the White House. The first lady was nowhere to be found.

"When she got home from the speech, she found out that Chelsea was stuck on some homework," said Blair, the Arkansas political scientist. "Hillary went to help her. That is the kind of thing that belies this assumption that she is a woman driven by political ambition."

The seeds of Hillary Rodham Clinton's bawling personality may have been planted more than 40 years ago. Neighbor kids used to taunt little Hillary, knock her down and make her cry. One day, she came home again with tears on her cheeks after being beaten up. This time was different. Her mother, Dorothy Rodham, firmly told her to go back out to the street and confront the bullies, then peeked through the curtains to make sure her daughter didn't get hurt.

Clinton says her mother, who today is in her 70s and lives in Little Rock, always stressed "being grateful for what you've got, being empathetic with other people, not getting too big for your britches, not being someone who assumed life owed you anything because you were lucky enough to have parents who worked hard and bought a house in a good neighborhood."

During the 1950s, Hillary Diane Rodham grew up in a conservative, upper-middle-class Chicago suburb of Park Ridge, Ill., a *Leave It to Beaver* neighborhood with good schools, stay-at-home mothers and dozens of ready playmates.

Her father, Hugh Rodham, was a gruff, hard-working man who ran a plant that printed and sold drapery fabrics. He was a Republican who instilled in his three children the belief that politics was the way to change the world. He loved to gather everyone around the dinner table and throw out a provocative statement for all to debate. A product of the Great Depression, Rodham also taught his children the value of a dollar and how to read newspaper stock tables.

"We were probably the only family in our neighborhood who never received an allowance," says Tony Rodham, Hillary's younger brother, who today is a business, political and public relations consultant in Miami. (Hugh Rodham, the middle child, is a lawyer in Miami.)

"We would rake leaves and cut the grass and trim the bushes and say, 'Dad, how about some money?' And he would look at us and give us an extra piece of meat."

Clinton says her father was an old-fashioned man who wasn't big on emotions or conversations, but who had a strong sense of what it took to lead their lives: Be strong, work hard and make sacrifices.

"He was never questioning whether I should or shouldn't do something because I was a girl or whether some ambition was appropriate," she recalls. "He was always encouraging me, always telling me I had to work hard, I had to get a good education, I had to do the best job I could."

Dorothy Rodham, a Democrat, was quieter, softer and more nurturing, but always stressed that her daughter could be anything she wanted and never to be reluctant to speak her mind.

Together, her parents raised her to have enough self-confidence "so that the inevitable hard knocks of life, which come to anybody, can be learning experiences that make you, in another friend's phrase, 'better not bitter,' " says the grown woman who has taken a lot of knocks.

Childhood friend Judy Osgood remembers Hillary Rodham as "less concerned about what I would term the more trivial things — clothes, boys and hairstyles. She seemed more grown-up."

Some Sunday mornings, the Rodhams loaded the car with food and clothes for their children to give to the down-and-out in Chicago's Skid Row. "My mother insisted on that because you learn values," Tony Rodham says. "She would say that we were blessed by having a nice home in the suburbs, but that we had to help others."

That outlook was reinforced by Hillary Rodham's relationship to the Methodist Church, which she described as "a religion that called you to participate in the world." At 14, she joined a youth group led by a new young minister, the Rev. Don Jones of the First Methodist Church, a man who furthered her exposure to the world outside privileged Park Ridge.

"What struck me about Hillary was more her intellectual curiosity and pursuit but not without an interest in the Christian faith and spiritual development," recalls Mr. Jones, now a professor of social ethics at Drew University in Madison, N.J.

Occasionally, Mr. Jones would pile the sheltered suburban white kids in a couple of vans and take them to a mod-

continued on Page 28

neuro. Metabolism, Impairment of Fertility — In a 2-year or 100 mg/kg body weight, there was an increased incidence of hepatocellular carcinoma ($p < 0.01$). Although rats were given up to 25 mg/kg body weight, serum drug levels were only about 1% of those seen in humans. The LD₅₀ after administration of 10, or approximately 0.5 to 5.0 times the human drug levels at 40 administered in a statistically significant increase in the incidence of all treatment groups were pooled and compared to controls and animals which were not affected. A chemically similar drug, diazepam, at 25, 100, and 400 mg/kg body weight, which resulted in 0.5, and 33 times higher than the mean human serum drug level for a 40 mg oral dose. Liver carcinomas were significantly more frequent in high-dose males, with a maximum incidence of 90 percent in males. High-dose females had no liver tumors. Incidence of lung adenomas in male- and high-dose females was also increased. In (a) (placental eye of rodent) were significantly higher in males than in females. In males, with or without liver tumor-bearing placental tissues, using mutant strains of *Salmonella typhimurium*, L5176Y TK +, mouse lymphoma cells; a sister chromatid exchange assay using *Saccharomyces cerevisiae*. Adverse effects observed in rats treated with 100 mg/kg body weight up to 500 mg/kg, pravastatin did not produce any adverse reactions. However, in a study with another HMG-CoA reductase inhibitor, simvastatin, in rats treated for 14 weeks at 25 mg/kg body weight, although perinatal studies when this same dose was administered for 11 weeks during embryonal maturation. In rats treated with 100 mg/kg body weight, maternal plasma levels of simvastatin with normal fetal development caused dyspermeability, dyspermeability depression, and giant cell formation in the fetus. **Lactation: Pregnancy: Pregnancy Category X.** — See note above. It has been established. Pravastatin was not teratogenic in rats at doses of up to 50 mg/kg daily. These doses resulted in fetuses with surface area (mg/m²) 1. However, in studies with malformations were observed in rats and mice. There have been reports of tracheo-esophageal fistula, and anal stricture (Voter who took another HMG-CoA reductase inhibitor with a history of pregnancy. PRIMAVAL, pravastatin sodium) may cause other side effects such patients are highly susceptible to infection. A full clinical trial is being conducted taking PRIMAVAL, and the results will be reported as to the potential hazards to the fetus. Pravastatin is excreted in human breast milk. Because of nursing infants, women taking PRIMAVAL should not nurse. Safety and effectiveness in individuals less than 18 years old patients less than 18 years old is not recommended at this early well tolerated; adverse reactions have usually been mild. In fact, 1.7% of pravastatin-treated patients and 1.2% in treatment because of adverse experiences attributed to pravastatin. In long-term studies, the most common side effect was constipation. In some cases, the incidence of adverse events in the elderly was larger than in younger age groups. **Adverse Effects** — All adverse effects in more than 2% of pravastatin-treated patients in the following table shown are the percentages of patients in related or possibly related to the drug:

events	Events Attributed to Study Drug		
	Placebo (N = 411) %	Proxalenone (N = 303) %	Placebo (N = 411) %
	3.4	0.1	0.0
	1.1	1.3	0.9
	7.1	2.9	3.4
	5.5	2.0	1.9
	8.9	2.0	3.9
	7.1	2.4	5.1
	3.8	2.7	3.4
	1.9	2.0	0.7
	3.4	1.9	1.0
	1.9	0.3	0.2
	0.7	0.0	0.0
	9.0	1.4	1.5
	1.0	0.8	0.0
	3.9	1.7	0.2
	3.2	1.0	0.5
	2.9	0.7	1.2
	6.3	0.0	0.0
	4.1	0.1	0.0
	1.7	0.1	0.0

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are prohibited. Children ages 2-15 travel for half &
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Clinton

continued from Page 15

est community center on Chicago's tough South Side. The outings frightened the Park Ridge teens. But they got a chance to meet with inner-city Hispanic and black youths, an experience that changed them forever.

On a Sunday evening in 1962, Mr. Jones and some parents formed a little caravan and drove the youth group to Orchestra Hall on Michigan Avenue in downtown Chicago to hear the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. preach. From a pulpit on the stage, the civil rights leader gave a sermon titled "Sleeping Through the Revolution."

"In retrospect, it was appropriate for that group," Mr. Jones remembers. "That town hardly knew there was the greatest social revolution taking place."

Afterward, Mr. Jones took the youth group backstage to meet Dr. King, who shook hands with young Hillary and each of her classmates.

As part of a summer vacation Bible school program, Hillary babysat for the children of migrant workers who worked the fields close to the Chicago suburbs. Later, as a 19-year-old Wellesley College sophomore, Hillary wrote to Don Jones about how nice it was to go home for Thanksgiving, but that she was eager to return to Boston, where she had been tutoring poor, black children.

"Even though I enjoy this lovely respite in Park Ridge, my heart aches for the poor people who have been oppressed and discriminated against in Boston," she wrote. "And I need to get back to them."

When Hillary Rodham arrived at Wellesley in the fall of 1965, it was a very conservative place, one of the Seven Sisters schools where young women wore demure, round collars and obeyed curfews. By the end of Hillary's four years there, Wellesley had changed. With the tumultuous events of the country, the women at Wellesley felt freer to challenge the administration, on everything from dress codes to the Vietnam War.

Hillary changed there, too, shifting from a conservative Goldwater Girl to a liberal activist who worked on Eugene McCarthy's 1968 bid for the Democratic presidential nomination.

During her senior year, a group of students in professor Alan Schechter's political science class proposed having a student speaker at graduation, a first in Wellesley history. The speaker? Student body president Hillary Rodham.

At the commencement, the seniors



The first lady relaxes on a flight during a 1995 visit to Bangladesh.

in their caps and gowns marched in to hear the invited keynoter, Sen. Edward Brooke, a moderate Republican. But he gave a stock graduation speech that in Rodham's mind did not deal with the turmoil of the day: the Vietnam War, the civil rights movement, the King and Kennedy assassinations.

Immediately afterward, Rodham went to the podium, and before delivering her prepared remarks, she announced her decision to challenge Brooke.

She spoke passionately and without notes for several minutes, stunning the audience of 2,000 and attracting national media attention, including a photograph in *Life* magazine.

"We've had lots of empathy," she told the graduates and guests. "We've had lots of sympathy. But we feel that for too long our leaders have used politics as

the art of the possible. And now is to practice politics making what appears to possible."

One of her classmates, Acheson, the granddaughter of Harry Truman's secretary Acheson, recalls that "her own experience made it a stupetuous move. But it captured that everyone has seen in a and content-filled role: an or intolerance of people don't make change for the people."

Rodham went on to School and after graduation ton in January 1974 to House Judiciary Committee was preparing the impeachment against President Richard was a momentous, historic

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The first lady relaxes on a flight during a 1995 visit to Bangladesh.

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"We've had lots of empathy," she told the graduates and guests. "We've had lots of sympathy. But we feel that for too long our leaders have used politics as

the art of the possible. And the challenge now is to practice politics as the art of making what appears to be impossible possible."

One of her classmates, Eleanor Dean Acheson, the granddaughter of President Harry Truman's secretary of state, Dean Acheson, recalls that "the lack of her own experience made it a somewhat impetuous move. But it captures something that everyone has seen in a more mature and content-filled role: an unwillingness or intolerance of people in office who don't make change for the good of the people."

Rodham went on to Yale Law School and after graduation to Washington in January 1974 to work on the House Judiciary Committee's staff that was preparing the impeachment case against President Richard M. Nixon. It was a momentous, historic time, and

working on the Watergate committee was a coveted post. As a junior attorney, one of her assignments was to analyze the White House chain of command.

Attorney Fred Altschuler, who worked on the Watergate panel and today practices law in San Francisco, remembers Hillary as having "a strong sense of social justice and a strong sense of one's responsibility as a lawyer, including working to make social problems and government problems better."

At Yale, Hillary had fallen for a charming, handsome law student a year behind her in school. When he returned to his home state to launch a political career, she faced a life-defining decision: to follow her budding career in Washington, or to follow Bill Clinton to Arkansas.

It was August 1974. Nixon had resigned, and Rodham knew she could move from the Judiciary Committee to a top law firm or go into public-interest law.

Instead, she was soon packing her belongings into the battered Buick of her roommate, Sara Ehrman, who had agreed to drive her to Fayetteville for her new job as a teacher at the University of Arkansas Law School.

The leaves were beginning to turn red as they headed the car south through Virginia and the Blue Ridge and into Tennessee. Along their rollicking road-trip, they shopped for pottery, ate catfish and stopped at fruit stands and historic sites, such as Monticello.

But the merriment had a sober side, at least for Ehrman.

"I just could not understand how she could take this turn away from what obviously was going to be a stunning career," she recalls.

Every 20 miles or so, Ehrman would stop the car and blurt out: "Are you crazy? Why are you doing this? You are giving up everything. God knows what's going to happen down there."

Rodham told her over and over: "I love him and I want to give it a chance. I want to be with him."

As they drove into Fayetteville, Ehrman's doubts deepened. The trees were golden and the streets were full of Arkansas Razorback football fans screaming: "Sooeey, sooeey! Pig! Pig! Pig!"

When Ehrman dropped Rodham off, she burst into tears.

"I thought, What is this girl going to do? Why is she doing this?" Ehrman remembers. "I thought, This guy is smart, but he is going to be an Arkansas lawyer. We will never see her again."

Ehrman changed her mind the next

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Clinton

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day when she went to hear congressional candidate Bill Clinton speak. She was impressed by his commanding presence and gifted oratory.

"Then and there, I decided it would be OK," she says now.

Rodham and Clinton married the following year, but their relationship was tested by allegations of his philandering. During the 1992 campaign, in an interview on *60 Minutes*, Bill Clinton acknowledged "causing pain in my marriage." Still today, with millions of Americans presuming to know intimate details of the couple's relationship, their marriage often is the butt of late-night comedians' jokes.

"It doesn't bother us," the first lady says. "People have to understand that Bill and I pay so little attention to what other people think of us. . . . He is a very resolute person, and he basically knows what matters in life. I try to be the same way."

"So we don't care what anybody says about us personally or

about our relationship . . . because we know the truth."

Through the years, Hillary Clinton has found ways of coping with tough times. Ann Henry, a close friend and an attorney from Fayetteville, remembers when some people quit speaking to Clinton because of her work on a controversial school desegregation plan in Arkansas.

When Henry asked her how she dealt with it, Clinton shared her secret strategy. They hopped in the car and drove to a local bath shop. There, Clinton bought her friend some bath scent that smelled like rain.

She told Henry that at the end of a trying day, she climbs into the bathtub with all her troubles, scrubs them off and then rinses them away.

"She literally wills it down the drain," Henry said. "She says, 'All the stuff people say, I just wash it off.'"

It's a coping strategy she still uses today.

"I do," the first lady says, laughing heartily. "I take a lot of baths."

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Honorable Maggie Williams



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I'm trying not to call
you this week as your desk
must be buried with matters
that need your attention!
It was very special to

Share some time with you,
Maggie, and I look forward
to working with you in the
days ahead.

Best,

Janet

12 June 1996

Eva and Steven

October 6, 1996

Maggie + Bill

Thank you so much for
our "dinner on you". We were
glad you braved the rains to come
for our party. As always, we
thank you for your continued friendship.

Love

—
Joey + Eva

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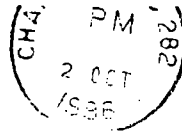
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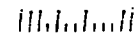
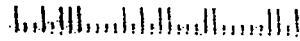
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Maggie:

Remember - it's a sin to tell a lie and
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Have you been honest about Vince Foster's
files, Maggie. If not, shame, shame. It will
catch up with you.



Ms. Maggie Williams
White House
Washington, DC 20500



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ROLL CALL



File Personal

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AN OLD SALT HOPES FOR SMOOTH SAILING

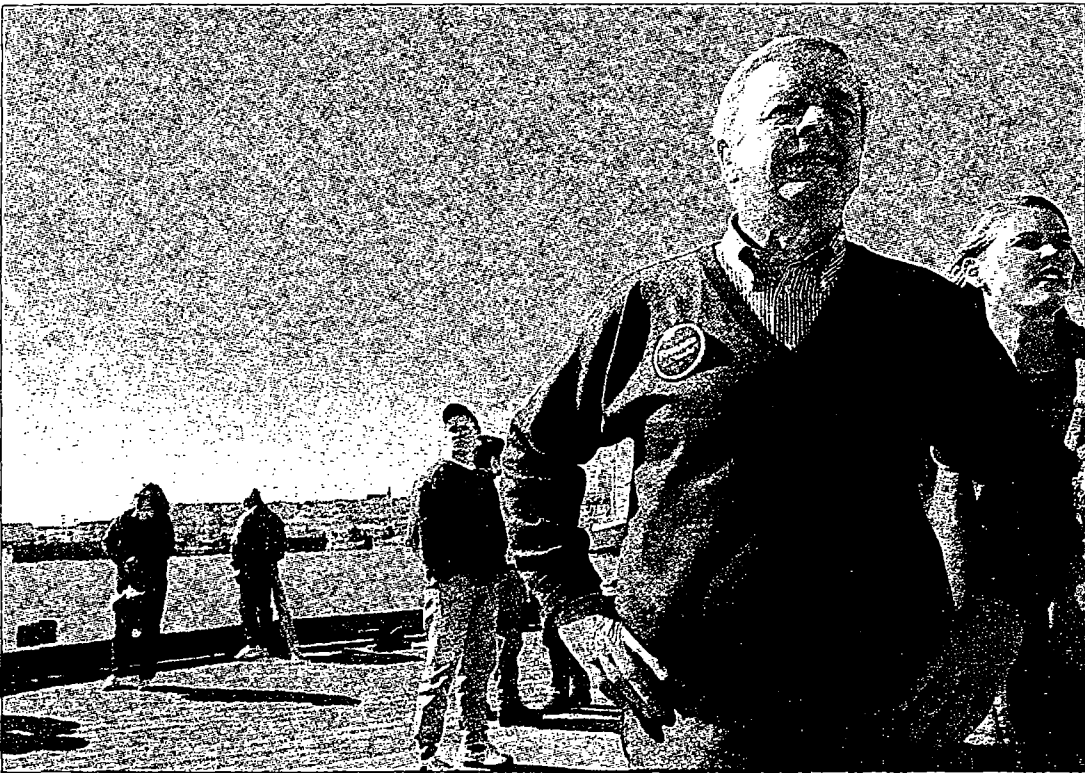


Photo by Maureen Keating

Democrat Joe Brennan has run for everything else in Maine. Now, he's trying for Senate in an open-seat contest that is key to the battle for control. For a report from Down East, see POLITICS, p. 9.

Judge Clears Way For GOP to Spend Freely for Senate

By Tim Curran

In a blow to Democrats as they seek to reclaim control of the Senate this fall, a federal district court Wednesday dismissed a lawsuit aimed at blocking Republicans from making "independent expenditures" on behalf of GOP Senate candidates.

With Democrats needing a net gain of only three seats to take back the Senate, the ability of the better-funded National Republican Senatorial Committee to funnel an unlimited amount of money to races in key states — as long as it is not co-

Continued on page 16

More Good News for Republicans In Topsy-Turvy Massachusetts Race

By Tim Curran

When Phil Johnston took the stage Friday at a Democratic party rally in Quincy, Mass., he was riding high.

Flanked by First Lady Hillary

Sens. Ted Kennedy and John Kerry, and other party leaders, Johnston was basking in the glow of his narrow win over Norfolk County District Attorney William Delahunt for the Democratic nomination to suc-

Revolving Door Quick To Spin for '96 Retirees

By Juliet Eilperin

When the House adjourned sine die at 2:52 p.m. Friday, the bidding began.

In recent interviews, retiring lawmakers from both parties indicated they were holding off negotiating agreements with lobbying firms until Congress adjourned.

Now that obstacle is out of the way, and some Members are sure to be importuning the same lobbyists who used to try to cajole them into passing legislation.

Though departing Members are prohibited from actively lobbying Congress for one year, they may still join lobbying firms as partners right

away. With 14 Senators and 52 House Members leaving this year (not to mention those who lose on Nov. 5), Washington may see a repeat of the last electoral cycle, when more than a quarter of the 91 Members who left office registered as lobbyists once the prohibition ended.

Some Members have already finalized their plans. Rep. Sam Gibbons (Fla), the top Democrat on the Ways and Means Committee, is slated to join the firms of both his sons Mark and Cliff. Roll Call has learned.

Cliff Gibbons is a lobbyist based in Washington, heading the firm

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■ Haley Barbour's million-dollar lawsuit, p. 3.

■ Dole's last chance: Kondracke, p. 6.

■ Attack of the 'push-poll' probe, p. 7.

POLITICS

■ Christian Coalition strikes back, p. 9.

■ The greening of (some) GOPers, p. 10.

HEARD ON THE HILL

By Craig Winneker

Hello, I Must Be Going. Virginia Sen. John Warner (R) is fighting hard to keep his Senate seat. But last Thursday — the Senate's last day in session — Warner sensed that some of his colleagues had already counted him as a casualty.

The fun started when Warner gave an eloquent tribute on the Senate floor to retiring Sen. James Exon (D-Neb). Exon was so moved that he returned the favor. The only problem: He

Continued on page 17



Photo by Jeffrey Snyder

"He may talk about [women] as if they're chattel, but he treats them like human beings," said Schroeder of Wilson (pictured together above; below, Wilson with Afghan rebels in the 1980s).



House Bids Goodbye To 'Goodtime Charlie'

By Ed Henry

To say that Rep. Charlie Wilson (D-Texas) has uttered some controversial statements in his day is like saying that Wilson only kind of had fun during his 24 years in Congress.

When "Goodtime Charlie" was asked what he thought about the record number of women who were elected to Congress in 1992, he replied: "I love it. A couple of 'em are pretty cute."

Then there was Wilson's possibly apocryphal explanation of why he hired so many beautiful women. "You can teach 'em to type," Wilson declared, but "you can't teach 'em to grow" breasts.

But as the brash Texan rides off into the sunset this week — he resigned effective Tuesday to get a jump-start on a new lobbying career — his Congressional record is winning praise from Congress's most prominent champion of women's rights. Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-Colo), who is also retiring, said, "It's kind of sad" that Wilson is moving on.

"He may talk about [women] as if they're chattel," Schroeder told Roll Call, "but he treats them like human beings."

Wilson calls Schroeder "Congresswoman Babycakes," but she says he has always stood beside her

Continued on page 18

Party's Not Over Yet for 'Goodtime Charlie' Wilson

Continued from page 1

on issues like abortion rights and family leave. In addition, current and former female staffers for Wilson say that his behavior toward them has always been beyond reproach.

But what really sticks with friends like Schroeder is Wilson's candor. They say that in an age of political correctness, Congress is losing a man who had the guts to speak his mind.

Schroeder complained that the new breed of Members are of "the bland milquetoast" variety, who crowd the center of the political spectrum and "waffle-waffle."

"The thing I've got to say is that he's not a hypocrite," said Schroeder. "There's so much hypocrisy in this place."

"He wasn't concerned about the standards of other people or their opinions about his personal tastes or private endeavors," former House Speaker Jim Wright (D-Texas) said in an interview. "He was true to himself."

Wright added, "The blow-dried crowd that comes in with a rehearsed slogan or two, this is antithetical to the genuineness of the personality of someone like Charlie Wilson.... He was someone you wanted on your side, I don't care if it was a legislative battle or a brawl in a back alley."

It's ironic that Wilson, who has never been accused of being the first one out the door in all his days of partying, is leaving the 104th Congress early. Wilson resigned three months before the official retirement of his 52 departing House colleagues, and even that decision is notable for its frankness.

Wilson, who plans to be a lobbyist, has admitted that he wants to get a head start on his colleagues who also plan to lobby. Since ex-Members can't lobby Congress for one year, leaving early gives Wilson a chance to start twisting arms on the Hill in October 1997 instead of January 1998.

In describing his new line of work, Wilson shows that he still has a way with words. "I'm going to be in town as a person who helps organizations with noble causes," Wilson told Roll Call. He paused.

"Hopefully these noble organizations will

be able to pay for it," he added, refusing to divulge details about potential clients.

When asked how he has won over feminists like Schroeder — while cultivating a playboy image — Wilson said, "I have always believed, and it's just part of my basic commitment to equality, that women had a ways to go before they achieved" equality.

Even when he speaks seriously, however, the bad boy comes out. "People talk about 'Goodtime Charlie' and all his girlfriends and all this stuff," Wilson said. "But as far as I know, there's no women's group that has passed a resolution that says you can't be a good guy unless you go out with ugly women. A resolution like that is probably coming, but not yet. I support women's rights, but I also like pretty women."

Indeed, Wilson's career has been marked by tales of wild romantic adventures.

"He was the one guy who everybody was jealous of," said former Rep. Bill Sarpalius (D-Texas). "Nobody loves his country, the state of Texas, and black lace like Charlie Wilson does. And I don't know if you can put those items in any particular order."

"I've had hysterical moments, but most of them can't go into a good, family newspaper like Roll Call," said Wilson, who is divorced. "I'll put them in my book to be published after my death."

One episode that has already been revealed occurred in 1990, when Wilson arranged a US visit for a 24-year-old blonde dancer he had met in Moscow. Wilson called it "my contribution to perestroika." He assured everyone that the only secrets the dancer brought back to Russia were Victoria's, as in goodies from the lingerie shop he visited with her.

"I remember when we were in Israel together, it was tough to keep the women away," former New York Mayor Ed Koch said. "In fact, they didn't stay away."

Like Schroeder, Koch is another unlikely Wilson chum. They hit it off while serving together in Congress from 1973 to 1977. While they both have a knack for saying whatever comes to mind, Koch says that the similari-

ties end there between the Jewish man from New York and the swashbuckler from rural East Texas.

"I once went to a fundraiser down there in his district — Where is it? In Lubbock? — and I said, 'Where's the subway?'" Koch said of Wilson's home of Lufkin. "It was like somebody from Mars had gone down there. But I would do anything for Charlie, as he would for me."

Koch said that his friend has thrived on being underestimated. "He was Peck's bad boy," said Koch. "But if every Member of Congress worked as hard as Charlie, this would be a much better country."

Indeed, Wilson has long been a workhorse on defense issues, rising all the way to the top of the powerful Appropriations foreign operations subcommittee. Wilson used his influence on the panel to dole out pork to his constituents and to fund his pet issues around the world.

Wilson spent most of the 1980s championing the cause of the Mujahedeen rebels in Afghanistan because, he said at the time, "it's the only place in the world where we are killing Russians." The rebels there still treat him like a folk hero, and Wilson says now that he's proud of "my modest part in kicking the Red Army's ass."

And painting the town is not the only late-night adventure Wilson will miss about Congress.

"I'm going to miss the late-night little victories in conference committees," said Wilson. "I'm going to miss the exciting votes on the floor, the excitement of the opening day, the State of the Union speeches."

Nevertheless, Wilson's wild days had a price, and he will undoubtedly be remembered for some of the ugly headlines he has generated. During one of his trips to Afghanistan, he was criticized for bringing a former Miss USA on a government plane.

There was the Justice Department's 1983 investigation into drug use on Capitol Hill. Wilson was a target, but he was never charged with anything.

Wilson was once arrested for driving while intoxicated, and he was also fined for leaving the scene of a car crash in 1983. He was fined \$90,000 by the Federal Election Commission — and reprimanded by the House ethics committee — last year for misreporting loans in his campaign.

"I've always been one who didn't try to present a facade of piety," Wilson told Roll Call. "And somehow or another it's always sold at home. The people back home have forgiven me for acts that new Members would have been horrified to have been accused of committing. It's always been what you see is what you get with me."

He agrees with Schroeder that Members are getting too gun-shy. "The people coming in are not like me," Wilson said. "They're more conventional and you can see it.... They're just different, and they're less likely to get into some of the scrapes that I've been in. Both sides are very careful about what they say. They're extremely guarded, and the press is part of the problem because they've got a laser beam on everybody."

While Wilson admits that he has given his constituents fits, he says "they're no bargain either."

"I sometimes tell my constituents that they get a lot more than they deserve," said Wilson. "They all want less taxes and more benefits, less regulation but more protection."

As for the future, he says with theatrical understatement, "I hope my experience with energy, military, and foreign affairs issues will be worth something to somebody. I've yet to find out if that's the case."

But in a recent private moment, Wilson's trademark swagger was still there. The moment came at a farewell party for Sen. Bennett Johnston (D-La.).

An energy lobbyist approached Wilson during the cocktail reception and thanked him for his help over the years. She quickly added, "You'll still be here, right?"

Wilson replied with a smile, "I'll be here."

Jennifer Bradley and Juliet Eilperin contributed to this report.

PHOTO BY PHOTOFEST

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(202) 686-5252

MAY 15, 1996

DEAN MAGGIE —

THAT'S THE STORY OF MY LIFE. I TURN
MY BACK AND THEY'RE EITHER ENGAGED OR
MARRIED.

CONGRATULATIONS!

ALL MY BEST!

Tom

Personal

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Personal

Maggie,

Thank you so much for
giving me an opportunity to
work at the campaign. I
am really looking forward
to it, and appreciate your
continued help and kindness.

Liz

Personal

Maggie

Personal
To Be Filed
Reggie Lample
Travel Office
Clips

Big Easy politics

As New Orleans voters get ready for what is expected to be a close vote in tomorrow's mayoral election, they continue to be subjected to racist and anti-Semitic leafletting despite clean-campaign pledges.

Locked in what the most recent poll says is a dead heat are Donald Mintz, 50, a Jewish corporate lawyer, and Marc Morial, 36, a one-term state senator and son of the city's first black mayor, the Associated Press reports.

At least four fliers were circulated. One charged Mr. Morial, who is an unwed father, with being bisexual, using drugs and taking kickbacks. Others called blacks "jungle apes" and Jews "the curse of the planet."

"I don't really think it's more vicious than we've seen in other races," said Susan Howell, political scientist at the University of New Orleans. "What makes it exceptional is that they signed a pledge to run a clean campaign."

The preliminary results of a probe by the city's Human Relations Commission linked one flier to the Mintz campaign. The day before the Feb. 5 primary, an aide to Mr. Mintz was indicted for distributing one of the fliers.

Mr. Mintz denies involvement with the fliers. He used one attacking "bloodsucking Jews" to galvanize the Jewish community in a fund-raising effort that received more than \$250,000 from out-of-town contributors.

