

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. schedule	Schedule for Hillary Rodham Clinton, Final [partial] (1 page)	2/15/93	b(6)
002. letter	From: May Louie for Jesse Jackson, To: Patty Selice for Mrs. Clinton [partial] (1 page)	2/13/93	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Liz Bowyer
OA/Box Number: 5432

FOLDER TITLE:

[HRC Daily File] Monday February 15 [1993]

2014-0483-S

sb322

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

MONDAY FEB 15th

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

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SCHEDULE FOR HILLARY RODHAM CLINTON
DATE: MONDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1993
FINAL

PREV RON **The White House**

9:00 am - **PVT MTG W/MAGGIE & PATTI**
9:15 am **HRC's Office**

9:15 am - **PVT MTG W/MAGGIE**
9:30 am **HRC's Office**

9:30 am - **PVT MTG W/IRA MAGAZINER & CAROL RASCO**
9:45 am **HRC's Office**

11:00 am **PVT MTG W/Jesse Jackson**
 HRC's Office

Contact: May Louie
 728-1180

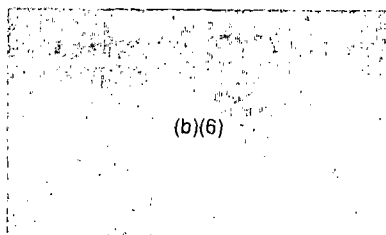
12:00 pm **LUNCH**

~~1~~ 1:00 pm - **PVT MTG W/ Sara Ehrman & Peter Edelman**
2:00 pm **HRC's Office**

Contact: Maggie Williams
 456-6266

2:00 pm - **OFFICE/PHONE TIME**
5:00 pm **HRC's Office**

RON **White House**



001

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Immunization

Big BC

~~RADIO ADDRESS~~
weave Bonuses into RADIO ADDRESS

- Name
- 100-150 background
- 50 pp - speech

Figure - how many? he's
answered for the press
since he's been marginalized.
(comparative) C&S

- ① Sandy Berger • Haiti bnf
- ② Christine Keenan
• ~~the~~ Canadian plan
- ③ Bolesta & Jackson bnf
from this afternoon

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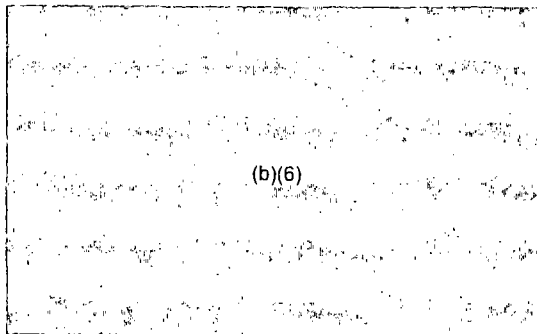
National Rainbow Coalition, Inc.

Reverend Jesse L. Jackson
President and Founder

February 13, 1993

To: Patty Selice for Mrs. Clinton
From: May Louie for Jesse Jackson
Re: Delegation to accompany Rev. Jackson for his
February 15, 1993 meeting with Mrs. Clinton

Jesse Louis Jackson
May Berry
Celia J. Maxwell
Vicente Navarro
Dennis Rivera



*Need the Rainbow Coalition's
position of Healthcare*

Minorities To Monitor 'Covenant'

Rainbow Group Calls Clinton on Promises

By Lynne Duke
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jesse L. Jackson and the National Rainbow Coalition yesterday began an effort to hold the new administration's feet to the fire on Clinton's campaign promise of a "new covenant" with the American people while a top Clinton official urged the group to work with the new administration.

"We intend to monitor the president's promises, the covenant," Jackson said in an interview. He said the Rainbow Coalition, of which he is president, will hold hearings, town hall meetings, rallies and demonstrations around the country to press Clinton to fulfill his campaign pledges in areas such as inner-city investment, health care, and job creation and training.

Labor Secretary Robert B. Reich, the first of four Cabinet members slated to address the group's leadership summit here, said the economic revitalization package that Clinton is to unveil next week is, at bottom, "a plan for turning a nation's priorities around" on lowering the nation's budget deficit and increasing investment.

"It's not gonna happen overnight," said Reich. "We've got to work together, work together, work together and turn this great ship of state around. . . . In this room and in this country, we have the entire world in microcosm. But we have to be able to work together."

The conference, called "Putting the People First. Rebuild America," showcased the alliances of a host of advocacy groups in the traditional Democratic Party base, including groups representing women, blacks, Latinos, environmentalists and labor.

David Rivera, head of Local 1199 of the hospital workers union in New York City, and also a member of the Rainbow Coalition's board, said these groups have agreed "to participate together in a process to help and assist the president" meet his goals.

Rep. Nydia Velazquez (D-N.Y.) opened the conference by recounting the promises of Clinton's covenant, including investment in cities, job creation, affordable health care and enhanced educational programs for youth. The role of the rainbow segment of the Democratic Party, she said, must be not only to help Clinton achieve his goals, but to keep him "honest to his goals and to his promises."

She also noted the prospect of factionalism in the party, saying, "We must remain vigilant because some of those conservative forces are within our own Democratic party."

The Rainbow Coalition frequently has been at odds with the moderate Democratic Leadership Council over domestic priorities. The Council in 1991 invited a number of the party's leading lights to its annual convention, but not Jackson, a two-time presidential candidate.

Despite some rocky periods during the presidential campaign, Jackson actively campaigned for the Democratic ticket. He said yesterday that he met with Clinton on Feb. 4 and discussed D.C. statehood, urban investment and U.S. policy toward Haiti.

SUMMARY Health Care in Canada

- The Canadian health care system is actually 10 different provincial systems, linked together in a national arrangement to benefit from federal cost-sharing.
- The Canadian health care system developed as two plans for health coverage—the Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act, adopted in 1957, and the Medical Care Act for Physician Service, adopted in 1966.
- Initially, the federal government offered matching funds of 50 percent to pay for the costs of the programs. By 1971, all of the provinces had set up qualifying health systems and had effectively eliminated the private health insurance market.
- In 1977, federal matching funds were replaced by a block funding program which determines annual federal allocations on a formula based on growth of GNP. The aim is to force the provinces to control costs. Under this funding mechanism, federal support has fallen from 50 percent to approximately 38 percent of the program's costs in 1988, while costs have increased in real dollars and as a percent of GNP.
- Under the 1984 Canada Health Act, which consolidated the two earlier acts, each province's health care system must conform to the following principles:
 - **Comprehensiveness** — covering all the listed essential services;
 - **Accessibility** — accessible to all of the province's citizens;
 - **Universality** — universally available to all eligible residents on equal terms.
Premiums cannot differentiate among individuals by risk;
 - **Portability** — covering citizens wherever they travel; and
 - **Publicly Administered** — operated on a nonprofit basis and managed by a public agency.
- As of late 1989, seven provinces pay for their health plan through taxes alone. The other three (Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia) charge a minimal, additional, annual insurance premium.

Executive Summary

Purpose

Recent polls indicate widespread dissatisfaction with the way the United States finances and controls the cost of health care. Health spending consumes a steadily rising share of our national income—almost 12 percent of gross national product in 1989, headed to 15 percent by the end of the decade. Yet many Americans who lack health insurance face severe difficulty gaining access to health care. This situation has revived national debate over the way we finance health care.

Meanwhile, other industrialized nations assure that everyone has access to the health care system, have health status indicators that equal or exceed those of the United States, and accomplish these goals while spending less than the United States. This contrast between the U.S. and foreign experience suggests that the way other nations finance health services may contain useful ideas that might be adapted to the U.S. system. Some have looked to Canada, where the health program has broad popular support and all residents are covered by the program, but per capita spending is significantly less than in the United States. Yet the Canadian program has some features in common with the United States. Canadians choose their own private physicians, those physicians are compensated on a fee-for-service basis, and most hospitals are private, nonprofit institutions.

The Chairman, House Committee on Government Operations, asked GAO to assess whether the Canadian health care system had useful lessons for the United States. He asked GAO to review salient features of the Canadian system and analyze the likely effects on cost and access of adopting elements of a Canadian-style system.

Background

Canada's publicly funded health care system consists of 10 separate provincial plans sharing certain features. Health insurance is universal, covering all medically necessary hospital and physician services. Thus coverage does not change dramatically or disappear when a person changes jobs, as can happen in the United States.

The Canadian system is administered in each province by a public agency, which is responsible both for reimbursing providers and for health planning. The provincial governments are the single payers of physicians and hospitals and make the key decisions on health financing. Those governments are thus responsible, both politically and financially, for the health care system. In this role, provincial governments determine overall increases in hospital budgets and physician fees and regulate the acquisition of expensive equipment and services. This

contrasts with the U.S. system, in which hospitals and physicians are reimbursed by numerous payers (federal and state governments, private insurers, businesses, and individual consumers) using widely differing procedures and coverage, and no one has responsibility for the condition of the system as a whole.

An added feature of the Canadian system is that there are no deductibles or copayments for covered services, so Canadians spend out of pocket (or purchase private insurance) only for services that are not covered by their provincial plan—such as routine adult dental care, cosmetic surgery, and hospital room amenities.

Results in Brief

If the universal coverage and single-payer features of the Canadian system were applied in the United States, the savings in administrative costs alone would be more than enough to finance insurance coverage for the millions of Americans who are currently uninsured. There would be enough left over to permit a reduction, or possibly even the elimination, of copayments and deductibles, if that were deemed appropriate.

If the single payer also had the authority and responsibility to oversee the system as a whole, as in Canada, it could potentially constrain the growth in long-run health care costs. Measured either on a per capita basis or as a share of gross national product, health care costs have risen at a dramatically slower pace in Canada than in the United States. The difference reflects Canada's low administrative costs, controls on hospital budgets and on the acquisition of high-technology equipment, and fee controls for physician services.

Canadians have few problems with access to primary care services. There are more physicians per person in Canada than in the United States, and Canadians use more physician services per person than do U.S. citizens. Yet the cost of physician services per person in Canada was one-third less than in the United States.

The Canadian method of controlling hospital costs has limited the use of expensive, high-technology diagnostic and surgical procedures. As a result, waiting lists or queues have developed for some specialized services, such as cardiac bypass surgery, lens implants, and magnetic resonance imaging. Emergency cases, however, are treated immediately, bypassing the waiting lists.

A reformed U.S. system is not likely to look exactly like the Canadian system, in part because the institutions that deliver and finance health care in the two countries have evolved quite differently. But particular elements of the Canadian system are worthy of consideration, including universal access, a uniform payment system, and expenditure controls.

Principal Findings

Universal Access, Single Payer, and No Cost Sharing Are Key Features of the Canadian System

Coverage, administration, and the use of copayments and deductibles are the principal areas in which the U.S. and Canadian systems differ. In other respects, such as the general use of fee-for-service physician reimbursement and the predominance of private, nonprofit hospitals, the two systems are quite similar.

