

# Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

## Clinton Library

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001. envelope	Junious Montgomery to Reed (partial) (1 page)	nd	P6/b(6)
002. notes	handwritten, meeting w POTUS (partial) (1 page)	09/13/1997	P5

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Domestic Policy Council  
Bruce Reed (Admin)  
OA/Box Number: 17658

### FOLDER TITLE:

Admin Files - Mementos

2011-0299-S

kc459

### 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]
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- 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]

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- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
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**Bruce N. Reed**  
**Assistant to the President for Domestic Policy**  
**Admin Files Retired to Records**  
**September 2000**  
**(Box 2 of 3)**

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Momentos

Personnel (AIDS Director)

Personnel (SSA Vacancy 1997)

Personnel

Resumes

POTUS Materials (1998/1999)

POTUS Interview with Columnists (3/7/95)

POTUS Meeting/Camp David (1/14/95)

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**17658**

*NAA 14902*

Momentos

Political Memo

# Clinton, Most Charming at a Distance

By TODD S. PURDUM

WASHINGTON, Sept. 26 — To meet Bill Clinton is to like him, even his enemies agree. But to know him is not necessarily to love him, even his friends acknowledge.

In fact, it is the people who know this President best — from his own former aides to his wary fellow Democrats in Congress — who have been most disappointed and angry about his handling of the Monica Lewinsky matter, and who have held it against him more harshly than a detached and distant public.

Mr. Clinton has long been convinced that if he could simply meet every voter in person, he would win in a landslide, and that is how he has always campaigned — hand to hand, eye to eye, with galvanic effect. Even now, a sympathetic public overwhelmingly approves of his performance in office, although barely half of those surveyed think he can be trusted to keep his word.

But among those on Capitol Hill who have borne the burden of the President's broken word personally in the past — on questions of legislative policy or political strategy — an abiding bitterness lingers, in a way that has made it hard for the White House to rally much personal support for the President with party leaders as he strives to head off an impeachment inquiry.

"I think some who deal with him find themselves — and here I use a term advisedly — seduced by him," said Robert B. Reich, Mr. Clinton's former Secretary of Labor and a friend since their days as Rhodes scholars 30 years ago. "And then a day or two, or a week, or a month later, they wonder where he is, why he's not calling them, or why he's not as close a chum as his charm had suggested. So he may confuse some people, and this is in addition to keeping some distance from the Congressional Democrats on policy grounds."

Mr. Clinton got off to a rocky start with Congress in 1993, when he pressed House Democrats to pass a controversial energy tax based on the number of British thermal units, or B.T.U.'s, generated by various fuels. When Senate Democrats opposed the idea, Mr. Clinton promptly dropped it, and angry House Democrats began vowing that they would never again be "B.T.U.-ed."

Similarly, Mr. Clinton passed his deficit reduction plan in 1993 by a single vote, but then, two years later at a fund-raiser with wealthy Texans, declared that he thought the

measure had raised taxes too much, leading Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York to declare: "He doesn't understand that he's conceding the principles."

Especially since the failure of his proposed health care overhaul and the Republican takeover of Congress in 1994, Mr. Clinton has pursued an individualized politics of "triangulation" that seeks to straddle the orthodoxies of both parties. This has particularly alienated the Democratic leadership in the House, which is more reflexively liberal on issues from trade to welfare than he is.

At the same time, to the surprise and disappointment of his aides, Mr. Clinton has largely failed to develop many close personal relationships on Capitol Hill, or to exploit the political potential of the White House as "the single greatest home-court advan-

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So outgoing, yet so few personal ties with people on Capitol Hill.

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tage in the modern world," as Michael Douglas's character described it in the movie "The American President."

Democratic members complain about slights large and small, from not being asked to movies at the White House to discovering that White House aides were using the House Democratic leader's office to lobby Republicans on budget legislation last year, while keeping Democrats in the dark. That so angered aides to the leader, Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, that they pulled out the telephone lines in their office that are normally reserved for White House use.

"On a personal basis, the Clinton relationships on the Hill are just practically nil," said one person who is close to Mr. Gephardt, speaking on the condition of anonymity. "The thing that drives Dick absolutely crazy is that every time they have a conversation, Clinton spends all his time talking about polling numbers."

The House Democrats' biggest complaint is that Mr. Clinton's problems seem all but certain to keep them from winning back a majority in their chamber, something that

seemed possible just months ago.

Mr. Clinton is hardly the first President to have rocky relations with his own party. One former Democratic Speaker of the House, the late Thomas P. O'Neill Jr., used to complain that he was invited to the White House more often in the first few months of Ronald Reagan's tenure than in all of Jimmy Carter's four years. But Mr. Clinton's personal gregariousness would seem to make him well suited to socializing in a way that Mr. Carter never could.

"It's a mystery to me," said the historian Doris Kearns Goodwin, who has written about Presidents from F.D.R. to L.B.J. "You'd think his natural temperament would be totally at ease schmoozing with these characters on the Hill, playing cards or whatever. Those kinds of moments together transcend political battles and forge friendships that will come to the fore in difficult times."

One senior aide to the Democratic leadership said of the President: "Look who he hangs out with. Hollywood types."

It is an irony of Mr. Clinton's reputation for friendship — and his life-long card-file of thousands of "Friends of Bill" — that he has virtually no intimates, especially among his political peers.

"He likes people to be his audience," said one longtime friend and adviser. "He loves to tell stories, to have long discourses. But that's different from a relationship that's based on mutuality, in which there's a kind of genuine exchange. He loves to charm, to conquer, to get people to admire and love him. But that's a different set of human interactions than friendship. It's a one-way charm street."

Another acquaintance of the President described how the power he exuded on initial greeting faded after a long dinner, in which Mr. Clinton held forth at length, but never really asked his dinner partner's opinions. In sum, Mr. Clinton's celebrated empathy may be most effective from a distance.

When Democrats began to rally this week, it was against the perceived excesses of their Republican colleagues far more than in support of Mr. Clinton, and Mr. Gephardt has told the Democratic caucus that his first allegiance is to them and their re-election campaigns, and only second to the President.

Congressional aides say relations with the Democrats were better when Leon E. Panetta, a former



Associated Press

Robert B. Reich, former Labor Secretary, has been Bill Clinton's friend since their days as Rhodes scholars 30 years ago.

nine-term Congressman from California, was White House Chief of Staff, and Mr. Panetta is now among those sounding out Congressional prospects for some punishment short of impeachment. But even under Mr. Panetta, senior Democratic aides said, members learned that the President had decided to sign the giant welfare bill in 1996 only by watching Mr. Clinton announce it to the world on CNN.

Some distance was all but inevitable, since Mr. Clinton campaigned in 1992 not only as an outsider, but as a candidate who aimed to blend the best of left and right to achieve bold change in fields from health care to welfare to education. But by the time of his 1996 re-election campaign, Mr. Clinton had decided to abandon many of his and his party's most ambitious goals.

"The triangulation strategy was an implicit repudiation of the Democrats' agenda," Mr. Reich said. "The

President positioned himself in such a way that would be seen somehow as above partisan politics. In point of fact, the V-chip and school uniforms and the rest didn't add up to much. It was more of a mood. There's not a core constituency ready to fall on its sword because no mandate has been established."

So it is perhaps no accident that one of Mr. Clinton's senior advisers responded to the President's confession in the Lewinsky case by complaining, "I care more about his agenda than he does," or that George Stephanopoulos, the former aide who best read his boss's moods and absorbed his anger, has now become one of his harshest critics.

One former senior aide, in trying to explain why Mr. Clinton's charms fade with familiarity, said: "I just think it's the huge capacity to disappoint. It's all wrapped up in his strengths. He makes you feel so good, which makes you feel so bad."

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Momenfor

# Reviews

## Clinton Agonistes JOAN DIDION

October 22, 1998

Referral to the United States House of Representatives  
pursuant to Title 28, United States Code, §595(c)  
Submitted by the Office of the Independent Counsel  
September 9, 1998

### 1.

No one who ever passed through an American public high school could have watched the current president of the United States running for office in 1992 and failed to recognize the familiar predatory sexuality of the provincial adolescent. The man was, Jesse Jackson said that year to another point, "nothing but an appetite." No one who followed his appearances on *The Road to The White House* on C-SPAN could have missed the reservoir of self-pity, the quickness to blame, the narrowing of the eyes, as in a wildlife documentary, when things did not go his way: a response so reliable that aides on Jerry Brown's 1992 campaign looked for situations in which it could be provoked.

The famous tendency of the candidate to take a less than forthcoming approach to embarrassing questions had already been documented and discussed, most exhaustively in the matter of his 1969 draft status, and he remained the front-runner. The persistent but initially unpublished rumors about extramarital roving had been, once Gennifer Flowers told her story to the *Star*, published and acknowledged, and he remained on his feet. "I have acknowledged wrongdoing," he had told America during his and his wife's rather premonitory *60 Minutes* appearance on Super Bowl Sunday of that year. "I have acknowledged causing pain in my marriage. I think most Americans who are watching this tonight, they'll know what we're saying, they'll get it, and they'll feel that we have been more than candid. And I think what the press has to decide is, are we going to engage in a game of gotcha?"

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Nothing that is now known about the current president of the United States, in other words, was not known before the New Hampshire primary in 1992. The implicit message in his August testimony to the Office of the Independent Counsel was not different in kind from that made explicit in January of 1992: *I think most Americans who are watching this...they'll know what we're saying, they'll get it, and they'll feel that we have been more than candid.* By the time of the 1992 general election, the candidate was before us as he appears today: a more detailed and realized character than that presented in the Office of the Independent Counsel's oddly novelistic *Referral to the United States House of Representatives* but recognizably drawn to similar risk, voraciously needy, deeply fractured, and yet there, a force to contend with, a possessor of whatever manna accrues to those who have fought themselves and survived. The flaws already apparent in 1992 were by no means unreported, but neither, particularly in those parts of the country recently neutralized by their enshrinement as "the heartland," were they seized as occasions for rhetorical outrage: "With 16 million Americans unemployed, 40 million Americans without health care and 3 million Americans homeless, here's what we have to say about presidential aspirant Bill Clinton's alleged previous marital infidelity," the *Peoria Journal-Star* declared on its editorial page at the time of the *60 Minutes* appearance. "So what? And that's all."

There were those for whom the candidate's clear personal volatility suggested the possibility of a similar evanescence on matters of ideology or policy, but even the coastal opinion leaders seemed willing to grant him a *laissez-passer* on this question of sex: "To what degree, if any, is the private action relevant to the duties of the public office?" the *Los Angeles Times* asked on its editorial page in January 1992. "Shouldn't our right to know about a candidate's sex life be confined...to offenses such as rape, harassment or sex discrimination?" The *New York Times* report on the *60 Minutes* interview, which was headlined "Clinton Defends His Privacy And Says the Press Intruded" and appeared on page A14, was followed the next day by an editorial ("Leers, Smears and Governor Clinton") not only commending the candidate for having drawn a line "between idle curiosity and responsible attention" but noting that "he won't provide details and he need not, unless it develops that his private conduct arguably touches his public

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## JOAN DIDION

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### Clinton Agonistes

performance or fitness for office." The same day, January 28, 1992, A.M. Rosenthal wrote in the *Times* that Governor and Mrs. Clinton had "presented to the American public a gift and a testing opportunity":

The gift is that they treated us as adults. The opportunity is for us to act that way.... We can at least treasure the hope that Americans would be fed up with the slavering inquisition on politicians' sexual history and say to hell with that and the torturers. That would be a thank-you card worthy of the gift from the Clinton couple—the presumption that Americans have achieved adulthood, at last.

Few in the mainstream press, in 1992, demanded a demonstration of "contrition" from the candidate. Few, in 1992, demanded "full remorse," a doubtful concept even in those venues, courtrooms in which criminal trials have reached the penalty phase, where "remorse" is most routinely invoked. Few, in 1992, spoke of the United States as so infantilized as to require a president beyond personal reproach. That so few did this then, and so many have done this since, has been construed by some as evidence that the interests and priorities of the press have changed. In fact the interests and priorities of the press have remained reliably the same: then as now, the press could be relied upon to report a rumor or a hint down to the ground (tree it, bag it, defoliate the forest for it, destroy the village for it), but only insofar as that rumor or hint gave promise of advancing the story of the day, the shared narrative, the broad line of whatever story was at the given moment commanding the full resources of the reporters covering it and the columnists commenting on it and the on-tap experts analyzing it on the talk shows. (The 1998 *Yearbook of Experts, Authorities & Spokespersons* tellingly provides, for producers with underdeveloped Rolodexes of their own, 1,477 telephone numbers to call for those guests "who will drive the news issues in the next year.") In *Spin Cycle*, a book in

which Howard Kurtz of *The Washington Post* endeavors to demonstrate the skill of "the Clinton propaganda machine" (similarly described by Joe Klein, despite impressive evidence to the contrary, as "the most sophisticated communications apparatus in the history of American politics") at setting the agenda for the press, there appears this apparently ingenuous description of how the press itself sets its agenda:

A front-page exclusive would ripple through the rest of the press corps, dominate the briefing, and most likely wind up on the network news. The newsmagazine reporters were not quite as influential as in years past, but they could still change the dialogue or cement the conventional wisdom with a cover story or a behind-the-scenes report. Two vital groups of reinforcements backed up the White House regulars...one was the columnists and opinion-mongers—Jonathan Alter at *Newsweek*, Joe Klein at *The New Yorker*, William Safire and Maureen Dowd at the *New York Times*, E.J. Dionne and Richard Cohen at the *Washington Post*—who could quickly change the zeitgeist...the other was the dogged band of investigative reporters—Jeff Gerth at the *Times*, Bob Woodward at the *Post*, Glenn Simpson at the *Wall Street Journal*, Alan Miller at the *Los Angeles Times*...

Once the "Zeitgeist" has been agreed upon, any unrelated event, whatever its significance, becomes either non-news (Robert Scheer, in his *Los Angeles Times* review of *Spin Cycle*, noted that its index included eighteen references to Paula Jones and sixteen to John Huang but none to Saddam Hussein) or, if sufficiently urgent, a news brief: on August 16 of this year, after hearing flash updates on the Omagh bombing in Northern Ireland ("worst attack in almost thirty years of violence...latest figures as we have it are 28 people dead...220 people injured, 103...still in hospital") and on the American embassy bombings in East Africa, Wolf Blitzer, on a two-hour *Late Edition with Wolf Blitzer* otherwise exclusively devoted to the "legal ramifications, political considerations, and historic consequences" of Monica Lewinsky, said this:

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## JOAN DIDION

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### Clinton Agonistes

"Catherine Bond, reporting live from Nairobi, thanks for joining us. Turning now to the story that has all of Washington holding its breath...."

In 1992, as in any election year, the story that had all of Washington holding its breath was the campaign, and since the interpreters of the campaign, taking their cue from the political professionals, had early on certified Governor Clinton as the most electable of the Democratic candidates, his personal failings could serve only as a step in his quest, a test of his ability to prevail. Before the New Hampshire primary campaign was even fully underway, Governor Clinton was reported to be the Democratic candidate with "centrist credentials," the Democratic candidate who "offered an assessment of the state of the American economy that borrows as much from Republicans like Jack Kemp as it does from liberals," the Democratic candidate who could go to California and win support from "top Republican fundraisers," the candidate, in short, who "scored well with party officials and strategists." A survey of Democratic National Committee members had shown Clinton in the lead. The late Ronald H. Brown, at the time chairman of the Democratic Party, had been reported, still before a single vote was cast in New Hampshire, to have pressured Mario Cuomo to remove his name from the New York primary ballot, so that a divisive favorite-son candidacy would not impede the chosen front-runner.

By the morning of January 26, 1992, the Sunday of the *60 Minutes* appearance and shortly after the candidate sealed his centrist credentials by allowing the execution of the brain-damaged Rickey Ray Rector to proceed in Arkansas, William Schneider, in the *Los Angeles Times*, was awarding Governor Clinton the coveted "Big Mo," noting that "the Democratic Party establishment is falling in line behind Clinton." In a party that reserves a significant percentage of its convention votes (18 percent in 1996) for "superdelegates," the seven-hundred-some elected and party officials not bound by any popular vote, the message sent by

this early understanding among the professionals was clear, as it had been when the professionals settled on Michael Dukakis for 1988: the train was now leaving the station, and, since the campaign, as "story," requires that the chosen candidates be seen as contenders who will go the distance, all inconvenient baggage, including "the character issue," would be left on the platform. What would go on the train was what Joe Klein, echoing the note of romantic credulity in his own 1992 coverage of the candidate Bill Clinton (that was before the *Zeitgeist* moved on), recently recalled in *The New Yorker* as the "precocious fizz" of the War Room, "the all-nighters...about policy or philosophy," the candidate who "loved to talk about serious things" and "seems to be up on every social program in America."

## 2.

It was January 16 of this year when Kenneth W. Starr obtained authorization, by means of a court order opaquely titled "*In re* Madison Guaranty Savings & Loan Association," to extend his languishing Whitewater inquiry to the matter of Monica Lewinsky. It was also January 16 when Monica Lewinsky was detained for eleven hours and twenty-five minutes in room 1016 of the Ritz Carlton Hotel in Pentagon City, Virginia, where, according to the Office of the Independent's Counsel's log of the "meeting," the FBI agent who undertook to read Miss Lewinsky "her rights as found on the form FD-395, Interrogation, Advice of Rights" was, for reasons the log does not explain, "unable to finish reading the FD-395." Miss Lewinsky herself testified:

Then Jackie Bennett [of the Office of the Independent Counsel] came in and there was a whole bunch of other people and the room was crowded and he was saying to me, you know, you have to make a decision. I had wanted to call my mom, they weren't going to let me call my attorney, so I just—I just wanted to call my mom and they—Then Jackie Bennett said, "You're 24, you're smart, you're old enough, you don't need to call your mommy."

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## JOAN DIDION

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### Clinton Agonistes

It was January 17 when President Clinton, in the course of giving his deposition in the civil suit brought against him by Paula Corbin Jones, either did or did not spring the perjury trap that Kenneth Starr either had or had not set. By the morning of January 21, when both Susan Schmidt in *The Washington Post* and ABC News correspondent Jackie Judd on *Good Morning America* jumped the stakes by quoting "sources" saying that Monica Lewinsky was on tape with statements that the President and Vernon Jordan had told her to lie, the "character issue" had gone from idle to full throttle, with Sam Donaldson and George Stephanopoulos and Jonathan Alter already on air talking about "impeachment proceedings."

In most discussions of how and why this matter came so incongruously to escalate, the press has of course been criticized, and has in turn been quick to criticize itself (or, in the phrasing preferred by many, since it suggests that any objection rests on hair-splitting, to "flagellate" itself), citing excessive and in some cases erroneous coverage. Perhaps because not all of the experts, authorities, and spokespersons driving this news had extensive experience with the kind of city-side beat on which it is taken for granted that the DA's office will leak the cases they doubt they can make, selective prosecutorial hints had become embedded in the ongoing story as fact. "Loose attribution of sources abounded," Jules Witcover wrote in the March/April *Columbia Journalism Review*, although, since he tended to attribute the most egregious examples to "journalistic amateurs" and "journalistic pretenders" (Arianna Huffington and Matt Drudge), he could still express "hope," based on what he discerned in March as "a tapering off of the mad frenzy of the first week or so," that, among "established, proven professional practitioners," the performance had been "a mere lapse of standards in the heat of a fast-breaking, incredibly competitive story of major significance."

For the same *CJR*, the cover line of which was "Where We Went Wrong... and What We Do Now," a number of other reporters, editors, and news executives were queried, and expressed similar hopes. The possibility of viewer confusion

between entertainment and news shows was mentioned. The necessity for more careful differentiation among different kinds of leaks was mentioned. The "new technology" and "hypercompetition" and "the speed of news cycles these days" were mentioned, references to the way in which the Internet and the multiplication of cable channels had collapsed the traditional cyclical presentation of news into a twenty-four-hour stream of provisional raw takes. "We're in a new world in terms of the way information flows to the nation," James O'Shea, deputy managing editor for news of the *Chicago Tribune*, said. (The Lewinsky story had in fact first broken not in the traditional media but on the Internet, in a 1:11 AM January 18 posting on *The Drudge Report*.) "The days when you can decide not to print a story because it's not well enough sourced are long gone. When a story gets into the public realm, as it did with the *Drudge Report*, then you have to characterize it, you have to tell your readers, 'This is out there, you've probably been hearing about it on TV and the Internet. We have been unable to substantiate it independently.' And then give them enough information to judge the validity of it."