"With a majority-black electorate, Morial should have an advantage," Ms. Howell said. "Instead, they're neck-and-neck, which means he has to pull it out, so it's to his advantage to keep the emphasis on the fliers."

"The biggest issue here is still race," she said. "Blacks still tend to vote for blacks, whites for whites. Beyond that, both groups are worried about crime and the quality of life in the city."

The Doggetts

Teresa Doggett, a Texas Republican who's hired political strategist Ed Rollins to help with her campaign for state comptroller, is married to John Doggett,

III of Anita Hill fame.

In October 1991, Mr. Doggett, a Texas lawyer, testified against Miss Hill at a Senate Judiciary Committee hearing, in which she accused Clarence Thomas of sexual harassment.

Mr. Doggett, a graduate of Yale Law School, said Miss Hill pursued him for dates, and after he deflected her advances, lectured him about "leading women on."

Feinstein no shoo-in?

Sen. Dianne Feinstein, California Democrat, may be in for a race, reports the Christian Science Monitor.

Although the early outlook was that she would be difficult to unseat, the entrance of Republican Rep. Michael Huffington into the race makes the chances of a Democratic coronation in the fall less automatic.

"You cannot write this guy off," says Sherry Bebitch Jeffe, a political scientist at the Claremont Graduate School. "You can't write anybody off who has sixteen [million] to eighteen million dollars [to spend]. It will make Feinstein focus."

Mr. Huffington plans to spend at least \$5 million of his money on the campaign and raise an additional \$10 million from individuals. The Monitor says this is twice the amount Mrs. Feinstein spent on the race two years ago.

Baker: Undecided

James A. Baker III, former secretary of state, was asked yesterday about running for the presidency: "I'll have to tell you that while I haven't decided I'm going to do it, I haven't decided I'm not going to do it."

In a C-SPAN interview Mr. Baker added, however, that Republicans make a mistake talking now about the presidency because it takes the focus off this year's elections in which GOP gains are expected.

The deadline for deciding? "I think you have to make a decision like that by January or February of 1995. I think that you shouldn't wait any longer than that; ... a lot of the big states are moving their primaries up."

Inside Politics



Just my best side

After more than six months of negotiations, Republicans and Democrats in the House have agreed to dump the wide-angle television shot that reveals that even the members don't show up for the local rhetoric.

No more will the camera cut away to reveal an empty chamber as a fire-breathing member pounds the lectern during special orders. The House, which controls the cameras, will not feed these shots to C-SPAN and others.

"Obviously, this is an attempt by Congress to manage its appearance," John Jackson, political science professor at Southern Illinois University, told the Philadelphia Inquirer. "But their problems go a lot deeper than that."

Today's quote

"This act of evil is not the act of a people. It's the act of a person or persons. Let's show America and the world that we can make that distinction, that we are not only the best of cities, but the wisest of cities," said New York Mayor Rudolph Giuliani in the aftermath of the shooting of four Hasidic students.

Gingrich opposition

Former Rep. Ben Jones, "Cooter" in the TV series "The Dukes of Hazzard," announced he will seek the Democratic nomination to oppose House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich in their suburban Atlanta district.

He told the Associated Press that Mr. Gingrich is not "representing that district. He's representing himself. He has a power-based national agenda and he's been ineffectual in his district."

A two-term congressman who lost in 1992 after his district was dismantled in reapportionment, Mr. Jones acknowledged he has a steep uphill race against Mr. Gingrich. He claimed as well he is a "recovering PAC-alcoholic."

Although he accepted support from political action committees in four previous congressional campaigns, Mr. Jones says he understands "the fleas come with the dog and if you're going to take PAC money, you're not going to be independent."

He said he would not accept contributions from PACs and will challenge Mr. Gingrich to do likewise. His status as a recovering alcoholic was an issue in his first two congressional campaigns.

Mr. Gingrich told the Atlanta Constitution that Mr. Jones is "a very fine spokesman for liberalism" and added, "I look forward to what I hope will be an idea-oriented campaign, not a name-calling campaign."

'Living history'

Sen. Robert C. Byrd is not only a self-taught historian; he is "a piece of living history," says the New York Times.

Adam Clymer adds that the West Virginia Democrat is a throwback to the days of the two-hour speech. In an age in which

the label "big spender" carries some political danger, he also is not shy about his commitment to domestic "investments."

In a profile of the 76-year-old after leading opposition to the balanced-budget amendment, Mr. Clymer adds, "He intimidates on the floor. He counts favors carefully. At times he sounds like a one-man committee supervising conduct for this very special club."

Mr. Byrd himself says members are less than they were: "We don't have the same inspiration, the same goals, the same motivation. Most important today is the 20-second sound bite, making of the headlines."

"It is not as uplifting as it once was."

Aides in slammer?

Whitewater will embarrass President Clinton, cost him some extra taxes and raise ethical questions about the first lady but is unlikely to get much worse than that, writes Wall Street Journal columnist Albert R. Hunt.

"If the current performance continues, however, it's less than a long shot bet that one or two White House aides could end up in the slammer — not for what happened in Arkansas in the 1980s, but for the way matters are being mishandled in Washington in the 1990s," Mr. Hunt says.

One reason for this is that no one has the standing to tell Mr. Clinton how badly it is being botched. Another is the otherwise helpful Hillary Rodham Clinton's chilling reaction to controversies involving her conduct.

"In short," Mr. Hunt concludes, "the first lady needs a Hillary Clinton."

Travelgate recalled

It has been nearly a year since the wholesale firings at the White House travel office occurred for what the Clinton team described as economy reasons. It has turned out to cost a bundle.

The Philadelphia Inquirer toted it up: Five of seven employees received more than six months of paid leave and now

work elsewhere in government; four other government workers were moved into the office; Congress spent \$150,000 for the fired workers' legal fees; three government probes continue.

"When you add this whole thing up, it's going to cost hundreds and hundreds of thousands of dollars," said Rep. Frank R. Wolf, Virginia Republican. On the other hand, the White House says the office now employs four persons instead of seven.

But a number of sources say the new travel office is not as efficient. And no one knows what the cost will be for an investigation by the General Accounting Office, an internal FBI review and a Justice Department look at corruption allegations.

Health opposition

Further evidence of growing opposition to the Clinton health care proposal:

A USA Today-CNN poll shows an 11-point drop in support in the past month; a Washington Post-ABC News poll: 80 percent think health care quality will decline under the Clinton plan; 64 percent thought so in October.

The Department of Health and Human Services reports that 55 percent of emergency room visits are not urgent. Emergency room visits by the uninsured are absorbed by paying patients. This is a key factor in rising health costs.

Stags at bar

The Utah Legislature passed a bill to allow the Elks and other fraternal organizations to discriminate against women and still hold state liquor licenses.

The Utah House, in the final hours of the session that ended Wednesday at midnight, voted 39-35 to amend the state's Civil Rights Act to exclude fraternal, sororal or charitable organizations from some provisions.

The Senate passed the bill earlier. GOP Gov. Mike Leavitt would not say whether he intends to sign, veto or allow the measure to become law without his signature.

● Compiled by Alan McConagha.

Clinton TV pal Thomason sued for libel in 'Travelgate'

B. Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

TV producer and presidential pal Harry Thomason is facing an \$80.3 million libel suit for supposedly spreading false charges of wrongdoing against the former White House press charter operator snared in the "Travelgate" scandal.

Charles P. Caudle, former owner of Airline of the Americas (AOA), has charged in a suit just transferred here that Mr. Thomason persuaded the White House to order an FBI probe of the travel office. The White House fired the seven-person travel staff, then apologized for acting on false allegations.

In his lawsuit in U.S. District Court, Mr. Caudle says the false charges of kickbacks and mismanagement involving his airline and the travel office ruined his reputation and torpedoed a massive airline deal he had in the works when Travelgate became public in May.

"The damage to my reputation ... continues to taint my reputation and hamper my business efforts with each and every opportunity I pursue," Mr. Caudle said in a court statement taken this month.

Federal investigations have found no proof of wrongdoing by the travel office.

Robert S. Bennett, Mr. Thomason's Washington-based attorney, called the suit frivolous. "Mr. Thomason is confident that his action will be dismissed," Mr. Bennett said in court papers.

In a phone interview yesterday, Mr. Bennett said Mr. Caudle has no case and his suit boils down to greed.

"Some guy is trying to get his hands in Thomason's pocket," said Mr. Bennett, adding that the suit isn't worth media attention.

The libel suit seeks \$80 million in compensatory damages and \$350,000 in punitive damages.

Mr. Thomason is a friend of President Clinton's. He and his



Harry Thomason has been sued for \$80.3 million in federal court.

wife, Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, produce the popular TV sitcom "Evening Shade" and were behind "Designing Women."

He was assigned by Mr. Clinton to orchestrate the inaugural gala in January 1993 and stayed on for several months conducting some of his business from a White House desk.

Shortly after Mr. Clinton came to Washington, Mr. Thomason's business partner, Darnell Martins, asked the producer to determine if an airline chartering firm they and a third partner owned could snag the lucrative White House press charter business. The charters are worth an average of \$40,000 a day.

According to a White House review of the travel office affair, Mr. Thomason and Mr. Martins got nowhere in discussions with that office, which was doing business with Airline of the Americas.

Basing his information on a rumor, Mr. Thomason "mentioned to the president in late March that he thought there was trouble in the White House department having

to do with travel, but he did not give the president details," according to the review.

The White House fired the travel staff but had to rehire and find new jobs for five of the seven workers. The other two remain under investigation.

White House Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty, who co-wrote the Travelgate review, apologized for the firings, saying they were based on false claims. "Thomason should have avoided continued involvement in a matter in which his business partner and his friends in the charter business stood to benefit and in which there was an appearance of financial conflict of interest."

The Travelgate review says Mr. Thomason in May told Mr. Martins, one of his partners in the TRM airline charter firm, to fax to the White House a memo on the rumored travel office wrongdoing.

That memo, Mr. Caudle has said, ruined his reputation because it falsely claimed that his airline during the last year of the Bush administration was investigated by the Federal Election Commission, provided free trips in return for pro-Bush press coverage and misstated the size of the airline.

By the time the memo was sent, Mr. Caudle had sold the airline but was working to start GlobAir — a deal he said soured because of the publication of the memo in newspapers after the firing of the travel office.

Despite Mr. Caudle's charges of libel against Mr. Thomason, the memo was written by Mr. Martins, never mentioned Mr. Caudle, and was received and provided to the press long after Mr. Caudle left Airline of the Americas, Mr. Bennett said.

"It's an absolute frivolous ... case," he said, charging that Mr. Caudle's attorney, Douglas E. Kahle, misrepresented Mr. Thomason's involvement in the travel office affair.

Travel Office Mess, Other Blunders Hurt President on Eve of House Budget Vote

By JEFFREY H. BIRNBAUM
And MICHAEL K. FRISBY

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Suddenly, President Clinton is fighting for much more than his embattled economic program.

After a day of internal finger-pointing and rumors and denials of a possible senior-level shake-up, Mr. Clinton is struggling to refocus and regain control of his beleaguered presidency.

Among other things, the president is in the extraordinary position, after only three months in office, of having effectively called the Federal Bureau of Investigation down upon himself and his staff in the flap over the firing of seven employees of the White House travel office.

Adding to the appearance of disarray, the White House reversed itself yesterday and reinstated five of the seven employees, placing them on paid leave pending the outcome of various investigations.

As the administration struggles to right itself, an early casualty may be Lani Guinier, Mr. Clinton's choice to be assistant attorney general for civil rights. In an apparent effort to rid Mr. Clinton of extra controversies, White House advisers quietly spread the word that the administration lacks the votes to confirm Ms. Guinier, who has drawn fire for writings suggesting minority groups be given special political powers to ensure they are represented adequately in democratic processes.

Meanwhile, Clinton advisers are plotting a high-level shake-up of the White House staff as a way to break out of its political torpor. In one scenario, a veteran Democrat of national stature would be brought in to work with the current chief of staff, while Mark Gearan, a deputy, would be switched to administrative duties. In another scenario, Paul Begala, one of the president's ace political advisers who is currently a consultant to the Democratic National Committee, would join the White House communications office, while current Communications Director George Stephanopoulos would take a more strategic position.

Both Mr. Begala and Mr. Stephanopoulos said they were unaware of any such changes involving them. But aides describe Mr. Clinton as furious over staff stumbles that have damaged him politically on the eve of the House vote on his embattled deficit-reduction program.

Another possible change would alter the assignment of, and perhaps demote, David Watkins, the director of administration who oversaw the travel office. Though Mr. Watkins is close to the many Arkansans who have senior positions in the White House, he is also seen as not protecting the president from the travel office scandal.

A further sign of the dismay and disarray was a new outbreak of blame-mongering over just who was responsible for the firing of the travel aides. There were leaks from at least one senior White House political official, and from others outside

the White House, that New York attorney Susan Thomases, a confidante of Hillary Rodham Clinton, was deeply involved in the abrupt dismissal of the officials.

Ms. Thomases firmly denied any involvement, and the offices of both Mrs. Clinton and White House Chief of Staff Thomas McLarty dismissed the report. The officials who planted the story offered no evidence to back up their contention.

Further, Democrats have grouched about the damage to Mr. Clinton's image from his association with Hollywood stars, such as his pal Harry Thomason. The television producer who has been in the thick of the travel-office fiasco, works and makes telephone calls out of space in the White House's East Wing during his frequent visits.

Meanwhile, the White House found itself called on the carpet by its own attorney general, Janet Reno, over how it handled its dealings with the FBI. The attorney general complained to White House counsel Bernard Nussbaum that the direct contacts were inappropriate and should have gone through one of the top three Justice Department officials on investigative matters.

"When I heard about the situation, I called the White House and I said in the

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Travel Office Mess, Other Blunders Deal President Weak Hand

Continued From Page A3

future it would be better if the contact were made through the attorney general or the deputy or the associate (attorney general)," Ms. Reno told reporters. The FBI, the Justice Department and the White House itself opened inquiries into the manner in which White House aides bypassed established procedure to get the FBI to change its statement to declare that a criminal investigation was warranted in the travel-office mess.

While his administration was struggling with the problems, President Clinton was doing his best to distance himself from the decision to fire the travel office staff. "The only thing I know is we made a decision to save the taxpayers and press money. That's all I know," the president told reporters.

He referred all further questions to Mr. McLarty, who has assumed responsibility for the mess, and who, incongruously, also was named to head the internal White House investigation. Assisting him will be Budget Director Leon Panetta.

On Capitol Hill, congressional Republicans continued to attack the White House for appearing to use the FBI for political purposes.

—Joe Davidson contributed to this article.

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Anyone remember Travelgate?

By Mark R. Levin

"The Freedom of Information Act . . . has been one of the primary means by which members of the public inform themselves about their government. . . . Federal departments and agencies should handle requests for information in a customer-friendly manner. The use of the Act by ordinary citizens is not complicated, nor should it be. The existence of unnecessary bureaucratic hurdles has no place in its implementation."

"I . . . call upon all federal departments and agencies to renew their commitment to the Freedom of Information Act, to its underlying principles of government openness, and to its sound administration."

William J. Clinton

Memorandum for Heads of Departments & Agencies
Oct. 4, 1993

Unfortunately, like so much that comes out of this administration, the president's public statement about his "commitment" to open government does not comport with the actions of his subordinates.

Remember the White House Travel Office affair? The Clinton administration is hoping you don't. Lest you forget, the scandal involved the wholesale firing of career employees; the hiring of Clinton cousin Catherine Cornelius to run the office; terminating UltraAir (an airline charter service and long-time contractor to the Travel Office); a sudden audit of UltraAir by the IRS; an effort to replace the former charter service with TRM (an air service owned, the substantial part, by Clinton friend and Hollywood producer Harry Thomason); the pressuring of an FBI official by William Kennedy, associate White House counsel (and Mrs. Clinton's friend and colleague from Rose Law Firm days) to initiate a criminal investigation of the Travel Office; and so forth.

When this scandal first broke in May 1993, Mr. Clinton appointed his chief of staff, Mack McLarty, and OMB director, Leon Panetta, to conduct an "internal management review," which they completed on July 2, 1993. The review raised many more questions than it answered.

Most important, it revealed Mrs. Clinton's personal involvement in the affair. For instance, the review discloses that on May 13, 1993, Mrs. Clinton made inquiries about the office to both Mr. McLarty and the late deputy White House counsel, Vincent Foster. On May 27, 1993, Mrs. Clinton also received a memorandum from David Watkins, an assistant to Mr. Clinton, detailing actions that the staff had taken as well as future plans for the Travel

Office (including firing career employees and hiring Mr. Clinton's cousin, Ms. Cornelius).

Given the revelations in the White House's review and the failure of Mr. McLarty and Mr. Panetta to follow up on critical leads—including failing to carefully and thoroughly question Mrs. Clinton about her involvement—Landmark Legal Foundation undertook its own fact-gathering effort through the Freedom of Information Act (FOIA).

Since June 1993—that's nine months—Landmark's requests to the FBI, IRS and Justice Department for information relating to the Travel Office scandal have been denied or otherwise thwarted. Indeed, not a single piece of paper from any of these agencies has been released. Here are some details:

■ On June 18, 1993, a FOIA request was filed with the IRS. An IRS attorney responded on July 8, 1993, by writing that "[y]our . . .

*Since June 1993 —
that's nine months —
Landmark's requests
to the FBI, IRS and
Justice Department for
information relating to
the Travel Office
scandal have been
denied or otherwise
thwarted.*

request appears to be asking for the tax returns or return information of another taxpayer. We are prohibited by law from making such information public."

What? There was no request for any such thing. Requested was, among other things, evidence of any communication between the White House and the IRS regarding UltraAir. This was made clear through several follow-up calls to the IRS attorney and even a conversation with her supervisor. For the past six months, the IRS has not even bothered returning telephone calls, and no information has been forthcoming from that agency.

■ On June 18, 1993, a FOIA request was filed with the criminal division of the Justice Department. On June 28, 1993, an attorney there informed us that a search would be conducted. On August 12, 1993, a senior official in the criminal division wrote "[w]e have conducted a search and identified records within the scope of your request in the possession of the Public Integrity Section. Those records are part of an open investigation being conducted by that office. We have been informed that the release of these documents

could interfere with the investigation." All records were withheld.

■ On June 23, 1993, a FOIA request was filed with the FBI. On June 29, 1993, the FBI acknowledged receipt of the request. In a follow-up call to the FBI on July 1, 1993, it was learned that the FBI would not even address the request for "more than a year" due to a backlog of FOIA cases. This was confirmed in a letter from the senior FBI official on Aug. 16, 1993, in which the FBI added that "[i]n order to reduce unnecessary correspondence, we will notify you only after the processing of your request has been partially or fully completed." In other words, don't call us, we'll call you (in a year).

■ On June 23, 1993, a FOIA request was filed with the Justice Department. The request covered, in part, any information about the Travel Office located in the offices of Attorney General Janet Reno and Associate Attorney General Webster Hubbell. Last month, Landmark learned from Justice that the department had identified and gathered about a one-foot-high stack of documents that were responsive to the nine-month-old FOIA request. When asked if those documents would be released in the near future, a Justice official advised that "consultations" with the offices of Ms. Reno and Mr. Hubbell were required before any information would be released, and the official refused to give us a firm date for a decision.

This is what passes for "openness" in government and "sound administration" in the Clinton White House. In truth, this is old-fashioned stonewalling. But serious questions remain about Mrs. Clinton's possible involvement in this scandal, including whether her peculiar interest in the Travel Office was driven by her friend Harry Thomason's efforts to remove a competitor, and whether her friend and former Rose Law Firm colleague William Kennedy was pressuring the FBI at Mrs. Clinton's suggestion (or whether he informed her of his highly irregular discussions with the FBI).

If there was no wrongdoing in the White House's handling of the Travelgate matter, as Messrs. McLarty and Panetta assert in their report, it is difficult to understand the administration's absolute refusal to release any information to the public nine months after the event. The president or Ms. Reno can and should order the release of this information today.

Now, in the midst of the White House damage control effort in Whitewater, the Clintons are promising full cooperation with investigators. Let us hope that this latest pledge is more serious than the president's earlier commitment to FOIA and the "principles of government openness."

Mark R. Levin is Director of Legal Policy at Landmark Legal Foundation.

White House to Run Own Probe of Travel Firings

By PAUL RICHTER
and RONALD J. OSTROW
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

AI

WASHINGTON—The White House, in one more attempt to quell the furor over changes in its travel office staff, announced Tuesday it will investigate the role of its own officials in the affair and restore pay and benefits, at least temporarily, for five of the seven employees dismissed on mismanagement charges.

"Clearly, we did not handle this as we would have liked, and we're going to do better," said George Stephanopoulos, the White House communications director. The investigation will be overseen by White House Chief of Staff Thomas (Mack) McLarty and Office of Management and Budget Director Leon E. Panetta, he said.

Officials also attempted to end criticism that the White House had broken its own rules by contacting the FBI on the case without going through senior Justice Department officials. White House Counsel Bernard Nussbaum insisted officials had broken no "policy, procedure."

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TRAVEL: Inquiry by White House

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dure or other requirement" because the case dealt with "internal White House security."

Nonetheless, citing the wishes of Atty. Gen. Janet Reno and White House officials to avoid "any possible appearance of impropriety," Nussbaum said that from now on officials will contact one of the top three Justice Department officials before approaching the FBI.

Despite the White House statements, Republican leaders renewed their call for a full Justice Department investigation, and Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, called the affair an "amateur hour" involving "rookies."

The flap at first seemed likely to be a minor one. When White House officials announced the dismissals

missed."

"The question is whether the people who were hurt did anything to merit it," Stephanopoulos said. "We'll just have to see."

Stephanopoulos said the five now on leave are the junior members of the staff, who did not have "signatory authority" like their superiors, Billy R. Dale and Gary Wright. If they are cleared by the current FBI investigation, they could become eligible for federal jobs in some other part of the government, Stephanopoulos said. All seven have denied wrongdoing.

Stephanopoulos acknowledged that White House officials had made "a mistake" in distributing last Friday as a press release a letter from the FBI that confirmed the agency was conducting a criminal investigation.

Nussbaum's assertion that White House officials were free to contact the FBI directly on "internal security" questions did not seem borne out by a statement of Administration policy contained in a letter sent Monday by Philip B. Heymann, the deputy attorney general-designate.

In a letter to Biden, Heymann wrote that it was Reno's view that "in the matter of any pending Department of Justice investigation or criminal or civil case, only the White House Counsel's Office [with the exception of the President and vice president] should initiate contact with the Department of Justice. . . . These initial contacts should be only with the attorney general or the deputy attorney general or the associate attorney general."

Later in the letter, Heymann stated: "The attorney general's goal is to insulate the . . . attorneys and division chiefs from any effort, however well-intended, by persons outside the Department of Justice to influence their actions."

On Monday, Reno called Nussbaum to register her concern about the contacts with the FBI. But a Justice Department spokesman, Carl Stern, insisted Reno had done so not out of any concern for Administration rules but because "she was very wary about the White House calling the FBI on anything—without going through her."

Asked about Nussbaum's defense, Stern said: "Technically, that's correct. In theory this was not a pending investigation. It was

White House Travel Troubles

The Administration gives this sequence of events on the White House travel office.

■ **Feb. 15:** A 25-year-old cousin of Clinton told White House administrator David Watkins about "questionable practices," and wrote a memo calling for the firing of the seven employees. After the firing, she was put in charge of travel coordination.

■ **May 10:** Hollywood producer and Clinton friend Harry Thomason told Watkins about complaints that the travel office was not allowing competitive bidding on charter business. A memo by a Thomason business associate, Darnell Martens, that appears to solicit charter business was faxed to the White House.

■ **May 12:** Watkins brought concerns of mismanagement to associate White House counsel Bill Kennedy, a former law partner of First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. Watkins has ties to World Wide Travel. After the firings, he was given control of the office, but the White House reversed itself amid the uproar and severed the relationship.

■ **May 13:** Kennedy brought the allegations to Frederick Verinder, deputy assistant director of the FBI. Kennedy wanted advice on how to proceed. Also, the White House brought in auditors to review the travel office's books.

■ **May 15:** An outside auditing firm spent six hours reviewing the office's books. The FBI also was called in again and determined "there was a reason to go forward," according to spokesman George Stephanopoulos.

■ **May 19:** The White House announced the firings, saying the FBI was asked to investigate. Thomason stood in the back of the briefing room when spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers made the announcement.

■ **May 21:** As the controversy intensified, Stephanopoulos held an informal meeting "to figure out where we were." An FBI agent attended the Friday meeting and was asked to release a statement saying a criminal investigation was warranted. The statement was issued later in the day.

■ **May 25:** The White House announced an internal review of the travel office firings and backed off its original statement that seven employees were dismissed. It said five were actually on "administrative leave."

Source: Times staff and wire reports



Harry Thomason

Rather than 'an attempt to inappropriately influence an investigation, it seems what we have here are rookies on the beat.'

SEN. JOSEPH R. BIDEN JR. (D-DEL.)

May 19, citing bad record-keeping and possible criminal infractions, they said their goal was to improve service and save money for the press and White House staff, whose travel the employees arranged.

But criticism grew with disclosures that a distant cousin of Clinton's, Catherine Cornelius, was named to head a reorganized travel office, and disclosures that the firings followed a complaint from the President's friend, Harry Thomason, who has an interest in a firm that does work for airline charter companies. Thomason has denied that he would reap any financial benefit.

Stephanopoulos said the five employees have not, in effect, been rehired. Rather, he said, their administrative leaves were being indefinitely extended, with full pay and health benefits. That explanation differed in a key way from that given last week by White House Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers, who said all seven had been "dis-

something they were trying to bring to the attention of the FBI."

Meanwhile, the FBI said it is conducting its own internal review of how it responded to the White House allegations of criminal activity at the travel office. The review, which is to be completed by the end of the week, is intended to help the agency answer questions from Reno and Congress.

Sen. Bob Dole (R-Kan.), the Senate minority leader, called on Biden to conduct hearings into the affair, citing a "potentially serious abuse of power" by the Clinton Administration. "It takes you back to Watergate."

But Biden said he had no plans to hold such hearings because he was confident that Reno's complaint to Nussbaum would avert any future problems. Rather than "an attempt to inappropriately influence an in-

vestigation," Biden said, "it seems what we have here are rookies on the beat."

Clinton, meanwhile, continued to keep a careful distance from the affair, insisting he had little knowledge of what his subordinates had done. "I had nothing to do with any decision, except to try to save the taxpayers and the press money," he said during a Tuesday photo session at the White House. "Any other questions, I'll just refer you to Mr. McLarty."

Later Tuesday, he said: "There's nothing funny going on here. We really were trying to save money for everybody."

And some White House aides were confessing their frustrations. "It's very dispiriting," said one. "I'm really bummed out by the whole thing. I wish we could figure out how to get it behind us."

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5 cleared of wrongdoing
 in travel office inquiry
 BY RANDY LILLESTON
 Democrat-Gazette Washington Bureau
 <n>

WASHINGTON -- The Justice Department has cleared five former employees of the White House travel office of any wrongdoing in the controversy that engulfed the office earlier this year.

The five were among seven travel office employees fired in May after White House officials claimed financial irregularities in the way the office handled business. The office is responsible for booking flights for White House officials and arranging charters for the media covering the president; the charters are paid by the news organizations going along on trips.

The firings turned into a major controversy in the White House when it subsequently was discovered that:

<SBULL><n>White House attorneys pushed the Federal Bureau of Investigation to confirm a criminal investigation into the office.

<SBULL><n>Longtime Clinton friend and Hollywood producer Harry Thomason, who is part owner of an air charter company, had inquired about the media charters and had pushed for an investigation.

<SBULL><n>Catherine Cornelius, a distant relative of Clinton's who had been in charge of arranging media charters during last year's presidential campaign, had been put into the office in February, had gathered documents used to justify

the firings and then was put in charge of the office.

Two of the employees since have retired and the other five were un-fired a week after the original firings. They have been on administrative leave, with pay, since that time.

We see no additional obstacles now to full-time employment, White House press secretary Dee Dee Myers said Thursday. However, the five will not be offered positions in the travel office, she said. Instead, they will be offered posts in other federal agencies at equivalent pay.

Several of the five had hired lawyers after the firings, although the employees serve at the pleasure of the president and can be terminated without cause. When asked if there was any prospect that the legal costs of the five would be reimbursed, Myers said, Not that I know of.

Myers noted that the Justice Department had not ended its investigation of the travel office, but simply had cleared the five former employees of any wrongdoing.

The travel office controversy has been a continuing source of embarrassment and pain for the Clinton administration. White House chief of staff Thomas F. Mack McLarty issued a report July 2 that showed a wide variety of questionable contacts, particularly the White House counsel's contact with the FBI. The controversy surrounding that contact, and the subsequent negative publicity it caused for the counsel's office, has been listed as a possible factor in the suicide July 20 of Vincent Foster Jr., White House deputy counsel

Clinton Friends Cited In Travel Staff Purge

Report Says First Lady Monitored Actions

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

The White House report on the firing of its travel office staff offers a detailed portrait of political favoritism, spurred by Harry Thomason, the movie producer friend of the Clintons, and monitored by the First Lady.

White House Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty released the report during a news conference in which he apologized to the travel office employees fired in May for unfair and insensitive treatment and said five who had no financial or management roles would be reinstated in government jobs. McLarty said he had reprimanded four White House aides who handled the situation, but none lost their jobs, ranks or pay.

McLarty concluded the firings were prompted by a desire to rectify dismal financial management in the travel office, not to provide jobs and business for friends of the administration. "We did the right thing but did it in the wrong way," he said. The travel office workers are paid by the government to coordinate media travel on presidential trips.

Republican leaders dismissed the internal review as a "white-wash." Sen. Christopher S. Bond (R-Mo.) joined with Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) and Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.) in calling for an independent investigation by a counsel appointed by the attorney general.

"The White House mistakes were not just incompetence made from inexperience," Bond said. "They were serious ethical violations made from poor ethical judgment."