- In Canada, the Canada Health Act covers all residents in all provinces for necessary physician and hospital care. Private health insurance that duplicates services covered by the provincial plans is prohibited. In the United States, coverage depends primarily on whether health insurance is provided by an employer or through public programs serving the poor and the elderly. Since some U.S. employers do not provide health insurance benefits, there is a potentially significant impediment to moving from one job to another in the United States that is not found in Canada.
- In Canada, health insurance is administered in each province by a single public agency. In the United States, insurance programs are administered by numerous private companies and public agencies. The Canadian arrangement of concentrating financial responsibility in a single payer permits much more efficient administration and allows for greater control over health expenditures. In 1989, Canadian spending on health was \$670 per person less than in the United States; the differences primarily reflected savings on administrative costs and on physician and hospital reimbursement.
- In Canada, direct patient payments to providers for covered services are banned, and there are no copayments or deductibles. In the United States, copayments and deductibles are common, and it is not unusual for health care providers to bill the patient for charges in excess of the standard insurance reimbursement. The Canadian arrangement eliminates any financial barrier to access.

Canada More Effective at Cost Containment

Canada has been much more successful than the United States in containing health care expenditures. In 1971, when Canada fully implemented its system for financing medical services, the two countries spent about the same share of gross national product on health care. In 1989, the U.S. share was 11.6 percent, whereas Canada's was 8.9 percent. The differences reflect lower Canadian spending on insurance administration and on physician and hospital reimbursement.

Spending on Insurance

Canada's publicly financed single payer system eliminates the costs associated with marketing competitive health insurance policies, billing for and collecting premiums, and evaluating insurance risks. As a result, in 1987, the latest year for which comparable data are available, Canada's per capita spending on insurance administration was only one-fifth that of the United States.

Spending on Physicians

In 1987, Canada spent 34 percent less per capita on physician services than did the United States, reflecting the use of negotiated fee schedules and lower practice expenses.

- In Canada, physician professional associations in each province set reimbursement rates for each service. Increases in these rates are negotiated annually with the provincial government, which can use its power as the single payer to restrain growth in costs. Between 1971 and 1985, after adjusting for inflation, Canadian physician fees decreased 18 percent, while those of U.S. physicians were rising 22 percent.
- But lower physician fees do not necessarily mean substantially lower net incomes under the single payer system. Canadian physicians need not maintain an extensive office staff for insurance record keeping, direct billing of patients, or collecting bad debts, as is needed by a U.S. physician. In 1987, Canadian physicians spent an average of 36 percent of their gross income on professional expenses, compared to 48 percent for U.S. physicians. The Canadian system of negotiated fees permits these savings to be captured for the taxpayer. In addition, malpractice insurance premiums for U.S. physicians average 10 times those of their Canadian counterparts, though this probably reflects differences in the tort systems, rather than in the health insurance systems.

Spending on Hospitals

The combination of lower hospital administrative costs and the use of budget controls limiting equipment, facilities, and labor keeps Canadian

hospital expenses down. In 1987, Canada spent 18 percent less per person for hospital services than did the United States.

- As with physicians, the single payer universal coverage system permits Canadian hospitals to have far lower administrative costs than do their U.S. counterparts. A Canadian hospital has virtually no billing department and a minimal accounting structure to assign costs and charges to patients and physicians. This probably means, however, that Canadian hospitals have substantially less detailed information on the cost of particular services than is available in a well-administered U.S. hospital.
- Canada's chief means of controlling hospital expenditures are its system of global (lump-sum) budgeting and its limits on the acquisition of high technology. In Ontario, the Ministry of Health negotiates with individual hospitals their annual operating budgets, which automatically capture for the taxpayer the savings in administrative costs. The government also decides which hospitals will acquire expensive high-technology equipment and which will provide expensive specialized services.

Canadians Have Good Access to Primary Care, but May Wait for Some High-Technology Services

In Canada, there are no financial barriers to health care, and there is an ample supply of physicians. Residents of Canada make more physician visits and have longer hospital stays than do their U.S. counterparts. However, tight hospital operating budgets and restraints on the diffusion of new medical technology mean that Canadians encounter limits on access to some high-technology services.

Patients with immediate or life-threatening needs rarely wait for services, but waiting lists for elective surgery and diagnostic procedures may be several months long. In October 1990, about 1,000 Ontario patients were on waiting lists for cardiovascular surgery. There was no wait for emergency patients, but "urgent" patients waited up to 1 month while elective patients might wait up to 6 months. To some degree, hospital capacity in the United States is a safety valve if Canadian waiting lists become a problem, but such "border jumping," at least in Ontario, is not extensive.

Potential Administrative Savings Would Offset Costs of Universal Coverage

If the United States were to shift to a system of universal coverage and a single payer, as in Canada, the savings in administrative costs would be more than enough to offset the expense of universal coverage. GAO estimates that, in the short run:

- Savings in insurance overhead would be \$34 billion.
- Savings in hospital and physician administrative costs could be another \$33 billion. However, the United States might deem it appropriate for management purposes to retain some of the more detailed statistical and financial data that are now collected in U.S. hospitals. This might reduce the savings somewhat.
- The cost of serving the newly insured would be about \$18 billion.
- The cost of providing additional services to those currently insured—stemming from the elimination of copayments and deductibles—could be about \$46 billion.

However, the United States may want to retain some level of cost sharing to control utilization and constrain total health expenditures.

In the long run, effective limitations on provider payments through global budgeting and negotiated physician fees, as well as controls on expensive technology, could significantly constrain the future growth of U.S. health spending, leading to substantial further cost savings.

Conclusions

The situation in the United States today differs in several important respects from that in Canada at the time its health insurance program was implemented. The expansion of the private health insurance industry, the diffusion of medical technology, and the development of alternative service delivery arrangements make circumstances in the United States today different from those in Canada when it adopted its system.

Some elements of the Canadian system are worthy of consideration in a reformed U.S. system, however, because they might solve recognized problems. These might include Canada's universal access, uniform payment system, and expenditure controls.

But a reformed U.S. system should also retain and build upon the unique strengths of the existing structure of U.S. health care. The strong U.S. research establishment, the continuing development of medical technology, and the capacity to evolve new and potentially more efficient service delivery mechanisms, such as health maintenance organizations are characteristics of the U.S. system that should be preserved, even as we search for models elsewhere that would help us overcome our recognized problems.

Minorities To Monitor 'Covenant'

*Rainbow Group Calls
Clinton on Promises*

By Lynne Duke
Washington Post Staff Writer

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The Exodus by the Numbers

Here are facts and figures on the refugees who have fled Haiti. Numbers are for Oct. 1, 1991, through June 24, 1992.

- Seized at sea by U.S.: 36,985
- Returned to Haiti: 23,880
- Allowed into U.S. because of asylum claims: 10,736
- More to come? Coast Guard officials have estimated that more than 1,000 boats are under construction in Haiti, sparking fears in South Florida that more than 100,000 Haitians could set sail if the United States opens the door.

GUANTANAMO NAVAL BASE

A camp set up at the U.S. base at Guantanamo, Cuba, in October, 1991, held up to 12,500 Haitians before it was dismantled last summer. Only the Haitians who are HIV-positive, and a few of their family members, remain.

- Haitians as of Tuesday: 267
- HIV-positive: 215
- Number of children (untested): 37

MILESTONES

- **1957:** Duvalier reign begins in Haiti when Francois (Papa Doc) Duvalier comes to power. He dies in 1971 and his son, Jean-Claude (Baby Doc), takes control of the country.
- **February, 1986:** Jean-Claude Duvalier ousted. A succession of military regimes follows.
- **December, 1990:** Jean-Bertrand Aristide becomes Haiti's first democratically elected president.
- **September, 1991:** Aristide ousted from power by military coup. His departure triggers an exodus of people fleeing Haiti.
- **October, 1991:** U.S. imposes a trade embargo.
- **November, 1991:** U.S. orders Coast Guard to begin shipping back Haitian boat people.
- **January, 1993:** U.S. vessels ordered to prevent an exodus of boat people. President-elect Clinton pleads with Haitians to stay home.

Sources: U.S. Navy Atlantic Command, Norfolk, Va.; U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service. Milestones compiled by Times researcher D'Jamila Salem

JET DECEMBER 14, 1992

NATIONAL REPORT

Jackson Praises Clinton
As Healer For The Nation

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, who at times criticized President-elect Bill Clinton during the presidential campaign, recently praised Clinton as a leader who could "make the nation whole."

Delivering a sermon at St. Theresa's Catholic Church in Little Rock, Ark., Jackson said, "God has raised up a leader from among the common people." He noted that since the Nov. 3 election, "We've moved from division and disgrace to unity, coalition and amazing grace," Jackson said as Clinton listened from the front pew.

Referring to the Biblical story of Noah and the Ark, Jackson said, "We are gathered in the ark, after the flood, seeking a new covenant—not one person to waste." Jackson urged the nation to support Clinton when he arrives at the White House. "For the covenant to work, it must be a joint signature."

Jackson also said he intends to make sure Clinton keeps his promises of a new covenant for the nation.

"A covenant, a contract (is) a commitment more powerful than the law, for in the law there are loopholes," Jackson said. "But the covenant is solemn; it is beyond the legal, it is spiritual."

Jackson also praised Clinton as a racial healer. "We've seen southern governors wrapped in the Confederate flag, blocking school doors," Jackson said. "Today, we

have a governor with his wife, his partner, who have been opening school doors, who see diversity as a strength."

Jackson's observation about the Clintons in the sermon drew an immediate response from the President-elect. "He was terrific ... He gave a great sermon," Clinton said as the two emerged from the church to greet worshippers who attended the mass.

After the sermon, Jackson had a 30-minute meeting with Clinton at the governor's mansion and talked about Clinton's transition and policies on health care, education and statehood for the District of Columbia.

Jackson later told reporters that he and Clinton now "walk in lockstep" on the nation's priorities. "We are fundamentally on the same road; that is, we must heal the country and rebuild it," Jackson said.

The president of the National Rainbow Coalition who ran for president in 1984 and 1988 noted that the country and the mass media are focused with anxiety on the first 100 days of the Clinton administration because both have witnessed "12 years of bad days."

Jackson said, "We cannot just sit back and watch what's going to happen in the first 100 days and not deal with what's going to happen in your house and my house for the same 100."

The former Democratic presidential contender indicated that he hopes to have some input in the formulation of Clinton's economic plans which will be the top priority of the President elect.



Rev. Jesse Jackson, shown with President-elect Bill Clinton outside the governor's mansion in Little Rock, Ark., says he and Clinton now "walk in lockstep" on the nation's priorities. AP Photo

JACKSON, IN HAITI, CAUTIONS MILITARY

201/71

Traveling as Unofficial Envoy,
He Says Clinton Intends
to Restore Democracy

By HOWARD W. FRENCH

Special to The New York Times

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, Jan. 23 — The Rev. Jesse Jackson, in Haiti for a two-day visit, said today that he had come to warn the country's military rulers that they would face harsh action, perhaps even force, if they failed to cooperate with a plan to move toward restoring democracy here.

Mr. Jackson, who met on Thursday in Washington with Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher said he had not been officially authorized to carry a message to Haiti's military leaders. But he said the Clinton Administration had assured him that it intended to restore Haiti's exiled President, the Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, to power.

"The only question is whether they are going to cooperate in the transition toward democracy or resist," Mr. Jackson said of Haiti's military leaders in an interview here. "That transition is coming, and the only question is whether it will require force."

Pressure to End Crisis

Mr. Jackson's visit comes as the Clinton Administration, working closely with the United Nations, is sharply increasing pressure on all parties to end Haiti's 16-month political crisis. Father Aristide was ousted in a military coup in September 1991, less than eight months after he took office as Haiti's first freely elected President.