That the "story" itself might in this case be anything other than, in Witcover's words, "a fast-breaking, incredibly competitive story of major significance" was questioned by only one panelist, Anthony Lewis of *The New York Times*, who characterized "the obsession of the press with sex and public officials" as "crazy," but allowed that "after Linda Tripp went to the prosecutor, it became hard to say we shouldn't be covering this." The more general attitude seemed to be that there might have been an excess here or an error there, but the story itself was important by definition, significant because it was commanding the full resources of everyone on it—not unlike a campaign, which this story, in that it offered

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## JOAN DIDION

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### Clinton Agonistes

a particularly colorful version of the personalized "horse race" narrative that has become the model for most American political reporting, in fact resembled. "This is a very valid story of a strong-willed prosecutor and a president whose actions have been legitimately questioned," Walter Isaacson, the managing editor of *Time*, said. "A case involving sex can be a very legitimate story, but we can't let our journalistic standards lapse simply because the sexual element makes everybody over-excited."

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This, then, was a story "involving sex," a story in which there was a "sexual element," but, as we have so frequently heard, it was not about sex, just as Whitewater, in the words of one of the several score editorials to this point published by *The Wall Street Journal* over the years, was "not merely about a land deal." What both stories were about, of course (although in the absence of both sex and evidence against the President one of them had proved a harder sell), was which of the contenders, the "strong-willed prosecutor" or his high-placed target, would go the distance, win the race. "The next 48 to 72 hours are critical," Tim Russert was saying on January 21 on MSNBC, where the daily recalibration of such sudden-death scenarios would by August raise the cable's Nielsen households from 49,000 a year before to 197,000. "I think his presidency is numbered in days," Sam Donaldson was saying by Sunday of the same week.

"On the high-status but low-interest White House beat, there is no story as exciting as that of the fall of a president," Jacob Weisberg noted in *Slate* in March. The President, everyone by then agreed, was "toast." The President "had to go," or "needed to go." The reasons the President needed to go had seemed, those last days in January and into February, crisp, easy to explain, grounded as they were in the galvanizing felony prospects set adrift without attribution by the Office of the Independent Counsel: obstruction of justice, subornation of perjury. Then, as questions threatened to slow the story (Was it not unusual to prosecute someone for perjury in a civil suit? Did the chronology present a

circumstantial case for, or actually against, obstruction? If someone lied in a deposition about a matter later ruled not essential to and so inadmissible in the case at hand, as Lewinsky had been ruled in *Jones v. Clinton*, was it in fact perjury?), the reasons the President "needed to go" became less crisp, more subjective, more a matter of "the mood here in the capital," and so, by definition, less open to argument from those not there in the capital.

*This story was definitely moving*, as they kept saying on MSNBC. By April 1, when US District Judge Susan Webber Wright rendered the possibility of any felony technically remote by dismissing *Jones v. Clinton* altogether, the story had already rolled past its inconvenient legal (or "legalistic," a much-used word by then) limitations: ten weeks after America first heard the name Monica Lewinsky and still in the absence of any allegation bearing on the President's performance of his duties, the reasons the President needed to go were that he had been "weakened," that he would be "unable to function." The President's own former chief of staff, Leon Panetta, had expressed concern about "the slow, drip-drip process and the price he's paying in terms of his ability to lead the country." When congressional staff members were asked in late March where they believed the situation was leading, 21 percent of Democratic staff members (43 percent of Republican) had foreseen, in the absence of resignation, impeachment proceedings.

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The story was positioned, in short, for the satisfying long haul. By August 17, when the President confirmed the essential fact in the testimony Monica Lewinsky had given the grand jury eleven days before, virtually every "news analyst" on the Eastern Seaboard was on air (we saw the interiors of many attractive summer houses) talking about "the President's credibility," about "can he lead," or "still govern in any reasonably effective manner," questions most cogently raised that week by Garry Wills in *Time* and, to a

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**Clinton Agonistes**

different point, by Thomas L. Friedman in *The New York Times*. Proceeding from a belief both in President Clinton's underlying honor and in the redemptive power, when he was faced with crippling harassment, of the "principled resignation," Wills had tried to locate the homiletic possibilities in the dilemma, the opportunities for spiritual growth that could accrue to the country and the President through resignation. The divergence between this argument and that made by Friedman was instructive. Friedman had seemed to be offering "can he lead" mainly as a strategy, an argument with which the professionals of the political process, who were increasingly bewildered by the public's apparent disinclination to join the rush to judgment by then general in the columns and talk shows, might most adroitly reeducate that "substantial majority" who "still feel that Mr. Clinton should remain in office."

In other words we had arrived at a dispiriting and familiar point, and would be fated to remain there even as telephone logs and Epass Access Control Reports and pages of grand-jury testimony floated down around us: "the disconnect," as it was now called, between what the professionals—those who held public office, those who worked for them, and those who wrote about them—believed to be self-evident and what a majority of Americans believed to be self-evident. "If you step back a bit, it still doesn't look like a constitutional crisis," former federal prosecutor E. Lawrence Barcella told the *Los Angeles Times* to this point. "This is still a case about whether the President had sex with someone half his age. The American people have understood—certainly better than politicians, lawyers and the press—that if this is ultimately about sex, it's really no one else's business. There are acceptable lies and unacceptable lies, and lying about someone's sex life is one of those tolerated lies."

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Ten days after the President's August 17 admission to the nation, or ten days into the endless tape loop explicating its failings, Mr. Clinton's own polls, according to *The Washington Post*, showed pretty

much what everyone else's polls then showed and would continue to show, notwithstanding the release first of Kenneth Starr's "narrative" and "grounds for impeachment" and then of Mr. Clinton's videotaped testimony and 3,183 pages of "supporting documents": that a majority of the public had more or less believed all along that the President had some sort of involvement with Monica Lewinsky ("Cheat once, cheat twice, there's probably a whole line of 'em," a thirty-four-year-old woman told Democratic pollster Peter Hart in a focus session attended by the *Los Angeles Times*), continued to see it as a private rather than a political matter, believed Kenneth Starr to be the kind of sanctimonious hall monitor with sex on the brain they had avoided during their formative years (as in the jump-rope rhyme *Rooty-toot-toot! Rooty-toot-toot!/There go the boys from the Institute!/They don't smoke and they don't chew/And they don't go with the girls who do*), and, even as they acknowledged the gravity of lying under oath, did not wish to see the President removed from office.

The charge that he tried to conceal a personally embarrassing but not illegal liaison had not, it seemed, impressed most Americans as serious. Whether or not he had ever asked Vernon Jordan to call Ron Perelman and whether Vernon Jordan had in fact done so before or after the subpoena was issued to Monica Lewinsky had not, it seemed, much mattered to these citizens. There had seemed to be, outside the capital, a general recognition that the entire "crisis," although mildly entertaining, represented politics-as-usual, particularly since it had evolved from a case, the 1994 *Jones v. Clinton*, that would have probably never been brought and certainly never been funded had Mr. Clinton not been elected president. For Thomas L. Friedman, the way around this was to produce more desirable polling results by refocusing the question, steering the issue safely past the shoals of "should he be president," which was the essence of what the polls were asking. "What might actually influence the public most," Friedman wrote, "is the question of 'can' Mr. Clinton still govern in any reasonably effective manner."

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Since taking this argument to its logical conclusion raised, for a public demonstrably impatient with what it had come with reason to see as a self-interested political class, certain other questions (If the President couldn't govern, who wouldn't let him? Was it likely that they would have let a lame duck govern anyway? What in fact was "governing," and did we want it?), most professionals fell back to a less vulnerable version of what the story was: a version so simple, so sentimental, as to brook no argument, no talking back from "the American people," who were increasingly seen as recalcitrant children, fecklessly resistant to responsible guidance. The story, William J. Bennett told us on *Meet the Press*, was about the "moral and intellectual disarmament" that befalls a nation when its president is not "being a decent example" and "teaching kids the difference between right and wrong." The story, Cokie Roberts told us in the New York *Daily News*, was about reinforcing the lesson "that people who act immorally and lie get punished." The story, William Kristol told us on *This Week*, was about the President's "defiance," his "contempt," his "refusal to acknowledge some standards of public morality."

Certain pieties were repeated to the point where they could be referred to in shorthand. Although most Americans had an instinctive sense that Monica Lewinsky could well have been, as the *Referral* would later reveal her to have been, a less than entirely passive participant in whatever happened, we heard about the situational inviolability of interns (interns were "given into our care," interns were "lent to us by their parents") until Cokie Roberts's censorious cry to an insufficiently outraged congresswoman ("But with an *intern*?") could stand alone, a verdict that required no judge or jury. We heard repeatedly about "our children," or "our kids," who were, as presented, avid consumers of the *Nightly News* in whose presence sex had never before been mentioned and discussions of the presidency were routine. "I'd like to be able to tell my children, 'You should tell the truth,'" Stuart Taylor of the *National Journal* told us on *Meet the Press*. "I'd like to be able to tell them, 'You should respect the President.'

And I'd like to be able to tell them both things at the same time." Jonathan Alter, in *Newsweek*, spoke of the President as someone "who has made it virtually impossible to talk to your kids about the American presidency or let them watch the news."

"I approach this as a mother," Cokie Roberts said on *This Week*. "We have a right to say to this president, 'What you have done is an example to our children that's a disgrace,'" William J. Bennett said on *Meet the Press*. The apparent inability of the public to grasp this *Kinder-Kirche* point (perhaps because not all Americans could afford the luxury of idealizing their own children) had itself become an occasion for outrage, and scorn: the public was too "complacent," or too "prosperous," or too "fixed on the Dow Jones." The public in fact became the unindicted co-conspirator: "This ought to be something that outrages us, makes us ashamed of him," Mona Charen complained on *Late Edition with Wolf Blitzer*. "This casts shame on the entire country because he behaved that way and all of the nation seems to be complicit now because they aren't rising up in righteous indignation."

This was the impasse (or, as it turned out, the box canyon) that led many into a scenario destined to prove wishful at best: "The American people," we heard repeatedly, would cast off their complicity when they were actually forced by the report of the Independent Counsel to turn their attention from the Dow and face what Thomas L. Friedman, in the *Times*, called "the sordid details that will come out from Ken Starr's investigation." The report, *Fox News* promised, would detail "activities that most Americans would describe as unusual." These details, *Newsweek* promised, would make Americans "want to throw up." "Specifics about a half-dozen sex acts," *Newsday* promised, had been provided "during an unusual

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two-hour session August 26 in which Lewinsky gave sworn testimony in Starr's downtown office, not before the grand jury."

This is arresting, and not to be brushed over. On August 6, Monica Lewinsky had told the grand jury that sexual acts had occurred. On August 17, the President had tacitly confirmed this both in his testimony to the grand jury and in his televised address to the nation. Given this sequence, the "unusual two-hour session August 26" might have seemed, to some, unnecessary, even excessive, not least because of the way in which, despite the full knowledge of the prosecutors that the details elicited in this session would be disseminated to the world in two weeks under the *Referral* headings "November 15 Sexual Encounter," "November 17 Sexual Encounter," "December 31 Sexual Encounter," "January 7 Sexual Encounter," "January 21 Sexual Encounter," "February 4 Sexual Encounter and Subsequent Phone Calls," "March 31 Sexual Encounter," "Easter Telephone Conversations and Sexual Encounter," "February 28 Sexual Encounter," and "March 29 Sexual Encounter," certain peculiar and warped proprieties had been so pruriently observed. "In deference to Lewinsky and the explicit nature of her testimony," *Newsday* reported, "all the prosecutors, defense lawyers and stenographers in the room during the session were women."

Since the "explicit nature of the testimony," the "unusual activity," the "throw-up details" everyone seemed to know about (presumably because they had been leaked by the Office of the Independent Counsel) turned out to involve masturbation, it was hard not to wonder if those in the know might not be suffering some sort of rhetorical autointoxication, a kind of rapture of the feed. The average age of first sexual intercourse in this country has been for some years sixteen, and is younger in many venues. Since the average age of first marriage in this country is twenty-five for women and twenty-seven for men, sexual activity outside marriage occurs among Americans for an average of nine to eleven years. Six of every ten marriages in this country are likely to end in divorce, a significant percentage of those who

divorce doing so after engaging in extramarital sexual activity.

As of the date of the most recent Census, there were in this country 4.1 million households headed by unmarried couples. More than 35 percent of those households included children. Seventh-graders in some schools in this country were as early as the late 1970s reading the Boston Women's Health Book Collective's *Our Bodies, Ourselves*, which explained the role of masturbation in sexuality and the use of foreign objects in masturbation. The notion that Americans apparently willing to forgive a dalliance in the Oval Office would go pale at its rather commonplace details seemed puzzling in the extreme, as did the professed inability to understand why these Americans might favor the person who had engaged in a common sexual act over the person who had elicited the details of that act as evidence for a public stoning.

But of course these members of what Howard Fineman recently defined on MSNBC as "the national political class," the people "who read the *Hotline* or watch cable television political shows such as this one," were not talking about Americans at large. They did not know Americans at large. They occasionally heard from one, in a focus group or during the Q&A after a lecture date, but their attention, since it was focused on the political process, which had come to represent the concerns not of the country at large but of the organized pressure groups that increasingly controlled it, remained remote. When Howard Fineman, during the same MSNBC appearance, spoke of "the full-scale panic" that he detected "both here in Washington and out around the country," he was referring to calls he had made to "a lot of Democratic consultants, pollsters, media people and so forth," as well as to candidates: "For example one in Wisconsin, a woman running for the Democratic seat up there, she said she's beginning to get calls and

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questions from average folks wanting to know what her view of Bill Clinton is."

"Average folks," however, do not call their elected representatives, nor do they attend the events where the funds get raised and the questions get asked. The citizens who do are the citizens with access, the citizens with an investment, the citizens who have a special interest. When Rep. Tom Coburn (R-Okahoma) reported to *The Washington Post* that during three days in September he received five hundred telephone calls and 850 e-mails on the question of impeachment, he would appear to have been reporting, for the most part, less on "average folks" than on constituents who already knew, or had been provided, his telephone number or e-mail address; reporting, in other words, on an organized blitz campaign. When Gary Bauer of the Family Research Council seized the moment by test-running a drive for the presidency with a series of Iowa television spots demanding Mr. Clinton's resignation, he would appear to have been interested less in reaching "average folks" than in galvanizing certain caucus voters.

When these people on the political talk shows spoke about the inability of Americans to stomach "the details," then, they were speaking, in code, about a certain kind of American, a minority of the population but the minority to whom recent campaigns have increasingly been pitched. They were talking politics. They were talking about the "values" voter, the "pro-family" voter, and so complete by now was their isolation from the country in which they lived that they seemed willing to reserve its franchise for, in other words give it over to, that key core vote.

"People are not as sophisticated as this appears to be," William Kristol had said hopefully on *This Week* the day before the President's televised address. "We all know, inside the Beltway, what's in that report," Republican strategist Mary Matalin said on *Meet the Press*. "And I don't think... the country needs to hear any more about tissue, dresses, cigars, ties, anything else." George Will, on *This Week*, assured his co-panelists that support for the President would evaporate in the face of the

*Referral*. "Because Ken Starr must—the President has forced his hand—must detail graphically the sexual activity that demonstrates his perjury. Once that report is written and published, Congress will be dragged along in the wake of the public.... Once the dress comes in and some of the details come in from the Ken Starr report, people—there's going to come a critical mass, the yuck factor—where people say, 'I don't want him in my living room any more.'" The person most people polled seemed not to want in their living room any more was "Ken" (as he was now called by those with an interest in his story), but this itself was construed as evidence of satanic spin on the part of the White House: "The president's men," William J. Bennett cautioned in *The Death of Outrage: Bill Clinton and the Assault on American Ideals*, "...attempt relentlessly to portray their opposition as bigoted and intolerant fanatics who have no respect for privacy." He continued:

At the same time they offer a temptation to their supporters: the temptation to see themselves as realists, worldly-wise, sophisticated: in a word, European.

That temptation should be resisted by the rest of us. In America, morality is central to our politics and attitudes in a way that is not the case in Europe, and precisely this moral streak is what is best about us.... Europeans may have something to teach us about, say, wine or haute couture. But on the matter of morality in politics, America has much to teach Europe.

### 3.

The cost of producing a television show on which Wolf Blitzer or John Gibson referees an argument between an unpaid "former federal prosecutor" and an unpaid "legal scholar" is significantly lower than that of producing conventional programming. This is, as they say, the "end of the day," or the bottom-line fact.

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The explosion of "news comment" programming occasioned by this fact necessitates, if viewers are to be kept from tuning out, nonstop breaking stories on which the stakes can be raised hourly. The Gulf War made CNN, but it was the trial of O.J. Simpson that taught the entire broadcast industry how to perfect the pushing of the stakes. The current crisis in American politics began as and remains a situation in which a handful of people, each of whom believed that he or she had something to gain (a book contract, a scoop, a sinecure as a network "analyst," contested ground in the culture wars, or, in the case of Starr, the justification of his failure to get either of the Clintons on Whitewater), managed to harness this phenomenon and ride it. This was not an unpredictable occurrence, nor was it unpredictable that the rather impoverished but generally unremarkable transgressions in question (John Kennedy and Warren Harding both conducted affairs in the Oval Office, more recently known as "the workplace," or "under the same roof where his daughter lay sleeping") would come in this instance to be inflated by the rhetoric of moral rearmament.

"You cannot defile the temple of justice," Kenneth Starr told reporters during his many front-lawn and driveway appearances. "There's no room for white lies. There's no room for shading. There's only room for truth.... Our job is to determine whether crimes were committed." This was the authentic if lonely voice of the last American wilderness, the voice of the son of a Texas preacher in a fundamentalist denomination (the Churches of Christ) so focused on the punitive that it forbade even the use of instrumental music in church. This was the voice of a man who himself knew a good deal about risk-taking, an Ahab who had been mortified by his great Whitewater whale and so in his pursuit of what Melville called "the highest truth" would submit to the House, despite repeated warnings from his own supporters (most visibly on the editorial page of *The Wall Street Journal*) not to do so, a report in which his attempt to take down the government was based in its entirety on ten occasions of back-seat intimacy as detailed by an eager but unstable participant who appeared to have memorialized the events on her hard drive.

This was a curious document. It was reported by *The New York Times*, on the day after its initial and partial release, to have been written in part by Stephen Bates, identified as a "part-time employee of the independent counsel's office and the part-time literary editor of *The Wilson Quarterly*," an apparent polymath who after his 1987 graduation from Harvard Law School "wrote for publications as diverse as *The Nation*, *The Weekly Standard*, *Playboy* and *The New Republic*." According to the *Times*, Mr. Bates and Mr. Starr had together written a proposal for a book about a high school student in Omaha barred by her school from forming a Bible study group. The proposed book, which did not find a publisher, was to be titled *Bridget's Story*. This is interesting, since the "narrative" section of the *Referral*, including as it does a wealth of non-relevant or "story" details (for example the threatening letter which the President said he had not read, although "Ms. Lewinsky suspected that he actually had read the whole thing"), seems very much framed as "Monica's Story." We repeatedly share her "feelings," as we might have shared Bridget's: "I left that day sort of emotionally stunned," Miss Lewinsky is said to have testified at one point, for "I just knew he was in love with me."

Consider this. The day in question, July 4, 1997, was six weeks after the most recent of the President's attempts to break off their relationship. The previous day, after weeks of barraging members of the White House staff with messages and calls detailing her frustration at being unable to reach the President, her conviction that he owed her a job, and her dramatically good intentions ("I know that in your eyes I am just a hindrance—a woman who doesn't have a certain someone's best interests at heart, but please trust me when I say I do"), Miss Lewinsky had dispatched a letter to the President himself, the letter that

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"obliquely," as the narrative has it, "threatened to disclose their relationship." On this day, July 4, the President has at last agreed to see her. He accuses her of threatening him. She accuses him of failing to secure for her an appropriate job, which in fact she would define in a later communiqué as including "anything at *George* magazine." "The most important things to me," she would then specify, "are that I am engaged and interested in my work, I am *not* someone's administrative/executive assistant, and my salary can provide me a comfortable living in NY."