In his press briefing, McLarty portrayed the episode as an example of poor judgment. But the report and documents seem to indicate favoritism and self-interest at work.

In the documents, campaign aide and distant Clinton cousin Catherine A. Cornelius, who was appointed to run the travel office after the firings, is portrayed as strongly coveting the job from the time of the transition. She was placed in the office by White House director of administration David Watkins before the White House discovered any evidence of financial mismanagement.

The report recounted how

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White House Rebukes 4 On Travel Staff Shake-Up

Report Is Strikingly Self-Critical on Dismissals

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 2 — The White House today issued a strikingly self-critical report that faulted the behavior of one of its authors and rebuked four other officials for the dismissals of the White House travel staff last May. The four were reprimanded for improperly dismissing the staff members, for appearing to pressure the F.B.I. and for permitting a friend of President Clinton's to become involved in a matter in which he had a financial stake.

The 80-page report on the travel office affair, which paralyzed Mr. Clinton's staff for a week in May, also disclosed that Hillary Rodham Clinton had taken a personal interest in accusations of mismanagement at the office, which handles the itineraries of White House officials and the White

House press corps.

The report said Mrs. Clinton strongly supported the original investigation into management of the travel office and was informed by memorandum, two days before the President was informed, that the seven members of the travel staff were going to be dismissed on May 19.

Little Mention of Clinton

The report was published six weeks after the White House publicly humiliated the seven travel aides by announcing their summary dismissals, claiming it had evidence of gross mismanagement and hinting that some of the staff might have been involved in criminal activity. Over the course of several embarrassing days, the White House was forced to retreat, rehire five of the seven and investigate its own actions.

The report made no significant mention of Mr. Clinton, although he had earlier accepted ultimate responsibility for the affair. The White House Chief of Staff, Thomas F. McLarty 3d, who wrote the document with Leon E. Panetta, the budget director, assumed the overall management responsibility for the dismissals, which he said he did without first notifying the President. It was not clear what input, if any, the President or Mrs. Clinton had in subsequent decisions. The report suggests that they had none.

It concludes that Mr. McLarty and the White House Counsel's office had "the opportunity to contain the momentum" of the travel office affair as it ballooned "but did not take adequate advantage of this opportunity."

The release of the report in the White House press room made for an extraordinary session of reprimand, self-criticism and confession by officials of the Clinton White House. Appearing subdued and contrite, Mr. Panetta and Mr. McLarty were blunt in admitting mistakes. But they stopped short of admitting that any staff members had lied or that more than just "appearances" of impropriety, cronyism and pressure

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White House Is Sharply Self-Critical on Travel Staff Shake-Up

Continued From Page 1

tactics had been involved — even though the report itself suggests evidence of both.

'Mistakes Were Made'

"There were no criminal violations involved here," Mr. Panetta said. "Mistakes were made — mistakes of judgment, mistakes of inexperience that included inappropriate actions with respect to the F.B.I., allowing the appearance that personal interest and favoritism could play a role in management decisions, and unfair treatment of White House employees."

The only punishments meted out to the four White House employees held responsible for those mistakes were letters of reprimand; there will be no loss of pay.

The Senate Republican leader, Bob Dole of Kansas, criticized that discipline as too mild, saying, "Somebody ought to be more than just reprimanded."

The four reprimanded White House employees were: David Watkins, director of administration and management; William Kennedy, an assistant White House counsel; Jeff Eller, director of media affairs; and Catherine Cornelius, the current head of the travel office.

Ms. Cornelius, a 25-year old distant cousin of Mr. Clinton, will be reassigned to another job, Mr. McLarty said. At Mr. Watkins's behest, Ms. Cornelius copied and smuggled documents out of the travel office in the process of building a case against the seven old employees, the report said. After the dismissals, she was put in charge of the office.

Producer's Role Questioned

The report also questioned the role played by Harry Thomason, the Hollywood producer and close friend of the Clintons with his own White House pass, who was advising the White House on staging Presidential events. Out of concern for the President, the report said, Mr. Thomason took it upon himself to look into the affairs of the travel office and to question why asso-

Travel Office Report at a Glance

Highlights of the White House report on the dismissals of its travel staff in May.

WHAT THE TRAVEL OFFICE DID WRONG

- Inadequately controlled cash and checks.
- Inadequately documented bills.
- Billed press corps according to cost estimates, not exact prices.
- Had no written contract with the airline charter company.

WHAT WHITE HOUSE OFFICIALS DID WRONG

- Dismissed travel office employees without notice, without a chance to defend themselves and without giving adequate reasons.
- Left the impression that friends of the President who had a financial stake in the investigation of the office were allowed to influence decisions.
- Left the appearance of putting pressure on the F.B.I. by improperly consulting the bureau.
- Improperly hired a company that had had financial relationships with the Clinton campaign and with Clinton Administration officials to take over the travel office.

ciates of his in the airline industry were not able to bid on White House business. The report said that this "clearly extended beyond what he was originally asked to do" and that he and his friends "stood to benefit" from a reorganization of the office.

Mr. McLarty personally apologized to the seven travel office employees for dismissing them without appropriate sensitivity or care. He said that the five who were not involved with financial transactions in the office would be returned to Government jobs and reassigned to other departments.

Despite the myriad missteps by the White House, Mr. McLarty and Mr. Panetta insisted that the basic reason for their looking into the travel office in the first place was valid, and that new procedures instituted there would re-

sult in savings for taxpayers and the traveling press.

"This was an area where they had unaccounted for funds almost totaling \$18,000," Mr. Panetta said. "There was no formal financial reporting process, no reconciliation of financial information, no documented system of checks and balances on transactions and accounting decisions within the office."

Today's report stopped short of exonerating any of the dismissed staff members, noting that the F.B.I. investigation was continuing. The agency has said it found no evidence of criminal wrongdoing.

The report divides the White House's missteps into several areas. First, it said, "the abrupt manner of dismissal of the travel office employees was unnecessary and insensitive." While a

report by the accounting firm Peat Marwick found mismanagement, it "did not furnish sufficient evidence for terminating" the five employees who had no financial authority in the office. And the report said that the two employees who did have such authority should have received a full explanation for their termination, evidence of wrongdoing and an opportunity to respond.

Second, an associate White House counsel, Mr. Kennedy, called the F.B.I. to seek guidance on how to look into an internal security matter of this nature. When the F.B.I. did not respond quickly enough to satisfy Mr. Kennedy, he contacted several F.B.I. officials and "appears to have made statements conveying urgency and high levels of White House interest," the report said.

According to Jim Bourke, the Chief of the F.B.I.'s Special Inquiry Unit, "Kennedy said that he needed to hear from Bourke within the next 15 minutes and that if the F.B.I. were unable to provide guidance, Kennedy might have to seek guidance from another agency, such as the I.R.S.," the report said.

This would not have been justified, the report said, and "could have been interpreted as an ultimatum, even if that was not intended."

Insensitivity Alleged

The report also said it was a mistake for the White House communications office to disclose publicly that the F.B.I. was examining possible criminal behavior in the travel office, since it is standing F.B.I. policy not to confirm or deny such investigations.

In addition, the report said, an "appearance of impropriety" was created when the White House brought the F.B.I.'s spokesman, John Collingwood, to a White House communications meeting to discuss issuing an F.B.I. press release saying that criminal wrongdoing was possible at the travel office.

Finally, the report says, White House officials took "several actions that demonstrated an insensitivity to the appearance of favoritism."

July 4: America and South Africa

PRESIDENT Clinton travels today to the birthplace of American democracy to award the Philadelphia Liberty Medal to two deserving men from South Africa. It is a moment of deep resonance. As Americans observe their own Independence Day, it is fitting to honor another revolution that is underway in a distant land.

As the United States took a historic step 217 years ago through a declaration of explicit principles, so it is that South Africa is now evoking similar considerations of individual worth and dignity to draw the curtain on centuries of oppression and authoritarian rule. Next year, that long-suffering nation will hold its first universal election. It will be an occasion when skin color no longer defines the condition for receiving the rights and benefits of citizenship. Our national day is exactly the right occasion to link South Africa's passage to our own.

It adds to the allure of the Fourth of July that this nation can pay tribute to two men who have contributed to a historic turn in South Africa: African National Congress President Nelson Mandela and President Frederik W. de Klerk. There are some Americans, a few perhaps, who cannot understand how two people who for so long were on the opposite sides of racial apartheid could both

be invited to an American shrine to receive a medal of freedom. Mr. Mandela, who spent much of his adult life locked away as a political prisoner because of his resistance to legal segregation, will share the honor with someone who was elected president with formidable credentials for protecting the very foundations of apartheid.

But more than Mr. Mandela's triumph over oppression and imprisonment is being celebrated today. Nor should Mr. de Klerk's presence at Independence Hall be treated as part of some delicate diplomatic balancing act. South Africa is on the verge of fashioning a new political order with values and rights that, in many respects, echo our own. These two South African leaders, with much sacrifice, have brought their racially stratified nation to that promising point.

If, as now seems likely, Mr. Mandela and a nonracial coalition will be the victors in South Africa's coming elections, then he will join President Clinton in assuming official responsibility for governing a society still burdened by racial disparities and inequality. Mr. Clinton acknowledged as much by saying in his Independence Day proclamation that the United States' own mission is "far from complete." Those words bind America and South Africa to a common ground.

The Travel Office Report

THE WHITE HOUSE travel office scandal, on which the administration has now issued a report, was a case in which, in part because some aides were interested in the jobs and others in the business, the administration cleaned out the loosely run travel office, firing all seven career employees. When the firing was disclosed, the press secretary said that it had occurred after an accounting firm found "gross mismanagement," "shoddy accounting practices" and "many discrepancies" in the accounts of the in-house travel agency and that the FBI was investigating. A few days later some senior White House aides called in an FBI official to "clarify" a press release so that it matched the White House explanation. One of the aides who wanted and got the job of running the reconstituted travel office was a distant presidential cousin. One of the people inquiring about the travel office business was a presidential friend with a White House pass and the apparent run of the White House, who turned out himself to have an interest in a travel company.

Friday's report suggested further that Mrs. Clinton on several occasions inquired about and/or was kept informed of the progress in taking over the office, and that the official who did the actual firings proposed at one point that the press secretary describe them as having been "the result of

... the vice president's National Performance Review," the administration's heavily advertised effort to "reinvent government."

That's the wrong thing in the wrong way. White House Chief of Staff Mack McLarty announced that four White House aides, including the one who did the firing and the one who sought to run the travel office, had been reprimanded; that the travel office aspirant was being reassigned; that new rules had been issued regarding contact with the FBI (and IRS) to prevent even the appearance of their political manipulation; and that a review was underway of the issuance of White House passes. He also apologized to the seven employees for the fact that their firings had been "publicly connected by the White House with an FBI inquiry" and said that new jobs were being found for five. The travel office will meanwhile still be reorganized.

The question the critics instantly asked was whether reprimands were enough. Was the president's staff merely slapping itself on the wrist, etc? Wrong question. The serious punishment in this case has already been administered—to the administration at large, in terms of image and reputation. The issue is whether the folks in the White House—senior as well as junior—have learned from that. Future behavior is how you'll be able to judge.

Wednesday, July 7 editions:
EDITORIAL

'TRAVELGATE' FIASCO

Lesson learned

THE timing of the holiday weekend release of a lengthy internal report highly critical of how members of the Clinton administration mishandled the abrupt firing in May of seven White House travel office employees could not have been better.

Indeed, whether it was planned that way or not, the embarrassing wrap-up to what became known as the "travelgate" affair was all but lost in the midst of the long Independence Day weekend. Given the disproportionate attention the travel office flap garnered in the first place, few would disagree that a somewhat inconspicuous conclusion was fitting.

After all, the problem with the travel office fiasco was that it became in short order a public relations disaster for the new administration. The 80-page report confirmed what everyone suspected from the beginning: that the White House staff jumped to unwarranted conclusions about the operations of the travel office and then compounded the error by trying to manufacture evidence of wrongdoing.

"There was good business and good government justification to implement some prompt changes in the travel office, but, to our regret, we erred in implementing these needed changes," is how White House chief of staff Thomas "Mack" McLarty put it. "We did the right thing, but we clearly did it the wrong way."

To begin with, the internal report found, the initial investigation into the travel office began with a complaint from Hollywood bigwig and "Friend of Bill" Harry Thomason, who had a financial interest in the charter-airline business. That should have been the first warning sign to Clinton aides to go slow.

Instead, after an apparently incomplete review of travel office operations, including snooping by another Clinton acquaintance, a distant cousin who hoped to take over the management of the office, the administration hastily fired the seven workers and im-

properly pressured the FBI to corroborate that it was investigating criminal activity in the office.

As it has turned out, the travel office did suffer from financial mismanagement, including a failure to properly record \$18,000 in checks written on a petty-cash account, the report found. But such conduct hardly necessitated the summary firings of the seven workers. Five of the workers have since been reassigned to other jobs, and the other two, longtime federal employees, are reportedly retiring from government service.

For their part, four White House employees who had a hand in the fiasco - a McLarty aide, an assistant counsel, a press aide and Cathy Cornelius, the Clinton cousin - were given letters of reprimand. The White House also announced that stricter accounting procedures would be implemented.

The obvious lesson in all this is that the White House should look carefully before it decides to leap to what may be an erroneous conclusion. By failing to use caution, "travelgate" ballooned into a much bigger problem for the administration. That the White House chose an opportune moment to admit its shortcomings seems to indicate that at least part of the lesson already has been learned.

Who Is William Kennedy III? V

The White House report on its travel office scandal, Gergened out into the void of the July 4 weekend, would have you believe that William Kennedy III is just one of four White House aides who will have letters of reprimand put in their personnel files. In fact, the associate White House counsel is also the former managing partner of Little Rock's Rose Law Firm, which is to say Hillary Rodham Clinton's number one legal partner.

Friday's limited, modified hangout does establish a basic factual record, but obviously puts a defensive gloss on the travel office shenanigans. Even at its most innocent level, it's a chortle-chucked portrait of court intrigue. But the titillation should not obscure the chilling reality: One of the First Lady's closest associates invoked the White House in calling the FBI to instigate a criminal investigation of functionaries who'd incurred the displeasure of the Clinton inner circle.

The origins of this displeasure seem to lie with Catherine Cornelius, the distant Clinton cousin appointed to head the travel office when seven employees were fired, and Harry Thomason, the First Couple's filmmaker crony, who also has a pecuniary interest in TRM, an air charter firm inquiring after White House business. It soon spread to Deputy Communications Director Jeff Eller, with whom Ms. Cornelius had "a personal relationship," the report reports. And to David Watkins, major-domo for personnel, and High Chamberlain Thomas "Mack" McLarty.

And soon the word was up to the Queen herself. Mrs. Clinton was inquiring about the travel office with Deputy White House Counsel Vincent Foster and Chief of Staff McLarty, received updates from Mr. Watkins and was carboned on crucial memos.

Mr. Kennedy, however, did the heavy lifting. He called the FBI—because, the report states, he couldn't figure out where else to get some auditing expertise. When the FBI was slow to respond, he said he'd call the IRS instead. A week later, IRS auditors did show up at UltraAir, the TRM competitor usually used by the travel office; an IRS statement denies there was any contact with the White House. According to press reports, the agents told UltraAir officials they'd read about the controversy in the press.

In any event, auditors from Peat Marwick were soon swarming over the travel office accounts, quite plausibly finding the records a mess and identifying \$18,000 in disbursements not accounted for. The seven employees were fired, and the White House announced that the FBI had started an investigation, and the FBI's spokesman was summoned to the



William Kennedy III

White House for "inquiries" about his impending press statement. As a result of their roles, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Watkins, Mr. Eller and Ms. Cornelius were reprimanded, but no further action was taken.

Now, the travel office snafu was so complete it's tempting to ring it up to inexperience. Unhappily, it seems part of a law enforcement pattern centering on the Rose clique. Remember Webster Hubbell, the former Rose partner who was "White House liaison" to the Justice Department and now associate attorney general; he set up the meetings that led to the Justice Department reversing its position in a corruption trial of a member of Congress. Mr. Foster is also a former Rose partner. His defense of Mrs. Rodham Clinton's health care task force did succeed in getting her declared a federal employee, but cut some legal corners along the way.

We've been particularly interested in the Rose firm's four-partner implant in the administration because of its representation of the Arkansas financial empire headed by Jackson Stephens. Our interest in the Stephens companies, in turn, was piqued because they handled the deal when proxies for BCCI bought Washington's First American Bank. Mr. Stephens says there has been no further contact with the BCCI figures.

Stephens executives were an important source of contributions for the Clinton campaign, and its primary-season finances were salvaged by a timely loan from Worthen Banking Corp., more than 36% owned by Stephens interests. Mr. McLarty, by the way, was chief executive of Arkla Inc.—the Arkansas Louisiana Gas Co. that was the original cornerstone of the Stephens fortune. Unhappily for Stephens, its new influence brought increased scrutiny of an ongoing concern about whether it complies with laws mandating the separation of investment banking and commercial banking. The Fed found one holding, in the First National Bank of Stuttgart, in violation of the Glass-Steagall Act. Papers putting the holding at 43% instead of 60% were filed, according to Jeff Gerth's report in the New York Times, by the Rose firm's William Kennedy III.

Now, we wouldn't want to make too much of all this. Lawyers are paid to take positions in defense of their clients. The Stephens companies have done a lot of economic good, and we're not sure we agree with Glass-Steagall in the first place. Any administration will reach back to home-state roots in appointing key personnel, and we think conflict-of-interest concerns have been carried to the point where people of stature shun government.

Still, the early indications of the Rose view of the law are certainly disconcerting, displaying a lot of corner-cutting and casual abuse of power. If these are the people in position to start FBI investigations and sway the administration of justice, they are going to bear a lot of watching.

GOP says Thomason may have broken law

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

House and Senate GOP leaders are investigating whether President Clinton's Hollywood pal Harry Thomason used his quasi-federal-officer status to steer White House travel business to his company in violation of federal law.

In a growing partisan war between congressional Republicans and the White House, GOP leaders are building the case that Mr. Thomason held an official position in the early Clinton White House and violated a federal law banning federal officers from steering govern-

ment work to firms they have an interest in.

Congressional Republicans are focusing on Mr. Thomason's job as a director of the Inaugural Committee and his role as a "presidential adviser" who held an exclusive all-points White House pass and was given office space and a secretary during the first month of the Clinton administration.

The Republicans claim that Mr. Thomason, co-producer of the CBS sitcoms "Evening Shade" and "Designing Women," was essentially an administration officer because he

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TRAVEL ✓

From page A1

had the pass and office rights of a top Clinton "adviser."

A July 2 White House probe of the "Travelgate" scandal reported that Mr. Thomason sought to steer White House travel office business to a company in which he is part owner — Thomason, Richland & Martens, a small aviation firm.

"You can make a strong case that he was a special employee ... who took actions that would benefit him," said a congressional Republican leadership aide.

"He seemed to be a de facto employee since he had a pass. He had a quasi-official status," said Rep. William Clinger Jr. of Pennsylvania, the top Republican on the House Government Operations Committee.

White House spokesman Arthur Jones said yesterday that Mr. Thomason never held any official status at the White House. "He's not a federal employee. ... He's just a friend," he said.

But the White House travel office report written by Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty said Mr. Thomason had a "special assignment" in the White House during the first weeks of the administration.

Mr. Clinger rejected Mr. Jones' characterization, charging that the White House was twisting federal rules to give Mr. Thomason an escape from federal conflict-of-interest laws, such as Section 208 of the Federal Code.

"It suggests a very cavalier attitude toward governance and suggests that the White House approach is 'since we are in command, we can do anything we want regardless of the rules and regulations,'" Mr. Clinger said.

GOP leaders, including House Mi-

nority Leader Robert H. Michel and Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, are considering asking Attorney General Janet Reno to appoint a special prosecutor to investigate the affair, which led to the reprimand of four White House officials.

Short of that, the Republicans will seek a General Accounting Office investigation or set up their own independent inquiry, Mr. Clinger said.

Jed Babbin, a federal legal expert and former Pentagon counsel, said Mr. Thomason's title or role is not clear. But he added, "If he is an officer of the executive branch, then it appears he would have violated Section 208 by trying to steer a contract for White House business to a company he has an interest in."

Either way, "somebody ought to look into this," Mr. Babbin said.

Officials said the congressional Republican probe also is expected to examine other relationships and questions raised in the White House investigation of the travel office scandal. Among them:

- Why was first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton involved in an attempt to oust longtime travel office employees and replace them with the president's cousin Catherine Cornelius and others?

The White House report said Mrs. Clinton inquired about problems she had heard existed in the travel office but didn't provide further details.

- Was David Watkins, assistant to the president for management and administration, involved in efforts by Miss Cornelius to seize control of the travel office and oust seven longtime travel office workers?

- Why hasn't the White House fired or demoted the four senior officials singled out for reprimand in the travel office report?

The four were Miss Cornelius, Mr. Watkins, Deputy Communications Director Jeff Eller and Watkins aide

Clarissa Cerda. Mr. Jones said yesterday that none of the aides have been fired or demoted, adding that Mr. Eller has been given the prominent role of directing the administration's promoting of its health care plan.

The White House's report on the travel office, unusual in its frankness, found a handful of management problems with the White House travel office, but no criminal charges have been filed.

The report also found that many White House officials acted improperly in firing the travel office workers before lodging any formal charges. Two of the workers have since retired, and the remaining five are to be reassigned.

Mr. Thomason, who has essentially been banned from the White House due to administration concerns about reports about the president being too close to Hollywood, was a central figure in the travel office scandal, according to the report.

During the presidential campaign, Mr. Thomason's firm did billing and consulting work for the Clinton campaign's air charter broker. Rebuffed by the travel office, Mr. Thomason told Mr. Clinton he thought the travel office was engaged in wrongdoing.

"Thomason should have avoided continued involvement in a matter in which his business partner and his friends in the charter business stood to benefit and in which there was an appearance of financial conflict of interest," said the report.

"There should be better management control with respect to the mission that any non-White House staff person is brought in to carry out. Permitting Thomason — or any non-staff person who comes in on special assignments — to work on problems outside the scope of his or her assignment is not a good practice."



Thomason investigated for interest conflict

President Clinton's crony from Hollywood, Harry Thomason, doesn't hang around the White House anymore, but in the first month of the new administration he held an all-points pass and was given an office and a secretary in the mansion. Now GOP leaders on the Hill say he steered White House travel business to his own firm and, if he was an official aide, he may have broken the law.

■ Page A1

Joint Chiefs hold fate of gay plan

The six members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff all support one of the three proposed policies regarding homosexuals in the military. But their split over the other two versions of "don't ask, don't tell" is seen as a risky stance when they come before the Senate. Key staffers on Capitol Hill indicated yesterday any proposal with less-than-unanimous backing by the chiefs is likely to be shot down.

■ Page A1

Student gunman killed, 3 injured at college

OGDEN, Utah — A Vietnamese university student shot and injured three persons in front of horrified witnesses during a hearing on campus yesterday before a security guard returned fire and killed the gunman, local authorities said.

The shooting occurred at a hearing on a complaint filed by a married Vietnamese couple against the gunman allegedly involving verbal

harassment.

"The gunman was a Vietnamese student and he was accused of verbally and physically harassing a 28-year-old Vietnamese woman, also a student," a university spokesman said.

The woman was not harmed, but her husband was among the injured. A lawyer and the security guard were also injured in the shooting.

The student gunman was identified as Mark Duong, 28.

Sheik refuses to take insulin

NEW YORK — Radical Sheik Omar Abdel-Rahman, who is being held in an upstate New York prison on immigration charges, is refusing to take his medication to protest regulations he says interfere with his religion, an associate said Wednesday.

The 55-year-old blind cleric, who suffers from diabetes, was detained Friday after a standoff with the FBI and the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

He was admitted to the prison hospital Tuesday after his blood sugar level rose to abnormal levels.

"The sheik told me he is protesting because they will not allow him to wear his long robe and because he is not getting meat and poultry that has been slaughtered according to Muslim dietary laws," said Ahmed Sattar, a Muslim activist and close associate of the cleric.

Mr. Sattar said officials at the Federal Correctional Institution at Otisville, N.Y., where the cleric is being held, had refused to allow Mr. Abdel-Rahman to pray with three other Muslims on their weekly holy day.

Report outlines pollution of lands

The nation's public lands are littered with ammunition and other environmental pollution that will cost taxpayers billions of dollars to clean up, according to a congressional report.

The report released yesterday is the first government attempt to assess the contamination. It chronicles mine sites that have tainted surface and ground water, oil and gas wells contaminated with oil and drilling waste, pollution from irrigation runoff, and unexploded ordnance on 2 million acres of Interior Department land used for military training and weapons testing.

"As a result of inadequate laws and decades of neglect, the American taxpayer will be saddled with billions of dollars in cleanup costs," said Rep. George Miller, California Democrat, chairman of the House Natural Resources Subcommittee on Oversight and Investigations.

Reno would order attack on cult again

Nearly three months after a religious cult went up in flames after an FBI tear-gas attack, Attorney General Janet Reno says she would approve the same FBI action today.



Reno

"I've gone over it in my mind night after night as I've fallen asleep, trying to determine if there was something different that I would have done," Miss Reno said on the ABC News program "20/20" to be broadcast tonight.

"But based on the information that has been developed to date, I don't think that there is anything different that I would do," she said.

The 51-day standoff with the Branch Davidian cult began with a shootout Feb. 28 in which four federal Treasury agents and six cult members were killed.

On April 19, the FBI punched holes in the walls of the cult's complex near Waco, Texas, and poured in a chemical irritant. Shortly afterward, the complex burned down in a fire officials say was set by cult members. At least 85 cult members died that day.

Haitian with HIV slams Guantanamo treatment

A Haitian woman infected with the AIDS virus complained at an Amnesty International news conference yesterday of mistreatment while she was detained at the Guantanamo Bay Naval Station in Cuba.

Defense Department officials, however, said refugees detained at the U.S. base were treated "far better" there than at home in Haiti.

A woman who identified herself only as Yolande Jean told reporters she had been given experimental drugs for her AIDS infection that made her and other detainees sick.

She also said she had been kept in cramped quarters and given spoiled food.

"They were experimenting with us with new treatments for HIV," she said, referring to the virus that causes AIDS.

Navy to commission new submarine

The Navy will commission its newest nuclear ballistic missile submarine tomorrow. The vessel is named after the state of Nebraska, the Pentagon said yesterday.

The Ohio-class sub will be the 14th of the 18 ballistic missile submarines authorized by Congress. The commissioning ceremony will be held at the Naval Underwater Warfare Center in New London, Conn.

Sen. Jim Exon, Nebraska Democrat, will speak at the event.

New Nevada law bans brothels

CARSON CITY, Nev. — Nevada, home of the infamous Mustang Ranch and other less notable houses of prostitution, may have accidentally outlawed brothels.

The bill, signed into law last month by Gov. Bob Miller, was intended to make Nevada's loitering laws constitutional.

The bill says it is "unlawful to of-

fer or agree to engage in, engage in or aid and abet any act of prostitution or ... live in or about houses of prostitution."

Nevada law permits brothels in rural counties that decide to license them. They are banned in Clark County, Washoe County, Carson City and a few rural areas.

Lorne Malkiewicz, the legislature's top legal adviser, said nothing can be done to correct the situation until lawmakers return for their 1995 session.

Testimony begins in racketeering trial

SAN ANTONIO — Prosecutors set out to prove former Rep. Albert Bustamante went from a poor man chasing the American dream to an elected official peddling his office for money.

"You're about to learn the story about Albert Bustamante, who was on the take," prosecutor Jackie Bennett told jurors as Mr. Bustamante's racketeering-and-bribery trial began Wednesday.

Attorneys for Mr. Bustamante and his wife, Rebecca, a lawyer on trial on charges of aiding and abetting, told jurors Mr. Bustamante did what any congressman would: work for his constituents.

Chancellor ends NBC News career

BOSTON — John Chancellor ends his 43 years at NBC News reflecting on the 10 years he spent as resident pundit.

"It was an honor to be a guest in your home," Mr. Chancellor said

during his final remarks for the network, which were taped Wednesday for broadcast this evening.

"It's not the end of an era, just the end of my era. I've sort of outlived the culture at NBC," said Mr. Chancellor, 65.

Mr. Chancellor was a foreign correspondent for NBC, covered wars and 20 political conventions and anchored 2,860 network broadcasts before becoming a commentator.

Mr. Chancellor and his wife, Barbara, plan to live in Princeton, N.J., because of "good train service" and "a great library." He plans to write books, including one about television, politics and life in America.

Security guard shoots gunman in office melee

LAS VEGAS — A man armed with a pistol and shotgun drove his truck into a state workers' insurance office and open fired yesterday but was shot by a security guard before anyone was injured.

The gunman ordered dozens of people out of the building and fired a shotgun blast into the ceiling as terrified workers and claimants scattered for the doors.

Witnesses said the man was confronted by a state security guard, who ordered him to drop his weapon. When the man turned and fired at the guard, the guard shot at him, hitting him several times.

The gunman was rushed by ambulance to a nearby hospital. His condition was not immediately known.

From wire dispatches and staff reports

White House May Clamp Down on Passes

By Al Kamen
Washington Post Staff Writer

A "couple handfuls" of Clinton pals are the proud possessors of one of the ultimate power symbols in Washington: a permanent White House pass that allows free access to much of the compound without having an appointment or requiring clearance at guard stations.

But that perk may fall victim to the administration's heightened attention to ethics problems following the mess over the firing of the travel office staff.

White House Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty said last week that an internal review of the fiasco convinced him that too many people had been granted too much access and a new policy would tighten things up.

Aides say the new policy could go into effect by the end of the month, putting the Clinton White House on track with previous administrations that also wrestled with the issue and ultimately determined that such passes be granted in only the rarest of circumstances.

White House officials aren't saying who has passes now, but the most well-known is Harry Thomason, the television producer and Friend of Bill (FOB), whose efforts to oust the White House travel office staff were well-documented in the internal review.