A trade embargo was imposed against Haiti in late 1991 to step up pressure for Father Aristide's return. The country's economic misery deepened and military repression increased, prompting thousands of Haitians to flee in boats.

A special United Nations envoy to Haiti, Dante Caputo, announced this week that he expected negotiations to begin shortly that ultimately would be aimed at reinstating President Aristide. Mr. Caputo said that the United Nations would not allow Haiti's rulers to retreat from an agreement reached last weekend to allow the deployment of human rights observers to Haiti beginning in early February.

Haitian Generals Hedge

After consenting to the deployment of the observers last Sunday, Haiti's military commander, Lieut. Gen. Raoul Cedras, seemed to hedge on the issue in a radio interview on Monday, less than 24 hours after Mr. Caputo's departure from Haiti. In the interview, General Cedras said the military was not legally authorized to sign international agreements of any kind.

The Haitian army's willingness or ability to pursue negotiations was cast further into doubt this week by a small-scale mutiny by soldiers on Wednesday. Diplomats said that retired officers had told the soldiers that General Cedras had reached a secret accord with Father Aristide and warned them that they would be sold out in any negotiated settlement.

Haiti's military-backed civilian Government, however, has said that plans to deploy the human rights observers here were proceeding.

"The first thing to be done is to establish a cease-fire, politically speaking," Haiti's de facto Foreign Minister, François Benoit, said in an interview. "We recognize the need to stabilize the patient and remove the fear. That is why we have accepted the sending of an observer mission."

During his visit, Mr. Jackson also said White House officials had told him that President Clinton had an agreement with Father Aristide committing the United States to the exiled Haitian leader's return.

Mr. Jackson said the agreement would require the priest to help prevent his followers from taking revenge on his opponents after his return.

In a recent letter to the United Nations calling for the deployment of the observers, Father Aristide said he wished to "reassure all parties that the current political crisis will be solved only by eliminating violence and the systematic violation of human rights from whatever source."

Mr. Jackson scoffed at criticism of Father Aristide's human rights record in a recent State Department report, including a suggestion that the Haitian leader had ordered political killings.

"It is not unusual for those on their way out to fire a last salvo," Mr. Jackson said, in a reference to outgoing Bush Administration officials.

Jackson: Haitians ready to talk

171/201
The Rev. Jesse Jackson just returned from two days in Haiti. His remarks on the situation there were edited from an interview with USA TODAY's Sharon Shahid.

Q: With President Clinton now in power, did you sense a new willingness to accept the return of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide by the military regime that ousted him 16 months ago?

A: I met with Lt. Gen. Raoul Cedras and Marc Bazin, who's the acting prime minister. And I said to them, "Would you support or resist the return of Aristide?" They admitted they had no ability to resist the plan. They do not have a base among the masses in Haiti. They won't have a base of support in the international court. And, the only options they have are to try to negotiate some room for themselves or appeal for the transition to be a non-violent one. They cannot go to the masses for support. By their own admission, Aristide would win another election tomorrow.

Q: How soon do you believe the Clinton administration will act to try to restore democracy there?

A: I met with Secretary of State Warren Christopher. I am rather convinced Secretary Christopher is committed to starting the movement of U.N.-OAS observers in a matter of days to monitor human-rights conditions and to begin the negotiation process for the return of Aristide. I just hope they sense the urgency of it.

Q: How urgent is the situation?

A: Haiti's national bank is going to collapse in about a month, and its oil will run out in about five weeks. Unless we move now, we could see Haiti's governmental infrastructure collapse, which would make the problem more complex. So we would do well to move early on. I do not think that requires a military engagement. It just requires clarity of our position and a date certain for restoring democracy.

Q: Will returning Aristide to power stop refugees from coming to our shores in boats?

A: While the people of Haiti rank among the poorest in the hemisphere, poverty was not the motivation for the mass exodus from Haiti. It's political instability and violent repression. The object of the struggle is not for people to come to America. It's to stay in Haiti without political tyranny. What's different now is the Clinton commitment for a new foreign policy and principles stated in his Inaugural Address. Principles of human rights, self-determination, economic justice. Following those principles, even the people who are going to take the boats have delayed any mass action until they see if that policy action will work.



By Roberto Schmidt, AFP

VISITING HAITI: The Rev. Jesse Jackson sits on the deck of a boat being built in Leogane, possibly to transport refugees to the USA.

Q: But how long will they wait?

A: Unless there is concrete action soon, you will see these mass, non-violent demonstrations of people casting themselves to sea. ... The Clinton administration has a limited time for stopping the mass exodus. I saw them making the boats. The energy must be on a date certain for restoring democracy and returning Aristide to power. That must be the focus. The embargo and the exodus flow are both byproducts of the coup. You end the coup, you end the embargo, you end the exodus flow.

Q: So you believe the current embargo is having little effect on the military regime?

A: The embargo is not crippling the military; it's hurting the poorest people by limiting supply, increasing demand and thus inflating prices.

Q: What would have an effect on the military?

A: There's such fear of retribution because they have been so repressive, because so many thousands have been killed. President Aristide must take the lead in appealing for a non-violent transfer of power. Appealing for a spirit of redemption rather than retribution. The people of Haiti must focus on getting ahead, not getting even.

Q: How soon will military leaders be willing to talk?

A: As soon as Clinton sends a clear signal, they will come to the table with a fervor because they simply have no place else to go. They can't go to the masses, they can't come to international court. They can only depend upon the permissive will of the U.S.

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Apply the Refugee Act

By David Carliner

WASHINGTON While the Administration seeks to restore a democratically elected government to Haiti, President Clinton should end the Bush Administration's illegal blockade of Haiti and speed up the flow of Haitian refugees to this country. In fiscal 1992, astonishingly, only 136 people, having applied from Haiti, were admitted as refugees, Federal sources say.

The U.S. admitted 114,000 refugees from many countries on the grounds that they were both persecuted and of "special humanitarian concern." These included 65,000 from the former Soviet Union, 31,000 from Vietnam and Laos and more than 1,000 per country from Afghanistan, Albania, Cuba, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Romania and Somalia and a scattering of other countries.

Additional Haitians — the boat people who arrived in Florida — entered this country not, technically, as refugees but as asylum-seekers, under different provisions of the Refugee Act of 1980.

The Government says its refugee data for fiscal 1992 are incomplete; its data on Haitian asylum-seekers for that period are murky, but between June 1983 and the end of fiscal 1992, evidently only 124 were allowed asylum among a total of 45,246 granted asylum for all nationalities. (The last big influx of Haitians occurred in the Carter Administration, when 10,000 arrived and, under a special law, were granted permanent residence. There are, of course, many in this country illegally.)

What could account for the numerical disparity — the Haitians' color? Their abysmal poverty and its effect on their ability to become self-supporting?

Neither the Refugee Act of 1980 nor international

law authorizes the blockade of a country to bar the flight of refugees. The continuation of our blockade can only represent a cynical attitude toward the rule of law; that does not seem to be the way Bill Clinton thinks.

The Refugee Act offers the Administration a way to admit refugees of "special humanitarian concern" without a double standard. ("Special humanitarian concern" customarily means refugees whose admission, Washington thinks, is in our national interest.) The President may determine, after consulting with Congress, the number and allocation of refugees — political, ethnic, racial and religious — from the whole world who should be admitted in the next year. And, as the law says, if "an unforeseen emergency situation exists," he and Congress can increase their number.

The ouster of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, elected by 68 percent of the Haitian people, created an emergency for his political supporters; that was borne out by the flight of Haitians beginning the day of his expulsion.

Obviously, ending the blockade would mean the boat people would again attempt to reach Florida. But their incentive to take that risk would be diminished if President Clinton could show progress in establishing democracy permanently in Haiti. Meanwhile, we should accelerate the procedure for admitting Haitian refugees and bona fide applicants for asylum.

Only 100 applications a week for refugee status are being processed — not necessarily granted — in Port-au-Prince, the capital. Processing centers should be set up in the poor rural areas, too, with more people to do the job. In addition, too many Haitians are being interminably detained at Guantánamo Bay and the Krome Detention Facility near Miami.

While working to restore a legitimate government in Haiti, Bill Clinton can honor his campaign promise to ease the Haitians' plight by speeding up the admission of legal refugees and boat people who want asylum.

David Carliner, who practices immigration law, has represented Haitians seeking political asylum for many years.

Jackson seeks halt to blockade of Haiti

By Joyce Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

171/124/201

The Rev. Jesse Jackson, fresh from a four-day fact-finding trip to Haiti, yesterday called for an immediate end to the U.S. Coast Guard's blockade of the Caribbean island put in place to discourage boat people.

Demonstrations are planned in several U.S. cities Sunday to protest U.S. policy on Haiti.

"Our blockade against oppressed people is illegal and immoral," Mr. Jackson said yesterday at a news conference.

He and others in the Coalition for Civilian Observers in Haiti (CCOH) laid out policies they believe President Clinton must take in handling the Haitian crisis. CCOH is a network of organizations and individuals committed to restoring "democracy and human rights" in Haiti.

Mr. Jackson, who visited Haiti on Jan. 22-26, noted that Mr. Clinton already has voiced support for some of the policies, including support for the restoration of democracy in Haiti and the return to power of elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

But Mr. Jackson said it's "imperative that this policy commitment be implemented with a timetable ... for its completion" and supported a call by Rep. Major R. Owens, New York Democrat, that this be accomplished within 90 days.

Mr. Jackson, president and founder of the National Rainbow Coalition and "shadow" senator for the District of Columbia, said he outlined the policy recommendations in a meeting with Mr. Clinton and Secretary of State Warren Christopher on Friday.

"I urged them to remove the blockade, which is a violation of international law ... and un-American," Mr. Jackson said. "The flood of immigrants to our country fleeing the military government in Haiti has temporarily stopped because President Aristide appealed to the people to remain there and actively support the restoration process."

Mr. Jackson said he saw boats being built in Haiti while he was there but no one was trying to leave. "It's not the blockade that stopped them, but the belief President Aristide is coming back," he said.

"Unless there is some definitive action this week, boats will be cast to sea this week, but if people see there is a definite date for their freedom, they will stay at home."

But Ira Mehlman, spokesman for the Federation for American Immigration Reform,



The Rev. Jesse Jackson and Claudette Werleigh of the Washington office on Haiti discuss President Clinton's Haitian policy.

expressed concern that the end of the Coast Guard blockade will automatically mean "perhaps thousands" of impoverished Haitians will head for the United States in "unseaworthy boats."

"This would not be a temporary situation," Mr. Mehlman said. "Once these people physically get into the United States, we can expect them to try to stay."

And with demonstrations planned this weekend in New York, Miami and other cities, Mr. Jackson said it is important that Mr. Clinton meet with Mr. Aristide this week and announce a policy that also calls for a disarming and job training for Haitian youths, other economic assistance for the destitute country, and a strengthening of the trade embargo while the military junta remains in control.

"The focus of all those demonstrations is the hope of President Aristide's return," Mr. Jackson said.

Mr. Owens insists that the military rulers now in control of Haiti could be ousted easily.

"If there ever was a situation that could be resolved with nonviolence, this is it," said the congressman, who represents a section of Brooklyn with a large Haitian population.

"We don't have to use force. We just have to let it be known [to military leaders in Haiti] the U.S. is tired of it and won't take it anymore ... and it [military government] will collapse," Mr. Owens said.