At this point she cries. He "praised her intellect and beauty," according to the narrative. He says, according to Ms. Lewinsky, "he wished he had more time for me." She leaves the Oval Office, "emotionally stunned," convinced "he was in love with me." The "narrative," in other words, offers us what is known among students of fiction as an unreliable first-person narrator, a classic literary device whereby the reader is made to realize that the situation, and indeed the narrator, are other than what the narrator says they are. It cannot have been the intention of its authors to present their witness as the victimizer and the President as her hapless victim, and yet there it was, for all the world to read. That the authors of the *Referral* should have fallen into this basic craft error suggests the extent to which, by the time the *Referral* was submitted, the righteous voice of the grand inquisitor had isolated itself from the more wary voices of his more strategic allies.

That the voice of the inquisitor was not one to which large numbers of Americans would respond had always been, for these allies, beside the point: what it offered, and what less authentic voices obligingly amplified, was a platform for the reintroduction of fundamentalism, or "values issues," into the general discourse. "Most politicians miss the heart and soul of this concern," Ralph Reed wrote in 1996, having previously defined "the culture, the family, a loss of values, a decline in civility, and the destruction of our children" as the chief concerns of the Christian

Coalition, which in 1996 claimed to have between a quarter and a third of its membership among registered Democrats. Despite two decades during which the promotion of the "values" agenda had been the common cause of both the "religious," or Christian, and the neoconservative right, too many politicians, Reed believed, still "debate issues like accountants." John Podhoretz, calling on Republicans in 1996 to resist the efforts of Robert Dole and Newt Gingrich to "de-ideologize" the party, had echoed, somewhat less forthrightly, Reed's complaint about the stress on economic issues: "They do not answer questions about the spiritual health of the nation. They do not address the ominous sense we all have that Americans are, with every intake of breath, unconsciously inhaling a philosophy that stresses individual pleasure over individual responsibility; that our capacity to be our best selves is weakening."

That "all" of us did not actually share this "ominous sense" was, again, beside the point, since neither Reed nor Podhoretz was talking about all of us. Less than 50 percent of the voting-age population in this country actually voted (for anyone) for president in 1996. The figures in the previous five presidential-year elections ranged from 50 to 55 percent. Only between 33 and 38 percent voted in any midterm election since 1974. The figures for those who vote in primary elections, where the terms on which the campaign will be waged are determined, drop even lower: only 27 percent of registered Democrats, or 7 percent of the voting-age population in the state of New York, voted in the 1992 New York Democratic primary. Ralph Reed and John Podhoretz had been talking in 1996, as William Kristol and Mary Matalin would be talking in 1998, about that small group of citizens for whom "the spiritual health of the nation" would serve as the stalking horse for a variety of "social," or control-and-respect, issues. They were talking, in other words, about that narrow subsection of the electorate known in American politics as most-likely-to-vote.

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What the Christian Coalition and *The Weekly Standard* were asking the Republican Party and (by logical extension) its opponents to do in 1996 was to further narrow most-likely-to-vote, by removing from debate those issues that concerned the country at large. This might have seemed, at the time, a ticket only to marginalization. It might have seemed, as recently as 1996, rather a vain hope that the country's opinion leaders would soon reach general agreement that the rearming of the country's moral life required that three centuries of legal precedent and even constitutional protections be overridden in the higher interest of demonstrating the presence of moral error, or "determining whether a crime has been committed," as Kenneth Starr put it in the brief he submitted to the Supreme Court in the matter of whether Vincent Foster's lawyer could be compelled to turn over notes on conversations he had with Foster before his death. Yet by August of 1998, here were two of those opinion leaders, George Will and Cokie Roberts, stiffening the spines of those members of Congress who might be tempted to share the inclination of their constituents to distinguish between mortal and venial sins:

*G.W.:* Cokie, the metastasizing corruption spread by this man [the President] is apparent now. And the corruption of the very idea of what it means to be a representative. We hear people in Congress saying, "Our job is solely to read the public opinion polls and conform thereto." Well, if so, that's not intellectually complicated, it's not morally demanding. But it also makes a farce of being a...

*C.R.:* No, at that point, we should just go for direct democracy.

*G.W.:* Exactly. Get them out of here and let's plug computers in....

*C.R.:* ....I must say I think that letting the [impeachment] process work makes a lot of sense because it brings—then people can lead public

opinion rather than just follow it through the process.

G.W.: What a concept.

C.R.: But we will see.

To talk about the failure of Congress to sufficiently isolate itself from the opinion of the electorate as a "corruption of the very idea of what it means to be a representative" is to talk (another kind of "end of the day," or bottom-line fact) about disenfranchising America. "The public was fine, the elites were not," an unnamed White House adviser had told *The Washington Post* about the difference of opinion, on the matter of the President's "apology" or non-apology, between the political professionals and what had until recently been deferred to, if only *pro forma*, as the electorate. "You've got to let the elites win one."

No one should have doubted that the elites would in fact win this one, since, even before the somewhat dampening polling on the Starr report and on the President's videotaped testimony, the enterprise had achieved the perfect circularity toward which it had long been tending. "I want to find out who else in the political class thinks the way Mr. Clinton does about what is acceptable behavior," George Will had said in August, explaining why he favored impeachment proceedings over a resignation. "Let's smoke them out."

That a majority of Americans seemed capable of separating Mr. Clinton's behavior in this matter from his performance as president had become, by that point, irrelevant, as had the ultimate outcome of the congressional deliberation. What was going to happen had already happened: since future elections could now be focused on the entirely spurious issue of correct sexual, or "moral," behavior, those elections would be increasingly decided by that committed and well-organized minority brought most reliably to the polls by "pro-family," or "values," issues. The fact that an election between two candidates arguing which has the more correct "values" leaves most voters with no reason to come to the polls had even come to be spoken

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about, by less wary professionals, as the beauty part, the bonus that would render the process perfectly and perpetually impenetrable. "Who cares what every adult thinks?" a Republican strategist had asked *The Washington Post* to this point in early September. "It's totally not germane to this election."

—September 22, 1998

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compared to the lurid passages concerning oral sex and phone sex between Clinton and Monica S. Lewinsky, which ordinarily would be deemed unfit to print. The report contained 62 references to "breasts" and 19 to "semen." Boston Globe spokesman Richard Gulla said the editors believed that "for people to make a real informed judgment about this guy and potential perjury, you really needed to have a text of the entire report. There was no hesitation." One staff member said the paper had sold out at many newsstands. Washington Post Executive Editor Leonard Downie Jr., whose paper printed 60,000 extra copies Saturday, said that "we became queasy" after reading the Starr report. "There were things in there that never in a million years would be published under normal circumstances," he said, adding that Publisher Donald E. Graham "felt very, very uncomfortable, as did the rest of us." Downie said the paper ran the unexpurgated version because "this is THE document from the special prosecutor, released by the leadership of the House, and they put it on the Internet. . . . It's central to a debate about what happens to the future of this president." Chicago Tribune Editor Howard Tyner told his paper that the Starr report is "almost impossible to edit. . . . Which term is too salacious and which isn't? Once you get into that, you open the door to criticism that you're trying to alter the meaning. The contentious parts are the core of the report. That's what it's about. If you take them out, you may as well not run it at all." The report's dissemination was a case study in how news travels in the information age. Television provided the first accounts to millions, with several correspondents reading excerpts from Congress' own internal computer network because hard copies were not yet available. The World Wide Web, a bottomless pit for lengthy documents, carried the text to millions more, creating online traffic jams. But those who wanted an old-fashioned, paper-and-ink version had to wait for the newspapers, a slower medium that nevertheless has far-greater capacity for detail than its broadcast cousins. The sheer tonnage of print coverage — 20 stories in The New York Times, 15 in The Washington Post, plus either the full text or excerpts of the White House rebuttal in these and other papers all but eclipsed other national and world events, from the naming of a Russian prime minister to the stock market's 180-point rebound. Time, Newsweek and National Journal are among magazines planning to publish excerpts. The Philadelphia Inquirer and Detroit Free Press Saturday joined a small but growing number of papers including the Atlanta Journal-Constitution, Des Moines Register, Denver Post, Orlando Sentinel and Washington Times that have urged the president to step down. "Bill Clinton should resign," the Inquirer said. "He should resign because his repeated, reckless deceptions have dishonored his presidency beyond repair." The Los Angeles Times said: "The picture of Clinton that now emerges is that of a middle-aged man with a pathetic inability to control his sexual fancies." Until now, said The New York Times, "no citizen . . . could have grasped the completeness of President Clinton's mendacity or the magnitude of his recklessness." But some editorial pages took a more laid-back approach. "He's a liar. He's an unfaithful husband. He's tarnished the White House," said the San Francisco Examiner. "He's also a world-class actor who admitted the truth only when he found his lies no longer worked. "So what else is new?"

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**Poll Finds Strong Public Support for Clinton (Washn) By Ronald Brownstein (c) 1998, Los Angeles Times**

WASHINGTON Despite the avalanche of revelation and accusation in special prosecutor Kenneth W. Starr's report to Congress last week, strong majorities of Americans believe President Clinton should not resign or be impeached, and continue to give him high marks for his performance in office, a nationwide Los Angeles Times poll on Sunday found. Asked directly if Starr's report which contains graphic descriptions of Clinton's sexual affair with former White House intern Monica S. Lewinsky changed their opinion of the president, just over seven-in-ten of those polled said no. The survey found virtually no change in personal impressions of Clinton which remain much more positive than those for Starr. And asked what Congress should do next, 34 percent said it should censure the president, just 18 percent said it should impeach him, and a plurality of 41 percent said it should simply drop the matter. The survey did find some cracks in Clinton's foundation after last week's political

earthquake. Of those who said the report did change their opinion of him, 21 percent said it made them view him more unfavorably, while just 3 percent said it made them look at him more favorably. But only about one-third of Americans overall believe Clinton should resign, support for resignation is growing among some conservative-leaning groups (such as college-educated voters) and reached nearly 60 percent among self-identified Republicans — a trend that may increase pressure on GOP officials to maintain a hard line in the controversy. Still, the overriding message in the poll is of remarkable stability in public support for Clinton's job performance, and resistance to his removal from office despite deep doubts about his moral compass and integrity. The survey reinforces the results of other polls conducted over the weekend by the Gallup Organization, CBS, Newsweek, and NBC, all of which found little (if any) decline in Clinton's job approval rating, after a media and political frenzy that exposed him to the most detailed airing of his personal failings that any president has ever faced. The Times Poll, supervised by polling director Susan Pinkus, surveyed 968 Americans; it has a margin of error of plus or minus four percentage points. Not surprisingly, given the exhaustive media attention, the Starr report has caught the country's attention: 78 percent of those polled say they had heard or read about it. Starr's decision to lace his report with extended reconstructions of Clinton's sexual encounters with Lewinsky drew intense and intriguing reaction. Many Americans questioned Starr's motives for doing so. Fully 50 percent said Starr included the explicit material "to embarrass and weaken the president" while just 28 percent said his primary goal was "to strengthen his legal case"; 16 percent volunteered that he was hoping to do both. In political terms, Starr's decision to include that material functioned something like a suicide bomb, maiming both Clinton and the prosecutor. The details did no good to Clinton's public image: three-in-ten of those polled said the accounts of his relationship with Lewinsky made them look at him more unfavorably, while a contrarian 3 percent said they now viewed him more favorably, and the remaining 64 percent said the material did not change their opinion of the president. But Starr actually fared considerably worse in the exchange, with 45 percent saying the decision to include the material made them view him less favorably, 6 percent saying they now viewed him more favorably, and the remaining 45 percent saying their opinion of him was unchanged. Yet even after being exposed to those graphic accounts, on the bottom line question Congress and the country now faces, the poll found a clear majority of Americans continuing to oppose any action that would cause Clinton to leave office. Asked if Clinton should resign because of "the allegations in the Starr report" 63 percent say no, while only 32 percent say yes. That sentiment is broadly based, with two-thirds of moderates, and at least three-fifths of independents, women and men all sharing it. Clinton's base, in particular, shows only slight hints of erosion: among both self-identified Democrats, and all Americans who say they voted for him in 1996, more than 80 percent oppose resignation. Even so, there are signs that more conservative segments of the electorate that Clinton has successfully courted in the past are now moving away from him. Support for resignation is up to 41 percent among college graduates, and 40 percent among Americans who attend church once a week or more. Though dozens of demographic and political groups were examined in the survey, in no group did an absolute majority support impeachment. Among independent voters, the most popular choice for Congress is to drop the matter entirely (44 percent), with 31 percent favoring a vote to censure the president, and 19 percent believing that Clinton should be impeached. Attitudes toward Clinton himself show the public drawing the same lines. His overall job approval remains at a robust 64 percent, with just 33 percent disapproving. That's essentially unchanged from a survey taken immediately after the August 17 speech in which he confessed to an inappropriate relationship with Lewinsky. Nearly eight-in-ten Americans approve of Clinton's handling of the economy the best showing he's had in a Times survey throughout his presidency. And by a 14-percentage point margin, Americans pick Clinton over Republicans in Congress when asked who has the better ideas for solving the problems the country faces. Attitudes toward Clinton as a person, though, are much more complex and equivocal. When asked for their overall impression of Clinton, 51 percent express a favorable view, and 44 percent an unfavorable view. By contrast, half of those surveyed said they had a negative impression of Starr, while just 33 percent viewed the prosecutor in a positive light. And Clinton continues to draw much more ambivalent reviews on measures of moral integrity. Just 25 percent believes that he shares

...son who the American people have liked from the ... if he'll do that, and just acknowledge, 'Yeah, I've done ... really bad things, I really screwed up here,' my gosh, I think the ... could get through this."

Clinton also spoke by telephone for about 25 minutes with French President Jacques Chirac, according to P.J. Crowley, a White House spokesman. Chirac, who initiated the call, talked to the president about Iraq, Kosovo, Russia and various European security issues, Crowley said. Clinton stopped by a reception for Jewish leaders in the Old Executive Office Building, next to the White House, marking the fifth anniversary of the signing of the Middle East peace accord between Yitzhak Rabin, the late prime minister of Israel, and Palestinian leader Yassir Arafat. The president also met with Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and Defense Secretary William S. Cohen, a session that Crowley described as a follow-up to a similar meeting Saturday in which Clinton took part. Crowley said the meeting touched on a number of national security issues, including terrorism, but did not involve a crisis or emergency. The president is speaking Monday to the Council on Foreign Relations in New York, in what aides are calling a major address on the global economy.

On the Sunday airwaves, Clinton's lawyers were hard-pressed to explain why, in their view, the president had not committed perjury. In the end, as White House Counsel Charles Ruff contended repeatedly, there was nothing in his client's conduct to form the basis for impeachment proceedings even if, as Clinton has admitted, he had misled the American people.

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#### **Clinton Has History of Overcoming Character Concerns** (Washn) By Robert Shogan (c) 1998, Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON When President Clinton, in one of last week's frequent apologies for the Monica S. Lewinsky affair, said he wanted Americans to accept him as a model for their children, it marked an implicit retreat from what has been the White House's staunchest line of defense not only during the eight-month-long scandal but throughout Clinton's presidency. This is the contention that the so-called character issue has little to do with presidential performance.

But even as politicians ponder the legal questions raised by independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's report to Congress, scholars agree that the continuing controversy over Clinton's character will greatly influence his effectiveness for the rest of his tenure in office and will define his legacy. The scholars note that character has always been a major factor in presidential success and failure. And as politicians in both parties agree, Clinton's career has dramatized perhaps more than any of his predecessors the salience of the character issue as a weapon that can inspire the electorate but that also can wreck a presidency. Clinton himself tacitly acknowledged the bearing that personal behavior has on the nation's highest office at a fund-raiser in Orlando, Fla., last week when he recalled a little boy who earlier that day told him: "I want to grow up to be ... a president like you." Said Clinton: "I want to be able to conduct my life and my presidency so that all the parents of the country could feel good if their children were able to say that again." A longtime Clinton supporter, Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman, D-Conn., expressed the political significance of the character issue in broader and more pointed terms, when he expanded on his highly critical and highly publicized Senate speech about Clinton and the consequences of the Lewinsky scandal. "One of the great things the president has done for our country, and for our party, is that in his public statements and in the programs he's advocated, he has reconnected the Democratic Party to the mainstream of American values," Lieberman said. But he added: "This misconduct, behavior that is both immoral and untruthful, undercuts that." Long before the Lewinsky affair provoked Lieberman to speak out, some Republicans pointed to what they viewed as a contradiction between Clinton's own conduct and his rhetoric about family values and traditional morals. "He very much wants to be a leader in moral terms," said William S. Bennett, the former secretary of Education and author of the best-selling "The Book of Virtues," midway through Clinton's first term. "He thinks of the pantheon of great American presidents and wants to be in their company and knows that moral leadership is part of that." An understanding of the political significance of character and the intertwined issue of values to Clinton's presidency begins with the 1988 presidential campaign when Republican George Bush's campaign against Democrat Michael Dukakis created what Democratic pollster Stanley Greenberg called a "savage caricature"

as the dominant image of the Democratic Party short on patriotism and indifferent to the values of work and family. Yet at the same time the country was supposedly caught up in a pervasive conservative mood, Greenberg noted, polls showed that voters favored an activist agenda for the government. Greenberg, who became a key Clinton adviser, argued that to take advantage of this inclination, Democrats had to find a way to reach the middle-class voters who had left the party. This diagnosis set the stage for the "New Democrat" paradigm, which helped carry Clinton to the White House. Along with a bundle of policy proposals, the model relied heavily on Clinton stressing traditional values such as individuals taking responsibility for their actions to touch the emotions and win the hearts of the voters. The problem with this strategy is that Clinton has had trouble living up to his part of it. His 1992 candidacy was dogged by allegations of infidelity and draft evasion. In response, Clinton claimed these allegations were a false alarm, diverting attention away from the policy questions that confronted the country. His wife, Hillary Rodham Clinton, provided enthusiastic and essential support to this line of argument. "Is anything about our marriage important enough to the people of New Hampshire as whether or not they will have a chance to keep their own families together?" she asked the voters of the then-recession ridden Granite State. It was a contention that would be echoed six years later when the Lewinsky affair first erupted. Until recently, the president's cohorts pointed to the booming economy and his favorable job approval ratings in the polls as far more relevant indices of Clinton's presidential performance than possible flaws in his character. One longtime adviser, Paul Begala, argued that Clinton has stressed policy rather than personal qualities from the beginning of his national political career. "He didn't come out and say, 'Vote for me because I am pure.' He said, 'Vote for me because I have some good ideas,'" Begala said.

But that was not quite the case. Even as Clinton locked down his party's 1992 nomination, he emerged from the process as "damaged goods," as Greenberg later admitted. And to repair that damage, his advisers set out to change the public's view of Clinton himself. Whereas once Clinton had complained that "too much of this election has been about me," now he could hardly get enough of himself into his speeches. At every turn he stressed his humble origins and the fortitude he displayed in rising above such handicaps. "My life is a testament to the fact that the American dream works," he said. "I got to live by the rules that work in America and I wound up here today running for president of the United States of America." Once in office, Clinton continued to stress such themes. He took every opportunity to present himself as the champion of middle-class people "who play by the rules," a phrase Clinton used no fewer than 70 times in his first year in the White House.

Now, as Clinton faces the severest test of his presidency, some of his supporters are hoping he may find a way to use his character as an asset. As his old ally Lieberman put it, they would like Clinton to be able "to accept personal responsibility, to rebuild public trust in his leadership ... and to act to heal the wounds in our national character."