Thomason "should have avoided continued involvement in a matter in which his business partner and his friends stood to benefit and in which was an appearance of conflict of interest," the report said.

It suggests Thomason had a "special assignment" to advise the White House on the staging of presidential events but wandered beyond that when his attention turned to the travel office.

The problem with such no-limits access is that the pass-holders are not vetted for conflicts of interest in any way.

Pass-holder or not, some legal analysts think Thomason and other FOBs who hold passes, get White House office space, have—and act on—specific assignments are legally Special Government Employees (SGE), a designation that subjects them to ethics regulations and laws. These individuals don't have to be paid or even have a specific job but only be "designated" to perform "some duties" regularly or intermittently, in order to fall under conflict-of-interest provisions.

An FOTC (that's Friend of This Column) writes that Thomason is an SGE and, as such, violated federal conflict-of-interest laws by working the White House on a matter in which he had a financial stake.

Asked if the White House examined this issue, a senior official there said the lawyer in charge of ethics, Beth Nolan, looked into it and concluded Thomason was not covered by the law.

But the official said that the "management review" had been forwarded to the Justice Department, which could determine on its own

whether any criminal statutes may have been violated.

Wanted: Someone to Catch NAFTA Arrows

■ With hundreds of government jobs still open, the Clinton team is looking to fill a new one: point man for NAFTA.

This individual would head the effort to get the North American Free Trade Agreement through Congress—side agreements, environmental tangles and all.

The theory is that NAFTA, facing heavy opposition from Democrats and strong criticism from Ross Perot, needs special help.

Sources said the first choice for the task was former Oklahoma representative Jim Jones, who has already been tapped to be ambassador to Mexico. Jones said no thanks to the additional NAFTA duties.

A lot of names—Democratic and Republican—have since been injected into the debate, with Democratic strategist John Sasso a leading contender. He may face competition from former Arkansas representative Beryl F. Anthony Jr.

On the Republican side, a few business and industry and trade names are being bandied about, including James Robinson, former head of American Express, and Wayne Berman, a Washington consultant and investment banker who was the top aide to Commerce Secretary Robert A. Mosbacher in the Bush administration.

Is It Club Membership or Partisanship?

■ Odd how the Senate Judiciary Committee Republicans, led by Sen. Larry Pressler (R-S.D.), have been outraged over the membership in an all-white country club of Eleanor D. Acheson, nominee for assistant attorney general for policy development.

Others who have been members of the same club have had little trouble getting confirmed. Take Robert S. Mueller III, former assistant attorney general in charge of the criminal division in the Bush administration.

Nary a peep was heard during his September 1990 hearing from the now-indignant committee Republicans over Mueller's membership in the Brookline, Mass., country club.

Mueller, on his committee questionnaire, acknowledged his membership, dating to 1982, saying that "until 1989 [when Acheson and others "integrated" the club] the Country Club restricted full membership privileges to males. It no longer has such a restriction," he wrote the committee, citing new admission rules against bias.

However, the club membership is still all white.

Foley Aide Denies Ambassadorship Report

■ Rumors have resurfaced that House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) is on the administration's list to be the next ambassador to Britain. A top Foley aide says, "It's not true" and "it's ridiculous." A senior State Department official also denied the reports.

A Stealthy, Evasive Confession

When the White House was getting ready to fire all seven employees of its travel office, why was notice sent to Hillary Rodham Clinton and not her husband the President? And why, even after the public had learned how Clinton friends engineered the travel office flushout, did the staff feed President Clinton the discredited line that the firings were simply economy measures?

These are among many questions that remain unanswered after the White House release of what it styles as a "management review" of the travel office fiasco that unraveled in May. Thomas McLarty, the chief of staff, hoping to contain the scandal, calls his report "complete and thorough."

But his accounting is replete with the "mistakes were made" format of White House dodges of the past. The mistakes, the report insists, were simply bad judgment and inexperience, nothing venal. The report's confessions were delivered almost by stealth on July 2, presumably in hopes that anyone interested in its contents would be safely at the beach. In any event, more than mistakes were made: Misstatements were made and wrongs were committed.

The report commendably concludes that the travel office employees were cashiered without "sensitivity and decency," that assigning a Clinton cousin to replace them "fed the appearance of favoritism" in dishing out a White House perk, and that it was "not a good practice" to give Clinton friend Harry Thomason roaming privileges in the White House and not cut off his interventions for his business associates. But surely more than appearances were involved here. Mr. Clinton's friends and relatives abused their White House access to gain

advantages for themselves or for their cronies.

The White House also acquits itself of anything much worse than bad appearances in the abuse of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. The staff summoned an F.B.I. official to bolster insinuations that the travel office, instead of being reshuffled for friends, was under investigation for possible criminality. That maneuver, along with suggestions that the Internal Revenue Service might be called in, didn't just look bad. It was bad.

The White House management study says the First Lady inquired about the travel office and was sent a copy of a memo about the impending firings. No one seems to have asked the nature of her interest. The study also says that Bernard Nussbaum, the White House counsel, and two members of his legal staff attended that key meeting with the F.B.I. official. No one asked why Mr. Nussbaum, the in-house ethical watchdog, didn't intervene to stop the obvious pressure on the bureau to make the travel office look crooked as well as inefficient.

The management study concludes that it was wrong to tell reporters that the F.B.I. was probing for criminality but doesn't repent the rest of the White House tale: that the probe of the travel office began as a routine part of Vice President Al Gore's efficiency survey. President Clinton's staff kept giving him that line to sell to the public long after the public had rejected it.

Attorney General Janet Reno may not find criminal abuse of office when she reads this management review. But the Senate Republican leader, Bob Dole, however partisan his impulses, is on the right track to call for a Congressional look at this catalogue of mistakes and deception.

New York Times

7-11-93

The travel office controversy isn't over

The much-heralded report on the White House internal investigation of the debacle over its travel office was released a week ago Friday — timed, conveniently enough, to coincide with the mass exodus from Washington for the Fourth of July holiday — and, as was to be expected, it amounts to not much more than a bit of breast beating and a gentle slap on the wrist for those involved.

The facts presented by the report provide a clear account of the machinations that ended in the summary dismissal — and public humiliation — of the seven long-time employees of the travel office. Take, for example, Catherine Cornelius. The president's cousin had coordinated commercial travel during the campaign, and she had her eye on the travel office from the beginning. During the transition, according to the report, she prepared two memos outlining her ideas for organizing press travel for the Clinton administration. After the inauguration, and once hired as a general White House assistant, she prepared yet a third memo, this time offering a detailed restructuring of the office that put her in charge. From January until April she pressed her case, and finally made it to the office — though not as director — on April 12.

Meanwhile, Clinton buddy Harry Thomason was hearing complaints from his pal (and partner in an aviation consulting firm) Darnell Martens about not being able to get the time of day, business-wise, from the White House travel office. Mr. Martens also let Mr. Thomason in on a rumor he'd heard about corruption in the office. Mr. Thomason passed this on to the president as well as to Assistant to the President for Management and Administration David Watkins — who passed it on to Miss Cornelius, now happily ensconced in the travel office, asking her to "keep her eyes and ears open" to any evidence of corruption there.

This she did, and with a vengeance. She sneaked around copying documents, and brought the copies home with her. She also eavesdropped on office conversations that led her to believe, as the report put it, "that the employees were living in a manner beyond the means of government employees."

At the same time, Harry Thomason was still conducting his own campaign to make the office more congenial to his friends in the travel business. And on May 12th, David Watkins arranged for a meeting between Mr. Thomason and Miss Cornelius, who reached an agreement that something was fishy in the travel office. Later that day, the two presented this consensus to Mr. Watkins, bringing along Mr. Thomason's partner Darnell Martens, who, according to the report, happened to be "in Washington at the time" and told his story of being rebuffed by the travel office's director. The meeting then expanded to include Deputy White House Counsel Vincent Foster and Associate White House Counsel William Kennedy — though Mr. Martens seems to have dropped out at that point. The counsels recommended an audit of the office; when Mr. Watkins declared such an audit beyond White House capability, the problem was given over to Mr. Kennedy.

He immediately called the FBI for "guidance" — and was still awaiting it next morning, when Mr. Foster pressed him for a solution to the problem. Mr. Kennedy then informed his FBI contact that if he couldn't come up with some guidance in "the next fifteen minutes," Mr. Kennedy might have to turn elsewhere — perhaps to the IRS — for help. No fewer than four FBI honchos met with Mr. Kennedy that day, and he told all of them that the case was of interest at "the highest levels at the White House." This was assuredly the truth, if Hillary Rodham Clinton is considered as being at the highest level of the White House; she questioned both Mr. Foster and Chief of Staff Thomas F. McLarty about the travel office problem that afternoon.

While Mr. Kennedy was still awaiting FBI guidance, Mr. Watkins had come up with his own plan: an audit by a non-government firm, KPMG Peat Marwick. The FBI, having been impressed by Mr. Kennedy with the urgency of the case, argued that its agents should accompany the Peat Marwick team; Mr. Thomason, Mr. Cornelius and Deputy Communications Director Jeff Eller — with whom, the report reveals, Miss Cornelius "had a personal relationship" — called for the immediate dismissal of all travel office employees; but Mr. McLarty decided to go with the "more cautious and low-key approach" of doing the audit before instituting an FBI investigation or firing anyone.

Three days later, on May 17, Peat Marwick submitted a report detailing "abysmal management," nonexistent accounting and billing procedures and unaccounted-for cash in the travel office. On May 19th, Mr. Watkins ordered all seven office employees to leave by the end of the day. He also provided press secretary Dee Dee Myers with talking points for the press that described the dismissals as the result of a routine

review and noted that the White House had asked the FBI to investigate financial irregularities. Counsels Foster and Kennedy instructed Mr. Watkins to delete mention of the FBI from the press guidance, but Miss Myers had already left the building. Somehow, no one was able to locate her during the next three hours, and by noon she had already let the FBI cat out of the bag.

The press, having gotten wind of Miss Cornelius' travel-office ambitions and Mr. Thomason's partnership with Darnell Martens, smelled a rat and "questioned the bona fides of the FBI investigation." By May 21, Communications Director George Stephanopoulos, chief White House Counsel Bernard Nussbaum, Mr. Foster and Mr. Kennedy were meeting with FBI Public and Congressional Relations director John Collingwood "to clarify the facts and indicate what could properly be said about the investigation." Mr. Collingwood assured the staffers that it would be accurate to say the FBI had determined there was enough evidence to warrant further investigation. He then went back to his office and "updated" his own press guidance accordingly. He faxed that guidance to the White House press office, which, unaware that it was for their information only, released it to the press.

On May 25th, the White House announced that the five travel office employees with no financial control had had their status upgraded from "dismissed" to "on paid administrative leave," where they remain as of this writing. The FBI investigation continues.

The report's analysis of its own findings is every bit as revealing as the findings themselves. The travel office employees, the report concludes, for one thing, ought to have had "an opportunity to hear the reasons for their termination . . . and . . . to respond." "A more humane approach was in order" in their treatment. The White House ought not to have been so "insensitive" as to have tarnished their reputations, furthermore, by the "inappropriate" disclosure of the FBI investigation.

As to the FBI's involvement in the case, William Kennedy's insinuations about high-level White House interest "risk creating the perception that the FBI is being improperly pressured." Calling the FBI's PR director into a White House communications meeting, moreover, and releasing his updated press guidance, "was . . . improper and insensitive to the appearance of White House influence."

And the role of Harry Thomason and Catherine Cornelius? While "there is every reason to believe," the report asserts, "that these individuals saw their actions as being in the best interests of the White House and the President," and while "it is entirely plausible that Thomason was in no way motivated by the hope of financial gain," nevertheless, their involvement created "the appearance that personal interests" played a role in decisions about the travel office."

The whole imbroglio, in the view of Chief of Staff McLarty and Office of Management and Budget Director Leon Panetta, who conducted the investigation together, is nothing more than a matter of insensitivity to appearances and perceptions.

The Landmark Legal Foundation, for one, is not prepared to leave it at that. The Foundation, a non-profit public interest law firm, called on Attorney General Janet Reno weeks ago to institute a nonpartisan investigation conducted by an experienced prosecutor. Said the Foundation's Mark Levin, "An internal White House review by White House staffers, one of whom [Mr. McLarty] was directly involved in the decision-making, does not constitute a proper investigation. Statements were not taken under oath, and documentation was not properly secured. In short, we still don't know if any laws were broken or regulations breached. And we won't until a real investigation is conducted."

The FBI recently informed the foundation that its request for documents in the case under the Freedom of Information Act will not be fulfilled for "a year or more." So the chance that an independent, non-official inquiry will be able to shed much additional light is low. Only the power of subpoena is going to disgorge the necessary documents and testimony Republicans on Capitol Hill have been making exactly that point.

In the meantime, though we may have no evidence of criminal conduct, we can surely draw the obvious conclusions about the ethics involved. The actions of the White House counsel in this matter were as improper and high-handed as can be imagined. The White House Press Office acted with unforgivable irresponsibility. The behavior of the President's cousin, Catherine Cornelius, and his best friend, Harry Thomason, was as sleazy as sleazy can be. And the White House report on the incident is itself nothing but further evidence of an unwholesome preoccupation with appearances and an arrogant indifference to real malfeasance.

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The press, having gotten wind of Miss Cornelius' travel-office ambitions and Mr. Thomason's partnership with Darnell Martens, smelled a rat and "questioned the bona fides of the FBI investigation." By May 21, Communications Director George Stephanopoulos, chief White House Counsel Bernard Nussbaum, Mr. Foster and Mr. Kennedy were meeting with FBI Public and Congressional Relations director John Collingwood "to clarify the facts and indicate what could properly be said about the investigation." Mr. Collingwood assured the staffers that it would be accurate to say the FBI had determined there was enough evidence to warrant further investigation. He then went back to his office and "updated" his own press guidance accordingly. He faxed that guidance to the White House press office, which, unaware that it was for their information only, released it to the press.

On May 25th, the White House announced that the five travel office employees with no financial control had had their status upgraded from "dismissed" to "on paid administrative leave," where they remain as of this writing. The FBI investigation continues.

The report's analysis of its own findings is every bit as revealing as the findings themselves. The travel office employees, the report concludes, for one thing, ought to have had "an opportunity to hear the reasons for their termination . . . and . . . to respond." "A more humane approach was in order" in their treatment. The White House ought not to have been so "insensitive" as to have tarnished their reputations, furthermore, by the "inappropriate" disclosure of the FBI investigation.

As to the FBI's involvement in the case, William Kennedy's insinuations about high-level White House interest "risk creating the perception that the FBI is being improperly pressured." Calling the FBI's PR director into a White House communications meeting, moreover, and releasing his updated press guidance, "was . . . improper and insensitive to the appearance of White House influence."

And the role of Harry Thomason and Catherine Cornelius? While "there is every reason to believe," the report asserts, "that these individuals saw their actions as being in the best interests of the White House and the President," and while "it is entirely plausible that Thomason was in no way motivated by the hope of financial gain," nevertheless, their involvement created "the appearance that personal interests" played a role in decisions about the travel office."

The whole imbroglio, in the view of Chief of Staff McLarty and Office of Management and Budget Director Leon Panetta, who conducted the investigation together, is nothing more than a matter of insensitivity to appearances and perceptions.

The Landmark Legal Foundation, for one, is not prepared to leave it at that. The Foundation, a non-profit public interest law firm, called on Attorney General Janet Reno weeks ago to institute a nonpartisan investigation conducted by an experienced prosecutor. Said the Foundation's Mark Levin, "An internal White House review by White House staffers, one of whom [Mr. McLarty] was directly involved in the decision-making, does not constitute a proper investigation. Statements were not taken under oath, and documentation was not properly secured. In short, we still don't know if any laws were broken or regulations breached. And we won't until a real investigation is conducted."

The FBI recently informed the foundation that its request for documents in the case under the Freedom of Information Act will not be fulfilled for "a year or more." So the chance that an independent, non-official inquiry will be able to shed much additional light is low. Only the power of subpoena is going to disgorge the necessary documents and testimony. Republicans on Capitol Hill have been making exactly that point.

In the meantime, though we may have no evidence of criminal conduct, we can surely draw the obvious conclusions about the ethics involved. The actions of the White House counsel in this matter were as improper and high-handed as can be imagined. The White House Press Office acted with unforgivable irresponsibility. The behavior of the President's cousin, Catherine Cornelius, and his best friend, Harry Thomason, was as sleazy as sleazy can be. And the White House report on the incident is itself nothing but further evidence of an unwholesome preoccupation with appearances and an arrogant indifference to real malfeasance.

Lingering whiffs of travelgate ✓

The White House tried to sweep away the Travelgate fiasco recently by issuing a report that openly admitted error, named a few names, and promised to sin no more. Administration officials tried to minimize coverage of the document by releasing it on the eve of the Tokyo Summit, when reporters were more concerned about shopping in the Ginza district than hanky-panky in the travel office.

But despite this public-relations wizardry, Travelgate will not die — at least not yet. The affair has a kind of seedy soap-opera quality about it: White House officials, overeager to seize control of the White House Travel Office (which handles flight arrangements for the press and for White House personnel), fired the seven-member office staff, concocted allegations of mismanagement, then pressured the FBI and possibly the IRS into harassing victims of the putsch. In attempting to clean up the mess, the administration hired firms with personal or po-

Tony Snow is a columnist for the Detroit News.

The Nixon administration collapsed over something much smaller than a possible attempt to compromise the FBI and IRS.

litical ties to the president for such key work as arranging travel, chartering flights and investigating the travel office.

The White House cannot credibly argue that the scandal represents the indiscretion of a few young staffers. The list of people involved reads like a Who's Who of the administration. It includes Chief of Staff Mack McLarty, White House Counsel Bernard Nussbaum, Associate Counsel William Kennedy III, senior adviser George Stephanopoulos, Communications Director Mark Gearan, personnel director David Watkins, media affairs chief Jeff El-

ler, Hollywood mogul Harry Thomason, dozens of lesser stars in the Clinton political universe and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton. Normally, one must throw a state dinner to assemble a group with this much political throw-weight.

Republican leaders in Congress, dissatisfied with the administration's shabby inquiry into the affair, have asked the president to answer a series of detailed questions. They also plan to seek a full congressional investigation of Travelgate.

The key questions fall into several categories:

Conflicts of interest: Harry Thomason promoted the interests of his airline charter company while serving as a "special government employee" of the White House. Air Advantage, owned by another Friend of Bill, Penny Sample, got White House business while she served as a volunteer in the travel office. One or both of these Clinton pals may have violated criminal conflict-of-interest statutes by pushing deals that worked to their personal benefit.

Also, Darnell Martens, one of Mr. Thomason's partners in the charter company, somehow got into a posi-

tion to ask Ms. Sample to volunteer for travel-office duty.

Cronyism: Travelgate exposes a spider web of personal and professional entanglements within the administration. Three key players, Hillary Rodham Clinton, Deputy Attorney General Webster Hubbell and William Kennedy III, all worked for the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock. The firm has represented the Worthen Bank, which owns Worldwide Travel, the agency assigned to handle travel arrangements when the Travel Office Seven got the sack.

Mack McLarty and David Watkins both were longtime clients of Worldwide Travel and friends with the firm's owner, Betta Carney. Mr. McLarty and Mrs. Carney also worked together at the Worthen Bank in the mid-1970s. Worldwide Travel, the Worthen Bank and Betta Carney all have contributed significant sums to Bill Clinton's war chest over the years, in his days as governor of Arkansas and later as presidential candidate.

On another track, the administration's "outside" auditor for the travel

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office was not an outsider at all. Larry Herman, an accountant for the venerable firm of KPMG Peat Marwick, already was working with the office of the vice president when asked to help investigate the travel office.

The first lady: At several junc-

tures in the affair, Chief of Staff McLarty sent carbon copies of memos to Mrs. Clinton. The administration's official review hints that the first lady took an active, if distant, interest in the matter. This raises the issue of what, if any, limits the law places on Mrs. Clinton's administrative activities.

Corruption: Perhaps the most troubling questions involve William Kennedy III. Mr. Kennedy clearly

pressured the FBI into mounting, then announcing a probe of the travel office. He claimed he would contact the Internal Revenue Service if the FBI didn't act immediately. And he told FBI officials the matter had aroused what the report calls "high levels of White House interest" or levels of interest high at the White House.

Just to add to the intrigue, IRS agents pounced on the owner of Ul-

traAir, the charter company that handled flights in the pre-Clinton era, soon after Travelgate became national news.

None of this necessarily adds up to anything, but it's fishy enough to merit a close look. After all, if a host of administration officials will bend the rules over something as trivial as the travel office, what might they do when something truly big is at stake?

The Nixon administration collapsed over something much smaller than a possible attempt to compromise the FBI and IRS by turning them into agents of political influence. The allegations in this scandal dwarf those of Watergate. Americans deserve a fair, probing investigation, not just to answer the question the administration's report failed to answer but also the ones it dared not ask.

Dole says 'travelgate' merits special counsel

Letter to Reno links Little Rock law firm to affair

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

AI

Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole yesterday leveled new conflict-of-interest charges against White House officials involved in the "travelgate" scandal and repeated his call for a special counsel to investigate.

The Kansas Republican sent a five-page letter to Attorney General Janet Reno that strongly suggests the Clinton White House is covering up cronyism and ethics violations.

Mr. Dole said only an independent investigation of the White House's bungling of its May 19 attempt to reorganize its travel office will clear up "this sorry episode of mistakes,

misstatements and downright wrongdoing."

For the first time, Mr. Dole linked Hillary Rodham Clinton's former employer — Little Rock's Rose Law Firm — to the scandal. He charged that the firm represented Little Rock's Worthen Bank, which he said was part-owner of the travel agency hired to replace seven workers ousted from the travel office.

But Gary Smith, Worthen senior vice president, denied the bank had any interest in World Wide Travel. "That's absolutely not true," he said.

Mr. Dole's call for the appointment of a special counsel — separate from ongoing Justice and General Accounting Office (GAO) probes — is the latest attempt by congress-

sional GOP leaders to dig deeper into the scandal, which tarnished the reputations of the seven longtime travel office aides.

The White House and Justice Department had no comment.

Meanwhile, House Republicans yesterday lost their attempt in the Judiciary Committee to win approval for a resolution demanding that the White House surrender dozens of documents detailing the sacking of the office. The 20-15 party-line vote could be reconsidered in the full House under special rules.

"The best way to put this sordid affair behind us is to get all documents in public," said Rep. F. James

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Sensenbrenner Jr., Wisconsin Republican. "There has been stonewalling by the White House."

Democrats argued that Justice and the GAO are already backing up the White House's own investigation into the scandal, but Mr. Dole said those probes are being done by "staff lawyers from the home team."

House and Senate Republicans charged yesterday that White House Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty's probe into the scandal was a whitewash.

"The White House's internal review of its travelgate scandal only gives more credence to those of us who view the administration's scrambling on this one as little more than damage control," Mr. Dole said of the report released July 2.

The White House probe found that senior White House aides — including the president's cousin, Catherine Cornelius — planned to oust the seven men in charge of the White House travel office — which makes travel arrangements for the media to follow the president on trips — in order to take it over and farm out business to friends.

While the White House report uncovered accounting problems in the travel office, it rejected more serious criminal allegations used by White House officials to oust the seven, who manned the travel office as far back as the Johnson administration.

The four White House officials named in the internal probe — Miss Cornelius; David Watkins, assistant to the president for management and administration; Watkins aide Clarissa Cerda; and Jeff Eller, deputy communications director — were reprimanded for their actions.

The former White House travel aides — first fired and then put on indefinite administrative leave — have not been offered any new positions despite recommendations in the McLarty report.

Their mounting legal costs have prompted a group calling itself "Friends of the White House Travel Office" to issue a second urgent ap-

peal for contributions. "I wish I was writing to say that the nightmare for our friends in the White House travel office is over. Unfortunately that is not the case. . . . Our friends need our help now," said organizer Connie Gerrard.

Mr. Dole raised several new and unanswered questions in his letter to Miss Reno and in a speech on the Senate floor yesterday.

Mr. Dole said he wants the special Justice counsel to probe alleged White House pressuring of the FBI to investigate the travel office and the actions of Harry Thomason — a TV producer and Hollywood pal of the Clintons — to win travel office business for a commercial airline charter business in which he has a one-third ownership.

He also wants the special counsel to determine if White House staffers violated a federal criminal restriction on rewarding political cronies and supporters with government jobs.

"I am more convinced than ever of the need to conduct an independent investigation into the entire travel office affair," Mr. Dole said.

The Washington Times reported last week that congressional Republicans are building a case that Mr. Thomason was a special White House worker for the first month of the Clinton administration and, thus, may have violated federal criminal and ethics rules when he sought to steer travel office business to his firm, Thomason, Richland & Martens.

White House officials said Mr. Thomason was simply acting as a friend when he gave political advice to the president during Mr. Clinton's first month in office.

But Republicans charge that since Mr. Thomason was given a White House pass and was assigned a secretary and office space, he was essentially a "special government employee."

"Some might suggest that Thomason's actions involved an actual conflict of interest, rather than the appearance of one, and that Thomason himself stood to benefit as well, not just his business partner and his friends in the charter business," Mr. Dole said in his letter to Miss Reno.

Treasury probes 'travelgate' affair

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

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The Treasury Department is investigating the "travelgate" scandal to determine if the White House pressured federal workers to help verify rumors of wrongdoing in its travel office.

Rep. Frank R. Wolf, Virginia Republican, said yesterday that Robert Cesca, Treasury's deputy inspector general, promised to look into it.

Mr. Wolf wants the Inspector General's Office to explore charges that the Clinton administration pressured Internal Revenue Service and

FBI workers in an effort by senior officials to take over the travel office and fire its longtime staff.

"I just know something funny is going on here," Mr. Wolf said in an interview with The Washington Times.

The Northern Virginia lawmaker demanded the probe in a letter sent Wednesday to Mr. Cesca. Mr. Wolf said the deputy inspector general called to assure him that "he'll look into it."

"I have a lot of confidence in the inspector general," Mr. Wolf said.

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A Treasury Department spokesman said the department has a policy of neither confirming nor denying the status of investigations. The Treasury Inspector General's Office has oversight responsibility for the Internal Revenue Service.

The travel office affair already is being probed by the Justice Department and the General Accounting Office, and Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole has called for an independent investigation by a special counsel.

A White House official said yesterday that the calls for an independent investigation are politically motivated, and spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers said the scandal has been looked into enough.

A White House review released July 2 found that four White House officials schemed to oust the travel office's seven staff workers to take it over and farm out work to business associates.

The workers were initially fired May 19 but later were put on administrative leave when a furor erupted over the handling of the matter. Four White House officials received letters of reprimand for their roles in the episode.

At issue in the Treasury probe is a surprise IRS investigation of the main White House travel office charter airline — Ultra Air of Tennessee — and a White House counsel's threat to the FBI that if the agency did not help investigate rumors of wrongdoing in the travel office, he would call in the IRS.

Ultra was dubbed a Republican airline by Clinton allies seeking to take over the travel office, according to a confidential memo revealed in the White House report.

The memo, written by a business

partner of Clinton Hollywood pal Harry Thomason, said a firm owned in part by Mr. Thomason was being refused travel office business possibly because the travel office was being loyal to Ultra.

Congressional Republicans charged that the only reason Ultra was investigated by the IRS at the height of efforts to replace travel office employees with Clinton political appointees — including President Clinton's 25-year-old cousin, Catherine Cornelius — was because it was the Bush administration's airline of choice.

The White House review of the scandal also reported that Associate White House Counsel William Kennedy contacted the FBI to seek guidance on how to probe allegations of wrongdoing in the travel office.

In a conversation with Jim Bourke, chief of the FBI special inquiry unit, Mr. Kennedy threatened to call in the IRS if the FBI would not help in the effort to probe the travel office, which sets up staff and media travel arrangements.

"There is obviously a serious threat posed to federal employees and career civil servants by such actions being contemplated by the White House," Mr. Wolf said in his letter to Mr. Cesca. A copy was provided to The Times.

The congressman's statements that the Treasury inspector general is probing travelgate comes one day after Mr. Dole, Kansas Republican, demanded that Attorney General Janet Reno appoint a special counsel to investigate the affair.

Mr. Wolf said he has repeatedly asked IRS Commissioner Peggy Richardson to brief him on IRS involvement, but she has canceled several meetings at the last minute. While Mr. Wolf was discussing the case with a reporter yesterday the commissioner nixed a meeting that was to have taken place today.

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Report on Travel Office Incident Didn't Pull Any Punches

To the Editor:

Your description of the management review we issued July 2 on the White House Travel Office as "A Stealthy, Evasive Confession" (editorial, July 11) misses the mark. The report gives a thorough account of what happened in the Travel Office incident. We haven't pulled punches. We have catalogued our mistakes, reprimanding those most responsible. We have established procedures to insure that such mistakes don't happen again. And apologized to those unfairly treated. That's hardly business as usual in Washington.

News articles and editorials echo our belief in the report's honesty (see the July 8 Atlanta Constitution and July 7 Detroit Free Press). Your news coverage termed the report "strikingly self-critical" and called its release "an extraordinary session of reprimand, self-criticism and confession," in which the two of us "were blunt in admitting mistakes."

It seems your complaint is that we

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. We regret that we cannot acknowledge or return unpublished letters. Those selected for publication may be shortened for space reasons.

"acquit ourselves of anything much worse than bad appearances." Not so.

The report concludes that, even though all White House employees serve at the pleasure of the President, the abrupt manner of the dismissals was unnecessary and insensitive; that the disclosure of the Federal Bureau of Investigation inquiry was a mistake; that involving the F.B.I.'s head of public and Congressional relations in a White House communication meeting was improper; that any reference to using the Internal Revenue Service to investigate the problems in the Travel Office was wrong, and that White House

management was lax and insensitive to appearance of conflict of interest.

Our review closed with a reprimand of an assistant to the President, an associate White House counsel and the deputy communications director. It further states that the chief of staff, along with the White House counsel's office, could have contained the momentum of the incident, but did not.