2 of 2

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Comt, 78-81; gen counsel, 80 Rep Nat Conv Site Selection Comt, 79; chief counsel, Fed Hwy Admin, US Dept Transp, 81-; coun to Secy Transp, 84-85; gen counsel, Vet Admin, 85-90; assoc judge, US Court Vet Appeals, 90- *Bus & Prof Pos*: Assoc, litigation, Brault, Grahaur Scott & Brault, 72-78. *Mil Serv*: Entered as Pvt, Army, 63, released as Capt, 68, after serv in Germany & Vietnam, 63-68; LTC, Army Res, 68-; Bronze Star; Air Medal; Army Commendation Medal; Parachute Badge. *Mailing Add*: US Court of Vet Appeals 625 Indiana Ave NW Suite 900 Washington DC 20004

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Shadow Sen, DC
b Greenville, SC, Oct 8, 41; s Charles Henry Jackson & Helen Burns J; m to Jacqueline Brown; c five. *Educ*: NC A&T State Univ, BA; Chicago Theological Sem. *Polit & Govt Pos*: Pres, Nat Rainbow Coalition, 84-; US Shadow Sen, DC, 1990- *Bus & Prof Pos*: Exec dir, Oper Breadbasket, 66-71; nat pres, Oper PUSH, 71-83. *Relig*: Baptist. *Mailing Add*: c/o Nat Labor Coalition 1110 Vermont Ave Suite 410 Washington DC 20005

JACOBSEN, WILLIAM L, JR

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JARVIS, CHARLENE DREW

City Councilwoman, Washington, DC
b Washington, DC, July 31, 41; d Dr & Mrs Charles R Drew (both deceased); divorced; c Peter & Ernest. *Educ*: Oberlin, BA, 62; Howard Univ, MS, 64; Univ of Md, PhD, 71. *Polit & Govt Pos*: City councilwoman, Ward 4, Washington, DC, 79-; chmn, Housing Production Comn, currently; deleg, Dem Nat Conv, 80, 84 & 88; coordr, Mondale for President, Washington, DC, 84. *Bus & Prof Pos*: Chmn, Transplantation Comt, Washington Chap, Am Red Cross, currently. *Mem*: Trial Lawyers; DC Med Soc; DC Psychological Assn. *Relig*: Unitarian. *Legal Res*: 1789 Sycamore St NW Washington DC 20004 *Mailing Add*: 14th & E Sts NW Washington DC 20004

JOHANSEN, WILFORD WOODRUFF

Bd Mem, Nat Labor Relations Bd
b Salt Lake City, Utah, April 15, 28; s Wilford Woodruff Johansen & Louise Vincent J; m 1959 to Patricia Ann Rund; c Eric M & Evan R. *Educ*: Idaho State Univ, BA, 51; George Washington Univ Law Sch, LLB, 57. *Polit & Govt Pos*: Regional dir, Nat Labor Relations Bd, Los Angeles, Calif, 71-75, acting gen counsel, 84 & mem bd, 85- *Mil Serv*: Entered as Pfc, Army, 53, released as Classified, after serv in Counter Intelligence Corps, Korea, 53-55. *Mem*: DC Bar Assn; Los Angeles Fed Exec Bd (policy comt, 78-83); Los Angeles Indust Relations Research Assn (pres, 79-80); US Admin Conf. *Mailing Add*: Nat Labor Relations Bd 1717 Pennsylvania Ave NW Washington DC 20570

JOHNSEN, RAY V

b Fremont, Nebr, Sept 15, 27; s John P Johnsen & Dora Sinamark J; m 1952 to Nancy Jane Watson; c Stephen (deceased), Sue & James. *Educ*: SDak State Col, 45; Dana Col, Blair, Nebr, BA, 49; Wash Univ, St Louis, Mo, MA, 58. *Polit & Govt Pos*: Deleg, Ill Const Conv, 69-70; admin asst to Lt Gov Paul Simon, 71-72; exec dir, Ill Off Pub Instr, 72-74; exec asst, Paul Simon, Ill, currently. *Bus & Prof Pos*: Managing ed, The Troy Tribune, Troy, Ill, 51-67. *Mil Serv*: Entered as Pvt, Army, 45, released as Tech 4, after serv in Anti Aircraft Artill, Pac Theater, 46-47. *Relig*: Methodist. *Mailing Add*: 462 Dirksen Suite Off Bldg Washington DC 20510

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b Falun, Kans, Oct 17, 08; s Carl Theodore Johnson & Ellen Forsse J; m 1932 to Patricia Ann Tillman, wid, m 1989 to Dorothy Graham Fee; c Judith (Mrs Mason S Zerbe), Stephen Tillman, William & Jennifer (Mrs Lee Bishop). *Educ*: Occidental Col, AB, 31, LL.D, 57; Georgetown Univ Sch of Foreign Serv, 31-32. *Polit & Govt Pos*: Career officer, US Dept of State Foreign Serv, 35-77; lang attache, Am Embassy, Tokyo, Japan, 35-37; vice consul, Seoul, Korea, 37-39, Tientsin, China, 39 & Mukden, Manchuria, 40-42; second secy, Am Embassy, Rio de Janeiro, 42-44; US Army Civil Affairs Training Sch, Univ Chicago, 44; Am Consul, Manila, Philippines, 45; Gen Hq Supreme Comdr Allied Powers, Tokyo, Japan, Aug 45; Am Consul, Yokohama, 46, Am Consul Gen, 47-50; dir, Off of Northeast Asian Affairs, Dept of State, 50-51, Dep Asst Secy of State for Far Eastern Affairs, 51-53; US Ambassador, Czech, 53-58, Thailand, 58-61; Dep Under Secy of State for Polit Affairs, 61-64 & 65-66; Dep Ambassador, Vietnam, Saigon, 64-65; US Ambassador, Japan, 66-69; Under Secy of State for Polit Affairs, 69-73; Ambassador-at-Large & Chief of US Deleg to Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, 73-77; consult, Dept State, 77- *Honors & Awards*: Nat Civil Serv League's Career Serv Award; Rockefeller Pub Serv Award; Presidential Award for Distinguished Fed Civilian Serv, 71; Defense Medal for Distinguished Pub Serv; Medal of Freedom. *Mem*: Japan-Am Soc; Phi Beta Kappa; Am Foreign Serv Assn; Chevy Chase Club. *Publ*: Auth, The Common Security Interests of Japan, the United States & Nato, Ballinger, 81; China Policy for the Next Decade, Oelegeschlager, Gunn & Hain, 84; The Right Hand of Power, Prentice-Hall, 84. *Relig*: Protestant. *Mailing Add*: 3133 Connecticut Ave NW Apt 627 Washington DC 20008

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JONES, WILLIAM BOWDOIN

b Los Angeles, Calif, May 2, 28; s William T Jones & LaVelle Bowdoin; m 1953 to Joanne F Garland; c Lisa F, Stephanie A & Walter C. *Educ*: Calif, Los Angeles, AB, 49; Univ South Hampton, Eng, grad study, Southern Calif Sch Law, JD, 52; Kappa Alpha Psi. *Polit & Govt Pos*: Foreign Serv, Dept of State, Washington, DC, 62-69; Dep Asst Secy, Washington, DC, 69-73; chmn, US deleg, UNESCO Gen Conf, Paris, permanent UNESCO, 73-77; mem US deleg, UNESCO Gen Conf, Kenya, 76; US Ambassador to Haiti, 77-80; ambassador, US Foreign Serv, 80-84. *Bus & Prof Pos*: Atty, pvt practice, Los Angeles, Calif, 53-61; diplomat, Foreign Serv, 62-84; diplomat in res, Hampton Inst, Va, ambassador in res, Univ Va, 84-85; private consult, int relations, c *Honors & Awards*: Outstanding Pub Serv, Calif State Legis, 70; Alumni Achievement Award, Univ Calif, Los Angeles, 77; Alumni Merit Award, Univ S Calif, 80; Fel, Woodrow Wilson Found, Princeton, NJ, 86. *Mil Serv*: DC Bar Asns; US Supreme Court Bar Assn; Int Club of Washington, DC, 77-80; Pi Sigma Alpha; Nu Beta Epsilon. *Publ*: Auth, Int sea bed authority, US participation, Ocean Develop & Int Law Jour 83 & Risk assessment, corporate deep sea bed mining, 86. *Relig*: Protestant. *Mailing Add*: 4100 St NW Washington DC 20011

JOVA, JOSEPH JOHN

b Newburgh, NY, Nov 7, 16; m 1949 to Pamela Johnson; c Christopher, John Thomas & Margaret Ynes. *Educ*: Dartmouth Col, BA, 38; Phi Epsilon. *Hon Degrees*: Mt St Mary Col, PhD, 73; LLB, Col, 73. *Polit & Govt Pos*: Career Officer, US Dept of State Foreign Serv, formerly; vice consul, Basra, 47-49; second secy, vice consul, Tanglewood, Oporto, 52-54; first secy, Lisbon, 54-57; officer-in-charge, Iberian Affairs, 57-58; asst chief, Personnel Opers Div, 59-60, chief, dep chief of mission, Santiago, Chile, 61-65; US Ambassador to Honduras, 65-69; US Ambassador to the Orgn of Am States, 69-74; US Ambassador to Mexico, 74-77. *Bus & Prof Pos*: Asst overseer & div inspector, Isthmian Canal, 48-49; trustee, Mt St Mary Col NY, Pan Am Development, 77-90; pres, Meridian House Int, Washington, DC, 77-80. *Serv*: Entered as Ens, Naval Res, 42, released as Lt, 46, after serv in European Theaters. *Mem*: US Foreign Serv Assn; Washington Inst of Affairs; Order of Aztec Eagle, Mex; Constantinian Order of St George, Knights of Malta; Order of Morazan, Honduras; Aztec Eagle, Orange Nassau; Leopold II, Belgium; O'Higgins, Chile. *Publ*: Ed, F. Cavada, Univ Pres, 85. *Relig*: Roman Catholic. *Mailing Add*: 1330 14th St NW Washington DC 20007

JUTKOWITZ, JOEL M

b Yonkers, NY, Jan 5, 42; s Adolph Jutkowitz & Claire Engal J; m Betty Crapivinsky; c Edward, Monica & Alexander. *Educ*: Dartmouth Col, AB, 63; Yale Univ, MA, 65; NY Univ, PhD, 76. *Polit & Govt Pos*: C of R F Kennedy for President Campaign, San Diego County, Calif, 68; mem, E M Kennedy for President, Pa State & Nat Campaigns, 80; dep Nat Conv, 80; adv, Kostmayer for Cong campaign, 82, Wilson G. Mayor campaign, 83; state coordr & vchmn, Cranston Campaign, 84. *Prof Pos*: Asst proj supvr, Brookings Inst, 65-67; asst prof, San Diego State Univ, 67-70; research assoc, Fletcher Sch of Law & Diplomacy, 70-72; soc expert, Latin Am Inst for Econ & Soc Planning, UN, 72-74; exec dir, the Study of Human Issues, 74- *Mem*: Am Polit Sci Assn; Latin Am Stud Assn. *Publ*: Coauth, Theory, Ideology and Social Action in Latin America, Siglo Veintiuno, 76; Education, values and the possibilities for social change in Chile, ISHI, 76; auth, Human rights in Chile, Coleman, 80. *Relig*: Jewish. *Mailing Add*: 232 M St SW Washington DC 20024