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#### **Nation's Newspapers Weigh In on Clinton** By Howard Kurtz (c) 1998, The Washington Post

Newspapers landed with an extra thud on porches across the country Saturday, filled with editorial condemnations of President Clinton and, in many cases, part or all of the independent counsel's 453-page report. The New York Times, Washington Post, Washington Times, Los Angeles Times, Boston Globe, Philadelphia Inquirer, Chicago Tribune, Baltimore Sun and New York Post were among the papers that went to the expense of reproducing Kenneth W. Starr's compilation of potentially impeachable offenses, despite concerns about its sexually explicit nature. Hundreds of newspapers posted the report on their Web sites. And both electronic and print versions generally carried warnings about the salacious content. "The following report contains material that readers may find offensive or objectionable," said the Denver Post. "We urge parental guidance for children reading the full report," said the Los Angeles Times. "Some material in these unedited texts is inappropriate for children and younger readers, and some of the material will be offensive to some adults," said The Washington Post. The printing of the report, which cost some papers more than \$100,000, was perhaps the biggest such undertaking since the 1974 release of Richard M. Nixon's Oval Office tapes, whose salty language was often replaced by the phrase "expletive deleted." That bit of self-restraint seemed almost quaint

values; 68 percent do not. Just 50 percent of those believe he has the honesty and integrity to serve as president; 48 percent do not.

With both parties in Washington now obsessed with calculating the scandal's impact on the November election, the survey finds little evidence of direct fallout. On the question that political professionals are now watching most closely, it shows an advantage for Democrats over Republicans when Americans are asked how they intend to vote in the mid-term election.

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**Blacks Support Clinton in High Numbers, Poll Finds (Washn)**  
**By Sam Fulwood III (c) 1998, Los Angeles Times**

WASHINGTON Reflecting a widespread view among black Americans that the nation's law enforcement system is riddled with unfairness, members of the Congressional Black Caucus are pledging to monitor the debate on the Monica S. Lewinsky affair to ensure President Clinton gets a fair hearing. Even though many black lawmakers say they disapprove of the personal behavior attributed to Clinton in independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr's report, they continue to support the president's agenda and fear what will happen if he is forced out of office. "As African Americans, as people who have a history of having to fight to make sure there is justice and equality in the criminal justice system, we can't allow anybody to be railroaded because they have certain political interests," said Rep. Maxine Waters, D-Calif., Sunday on NBC's "Meet the Press." Waters is chairwoman of the Congressional Black Caucus. The fear of losing Clinton as the nation's chief executive weighs heavily on blacks, so much so that they have been among the last to condemn him for behavior they find morally offensive. Indeed, as rumors of sexual liaisons with former White House intern Lewinsky evolved into accusations of obstruction of justice and perjury, black lawmakers have remained unshaken in their support for the beleaguered president. "There is a certain black identification with Bill Clinton as someone who stands up for black Americans," said David Bositis, senior policy analyst at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, a black-oriented think tank in Washington. "Clinton would have to do something that's a direct affront to African Americans for them to turn against him." Bositis said blacks identify with Clinton's fight against Starr because they see the president as someone who is being pursued by a law enforcement official who is determined to find something incriminating. "It's like the situation of a police officer pulling over a black man in a car for having a broken taillight," Bositis said, drawing an analogy that resonates with blacks. "Starr was supposed to be investigating Whitewater, but it ended up in a sex scandal that has nothing to do with Whitewater. The way black Americans see Clinton is: If they don't get him for one thing, they'll get him for something else." That's why Waters and her 35-member caucus are leading the spirited defense of Clinton. "The Congressional Black Caucus is going to live up to our responsibility of making sure that America honors the Constitution and that the criminal justice system, whether it's Ken Starr or anybody else, will not abuse their power and run rampant over the rights of the highest of those, the president of the United States, or the lowest of those," said Waters, a member of the House Judiciary Committee that will conduct hearings into the Starr report. The caucus' concern was evident Friday when 29 black lawmakers voted against a public release of Starr's accusations until the White House had a chance to review and rebut its findings. The vote was 363 to 63 in favor of an immediate public airing of the accusations contained in Starr's report. Appearing Sunday on CNN's "Late Edition," Rep. John Conyers Jr., D-Mich., defended his vote against the public release of the Starr report. "Why is this sleazy tabloid material constructive about anything that has to do with our inquiry?" asked Conyers, the ranking Democrat on the House Judiciary Committee. "I think it reveals the partisan motives of which Ken Starr was constantly accused." Public opinion polls show wider, deeper and more consistent black support for Clinton than among other measured groups. According to a recent poll of 2,266 adults reached by telephone on Aug. 27 and Sept. 8 and released last week by the Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, a nonpartisan Washington polling concern, Clinton garnered an 88 percent job approval rating and a 90 percent overall favorable opinion among blacks. Comparable breakdowns were not available for other minority groups, including Latinos and Asians. "That's considerably higher than among whites, for whom 61 percent approve of his job performance and 57 percent have an overall favorable

opinion," said Gregory Flemming, survey director of the Pew poll.

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**DOT to Unveil Plan to Make Air Bags Safe for Children (Washn) By Ricardo Alonso-Zaldivar (c) 1998, Los Angeles Times**

WASHINGTON It should have been a forgettable, low-speed fender-bender. Instead, Robert Sanders carried his dying daughter from the minivan he had been driving after an air bag had slammed her unconscious. Monday, thanks in no small measure to Sanders' dogged, painful crusade to prevent such tragedies from happening to others, the Transportation Department plans to announce a rule designed to assure that air bags are safe for children as well as full-sized adults. Current federal rules require only that air bags protect belted and unbelted male dummies in head-on, 30-mph crashes into an immovable barrier. But air bags powerful enough to do that can inflict deadly force on small bodies. As of Aug. 1, 65 children had been killed by air bags, almost all in accidents that would not otherwise have been fatal. The proposed rule to be unveiled Monday would require air bags to pass safety tests using crash dummies of all sizes: large adult male, small adult female, child and infant. It will be open to public comment for 90 days and may be modified before it takes effect. Lobbyists for the automakers complain that the tests will be the most complicated ever required by the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration. Sanders believes many of the 65 children killed by air bags would be alive today if the rule had been in effect. A quietly intense man of 48 who was once a business lawyer, he keeps many of their pictures in his office. His daughter Alison is among them. She was 7 when her father, tuning the radio, failed to stop in time for a red light and slid into another van at less than 10 mph. It had been Alison's turn to sit in the front seat. Her two brothers, in back, were unhurt. Sanders, who organized Parents for Safer Air Bags after recovering from the shock of his daughter's death, is living proof that no matter how remote the federal government seems, ordinary individuals can propel it into action. Not that it's easy. Sanders had to leave a law practice in Baltimore and spend down his savings. He endures having to tell strangers about how his daughter died in an accident for which he was responsible. "I have been compelled and driven by forces larger than me," Sanders says. "I don't feel like I am working alone. I feel the presence of my daughter and the other children. I am merely an agent ... I am being pushed on the crest of a wave." And although he played the Washington power game and won, Sanders finds himself disillusioned about a process that had allowed a deadly "safety" device to come to market in the first place. "I no longer have confidence that the government will automatically safeguard the public," he says. Sanders came on the scene at a time when the modern consumer movement, which can be traced to Ralph Nader's crusade against General Motors in the 1960s, is in a period of long decline. Consumerism "is not the grass-roots movement it was in the '70s or late '60s," concedes Clarence Ditlow, director of the Center for Auto Safety in Washington. "The opposition is stronger, better educated and more well-organized. The addition of a good, strong voice like the parents is tremendously helpful."

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**Police Crackdown Further Muddles Election (Pale, Bosnia-Herzegovina) By Richard Boudreaux (c) 1998, Los Angeles Times**

PALE, Bosnia-Herzegovina As villagers strolled by Sunday on their way to vote, Serb police commander Srdjan Knezevic's squarish face smiled eerily at them from an obituary photograph hung in the window of the bar named for his White Wolf wartime battalion. In the Serb-ruled half of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the gangland-style shooting of Knezevic last month has overshadowed countrywide elections. It triggered a police crackdown by a more moderate faction that broke the waning paramilitary might of the Serbs' ultra-nationalist wartime leadership, which operated from Pale. The United States and its Western allies at first welcomed the crackdown as a promising step toward fulfilling Bosnia's stalled 1995 peace accords. But instead of solving one problem, it merely created another and may end up helping the ultra-nationalists. Western officials say police loyal to Biljana Plavsic, the Serb entity's postwar president, botched the search for Knezevic's killers and have been caught torturing prisoners. Their actions have raised the question whether there's really much difference between Plavsic's "good cops" and the "bad cops" they got

rid of. They also dashed a euphoric expectation in the Plavsic camp that voters would associate the crime with her hard-line opponents. Instead, voters casting ballots for both sides said they were baffled by the killing, for which seven former policemen have been arrested and charged; by countercharges that the crime was staged as a pretext to sweep away the hard-liners; and by two separate investigations of the investigation itself. "I know I didn't kill Knezevic, but I can't be sure of anything else," said Nikola Cerovic, a 52-year-old engineer. "There are so many theories but no official data. It's a guessing game." The violent backdrop to the campaign was a sharp contrast with Saturday's and Sunday's voting, which international monitors called the least troubled of Bosnia's five post-war elections. Plavsic, riding a U.S. aid windfall since she broke with Serb wartime leader and fugitive war crimes suspect Radovan Karadzic, is expected to win re-election when returns are announced later this week. But her ally running for the Serb seat on Bosnia's three-man presidency which also represents Croats and Muslims had a more difficult race against incumbent Momcilo Krajisnik, the most powerful Karadzic associate still in office and one of the Serb region's richest men. Krajisnik nearly dropped out of the race after Plavsic's interior minister accused him without formal charges of masterminding the hit on Knezevic, who was ambushed by a masked man and shot 15 times outside his home on Aug. 7. But Krajisnik rebounded and closed strongly, outdrawing Plavsic in the final rallies in her own stronghold, Banja Luka. Western officials acknowledge that even a sweep by Plavsic's Unity coalition will not necessarily save the peace accords that Krajisnik resists, and Plavsic claims to support. The accords, signed at Dayton, Ohio, envision reunifying Bosnia as a self-governing, multi-ethnic state and sending home the 35,000 NATO-led troops that enforce a costly truce. Since winning control of the Serb region's assembly in January, Plavsic and her prime minister, Milorad Dodik, have broken up smuggling rackets and other corrupt schemes that sustained the hard-line faction, boosted tax collection and begun paying wages and pensions on time. But they balk at allowing Croat and Muslim refugees to come home to communities "cleansed" by Serb forces during the 1992-95 war a step most Serb voters would not tolerate. Serb leaders also are inhibited by similar resistance from hard-line ethnic nationalists in Bosnia's other entity, the Muslim-Croat Federation, who are expected to retain most of their power in the elections. "We've given Dodik and Plavsic an easy ride," said Jacques Paul Klein, a U.S. diplomat who is the deputy high representative of Western powers in Bosnia. "After the election, I'd say to them: 'Look, you've had time, you control the police now ... it's time to move ahead on refugee returns.'" Other critics of Plavsic say, however, that she also is inhibited by the very strongmen recruited to lead her revamped police force. Some are wartime commanders who killed or drove non-Serb civilians from their homes and are not eager to have them back.

One such leader was Knezevic, who defected from the hard-line party early this year to become deputy police commander in Pale and suburban Sarajevo. Another key figure is Ljubica Savic, who goes by the nickname Mauser and was named commander of all uniformed Serb police a few months ago. Other officers since have switched sides, quitting a parallel militia loyal to the hard-line leaders and joining Plavsic's force. The shifting Serb allegiances are part of an underground struggle that's often as fierce, if not as bloody, as the inter-ethnic war itself. Pale, largely unscathed by the war, has felt the brunt of the Serb infighting. Knezevic's White Wolf bar, an upscale watering hole with polished brass rails and slot machines, was the scene of at least two shootouts between Serb factions. The police commander was killed two days after arresting a former director of Centrex, the company through which hard-liners sold contraband coffee, tobacco, alcohol and fuel. Krajisnik, the most powerful hard-liner, arranged to get the ex-director out of jail and is reported to have warned that the police commander would be killed "like a dog" in revenge. Krajisnik denies saying that or having anything to do with the killing. "Everyone is hopelessly divided here about everything," said Vladimir Saraba, a 24-year-old technician for Serb state radio. "Both sides are abusing this case for their own political ends. I wish it wouldn't have happened. It's damaging all of us."

#### Hope Still Flickers in Congo After Peace Talks Fail (Nairobi) By Ann M. Simmons (c) 1998, Los Angeles Times

NAIROBI, Kenya The collapse of recent efforts by neighbors of Congo to secure a peace agreement between President Laurent Kabila

and rebels campaigning for his ouster has delayed but not ended chances for a diplomatic settlement of the crisis in the Central African nation, analysts say. Hundreds of soldiers and thousands of civilians have died in the Congolese conflict, which started Aug. 2 when rebels launched their campaign to unseat Kabila. Since then, the capital, Kinshasa, has been plagued by shortages of food and other supplies. Although civil war seems likely to continue for a protracted period in Africa's third-largest nation and the country's unofficial partitioning appears inevitable if a stalemate ensues, observers say that none of the region's nations can afford long-term involvement in Congo's war, either politically or economically. The eventual decline of the current enthusiasm of Congo's neighbors to back either Kabila or his antagonists, in what has become one of the region's biggest security threats, will ultimately force the two factions to face each other at the negotiating table and end the conflict, analysts forecast. Four attempts by Angola, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Uganda, Rwanda and Zambia a neutral power in the conflict have failed to bring peace to Congo, but diplomatic efforts are scheduled to resume Monday as the annual Southern African Development Community summit resumes Tuesday on the Indian Ocean island nation of Mauritius. "As the war grinds on and it continues to affect several countries, it will create momentum for a political settlement," said Salih Booker, director of the African studies program at the Washington-based Council on Foreign Relations. Military backing from Angola, Zimbabwe and Namibia, as well as an appeal to nationalist sentiments, has helped win Kabila a new lease on his political life. The rebels, meanwhile, have gained sympathy from Uganda and Rwanda, though both deny providing military support to Kabila's opponents. Emboldened by the support of his neighboring allies, Kabila has pledged to take the war to the doorstep of the rebels, who are primarily in the country's east. But analysts say that Angola, militarily Kabila's strongest supporter, is primarily interested in sealing its borders with Congo in the south to guerrillas of the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola, or UNITA. "The Angolans are the strategic key to the whole thing," said Booker. "But I don't believe (they) have the stomach or the commitment to take the war that far." At the same time, the rebels' alliance of disgruntled government soldiers led primarily by ethnic Tutsis from eastern Congo have vowed never to relinquish the mineral-rich territories they have captured, or give up their war effort, unless Kabila agrees to meet and talk with them directly. However, analysts say that, like Kabila, the rebels could not sustain the conflict without outside help. Uganda acknowledges that it has troops at certain bases inside Congo whose sole aim is to guard against insurgents attacking Uganda's western territories. But Rwanda insists that it has not had a single soldier on Congolese soil since July, when Kabila expelled the remainder of the Rwandan troops who last year helped propel him to power. Observers say that economic constraints, internal security concerns and the fact that engaging Congo in war would mean incurring the wrath of its allies in the region are strong deterrents to any long-term involvement by cash-strapped Rwanda in its neighbor's conflict. "No country can stay focused on its domestic agenda if it is dealing with problems (outside)," said Paulette Nowden, assistant director of African Studies at Washington's Center for Strategic and International Studies. But Rwandan officials have stressed that they reserve the right to intervene in Congo, particularly as a means of securing their borders and preventing a wide-scale massacre of ethnic Tutsis as a result of a seemingly successful anti-Rwanda campaign endorsed by the Congolese government.

A sound program for economic reform in Congo formerly called Zaire and devastated by three decades of mismanagement and graft under former dictator Mobutu Sese Seko is a key ingredient for any peace settlement, analysts say. And Kabila might also have to accept a partial breakup of Congo by allowing large swaths of the east, currently under rebel control, to have greater autonomy. Observed Nowden: "The rebels are looking for a more active and inclusive political process. (Kabila) could extend an olive branch by allowing other political parties to flourish."

#### Iran, Afghan Tensions Heat Up After Taliban Action (Islamabad) By Dexter Filkins (c) 1998, Los Angeles Times

ISLAMABAD, Pakistan Fears of a military clash between Iran and Afghanistan rose to new levels Sunday as the Afghan Taliban militia announced it had taken control of an opposition stronghold with strong ties to Iran. Mullah Wakil Ahmad, chief spokesman for the Taliban,

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# Shalala's Remarks Irk President

## Clinton 'Let Her Have It' at Cabinet Session, Source Says

By ROBERT G. KAISER and JOHN F. HARRIS  
Washington Post Staff Writers

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At an emotional meeting with his Cabinet, President Clinton yesterday had a sharp exchange with his secretary of health and human services over her suggestion that the president believed enlightened policies could compensate for his failure to provide moral leadership, according to several participants in the meeting.

Clinton invited the Cabinet to his private residence to apologize for the personal behavior that has led him into the worst crisis of his political career. Several members described a meeting that had echoes of an encounter session. With tears in his eyes at some points, Clinton pleaded for forgiveness and implored Cabinet

members to give him their support.

Many volunteered their backing, and talked in starkly personal terms both about their feelings that the president had badly failed on a personal level but that he was on the path to redemption. But Health and Human Services Secretary Donna E. Shalala offered what two participants described as an unexpectedly "harsh" assessment.

The participants said Shalala rejected what she took as Clinton's implication that policies and programs were more important than whether he provided moral leadership.

"And then she said something like, 'I can't believe that is what you're telling us, that is what you believe, that you don't have an obligation to provide

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moral leadership," one participant recalled.

"She said something like 'I don't care about the lying, but I'm appalled at the behavior.' And frankly, he [Clinton] whacked her, let her have it," this source said. The president told Shalala that if her logic had prevailed in 1960, Richard M. Nixon would have been elected president instead of John F. Kennedy, the source said. After that, no other Cabinet member had anything critical to say, the participant added.

Shalala declined to give any interviews after the session.

Two other participants, while recalling the same exchange, described it in somewhat softer tones. After first hearing Shalala, they said, Clinton responded calmly, saying he agreed that being a good person was just as important as being a good president.

But they said what seemed to Clinton like Shalala's moralizing tone clearly rankled him, since he returned to her much later in the meeting. "He was saying that public character really matters too," said one participant.

Nearly all the 20 or so Cabinet-level officials who attended the session spoke, either directly in the meeting or in private comments with Clinton that extended for at least 20 minutes after the meeting broke up.

The comments reflected the sharply different personal styles of the participants. Transportation Secretary Rodney E. Slater and Labor Secretary Alexis M. Herman both quoted from Scripture, as did Clinton.

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt talked about going to confession as a child, according to one participant. Vice President Gore said he saw in the president someone who had made errors but now recognized that receiving "forgiveness means surrendering your anger."

Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin spoke in private with the same pragmatic style that is his public trademark. "You screwed up, but we all screw up sometimes," Rubin said, according to one participant, who said the secretary then praised Clinton's mastery of economic issues.

Other participants who attended said Clinton bared himself before his Cabinet in a personal and somber way that they had never seen.

"It was not like any other Cabinet meeting, for sure," said Slater.

The president said he was struck by the irony that as a young governor he was often described as a "good guy but ineffective," but that in the midst of the Lewinsky scandal it often has been said that he is an effective president but a bad person.

"He said, 'It's more important to be a good person than a good president, and I'm going to spend the rest of my life trying to atone for this,'" one participant said.

Clinton told the group that he has been profoundly angry for about 4½ years, one participant said. He did not explain this time frame. The first independent counsel to investigate Whitewater matters was appointed just over 4½ years ago. Clinton's comment about his anger was part of a "convoluted" opening speech asking forgiveness, the participant said.

The last time the full Cabinet met was Jan. 23, two days after the first reports appeared alleging a sexual relationship between Clinton and former White House intern Monica S. Lewinsky. At that meeting, Clinton told the Cabinet the allegations were untrue.

As they stood in the rain after that January session, several Cabinet members, led by Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright, issued a vigorous defense of the president. "I believe that the allegations are completely untrue," Albright said then. Shalala, Commerce Secretary William Daley and Education Secretary Richard W. Riley all endorsed and repeated Albright's views. Of those four, only Albright made any comment on yesterday's Cabinet meeting, and she did so through her spokesman:

"Secretary Albright believes it was a very moving meeting. She indicated that it was a sad and difficult time for all concerned. She believes

that the president's actions were wrong, as were his statements misleading the American people and the Cabinet. But she has accepted the president's apology to the Cabinet."