Where we do focus on appearances, you miss our point. Although we found no evidence that the White House prompted the F.B.I.'s head of public and Congressional relations to say anything inaccurate or inappropriate, we condemned the meeting because the White House must uphold the appearance as well as the reality of F.B.I. independence. The report also declares involvement of people with personal interests in the Travel Office improper because Government decisions should be insulated "from even the appearance that personal interests have played a role."

While the Travel Office incident never should have happened the way it did, we have at least faced up to our mistakes, learned some important lessons and moved to implement changes.

THOMAS F. MCLARTY
LEON PANETTA

Washington, July 12, 1993

The writers are, respectively, White House chief of staff and director, Office of Management and Budget.



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Today's debate is on the White House **TRAVEL OFFICE** and whether an independent counsel should be named.

Appoint special counsel

OUR VIEW An independent counsel could provide a non-partisan view of the travel office firings.

Fair and impartial justice.

That's what the Clinton administration needs in the wake of charges of cronyism and abuse of power about its handling of the White House travel office.

And that's why the president should not just heed Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole's call last week for a special Justice Department prosecutor. He should seize the chance to urge re-enactment of a law that could provide a totally independent investigation — the independent counsel law, which lapsed in December. Clinton has endorsed the law, while many of the Republicans now eager for an investigation opposed it.

The White House firing in May of seven career employees responsible for chartering planes and reserving hotel rooms for the media was at first hailed as cleaning up mismanagement.

After its own review, the White House

admitted a lot of bungling. It reprimanded five aides and promised five of the travel office workers other jobs.

While the episode will never rate with Watergate, questions remain:

► Were there really improprieties in the office, as the administration alleged?

► Did the White House act properly in pushing an FBI investigation?

► Why was a distant Clinton cousin who helped get the travel workers fired appointed to head the travel office? And what role did a Hollywood friend of Clinton with an interest in a travel business play in the dismissals?

An independent counsel could provide a less partisan portrait of what happened and do so very quickly.

Such counsels during the Carter, Reagan and Bush years prosecuted wrongdoers, but they also saved reputations.

Such full and impartial investigations can do the same today. With a truly independent counsel for "travelgate," Clinton could ensure government workers, White House aides and the public that justice is being done.

No special counsel needed

OPPOSING VIEW Don't make a mountain out of the White House travel office molehill.

The way the White House staff handled reorganization of the travel office was nothing to write home about. But the whole affair is a molehill, not the mountain that Bob Dole and his fellow Republicans have been trying to make of it. His latest ploy is to demand that the attorney general appoint a "special counsel" to conduct an "independent investigation." He dismisses the McLarty-Panetta report, which the press has described as "surprisingly candid," "strikingly self-critical" and "gratifyingly forthright." He also belittles the president's decision to ask Attorney General Janet Reno to review the report, as she is now doing.

Apparently, Dole does not trust Reno and the Justice Department professionals to conduct an impartial review. He should know better. He should know

most Americans are enormously impressed by Reno's candor and integrity, commitment to enforcing the law and imperviousness to political pressure.

Moreover, the travel office fiasco comes nowhere near the penumbra of potential criminal behavior that might justify an independent special counsel.

Harry Thomason may have broken the first rule of how to be a president's friend — never to create the appearance of serving one's own interests, or of throwing one's weight around with the White House staff. But these are not criminal activities, and the explicit criticism in the McLarty-Panetta report seems sufficient punishment for his transgressions. The same applies to the personal ambition and excessive zeal displayed by some White House staffers.

The travel office affair is no Watergate or Iran-contra. It should lead to healthy changes in the way a new White House staff behaves and in the accounting and contracting procedures of the travel office. These are worthy subjects for review by the attorney general and the General Accounting Office, whose report is due in September. But they do not come close to the kind of suspected criminal activity that would justify appointment of an independent counsel.



By Lloyd N. Cutler, a Washington lawyer who served as counsel to President Jimmy Carter.

An independent Travelgate investigation

Remember Passportgate? How soon scandals are forgotten, even ones involving allegations of political dirty tricks, such as the accusation that Bush administration officials went through candidate Bill Clinton's passport file looking for dirt. But even though that controversy has slipped from the front pages of *The Washington Post*, there are still busy prosecutors going through the evidence, as an independent counsel labors on in search of indictments. Lawrence Walsh, too, is still at it on Iran-Contra.

The age of the independent counsels is over for now, thank goodness, as the independent counsel statute lapsed in December. (Congress will probably revive it in some form, alas.) Yet the need for independent investigations has not lapsed. Indeed, given the cronyism that sometimes comes on display, the Clinton White House ought to be eager to establish public confidence in its ability to police itself. One way to do so would be for the president to ask for the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate Travelgate, the dubious firing of the entire White House travel office staff.

That is not going to happen, it seems. The Landmark Legal Foundation had asked Attorney General Janet Reno to start an independent investigation by appointing some retired prosecutor or judge to look into the affair. Though the independent counsel statute has lapsed, attorneys general have always had it in their power to name credible independent prosecutors. The

Justice Department, however, now says it will do no such thing, that the investigation under way by the department will be sufficient. "The appointment of an independent counsel is reserved for extraordinary circumstances," wrote Acting Assistant Attorney General John Keeney to the Landmark Legal Foundation, "where there is a compelling reason to believe that an investigation or prosecution by the Department of Justice would be compromised by an actual or perceived conflict of interest."

Mr. Keeney has got to be kidding if he does not think there is already a strong perception of conflicts of interest in the Justice Department's handling of the case. The FBI — an arm of the Justice Department — was enmeshed in the fiasco, manipulated, it appears, into both investigations and public relations to cover backsides in the White House, all at a time when the bureau's director was desperately trying to convince the administration that he should remain in office. The perception, at the very least, is there. The politicization of the FBI is reason enough to call for a nonpolitical investigation.

Add to that the questions that have been raised about the involvement of the Internal Revenue Service. And the initial disposition of the travel office business. By Mr. Keeney's own standards, then — "a compelling reason to believe that an investigation or prosecution by the Department of Justice would be compromised by an actual or perceived conflict of interest" — this is a case that requires independent inquiry.

Elliott Abrams and the D.C. Bar

The Christmastime pardon of four Iran-Contra figures sure made a lot of people mad. Now, the D.C. Bar Association has decided to visit its own politically motivated punishment on former Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs Elliott Abrams.

Mr. Abrams, it will be recalled, pleaded guilty to two counts of withholding information from Congress in 1991, after having been pursued by the office of the independent counsel for several months. The true purpose of the counsel's renewed interest in his person, six years after the fact, as Mr. Abrams soon found, was to blackmail him into implicating other members of the Reagan administration in the scandal, preferably then-Vice President Bush.

Mr. Walsh, it will also be recalled, operated on the principle that an insidious conspiracy existed among Reagan officials to cover up their knowledge of wrongdoing, even if they themselves had not broken any laws. Hence Mr. Walsh's prosecution against former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, who had actually been one of the strongest opponents of the arms-for-hostages deal in the first place, but who was said somehow to have "concealed" the notes he had donated to the Library of Congress years before.

It was the ardent hope of Mr. Walsh and his ambi-

tious chief assistant, Craig Gillen, that they could nail Mr. Bush, president of the United States and the biggest trophy of all, for knowing more than he had admitted. And it was Mr. Abrams' misfortune that they believed he could be pressured to provide information that would further that end. When Mr. Abrams refused — for he had nothing to reveal — the independent counsel's office exacted a plea of two counts of withholding information from Congress from him, a misdemeanor so vague that almost anyone who has ever appeared before a congressional panel could be held guilty. Mr. Abrams, exhausted and increasingly impoverished by lawyers' fees, reluctantly agreed.

Before Mr. Bush's pardon wiped his record clean, the decision by the D.C. Bar's Board of Professional Responsibility in December was to censure Mr. Abrams. This would have allowed him to keep his license. After the pardon, however, in January, this punishment was upgraded to a 30-day suspension. At the meeting of the board last week, that suspension was upped to a whole year. This is petty and vindictive. Nothing has changed since December, except that the D.C. Bar has decided to play politics and register its disapproval of Mr. Abrams' pardon. We hope the D.C. Court of Appeals, to which Mr. Abrams has taken his case, will see it his way.

Letters

Hiring the disabled isn't as costly as you say

Regarding your July 20 editorial "The Disability Act's down side": While it is still too early to measure the law's success in creating employment opportunities for people with disabilities, there is solid empirical evidence that the costs of accommodating disabled workers are far less frightening and far more reasonable than suggested in your unsubstantiated reference to the "monstrous expense."

The President's Committee on Employment of People with Disabilities' Job Accommodation Network — which deals with real workplace situations, as opposed to your hypothetical speculations — reports that 50 percent of workplace modifications cost less than \$50 and fully 31 percent can actually be made at no cost. Only 12 percent cost more than \$1,000.

As to your question about down what road the Americans with

Disabilities Act's good intentions will take us: It is the road to equality and fair treatment for 43 million Americans with disabilities who want only to be able to compete for jobs based on their qualifications.

RICHARD DOUGLAS
Executive Director
President's Committee on Employment
of People with Disabilities
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington

Justice drops probe of 5 fired travel aides

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

The Justice Department has dropped its probe into alleged wrongdoing by five fired White House travel office workers, forcing the administration to put them back to work, possibly in the travel office.

The Justice Department's Office of Public Integrity told the five by letter they are no longer the "target" or subject of the Justice Department's inquiry into the activities of the White House travel office, their

attorneys said.

The White House counsel's office said it views the Justice Department's decision as the end of any criminal probe of the five and triggers a White House promise to find them permanent jobs.

"It's been an unhappy event for all of us," said Gerald A. Connell, who represents John Dreylinger, one of the five fired amid charges of corruption and mismanagement.

"The original accusation had no

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foundation, and the White House ought to acknowledge they had no foundation" to fire the workers, Mr. Connell said. "They ought to acknowledge that on their own that they made a mistake."

"That's been done," White House spokesman Arthur Jones said, referring to an apology July 2 by White House Chief of Staff Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty.

Mr. Dreylinger, John McSweeney, Barney Brasseaux, Robert Van Eimeren and Robert Maughan were fired May 19.

Also fired that day were office manager Billy Dale and his deputy, Gary Wright. Mr. Dale and Mr. Wright are still being investigated, federal law enforcement officials said.

The five travel office aides cleared yesterday had been on administrative leave at full pay pending the outcome of the investigation.

The White House initially said it fired all seven travel office workers after a private accounting audit turned up financial improprieties in

the office, which handles travel arrangements for journalists covering presidential trips.

The charges were made after Clinton aides, including a cousin, Catherine Cornelius, recommended that the travel office be reduced. Miss Cornelius suggested that she run the office and farm out work to her travel company, which worked for the Clinton campaign.

A White House investigation of the firings found they were "unnecessary and insensitive." The action lacked "sufficient cause," and Miss Cornelius "had a personal stake in the outcome."

Miss Cornelius was to be removed from the office as punishment. A White House official said she is still assigned to the travel office but hasn't been there since July 13 because of an illness.

"She's going to get a new job," Mr. Jones said.

The spokesman said White House lawyer Clifford Sloan is working with attorneys for the five fired workers to get them new jobs.

Mr. Sloan views the Justice Department's letters to the five as clearing them of wrongdoing, Mr. Jones said.

"There is no obstacle to their employment," Mr. Jones told The Washington Times yesterday. "At a minimum they will be in temporary employment, if not full-time employment, soon."

Mr. Jones said the five will receive the same pay as they got at the travel office.

"The White House is currently

A White House investigation of the firings found they were "unnecessary and insensitive."

consulting with the five travel office employees with various government agencies to find the appropriate placement for employment," White House spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers said.

Mr. Jones said the five may return to the travel office. "That's still subject to further conversations. ... There's no impediment to employ-

ment. ... I don't want to rule it in or out."

Some of the five believe that only employment in the travel office will vindicate them and repair their reputations.

The White House has asked the General Services Administration to study the travel office and recommend changes to replace Miss Cornelius' call for a one- or two-person office.

GSA officials are considering the creation of a larger travel office, possibly as big as the pre-firing, seven-person staff.

Since the travel office was reorganized, the administration has used travel aides from other departments to help make arrangements for press and staff travel on presidential trips, White House officials said.

During a recent Clinton trip to Philadelphia, top aides to Labor Secretary Robert Reich were ordered to work 18-hour shifts in the White House travel office to make arrangements, while other aides helped with plans for a subsequent presidential trip to Asia.

"This is screwed up," said a Cabinet aide recruited to help in the travel office.

(more details)

^ White House set to rehire travel office employees

^By THOMAS FERRARO=

WASHINGTON (UPI) The White House said Thursday that five travel office employees abruptly fired last spring are no longer the target of a Justice Department investigation and will be offered new jobs in the government.

But press secretary Dee Dee Myers said the administration has no intentions of returning them to the travel office or reimbursing them for tens of thousands of dollars in legal expenses.

Myers noted that friends of the five have established an "independent fund to help them" pay lawyers' fees.

The five hired attorneys last May after they, along with two fellow workers, were dismissed when an audit uncovered alleged financial irregularities in the travel office.

A few days later, the administration withdrew the dismissals of the five who had no control over finances and put them on paid administrative leave instead.

The two that did control the money have not been recalled and apparently remain the subject of the Justice Department investigation. Both deny any wrongdoing.

An internal White House review concluded last month that administration officials erred in publicly disclosing a federal investigation in announcing the dismissals.

It said the action unfairly smeared the reputations of all seven.

Chief of staff Thomas McLarty apologized and said that the five who had no control over office finances would be given new jobs in the government once the investigation was completed.

Myers said that the White House was informed in recent days that the five are no longer a subject of the probe, but refused comment on the status of the investigation of the other two.

The press secretary said the administration was looking for jobs for the five in other federal agencies.

"Our commitment is to find them comparable employment," she said.

"Considering the circumstances," however, the White House does not intend to return them to the travel office, Myers said. She did not elaborate.

By Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

FAYETTEVILLE, Ark. — President Clinton's on-again, off-again vacation finally began in earnest near here Tuesday, with the president who hates to relax finally giving in and slowing down.

After a weekend in Vail, Colo., interspersed with a fair bit of work, Clinton, Hillary Rodham Clinton and daughter Chelsea hunkered down at the home of longtime friends Jim and Diane Blair on Beaver

Lake in nearby Springdale.

The president read, talked to some friends on the phone, and was generally "just taking it easy, not doing much at all," said White House spokesman Jeff Eller. Chelsea and her mother went water-skiing.

The Clintons' stay at the 22-acre Blair homestead — with a big porch on the lake, tennis court and indoor pool — marks one of the few happy visits the family has made back to Arkansas since they moved to Washington.

Hillary Clinton spent several

weeks in Little Rock earlier in the year before the death of her father. And the family last month made another mournful trip home after the suicide of close friend and deputy counsel Vincent Foster.

Asked by onlookers what he planned to do while in the area, Clinton said: "Rest. Talk to people. Have a good time."

This trip is to begin a winding-down process the first family hopes to continue in Martha's Vineyard, where they are to arrive sometime Thursday afternoon and supposedly stay

for 10 days — though almost no one, including White House staff, thinks Clinton can stay away from work that long.

Clinton is scheduled to return to Washington later today, before heading to the exclusive Massachusetts resort, where he'll stay at a secluded home owned by former Defense secretary Robert McNamara.

Here in northwest Arkansas, in the shadow of the Ozark Mountains, Clinton is clearly in his element. Local officials are calling this visit "Northwest Arkansas Clinton Summer Vac-

ation 93" and hosted the White House press corps at a cookout on the edge of the University of Arkansas.

Near the Blair home, neighbor Quinton Farmer, 66, brought reporters a paper sack full of fresh peaches to be while away the hours.

Asked how much trouble the Clintons' visit had been to the neighborhood, Farmer said: "Not much. I think they were all looking forward to it."

► Health reform hurdle, 1A
► Vineyard prepares, 2D, 9D

The president's other lawyer

Foster suicide lands counsel in controversy

By John Hanchette

In the aftermath of a top White House lawyer's suicide, a swirl of controversy has erupted around Bernard Nussbaum, the president's lawyer.

Nussbaum, 56, chief White House counsel, is a short, balding, gnomish man who speaks in machine-gun bursts, with a brilliant grasp of almost all subjects.

The *New York Times*, among other media, has zeroed in on Nussbaum since the shocking July 20 death of deputy counsel Vincent Foster — boy-



FOSTER: Suicide, authorities say

hood chum of Bill Clinton, pillar of the Arkansas legal profession — found shot near a Civil War cannon in a Virginia park overlooking Washington.

Authorities have judged it a suicide, but intriguing questions remain.

The *Times* and others have focused on Nussbaum's failure to secure Foster's office for several hours, his recalcitrance in letting FBI agents examine Foster's papers, and a day-plus delay in turning over to investigators a note found without fingerprints and torn to 28 pieces in Foster's briefcase, the second time it was searched. The *Times*, implying Nussbaum is covering up something, wants him fired.

So who is Bernie Nussbaum? And why are so many pounding him?

First, he doesn't need the job. He is a millionaire, making almost \$1.8 million in 1992 alone. He has a house in the New York suburb of Scarsdale, a Park Avenue apartment, a condo in Puerto Rico, a skybox in Giants Stadium. A confidant of New York Gov. Mario Cuomo, Nussbaum was billing legal clients at \$500 an hour before he came to the White House.

A poor kid from Manhattan's Lower East Side, Nussbaum graduated from Columbia and Harvard Law to become a top-notch prosecutor. In 1974, he was special counsel to the House Judiciary Committee considering impeaching President Nixon for Water-



By Matt Mendelsohn, USA TODAY

LAWYER'S JUDGMENT: "The judgment I look to is not the judgment of ... 'The New York Times,' but the judgment of history," says Bernard Nussbaum.

gate. There is great irony here.

It was Bernard Nussbaum who for days during that case sat next to another White House counsel, John Dean, coaxing from him an explanation of Nixon's self-taped and self-incriminating ramblings in the Oval Office. Now Nussbaum lives in an apartment at the Watergate complex.

One Nussbaum aide was a bright young lawyer named Hillary Rodham. He used to laugh when she told him her boyfriend was going to be president some day.

In the '80s, Nussbaum was an expert in the lucrative field of corporate takeover litigation, defending companies against hostile buyouts — and, more importantly, as a lawyer's lawyer, some of the big law firms involved in those maneuvers.

Nussbaum won fame among takeover lawyers by saving the huge Man-

hattan law firm of Kaye, Scholer, Fierman, Hays & Handler from extinction.

The Office of Thrift Supervision, charged with cleaning up the savings and loan mess, in early 1992 stunned the legal community by freezing assets of Kaye, Scholer and claiming the firm owed the government \$275 million for "aiding and abetting" S&L figure Charles Keating. Keating was jailed after his California thrift failed in 1989 at a cost of \$2 billion-plus to taxpayers.

The OTS claimed Kaye, Scholer had knowingly backdated documents to place Keating under more favorable but expired regulations, and acted "in furtherance of crime or fraud."

Nussbaum got Kaye, Scholer off with a \$41 million settlement and a promise never again to do what the firm denied doing in the first place.

"There's no leverage in dealing

“

I come to work every day. ... I will continue to serve as long as the president believes I am performing well for him.

”

— Bernard Nussbaum

with the government when it has these kinds of powers," Nussbaum told *American Lawyer* magazine.

"The only leverage I had in reducing a \$275 million claim to a \$41 million settlement, \$25 million of which is covered by insurance — my only strength was my weakness. My only strength was the fact that this firm was going to die."

Some critics say it is hypocritical for Clinton to portray the S&L scandal as evidence of '80s Republican greed, since his lawyer was a key player in absolving firms charged with costing taxpayers billions.

"Clinton can't have it both ways," said Judith Best of the State University of New York at Cortland. "He can't keep attacking the legal buyout artists of the '80s and still have their lawyer on his payroll."

Nussbaum is proud of his work for Kaye, Scholer — and for Clinton.

"I come to work every day," Nussbaum said. "The judgment I look to is not the judgment of ... *The New York Times*, but the judgment of history. I will continue to serve as long as the president believes I am performing well for him."

A theory woven through the mystery of Foster's death is that he felt guilty for the counsel's office performance in several White House stumbles — failed appointments and mishandling the firing of the White House travel office.

Nussbaum has told associates he is proud of his work in such nominations as Janet Reno as attorney general, Louis Freeh as FBI director, Ruth Bader Ginsburg as the latest Supreme Court justice.

Nussbaum insists he did not interfere with the Foster suicide investigation in any way, claiming he had to maintain the confidentiality of the president while "balancing interests" by meeting legitimate needs of investigators.

Nothing, he says, was hidden. John Hanchette writes for *Gannett News Service*

Squeaking hinges in the wake of Travelgate

Mark R. Levin is director of legal affairs and the Center for Civil Rights for the Landmark Legal Foundation.

On the afternoon of Thursday, May 13, "[t]he first lady told [Deputy White House Counsel Vincent] Foster that she heard about problems in the Travel Office. Mr. Foster replied that [Associate White House Counsel William] Kennedy was looking into it."

"Late that afternoon, [Hillary Clinton] saw [White House Chief of Staff Mack] McLarty and inquired about the situation in the Travel Office."

"Foster subsequently [that same afternoon] informed [Hillary Clinton] that Peat Marwick was going to conduct a review of the Office."

"Beginning Friday [May 14] and over the weekend, [David] Watkins [assistant to the president for management and administration] received telephone updates on the progress of the Peat Marwick review. He then talked to Mr. Foster about the review. Mr. Foster, in light of the first lady's inquiry the previous day, suggested Watkins update her. Watkins then called the first lady and updated her about the situation in the Travel Office."

"On Monday, May 17, with Peat Marwick's field work and a rough draft report completed, Watkins decided to dismiss the seven [Travel Office] employees. McLarty approved. Watkins wrote a memo to McLarty, in which he stated that a review of the Travel Office ... was accelerated in response to the urgings of Harry Thomason and Catherine Cornelius. Watkins cc'd Mrs. Clinton."

This chronology is provided by the McLarty-Panetta "White House Travel Office Management Review" released on July 2. It reveals that no less than three times on May 13 Hillary Clinton raised the issue with Messrs. Foster and McLarty separately. It further shows that on the next day, May 14, Mr. Foster told Mr. Watkins to update Mrs. Clinton on the Peat Marwick review, still under way, which he did.

Moreover, we learn that after the weekend, on May 17, the first lady is copied on a memorandum to Mr. McLarty from Mr. Watkins, titled "White House Travel Office," in which Mr. Watkins summarized the Travel Office review and findings, as well as actions that would be undertaken — including the next day's firing of the seven Travel Office employees, the assignment of Clinton relative Catherine Cornelius to the Travel Office (where she would manage the "procurement of charters"), and the interim use of Worldwide Travel (the Clinton campaign's travel service).

Even by these accounts, it is abundantly clear that Hillary Clinton's interest in the Travel Office was both intense and peculiar. Why, in the midst of so many significant and time-consuming duties, including the development of a national health care program, would Mrs. Clinton be gathering information about the operations of a relatively small office within the White House?

More to the point, there are egregious gaps in the White House's ac-

count of events. The report leaves the impression that the first lady's involvement in this affair began on May 13 (with her inquiries to both Messrs. Foster and McLarty) and ended on May 17 (when she received the Watkins memorandum). But that doesn't add up.

Mrs. Clinton said on May 13 that "she heard about problems in the Travel Office." There's no mention in the White House report indicating how she knew, on May 13, of these alleged problems. Obviously, the first lady had communications with one or more people prior to this time. With whom did Mrs. Clinton first discuss the Travel Office operations? Was it Harry Thomason, her close friend who owned a third of the air charter company that was seeking business from the Travel Office? And what was discussed?

Also, on May 13, Mr. Kennedy pressures a senior FBI official to begin a criminal investigation of the Travel Office by telling the agent, according to the White House report, that he wanted action "within the next 15 minutes and that, if the FBI was unable to provide guidance, Mr. Kennedy might have to seek guidance from another agency, such as the IRS." [Of course, the IRS did, in fact, begin an audit of UltraAir, the air travel company Mr. Thomason and others had been seeking to displace, within days of this meeting.]

A second senior FBI official who soon thereafter met with Mr. Kennedy (although the report does not provide a date for this meeting) recalled Mr. Kennedy telling him "the matter [the Travel Office operations] was being directed or followed at the highest levels of the White House."

Mr. Kennedy, a former Rose law firm partner of Mrs. Clinton's (also the same law firm that Associate Attorney General Webb Hubbell and former Deputy White House Counsel Vincent Foster belonged to), was obviously very concerned that a criminal probe be undertaken immediately. At no time does the White House report reveal who "at the highest levels" was insisting on such an investigation. Indeed, there's no indication that this was even explored by Messrs. McLarty or Panetta. We don't know if the president or first lady were interviewed when the evidence for this report was being compiled (it appears they were not). We don't know whether either of them knew about the pressure being placed on the FBI, or if they, in fact, authorized Mr. Foster (Mr. Kennedy's boss) or Mr. Kennedy to pursue such a course.

We do know that the Clintons' good friend, Harry Thomason, told "the president in late March that he thought there was trouble" in the Travel Office. Mr. Thomason, who was granted free access to the White House, was frequently discussing the Travel Office operations with White House staff, including Messrs. Foster, Kennedy, Watkins and Ms. Cornelius. Remarkably, he also participated in meetings on the subject — at the same time his air charter company was seeking to obtain the air service business from the White House.

It's very possible that Mr. Thomason was lobbying the first lady, or even the president, about the

Travel Office. He clearly was not shy about using his access to the White House (and the Clintons) to press his case with senior White House staff. But the White House report is stone silent on this important area of inquiry. In short, a number of staff members are portrayed as inexperienced and bumbling around, thereby creating "appearances" of conflicts and wrongdoing. But the brief discussion of Mrs. Clinton's involvement — which the report shows suddenly appearing on May 13, and just as suddenly ending on May 17 — is not credible.

Finally, the Justice Department's participation in this affair raises unanswered questions. The Watergate-style manipulation of the FBI by the White House is just part of the role played by Justice. In fact, the Criminal Division of the department was briefed by the FBI (presumably about the FBI's discussions with the White House — on May 14. Specifically, the government lawyers present at the meeting were Joe Gangloff, acting chief of the Office of Public Integrity, and Jerry McDowell, chief of the fraud section. Messrs. Gangloff and McDowell later briefed John Kenney, the acting assistant attorney general of the Criminal Division. Importantly, the White House report states, "[N]one raised an objection."

Last week, in response to a long-standing request by the Landmark Legal Foundation asking Attorney General Janet Reno to appoint an independent counsel to investigate the Travelgate affair, Miss Reno said no. Actually, Miss Reno, who has been uncharacteristically passive on this matter, referred the request to John Kenney — one of the original Justice lawyers who had been briefed on the matter on or around May 14. Mr. Kenney wrote, in part:

"[Independent counsel] are reserved for extraordinary circumstances, where there is a compelling reason to believe that an investigation for prosecution by the Department of Justice would be compromised by an actual or perceived conflict of interest."

Mr. Kenney further states: "The department is fully capable of assessing these allegations, and there is no conflict of interest here that would warrant turning to an outside prosecutor."

Hence, while an independent counsel was deemed necessary to investigate the possible use of improperly obtained information about candidate Bill Clinton's past travel activities ("Passportgate"), the Travel Office affair — which abounds with conflicts of interest and raises far more serious questions about government abuse and misuse of authority — is said not to warrant such an investigation. The truth is that only an independent investigation, conducted by a reputable former judge or prosecutor, will bring this unseemly episode to a close. Until then, the public will remain skeptical.

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Ex-Soviet republics likely to shun U.S. efforts to help resolve disputes

By Martin Sieff
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The former Soviet republics are likely to shun efforts by the Clinton administration to help resolve disputes among them, diplomats and policy experts believe.

The fledgling effort — contained in Presidential Review Directive 13, which is awaiting President Clinton's approval — is meant to launch a U.S. diplomatic initiative to resolve disputes between ex-Soviet republics.

It would also open the way for U.S. troops to serve under U.N. command around the world, possibly even in the former republics, and for Washington to push for U.N. forces to be deployed as peacekeepers and border-protectors on the periphery of Russia.

But U.S. diplomats say Russian President Boris Yeltsin and his government will have an effective veto on where U.S. diplomatic involvements will take place.

"The Russians want to play a role in some of these disputes and say, 'Why do you guys want to come in on them?'" said a State Department official who asked not to be named. "These are areas where Russia has a historic role.

"There'll only be a role for the U.S. if the parties themselves so desire,

and this includes Russia," the official said.

Mike McCurry, the State Department spokesman, said the U.S. "goal is to help parties in the region find peaceful solutions to disputes."

"We will concentrate on cooperating in multilateral organizations such as the U.N. and the CSCE [Council for Security and Cooperation in Europe]," he said.

Administration sources say PRD-13 was prompted by two concerns.

The first was that Russian forces were actively throwing their weight around in one republic after another. The second was that the growing violence in the republics could develop into international conflicts.

That may already be happening in the five-year struggle between Azerbaijan and Armenia, which appears to be nearing a critical stage.

Azerbaijan said yesterday that Armenian forces had captured the southern town of Ceyrayil and were approaching the Iranian border. If the troops reach the frontier they will cut off a swathe of southern Azerbaijan and block the last remaining escape route for tens of thousands of refugees.

Iranian Foreign Minister Ali Akbar Velayati, visiting Baku, Azerbaijan's capital, Wednesday denounced the attacks on Azeri towns.

More than 600,000 people have been displaced by the latest Armenian advances. The U.N. Security Council demanded on Wednesday an immediate, complete and unconditional Armenian withdrawal.

But Azerbaijan's government is unlikely to seek U.S. mediation. Its leaders, also backed by the Russian military, toppled President Abulfaz Elchibey in June.

The new president, Geidar Aliev, is an ex-Communist Party chief who ran the republic for 13 years under Leonid Brezhnev. No one expects him to seek U.S. mediation.