KAISER, PHILIP MAYER

b New York, NY, July 12, 13; s Morris Kaiser & Temma Sloven K; m Hannah Elizabeth Greeley; c Robert G, David E & Charles R. *Educ*: Wis, AB, 35; Balliol Col, Oxford Univ, England, Rhodes Scholar, BA, 39; Phi Beta Kappa. *Polit & Govt Pos*: Economist bd gov, Fed Reserve, Washington, DC, 39-42; chief proj oper staff & planning staff, Enormous Econ Warfare, & Foreign Econ Admin, 42-46; expert on Int Org, Dept of State, 46; exec asst to Asst Secy of Labor in charge Int Labor Dept of Labor, 46-47; asst secy labor for Int Labor Affairs, 49-53; to Comt for Free Europe, 54; spec asst to Gov W Averell Harriman, NY, 55-58; US Ambassador to Rep of Senegal & Islamic Repub of Mauritania, 61-64; minister, Am Embassy, London, England, 64-69; co-chmn, Relations Comt, Dem Platform Comt, 76; US Ambassador to People's Republic of Hungary, Budapest, 77-80; US Ambassador to Austria, 80-81. *Bus & Prof Pos*: Prof int labor relations, Sch Int Serv, Am Univ, 58-61; chmn & dir, Encyclopedia Britannica, Int, Ltd, London, Eng, 69-75; dir, Mahon Holdings, Ltd, London, 75-77; sen consult, SRI Int, 81-; p, Sch Avan Int Studies, John Hopkins Univ, 83-85; vis Woodrow Wilson, 84; mem, bd dirs, Am Ditchley Found, Atlantic Inst for Int Affairs, 84; Inst Strategic Studies, Coun of Am Ambassadors, Int Research & Development, Bd & Soros Found, currently. *Mem*: Am Assn Rhodes Scholars; Foreign Relations; Women Nat Dem Club; Washington Inst Foreign Affs. *Publ*: Auth, Woodrow Wilson, The History Makers, 73; coauth, Old and new in international relations, Great Ideas Today, 76. *Relig*: Jewish. *Mailing Add*: 2101 Connecticut Ave NW Washington DC 20008

KAMPELMAN, MAX M

b New York, NY, Nov 7, 20; m to Marjorie; c five. *Educ*: NY Univ, L, Heights Col, AB, 40, Sch Law, JD, 45; Univ Minn, MA, 46, PhD, 51. *Hon Degrees*: PhD, Hebrew Univ, Jerusalem, 82; DHL, Hebrew

City of Camanore) Harry Jackson. Thirty Years in Versilia by Donald Goddard. American Painting, 1940. Served with USMC, 1942-45. Decorated Purple Heart with gold star; recipient 2 Presid. citations; Gold medal NAD, 1968. Best Cover Art of 1969 award for sculpture of John Wayne. Am. Inst. Graphic Arts, 1969. Presid. citation R.I. Sch. Design-Gov's award, Gov. of Wyo., 1990. Fulbright grantee, 1954; 2 bronzes presented as official gifts of state by Pres. Ronald Reagan, 1982. Fellow Nat. Acad. Western Art. Nat. Sculpture Soc. mem. Nat. Acad. Design. Address: PO Box 2836 Cody WY 82414

JACKSON, HARRY THOMAS, JR., museum education program director, consultant: b. Washington, Dec. 18, 1939. s. Harry Thomas and Juanita Cecelia (Brown) J. 1 child: Sharon A. Jackson-Taylor. MA, U. D.C., 1973. Ednl. asst. Nat. Portrait Gallery, Washington, 1972-74, ednl. specialist, 1974-79, asst. curator ednl., 1979-87, dir. ednl. program, 1987-; cons. S.I. Office of Mus. Programs, Washington, 1984-; Bd. dirs. D.C. Nat. History Day, Washington, 1980-; With U.S. Army, 1963-65. Recipient Outstanding Performance award Smithsonian Inst., 1984, cert. of recognition Am. Hist. Assn., 1989, D.C. Pub. Schs., 1989. Mem. African Am. Mus. Assn., D.C. Coun. for Social Studies, Smithsonian Internship Coun. (co-chair 1989-90). Democrat. Roman Catholic. Hobbies: swimming, fishing. Office: Nat. Portrait Gallery Rm & F Sts NW Washington DC 20560

JACKSON, HERB, artist, educator: b. Raleigh, N.C., Aug. 16, 1945. s. Walter H. and Virginia (Rogers) J. m. Laura Dudley Grosch, June 9, 1967. 2 children: B.A., Davidson Coll., 1967; M.F.A., U. N.C., 1970. Prof. art dept. Davidson (N.C.) Coll., 1969-; chmn. dept. art, 1977-; dir. Art Gallery, 1974-; mem. artist adv. bd. Mini Mus. Art. Charlotte, N.C., 1979-; One-man shows include: Mini Mus. Art. Charlotte, 1973, U. Nev., Reno, 1973, Rahr Mus., Manitowoc, Wis., 1973, Jane Haslem Gallery, Washington, 1974, Nielsen Gallery, Boston, 1974, Impressions Gallery, Boston, 1975, 81, Hahn Gallery, Phila., 1976, Dryden Gallery, Charlotte, 1976, Van Straaten Gallery, Chgo., 1977, Frances Aronson Gallery, Atlanta, 1978, N.C. Mus. Art. Raleigh, 1979, Rowe Gallery, U. N.C., Charlotte, 1979, Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art, Winston-Salem, N.C., 1981, Phyllis Weil Gallery, N.Y.C., 1981, 83, 85, 87, 88, 90, Princeton Gallery Fine Art, 1982, 83, Oxford Gallery (Eng.), 1982, DBR Gallery, Cleveland, 1983, 84, Mini Mus. Art. Charlotte, N.C., 1983, Springfield Mus. Art. (Mo.), 1983, Asheville Mus. Art. (N.C.), 1983, Nat. Acad. Scis., Washington, 1983, Checkwood Art Ctr., Nashville, 1983, Reading Art Mus. (Pa.), 1984, Gulbenkian Found., Lisbon, Portugal, 1984, Huntsville Mus. Art. (Ala.), 1984, Jerald Melberg Gallery, Charlotte, N.C., 1984, 85, 87, 88, 90, Fay Gold Gallery, Atlanta, 1986, 88, Cumberland Gallery, Nashville, 1987, Judy Youens Gallery, Houston, 1988, Gilliam-Peden Gallery, Raleigh, N.C., 1988, Asheville (N.C.) Mus. Art., 1988, Allen Lapidus Gallery, Santa Fe, 1989-90, Maumne Littleton Gallery, Washington, 1990; numerous group shows, 1962-; latest being Internat. Print Biennale, Bradford, Eng., 1979, Mini Mus., Charlotte, 1979, 81, Southeastern Center Contemporary Art, Winston-Salem, 1979, Internat. São Paulo (Brazil) Biennial, 1979, Spring Mills Am. Competition, Lancaster, S.C., 1980, Weatherspoon Gallery, Greensboro, N.C., 1980, Impressions Gallery, Boston, 1980, Associated Am. Artists, Phila., 1980, Am. Acad. and Inst. Arts, New Haven, N.Y.C., 1981, 1987, Bklyn. Mus. Art., 1981, World's Fair, Knoxville, Tenn., 1982, Davos, Switzerland, 1983, Palazzo Venezia, Rome, 1984, Mus. Mus. Art., 1984, U. Denver, 1984, Albuquerque Mus. Art., 1985, Fla. State U., 1985, St. John's Mus. Art., Wilmington, N.C., 1986, U. Tex. San Antonio, 1987, Contemporary Arts Ctr., New Orleans, 1988, Kunstsammlungen der Veste Coburg, Fed. Republic Germany, 1988, Lorenzelli Fine Art, Milan, 1989, Exhbn. Hall of Union of Moscow Artists, Moscow, 1989, Samuel P. Harn Mus., Gainesville, Fla., 1990; represented in permanent collections: Balt. Mus. Art. Phila., Mus. Art. Victoria and Albert Mus., London, Whitney Mus. Art. N.Y.C., Mpls. Inst. Arts, Nat. Acad. Sci., Washington, Indpls. Mus. Art. Bklyn. Mus., USA, Japan, U. Wis., Sheboygan, Yale, U. New Haven, Mus. Fine Arts, Boston, N.Y. Public Library, Library of Congress, Mini Mus., Charlotte, So. Ill. U. Edwardsville, Kalamazoo Inst. Arts, Mus. Fine Arts, Springfield, Mass., Utah Mus., Salt Lake City, U. Nebr., Lincoln, U. Calif., Riverside, Minn. Mus. Art. St. Paul, Brit. Mus., London, others. Mem. Coll. Art Assn., So. Graphics Council, Charlotte Artists Coalition (dir. 1980-81), Mecklenburg-Charlotte Arts and Sci. Council (dir. 1977-79), Southeastern Coll. Art Conf., Home: PO Box 10 Davidson NC 28036-0010 Office: Davidson Coll. Davidson NC 28036 The artist's integrity is all he truly has, after all the trends, fads, and movements have faded into history. I try to make art which will stand as a personal statement

JACKSON, HERMOINE PRESTINE, psychologist: b. Wilmington, Del., Mar. 11, 1945. d. Herman Preston and Ella Brooks (Roone) Jackson. BA, Elizabethtown (Pa.) Coll., 1967; MA, Ohio State U., 1979, PhD, 1991. Tchr. Wilmington (Del.) pub. sch. sys., 1967-68, Phila. Pub. Sch. Sys., 1968-74; psychologist Midland (Mich.) Hosp., 1979-81, Gen. Mich. U., Mt. Pleasant, 1979-81, West Seneca (N.Y.) Devel. Ctr., 1981-90, N.Y. State Div. for Youth Buffalo, Residential Ctr., 1990-; mem. admissions/discharge com. St. Augustine Ctr., Buffalo, 1983-; Co-author text manual, Manual of Assessment Instruments for the MR/DD Population, 1978. Task force mem. Youth Task Force, Buffalo, 1989. Named Outstanding Instr., Cen. Mich. U., 1981. Mem. Am. Psychol. Assn., Am. Assn. on Mental Retardation, Coalition of 100 Bk. Women (corres. sec. 1988-). Home: 1 Norwalk Ave Buffalo NY 14216-2819 Office: NY State Div. for Youth 485 Best St Buffalo NY 14208-2493

JACKSON, ISAIAH, conductor: b. Richmond, Va., Jan. 22, 1945. s. Isaiiah Allen and Alma Alverta (Norris) J. m. Helen Tunitland, Aug. 6, 1977. children: Benjamin, Katharine, Caroline. B.A. cum laude, Harvard U., 1966; M.A., Stanford U., 1967; M.S., Juilliard Sch. Music, 1969, D.M.A., 1973. Founder, cond. Juilliard String Ensemble, N.Y.C., 1970-71; asst. cond. Am. Symphony Orch., N.Y.C., 1970-71, Balt. Symphony Orch., 1971-73; asst. cond. Rochester (N.Y.) Philharmonic Orch., 1973-87; music dir. Flint (Mich.) Symphony Orch., 1987-87, Dayton (Ohio) Philharmonic Orch., 1987-90; prin. cond. Royal Ballet, Covent Garden, London, 1986; music dir., 1987-90; guest cond. N.Y. Philharmonic Orch., N.Y.C., 1978, Boston Pops Orch., 1983, 90, 91, Cleveland, 1983-84, 86-87, 89-92, Detroit Symphony Orch., 1983, 85, San Francisco Symphony, 1984, Toronto Symphony, 1984, 90, Orch. de la Suisse Romande, 1985, 88, BBC Concert Orch., 1987, Berlin Symphony, 1989-92. Recipient First Gov's award for arts in Va. Commonwealth Va., 1979. Office: care United Arts 3006 Sunbeam Dr Los Angeles CA 90065-3551 also: Dayton Philharmonic Orch. Montgomery Country Meml Hall 125 E 1st St Dayton OH 45422