Andrew M. Cuomo, the secretary of housing and urban development, described yesterday's meeting as "an interesting experience." He called it "warm, supportive, introspective and honest." Clinton "was just very sincere in saying that he feels very badly, no excuses, no justifications, it was a mistake. He said it will not happen again." But Cuomo said Clinton made no specific reference to the last Cabinet meeting when he denied any improper relationship with Lewinsky.

Cuomo was one of many Cabinet members who used the meeting to praise the president. Cuomo said he told Clinton he had done "phenomenal things for the country and had the potential to do more phenomenal things."

Labor Secretary Herman described the meeting as "somber and serious . . . it was at times painful and it was very personal." Like Slater she talked in almost biblical terms as she described Clinton's comments and contrition.

"I've never seen him bare his soul this way, but not only bare his soul, but struggle so publicly in front of us," she said.

She said the meeting was "very affirming" for the Cabinet members to hear one another talk of the need to continue their work. "The general stumbles but the battle still goes on," she said.

Rubin told NBC News that Clinton said he has made terrible mistakes, that he was deeply regretful. "It was a very personal and, I think, very moving discussion on his part. . . ."

Rubin said he felt no personal sense of betrayal. "I don't and I never have. I've worked with him now for almost six years. I think he's done an outstanding job as president. . . . I think that he is serving this country and has served this country and will continue to serve this country extremely well."

Several participants quoted Clinton as comparing the Cabinet to his family, saying he owed them almost as much in the way of an apology. Slater quoted him as saying he still "has to work with his own family" in the aftermath of his confession, after lying to them about his relations with Lewinsky.

Clinton made no comments about possible impeachment proceedings or resigning from the presidency, several participants said.

Staff writers Bradley Graham, George Hager, Judith Havemann, Thomas W. Lippman, Frank Swoboda and Barbara Vobejda contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 11, 1998

FINAL

# Worries About Nation's Morals Test a Reluctance to Judge

First in a series of occasional articles  
By RICHARD MORIN  
and DAVID S. BRODER  
Washington Post Staff Writers



For many Americans, the White House scandal is just the latest symptom of broad and deep moral decline. Everywhere they look—in the newspaper, on television, in their own neighborhoods and even within their own families—they see eroding values.

An in-depth study of the values Americans espouse, whose first findings are being released by The Washington Post today, suggests why President Clinton's extramarital dalliance with Monica S. Lewinsky angers and upsets so many

people—and why the country has been so reluctant to punish him politically for what it considers wrong.

On one hand, Clinton has confronted the country with a sample of what three out of four of his constituents see as a dangerous decline in the values on display in the national culture. They link the White House escapade to their broader worries about the lack of respect for tradition and authority, to the coarse content of the movies, television and music, to personal dishonesty and sexual promiscuity.

At the same time, Clinton has become a test case of whether this generation of Americans wants to sit in judgment on each other or be willing to live and let live.

More than seven in 10 said adultery was unacceptable and "should not be tolerated." Yet when it comes to Clinton, what the public says and what it means are two different things: Fewer than half of those who said adultery "should not be tolerated" said Clinton's affair with Lewinsky was an important matter. Twice as many said it was important whether he had lied about it or encouraged Lewinsky to lie.

The survey, conducted by The Post in collaboration with Harvard University and the Henry J. Kaiser Family Foundation, was virtually complete before the

See VALUES, A40, Col. 1

president's Aug. 17 speech acknowledging the widely suspected relationship with Lewinsky. The public judgment may shift after today's release of a report from independent counsel Kenneth W. Starr that is expected to detail efforts by Clinton and others to conceal the Lewinsky affair.

Clinton's actions are not viewed in isolation. They come at a time when many Americans are also upset by what they regard as other threatening social trends, from alcoholism to sexual harassment to homosexuality to homelessness.

Coming to judgment on Clinton requires resolving a complex of considerations.

The survey found that nine out of 10 Americans said an affair by a married person is unacceptable. The condemnation for that behavior was far stronger than for other controversial actions, including bearing a child out of wedlock, marijuana smoking or same-sex marriage.

The poll also showed that only one American in five thought Clinton shared most of that person's values, with twice as many saying he embodied hardly any or none of them. Vice President Gore and first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton fared better; House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), worse. But Clinton's low rating apparently has pulled down the Democratic Party. Its rating on upholding moral standards has slumped.

At a deeper level, the survey showed Americans sharply divided on what to expect from a political leader. Half of those interviewed—49 percent—say it is performance alone that counts in a president, agreeing that "as long as he does a good job running the country, whatever he does in his personal life is not important." But just as many disagree: They say the president has a "greater responsibility" to set "an example with his personal life."

When asked to say in their own words what worries them most about the country's values and morals, nearly as many mentioned Clinton or some aspect of the Lewinsky scandal as specified declining family values.

Edward Krutulis, 34, a Plainfield, Ill., pharmaceutical sales representative, after lamenting the country's moral condition, said, "Obviously, President Clinton's not much of a role model for us."

That might not be so worrisome if people were not concerned about the trends they see in American society. Three in four said the country's values and morals are in serious decline. Nearly two in three said they were dissatisfied with the "honesty and standards of behavior of the people in this country."

Large majorities of men and women, Democrats and Republicans, liberals and conservatives, blacks and whites, young people and old, the wealthy and the poor sense something has gone terribly wrong with the country's moral compass.

"Our values are in very, very poor shape and society is dropping at a dramatic rate," said Richard Easton Jr., 28, a shipping clerk in a plastics factory in Turner's Falls, Mass. His short list of examples that illustrate America's moral decline is revealing: Just behind crime but ahead of the erosion of family life, he cites politics.

"I am tired of politics," Easton admits. "The political system needs to be revamped. There's too few honest people in politics." East-

on, who voted for Clinton in 1996, said the president's troubles "confirmed for me even more that in politics, values and morals and honesty and truth don't go together."

The survey revealed a growing "morality gap" in the perception of the two parties. The percentage of Americans who say they trust the Democratic Party to encourage "high moral standards and values" has never been lower, dropping from 33 percent in July to 26 percent last month.

But the poll also found that Republicans have not greatly improved their reputation: 41 percent of those surveyed said the GOP was the party of values and morals, unchanged from July but up slightly from a year ago.

The proportion that said they trusted neither party to set the moral and ethical tone for the country increased from 13 percent in July to 20 percent barely a month later.

The surging importance of values and moral issues may dramatically affect vote choices this November. Among the 21 percent of Americans who believe the country's values are strong, 62 percent say they plan to vote for a Democratic candidate for Congress. But among those who think the country's values are headed in the wrong direction—a much larger number—Republicans enjoy a 46 percent to 40 percent advantage, according to the Post/Harvard/Kaiser survey.

A majority of Americans—55 percent—believe their values are losing influence, while 35 percent say their morals and values are on the rise, views that are correlated with candidate preferences.

Among those who think their values are gaining influence, 50 percent plan to vote for a Democratic congressional candidate while 38 percent support a Republican. But among those who say their values are losing, Republicans held a 46 percent to 42 percent advantage.

The poll found that one in four Americans are "values voters"—casting their ballot primarily on the basis of a candidate's personal values and morals, rather than on issues, ideology or experience. Republican House candidates were the choice of 57 percent of these voters, while 30 percent supported a Democrat.

One other consequence of the White House scandal is rising dissatisfaction with the government generally: 41 percent of those in-

terviewed said they were satisfied with the way the federal government is working, down from 46 percent in a Post survey conducted immediately before the scandal broke.

At the same time, the proportion indicating they were dissatisfied with the federal government increased, from 53 percent in January to 57 percent in the Post/Harvard/Kaiser poll.

While modest, these results reversed an encouraging trend. Immediately before the Lewinsky scandal broke, public confidence in the government was on rise. The latest results suggest that even the good economy and America's superpower status may not be good enough to prevent an increase in public mistrust of government, which had never been higher when Clinton took office six years ago.

"I teach children," said Donald Jackson, 36, of Easton, Pa. "They look up to me. I see children imitating what I do. Whether or not I like that role, or accept that role, it is there. Many kids look up to the president and say 'I want to be president.' Look at the presidency now," he said. "Is this what they want to be like?"

Other conflicts complicate the values debate, contributing to this sense of division and confusion symbolized by public reaction to the White House scandal.

Nine in 10 Americans agree that the country "would have many fewer problems if there were more emphasis on traditional family values." At the same time, nearly as many—70 percent—agree that "we should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards even if we think they are wrong."

Delia Mohlie, 44, a married mother of two who works part time as an assistant librarian, says she knows her attitudes toward the issues involved in the Clinton scandal seem "very inconsistent." The Waldoboro, Maine, resident is strongly against adultery, but at the same time does not believe Clinton's marital infidelity is an important issue.

Mohlie, a Democrat and 1996 Clinton voter, said, "Number one, it doesn't matter to other parts of his presidency. And number two, no longer do Americans expect leaders to be lily white in their behavioral patterns. . . . I can't expect perfection. It's not realistic."

Another Democrat, Alice May Pugh, 42, who runs a group home for the mentally retarded and serves as mayor of Dillonvale, Ohio, said she worries that "so many young people seem to have no values and a lot of the people who are leading have no morals. I'm more or less disgusted with the whole political situation and I'm very disgusted with all the media attention to all the wrong issues."

But Pugh declines to pass critical judgment on Clinton. "I think he's done a good job as president," she said. "His private life is between him and his wife. It's been blown out of proportion by the media."

Yet such tolerance for unacceptable behavior clearly disturbs many Americans and contributes to the sense that the country's morals and ethics will only get worse, not better.

Two in three said they worried that the country would become "too tolerant of behaviors that are bad for society"; fewer than a third said their greatest fear for the future was that we would become "too intolerant of behaviors that don't do any real harm."

"There are very few values left," said Patrice Weston, a 31-year-old teacher who lives in Hudson, N.C. "There's not even small-town values anymore. I feel that nowadays no one stands up for what they believe in . . . for things they would have stood up for 20 years ago. You will be berated if you do."

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# THE WHITE HOUSE ***BULLETIN***

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MEMORANDUM FOR BRUCE REED  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, DC

SUBJECT: TODAY'S BRIEFING

DATE: MONDAY, JANUARY 26, 1998

## OFF THE WIRES:

- o **Main pro-British Paramilitary Group Withdraws From Peace Talks.** Northern Ireland's major pro-British paramilitary group withdrew from peace talks today because its outlawed wing admitted to killing three Catholics. The Ulster Democratic Party, the lawful representatives of the outlawed Ulster Defense Association, did not wait for a verdict from the British and Irish governments on formal complaints other parties filed earlier today.
- o **Militants kill 23 villagers in northern India.** Suspected Muslim separatists dragged Hindu villagers from their homes and slaughtered 23 in the troubled northern state of Kashmir, police said today.
- o **Economic News.**
  - **Existing Home Sales Slip.** Sales of previously owned homes were down in December, but not enough to prevent 1997 from going down as a record year. Existing single-family homes sold at a seasonally adjusted annual rate of 4.29 million in December, down 2.1 percent from November, the National Association of Realtors said today. For the year, 4.21 million homes were sold. That marks a 3.1 percent increase from the previous record, set in 1996.
  - **Compaq To Buy Digital.** Compaq Computer Corp. will buy Digital Equipment Corp. for \$9.6 billion, the companies announced today.
  - **Continental, Northwest Announce Alliance.** Northwest Airlines is forming a global alliance with Continental Airlines that will stitch together the route networks of the nation's fourth and fifth biggest airlines, Continental announced today. Northwest is buying the stake in Continental for \$519 million in cash and Northwest stock, but Northwest won't have voting control of the stock, which will be placed in a trust.

## IN THE WHITE HOUSE AND AROUND TOWN:

- o **Clinton Says He "Did Not Have Sexual Relations With That Woman."** President Clinton used a White House event on child care and education programs this morning to repeat his denials of a sexual affair with a White House intern. Clinton prefaced his remarks by saying, "Now I have to go back to work on my State of the Union speech, and I worked on it 'til pretty late last night, but I want to say one thing to the American people." Looking straight into television cameras, Clinton said, "I want you to listen to me. I'm going to say this again: I did not have sexual relations with that woman — Miss Lewinsky. I never told anybody to lie, not a single time. Never. These allegations are false. And I need to go back to work for the American people." First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton stood to his right, nodding and with lips pursed. After making the brief statement, Clinton quickly left the room without taking any questions from reporters about his relationship with Lewinsky. Polls out this weekend, however, show most Americans do not believe the President's denials (see Pollwatch section below).

**State of the Union Still Set For Tomorrow.** The White House is denying reports this morning that Chief of Staff Erskine Bowles has been seeking to reschedule tomorrow's State of the Union speech due to the uproar over allegations of the affair. White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry said: "There is not, to my knowledge, any serious consideration of moving it." McCurry said Bowles had consulted with congressional leaders to try to determine the mood of Congress and the type of reception Clinton might receive tomorrow night.

**Barr Discusses Impeachment.** GOP Rep. Bob Barr said today that he will push to begin impeachment proceedings. "What I have witnessed as a member of both the Judiciary and the Government Reform Committee conducting investigations over the course of the last year is a very substantial body of evidence...that there is abuse of power," said Barr. Asked on CNN if his list of members supporting impeachment proceedings – which stood at 18 in November – has increased in size, Barr responded, "It already has. And we've gotten calls over the last few weeks, as this latest information has been coming in – members expressing an interest in signing on. And I think we'll see a lot more movement once we all get back into town tomorrow, get the State of the Union out of the way, and then members, I think, will really start to focus as they should on exactly what's going on here." Added Barr: "I think the President has a very serious problem here that he needs to address head on. If he keeps sending people like [presidential advisor James] Carville and [White House aide] Ann Lewis out there to do the spinning for him, I think he's going to be in real trouble because it'll destroy his credibility."

- o **White House Considers Strike On Iraq.** The President's national security advisers are weighing options on how to deal with Iraq. "We're determined that Saddam Hussein cannot be permitted to pursue with impunity programs of weapons of mass destruction," White House Press Secretary Mike McCurry said today, adding: "We hope that any diplomatic efforts by members of the Security Council are aimed at reminding the government of Iraq the imperative of complying with UN Security Council resolutions."

**Russia Opposes Use Of Force.** Russia's Foreign Ministry said today that use of force against Iraq was "unacceptable and counterproductive." The statement added that "all further steps concerning Iraq should be taken strictly in accordance with decisions by the UN Security Council and be of a political and diplomatic nature." A spokesman for Russian President Boris Yeltsin said the president decided today to send an envoy to Baghdad to try to negotiate an end to the standoff.

**Iraq Prepares For Military Strike.** The Baath Party paper, Al-Thawra, which reflects government thinking on issues of national interest, said today that Iraq will not give in to US pressure and is mobilizing to face the US military threat. President Clinton met this weekend with his security advisers, and aides later said the Administration is considering military action to try to force Iraq to stop interfering with UN weapons inspectors.

- o **Administration Highlights After-School Care.** President Clinton today joined Vice President Al Gore, First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton and Education Secretary Richard Riley in announcing a new child care proposal to be included in Clinton's fiscal 1999 budget plan. With Clinton scheduled to deliver his State of the Union address tomorrow and officially release his budget next week, Clinton also said his agenda this year will emphasize education issues.

**Clinton Reviews Education Agenda.** "Education must be our nation's highest priority," Clinton said, adding that the past year "has been the most important year in a generation for education reform." Clinton cited his policies designed to increase college aid, to provide more computers in classrooms, and to emphasize reading skills. Clinton said the plan he'll present tomorrow as part of his State of the Union speech will include "the first-ever national effort to reduce class size in the early grades." In addition, Clinton said his budget "will help to hire 100,000 teachers who must pass state competency tests, but who will be able to reduce class size in the first, second and third grades to an average of 18 nationwide." Clinton also said, "There must be more classrooms," and "so I will propose a new school construction tax to help communities modernize and build new schools. Clinton added that schools across the nation should "follow the lead of Chicago schools" in "helping students with summer school and other programs

to give them the tools they need to get ahead."

**After-School Programs To Be Proposed.** After reviewing other aspects of his education proposals, Clinton announced plans for an after-school program, saying: "Every kid needs some place to go after school. ... My balanced budget plan includes a national initiative to spark private sector and local community efforts to provide after-school care...to half a million children." Clinton added that the "hours between 3:00 and 7:00 at night are the most vulnerable for young people to get in trouble...after school closes and before their parents get home from work."

Referring to the concept of after-school programs, Riley said: "They can give children more time to learn. They can offer young people safe and drug-free havens and help keep kids out of trouble. They can give children a chance to enhance their lives through the arts and through music and through community service. And they can reassure working parents that their kids are in the right place and doing the right thing."

The First Lady said, "It's estimated that up to 5 million school-age children spend time as latchkey kids without adult supervision," adding that after-school programs are "so important for so many families." The First Lady said she will later today visit a Harlem school with "a model program" for after-school activities, "to underscore once again how important these programs are for our children."

**Funding Would Be Public And Private.** Riley said the Administration's fiscal 1999 budget will "ask Congress for \$1 billion over the next five years to serve 500,000 students in 4,000 programs. We are going to call them the 21st Century Community Learning Centers." In addition, Riley said the C.S. Mott Foundation will assist in funding, as well as sponsoring "eleven regional workshops, starting in February." Clinton said the Mott Foundation's "public-private partnership" means the foundation "has pledged \$55 million to help insure that after-school programs supported by Federal funds are of the highest quality."

- o **Supreme Court To Decide Long-Distance Competition Issue.** The US Supreme Court has agreed to review a Federal appeals court ruling that struck down Federal Communications Commission guidelines for the prices competitors must pay to connect to local phone companies' networks. Court officials said the dispute will not be handled until the court's 1998-99 term that begins next fall. No decision is expected until sometime in 1999. The Clinton Administration and a number of long distance companies, including AT&T and MCI, had urged the court to decide the case in its current term, scheduled to end in late June. The justices' refusal to do so thwarts the government's efforts to have the dispute resolved as quickly as possible.

**Court Upholds Illinois District.** The Supreme Court today upheld the predominantly Hispanic 4th Congressional District in Chicago. The court, by a 6-3 vote, rejected a challenge by a voter who said a lower court improperly took race into account in drawing the district's boundaries. Justices Antonin Scalia, Anthony M. Kennedy and Clarence Thomas dissented, voting to hear arguments in the case. The district is represented by Democratic Rep. Luis Gutierrez and was drawn by a three-judge Federal court as part of a new redistricting plan in 1991.

**Court Says Lying To Investigators Is Illegal.** The court ruled today that people can be convicted of lying to a Federal agency when they simply answer "no" to a potentially incriminating question. The 7-2 decision upholds a New York man's conviction for lying to Federal investigators in a probe of cash payments he received as a union official.

- o **Democrats Prepare For State of the Union.** National Economic Council head Gene Sperling was on Capitol Hill this morning briefing Democrats in anticipation of tomorrow's State of the Union address. A House Democrat who attended the meeting said that Sperling told Democrats the President will discuss the "prospect of a balanced budget for FY99, he will clarify that the budget will be balanced on the spending side, not the tax side -- whatever that means -- and on the horizon [there are] serious problems for Social Security and Medicare. He also will note that the Administration's Medicare proposal is fully paid for." News reports this morning suggest Clinton will also say, with regard to Social Security, that any budget surplus will be used to address the funding of the program, although Administration officials

would not comment on the issue this morning. Tomorrow, White House Communications Director Ann Lewis and presidential counselor Paul Begala will be on the Hill talking with Democratic press secretaries. Democrats are also discussing whether to hold a caucus meeting tomorrow in anticipation of the State of the Union.

Over the weekend, White House advisors called several House Democrats in an attempt to gauge reaction to the sexual allegations aimed at the President and to discuss whether the President should address the issue in the State of the Union. Reports indicate the President will not address the issue in his speech Tuesday night.

Later today, Vice President Al Gore is expected to address the New Democratic Coalition. While the event is closed to the press, a spokesman for the Vice President said Gore will tell the centrist Democratic group about "the President's agenda and what lies ahead."