Remote Tajikistan in Central Asia is witnessing another bloody conflict. Its rulers — again backed by the Russian military — are seeking to crush Islamic fundamentalist groups. But here, the anti-Russian forces are at least equally hostile to the United States.

Ukraine at first sought close U.S. contacts. But Kiev now distrusts Washington after heavy pressure from both the Bush and Clinton administrations to relinquish the nuclear weapons that some Ukrainian leaders see as indispensable protection against Russia.

"I don't think there is a great deal of eagerness among either side in the Russian-Ukrainian dispute to have us mediate," said Gabriel Schoenfeld of the Center for Strategic and International Studies.



President Boris Yeltsin

gic and International Studies.

"The Ukrainians don't want us to bear on them to demilitarize their nuclear weapons, and they know that's the mainstay of our position," Mr. Schoenfeld noted.

"The Baltic states would like us to play a larger role, but trying to balance ethnic Russian rights and concern over imperial Russian ambitions there could prove very difficult," Mr. Schoenfeld said.

Energy-rich Kazakhstan, which is almost evenly split between Russians and other Slavs in the north, and its native, ruling Muslim Kazakhs in the south, might also welcome U.S. support in mediating with Moscow.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 20, 1993 *The Washington Times*

New Job

Bill Clinton's cousin Catherine Cornelius was one of a few White House aides to recommend that the White House travel office staff be reduced. Miss Cornelius, in fact, suggested that she run the office and farm out work to her travel company, which had worked for the Clinton campaign.

A White House investigation found that the subsequent firing of seven travel office employees was "unnecessary and insensitive." The action lacked "sufficient cause," it said, and Miss Cornelius "had a personal stake in the outcome."

Miss Cornelius was to be removed from the office as punishment. Yesterday, we were tipped off that Miss Cornelius had, in fact, gotten a new job — in the White House Agency Liaison Office.

We telephoned the White House press office yesterday, but no one there could confirm our information. So we called the liaison office directly, and it was just our luck that Miss Cornelius answered the phone.

"Have things settled down for you?" we eventually asked.

"Well, I'm not on the front page anymore," Miss Cornelius replied, "and that's a comforting feeling."

Here lie the living

The Washington Post's extensive obituary coverage of former Oakland Tribune publisher and one-time Post ombudsman Robert C. Maynard was well deserved.

But how could that Page One obit, as well as tributes in Style by Dorothy Gilliam and Ben Bradlee, have failed to mention that written in the record of the Washington Post Co. annual shareholders meetings is the fact Mr. Maynard was, for three years running, nominated to the Post Co.'s board of directors?

Yet each year, Mr. Maynard was "voted against by such alleged Democrat civil rights advocates as

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

John McCaslin



Wonder why Bob McNamara voted as he did on Post directorships.

Nicholas Katzenbach, Robert McNamara, and mother and son Graham — while this board continued to be devoid of even the most qualified blacks or other minority groups," says radio personality and Post shareholder Les Kinsolving of WPGC and WCBM radio.

Mr. Kinsolving added: "Directorship would have paid Bob \$25,000 a year, which he could have used in his struggle to keep the Tribune solvent."

Hot air

Rep. Pat Schroeder, Colorado Democrat, may or may not be surprised to read that we were swamped with calls yesterday after

she, of all do-gooders, was singled out as Congress' top junketeer. The liberal congresswoman took an astonishing 52 trips last year, all paid for by lobbyists and special interests, to vacation paradises like Honolulu, Los Angeles, Boca Raton and Orlando. And she often took along family members.

Lawmakers, as a whole, took an average of three lobbyist-paid trips last year.

Our favorite caller is a longtime resident of Falls Church, who tells us: "I was reading your article on Pat Schroeder's hard-working junkets and it reminded me of a trip out west my husband and I made last year. We were driving to California to see our daughter, and en route we stopped at a rest area near Limon Junction, Colorado. In the restroom there was posted a note just above the hand dryer that read, 'Push button below to hear a message from your congresswoman.'"

Value of a vote

Congress may be in recess, but that shouldn't stop us from recognizing Rep. Jay C. Kim, a California Republican and the only one of 110 new members of Congress to have voted in all possible votes in the House. And we're talking in excess of 350 votes.

"While many new members of Congress may talk about the need to change and reform government, actions speak louder than words," says Mr. Kim, who remained in Washington this week. "Real action can only happen through the voting process. As we saw with the recent amendment on terminating the

space station, one vote can make the difference. My vote was crucial in the 216-215 defeat of this anti-California-jobs amendment."

Close, but no cigar

Attorney General Janet Reno didn't beat around the bush when taking questions at her weekly news conference with reporters yesterday:

Q: Are you getting any closer to filling the civil rights post?

A: Yes.

Q: Can you comment on that further, perhaps?

A: No. I mean, I don't know how you define closeness.

Q: How do you define closeness?

A: I'm closer to it.

Young minds

Ever since Inside the Beltway reader Richard Gorsky of Arlington wrote a couple weeks back to relay his 6-year-old daughter's solution to curing our nation's economic woes, we've heard from several other parents about what their children have to say about various issues, some of national concern, some not.

David Hill of suburban Maryland writes to say that he was listening to a local radio talk show when "my precocious 6½-year-old son, Justin, overheard [the announcer] refer to Clinton's promised deficit reduction as 'air biscuits.' The following evening, at dinner, Justin loudly broke wind. When my daughter asked 'What was that?' he replied that he was quoting the president."

Philip Birmingham, renowned portrait photographer of local stars (most recently he shot Gen. Colin Powell for his upcoming speaking tour portfolio), tells us the 2-year-old grandson of one client "was roughhousing with his mother, who was pregnant, when the mother said, 'Be careful, Mommy has a baby in her tummy.'"

"And he looked at her in wide-eyed amazement and said, 'You ate a baby?'"

No Fun, Please

A summer tour guide from Landmark Tourmobiles says he was effectively pushed out of his job this week, after being told by a supervisor that the National Park Service was unhappy with his published remarks poking fun of various Washington attractions.

Brendon Bernat, 20, says he was called on the carpet because a

"The jokes were taught to me by my trainer at the company," Bernat said yesterday. "They are part of the repertoire" on the tours.

Tom Mack, owner of Tourmobile—which has a contract with the government giving it access to the monuments—said Bernat was suspended without pay because his remarks were inappropriate. He said he would look into whether Bernat's trainers encouraged the spiel. He also denied the government was involved in this incident, but said, "We are totally controlled by the wishes of the Interior Department. They set the rules for the tours."

Bernat says that after the supervisor told him his suspension would be indefinite, he offered to resign and she readily offered him the necessary papers.

Spokesman Duncan Morrow of the Park Service said the agency had nothing to do with Bernat's leaving, adding that Director "Roger Kennedy doesn't think it's bad. . . . If it takes a mild pun to keep up the enthusiasm of the tourists—what's the problem?"

Washington Post Magazine piece quoted him joking during a tour that FDR's Labor Secretary Frances Perkins was the "first woman to be in Labor for 12 years," and noting that a replica of the Liberty Bell at Union Station didn't have the crack, which is "why we call it the drug-free bell."

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ Catherine Cornelius, the 25-year-old distant relative of Bill Clinton's whose allegations about mismanagement in the White House travel office set off an embarrassing chain of events for the president, no longer works in that office. She had initially been tapped to head the travel staff but recently turned up in the White House office of agency liaison.

■ Mary Matalin turned the big four-o yesterday, and the plan was to surprise her on her CNBC talk show last night with taped birthday messages from Bob Dole, Joe Kennedy, Rush Limbaugh and Tom Brokaw. And of course, her lover boy James Carville—just in from Greece—was also prepared to stroll onto the set unbeknown to her.

■ The big news out of Owatonna, Minn., yesterday was Paul Wellstone's

watermelon-seed-spitting victory. The Democratic senator won a county fair contest after sending his seed a whopping 32 feet. He has no plans to try his talent in Washington, however, where there are even more talented blowhards.

■ Ex-family man Burt Reynolds is a taking a bit of a hit in the endorsement arena these days. The Florida Citrus Commission pulled Reynolds's orange juice commercials this week, saying his marital woes conflicted with the commission's happy-family image. Now the people at Quaker State Corp. have announced that they don't want him. Said spokesman Benton Faulkner, "It looks like we dumped him, but it was all coincidence."



Paul Wellstone: Spitting Image.

Attention, Stage Mothers! 'Rascals' Wanted

■ Kid alert: All kinds needed.

Producers of "It's Pat" the feature film about the androgynous "Saturday Night Live" character, are looking for a child to play Pat at age 8. (This should be rich.)

Appropriately, both boys and girls can apply.



It's Pat now: But then?

March Gala Underfunded

■ The producer of the gala to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the March on Washington has found himself rich with star power but dangerously short on funds.

Curtis King, CEO of the Dallas-based Junior Black Academy of Arts and Letters Inc., says he has had to resort to charging costs for the Aug. 28 "I Remember . . ." show at the Kennedy Center to his personal credit cards.

He said the arts center even threatened to cancel the show unless payment was received today. "In our contract, we expect payment a week before the performance and that would be tomorrow," said Tiki Davies, a spokeswoman for the Kennedy Center. "We try to make things work for good causes, but we are a nonprofit too."

The daytime march and evening performance have been much anticipated in the civil rights community as a fitting tribute to a milestone event. But apparently not everyone is sharing the enthusiasm. King said he sent out "over 350 letters—Denny's, Xerox—and generally asked between \$5,000 and \$30,000," to no avail.

What King has gotten is the likes of Eartha Kitt, Maya Angelou, Morgan Freeman and Halle Berry—all of whom have agreed to come at their own expense. For them, King says, "it's a real labor of love."



Leslie Caron: Busy cooking up a new business.

Caron's Country Fare

■ Leslie Caron is talking about Warren Beatty: "He asked me to marry him—but he was a difficult customer," she says, with a girlish giggle. "I, I couldn't have survived."

Caron, that French gamine of yesteryear, is sitting on the terrace of her new restaurant, a quaint place in a 12th-century village outside Paris.

CHECKING IN WITH...

She's reminiscing about her glamor years, when, as a tiny French thing with a plump little face and wide blue eyes, she seduced America in such classics as "An American in Paris" and "Gigi." And America included Warren.

"I had just been nominated for an Oscar for 'The L-Shaped Room,' ('63)" "so there was a big dinner given in my honor. Warren was there. He took hold of me, and he never let me go."

Her husband at the time, meat-packing heir George Hormel, let go instead, and Caron spent the next four years with Beatty. It ended, she tells Post special correspondent Dana

Thomas, because "it was always a bit of a circus. Too many photographers . . . Every day one had to be on show."

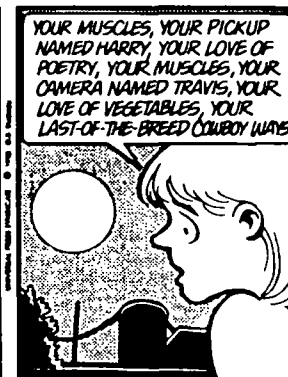
The 62-year-old Caron has long since moved on. Ten years back, she wrote a collection of short stories and has kept up with her stage work. Her last production was "Grand Hotel" in Berlin a couple of years ago. And last year, she appeared as a severely cool French mother in Louis Malle's film "Damage."

During filming, Caron spent her free time in jeans overseeing the construction of her restaurant in four old stone storage buildings along the Yonne River that had been bricked up for 30 years. Caron would travel from her country house up the river to do her shopping, "and every time I would come across the bridge, I'd think, 'These little buildings are so touching. Somebody ought to do something with them.'"

Five years ago, Caron and her son bought the buildings for what amounted to "cigarette money." So far, she has mostly locals as clients, but soon, she hopes, Parisians will take notice. She says with a tired sigh: "I feel as if I have built the Empire State Building."

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



A Step Backward in Kuwait ✓

KUWAIT'S government has now shut down six human rights organizations that were pressing it inconveniently hard. The ruling emir does not care for public criticism and has yet to accept fully the concept of a legitimate opposition. The suppression of these small but valuable organizations is particularly troubling because Kuwait had seemed to be moving slowly toward more democracy and greater regard for law. Banning the spokesmen for decency is a long step in the wrong direction.

The gulf war was not fought primarily for democracy but for other reasons—to keep a country from eating up a smaller one and to prevent Saddam Hussein's Iraq from making itself the dominant power in the Persian Gulf region. But during the months of the Iraqi occupation, Kuwait's royal family, from its exile in various five-star hotels, was full of promises about the new day that would dawn for democracy when the emir was restored to his rightful place. For many Kuwaitis—especially those who, unlike their rulers, stayed behind at great risk to resist the invaders—it has been galling to see how slowly and reluctantly those promises have been kept.

And yet there has been real progress, most clearly in the election of the National Assembly last

October. The election was held only after much pushing by the United States, and only under a pre-war election law that restricts the ballot to one out of every eight citizens. But the government's opponents won most of the seats, and the assembly has become a forum for serious political debate. It is, incidentally, the only democratically elected body in any of the Persian Gulf states. The government's decision now to ban the human rights organizations raises concerns that it may intend to proceed against other critics as well.

The ban isn't the only sign of a change in the atmosphere. In June Kuwait sentenced to death 16 Iraqis and Palestinians for having collaborated with Iraq during the occupation. But these people acted under coercion and, as the American advocacy organization Human Rights Watch observes, Kuwait's handling of their cases has been a good deal less than ideal. They have been held for long periods incommunicado and evidently beaten by Kuwaiti security authorities trying to extract confessions.

Recent events have given Kuwait's emir and his family plenty of reason to reflect on the relationship between their security and American policy. The American view of Kuwait's rulers will inevitably be influenced by their treatment of the people in their small and defenseless state.

Sitting on Spending ✓

THE BUDGET bill that passed the House by two votes and the Senate by just one earlier this month imposes greater discipline on spending than it has been given credit for. Conservative House Democrats insisted on imposing tight caps for the next five years on the third of the budget that is subject to the annual appropriations process. The total of this so-called discretionary spending is to be the same in fiscal 1988—\$547.9 billion—as it is in the current fiscal year.

The flat dollar limit isn't quite as binding as it sounds, because defense spending, which is roughly half the discretionary total, is scheduled to decline over the five years. The anticipated decline in defense would leave some room for domestic appropriations to rise, but not that much. The domestic increase would be only a hair's breadth above the projected inflation rate, which means that in real terms, it would be no increase at all, and not enough to make room for any new programs without cutting old. The conservative Democrats who bewail the budget for its failure to cut spending turned appropriations into a zero-sum game.

If annual defense spending follows the path in the administration's budget—and if anything, it is likelier to be a little above that than it is much below—it will fall about \$40 billion by 1998. That's how much domestic spending subject to appropriations—basically the budget of the Federal Triangle, not counting interest or entitlements—can rise. The average increase would be about \$8 billion or a little more

than 3 percent a year. But inflation is forecast to be just under 3 percent a year, and population grows another percent a year on top of that. At best in those real terms, this is a break-even figure. If the defense budget were to creep up a little from the current path, as new administration estimates apparently suggest it should, the domestic accounts would be under even greater pressure.

The appropriators have already been under roughly this degree of pressure for two years now. That's because of caps that were set in the 1990 budget agreement, which has also been underappreciated. To add spending, the appropriators have had first to subtract. This year, the competition has cost the president almost half of his proposed investment initiatives.

To pass his budget earlier this month, the president had to promise to propose further spending cuts in the fall. The form that these will take is unclear, but some members of the president's party want to tighten the appropriations caps even more. The clamp-down has, however, about reached the point in appropriations where, as with entitlements, the mere enunciation of a new cap—a spending limit in the abstract—is not enough. If they want to cut domestic appropriations more, they ought to be required to say which appropriations. Is it federal aid to education that they want to reduce? Head Start? AIDS research? Federal highway grants? A further aspect of the space station? The appropriators shouldn't have to bear this entire burden by themselves.

POLITICS, POLICY AND ANALYSIS

White House hits press with dramatic rise in travel costs

By John Bennett
SCRIPPS HOWARD NEWS SERVICE

The White House travel office has sent a tremor through Washington-based news organizations with sky-high charges for reporters who travel with President Clinton around the country and the globe.

The latest billings for chartered press trips arranged by the White House travel office were shocking to some organizations.

It was the first big trip arranged

by the new travel office personnel. The administration ousted the entire travel office staff earlier this year in a series of messy confrontations over questionable accounting. Five of the seven staff members were later returned to government service, but not at the White House.

The bill that raised eyebrows was for Mr. Clinton's July 4-14 trip to the Far East on a chartered Northwest Airlines jet that included six legs beginning with a jaunt from Washington to San Francisco.

The one-way trip to San Francisco cost each of the 114 reporters aboard \$2,362.

A survey showed that the average cost of a first-class commercial airline ticket for the same Washington-San Francisco leg is \$1,355. The coach fare average is \$833.

The Far East trip took Mr. Clinton and the press corps to Tokyo; Seoul; the Hawaiian island of Oahu; Des Moines, Iowa; and back to Washington. Total cost per reporter: \$11,443.

The average total cost for a first-

class commercial fare for the entire trip is \$8,249.45, according to the survey. The average coach commercial fare is \$4,466.45 — nearly \$7,000 less than the White House charges.

The air charter billing did not include ground transportation costs and fees for setting up "filing centers" for press communications. Those bills are coming later.

Catherine Cronin, an accountant for the White House travel office, said news bureaus have questioned the billing. "I've had numerous calls

that people thought they were excessive. But we also have to cover our costs. And our contract with Northwest was \$1.1 million."

She said the trip was in accordance with a long-standing practice of pro-rating charges for each leg of a chartered trip with the president.

Only 114 reporters — not the 155 expected — boarded the jet on the Washington to San Francisco leg, she explained. "That means the reporters on the plane had to bear the higher costs."

The prices had news bureaus scrambling for comparison billings from the Bush White House days.

One Bush-era billing for a one-way May 12, 1992, press flight with Mr. Bush from Washington to Los Angeles served as a rough basis for comparison with the Clinton leg to San Francisco.

The Bush Los Angeles trip cost \$700, compared with the \$2,362 charged for the Clinton San Francisco trip.

**FOSTER, THE PRESS,
AND THE WHITE HOUSE
TRAVEL OFFICE PERKS**

In the analysis of White House Deputy Counsel, Vincent Foster's apparent suicide, much has been made of contemporary pressures in official Washington, an allegedly now "get 'em" attitude on the part of the press, as well as the kind of clinical depression that leads people to take their own lives.

Lost in much of this has been the seeming instant cause of much of Mr. Foster's frustration, the Clinton administration's handling of the investigation of the White House Travel Office, which arranged for the Executive Mansion's huge entourage, including the White House press corps, to accompany the president out of town.

Long before Foster's suicide, I found the press's handling of the travel office controversy curious. The press coverage of the Clinton White House's attack on the Reagan-Bush Travel Office was so vociferous that the initial allegations quickly became obscured.

As a former White House correspondent for ABC News, I was even more struck by a passage in the torn fragments of a note from Foster that was unearthed a week after his death. "The press is covering up the illegal benefits they received from the travel staff," Foster wrote in what investigators now believe is the closest thing to a suicide note he left. On this matter, at least Foster was absolutely correct.

Among the many reasons the press corps loved President Reagan's frequent vacations to Santa Barbara was that many journalists became connoisseurs of wine in California and would use Air Force One and the attendant press charter to transport, literally, truckloads of wine back to Andrews Air Force Base, without benefit of paying state taxes.

Once near the end of Mr. Reagan's tenure, the press office advised reporters to limit their California wine purchases because the State of Maryland, where Andrews is located, had gotten word of the windfall and was threatening to stage a raid.

When traveling abroad with presidents, members of the White House press corps are granted the status of sovereigns, avoiding customs checks both in the foreign nations, as well as upon return to the US. Indeed, many White House journalists point proudly to expensive collectibles and furnishings in their homes that were collected from around the world and on which they paid not one penny of duty - to say nothing of shipping costs.

All this was abetted by the White House Travel Office, which Foster was charged with investigating before his death, either by ignoring the transgressions of the White House press corps or because they accepted petty gratuities offered by journalists to overlook their activities.

In and of itself, all this may signify nothing. But taken in conjunction with all of the other perks pertaining to the White House press corps it amounts to a

kind of corruption that renders these reporters as unfit to respond, as George Bush was in the famous presidential debate in Richmond, VA, when the president seemed at a loss of words when asked, in effect: How had the depressed economy affected him personally?

More important, if someone as wired to the system as Vine Foster could not understand or forgive this egregious conflict of interest when it came to reporting on the Whit House travel office, then certainly there can be little wonder about the journalists' loss of credibility with the general public.

Costs of Clinton Travel Firings Still Growing

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

The firing of the White House travel office staff last spring is turning into a costly decision. Not only are five employees still being paid for not working, but Congress is about to authorize \$150,000 for their legal fees at the same time the Justice Department is using its resources to continue investigating some of them.

The Senate yesterday, with no objection from Democrats or the White House, unanimously adopted an amendment to the Transportation Department spending bill that appropriates \$150,000 to a legal defense fund. It will pay legal fees for five of the seven workers who were fired and later ordered reinstated on administrative leave.

The White House originally announced the firing of all seven travel office employees and called in the FBI to investigate what it called "serious" questions about management of funds. Aides later acknowledged five of the seven had no control over or access to funds. Those five were eventually reinstated on administrative leave.

Following its own management review, the White House announced the five would be given jobs in government, although not their old travel office positions. The White House and the five employees have not been able to agree on new jobs, but the five continue to draw their salaries.

Meanwhile four other employees are being paid to handle the White House travel work.

The firings produced a plethora of follow-up inquiries into how the travel office investigation as well as the original FBI investigation into financial improprieties were handled. FBI sources said that investigation is "ongoing" because the five former employees retained lawyers, and other lawyers have become involved, complicating the process of interviewing witnesses.

A General Accounting Office investigation of the travel office affair also is running past its due date, in part because key administration officials have been slow to provide information and documents.

Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) and Sen. Christopher S. Bond (R-Mo.) said they introduced the amendment to cover the legal fees for the five reinstated workers because they were the "true, real-life victims" of the debacle. They "woke up one May morning only to hear their good reputations smeared on national television by an incompetent White House staff." They were accused of "gross mismanagement" and subjected to an FBI investigation, Dole and Bond said.

Dole said each of the five had incurred a legal bill of \$30,000 or more to defend themselves against the allegations and to get their jobs back. None of the five earned more than \$60,000 and some made significantly less.

The Senate version of the Transportation bill will go to conference with the House version, which was completed before the legal fees issue came up. A congressional aide said it is unlikely that the House would reject the spending, since it will be offset by a cut Dole proposed in another category of the Transportation bill.

White House Deputy Chief of Staff Roy Neel called the situations of the five "unfortunate." He said the White House had "worked very hard to provide them good jobs at good salaries." The jobs under consideration are at least comparable to the ones they held, he said. Each now is reviewing an offer to work in a federal agency, not the White House.

The seven-man team of career employees at the White House travel office has been replaced by four permanent workers, plus a subcontracted employee of American Express who makes travel arrangements for White House staff. In addition, Neel said, the White House "on occasion" uses employees of other departments, such as Commerce or Transportation, to handle out-of-town arrangements.

The original firings were portrayed by the White House as the result of gross mismanagement and as a cost-savings mechanism that would reduce the size of the travel staff yet provide the same service.

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES



President's travel office starts fresh

When White House spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers in May announced the abrupt firing of the travel office, reporters groaned.

Not only did they feel the charges against the seven men were false, they knew the dismissals would ruin the well-established office that arranged travel for White House correspondents.

Seven months later, five of the seven fired workers have received apologies and new government jobs, but the travel office had plodded on. Until recently, that is.

Since Oct. 26, when a new director was hired, the reporters following President Clinton on every trip outside the Beltway haven't experienced the earlier flubs, such as being stranded by broken jets or being assigned a hotel room at 1 a.m. with no bed.

The new director, Air Force Maj. Steve Riewerts, concedes his young staff has "no corporate

knowledge" but isn't looking backward. "We're looking to the future," he said.

Maj. Riewerts replaces Billy Dale, one of two former travel office employees who have not received a government job due to a pending investigation into the financial management of the office.

The Air Force Academy graduate is an old hand at travel operations. He ran the office that organized airlift operations for the government, organized jet traffic out of Andrews Air Force Base and scheduled aircraft for the White House. He was part of a presidential advance team for three

years, finding hotel space and ground transportation, and handling other essentials as the White House travel agent.

"I've seen this from a lot of different aspects," he said. "It's not too different from what I've done."

The travel office hires charter aircraft, rents buses, reserves hotel rooms and sets up press offices.

Before Maj. Riewerts came on board, the office was operated by volunteers and a couple of full-time workers. One aide, Kris Engskov, has stood out, clearing travel plan hurdles with his dry humor and confidence. In one instance, a pilot of a recent air charter had no money for fuel at Andrews. The Air Force threatened to block takeoff but a quick huddle with Mr. Engskov got the press charter airborne.

Planning four major overseas trips for next year, the inexperienced travel office hopes to leave past problems behind.

"We're going to get there," Maj. Riewerts said.

Jewell's pardons called legal

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES



When Arkansas State Sen. Jerry Jewell granted executive clemency to two men and pardoned two others while serving as acting governor on Inauguration Day, there was a public outcry. But Arkansas officials say he acted legally.

A spokeswoman for Pulaski County Prosecutor Mark Stodola, who initiated an inquiry into the orders, said a review had determined the clemency and pardon orders, although unpopular, did not violate state policy or laws.

The inquiry began after Inauguration Day, Jan. 20, when Dr. Jewell, acting governor in the absence of Bill Clinton, was in Washington to see his predecessor, Bill Clinton, sworn in as president, signed the pardon and clemency orders.

Dr. Jewell, a dentist, signed orders for a murderer who served 21 years of a life sentence; another man paroled in 1990 after serving seven years for manslaughter; a man who

was paroled in 1975 after he was sentenced to four years in prison for burglary and forgery; and a convicted drug dealer.

It was the drug dealer, Tommy McIntosh, 29, whose release stirred most of the debate.

Many in Arkansas scoffed that it was a payoff, offered in exchange for dirty tricks the younger Mr. McIntosh's father, Robert "Say" McIntosh, played on Clinton political opponents during the 1990 Arkansas gubernatorial campaign, or — some Arkansas politicians say this was more likely — as a payoff for suspending his attacks on Mr. Clinton during the presidential campaign. One of them was a handbill, distributed by Mr. McIntosh, suggesting, without offering proof, scandalous sexual liaisons between Mr. Clinton and several women.

"Bill Clinton told me he would get my son out of prison," the elder Mr. McIntosh told The Washington Times. "He told me he had taken care of it, that the matter had been handled. We had a deal, and he agreed to honor it."

Questioned by reporters after the pardons were announced, Dr. Jewell neither denied nor admitted that he had pardoned nor the crimes for which they had been convicted. The documents, as it turned out, had been prepared in the office of the governor.

File Personal

The Clinton Years: An 'Open House' for Legal Help

By David Segal
Washington Post Staff Writer

BIZ, From C1

Whatever else is remembered years from now about the Clinton administration's first term, on one point historians are likely to agree: This White House created a heap of work for lawyers.

Between Whitewater, the travel office firings, inquiries into Vince Foster's death, the so-called Filegate and several independent counsel investigations of individual Cabinet members, a small swarm of White House employees have needed attorneys since President Clinton took office.

"I can't remember anything approaching it, at least not since the Nixon administration," said **John Hume**, a partner at **Perkins Coie** who defended several

officials during the Bush administration and has worked in Washington for 30 years. "It's hard to remember more people needing more lawyers."

These legal troubles are translating into a mini-boom of billable hours, primarily for Washington lawyers. Some of the attorney-client relationships include: former White House counsel **Bernard Nussbaum**, who retained **Jim Fitzpatrick** of **Arnold & Porter**; **Margaret Williams**, Hillary Rodham Clinton's chief of staff, who has hired **Ed Dennis** of Philadelphia's **Morgan Lewis & Bockius**; senior adviser **George Stephanopoulos**, who hired **Stanley Brand** of **Brand, Lowell & Ryan**; former communications chief **Mark Gearan**, who retained **Justin Simon** of **Dickstein Shapiro**

See BIZ, C5, Col. 1

Morin & Oshinsky; former travel office head **Billy Dale**, who is represented by **Steve Tabackman** of **Tighe, Patton, Tabackman & Babbitt**; former security officer **Craig Livingstone** of **Filegate** fame, who has retained **Randall Turk** of **Miller, Cassidy, Larroca & Lewin**—and the list goes on.

Oddly enough, representing White House employees is rarely lucrative. Minus a family trust fund, government workers typically can't afford the hourly rates—from \$300 to \$400 an hour—of top litigators. In fact, few of the lawyers hired by White House employees expect to get paid for their work. The rewards, say these attorneys, come from reputation enhancement—which can often lead to paying jobs with far wealthier corporate customers.

"There's a certain amount of prestige in it," said **Richard Beckler**, a partner at **Fulbright & Jaworski** and counsel to **John Poindexter**, a national security adviser under President Reagan who faced Iran-contra allegations.

But there are certain hassles in this sort of work as well. Attorneys can't provide free legal services to White House employees because the 1978 **Government in Ethics Act** and federal anti-gratuity statutes prohibit freebies—including legal services—to public officials. Often, attorneys avoid landing their White House clients—or themselves—in trouble by sending out bills for years on end, allowing them to work for nothing and go through the motions of trying to get paid. And there's always the chance that over time, a client might actually pay some of the tab.

Worse, many lawyers say that working for White House clients is pretty boring. Sure, it can be exciting to join a fracas that's making headlines across the country, but most of the labor involved is fairly tedious. Usually, the attorneys are preparing clients for depositions or are sitting by mutely while other lawyers or members of Congress grill their clients at congressional hearings or grand jury appearances.