JACKSON, JAMES F., nuclear engineer: b. Ogden, Utah, Aug. 15, 1939. s. Allyn Boyd and Virginia (Dixon) J. m. Joan Berger, Aug. 25, 1960; children: James D., Bret A., Tracy L., Wendy L. BS, U. Utah, 1961; MS, MIT, 1962; PhD, UCLA, 1969. Rsch. engr. Atomic International, L.A., 1962-66; nuclear engr. Argonne Nat. Lab., Idaho Falls, Idaho, 1966-69; nuclear engr. Argonne Nat. Lab., Argonne, Ill., 1972-74; asst. prof. Brigham Young U., Provo, Utah, 1974-76; cons. Los Alamos (N.Mex.) Nat. Lab., 1974-76; group/div. leader, 1976-82, dep. asst. dir., 1979-81, div. leader, 1983-84, asst. dir., 1984-86, dep. dir., 1986-; Contrib. articles to journals in field. Mem. exec. bd. Community Devel. Com., Los Alamos, 1989-91; bd. dirs. Los Alamos Citizens Against Substance Abuse, 1989-91. Recipient E.O. Lawrence award Dept. Energy, Washington, 1983. Mem. NAE, Am. Nuclear Soc. (safety div. 1967-; exec. com. 1977-80), Tau Beta Pi Republican. Mem. LDS Ch. Avocations: history, motorsports, photography. Home: 1090 Los Pueblos St Los Alamos NM 87544-2656 Office: Los Alamos Nat. Lab. Office of Dep. Director Los Alamos NM 87545

JACKSON, JAMES LEONARD, music educator, minister of church music: b. Farmersville, Tex., Oct. 17, 1932. s. Leonard and Muri A. (Logan) J. m. Patricia Marie Carter, Aug. 26, 1960; children: Jon Carter, Juli Gayle. BS,

Nashville Entertainment Assn. Mem. Ch. of Christ. Home: 3800 Belmont Blvd. Nashville TN 37215-3046 Office: David Lipscomb U. 3901 Granny White Pike Nashville TN 37204-1903

JACKSON, JAMES SIDNEY, psychology educator: b. Detroit, July 30, 1944. s. Pete James and Johnnie Mae (Wilson) J. B.S., Mich. State U., 1966. M.A., U. Toledo, 1970; PhD, Wayne State U., 1972. Probation counselor Lucas County Juvenile Ct., Toledo, Ohio, 1967-68; teaching and research asst., Wayne State U., Detroit, 1968-71; from asst. prof. to prof., psychology U. Mich., Ann Arbor, 1971-; faculty asst. Research Ctr. for Group Dynamics, Inst. for Social Research, 1971-; research scientist, 1986-; faculty asst. Inst. Gerontology, 1976-; faculty asst. Ctr. Afric. Am. and African Studies, 1982-; asst. dean Rackham Sch. Grad. Studies, 1987-92; prof. pub. health, 1990-; chair social psychology ing. program U. Mich., 1980-86; cons. Emergency Sch. Ad. Project, 1973-74; Commn. on Equal Opportunity in Psychology, 1970. Project to Provide Psychol. Services to Head Start Programs, 1973-74. European Econ. Commn. Project on Racism, Xenophobia and Immigration, 1989-; mem. com. on aging and com. on status of Black Am., Nat. Acad. Sci. Author: The Black American Elderly: Research on Physical and Psychosocial Health, 1988, (with Gurin P., Hatcher S.) Hope and Independence: Blacks Response to Electoral and Party Politics, 1989, Life in Black America, 1991, (with Chatters L. and Taylor R.) Aging in Black America, 1992; editorial cons. Jour. of Behavioral and Social Sciences, editorial bd. Jour. Gerontology, Applied Social Psychology, Ann. Psychol. Assn., Psychological Bulletin and Psychol. Contrib. articles to prof. jour. Bd. dirs. Pub. Commn. on Mental Health; mem. rev. panel Nat. Inst. Aging, 1982-86; chmn., 1985-86. Recipient Disting. Faculty Service award U. Mich., 1976; Urban Studies fellow Wayne State U., 1969-70; NSF fellow, 1969, Sr. Postdoctoral fellow Groupe d'Études et de Recherches sur la Science, École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, 1966-87; Sr. Ford Found. Minority Postdoctoral fellow, 1986-87. Fellow Am. Psychol. Assn. (divs. 9-20, policy and planning bd., fin. com. 1984-86; award for early contribs, 1983); mem. Assn. Advancement of Psychology (trustee 1971-79; chmn. 1978-80); Black Students Psychol. Assn. (nat. chmn. 1972-73); Assn. Black Psychologists (nat. chmn. 1972-73); Soc. Psychol. Study of Social Issues, World Future Soc., Assn. Behavioral and Social Scientists, Internat. Platform Assn., NIMH (nat. mental health coun. and coop. comm. on inv. and oper. 1988-91); Gerontol. Soc. Am. (task force on minority issues in gerontology, chmn. 1988-92; ann. scientific conv. program com.), Psi Chi, Alpha Phi Alpha, Home: 517 Fairview Ctr Ypsilanti MI 48197-2112 Office: Univ. Mich. 5271 Inst. Social Rsch. Ann Arbor MI 48106

JACKSON, JANET DAMITA, singer, dancer: b. Gary, Ind., June 16, 1966; d. John and Katharine; 1 child: John Jackson, Jr. Director, Director, 1984, Control, 1986, Rhythm Nation, 1991, actress (TV series) Good Times, 1977, A New Kind of Family, Different Strokes, Fame, Recipient 6 Am. Music awards, 1987, 1988, 1991, 3 Grammy nominations, MTV Video Vanguard award, 1990. Office: A & M Records Inc. 1416 N La Brea Ave Los Angeles CA 90028-7563

JACKSON, JERRY DONALD, utility company executive, lawyer: b. Warren, Ark., Nov. 18, 1944. s. Olin and Lurline (Moore) J. m. Sharon Harvie Ragan, Nov. 28; children: Michael Steele, John Brooks, L.B.U. U. Ark., 1968. Assoc. Spitzberg, Mitchell & Hayes, Little Rock, 1969-79; atty. Ark. Power and Light Co., Little Rock, 1979-82; ptnr. Mitchell, Williams, Selig, Jackson & Tucker, Little Rock, 1982-87; atty. Mid. South Utilities Inc., New Orleans, 1987-; Mem. Ark. Pub. Service Commn., Little Rock, 1974-75. Home: ABA, Ark. Bar Assn., Methodist, Club: Country (Little Rock). Mem. 1505 Nashville Ave New Orleans LA 70115-4254 Office: Entergy Corp. 225 Baronne St New Orleans LA 70112-1704

JACKSON, JESSE LOUIS, civic and political leader, clergyman: b. Greenville, S.C., Oct. 8, 1941. s. Charles Henry and Helen Jackson; m. Jacqueline Lavonia Brown, 1964; children: Santia, Jesse Louis, Jonathan Luther, Yusuf Dubois, Jacqueline Lavonia. Student, U. Ill., 1959-60; B.A. in Sociology and Economics, N.C. A&T State U., 1964, postgrad. Chgo. Theol. Sem., D.D. (hon.) hon. degrees: N.C. A&T State U., Pepperdine U., Oberlin U., Oral Roberts U., U. R.I., Howard U., Georgetown U. Ordained to ministry Baptist Ch., 1968; founder (with others) Operation Breadbasket joint project Soc. Christian Leadership Conf., Chgo., 1966; nat. dir. Operation Breadbasket joint project Soc. Christian Leadership Conf., 1967-71; founder, exec. dir. Operation PUSH (People United to Serve Humanity), Chgo., 1971-; candidate for Democratic nomination for Pres. U.S., 1983-84, 87-88; nat. pres. Nat. Rainbow Coalition Inc., Chgo., founder PUSH-Excel and PUSH for Econ. Justice; lectr. for high schs., colls., prof. audiences in Am., Europe, Interview TV program Jesse Jackson, 1990-; Active Black Coalition for United Community Action, 1969. Recipient Presid. award Nat. Med. Assn., 1969; Humanitarian Father of Year award Nat. Father's Day Com., 1971; Third Most Admired Man in Am. Gallup Poll, 1985; named one of six new leaders on the new U.S. News World Report, Address 1110 Vermont NW Ste 410 Washington DC 20005 also care Operation PUSH 930 E 50th St Chicago IL 60615

JACKSON, JOE, musician, singer, songwriter. Student composition, Royal Acad. Music. Musician, piano, saxophone. Albums include Look Sharp, 1979, I'm the Man, 1979, Beat Crazy, 1980, Jumpin' Jive, 1981, Night and Day, 1982, Body and Soul, 1984, Big World, 1986, Will Power, 1987, Blaze of Glory, 1989, Laughter and Lust, 1991. Film soundtrack includes Mikes Murder, Tucson, 1986, Office: c/o Direct Mgmt Group 947 N La Cienega Blvd West Hollywood CA 90069-4700

JACKSON, JOHN DAVID, physicist, educator: b. London, Ont., Can., Jan. 19, 1925. came to U.S., 1957, naturalized, 1988. s. Walter David and Lillian Margaret (Ferguson) J. m. Barbara Cook, June 26, 1949; children: Jan. Nan, Margaret, Mark. BS in Physics and Math., U. Western Ont., 1946, DSc (hon.), 1989, PhD in Physics, MIT, 1949. Rsch. assoc. dept. physics MIT, Cambridge, 1949; from asst. prof. to asst. prof. math. McGill U., Montreal, Que., Can., 1950-57; from asst. prof. to prof., physics U. Ill., Urbana, 1957-67; prof. U. Calif., Berkeley, 1967-; dept. chair, 1978-81; vis. fellow Cambridge (Eng.) U., 1970; acting head theory group Fermilab, Batavia, Ill., 1972-73; head physics div. Lawrence Berkeley Lab., 1982-84; dep. dir. SSC Cen. Design Group, Berkeley, 1985-87; vis. sr. rch. fellow Oxford (Eng.) U., 1988-89; mem. vis. com. Argonne Nat. Lab. CERN, SSC Lab., Stanford U. L.A. Ctr., others. Author: Physics of Elementary Particles, 1958, Classical Electrodynamics, 1962, rev. ed., 1975, Mathematics for Quantum Mechanics, 1962; also numerous articles, editor Ann. Rev. Nuclear and Particle Sci., 1977-; J. S. Guggenheim Found. fellow, 1956-57, Ford Found. fellow, 1963-64. Fellow AAS, Am. Phys. Soc., mem. NAS (elected 1990). Am. Acad. Arts and Scis. (elected 1989). ACLU (offic). Avocations: mountain hiking, swimming, scientific bibliography. Office: U. Calif. Dept. Physics Berkeley CA 94720

JACKSON, JOHN EDGAR, social scientist, educator, researcher: b. Kingsport, Tenn., Sept. 22, 1942. s. John Edgar Jackson and Annabelle (Wade) Jackson Shepherd; m. Gretchen Neal, Aug. 13, 1965; children: John Michael, Carrie Neal. BS in Indsl. Mgmt., M.S. in Indsl. Adminstr., Carnegie-Mellon U., 1965; M.P.A., Harvard U., 1966, Ph.D. in Polit. Economy and Govt., 1969. Systems analysis Dept. Def., Washington, 1968-69; instr. econs. U.S. Air Force Acad., Colo., 1969-70; from asst. prof. to asst. prof. govt. Harvard U., Cambridge, Mass., 1970-77; asst. prof. polit. sci. U. Pa., Phila., 1977-80; prof. U. Mich., Ann Arbor, 1980-; Assoc. dir. Joint Ctr. Urban Studies, Harvard U., Cambridge, Mass., 1975-77; bd. overseers Nat. Election Studies, Ann Arbor, Mich., 1979-90. Social Sci.