- o **NEA And AFT To Merge.** Negotiators for the two major politically powerful teachers unions have reached agreement on a preliminary plan to merge by 2002, officials said today. The agreement between the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers would create a 3 million member organization. Reportedly, the new organization would affiliate with the AFL-CIO at the national level, but pay dues on only 1.4 million members. State and local union bodies would have the option to join regional AFL-CIO councils.

#### **IN THIS WEEK'S WEEKLIES:**

**Lewinsky Situation Moving At "Warp Speed" Against Clinton.** Newsweek (2/2, Fineman, Breslau) reported that last week, "The SS Clinton seemed to be sinking — fast — and no one was in need of political salvation more than the President." But "amid the din of accusation," Clinton's allies "were silent; more ominously, so were his enemies." Further, "new dangers are ahead," because although Clinton "insists he never obstructed justice," his advisers "now think that Clinton may eventually be forced to admit that he indeed had relations with Lewinsky: More than a dozen episodes, investigative sources say, in which he received oral sex from a young woman barely older than his daughter." Lewinsky "visited the White House as recently as the night of January 15 — just days before her story surfaced." While it is "not clear what she was doing there," she "didn't see Clinton." Meanwhile, last week, the Justice Department "considered not granting" Whitewater independent counsel Kenneth Starr "the authority to look into the Lewinsky accusations." Attorney General Janet Reno and Deputy Attorney General Eric Holder at first "wanted to recommend the appointment of a new independent counsel," and they "even considered letting the department's own lawyers handle the matter — a decision that would have provoked an immediate firestorm." Sources said Starr's investigators "are pursuing what they regard as strong new evidence in the case" of "at least four possible felonies: Simple perjury (if the President lied under oath in his deposition in the Jones case), suborning perjury (if he advised Lewinsky to lie about their alleged relationship when called to testify in the Jones case), obstruction of justice (if he worked to keep her quiet) and witness tampering (if the memo, called 'Points to make in an affidavit,' was part of a plan to script testimony)." Newsweek added that the "Gore camp was most silent of all," and the Vice President "publicly — and, by all accounts, genuinely — expressed his friendship and belief in the President." Clinton and Gore are still "scheduled to travel together to the Midwest after the State of the Union." None of Gore's "inner circle dared to talk, even privately, about what might happen if worst comes to worst," and "even the most ruthless don't want Gore to ascend to the presidency by way of a Clinton scandal." Said one Gore aide, "We want to win the White House on our own, not by climbing across the body of somebody else."

Newsweek (2/2, 31, Isikoff, Thomas) ran an updated version of the story editors decided not to run last week, which included as-yet-unreleased details. While working in the Pentagon public affairs office, Lewinsky "continued to boast about her White House connections," and during an TV appearance by the President, she "announced that the President was wearing a tie she had bought for him." Willie Blacklow, a former deputy assistant secretary for public affairs at the Pentagon, said "he was always a bit skeptical of Lewinsky's professed intimacy with the President, until he accompanied her to a White House Christmas party in December 1996." Blacklow said Lewinsky was "dressed to the hilt, with a semi-low-cut red dress," and they were "going through the receiving line when, Blacklow recalls, Clinton gave her an enthusiastic greeting, saying 'Hi, Monica!' and

'hugged' her." Blacklow added, "I was kind of stunned. There was no question that she was something more than just another gofer." Blacklow added that Hillary Clinton "also recognized Lewinsky and shook her hand." Newsweek added that in one of their conversations, Lewinsky told Tripp that "she was keeping, as a kind of grotesque memento, a navy blue dress stained with Clinton's semen. Holding it up as a trophy to Tripp, she declared, 'I'll never wash it again.'" By last Saturday night, there was "a Final Days atmosphere around the White House."

Newsweek (2/2, 42, Bai, Fineman) reported sources "close to" Vernon Jordan said he "had three reasons for publicly denying the charges." Jordan wanted to "reassure his corporate clients that his integrity – and his influence – remained intact," and he "wanted his close friend Clinton to know, on the record, that Jordan was not about to cut and run." Third, and "perhaps most important, he was trying to send a message to Monica Lewinsky and her lawyer: If you change your story now, it's going to be your word against mine. And in the capital, Vernon Jordan's word is not to be taken lightly." Newsweek added, Clinton and Jordan's "mutual fondness for the ladies is a frequent, if crude, topic of conversation. Asked at a party earlier this year what it was he and Clinton talk about on the golf course, Jordan slyly replied: 'We talk pu–y.'"

In Newsweek (2/2), former Clinton adviser George Stephanopoulos said Clinton's "best hope...is that the whole storm turns out to be a right-wing plot abetted by an abusive prosecutor," but that is "a very long shot." In order to "survive this," Clinton "must get the facts out and face the country. He should speak from the Oval Office and apologize for any misjudgments. The next day he ought to hold a press conference, answer all questions and promise to cooperate with any legitimate investigation."

Time (2/2, 21, Gibb) reported in the recordings, Lewinsky "jokes that if she ever got to leave her job at the Pentagon and return to the White House, she would be made 'Special Assistant to the President for b\_\_\_\_ j\_\_\_\_.'... While the nasty spin said Monica was too fat, too dumb, even for Clinton, those with a pulse murmured privately, as one put it, that 'she fit the type too well.'" Meanwhile, a former aide said that "on several occasions late in 1995 and early 1996, attractive young women were transferred to the nether reaches of government because Clinton kept dropping by unannounced to flirt with them. When Clinton 'got too chatty with somebody,' explained the former aide, 'a couple of the older, more senior women on the staff would see that these women got moved.'" Time added, "Certainly no audience to the spectacle was more entranced than the GOP lawmakers on Capitol Hill, who shared the general belief that when your opponent is shooting himself in the foot, you don't get in the way." Said one GOP aide, "We're trying to keep the fruitcakes under control. For us, it's better if this thing drags on for a while. At least we don't have to come up with an agenda." Time added, "In the midst of last week's carnage, it's hard to imagine, but there were those who could see a strategy forming. Clinton will never resign, they insist; he will fight every inch to avoid becoming the second President in history to resign in disgrace, as opposed to one of several tarnished by sexual scandals that future historians might just decide to ignore."

Time (2/2, 30, Kirn) reported there is "growing evidence to suggest that the issue of whether oral sex is actually sex...may eventually form the basis of Clinton's legal defense." The "logic seems...tortured," but "Clinton's potential argument" was "tested last week on Time reporters by a high-level presidential confidant."

Time (2/2, 38, Ratnesar) reported one of Lewinsky's nicknames was "the Stalker, inspired by her steadfast rush toward the Presidential helicopter." Lewinsky's "youth showed" at her Pentagon job, where "reporters attending [spokesman Kenneth] Bacon's press conferences complained about Lewinsky's bumbling of clerical tasks, which included managing Bacon's schedule, preparing transcripts, and answering phones." In addition, there was a "mysterious, unidentified boyfriend whom reporters and Pentagon officials would jokily tease her over and for whom she often bought presents – including, during an official European trip, cigars."

Time (2/2, 42, Cloud) reported the involvement of Linda Tripp's attorney, James Moody, "may signal that Tripp has been building strong ties to the conservative community over the past few months." Moody was "highly recommended" by George Conway, a "conservative lawyer who was instrumental in writing the brief that resulted in the 9-0 Supreme Court decision in favor of Paula Jones." Moody "formally set up Tripp's initial meeting" with independent counsel Kenneth Starr.

Time (2/2, 44, Cloud) reported Lucianne Goldberg "has been involved in publishing efforts that, if fruitful, would mortify" President Clinton. She has "reportedly represented Dolly Kyle Browning, yet another woman alleging a Clinton affair (one debunked by critics)." She also "tried to get a book deal for the Arkansas state troopers who said they procured women for then-Governor Clinton." Goldberg said she "met Tripp in 1994 after she found an author to write a book about the death of Vincent Foster," and a friend, for whom she played part

of the Lewinsky tapes, said she "told him the release of the tapes is 'payback for Vince Foster.'" Goldberg "may have been trying to get the Lewinsky tale into the tabloids as early as last fall," and Newsweek reporter Michael Isikoff "visited her apartment frequently."

In her US News column (2/2, 20), Gloria Borger said sources said last Saturday night "was considerably less fun for the Clintons than publicly described." The Clintons "abruptly canceled" plans to join White House Chief of Staff Erskine Bowles and wife, Crandall, for dinner, and they "dined alone. Which raises obvious questions: What, exactly, do they say to each other? ... Not even their closest friends pretend to really know."

**Hardcore Criminals Turning To Medicare Fraud.** US News (2/2, 46, Hedges) reported Federal investigators "recently have zeroed in on allegations of Medicare bill padding by large hospitals," but a "new, more pernicious side of the scandal has been left relatively unexplored." There is a "horde of hardened criminals who [see] Medicare for what it really [is] – an unguarded, \$250 billion-a-year pile of cash just waiting to be had." In recent years, "many of the criminally inclined have moved out of the drug trade to start careers in Medicare fraud, a crime where penalties are low and rewards stratospheric." The "scams span the nation but are most often found in states where there are large Medicare and Medicaid populations." In state such as New York, Florida, and California, "Federal agents say, Russian organized-crime figures run hundreds of clinics, testing centers, laboratories, and medical-equipment companies that siphon millions of Medicare and Medicaid dollars each year."

**Washington Whispers.** US News (2/2, 11) reported this week:

- Despite a "siege mentality in the White House," President Clinton "dutifully finalized most of his State of the Union address last week and even rehearsed a draft of it Friday night." However, Democratic strategists "worry that, because of all the distractions, the speech may lack creativity and verve – and insiders at the White House admit that most of the themes will be familiar." One "major emphasis" will be on Clinton's "efforts to keep 'the promise of America' by enhancing opportunity, building community, and fostering a sense of responsibility – rhetorical points that he has made frequently over the years." Still, aides said he will "also announce several initiatives that he has been saving for the occasion," including "incentives for small businesses to expand 401(k) and other pension plans for employees, and a series of education proposals such as expanding opportunity zones to improve public schools in poor neighborhoods." The President will also "call for incentives to keep schools open from 3 PM to 6 PM, when teens tend to get into the most trouble," and he is "also likely to propose a modest increase in the minimum wage." Still, US News added, "The big question is whether, amid the allegations of a sex scandal in the White House, Americans will pay attention to such proposals. While Clinton will attempt to liven up the event by following the tradition of introducing American 'heroes,' he may also make news by calling for a special session of Congress to deal with entitlement reform." Aides said "such a proposal is under consideration," but they "would not tip their hand as to whether he would include it in the nationwide address."

- Former White House interns who worked with Monica Lewinsky were "besieged last week by reporters hoping to reach them before the FBI did: 'I only talked to her twice, and I've been taking calls all day. It's so exciting!' gushed one 1995 intern." A second said a "TV news organization sent a courier to her mother's house in Brooklyn, NY, late one night to pick up her intern class photo." A "Clinton devotee," the former intern said she "turned the picture over reluctantly, adding, 'The only people having sex with interns were interns.'"

- "Life is getting especially crowded inside the beltway. Former White House intern Lewinsky lives in an apartment owned by her mother at – of all places – the Watergate complex, which gave its name to the scandal that brought down President Nixon." Lewinsky also has "a ground-floor neighbor who is no stranger to presidential politics: Bob Dole, the Republican candidate for president in 1996, and his wife, Elizabeth." Other "close neighbors" include former Democratic fundraiser Charlie Trie and Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg.

- A guest at the White House Endowment Fund dinner last week "took President Clinton's aides by surprise." Richard Mellon Scaife, a "major conservative benefactor who has funded anti-Clinton efforts and promoted the theory that former White House aide Vincent Foster did not commit suicide," who has also "given generously to the endowment, which preserves historical memorabilia, American artwork, and renovations at the White House – and Hillary Rodham Clinton approved him as a guest." Mrs. Clinton told an aide, "He has every right to be here." US News added, an aide said Scaife "shook hands with the Clintons at the black-tie event in the State Dining Room and 'behaved himself.'"

- While Israeli Prime Minister Binyamin Netanyahu and President Clinton "tried to smooth over longstanding

differences last week at the White House," their "personal mistrust apparently remains strong." Netanyahu's aides were "so wary that they suspected US officials of intentionally setting out to 'wear Netanyahu down,' as one put it, with a grueling 12 hours of meetings in a single day." During the "marathon sessions," Netanyahu and Clinton met twice, and he "held separate talks with Vice President Al Gore, Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, and National Security Adviser Sandy Berger." Although Albright "requested another meeting with the prime minister the next morning," Netanyahu's aides "shot down the idea," and Albright "talked with a more rested Netanyahu at Andrews Air Force Base on Wednesday evening before he left for Israel."

#### **POLL WATCH:**

**CBS Poll On Clinton Scandal.** A CBS News/NYT poll of 539 adults, conducted January 24 (+/- 4%), shows:

- 56% approved of Clinton's "handling his job as President;" 39% disapproved; 5% didn't know.
- 40% said the Lewinsky situation "will interfere with Bill Clinton's ability to effectively do his job as President;" 43% said it would interfere "seriously;" 14% said it would interfere, "but not seriously;" 3% didn't know.
- 38% said they blamed Bill Clinton "more for creating the current situation;" 53% said "his political enemies;" 4% said "both equally;" 1% said "the media;" 1% said "other;" and 3% didn't know.
- 30% said if Clinton "obstructed justice by encouraging Monica Lewinsky to lie under oath," he should "admit his mistakes and apologize;" 29% said he should "resign;" 20% said Congress "should begin impeachment hearings;" 17% said the "matter should be dropped;" and 4% didn't know.

**NBC/WSJ Poll On Clinton Scandal.** A NBC News/Wall Street Journal poll of 806 adults, conducted January 24 (+/- 3.5%), shows:

#### **Lewinsky Affair.**

- 45% said the "allegations that President Clinton had an affair with a 21-year-old White House intern" are "true;" 25% said "not true;" and 30% were not sure.
- 32% said if these "allegations are true," Clinton "should be impeached and removed from office;" 60% said he should "not be impeached and removed from office;" 8% were not sure.
- 44% said the "allegations that President Clinton lied about his alleged affair with the woman while he testified under oath in the Paula Jones trial" are "true;" 25% said "not true;" and 31% were not sure.
- 50% said if these "allegations are true," Clinton "should be impeached and removed from office;" 42% said he should "not be impeached and removed from office;" 8% were not sure.
- 38% said the "reports that President Clinton encouraged this woman to commit perjury...about their alleged affair" are "true;" 34% said "not true;" and 28% were not sure.
- 57% said if these "reports are true," Clinton "should be impeached and removed from office;" 35% said he should "not be impeached and removed from office;" 8% were not sure.
- 45% said "government investigators should use secret recordings to investigate the President;" 48% said they "should not use secret recordings;" 7% were not sure.
- 47% said the media's "coverage has been irresponsible, has overdramatized this situation way out of its proper proportion, and they have sensationalized the story;" 45% said the media's coverage has "been responsible, and they have acted properly in reporting the story;" 6% said the media's coverage has "been too restrained, and they should be more aggressive in reporting this story;" 2% were not sure.
- 19% said Clinton was "candid and open" about the allegations; 69% said Clinton was "guarded and less than honest;" 12% were not sure.
- 3% had "very positive feelings" toward Monica Lewinsky; 6% had "somewhat positive feelings;" 33% had "neutral feelings;" 16% had "somewhat negative feelings;" 19% had "very negative feelings;" 23% were not sure.
- 8% had "very positive feelings" toward Kenneth Starr; 12% had "somewhat positive feelings;" 22% had "neutral feelings;" 11% had "somewhat negative feelings;" 14% had "very negative feelings;" 33% were not sure.
- 4% had "very positive feelings" toward Linda Tripp; 7% had "somewhat positive feelings;" 20% had "neutral feelings;" 14% had "somewhat negative feelings;" 20% had "very negative feelings;" 35% were not sure.

not sure.

**98' Elections.**

- 41% said their "preference for the outcome of the November 1998 congressional elections" was a Congress "controlled by Republicans"; 38% said a Congress "controlled by Democrats"; 21% were not sure.

**Los Angeles Times Poll On Clinton Scandal.** A LA Times poll of 1,191 adults, conducted January 23-24 (+/- 3%), shows:

- 59% approved of the "way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President;" 36% disapproved; 5% didn't know.
- 45% said the allegations that Clinton "had an extramarital affair with Monica Lewinsky" were "true"; 33% said the allegations were "untrue"; 1% had not heard enough; and 22% didn't know.
- 34% believed Lewinsky's denial "under oath that the affair took place"; 48% believed "audiotapes of her discussing the affair with another woman"; 18% didn't know.
- 42% said allegations that Clinton "encouraged Monica Lewinsky to lie under oath and say they never had an affair" were "true"; 44% said the allegations were "untrue"; 1% had not heard enough; 13% didn't know.
- 10% said the allegations would "destroy Clinton's ability to lead"; 43% said they would "diminish his ability to lead"; 42% said they would "blow over and have almost no effect"; and 5% didn't know.
- 31% said if "it is true that Clinton had an extramarital affair with a former White House intern" then he "should resign from office"; 62% said he should not; 7% didn't know.
- 51% said if Clinton "lied under oath about having extramarital affair with a former White House intern" this is "cause for impeachment"; 10% said "no," but he "should resign"; 32% said "no," and Clinton "should not resign"; 7% didn't know.
- 61% said if Clinton "tried to obstruct justice by influencing Monica Lewinsky to lie about the extramarital affair under oath," this is "cause for impeachment"; 9% said "no," but he "should resign"; 23% said "no," and Clinton "should not resign"; 7% didn't know.
- 37% said Lewinsky "should receive immunity"; 46% said she "would not receive immunity"; 17% didn't know.
- 35% said independent counsel Kenneth Starr "overstepped his role" by "investigating this affair"; 55% said he was "doing his job properly"; 10% didn't know.
- 32% said the "recent allegations surrounding Bill Clinton" would "hurt Al Gore's chances of becoming President in 2000"; 57% said they would "make no difference"; 6% said they would "help"; 5% didn't know.

**Newsweek Poll On Clinton Scandal.** A Newsweek Poll, conducted over January 22-23 (+/- 4%), shows:

- 54% approved of Clinton's "handling of his job as President;" 37% disapproved; 9% had no opinion.
- 32% said they "tend to believe" President Clinton, who "denies having a sexual relationship" with "a young woman who worked at the White House"; 48% said they "don't tend to believe" Clinton; 20% didn't know.
- 49% said Clinton should be "impeached and removed from office" if he "told the young woman she should deny any sexual relationship if asked about it in any legal proceeding"; 43% said he should not; 8% didn't know.
- 16% said a president "telling someone to lie about a sexual relationship" is "more serious than the 'high crimes and misdemeanors' former President Nixon was accused of"; 37% said it was "less serious"; 41% said it was "just about as serious."
- 63% said Clinton's admission "to having an extramarital affair with Gennifer Flowers [that] he had denied in the past" made them "less likely to believe Clinton's denials about other sexual matters"; 28% said it "does not"; 9% didn't know.

**Time/CNN Poll On Clinton Scandal.** A Time/CNN poll of 618 adults, conducted on January 22 (+/- 3.9%), shows:

- 52% approved of "the way President Clinton is handling his job as President;" 41% disapproved; 7% were not sure.
- 48% said Clinton "had an extramarital affair with Monica Lewinsky"; 31% said Clinton "did not have an extramarital affair"; 21% were not sure.
- 48% said the allegation that Clinton "lied under oath about having an affair with Monica Lewinsky" was "true and is serious enough to be investigated"; 11% said the allegation was "true, but not serious enough to be investigated"; 30% said the allegation was "not true"; and 11% were not sure.
- 49% said the allegation that Clinton "participated in an effort to obstruct justice by getting Monica Lewinsky to lie under oath about an affair" was "true and is serious enough to be investigated"; 8% said the allegation was "true, but not serious enough to be investigated"; 33% said the allegation was "not true"; and 10% were not sure.
- 35% said if the evidence shows that Clinton "had an extramarital affair with Monica Lewinsky, an intern who worked at the White House," he "should be impeached and be removed from office"; 59% said they did not "think that Clinton should be impeached"; 6% were not sure.
- 55% said if the evidence shows that Clinton "lied under oath about having an affair with Monica Lewinsky" he "should be impeached and be removed from office"; 38% said they did not "think that Clinton should be impeached"; 7% were not sure.
- 63% said if the evidence shows that Clinton "participated in an effort to obstruct justice by getting Monica Lewinsky to lie under oath about an affair" he "should be impeached and be removed from office"; 30% said they did not "think that Clinton should be impeached"; 7% were not sure.