"The lawyers' role in all these situations is pretty passive," said **Bill Taylor**, a partner at **Zuckerman, Spaeder, Goldstein, Taylor & Kolker** who represents **Lisa Caputo** and former White House chief of staff **Thomas F. "Mack" McLarty**. "Lawyers

like to ask questions. They don't like to sit around while others are asking questions."

To recap: there's often little money in it, there are ethical minefields to sidestep and the work is often brain-glazingly dull. Why would any lawyer volunteer for this job?

Some say they are simply doing their civic duty. "A lot of people in the administration don't have the wherewithal to pay for representation," said **Harvey Pitt**, an attorney who has represented several former general counsels of the Treasury Department. "But these people shouldn't be deprived of good counsel. Working for the government is punishment enough."

But others, who are less inclined to identify themselves, say that landing a high-cachet job with White House employees gets you on the short list of litigators sought by clients with far deeper pockets. As ever, pro bono work has its own rewards.

IT MIGHT NOT hurt attendance at the **Corcoran Gallery**, but the fourth annual art show at the D.C. law offices of **Finnegan, Henderson, Farabow, Garrett & Dunner** starts today and runs through Friday.

Twenty-seven artists—attorneys, support staffers or immediate family members of law firm employees—will show about 100 pieces. Prices range from \$50 for photographs to \$2,000 for sculptures. Firm partner **John Hornick**, who will be showing what he calls "nonrepresentational painting" and neon sculpture, admits that many people are skeptical about lawyer-artists. He points out that though nobody got rich at last year's show, sales were pretty brisk.

"This started as a way to bring people in the firm together, but we actually sold a fair amount of art last year," said Hornick, an intellectual property attorney.

IF YOU'RE A LAWYER looking for a family-friendly workplace, **Working Mother** magazine has a suggestion: D.C.'s **Arnold & Porter**.

The office, which has 276 lawyers, is just the second law firm to make the magazine's list of the 100 best companies for working mothers. The reason, as **Working Mother's** October issue explains, is the firm's full-time day care center and its flexibility when handling part-time and flex-time work schedules.

Staff researchers **Richard Drezzen** and **Steven Ginsberg** contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1996

Few of the lawyers hired by White House employees expect to get paid for their work. The rewards, say these attorneys, come from reputation enhancement.

Ad on Christian Radio Touts Clinton's Conservative Stands

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Clinton's campaign is airing an ad on Christian radio stations that boasts of his opposition to some late-term abortions and his signing of legislation aimed at preventing gay marriages.

The ad marks a significant departure for Clinton, who has made support for abortion rights a cornerstone of his appeal to female voters; his veto of a bill that would have outlawed one late-term abortion procedure has been denounced by Catholic leaders.

And while the ad depicts his opposition to same-sex marriage as a political asset, Clinton has called the legislation "one more attempt to divert the American people" from more serious issues, and White House press secretary Michael McCurry has branded it "gay-baiting, pure and simple."

The ad is a response to a Dole radio commercial, also airing on Christian stations in about 15 states, that complains of a "moral crisis . . . in the White House" and accuses the president of supporting "ninth-month abortions."

"Don't be misled by Bob Dole's attack ads," Clinton's 60-second spot says. "President Clinton wants a complete ban on late-term abortions except when the mother's life is in danger or faces severe health risks, such as the inability to have another child. The president signed the Defense of Marriage Act, supports curfews and school uniforms to teach our children discipline."

"This is why a majority of Americans don't trust Bill Clinton," said Dole spokesman Gary Kooops. "You certainly don't see Bill Clinton campaigning on the fact that he signed the Defense of Marriage Act or favors restrictions on abortion."

Don Foley, a Clinton spokesman, said the Dole ad was "a brutal personal attack on the president. It was legitimate to defend the president this way. . . . There are a lot of people to

be talked to in this election. Those people who listen to Christian radio are a significant audience as well."

Clinton signed the Defense of Marriage Act last month at 12:50 a.m. in an obvious attempt to minimize public attention. The measure says that if any state legalizes same-sex marriages, no other state would have to recognize them as valid.

John D'Emilio, director of policy for the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force, called the ad "both unsettling and offensive. . . . It's unfortunate, when he's as far ahead in the polls as he is, that he has to boast to a Christian audience that he signed the Defense of Marriage Act."

The president in April vetoed a bill that would have outlawed a relatively uncommon procedure used to end late-stage pregnancies. In an emotional ceremony featuring five women, Clinton said he could accept such a ban only if it contained an exception for women who faced serious health consequences. Abortion opponents say the procedure is especially inhumane and that the exceptions Clinton sought could be used to justify virtually any such abortion.

Douglas Johnson, legislative director for the National Right to Life Committee, called the ad "duplicious in the extreme," saying Clinton "is trying to create the impression he would favor a restrictive policy while his legislation would not ban a single partial-birth abortion."

Abortion rights advocates took the ad in stride. Belle Taylor-McGhee, a spokeswoman for the National Abortion and Reproductive Rights Action League, said the language "seems to be consistent with what the president has said before. . . . He's trying to win an election."

This is not the first time the Clinton camp has targeted advertising to particular constituencies. A television ad airing on black-oriented networks says that Clinton has increased funding for black colleges and appointed the most diverse Cabinet in history.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1996

Kill Personal

In Journey

Willie L. Wilson

From Poverty

Black Philanthropy

Swept Floors at First
And Later Mopped Up
In the Gospel Business

Of Farrakhan and Angels

By DOROTHY J. GAITER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
CHICAGO — Long ago, Willie L. Wilson ran off from a Florida work camp, convinced it was virtual slavery. Hounds chased him, but he got away.

Later, though he had no money, and only an eighth-grade education; he convinced himself he could run his own business. No matter that his career began as a floor-mopper in a fast-food restaurant. Like his belief in God, there are some things he just knows to be true.

Still, later, though Mr. Wilson could barely carry a note, he desperately wanted a place in the church choir. He doesn't sing much better these days, but has made a fortune turning his love of gospel music into a multimillion-dollar business.

The 48-year-old Mr. Wilson is a rare bird on the American landscape—a self-made black millionaire and philanthropist. Neither a sports hero nor a celebrity, he has made his money the old-fashioned way, as a quintessential can-do American in an America that hasn't always been kind to his aspirations.

Yet hurdles—lack of education, racism and more than his share of personal turmoil and tragedy—have only made him want to jump higher. "As a black male, I'm not supposed to be here," Mr. Wilson says. "I'm supposed to be in jail or on drugs. The system didn't expect anything, to become of me."

Independent Thinker

Quiet, unassuming, a little rough at the edges, Mr. Wilson these days lives in a system of his own making, preaching a kind of black self-sufficiency while giving away—with no regard to ideology—annual six-figure sums to African-American causes. Though hardly a household name in even the black community, he has recently chaired economic-development committees of the NAACP, Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH and Louis Farrakhan's and Benjamin Chavis's National African American Leadership Summit.

Underlying his generosity is a real toughness: "If you're not Jesus, I'm not afraid of you," he says. Thus, pondering whether giving to someone as controversial as Mr. Farrakhan is the right thing to do, he says, "I may not agree with everything they say and do, but if their heart is in trying to help black people, then I'm going to give them help."

Those who know Mr. Wilson are hardly surprised by his success, or his generosity. "He has a Ph.D. from the university of the street—what old folks would call 'Mother Wit,'" says Reginald Webb, a Pomona, Calif., business associate. Adds Jimmie L. Daniels, a former president of Operation PUSH, which has benefited from Mr. Wilson's giving: "Willie is straightforward" and dedicated to the notion that African-Americans will benefit more from "jobs than government entitlements."



Willie L. Wilson

That Mr. Wilson can't easily be pigeon-holed reflects a life that itself is full of complexities, ironies and luck—good and bad. His story, corroborated by friends, business associates and family members, features a failed marriage, the death of a son to gang violence and an embrace of black-nationalist politics that leave him critical of African-American organizations that depend on white charity for their existence. His story also features two guardian angels—one black, one a wealthy white man: the late Ray Kroc, the founder of McDonald's Corp.

Life for Mr. Wilson began with few outward prospects. He was born in Gilbert, La., one of 11 children of sharecroppers Douglas and Lula Mae Wilson. As a child, he chopped cotton and hay for 25 cents a day. School was a luxury in-between the long crop seasons.

At 13, he left home to find a job and landed in a work camp in South Florida, where the pay for picking vegetables never quite seemed to equal the cost of room and board charged by the camp's owners. So one night, with dogs at their heels, Mr. Wilson and several young men fled. Along the way, a man appeared and told them of a safe place to find work. A few yards down the road, Mr. Wilson says, he remembered that they hadn't thanked the stranger, but he was gone. "To this day," Mr. Wilson says, "I think he was an angel of God."

Hard Times

Mr. Wilson did find work, making \$13 a day picking crops, and later he moved to Miami, where he washed dishes in a restaurant, all the while sending money home. After several months, he found himself seriously ill and had to ask his mother for money to return to Louisiana. "I hated to do it because she had to borrow money from the white man, and borrowing \$15 was like borrowing \$1,000," he says.

After convalescing, Mr. Wilson moved away again and began bouncing between

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Continued From First Page

Chicago and New York, for several years working at low-wage jobs, including assembling pianos, parking cars, installing ceiling tiles and changing tires.

By 1970, he found himself broke and collecting unemployment compensation. "I was in a rut," he says. His landlady suggested he apply for work at a new McDonald's nearby.

As unpromising as it sounded, the advice would change his life.

A Fateful Move

Mr. Wilson got a job mopping floors, cleaning garbage cans and cooking hamburgers for \$2 an hour. He made a good first impression on the white owner. Soon after he was hired, the restaurant's managers walked out in a dispute with the owner; in desperation, he asked Mr. Wilson to run the place.

He did so well that, after the managers returned, the owner insisted that Mr. Wilson remain in management. But he balked at first, being unsure about managing a crew that was largely white. Still, he persevered, despite hostility from other managers who never forgave him for holding things together during their walkout. By quietly going over the receipts each night, he even managed to fill in his one managerial weakness—learning how to keep the books.

In time, Mr. Wilson found himself in another management role at a new McDonald's opened by the same owner. But the racial tension of his previous job turned to open hostility. Some whites he disciplined complained to their friends and parents, and Mr. Wilson endured threats—once he was told to leave town.

"I had planned to leave anyway," he recalls, "but I decided I wouldn't let them run me away." He stuck it out, won some of his adversaries over—then later was fired when he asked for a promotion.

Years had passed and Mr. Wilson had married in the interim. The 16-hour days at McDonald's had taken their toll and his marriage, he says, turned increasingly bitter. Two days after his firing, his wife left him, taking their four children, Kenya, Omar, Rashod and Terrell, with her. They would eventually divorce and Mr. Wilson's relationship with his children, though he continues to help provide for their support, would grow strained.

The night that his wife and children left him, "my chest hurt so bad I went to the hospital," he says. But before the end of the next day, Mr. Wilson says he had 18 job offers from other McDonald's.

Banking on Help

He went to work this time for a black owner, but after another five years in the McDonald's system, he also had a plan. He wanted to provide for his estranged family, and he thought he now knew enough about McDonald's to own one himself.

One small problem: He had no money to put up.

By this time, religion, always important to Mr. Wilson, had become an even more integral part of his life. For years he had tithed 10% of his salary, in some years only \$135 a week, to Christ Temple Baptist Church—generosity that had been a source of family dissension.

So, after praying on it, Mr. Wilson decided there was only one route to his own franchise: He would just call McDonald's founder Ray Kroc. "Three or four times I picked up the telephone to call Ray Kroc and put it down again," he recalls. Finally, he made the call and a secretary asked why she should let a total stranger speak to her famous boss.

Mr. Wilson briefly gave her his background and added, "You don't know me, but I might be the person driving down the street who helps to fix your flat tire one night. I need help."

Mr. Wilson didn't get to talk to Mr. Kroc, but he did get an appointment to see him. But when he learned that the McDonald's chairman would be at a shareholders' meeting sooner, he went. "I shook a lot of white folks' hands to get to Mr. Kroc," he says. "I told him that the only thing that I had was my integrity and that I was a hard worker. Well, he stopped and looked at me and said, 'You mean more to me than anybody here. Come on, let's go.'"

The story—confirmed by an array of McDonald's officials—was the beginning of a long relationship. Says Roland Jones, a black pioneer in the McDonald's system who knew Mr. Wilson: "Ray Kroc was a high school dropout, too. . . . He could relate to Willie being a sharp person and having a lot going for him."

Not long after that, Mr. Wilson found himself with a struggling Chicago franchise, financed by South Shore Bank—after Mr. Kroc put in a good word for him. In the heart of a black neighborhood, the store was a low-volume site with two or three other McDonald's restaurants near it, but he turned it around in less than a year. He insisted that employees be more courteous, ordering them to discard food that wasn't freshly cooked. Mr. Wilson was obsessive about cleanliness and spent money to replace outmoded equipment and plumbing. He also transformed it from just a walk-in, take-out restaurant to one with a drive-through window and a dining room where customers could sit and eat.

He staged fashion shows and break-dancing contests to create "buzz." And he became a highly visible leader in the black community, giving to churches, business associations and Little League teams, and participating in a citywide jobs program for African-American youths.

His core store did so well that soon he bought three more McDonald's restaurants. He soon found himself a wealthy man.

A Different Tune

One day in 1988 when Mr. Wilson was sitting in church thinking, he says, about how generous God had been, the choir started singing, "What Shall I Render Unto the Lord?" In tears, he decided his life needed a more "spiritual outlet." He jettisoned all but one of his McDonald's restaurants (practically giving one to an older brother and selling the other two) and decided to dedicate himself to gospel music.

For years, Mr. Wilson had created something of a stir in Christ Temple Baptist Church with his singing efforts. Tone deaf, he concedes he "couldn't hold a note." His pastor, the Rev. Princeton McKinley, nonetheless let him sing—solo. He would gently admonish the congregation: "Listen to the words, not how it sounds."

The church boasted among its members a professional gospel-singing quartet known as the Norfleet Brothers. Mr. Wilson begged to sing with the group; they politely declined. So for five years Mr. Wilson occasionally followed them around the country, watching them perform, all the while working on his voice. He would show up for rehearsals and "he kept struggling," recalls Joseph Norfleet, 72, one of the two surviving brothers. Finally, the Norfleets relented. Partly buoyed by this success, Mr. Wilson decided that the best way to serve God would be to create a gospel TV show. "I could spread the gospel around the United States and the world and people could be saved by it," he says.

Mr. Wilson plunked \$400,000 of his own money—and \$200,000 in loans—into an effort to produce pilots to pitch Chicago TV stations. Between production snags and poor advice from consultants, the effort turned into a \$600,000 loss.

Later, however, Jonathan Rodgers, general manager of WBBM-Ch. 2, the local CBS affiliate, was fielding ideas for new programs, including a gospel-music show. He called for proposals and got none—except "from Willie, who brought me 13 shows," recalls Mr. Rodgers, now president of the Discovery Networks-U.S. unit of Discovery Communications Inc. "He was ready to go."

"Singsation," the half-hour show, began airing in 1989 and is now seen in major black markets, including Chicago, New York, Detroit, Miami, San Francisco, Tampa, and Jackson, Miss. It features a mix of new and popular gospel talent, some white, and is alternately hosted by Mr. Wilson and Detroit-based gospel great Vicki Winans. For longtime sponsor Wm. Wrigley Jr. Co., the show "has enabled us to reach the African-American community," says William Piet, Wrigley's vice president for corporate affairs.

But as Mr. Wilson's business prospered, his three sons, Omar, Rashod and Terrell, struggled with the lure of the streets, spending time in and out of trouble with the law. Omar, 20, had even gone to prison on a robbery charge. Mr. Wilson concedes that in his children's early years his workaholic nature left him little time for them. His divorce only exacerbated the situation.

Last year, tragedy struck: Only four months after his release, Omar was gunned down when a gang member followed him into his mother's suburban Chicago home. His sister, Kenya, witnessed the shooting and was spared only when her brother Terrell appeared and the gunman ran off.

But the nightmare wasn't over. Gang members sent word to Mr. Wilson that if he spoke out against them at Omar's funeral, they would kill him and his daughter. Mr. Farrakhan, with whom Mr. Wilson had become friendly after he contributed money to a Muslim school, sent over 50 security guards. (Mr. Farrakhan didn't return phone calls seeking comment on the episode.)

Of the experience, Mr. Wilson says, "Losing a child is the worst thing that can happen to you." Of Mr. Farrakhan's help, he adds, "I will never turn against Minister Farrakhan. I don't care what anybody else says."

Despite his wealth, Mr. Wilson lives a modest existence: He lives in a suburban house with his aging parents from Louisiana and drives a Jeep Cherokee. When he schedules a business lunch with prospective advertisers or TV executives, he insists they meet him at Gladys's, a soul-food restaurant on Chicago's South Side. Every day, he breakfasts there on fried pork chops, eggs over medium and orange juice.

Mr. Wilson concedes he could have been a better father and, though still estranged from his wife and his daughter, Kenya, 24, his remaining two sons, Rashod, 19, and Terrell, 18, now work for him at his remaining McDonald's. Rashod characterizes Mr. Wilson as a "good father" intent on "turning me around." He has gotten Rashod interested in church, while prodding him to think about getting his high-school diploma and perhaps opening his own McDonald's one day, his son says.

In the interim, Mr. Wilson continues to spread his money around the African-American community. Beyond his gifts to high-profile groups, he has for years given tens of thousands of dollars through some 100 black churches that in turn help poor elderly congregants pay their utility and food bills.

Says Fred Rasheed, who worked with Mr. Wilson on NAACP economic committees: "A lot of people forget the bridge that brought them across and the people who opened doors for them. But not Willie."

Dole's Foreign Policy Record Has Its Inconsistencies

By CARLA ANNE ROBBINS
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — In their first debate, Robert Dole accused President Clinton of running "an ad hoc foreign policy" that confuses allies and squanders American credibility around the world. His solution: firm and steady leadership, with clear priorities, that only he can provide.

These attacks likely will continue tomorrow night during his final debate with



Mr. Clinton, for aides say they reflect Mr. Dole's personal conviction that he would make a far stronger commander-in-chief.

"The defining moment in Bob Dole's life was when he was wounded on that battlefield in Italy," says GOP Sen. John McCain of Arizona, a top Dole adviser. "His generation proved that you could make the world safe for democracy" and "understood the obligation to maintain that."

But a look at the Dole foreign-policy record suggests Mr. Dole, too, can be short on consistency and uncertain about priorities. Over the years, he has contradicted himself on several issues he now uses to criticize Mr. Clinton, including Saddam Hussein, Israel and expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. "After studying Sen. Dole's foreign-policy record, it's hard to find a unifying theme except perhaps selling American grain," charges James Rubin, a Clinton campaign spokesman.

Like much campaign rhetoric, that assertion mixes hyperbole with defense of a president who has shown a less-than-steady hand in foreign affairs. But it also has some truth. As a longtime Kansas senator, Mr. Dole relentlessly pressed grain sales at even awkward moments: opposing President Carter's post-Afghanistan embargo on the Soviets in the 1970s, and fighting to preserve grain credits for Iraq in the 1990s even after it gassed Kurdish civilians and just before it invaded Kuwait.

A Lieutenant, Not a General

More significantly, foreign policy has never been a top Dole priority. As a senator and majority leader, he had a role in every major foreign-policy decision of the past three decades—but more as a lieutenant than a general. He loyally did rally congressional support for Republican (and occasionally Democratic) presidents on key initiatives, but also smoothly shifted sides whenever politics or political ambition dictated.

"Maybe because he was majority leader, he was more worried about gaining congressional consensus. But he also didn't feel that passionately about most things," says Robert Kagan, a Republican who helped craft Central America policy during the Reagan years.

At his best, Mr. Dole has shown great conviction on foreign policy. As a freshman senator, he filibustered for seven weeks to prevent a halt to operations in Cambodia. He defied his party last December to rally Senate support for sending U.S. troops to Bosnia.

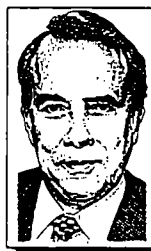
But he can have a remarkably ill-tuned ear. His 1990 remark about Saddam Hussein — "there might be a chance to bring this guy around" — has become a political legend. He made an even more incendiary slip during a 1987 visit to Central America,

Issues Checkoff: Foreign Policy



Bill Clinton

- ✓ **NATO:** Calls for an international summit to lead to inclusion of some East European states by 1999 or 2000
- ✓ **Haiti:** Says U.S. intervention has established new stability
- ✓ **China:** Favors continuing Most Favored Nation trade status
- ✓ **Vietnam:** Decided to normalize relations
- ✓ **Jerusalem:** Calls for resolving ultimate status in negotiations between Israel and Palestinians



Robert Dole

- ✓ **NATO:** Calls for expansion to include Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic by a 1998 deadline
- ✓ **Haiti:** Criticizes U.S. intervention as a mistaken move that has failed
- ✓ **China:** Favors continuing Most Favored Nation trade status
- ✓ **Vietnam:** Opposed normalization of relations
- ✓ **Jerusalem:** Supports recognition as the capital of Israel

telling a reporter that Costa Rica's President Oscar Arias wouldn't object if somebody "sort of blew away" Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega; then he corrected himself by saying, "a little three-day invasion wouldn't make anybody unhappy down there."

Different Roles

Political tacking and even stumbles are more excusable in a senator than a president. "The roles are so different that it's hard to draw clear lessons," says Richard Haass, a foreign-policy expert at the Brookings Institution.

As a presidential candidate, however, Mr. Dole is struggling to explain his own foreign-policy vision and how he differs from President Clinton on substance. When asked in the first presidential debate when he would send U.S. troops into harm's way, Sen. Dole cited a vague "selective engagement" that he defined as acting "when our interests are involved and not the United Nations." On policy issues from NATO to China, his differences with President Clinton "at most are of degree rather than kind," says Mr. Haass, a former top Bush administration official.

Dole campaign advisers are frustrated by his inability to capitalize on foreign affairs, and they partly blame the public. "The problem is [foreign policy] just doesn't show up in the polls," says Sen. McCain.

But their difficulties go deeper. "I don't think the problem is just Bob Dole," says Mr. Kagan. "The Republicans themselves haven't been able to articulate a genuinely compelling vision for the post-Cold War world."

Things were simpler during the Cold War. Like most Republicans, Mr. Dole strongly defended the Vietnam War and the "Star Wars" missile-defense system. He was a skeptic on arms control, and he opposed the Panama Canal Treaty and South African sanctions. But even then, he was more often a pragmatist than a crusader, with priorities true to his Kansas roots.

Pragmatism and Loyalty

Many Dole contradictions can be traced to pragmatism and party loyalty. Today he is a staunch defender of Israel. But in 1990, he infuriated its supporters by seeking a 5% foreign-aid cut for the biggest recipients and pointedly urged fellow legislators to "stand up" to domestic "pressure groups." This made practical sense to

a senator wanting to aid Eastern Europe's new democracies and a newly invaded Panama. It also helped the Bush White House, fearful of floating the idea on its own. Sen. Dole's 1990 meeting with Saddam Hussein also was a favor to President Bush, who hoped to keep the Iraqi dictator as a counterweight to Iran.

Political ambition also played a role. In this year's campaign, Mr. Dole bitterly criticizes the president for bowing to "the threats of Russian nationalists" and delaying expansion of NATO. In early 1994, however, he too urged the U.S. "to be very careful" about expanding NATO against Russia's wishes. And politics explains his May 1995 legislation to force moving the U.S. embassy from Tel Aviv to Jerusalem — a politically explosive symbol. Back

in 1990, however, Mr. Dole first supported and then disavowed a more tepid resolution declaring Jerusalem the capital, on grounds that it would jeopardize peace efforts.

With the Soviet Union gone, Sen. Dole has had a hard time defining his diplomatic priorities. He strongly rejected Patrick Buchanan's isolationism to endorse trade treaties and the Mexican peso bailout. But while advocating a robust defense budget and unilateral military action, he has been unclear about when or where he would dispatch American troops.

Sen. Dole adamantly opposed the U.S. intervention in Haiti and briefly tried to block its funding. He also seems to reject the concept of humanitarian peacekeeping, criticizing Mr. Clinton during their first debate for deploying "more troops than any president in history around the world" and spending "billions and billions of dollars for peacekeeping operations."

"There were times when Clinton sounded more Reaganite than Dole," says Mr. Kagan, who prefers a more activist GOP stance.

Sen. Dole's ambivalence, or the political constraints imposed by his party, were even apparent in Bosnia, an issue that engaged his passions and principles early.

Back in 1990 — after watching Serb police beat Albanian pro-democracy demonstrators — he criticized Serbian aggression. By 1992, he was accusing the Serbs of genocide and compared their leader, Slobodan Milosevic, to Adolph Hitler. His policy prescriptions — lifting the arms embargo and launching air strikes — were more robust than those of the Bush or Clinton White Houses. But, given the stakes, his ideas still were intentionally low-risk.

Personal

Observer

RUSSELL BAKER

Just Saying No

A new poll reports that most American young people don't want to grow up to be President. I have interviewed young people galore to find out why.

Anita M., of Houma, La., says: "You think I want to spend my life being investigated by Senator D'Aмато? I want to be a professor emeritus of the history of music and win a \$1 million Nobel Prize for proving that Elvis is really dead."

Bert H., of Sans Souci, N.D.: "Sure, it would be great having your own 747 when you wanted to go out on Saturday night, but imagine spending time with those geeky Congressmen."

Saul O., of Salisbury Plain, Ohio:

Be President? Thanks anyway.

"I can't stand athletes. When you're President you've got to phone their locker rooms after they've won the latest Greatest Game in the History of Jock Straps and invite them to the White House. Forget it."

Mavis W., of Eglantine, Ore.: "President? You've got to be kidding. Sit around the office waiting for a public-opinion poll to tell you what you can do? I want a job where I can have my own ideas instead of waiting for pollsters to have them for me. A job that gives me a chance to do something daring, y'know, without having to get a poll taker's permission."

Macushla M., of Falls-by-the-Sea, Neb.: "A kid would have to be out of his skull to take a job where you have to listen to Al Gore explain how to toast a marshmallow."

Rebecca E., of Kiddiebunkport, Me.: "You can't have much respect for me if you think I want a job where I'd have to go on television and kill an hour and a half arguing with Bob Dole about the distinction between a tittle and a jot."

Sergei R., of East Meow, Ind.: "You crazy? Why would I want a job where I had to listen to Al Gore explain how to say no when somebody offers you a glass of poisoned drinking water?"

Seamus A., of Alvarez Heights, Mich.: "I'm too ambitious to settle for a job that can be done by people like Millard Fillmore, Franklin Pierce, James Buchanan, James A. Garfield, Chester Allen Arthur, War-

ren G. Harding, Calvin Coolidge, Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford, Ronald Reagan, George Bush and William J. Clinton. I'd rather grow up and make something of myself."

Austin K., of East Bat Cave, Tenn.: "I hear the pay is only \$200,000 plus expenses, which doesn't seem like much if you've got any ambition. Then, they're not going to build you something like the Lincoln Memorial or the Kennedy Center until you've been assassinated and it's too late to enjoy knowing you're a legend. I want to be a legend in my own time. So it's life splitting eardrums with electric guitars for me. Go platinum and you're rolling in millions."

Bartholomew F., of Concave, Wis.: "If I'd known about the Presidency being a possibility I wouldn't have done that little bit of pot last summer, but what's smoked is smoked. Soon as I got to be President they'd find out about it and my name would be cursed all over the country, and then I'd never be able to get an honest job once I got out of the White House. Please don't print my name, O.K.?"

(No, it's not O.K., Bartholomew F. of Concave, Wis. The press has a duty to report the truth, unpleasant though it be to do so. Sorry about that, Bartholomew F. of Concave, Wis., but it should afford you a sound lesson in the responsibilities of a free press.)

Mame C., of Elktooth, N.Y.: "Well, I wouldn't mind traveling around and seeing the world like Presidents do, and it would be nice to see Washington, especially since I can't afford my high school class's trip down there next year, but I don't want my family exposed to all the dirt-digging the media would do if I ever got to be President. My granddaddy did some time way back for bootlegging and my Uncle Al is too attractive to women for his own good, and my mom — well, I'm not going to let the media broadcast all that scandal just so I can be President."

Calvin J., of Sycamore Bypass, Mo.: "I'd rather grow up to be a partner in a big-time Washington law firm. Then I could buy senators and Congressmen for great big, really cool corporations and they would make Presidents toe the line. I'm told there is plenty of money to be made in this line of work. What's more, it would be a lot of fun to buy senators."

Frogmore E., of Sandy Mountain, Kan.: "Who in his right mind wants a job where you've got to sit around listening to Al Gore tell you what a great President you are?" □

When Justice Is Hard to Find

The acquittal last week of South Africa's apartheid-era Defense Minister, Magnus Malan, and 15 others for a death squad massacre in 1987 shocked South Africans who had presumed guilt. But in one sense the outcome was not surprising. New democracies everywhere have struggled in the search for justice for the crimes of past regimes.

Seven black members of the Inkatha Freedom Party and ten white officials of the apartheid regime were tried for killing 13 people, 7 of them children. The judge concluded that the massacre had been carried out by an Inkatha death squad created and trained by the South African Government to fight the African National Congress. The cycle of killings set in motion by these squads has taken 15,000 lives since 1984. But the judge said the prosecutor had not successfully linked the defendants to the attack.

President Nelson Mandela, who has a laudable history of embracing judicial decisions even when they go against him, immediately announced he would accept the verdict.

It is not the last word on justice for apartheid's criminals. Prominent security officials have been convicted and more face trial. But Mr. Malan's acquittal highlights the problems facing the South African justice system. It is overwhelmed by current crime. Prosecutors have been on strike for higher pay. Mr. Mandela's Government, afraid to be left with few police officers, never carried out a purge. Many officers are still involved with the criminal gangs apartheid fomented. They often block trials of their friends by destroying evidence and intimidating witnesses. The acquittal will be useful if it encourages South Africa to dismiss corrupt police officers and give the courts the resources they need.