JACKSON, JOHN HOWARD, lawyer: b. Kansas Cit. s. Howard Clifford and Lucille (Dewcher) J. m. Joan I. children: Jeannette, Lee Ann, Michelle. AB, Princeton, Mich., 1959. Bar: Wis., 1959, Mo., 1959, Calif., 1966. practice law Md., 1959-61; assoc. prof., prof. law U. law U. Mich., 1966-; on leave gen. counsel U. of 1973-74, acting deputy spl. rep. for trade, 1974; vis. pr. 76, vis. fellow Inst. for Internat. Econ., Washington, D.C., 1976-77; asst. v.p. acad. affairs, 1988-89; Georgetown Law Ctr., Washington, 1986-87; Ford Fov. v.p. prof. U. Delhi, India, 1986-89; cons. U.S. Treasury Spl. Trade Reps., U.S. Senate Finance Com., 1978-79, U. Devel., 1980, vis. fellow Inst. Internat. Econ., Washng. World Trade and the Law of GATT, 1969, Contract Law, 1973, 2d ed. (with Lee Bollinger), 1980, Legal Problematic Economic Relations, 1977, 2d ed. (with William Davis), Victor Louis and Mitsuo Matsushita Implementing the International Competition in Services, 1988, (with Edy Dumping Law & Practice: Comparative Study, 1989, System, 1989, Restructuring the GATT System, 1990, bc Internat. Law Jour. Law and Policy in Internat. Bus., oil to prof. jour. Served with M.J. U. Army, 1954-56 fellow for study European community law Brussels, 197 Am. Soc. Internat. Law, Am. Law Inst., Council Fgn. Kappa, Order of Coll. Office: U. Mich. 963 Legal Rch B 48109-1215

JACKSON, JOHN TILLSON, corporate executive: b. M. s. John F. and Elizabeth (Tillson) J. m. Suzanne Bartle; dren: Suzanne Jackson McDevitt, Jennifer Jackson Davies in Adminstr. Engrng. Cornell U., 1942. Jr. engr. Geor. Co. Inc., N.Y.C., 1946-48; sr. engr. George S. Armstrong 49, v.p., 1949, dir., 1951; asst. to pres. Fed. Telecommun. 55, ITT, N.Y.C., 1956-57; asst. v.p. ITT, 1957-58, v.p. 1958-66, Corp. Phila., 1966-68, U. Internat., Phila., 1968-69, v.p. 1969-72, exec. v.p., chmn. exec. com., 1973-82, vice chmn. C. Brewer & Co., Ltd. subs., 1975-82, bd. dirs. Colman chmn. Acad. Natural Sci., Phila., 1983-86. Served from 2d 1942-46. Mem. ASME, Zeta Psi, Clubs: Phila., Gulph Mt. Menon Cricket, Phila., Univ., The Everglades, Seafish (Pai 210 Ocean Terr. Palm Beach FL 33480-3127 also: 135 R PA 19041

JACKSON, JOHN WYANT, business executive: b. Corpus 1944. s. Donald LeGarde and Marion (McNulty) J. m. Susa 1969; children: Alexandra C., Kimberly F., Donald M., J. Yale U., 1967; M.B.A., INSEAD, Fontainebleau, France. Institut de Sci. Politique, Paris, 1966. Dir. new products N.J., 1975-76; dir. MSDI, Harlem, Holland, 1976-77, Dohme Internat., Rahway, N.J., 1977-78; dir. med. produc. Cyanamid Co., Wayne, N.J., 1978-79; dir. med. products A. East, 1979-81; v.p. Americas and Far East, 1981-83; v.p. in pres. device div., 1986-; dir. U.S. Pakistan Econ. Council, U.S.-ROC Econ. Council, Crystall Lake, Ill., 1982-85; Tr. Club, Portugal, 1974-75; active Internat. Rotary, Holland, to list it. USMCR, 1967-70. Decorated Navy Comm. decorated Purple Heart. Mem. Phm. Mfrs. Assn. (chmn. F com. 1981-82). Republican. Episcopalian. Office: Am. Cyanamid Dr Wayne NJ 07470-4000

JACKSON, JONATHAN VAL, advertising executive: b. Feb. 14, 1934. s. Abraham L. and Mary Christine (Leech) J. 1951. M.A., 1954. Copywriter, Doherty, Clifford Inc., 1956 Inc. 1962-64, copy group head Ogilvy & Mather Inc., 1965-66, Beta Kappa. Democrat. Office: Ogilvy & Mather Advt. World 49th St New York NY 10019-7316

JACKSON, JULIAN ELLIS, food company executive: b. Feb. 24, 1913. s. Eddie H. and Eva M. (Reid) J. m. Laurana H. 1956; children: Julian Ellis, Eddie King, Robert Allen, Victor Ellis IV, Lester Mitchell. Grad., Andrew Jackson High Sch. Fla., 1931; DSc (hon.), Jones Coll., 1982. With Great Art. 1958-69, Julian Jackson Investment Co., 1955-; L'il Chmn. Inc., 1971-; co-owner Jackson-Cowan Realty Co., 1953-; Bklyn. Jacksonville, Arlington, Past pres. United Cerebral palsy chmn. Jacksonville Boxing Commn., 1952-71; pr. Assn., 1957; Fla. Baseball League, 1958-60; Bd. dirs. Palmdale Police Athletic League, Jacksonville, Jacksonville Marine Inc. Jacksonville. Named Super Market Man of Year, 1960; recipient award Sales and Mktg. Execs. Jacksonville, 1968. Mem. Fla. Assn. (pres. 1950-59), Fraternal Order Police, Sportsman C. (Jacksonville), Univ. Country Club, River Club, Ponte Vedra Shriners, Home: 7987 Hollywood Rd Jacksonville FL 32256-3400 Champ Food Stores Inc. 9143 Phillips Hwy Jacksonville FL 32216

JACKSON, KARL DION, government official: b. Salem, 1942. s. Walter Twelve and Jeannette (Dion) J. m. Joan Bush 1991; children: from previous marriage: Colin F., Andrea V., stepchild: Nathaniel T. Adm. BA, Princeton U., 1965; Ph.D. Postdoctoral fellow East-West Communications Inst., 1971-72; East-West Population Inst., 1972, asst. prof. dept. polit. Berkeley, 1972-80; asst. prof., 1980-82; spl. asst. to dep. as. Asia and Pacific Def. Dept., Washington, 1982-83; dep. dir., 1983-84; dep. asst. sec. def. East Asia and Pacific, 1986-88; sr. dir. for Asst. SEC, Washington, 1988-90; asst. for sec. V.P., Washington, 1991-; scholar in residence UN Asian ar. Inst., Bangkok, Thailand, 1977-78. Author: Traditional A. and Rebellion: A Study of Indonesian Political Behavior, (with Lucien W. Pye) Political Power and Communication, 1978, (with Hadi Soesastro) ASEAN Security and Economic, 1984, (with Wiatt Mungkanthai) U.S.-Thailand Policy (with Sukhumbhand Parbatra and Djwandjond J. Soedjarto) Global and International Context, 1986; editor: Cam. Rendezvous with Death, 1989. Mem. Am. Polit. Sci. Assn. Studies. Home: 3155 Tenneyson St NW Washington DC 20008 Office of the Vice Pres. The White House Washington DC 20503

JACKSON, KEITH JEROME, football player: b. Little 1965. Degree in communications, U. Okla., 1988. With 1988-; Named to Sporting News Coll. All-Am. team, 1986 All-Pro team, 1988-90, Pro Bowl team, 1988-90; recipient NFL Rookie of Yr. award, 1988. Office: Phila. Eagles Broad Ave Philadelphia PA 19148-5201

JACKSON, KENNETH ARTHUR, physicist, researcher: b. Ont., Can., Oct. 23, 1930. s. Arthur and Susanna (Vatcher) Della Olyan, June 20, 1952 (div.); children: Stacy Mar. Suzanne, Stuart Keith; m. Camilla M. Maruszewski, (div.) BS, U. Toronto, 1952, MS, 1953; PhD, Harvard Postdoctoral fellow, Harvard U., Cambridge, Mass., 1953 metallurgy Harvard U., 1958-62; mem. tech. staff Bell Lab N.J., 1962-67; head metallurgical lab.

The lineage ran from T.R. to T.R.'s protégé Henry Stimson, who became Franklin Roosevelt's secretary of war, to Stimson's deputy Harvey Bundy, to Harvey Bundy's son McGeorge Bundy, John F. Kennedy's national security adviser. Where does Bush fit?

The coincidence of the Gulf crisis and the publication of Godfrey Hodgson's biography of Stimson, *The Colonel* (see "The Stimsonian Institution" by Ronald Steel, page 44), has led some to see Bush in a Stimsonian, and therefore Rooseveltian, light. *Newsweek's* Evan Thomas, co-author of *The Wise Men*, writes that Bush "represents everything the old foreign policy establishment stood for" and "sounds exactly like the Col. Stimson of Hodgson's biography." Stimson—who gave a speech at Andover heard by the 16-year-old George, and who was present at a Skull and Bones ceremony attended by the future president—was the youthful Bush's hero.

But the best and the brightest of the Vietnam era were the last incarnation of the Rooseveltian elite. What followed from Vietnam was the rise of a Republicanism that made it necessary for Bush to repudiate that of his patrician forebears. Bush has the residual affect of his class, but his true line of descent is through his greatest political patron, Richard Nixon. Stimson had nothing but contempt for the denigrative method that challenged the legitimacy of one's opponents, the method well-honed by Nixon and reflexively employed by Bush. It is not difficult to imagine what the upright Stimson would have thought of Roger Ailes and John Sununu.

Bush's closeness to Nixon is pertinent now, for it is marked in his expansive view of the executive's war-making power. Bush's deep suspicion of Congress in matters of foreign policy is ingrained from the Nixon years. It was predictable that there would be a backlash. Bush failed to consult Congress before announcing, two days after the midterm election, his decision to double the number of U.S. troops in Saudi Arabia. This prompted two weeks of Senate hearings, which crystallized public queasiness about a war and which rallied much of the public behind the notion that sanctions would work. The latter was Bush's previous position, which he was now arguing against. His strategic murkiness and political arrogance had drawn Congress into the vacuum. He had limited the ambit of his power by acting as if it were unbounded. This was neither Rooseveltian nor Stimsonian, but Nixonian.