**Gallup Poll.** According to a USA Today/CNN/Gallup poll of 903 adults conducted January 23-34:

- 58% "approve of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as president"; 36% disapprove; 6% have no opinion.
- 57% have a favorable opinion of Clinton; 40% have an unfavorable opinion; 3% have no opinion.
- 55% have a favorable opinion of Al Gore; 33% have an unfavorable opinion; 11% have no opinion.
- 60% have a favorable opinion of Hillary Clinton; 35% have an unfavorable opinion; 4% have no opinion.

**CNN/USA Today/Gallup Polls Shows Most Doubt Gore Is Ready.** The poll of 1,004 adults, conducted January 16-18, shows:

- 36% "think Al Gore is qualified to serve as president"; 56% do not.

**Fox News Poll.** A Fox News/Opinion Dynamics poll of 906 registered voters, conducted January 21-22 (+/- 3%) shows:

- 49% had a "generally favorable opinion" of Bill Clinton; 42% had a "generally unfavorable opinion;" 9% could not say.
- 39% said Clinton "conducts himself in a personally ethical manner;" 46% said he does not; 15% were not sure.
- 6% said the "'Era of Big Government' is really over;" 85% said it was not over; 9% were not sure.

**GOP Leads Generic Ballot By 4% In American Viewpoint Poll.** An American Viewpoint poll of 1,000 registered voters, conducted between January 15-19 (+/- 3.2%), shows:

- 45% would vote for the generic Republican candidate in their district; 41% would vote for the generic Democratic candidate.
- 59% approved of "the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President;" 35% disapproved.
- 36% said government "should do more things to solve the country's problems"; 51% said government is "doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals."

## **LAST LAUGHS:**

**Jay Leno:** "And White House press secretary Mike McCurry, boy, how would you like to have this guy's job? He said today the President denies ever having an affair with this woman. And he's going about his normal daily routine. Yeah, well, denying having an affair with a woman – pretty much – is Clinton's normal daily routine."

**Jay Leno:** "What's great – you realize – if we elected Bob Dole, the big story right now would be low interest rates."

**Jay Leno:** "CNN reported yesterday, this Whitewater prosecutor Kenneth Starr – he wanted to put a wire on this Monica Lewinsky girl and have her tape conversations with President Clinton. I guess she would wear a microphone hidden somewhere on her body when she met the President. Like, he wouldn't find that in the first two minutes."

**Jay Leno:** "Well, I guess Hillary's fighting back. Today, she hired her own White House intern – Lorena Bobbitt, I believe."

**Bill Maher:** "Monica Lewinsky, the young woman in question, her lawyer is complaining that Kenneth Starr squeezed her very hard to roll over on the President. That's not the joke part. He apparently detained her for nine hours, he apparently offered her immunity, and, get this, I'm not kidding about this, threatened to tell her parents. And she is a young woman, and she was apparently very scared by this. She was afraid what the reaction of her Jewish mother would be when she found out that Clinton was not a doctor."

**Conan O'Brien:** "But on Sunday – as is traditional – the team that wins the Super Bowl is going to get a phone call from President Clinton. That's true. Yeah, then the cheerleaders will be subpoenaed by Kenneth Starr."

**Conan O'Brien:** "On secretly recorded tapes, Monica Lewinsky says that President Clinton gave her several gifts, including a dress. That's right. And in response, the President said, 'I wasn't giving her the dress, I was just returning it.'"

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— 3-3-98

Bruce Reed

I noticed in the newspaper that you, being in charge of the white house social programs, that it is still business as usual! Does this mean that Monica is still visiting Bill in the oval office and using her 'presidential knee pads'? ?

I'm looking forward to reading your book when you leave your present employment. I don't read about you much in the news but the stories you could tell must be voluminous, since you are in charge of social activities.

JW Montgomery

# Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

## Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. envelope	Junious Montgomery to Reed (partial) (1 page)	nd	P6/b(6)

### COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records  
Domestic Policy Council  
Bruce Reed (Admin)  
OA/Box Number: 17658

### FOLDER TITLE:

Admin Files - Mementos

2011-0299-S  
kc459

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

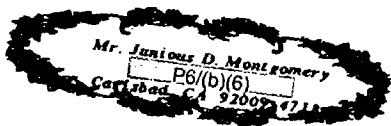
PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

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

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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

100



Bruce Reed  
The White House  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.  
Washington, D.C.

20500



EDUC. SESSION

→ LAW ENFORCEMENT ROUNDTABLE  
(KEND, MCCAFFREY, RUBIN)  
- FBI, DEA, ATF

BLAIR HOUSE  
THE PRESIDENT'S GUEST HOUSE

Legacy  
mtg.

POTUS: Things almost legs - college, training, Reading

CHR: Learn to read, read to learn

POTUS (aside): Probably should be nat curriculum

RILEY: Crime + educ - top issues.

Geo Allen, VA

Stds will make the biggest diff.

Leverage pts: 1) Nat consensus on reading (value)

2) Math + science / TIMSS

1<sup>st</sup> in world, 20 dots - 2<sup>nd</sup> in science, 5<sup>th</sup> in math

New leverage pt: math in 8<sup>th</sup> grade <sup>all students take</sup> <sub>alg + geometry</sub>  
in 8<sup>th</sup> grade

I always opposed nat tests, but we're

Voluntary nat test for 4<sup>th</sup> grade reading + 8<sup>th</sup> grade math

Take 2 yrs. 11/5/20m. Trend lines.

Achieve

Enormous jolt

LEON: Will this hurt poor kids?

Donna: Leverage college

BC: 2<sup>nd</sup> far on CHICAGO/TIMSS - 2<sup>nd</sup> wave

RECU: Amer segregating by income. Setting up for failure.  
More metro educ

RILEY: Shut down failing schools  
Opposed to history

O'Leary,  
Cismoros:

Compliance, not  
enforcement

PEARL: Don't use results re hiring

BC: Would help to have other test

TX

Do science + math tests

Teachers - Donna without Comm

VP: Yes -  
good result

RILEY: AP BR - 13/83

BC: That's why we need a nat. test. otherwise, we're kidding ourselves.

—

**BLAIR HOUSE  
THE PRESIDENT'S GUEST HOUSE**

Youth

Reno: Prison drug testing. Drug CTS.  
Guns out of hands of kids.  
Communities. 0-3.

McCaffrey: Not keep drugs out of country, we can barely  
keep them out of our schools + prisons

5-yr budget

Focus on 68m 0-18

Cigs. Alcohol. Illegal drugs - avoid those 3  
+ you'll never see 3m drug users. 18m alcoholics  
Broader concept.

Talk in terms of strategic outcomes.

We lack credibility on drug treatment.

R+D - sadly amateurish

55% of drug budget → law enf. + prisons

- \$40k for violent crime is ok

- A.G. will look at drug sentencing / <sup>crack</sup> disparities

- severity + swiftness of punishment, not length

- alternative sentencing

TV - 15,000 hrs. 12,000 hrs. of instruction

- more effective partnership w/ Hollywood

S/W border - there wasn't a border till 4 yrs ago

Now there's sort of a border

Glickman: Lowest abortions is well

Shulake: Tobacco - most imp. public health

**BLAIR HOUSE  
THE PRESIDENT'S GUEST HOUSE**

EPA

1. children
2. Govt can't do it alone → Parents
3. RT to know - 1<sup>st</sup> ever in Safe Drinking  
- Superfund announcement
4. Polio health
5. REBO -
6. Congress - House changed, Senate bad  
Info. Clean Air, Wetlands, Private Property  
Lott says reg. reform. Stake at clear position  
on clean water, Superfund - admin reforms,  
Congress has to pass a bill - tax not  
collected in a yr.

BRABBITT - 30m across

NW - unemployment down, but earned ORCA

Calif - 51B on the D. AZ → water to NV. Examples

GLICKMAN - 70% of land 48 is in private hands.

VP - Sustainable Devel, Cities. Urban environ.

**BLAIR HOUSE  
THE PRESIDENT'S GUEST HOUSE**

TECH

Greg Not a substitute for values (v-chip)  
Tech doesn't suggest its own answers

Jack

10% increase in Tpc. this yr.

BC

Good yr in '93 for Commerce  
NII + NSA OK. But App. Tech under attack.  
Need clear view of Comp. sci. tech budget

VP

Moor's Law - every 18 mos, computing power and on  
chip doubles + cost cut in half. For past 20 yrs.  
Legacy - every school + library by 2000

Momentos

$$\begin{array}{r} 30 \\ 25 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} 1\phi \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 50 \\ 40 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} 80 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{r} 60 \\ 45 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 86 \\ 5 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} 400 \text{ Mili-} \\ 254 \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} 0 \\ \hline \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 80 \\ 108 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} 800 \text{ M} \\ 404 \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 15 \\ 8 \\ \hline \end{array} \quad \begin{array}{l} 1,2 \text{ B} \\ 45\phi \end{array}$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 25\phi \end{array}$$

$$40 - 25 = 15\phi$$

$$3\phi$$

$$\begin{array}{r} 45\phi \\ 105 \end{array}$$

Brue L. / Brue R.  
lookback scheme

POTUS 9.13.97 Yellow Oval

POTUS: Which have largest impact

2) Necessity - what do we have to do

3) Possib. : what can we actually do

4) Legacy + clarity - what would likely have enduring impact

- Dem Party new direction? Saved progressive govt from itself?

- opened doors of college

- Rahm: how can we make sure Clintonism ~~and~~ lives on beyond us

- Is there a new mission for Americorps, e.g., that will crystallize for next generation

Momentus

VP: Don't leak

Smart: Budget options

Hilley: 1) Trust fund - 21<sup>st</sup> C. Biomedical (tobacco)

2) Approps - not much. How you spend the surplus? Dollar - dollar - dollar

3) Private sector + states

Gene: Dedicated resource issues

POTUS: 1) Need good econ team. Stretched bus cycle. Gotta manage economy, not fall asleep at switch

2) FD

3) Domestic - ~~not~~ criminal society (crime + welfare)

What does it take to make ~~the nation~~ ~~the~~ ~~the~~ work?

1) Educ. 2) Reconnecting work + family

- college

- Educ: reading + stds - little more to reinforce things done

- Health insurance for parents (every step overcome biggest stain of Chi)

- innovative way to expand coverage

- Child care: unreasonable that highest % of working & + poor par c.c. centers

- All remaining social probs are most imp. things (esp underdcs) - Pat story

- big surprise - kids who are loved.

- \* Stbs. Promote what we've done. Charters

- Any more \$ except for health care or c. care ought to be on what we're already doing

- indiv. opp + work + family = most imp., if crime + welf. under control

4) Defining future - 1) Science + tech 2) <sup>optimism</sup> ~~educ.~~ 3) nat service etc.

~~no~~ - The right is organized to make people miserable. We can't turn against optimism (Carter <sup>Rank</sup>)

- All elections, all politics is about the future. If people can feed themselves + nobody's beating down the door, it's about tomorrow.

- 2 great comm failures - deficit + trade

- We don't know rt balance of research. Not enough in basic research.

- Either pick 1 area like

- Or set up a fund for the future (= appeal of tobacco st fund) = gift to future.

- Millennium - endow permanent research fund to

- take arts - humanities out of politics (= \$4B trust fund

- Stern said he could raise \$1.5 B. Drop this on Congress (GWP could go to Hollywood + raise \$ again)

- No zip to race yet.

Don't do drug testing (need treatment) - get Christian-Cong. involved in prisons (only if abuse politic)

- Fed. prison system is headed due south - no educ. progrs - warehousing ex probs. - bad as of

Entitlements - bipartisan process. Medicare is necessity. Soc Sec. - prefer to do it now before next elect.

- no big deal '95, 2000, 2001 - but I'd like to remove every argument for conservative opponents.

that's what will most advantage New Dem.

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002. notes	handwritten, meeting w POTUS (partial) (1 page)	09/13/1997	P5

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

9/13, p. 2

P: Delib. under the screen anti-parody  
 Reagan changed press's thought structure  
 I'm appalled

- we Dems just do gut (20pp DNC), we don't know how to talk about it

VP: Don't give selves enough credit. Magic Eye book. Legacy is like that.

- Defn of role of gut has been defined going back to 91

- New maturity for progressives, can't manhandle reality (Gerald)

Science-tech. Climate change creates econ opp. for us.

When do I fit in? 2nd category - cities, REBO, enviro. - I can step in. Have to wheel you in.

1. Econ

2. Educ.

3. Race - dialogue w/ action. A healing Admin.

4. FP

P: All life lived at margin

Don't forget # in budget on urban, <sup>to</sup> WR right, kids health - can't let employers dump onto public rolls.

world will present more choices than ever before - can choose to integrate or not

Leave tough enviro. issues to me

Race initiative - full time or flat time.

Paradigm [B&P]

VP: Values. Tobacco is an example. Enviro. + CFR. Race TV violence. New economy.

Indiv - Family - Comm - Race/Ethnic - Region - Nation - Global region - World (Concentric circles)

Nation-state being undermined by these centrifugal forces = fits in w/ progressive gut.

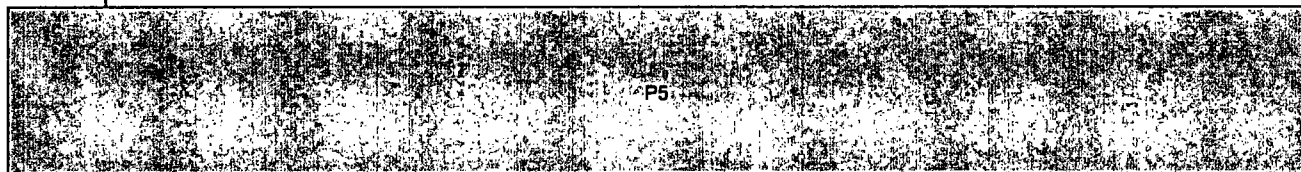
Pubic. Too many events, too many foreign leaders

P: Can't help poor kids unless good schools, parents working, streets are safe, Indirect as well as direct.

- 100,000 cops = we struck a match to kindling

- On EZs, maybe we did, maybe we didn't

MW: Speak less + heard more



Mentors

# INCREMENTAL TOBACCO REVENUES REQUIRED FOR VARIOUS INITIATIVES

Revenues in billions (current \$); per-pack equivalents in current \$

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	FY99-03	FY99-08
Increment to Double NIH's Budget in 10 Yrs.	1.0	2.0	3.1	4.3	5.6	7.0	8.5	10.1	11.8	13.6	16.1	67.1
Additional Funds	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	5.0	25.0	50.0
Annual Net Payments to States	4.0	4.5	4.5	6.5	6.5	8.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	8.0	26.0	66.0
Tobacco Settlement Base Spending	2.5	3.1	3.6	3.8	4.4	5.0	5.0	5.1	7.3	7.3	17.4	47.1
TOTAL REVENUES (\$in billions)	12.5	14.6	16.2	19.6	21.5	25.0	26.5	28.2	32.1	33.9	84.5	230.2
Per Pack Equivalent	0.84	1.08	1.24	1.68	1.92	2.50	2.74	3.05	4.80	5.25		

Standard scoring method. Includes offset for losses in other taxes

	4	4.5	4.5	6.5	6.5	
	2.3	2.6	2.6	3.7	3.7	<u>14.9</u>
CCBG	<del>.8</del>	<del>.8</del>	<del>.8</del>	<del>.8</del>	<del>.8</del>	5.0
AS	.2	.2	.2	.2	.2	1.0
AF	.3	.3	.3	.3	.3	1.5
Class	<del>1.1</del>	<del>1.3</del>	<del>1.2</del>	2.2	2.2	7.9
Kids	<del>.4</del>	<del>.3</del>	<del>.4</del>	<del>.5</del>	<del>.5</del>	<del>2.0</del>
	.3	.3	.4	.5	.5	

**Package A: Detail on Tobacco Settlement's Specified Base Spending**

(BA – \$ in Billions)

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	FY99-03	FY99-08
Public Health Trust Fund	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
HHS Research on Cessation	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.5	1
National Education/Media Campaign	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	2.7	5.9
State Programs/ASSIST	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
HHS Grants to Reduce Tobacco Use	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.9	2.4
Cessation Trust Fund	1	1.1	1.1	1.1	1.7	1.8	1.8	1.9	2	2	6	15.5
FDA Enforcement	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	1.5	3.5
Payments to Tobacco-Sponsored Teams	0	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.9
Other (Includes Civil Suits)	0.5	0.9	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.7	1.7	1.7	3.7	3.7	5.4	17.9
International	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Farmers	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	<b>2.5</b>	<b>3.1</b>	<b>3.6</b>	<b>3.8</b>	<b>4.4</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>5.1</b>	<b>7.3</b>	<b>7.3</b>	<b>17.4</b>	<b>47.1</b>

Moments

**CABINET MEETING  
September 10, 1998  
The Yellow Oval Room -- 5:00 pm**

**Materials**

**I. Remarks by the President**

- Remarks by the President at Moscow University of International Relations, *September 1, 1998*
- Remarks by the President to the Northern Ireland Assembly, *September 3, 1998*
- Remarks by the President in Limerick, Ireland, *September 5, 1998*
- Remarks by the President on National School Modernization (Maryland), *September 8, 1998*
- Remarks by the President to the Florida Democratic Party, *September 9, 1998*

**II. Talking Points**

- Expanding Health Coverage for Children, *September 1, 1998*
- Livable Communities for the 21st Century, *September 2, 1998*
- Preparing Americans for a Lifetime of Learning, *September 3, 1998*
- Important Economic News, *September 4, 1998*
- Quality Schools for the 21st Century, *September 8, 1998*
- A Quality Education for All, *September 9, 1998*

**III. Additional Materials**

- Sample Stump Speech for Members of the Cabinet
- "Following President Clinton's Lead, Senate Rejects Extreme House Republican Labor-HHS Bill", *September 1, 1998*
- "President's Initiative on Race, Summary of Advisory Board's Policy Recommendations to the President", *September 4, 1998*
- "President Clinton's Fall Agenda Highlights", *September 9, 1998*
- "President Clinton: Investing in Education to Prepare our Young People for the 21st Century", *September 9, 1998*
- "Status Report on the President's Initiative on Race", *September 9, 1998*

**IV. The President's Schedule, September - November, 1998**

**V. The Vice President's Schedule, September - November, 1998**

**VI. Cabinet and Sub-Cabinet Schedule, September - November, 1998**

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Orlando, Florida)

For Immediate Release

September 9, 1998

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
TO THE FLORIDA DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Orlando Marriott Downtown  
Orlando, Florida

2:52 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you so much. Thank you, Jim Pugh, for all the work you've done on this dinner and lunch and for helping Buddy through this long campaign. And thank you, Governor Rosello, for everything you've said and for your leadership of our Democratic Governors Association.

I'd like to thank the members of Congress who are here – Peter Deutsch, Rob Wexler, Corrine Brown – and your State Party Chair Mitch Ceasar. And especially I want to thank Buddy and Anne MacKay for years and years and years of devoted service to the people of Florida, and for taking on this campaign and seeing it through to what I predict will be a victory that will surprise some, but not me. And I thank them. (Applause.)

I came here today to talk to you about what we've done together in the last six years and what's at stake in this election. I think the people of this country have a serious choice to make in November between progress or partisanship, between people or politics, between unity or division.

You have been very good to me here in Florida – to me and to Hillary and to the Vice President and our administration –

PERSON IN AUDIENCE: We love you, Bill!

THE PRESIDENT: – and I'm very grateful to you. (Applause.) You have been astonishingly kind and generous to me today. And I will never forget it. If God lets me live to be an old man, I will never forget what Buddy MacKay said today from this platform when he could have said nothing. And so I hope you will just indulge me for a minute while I say that I thank you for that.

I have been your friend, I've done my best to be your friend. But I also let you down. And I let my family down and I let this country down. But I'm trying to make it right. And I'm determined never to let anything like that happen again. And I'm determined – (applause) – wait a minute, wait a minute. I'm determined to redeem the trust of people like Buddy and Anne, who were with me in 1991 – a lot of the rest of you were, too – when nobody but my mother and my wife thought I had a chance to be elected.