Other new democracies have not fared well in bringing past criminals to justice. Almost every new Latin American democracy has attempted trials of the murderers and torturers who populated past military regimes. Only Argentina got more than a few symbolic convictions — and even those criminals were pardoned after the military repeatedly showed its muscle.

Formerly Communist Europe has a different

problem. The challenge is to find some legal way to punish crimes of ideology, not violence. Citizens were angry because the government tapped their phones, turned neighbors into spies and measured everything by political loyalty. But these were acts committed by bureaucracies, not individuals. Moreover, they were legal, and cannot be criminalized after the fact. As Barbel Bohley, an East German dissident, put it, "We wanted justice, and instead we got the rule of law."

It may be that countries cannot depend on the courtroom alone to achieve the goals of justice. One alternate way is through creative truth commissions. South Africa has one, although its task may be complicated by Mr. Malan's acquittal because it diminishes the threat of prosecution that might otherwise prompt confessions in return for amnesty. But the acquittal also reinforces the country's need for the commission, which is charged with finding the truth about apartheid crimes and giving thousands of victims — many more than would get satisfaction through trials — the chance to tell their stories and receive some form of restitution, like scholarships for themselves or their children.

Some nations have sought to get around the constraints of due process by ignoring them. Many of Germany's trials of its former leaders have been reversed by its Constitutional Court. Other nations have instituted laws like lustration, which bars former collaborators from government jobs in a process that presumes guilt and does not allow people to know the charges or present a defense.

The temptation is surely great for the immensely popular South African Government to do much the same thing, to interfere with the judiciary or rewrite the rules to facilitate convictions of apartheid-era criminals. But Mr. Mandela and his Justice Minister, Dullah Omar, have wisely demanded scrupulous adherence to due process. South African democracy can survive even if some people are wrongly acquitted. It may be permanently crippled if the Government begins to twist the law to suit the majority will.

Clinton Relishes Signing Bills No One Could Possibly Hate

By TODD S. PURDUM

ALBUQUERQUE, N.M., Oct. 14 — He may be ahead in the polls, but President Clinton chose not to sit on his lead today. Instead, he stood on it, atop a rickety platform covered with raggedy red carpet in the parking lot of the highway Holiday Inn here, in the high desert, where he is preparing for his second debate against Bob Dole.

Flanked by firefighters and two big fire trucks, Mr. Clinton brought the full force of the Presidency to bear in announcing that he had just signed the Wildfire Suppression Aircraft Transfer Act of 1996. That utterly uncontroversial bill passed both houses of Congress by voice vote and would allow the Defense Department to sell surplus military aircraft to private contractors to help them fight forest fires.

"We can't tolerate a situation where any firefighter is unable to protect the public or themselves because of a lack of equipment, especially the air tankers that can muster such force and power to fight fires," Mr. Clinton said as Jeff Bingaman, the state's Democratic Senator and the sponsor of the measure, stood proudly at his side in front of a battery of local television cameras.

Normally, of course, Mr. Clinton would not make such a big deal about such a modest bill, but these days he misses no chance to appear calmly, serenely, safely Presidential as the hurly-burly of the campaign endgame swirls around him. His goal now is to make no mistakes, take no chances and generate no headlines but happy ones, and in that sense, Mr. Clinton is doing exactly what the frustrated Republicans accuse him of: running out the clock.

Today, the President ignored shouted questions on less upbeat subjects, from campaign contributions by a wealthy Indonesian family to a new Fordham University study that found the nation's social well-being had fallen to the lowest point in nearly 25 years.

Asked to react to the latest accusations by Speaker Newt Gingrich that the Democratic Party had solicited illegal campaign contributions from foreigners, Mr. Clinton said only, "It's election time."

But no modest bit of good news is beneath the Presidential notice.

On Saturday, he made a ceremony out of signing one bill to finance popular water projects, including a \$75 million protection effort for the Florida Everglades. On Sunday, he signed another to increase penalties for use of the prescription drug Rohypnol — an anti-anxiety drug that is already banned in this country, but which has sometimes been used by rapists to incapacitate their victims.

In His Own Words

BILL CLINTON

Speaking in Albuquerque, N.M., after signing the Wildfire Suppression Aircraft Transfer Act of 1996:

"This has been the worst year for wildfires in nearly four decades. I think I need to emphasize that because that is the importance of the legislation we signed today, and the efforts that these firefighters and those whom they represent have made — the worst year in almost 40 years.

"The brave men and women who are with us today, and the thousands of their colleagues put their lives on the line to protect their fellow citizens, our natural environment, as they battle these blazes.

"We owe them our thanks, and we should be deeply grateful that during this past year, despite the huge rash of wildfires, not a single firefighter lost his or her life in a wildfire.

"That's because their training, their dedication and because of the equipment that they have been provided. We have to make sure that they have the very best possible equipment at their disposal."

Because White House lawyers have ruled that Mr. Clinton cannot sign bills in public while on a campaign trip (that would be too political, they decided), he signed the anti-drug bill in his hotel room in Denver and the firefighting bill in a conference room of the Pyramid Holiday Inn off Interstate 25 here, so named because of its ersatz Mayan architectural theme.

As he drilled for his debate against Mr. Dole in San Diego on Wednesday, and squeezed in a round of golf, the President left it to his aides to reflect in mournful terms about the prospect of stepped-up attacks by Mr. Dole and the Republicans.

"I think it'll hurt Dole if he decides to do it," said the deputy White

House chief of staff, Harold M. Ickes. "It'll show the bankruptcy of his campaign. He doesn't have any ideas and he doesn't believe in his tax plan."

For his part, Mr. Clinton said: "I'm going to do what I always do. I'm preparing to do my debate, to answer whatever questions may be asked."

With the help of former Senator George J. Mitchell of Maine, who is playing Mr. Dole in mock debates, the President's aides are having Mr. Clinton practice how to handle both a testy type of encounter, and a more low-key one. He spent about four hours today in a prep session with aides, before heading out for golf with Mayor Martin Chavez of Albuquerque, Erskine B. Bowles, the former deputy White House chief of staff who is heading debate preparation efforts, and Vernon E. Jordan, the Washington lawyer.

Aides said Mr. Clinton had chosen New Mexico for his training camp because it is an out-of-the-way spot that allows him to appear in local Western media markets without breaking a sweat. He is running comfortably ahead in this state, which he carried with 46 percent of the vote to 37 percent for George Bush and 16 percent from Ross Perot.

But the President, who arrived here as the town's celebrated annual hot-air balloon festival was ending, offered another reason.

"It seemed to me that that meant that there was more hot air here already than any other place in the country," Mr. Clinton told a downtown rally on Sunday. "And a little more wouldn't do any harm."

THE NEW YORK TIMES
TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1996

By ALISON MITCHELL

WASHINGTON, Oct. 14 — When James Carville and Paul Begala, the Clinton campaign consultants of 1992, turned up recently to help the President prepare for his first debate, it looked like the moment that many had predicted: the late-campaign return of the populist team to replace the departed Dick Morris.

But the two were gone so quickly — Mr. Carville describes his one-day role as one of “court jester” — that their brief appearance actually underscored something else entirely: that Mr. Clinton is sailing along smoothly without the guru once considered so indispensable to his political resurrection.

The duties of Mr. Morris, who resigned after reports that he had been seeing a prostitute, have been divided among a campaign team participants describe as more harmonious than it was with the quirky, domineering consultant present.

The White House chief of staff, Leon E. Panetta, now runs the weekly strategy sessions in the White House residence that were once Mr. Morris’s supreme show. And a factionalism once so intense that as one Clinton aide put it, there were “eight staff people and eight food testers

A big lead and smooth political sailing are keeping things calm.

around the table” has largely subsided.

Yet as the campaign moves into its last month, it is also increasingly evident that Mr. Clinton, often heeding Mr. Morris and sometimes not, long ago made the crucial moves that still shape the contours of this Presidential race and allow him to stake out the political center.

“We defined what the debate is about,” said Douglas Sosnik, Mr. Clinton’s political director. “And who defines the debate first generally defines it last.”

Another White House aide said, “The election was last year,” referring to the budget battle that began in 1995 and continued into this January, when the Republican Congress made political missteps by forcing two Government shutdowns and leaving themselves vulnerable on the issues of Medicare, education and the environment.

Mr. Clinton’s strategists still expect the race to tighten as Republicans finally come home to Bob Dole. And the Clinton campaign has been sharply on the offensive at times in the ad war, spending about \$3 million, for example, in the weeks leading up to the first Presidential debate to show a commercial attacking Mr. Dole’s record across 30 years in office. The commercial was designed to drive down the Republican’s poll numbers so he could not come out of the debate with a large advantage.

But Mr. Dole has done nothing in the last month to cause a crisis that would make the Clinton campaign look for a new political thinker. “The truth is the race hasn’t changed in nine months,” said George Stephanopoulos, Mr. Clinton’s senior adviser. “It’s been very, very steady.”

As the election draws to a close, Mr. Clinton’s aides divide his two-year quest to keep the Presidency into several distinct phases that began after the devastating loss of the Congress to the Republicans in the 1994 elections.

For the first half of 1995, the President’s challenge was quite simply to have anyone to take a second look at him. “The battle for us was to find enough people to give us a chance to make our case,” Mr. Sosnik said. “Over 60 percent of the electorate was shut down on us.”

From January through Labor Day of 1995 this effort took place on two fronts, with Harold M. Ickes, the deputy White House chief of staff, and Terence R. McAuliffe, the Clinton-Gore finance director, raising early campaign money to give Mr. Clinton credibility. Meanwhile, Mr. Morris, working from polling data assembled by Mark Penn of Penn & Schoen Associates, according to campaign officials, helped the President use his bully pulpit and a series of speeches to coopt traditional Republican ground on social values and fiscal policy.

Then from Labor Day through this January came the budget battle with the Republican Congress. Mr. Morris had persuaded Mr. Clinton to endorse the concept of a balanced budget to allow the debate to center instead on how it would be balanced and focus on areas of social policy where Democrats generally have an edge over Republicans. But the President, heeding other aides, never took the next step and struck a budget deal, avoiding a move that might have diluted the potency of the Medicare issue and split Mr. Clinton irrevocably from his party.

The third phase of the Clinton campaign ran from the 1996 State of the Union speech through the convention, a period that Mr. Clinton’s aides viewed as a “referendum” phase when the public would judge whether it approved or disapproved of Mr. Clinton. Mr. Morris in particular wanted to use the months to drive Mr. Clinton’s poll ratings so high that he would be able to withstand any subsequent attack.

During this time Mr. Clinton turned to the “family values” issues — school uniforms, curfews, tobacco use by teen-agers — that have drawn Republican-leaning middle class families into his camp. And he perfected the art of showcasing regulatory matters, small executive actions and bill signings to campaign by appearing Presidential.

In these final weeks of the Presidential race, the Clinton camp is as relentless as ever in trying to outmaneuver Mr. Dole with quick responses by aides and commercials intended to counter Mr. Dole’s assaults on Mr. Clinton’s drug policy and ideology. “We’re constitutionally incapable of being complacent,” said Mr. Stephanopoulos.

Personal

In these post-Morris days, Mr. Ickes oversees the campaign and typically runs the conference call with the media team, pollsters and the campaign manager, Peter S. Knight, at the start of the day.

Mr. Penn, of the New York-based Penn & Schoen polling firm has become a more prominent adviser, helping shape crucial speeches, and media strategy. He travels with the President and can sometimes be seen along a rally’s edge at his personal computer collecting the day’s polling data.

Robert Squier and Bill Knapp had been Mr. Morris’s partners in the ad team and continue to produce the commercials. And Vice President Al Gore, always a crucial figure in the Administration, has become even more influential with the President, aides say.

Michael D. McCurry, the White House press secretary, said that Mr. Clinton has not consulted with Mr. Morris since the day the strategist resigned and that Mr. Morris had severed his financial relationship with the campaign and its media team. Mr. Panetta has instructed White House staff members to refer any contacts from Mr. Morris to Mr. Knight, officials say.

The Clinton campaign is preparing for a final blitz after the last debate when it will put advertising money and the President into not just the battleground states but also some normally considered beyond the reach of a Democrat.

But in terms of campaign themes, Mr. Clinton is simply running out the clock, focusing on issues, like education that he has highlighted all year and crisscrossing the country delivering versions of his stock, upbeat speech about the 21st century to rally after rally.

Perhaps unexpectedly, the way Mr. Morris’s absence can be seen most is less in the overt campaign than in a slackening of the steady stream of executive actions and regulatory announcements Mr. Clinton used to make several times a week.

In part, aides say, this is because both Mr. Ickes and Mr. Panetta had come to see the initiatives as excessive, unfocused and too much for voters to remember. It is also because the President has had more success with Congress and has more bill signings to showcase.

But it is also true that Mr. Morris — who was as much a policy adviser as political strategist — was able to rummage through Government agencies in search of ideas languishing at an assistant secretary level. He then used his unique personal relationship with Mr. Clinton to interest the President in the initiatives, jumping over several layers of bureaucracy and bottlenecks.

This was at once one of his greatest skills and the talent that caused the most White House dispute, his former adversaries say, as other White House officials fought back ideas they considered bad policy.

“Dick helped bring a focus and sharpened the focus,” said Mr. Ickes, who had often been at odds with Mr. Morris. “He had a wealth of ideas,

some of which were good and some of which were goofy.”

The initiatives allowed Mr. Clinton to use the Oval Office as his chief campaign device, looking Presidential instead of political.

If Mr. Clinton wins a second term but does not bring in a sympathetic Congress, he may have to consider for the first time whether the exhortation and smaller-scale initiatives he has thrived on have much meaning as a sustained venture. “Is this as good a strategy of governance,” asked one Administration official, “as it is of election?”

THE NEW YORK TIMES,

TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1996

Personal

The Democratic Leadership Council

Wednesday, October 16, 1996

Character Test

After a bizarre series of trial balloons and public airings of intra-campaign discussions, it appears that the national Republican ticket will bow to the wishes of its warrior faction and devote much of its stretch-drive resources to attacks on the character of the President.

Our guess is that this effort will at best solidify anti-Clinton sentiment among Republicans—perhaps helping GOP congressional candidates in the process—and could at worst backfire and lead to a Clinton landslide. After all, in measurements of "public character"—of the values of each candidate that affect public policy—Bill Clinton has been repeatedly and emphatically trouncing Bob Dole throughout the campaign.

In fact, the timing and advertising of Bob Dole's decision to get personal could itself become a "character issue" in the campaign. Here is a candidate who has made it abundantly clear that he does not want to take this tack—who, as his own running-mate said, found personal attacks "beneath him"—but who is doing it anyway because his handlers are begging him to, just as he abandoned two decades of contempt for big-tax-cut economics earlier this year.

It is not that clear, in any event, that raising the "character issue" is a purely rational campaign tactic for Republicans. Instead, it may simply reflect what the psychologists call "projection": an unshakable belief that the public will ultimately come to share their violent antipathy towards Bill Clinton. There are three distinct reasons for the intense feelings Republicans have about the President's character:

(1) *They are furious at the President's unwillingness to campaign as a traditional liberal.* As Yale Professor Stephen Skowronek has pointed out in a study of "third way" presidents, partisans reserve their most bitter acrimony for politicians who try to redefine the other party in a manner that threatens their own ideological "turf." Republicans cannot accept the legitimacy of Bill Clinton's New Democrat message and agenda: he must be a closet liberal who is lying about his beliefs, or an unprincipled opportunist who is stealing "their" issues. Either way, his character is flawed. Unfortunately for the GOP, a large proportion of voters have abandoned the liberal and conservative stereotypes, and are looking for a "third way."

(2) *They are bewildered by the loss of the majority they won in 1994.* Republicans still do not know what hit them between November of 1994 and today. They never really understood the narrowness of their margin in 1994, the fragility of their mandate, or the extent to which they benefitted from a one-time rebuke of Democratic rule of Congress. Some publicly, some privately, most Republicans fooled themselves into believing that their conquest of Congress was a world-historical event that could not be reversed by conventional political means. Bill Clinton's successful blunting of the Republican congressional agenda in 1995, and his successful maneuvering of Congress to achieve his own goals in 1996, strike them as diabolical.

(3) *They think they have the moral high ground on issues.* Republicans have convinced themselves that theirs is the Party of Virtue—by virtue of their identification with social conservatism. Of all Bill Clinton's "dirty tricks" since 1995, his promotion of a "values" message and agenda most enrages conservatives. They are astonished that voters seem to prefer the President's practical proposals for strengthening the family's authority—such as the V-Chip, teen curfews, and flexible family leave policies—to their own approach of blaming weak families on gays, lesbians, teachers' unions, and Woodstock.

The crowning irony of the Republican "character" assault is the effort to spin a sinister conspiracy theory out of a questionable contribution to the Democratic National Committee by the relatives of an Asian national. As recently as the first Presidential candidates' debate, Bob Dole admitted that his party was helpless to take a single step towards campaign finance reform without bipartisan cover. What does it say about the "character" of Republicans that they are willing to fan the worst kind of xenophobic sentiment to score points about the opposition's low "character"?

The bottom line is simple enough: the party that just months ago claimed an ideological mandate to rule the country for decades and a monopoly on new ideas is now afraid to run on its record in Congress and incapable of articulating an agenda for governing. The next three weeks will test the GOP's true character more than the President's.

11.20.96

DEAR MAGGIE,

I'VE JUST COME FROM AN INTERVIEW
WITH SECRETARY RUBIN WHO LITERALLY PULLED
A PIECE OF PAPER OUT OF A NOTEBOOK TO REVIEW
THE NOTES HE TOOK IN A CONVERSATION WITH
YOU. I CAN'T THANK YOU ENOUGH FOR ALL
OF THE KIND WORDS YOU SAID ON MY BEHALF.
YOU WERE VERY GENEROUS AND I SINCERELY
APPRECIATE IT.



I HOPE YOU ARE DOING WELL AND ENJOYING
A FEW DAYS OF PEACE. SOME DAY SOON WE'LL
HAVE TO GET TOGETHER TO DISCUSS THE JOYS
AND PAINS OF WEDDING PLANNING.

Photography: Kirk Amyx

THANKS AGAIN!

ESTHER

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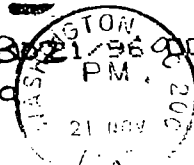
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Ms. Maggie Williams

CHIEF OF STAFF

OFFICE OF THE FIRST LADY

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PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

White House

Oct 29, 96

Left to right
Gladys Johnson, Joe Johnson,
Maggie Rae Minter, Staff member,
Gladys Johnson

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

92 Morse St.
Sharon, Ma 02067
Nov. 19, 1996

Dear Ms Williams (Maggi)

It was such a pleasure
meeting you at the White House.
Thoroughly enjoyed being there.
Hope we'll be reunited again and
maybe is lucky to the Inauguration
of President Clinton.
I'm enclosing a photo I took
and thought you'd like a copy.
I can't wait till I receive the
official photos with the President &
Mrs Clinton & with Mrs Clinton.
Hope you like the photo. Sincerely,
Anne Marie Sharon

*A
Note From*



Addie

A. Collins Johnson
92 Morse Street
Sharon, MA 02067



Personal
Tanner
Exhibit

Ms Maggie Williams
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20050

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VOL. 42, NO. 25

MONDAY, SEPTEMBER 30, 1996

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Armey Aide Writes Briefing Book On Clinton Scandals for Members

By Ed Henry

The wife of Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas has prepared an assault book on the Clinton Administration that is being completed by the House GOP leadership in time for GOP Members to use for the fall elections.

The scandal sheet has been pieced together by Virginia Thomas, a top aide to House Majority Leader Richard Armey (R-Texas). Demo-

crats have long accused Thomas of being a partisan dirt-digger for House leaders, a charge she has vociferously denied.

A GOP source said the book was still in draft form on Friday and would be completed by Monday so that Members can bring it home with them as they hit the campaign trail. As of Friday, the GOP leadership had detailed a running total of 75 Clinton Administration "scandals."

"It goes through the litany of all the scandals that have surfaced on Clinton's watch," said the source, from Whitewater and Travelgate to the sensational — and unproven — allegations about drug-running at the Mena, Ark., airport during Clinton's tenure as governor.

"Putting it all together in one document gives our Members a chance to see the whole picture," said the

Continued on page 25

HEARD ON THE HILL

By Craig Winneker

Investigate This! It's been said that a grand jury could indict a ham sandwich. But can Congress convict a Continuing Resolution?

At his Thursday morning briefing with reporters, Senate Minority Leader Tom Daschle (D-SD) was trying to emphasize that Congress and the White House were still far

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INSIDE

■ Acting Architect under fire for slow pace of reform, p. 3.

■ Senate official tapped for FEC, p. 11.

■ Ready, set, organize, p. 12.

POLITICS

■ Leaders hit the road, p. 15.

■ The last primary, p. 20.

COOLEY'S FAREWELL SALUTE



Ethics Drama Extends to Session's Final Days as Panel Expands Probe

By Damon Chappie
and Juliet Eilperin

House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga) faces a new and unexpected investigation into whether he told the truth to the House ethics committee during its probe into the

the Progress & Freedom Foundation, that financed his 1993-95 college course on "Renewing American Civilization."

It is not clear at what point Gingrich may have provided inaccurate information to the committee, but a



Partisan Feuding on Government Reform Reaches Fever Pitch as Harassment Allegations

Continued from page 1

source. "It's a pretty overwhelming story of what [the Administration] has done in four years."

"This shows the true colors of why they've been conducting all of this supposed oversight," said one Democratic source. "It's just a campaign ploy."

Republican sources noted Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-Colo.) used to read an annual Hall of Shame about the Reagan and Bush Administrations into the Congressional Record.

Back in April, Thomas drew fire for drafting an "urgent" memo to House committee chairmen directing them to dig up damaging information on the Clinton Administration and union bosses (Roll Call, April 29).

Thomas's latest work is being unveiled at a time when Democrats are alleging that House Government Reform and Oversight Committee Chairman Bill Clinger (R-Pa.) has allowed politics to destroy the non-partisan nature of legitimate Congressional oversight.

Roll Call has learned that partisan rancor on the committee has spilled over to the point that Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.) has accused Rep. Paul Kanjorski (D-Pa.) of sexually harassing two female GOP committee staffers, a charge vociferously denounced by Kanjorski as a "preposterous and libelous" smear.

In a letter dated last Thursday, Burton alleged that during a closed-door committee deposition earlier in the week, Kanjorski had been "threatening" Barbara Olson, the committee's chief investigative counsel, and "inappropriately touching" Kristi Remington, a GOP committee lawyer.

"I find your allegation that I inappropriately touched a female staffer at the meeting both preposterous and libelous," Kanjorski shot back in a letter on Friday. "It is a clear effort to smear me in order to silence the Minority's legitimate concerns about the unprofessional and partisan activities of the Majority and its staff."

The partisan war is only going to get nastier next year because Burton last week hired David Bossie as an investigator on his personal staff, Burton confirmed to Roll Call. Bossie is a former aide to conservative activist Floyd Brown, the creator of the infamous Willie Horton ads who has spent the past four years tirelessly dredging up every last Whitewater allegation.

Bossie has most recently been serving as an aide to Sen. Lauch Faircloth (R-NC) on the Senate Special Whitewater Committee. In an interview, Bossie said that he will be a committee investigator next year should Burton become chairman of House Government Reform, thanks to Clinger's retirement.

The Kanjorski flap started last Tuesday, when committee Members and aides gathered around a conference table to take an eight-and-

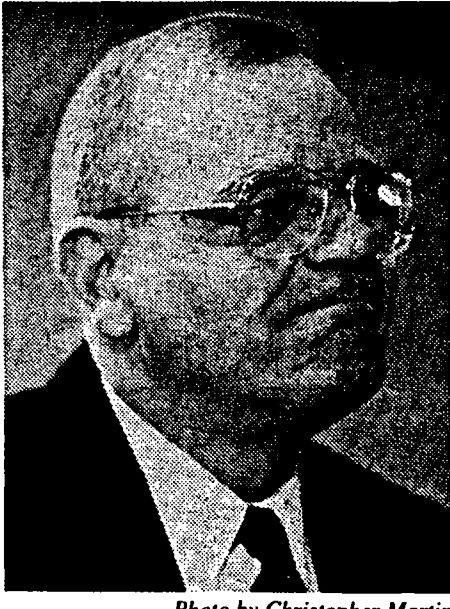


Photo by Christopher Martin

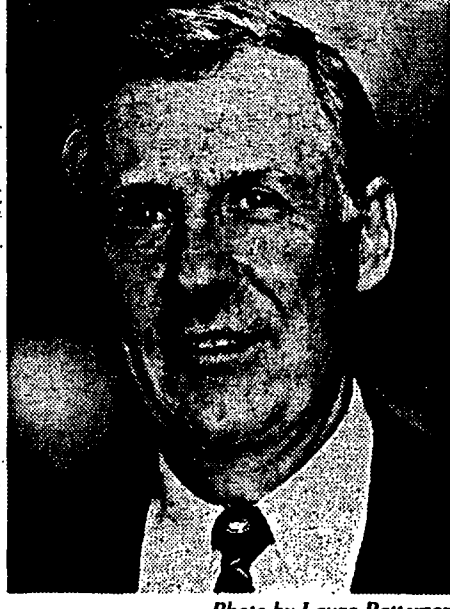


Photo by Laura Patterson

GOP Rep. Dan Burton (right) alleged that Democratic Rep. Paul Kanjorski (left) during a closed-door session sexually harassed two female staffers. Kanjorski has denounced the charge as "preposterous and libelous."

a-half-hour deposition from Craig Livingstone, the former White House aide in the middle of the FBI files flap.

Livingstone had already given 86 hours of depositions to Senate and House investigators, and he was due to testify before the Senate again the following day. Democrats grew annoyed by what they perceived to be Olson's badgering of Livingstone over mundane points.

According to Burton's letter, Kanjorski created an "intimidating environment" for Olson. "On different occasions you pounded your fists on the table, leaned over the table, loudly demanded justification from Ms. Olson for her questions, while referring to her as 'young lady,'" wrote Burton. "At one point you threatened to go outside to the press and attack her in the media. You even put your hand on another female staffer, Kristi Remington."

Burton went so far as to compare the alleged incident to the recent case involving a North Carolina schoolboy. "I should not have to remind you that we live in a society where even a six-year-old boy can be accused of sexual harassment for a kiss on the cheek of a young classmate," wrote Burton.

Kanjorski said in an interview Friday that he has "no recollection of being within any close proximity of this woman," let alone "shaking hands with anyone."

Rep. Henry Waxman (D-Calif.), who sat in on the deposition, added in a letter to Burton, "None of us observed any such behavior. Further, I find it impossible to believe that you or others present would not have immediately raised objections to inappropriate behavior should it have occurred."

In a rare on-the-record declaration from a Congressional staffer, Democratic committee investigator Don Goldberg told Roll Call: "I was there virtually the entire deposition and I never saw anything that approached harassment or physical contact. I sat between Mr. Kanjorski and the female staffer, and he would have had to reach around me to touch her, and that never happened."

Goldberg added that he interviewed every Democratic staffer who attended the deposition — and three independent court stenographers who were present — and they all denied that anything happened.

Burton admitted in an interview that he did not actually see Kanjorski touch the staffer. "The young lady told me she was touched," Burton said. "I'm not saying she was touched in any kind of sexual way. I didn't intend that in my letter. What I said is that touching her in that way is inappropriate in this current climate. Sexual harassment has taken on new dimensions."

Olson told Roll Call that she also did not witness any touching by Kanjorski, but she said that Remington "told me about it immediately after the hearing." Remington would not comment.

Kanjorski attributed the harassment flap to the fact that Olson is "very frustrated" that the committee's investigations have not turned up a smoking gun on the Clinton Administration.

"They wanted to destroy the President and the First Family," said Kanjorski. "But after they got into the process, nothing has supported their suspicions.... They've made mountains out of molehills."

Kanjorski and his Democratic colleagues

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Photo by Christopher Martin



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Kanjorski and his Democratic colleagues

say they genuinely feel sad about the fact that Clinger is leaving Congress with his committee in tatters. "For almost 18 years, he's carved out a career of caution and moderation," said Waxman. "I think it's regrettable that he's ending his Congressional career taking on the role of a partisan hatchet man."

In particular, Democrats allege that leadership aides like Thomas have been pulling the strings on Clinger's investigations for political gain. Newsweek recently reported that House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga) earlier this month visited ex-Sen. Bob Dole's presidential campaign headquarters to plot strategy about how to capitalize on the story about Clinton strategist Dick Morris's relationship with prostitute Sherry Rowlands.

A supermarket tabloid had reported that Rowlands kept a diary which alleged that First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton was behind the request for FBI files. "Suddenly, it was Macarena time at Dole HQ," said Newsweek. It "was agreed" that Clinger's committee "would invite Morris to explain" the matter.

Sure enough, Clinger did take an affidavit from Morris about the tabloid report.

A Clinger spokesman told Roll Call that "Newt may have talked about it with the Dole folks, but we never received an order from above to do this."

When asked about the allegations that he is a tool of the leadership, Clinger said in an interview, "I reject that obviously. I can assure you that nobody in the leadership has been directing me about what I do."

"I don't take it personally," said Clinger. "They can't object to the [committee] reports because they're factual. Therefore they demonize me. The objective is to demonize me."

Kanjorski said he regrets that Clinger "missed a golden opportunity" to conduct serious oversight to improve the way government works, instead of "spending so much time and resources" on political attacks.

But Clinger said he authored the unfunded mandates bill and the procurement reform bill, which he says will save the federal government 20 percent across the board.

Fellow GOP members of the committee say Clinger has done the country a great service.

"Doesn't anybody care about the fact that the White House was ordering FBI files as if they were pizzas?" asked Rep. Bill Zeliff (R-NH), a member of the committee. "Nobody cares unless it's their file."

A GOP leadership source added, "I don't think you blame somebody for trying to clean the muddy carpet when someone's coming into the executive branch with muddy shoes. This is not Clinger's doing; it's Clinton's doing. We have four different independent counsels investigating this Administration."

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