Just as Theodore Roosevelt was both gentleman and warrior without strain, his policies foreign and domestic were one. His vision of national greatness was comprehensive; and in this, perhaps, lies his greatest dissimilarity to George Bush. T.R. saw himself as personifying the capacity of the country for change. He fiercely believed that only by leading reform could he stand as the avatar of a rising power launching a new century. The Rough Rider's greatest battle was against the "timid" Republican conservatives he denounced as "the party of privilege." His belief in manly virtues was not simply for export.

John Hay, who had been Lincoln's personal secretary, was first William McKinley's and then Theodore

Roosevelt's secretary of state. In his eulogy for the assassinated McKinley, which also was an invocation of the coming age, Hay spoke intoxicating words that broke through the primal prohibitions against hubris: "The 'debtor nation' has become the chief creditor nation. The financial center of the world, which required thousands of years to journey from the Euphrates to the Thames and the Seine, seems passing to the Hudson between daybreak and dark. . . . The fathers are dead; the prophets are silent; the questions are new, and have no answer but in time. . . . The past gives no clue to the future. The fathers, where are they? and the prophets, do they live forever? We are ourselves the fathers! We are ourselves the prophets!"

Ninety years later George Bush closes the century that Theodore Roosevelt opened. The creditor nation is now the debtor nation; the sun seems to be setting on the Hudson and rising over Tokyo Bay; the executive deals in polls, not prophecy. In McCullough's White House lecture, he read aloud a cautionary statement in which T.R. had envisaged an American ruin. "The things that will destroy America," Roosevelt had said, "are prosperity at any price, safety first instead of duty first, a love of soft living and the get-rich-quick theory of life. This country will not be a permanently good place for any of us to live unless we make it a reasonably good place for all of us to live. Americanism is a question of spirit and conviction and purpose, not of creed or birthplace."

McCullough's talk was taped for future broadcast by the public television station in Rochester, New York. In the program Bush is interviewed about T.R. His thoughts inadvertently serve as a sharp counterpoint, for he echoes the Old Guard sentiments of William Howard Taft, the Skull and Bones man who succeeded Roosevelt, and whom Roosevelt helped bring down in the 1912 Bull Moose campaign. "It's a different time," Bush said woodenly, "much more security, many more constraints on a president." The fathers are dead, the prophets are silent. ●

ON THE HILL

SHADOW BOXING

By Jacob Weisberg

When Congress reconvenes on the morning of January 3, 1991, District of Columbia Shadow Senator Jesse Jackson will most likely be somewhere in the precincts of the Capitol. He will not, however, be standing on the Senate floor, or sitting in the Speaker's lobby, or napping in the

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Democratic cloakroom. After the new senators are sworn in, he will probably give a statement or hold a press conference. But it won't be from the Senate TV studio, because he won't be allowed to use it. Afterward he won't go to his office. He won't have an office.

When Jackson decided to seek the position of shadow senator earlier this year, he hoped that he might be seated, given an office and committee assignments, even invited to join debates on the floor. He now knows that none of this is likely to come to pass. Jackson met with the majority leader, Senator George Mitchell of Maine, before he was elected. Mitchell, according to Rainbow Coalition statehood coordinator Frank Watkins, "indicated his support for statehood" and told Jackson he would direct his staff to study the precedents for how to treat shadow legislators. Mitchell declines to comment on the issue, but according to Senate and party sources, he will tell Jackson when they next meet that there isn't much he can do for him. Any special indulgence or access would require approval from the Senate Rules Committee, a jealous guardian of tradition and protocol in the upper chamber. Charles Robb of Virginia, a statehood supporter, said: "I don't think there will be any move to treat him as anyone other than a professional lobbyist for a constituency."

Jackson's crusade was dealt another setback when financing for it was blocked. Following the example of others territories that petitioned for statehood, D.C. held a public referendum in 1980, which mandated elections for three shadow positions, two senators and a representative. Jackson persuaded the D.C. City Council finally to hold the elections this year after they had been postponed five times. The council declined, however, to appropriate funds to pay for staff salaries or expenses. Congress added insult to injury by forbidding the city to spend its own money on the lobbying effort. Jackson hoped to solve the problem by raising private funds. But according to an opinion issued by the General Accounting Office, he cannot even do that: private money donated to the effort automatically becomes public money, and therefore cannot be spent to promote statehood. Jackson says he will file a lawsuit challenging the GAO opinion. If it fails, he and shadow colleague Florence H. Pendleton won't even be able to rent office space on South Capitol Street.

When I interviewed Jackson after a recent press conference he held to protest the Department of Education's ruling against minority scholarships, he said that the perks and privileges of Senate membership were not the issue he cared about. "The press has spent a lot of time focusing on the bathrooms and the gymnasiums," he said. "This is about sovereignty. If we can fight to restore sovereignty in occupied Kuwait, if we can fight for sovereignty in occupied Eastern Europe, we can fight for sovereignty in occupied Washington."

Hyperbole aside, he is wise to frame the issue in terms of justice for the disfranchised voters of Washing-

ton rather than as a question of goodies for Jesse Jackson. If his campaign is viewed as an attempt to endow a position for himself in the Senate, it will generate little public sympathy, inside the District or out. But if Jackson casts the issue as one of fundamental fairness and equal rights (which it is), it may eventually gain momentum. The 1988 Democratic platform endorsed statehood for the District. The entire party leadership in both houses, except for Dan Rostenkowski of Illinois, is on record in support of it. The trick will be to make the Democrats pursue D.C. statehood in practice. Jackson needs to find a way to hold the party's feet to the fire.

According to Mark Plotkin, a political analyst at WAMU, the National Public Radio affiliate in Washington, Jackson's tenure will be judged by whether there's a vote on statehood; Washington can join the union by winning a simple majority in both houses. "Jackson feels that whatever he does in D.C., people will always vote for him," says Plotkin. "He'll be surprised with how angry people will be at the end of his term if the issue is no farther advanced than when he started."

Former Rainbow Coalition general counsel Jamin Raskin, a law professor at American University, believes that Jackson needs to apply pressure at two levels: "street heat" on the one hand, and an "elite strategy of negotiating with the establishment" on the other. Both tactics are problematic, however. The Rainbow Coalition is planning a mass mobilization for January 19, during the Martin Luther King holiday weekend, and has promised civil disobedience and a vigil in front of the White House. But as the histories of Operation PUSH and the Rainbow Coalition demonstrate, organizing is not Jackson's strong suit. A sparse turnout will indicate that he is no more serious about statehood than he is about the boycott of Nike sneakers he recently got excited over, then lost interest in. More important, it will show that District residents themselves remain apathetic about their status. "He needs a big crowd," says one source close to Jackson. "He should be getting in touch with his 500 favorite ministers right now."

The other arm of the strategy poses an even greater hazard. Jackson can present the party with a strong moral case and a strong ulterior motive: statehood for D.C. would mean two more Democrats in the Senate, in perpetuity. But Jackson's own presence may prove counterproductive. If he spends much time walking the Senate corridors, it won't be lost on his would-be colleagues that the first senator from "New Columbia" would be Jackson himself. The issue of statehood will conflate with the issue of Jesse. Democrats remain sensitive to the perception that they are knuckling under to Jackson's demands for better working conditions.

Jackson does have some allies in his fight. Senators Paul Simon of Illinois, Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, Al Gore of Tennessee, Robb of Virginia, and the newly elected Paul Wellstone of Minnesota all back his crusade. Kennedy has introduced statehood bills in the

last two sessions. But not one of these legislators has yet emerged as the vigorous champion the cause needs. "For a variety of reasons I think the time is not yet optimum for considering statehood," Robb says. If this is what his allies think, Jackson will need greater reserves of patience and diligence than he has demonstrated in past endeavors.

His time and credibility are running out. When Jackson decided not to run for mayor of D.C. in 1989, most recognized he wasn't up to a job that required extended commitment. "Jesse don't want to run nothing but his mouth," as Marion Barry succinctly put it. Jackson answered that he didn't want to preside over "occupied territory," which he began comparing to a South

African bantustan, and cast himself as the Nelson Mandela of D.C.'s liberation. Now even Jackson's supporters are saying he will be in trouble if he can't point his adopted people toward the promised land. His TV show, "Jesse Jackson," is a flop. His role as spokesman for Afro-America has been eclipsed by the ascendance of moderates Doug Wilder, the governor of Virginia, and Ron Brown, the Democratic National Committee chairman who used to be a Jackson ally. If Wilder runs for president in 1992, as he seems interested in doing, a third Jackson bid will seem redundant. If Wilder doesn't run, Jackson still faces the prospect of becoming the black Harold Stassen. The campaign for statehood could be Jesse's last chance to put up or shut up. ●

A comprehensive case for the use of force.

THE STAKES IN THE GULF

By Stephen J. Solarz

Ironies can sometimes be painful. I began my political career in 1966 as the campaign manager for one of the first anti-war congressional candidates in the country. Now, a quarter century later, I find myself supporting a policy in the Persian Gulf that might well lead to a war that many believe could become another Vietnam. Such a position is more and more anomalous, I know, in the Democratic Party. And yet I cannot accept, or be dissuaded by, the analogy with Vietnam.

In Vietnam no vital American interests were at stake. The crisis in the Gulf poses a challenge not only to fundamental American interests, but to essential American values. In Indochina the cost in blood and treasure was out of all proportion to the expected gains from a successful defense of South Vietnam. In the Gulf the potential costs of the American commitment are far outweighed by the benefits of a successful effort to implement the U.N. resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Iraq from Kuwait. The war in Vietnam dragged on for years and ended in an American defeat. A war in the Gulf, if it cannot be avoided, is likely to end with a decisive American victory in months, if not in weeks. Sometimes you are condemned to repeat the past if you *do* remember it—that is, if you draw the wrong lessons from it, and let the memory of the past distort your view of the present.

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STEPHEN J. SOLARZ is a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from New York.

The United States clearly has a vital interest in preventing Saddam Hussein from getting away with his invasion and annexation of Kuwait. An aggressive Iraq bent on the absorption of its neighbors represents a serious economic threat to American interests. A hostile Iraq armed with chemical, biological, and eventually nuclear weapons represents a "clear and present danger" to American security. And a lawless Iraq represents a direct challenge to our hopes for a new and more peaceful world order. Any one of these reasons would be sufficient to justify a firm American response to this brutal and unprovoked act of aggression. Together they make a compelling case for doing whatever needs to be done, in concert with our coalition partners, to secure the withdrawal of Iraqi forces from Kuwait and to establish a more stable balance of power in one of the most volatile and strategically important parts of the world.

There is, for a start, the question of oil. If Saddam succeeds in incorporating Kuwait into Iraq, he will be in a position to control, by intimidation or invasion, the oil resources of the entire Gulf. This would enable him, and him alone, to determine not only the price, but also the production levels, of up to half the proven oil reserves in the world. This is not simply a question of the price of gas at the pump. It is a matter of the availability of the essential energy that we and our friends around the world need to heat our homes, fuel our factories, and keep our economies vigorous.

The United States needs a comprehensive energy

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