When I was over at the Hillcrest School – Buddy and I were over there a few minutes ago – and I was shaking hands with all these little kids out there. And this kid that reminded me a lot of myself when I was that young – he was bigger than the other students and kind of husky – he said, "Mr. President, I want to grow up to be President. I want to be a President like you." And I said – I thought, I want to be able to conduct my life and my presidency so that all the parents of the country could feel good if their children were able to say that again. I'll never forget that little boy, and it's a big guide for me.

So I ask you for your understanding, for your forgiveness on this journey were on. I hope this will be a time of reconciliation and healing, and I hope that millions of families all over America are in a way growing stronger because of this. But I'll tell you one thing that I hope you won't let happen. There are a whole lot of people, in Washington especially, or who write about this who would like for this – once again, would like for something going on in Washington to be the subject of an election in November, instead of what's going on in the lives of the American people. And I want to be open with you; I want you to understand these have been the toughest days of my life, but they may turn out to be the most valuable – for me and my family. And I have no one to blame but myself for my self-inflicted wounds. But that's not what America is about. And it doesn't take away from whether we're right or wrong on the issues or what we've done for the last six years or what this election is about.

So what I want to say to you is, you've been kind and understanding to me today. I hope you'll tell your friends and neighbors that I'm grateful and that I'm determined to redeem the trust of all the American people. But don't be fooled, not for a minute, not for a day – elections are about you and your children and your communities and your future. And I was looking at Buddy up here today, thinking, you know, how many people in how many places in this country would be well served to have somebody as profoundly decent and committed to doing the right thing as he is in any office in the land.

This is a big issue for Florida. What really matters is what decisions would the governor of Florida make that would affect you. You take this HMO bill of rights – we're trying to pass one in Washington. Suppose we don't pass one. There is still a huge percentage of people in Florida that are in HMOs. Forty-three HMOs in this country have endorsed our plan. Why? Because they're out there treating people right already and they think you ought to be able to go to an emergency room if you're hurt, the one nearest to you, and be reimbursed – not be taken across town. They think if you need a specialist you ought to be able to get one. They believe if you have medical records they ought to be private. They believe if your employer changes HMOs in the middle of your pregnancy or your cancer treatment you ought not to have to switch doctors. And they believe if these rights are there, you ought to have some way to enforce them. Now, that's what this is about. Now, the vote for governor of Florida could determine whether people in this state get those protections. That's what the election is about.

We heard Buddy talking about education. We've got an education opportunity in this country with the diversity of our kids, but we also have an obligation. The states have constitutional responsibility for education. The vote for governor of Florida will determine what kind of education our children get.

You heard him talking about the gun issue. I was, I guess, the first President ever to get into a public squabble with the NRA over the Brady Bill and then the assault weapons ban. I was sort of sad about it – actually, I had worked with them from time to time when I was governor of

Arkansas. But we were in the business of letting politics and rhetoric get in the way of children's lives. This is a better country because we passed the Brady Bill and the assault weapons ban. And you've got this loophole in Florida – and this is about politics as opposed to principle. No one possibly could believe that if you need a check on the background, the criminal or mental health history of somebody who can go into a gun store and buy a gun, that you shouldn't have that on any gun purchase. It doesn't take that long.

Now, these are big issues. A quarter of a million people have not been able to buy guns because of their criminal history since the Brady Bill passed. How many people do you think are alive because of that? So your decision in the governor's race in Florida will have an effect on that.

And we're all here because we know all this. And I guess in a way I'm preaching to the choir again, but I wanted to say, as much as I have been touched by the wonderful reception you've given me today, as much as I hope you'll share what I said to you today with your friends and neighbors, never forget you come here as citizens, with the responsibilities of citizens. And we go forward from this room because we know that our individual lives and our family lives cannot be all they want to be unless our communities our state and our nation is all it can be.

I go back to Washington to work on – with only a very few weeks left in this congressional session – an enormously important agenda for this country. Let me just give you three or four examples of what really the election ought to be about, because it will chart the future of the country for years ahead.

On October 1st – and I am counting the days – we are going to have the first balanced budget and surplus we've had in 29 years, and it's going to be amazing. (Applause.) Now, there are already people who say, well, it's election year, let's give people a tax cut. Well, let me remind you, we have 16 million new jobs, the lowest unemployment rate in nearly 30 years, the lowest percentage of people on welfare in 29 years, and the first balanced budget in 29 years, and the highest home ownership in history and the lowest inflation rate in 32 years because we didn't squander money. We kept at it until we eliminated the deficit. That got interest rates down; that led to huge investment and an explosion in the markets and the country going forward.

Now, if we spend this money because we estimate that we'll have surpluses for years ahead, what happens to our other obligations? You know, pretty soon the baby boomers will start to retire – I say, pretty soon; starting in about 13 years, 10 if you take early Social Security. I'm the oldest of the baby boomers. We're the biggest group of Americans, the people between 34 and 52, in the history of the country until the kids that started school last year. We finally have a bigger groups of kids in school – which every Florida school district with a bunch of trailers out back of the regular building knows. (Laughter.)

But before that, there was us, the baby boomers, the children of the World War II generation. Now, when we retire at present rates of work force participation and birth rates and immigration rates, there will only be about two people working for every one person drawing Social Security. We'll all be eligible for Medicare. And I'm telling you, it is a mistake for us to go out and have an election year gimmick to please people, no matter how pleasing it would be with a tax cut, until we know we have saved Social Security for the 21st century in a way that does not require us to maintain our retirement by lowering the standard of living of our children and grandchildren. It is important and we ought to be tough about it. (Applause.)

And by the way, it's also good in the global economy for America to be strong and set an example. You see with all the gyrations in the stock market last week, a lot of you probably said, well, I hadn't noticed any companies going broke and I haven't noticed any companies making windfall amounts of money, it looks like the economy is just growing steady. Why is the market jumping up and down? And then when you read the articles they say, well, it's because of what's going on in the global economy.

So I say to you, the United States, as Alan Greenspan said the other day, cannot be an island of prosperity in a sea of distress. Thirty percent of our growth has come because of global growth, our expanding trade. In Florida – you know that. Buddy and I, we've done export events here in Florida with very impressive businesses here, selling all over the world.

Now, the United States has an obligation to try to keep global economic growth going; to help the countries when they get in trouble – if they'll help themselves – if they'll help themselves – and to create an environment in which growth can occur. One of the things we have to do is at least pay our dues to the institutions like the International Monetary Fund that can put money into these countries that are reforming. And it's in our interest.

You know, we've got a lot of farmers in the Midwest and the high plains who are really going to have a hard time this year because in Asia, where the countries have had difficult economic problems, they can't afford to buy our food anymore. And it's led to big drops in farm income.

So I ask you to support, number one, an economic program that saves Social Security first and don't fool with this balanced budget until we actually achieve it – we ought to look at the black ink just for a day or two before we start giving it away – (laughter) – and, number two, fulfills our responsibilities to the global economy; and number three, recognizes that over the long run we can't grow this economy and become what we ought to be and be one country with all this diversity you have in Florida and throughout the country unless we have a commitment to have a world-class education that's available to every single child. (Applause.)

Now, we have a national plan that will help Florida, for the first time, to help to build or expand or remodel 5,000 schools; to have smaller classes in the early grades; to have safer schools; to have better reading programs; to hook up all of our schools to the Internet. But in the end, I will say again, it matters who is governor. And if you think about Florida's long-term history, if you look at the record that Lawton and Buddy have made for the last eight years, I hope you'll encourage everybody in this congressional delegation to put partisanship aside and vote for our education agenda, but even if it all passes, in order to have the maximum impact it matters who the governor is.

And unless we can prove that America can be one out of all these many cultures – to echo what Governor Rosello said – we're not going to have the America we want. And we won't be able to do that unless we achieve an education.

So, balance the budget, save Social Security before you spend the surplus. Meet our obligations to stabilize the international economy, because it's the right thing to do morally and it happens to be in our interest. Give us a world-class education. Pass the patients' bill of rights on the national level and at the state level. (Applause.)

Big issue in Florida. Prove that we can grow the economy while improving the environment. Forty percent of our lakes and rivers are still not safe to swim in. We still have places

with safe drinking water needs. As you have seen in Florida, climate change and the warming of the planet is real. We have to prove we can deal with these things and grow the economy. I'm so grateful for the chance that we've had to be involved together in recovering the Everglades. There are ways to do these things that will promote economic opportunity and still improve the environment.

There are lots of other issues coming up in Washington. We're finally going to get a chance to give the Senate one more chance to pass campaign finance reform. And I hope we do that. (Applause.) You know, you've done it in Florida. Every single member of our caucus in the Senate supports it. They are determined to kill the bill through a filibuster. But we finally passed a good campaign finance reform bill through the House. I thank the House members here from Florida for supporting it. We've got a real chance in the Senate.

And all this ought to be dealt with in the next three weeks. And if it's not, the voters ought to deal with it in November. Choices, choices, choices. Elections should be about you and your children and your future, not what somebody else tells you they ought to be about.

Again, let me thank you from the bottom of my heart for the support you've given to all of us. Let me thank you for your kindness to me today. Let me thank you most of all for supporting Buddy. But let me challenge you: This is a big, fast-growing state that is a model of the future of America; don't you let a single, solitary soul you know get away without voting in November, because the future of America is riding on it.

Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

# The Reliable Source

By Annie Groer and Ann Gerhart

## Stephanopoulos's Esprit in Decor

- George Stephanopoulos has finally found a home.

During his years in Washington, the former presidential adviser lived on planes and out of boxes.

But now he's a Columbia University prof, TV talking head and a would-be memoirist with a \$2.85 million advance and a new pad on Manhattan's Riverside Drive that is so "done" it's featured in the November issue of *Architectural Digest*.

There's George, smiling next to the fireplace! There's George's bedroom, completely draped by the Ralph Lauren Home Collection!

New York-based architect-designer Stephen Miller Siegel designed the space. "That he had no furniture was fantastic—we could start fresh," Siegel tells the magazine. "And it wasn't a handicap that he had no clear understanding of the design process. This was an apartment based on George's personality."

And exactly what is that personality? It seems to include a penchant for oil paintings, wood and candlesticks. Plus a few framed political cartoons of himself, for old time's sake. Most of the photos showing George with world leaders he gave to his mom.

FILE PHOTO

## NOW YOU KNOW . . .

■ How did a pratfall artist come to host a reception for an environmental organization? Comedian Chevy Chase was born to it, he explained yesterday. Chase (no relation to the town) does his shtick tomorrow night at the Embassy of Ecuador for Friends of the Earth. His wife, Jayni, is on the board.

"I grew up this way as a lad in Woodstock, N.Y., composting in the '40s and '50s," said Chase, all in one breath, "and I have always found it to be important that we recycle and reuse things and treat nature appropriately, the way it treats us—inappropriately this year, apparently, with the El Nino thing. But of course, we get El Nino all the time. In fact, I had it this morning."

Ba da boom.

■ Now here's one Kennedy cousin that John F. Kennedy Jr. probably won't be chastising anytime soon. Anthony Shriver founded Best Buddies in 1989 to help the mentally retarded find employment, and Saturday he chairs the group's annual auction at the Potomac home of Mom and Dad—Sargent and Eunice Kennedy Shriver.

Best items on the block: autographed Muhammad Ali and Evander Holyfield boxing gloves.



FILE PHOTO BY JAMES M. THRESHER—THE WASHINGTON POST

In a 1995 meeting, Clinton thanks Love for her support.

■ When the first lady turns 50 on Oct. 26, founding members of the Hillary Rodham Clinton Fan Club will host a luncheon in her honor. Ruth Love, 73, and Eugene Love, 83, a retired couple from Silver Spring, have invited a dozen nearby chapter coordinators over for deli sandwiches and birthday cake.

The Loves love HRC. "She has worked all her life on behalf of children and women's interests," Eugene Love said yesterday. The fan club now boasts 171 international chapters, with branches in Japan, India and Chile.

The Loves are such good fans that they hope for no message at all from the first lady. They said they know that she probably would like to spend a quiet day around the old White House.

## A Sign With a Unique Vista

**T**he signs are discreet, well designed and as subtle as a pop in the snoot:

"Coming Soon . . . Rasheeda Moore Park & Playground."

In a stunning example of that real estate axiom that nothing matters more than location, location, location, they adorn the construction fence in the 1400 block of M

Street NW, directly across from what used to be the Vista International Hotel (now the Westin City Center).

It was in Room 727, on Jan. 18, 1990, that D.C. Mayor Marion Barry socialized with Moore, and where Hizzoner was videotaped smoking crack cocaine.

The signs are not the spray-painted work of a graffiti bandit, but rather the

methodical creation of someone who knows that black type on white paper needs bright horizontal strips of red and yellow tape for maximum visual impact.

The existing, tree-studded park belongs to the National Association of Homebuilders, which put up the fence last month before the start of renovation of its existing headquarters and construction of a new edifice.

"I can assure you that we did not do this," a Homebuilders spokesman said.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 15, 1997

Momentos

# AROUND THE WORLD

## Cholera Reported In Storm-Ravaged Mexican City

ACAPULCO, Mexico—Cholera has broken out in this hurricane-ravaged city, and health officials are moving to protect thousands of homeless people from the disease, President Ernesto Zedillo said yesterday.

Zedillo, who visited Acapulco to check on relief efforts, did not say how many residents of this Pacific resort have contracted cholera, which if untreated can kill within 24 hours by causing severe diarrhea and vomiting. Health officials said three cases have been reported.

A lack of running water in most of the city has compounded the risk of disease. Health workers say there also is a serious risk of typhoid, dengue and salmonella.

Zedillo said that it will be "days and probably weeks" before drinking water is restored throughout the city.

More than 200 people have died since the hurricane hit the resort city last Thursday; and more than 50,000 people in Guerrero and Oaxaca states have been displaced.

—Associated Press

## Philippine Army Base Attacked by Gunmen

■ COTABATO, Philippines—Two Arab gunmen attacked one of the Philippines' largest army camps with grenades and automatic rifles, killing three soldiers before being shot dead themselves, the military said. Ten people, including five civilians who were enlisting in the army, were wounded in the 30-minute gun battle inside Camp Siongco about three miles from Cotabato on southern Mindanao island.

"One was carrying an Egyptian passport and the other one was carrying a Saudi Arabian passport," Gen. Raul Urgello, a battalion commander at the camp said.

Military officials in Cotabato said they are investigating the possibility the gunmen were planning to kidnap Gen. Urgello or

Capt. Noel Detoyato, who was with him at the time of attack.

—Reuters

## Museum Attack Foiled in Spain

■ BILBAO, Spain—A Spanish policeman died of his wounds, a day after he was shot in a foiled attack on the new Guggenheim Museum in Bilbao by ETA Basque separatist guerrillas. Jose Maria Agirre, 35, had helped avert a grenade attack on the museum five days before its inauguration by Spain's king and queen. Bilbao is the industrial center of the troubled Basque region in northern Spain, where guerrillas have waged a 29-year campaign for an independent Basque state.

Agirre was shot in the chest when he and his partner approached a suspicious van parked near the museum to check identification. His right lung, which was pierced by a bullet, had to be removed. Three attackers posing as gardeners had been unloading flower pots for a giant plant sculpture in front of the museum. Police later found 12 grenades in the flower pots set to explode by remote control.

Police arrested three suspects late Monday and seized a cache of explosives at a farmhouse believed to be the base of the attackers.

—Reuters

## Italian Bell Tower Collapses in Quake

■ ASSISI, Italy—Another strong earthquake jolted central Italy, toppling a 15th-century bell tower in Foligno, an Umbrian town near Assisi, but sparing the quake-ravaged St. Francis Basilica from further damage. The National Institute of Geophysics put the quake's magnitude at 4.9.

The quake was felt far south, rattling Naples some 130 miles away. In Rome, about 110 miles from Assisi, a deep crack opened in the cupola of St. Andrea della Fratte church.

—Associated Press

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1997

Momentos

# Gore Bashed for 'Ellen' Comment

*Conservatives Call Praise for Gay TV Character Inappropriate*

By Ruth Marcus  
Washington Post Staff Writer

A1

Vice President Gore was denounced by conservative groups yesterday for praising the television show "Ellen" for promoting a more open attitude toward gay people. The conservatives accused Gore of pandering to Hollywood and its legions of Democratic donors.

But his remarks to an entertainment industry group Thursday were widely praised by gay organizations and underscored the efforts the vice president has made in recent months to cultivate an increasingly important Democratic constituency.

Gore has spoken at a National Gay and Lesbian Task Force dinner, received an award for protecting AIDS funding from budget cuts and hosted an event for gay activists at the vice presidential mansion in which Tipper Gore introduced him as her "partner."

None of those events, however, generated the controversy he touched off by praising the widely watched episode of the ABC show in which Ellen "came out."

In his speech to the Hollywood Radio and Television Society, Gore repeated his familiar message about the "deep responsibility" that Hollywood faces because of its broad influence on American

culture. He praised "Sesame Street" for teaching children important lessons, "All in the Family" for having Archie Bunker's wisecracks prod Americans to confront their prejudices, and the television movie "The Day After" for bringing home the danger of nuclear holocaust.

"And when the character Ellen came out, millions of Americans were forced to look at sexual orientation in a more open light," Gore said. A White House official said the line was not in the original draft of the speech and that Gore's chief of staff, Ron Klain, and communications director, Lorraine

See GORE, A9, Col. 1

GORE, From A1

Voles, were not aware of it until they saw news reports yesterday morning.

Voles said yesterday that the line was inserted by Gore aides looking for a reference to a current television show. "He was reviewing the draft ... and he got to that part and he didn't flinch. As far as I know there was no big discussion about it."

Voles rejected charges that Gore was seeking to curry favor with Hollywood or gay activists. "The vice president doesn't need to pander to either one of these groups," she said. "He's always criticized [Hollywood] when he found them lacking and he's always praised them when he believed their actions were for the good."

Gore was accompanied on the trip by his longtime political consultant, Robert Squier.

The ABC situation comedy, which carries a PG-14 label, has been the subject of controversy since the episode last spring in which the main character announced she is gay. The show's star, Ellen DeGeneres, also announced that she is a lesbian.

In the current season, the story line of "Ellen" has focused on gay issues. In a show broadcast earlier this month, Ellen was shown giving a passionate but joking kiss to her heterosexual best friend, then asking whether she had felt the friend's tongue. In an episode slated to run during sweeps week next month, Ellen and a female friend are shown holding hands and heading to a bedroom.

Gore's remarks triggered an immediate comparison with those of another vice president, Dan Quayle, who in 1992 assailed another popular television character, Murphy Brown, for glamorizing single motherhood by having a child out of wedlock. Quayle was derided at the time, but his remarks sparked a national debate about single motherhood.

"I'm always surprised to hear politicians promoting the agenda of Hollywood elites," Quayle said in a statement yesterday. "If there's anybody whose agenda needs promoting, it is the middle-class American family."

"My experience would suggest that vice presidents should be careful before discussing Hollywood sitcom characters in any which way," said William Kristol, Quayle's former chief of staff.

Christian Coalition Executive Director Randy Tate assailed Gore's comment as "nothing more than craven pandering to the Hollywood left" and "way out of the mainstream of what most American families want to see on prime-time television."

Said Tate, a former Republican congressman from Washington state, "I can only think of one reason he wanted to do it and that's campaign financing. Hollywood contributed millions to the Clinton-Gore campaign ... and I can only assume he's trying, one, to take attention off the hearings on Capitol Hill and, two, pandering again for money and support."

Elizabeth Birch, executive director of the Human Rights Campaign, a gay rights group, said Gore's comments show he "is far more in touch with the vast majority of Americans" than the Christian Coalition. "I think it's politically good for him but I don't think he did it for that reason," she said. "My consistent experience of the vice president is that he cares about this issue and that he wants equality and fairness to operate."

The gay community has become increasingly politically active and generous. The Human Rights Campaign's political action committee donated \$1.1 million in the last election cycle, the group was active in dispatching staff to work on key races and its major donors separately

gave more than \$3 million, Birch said.

"I think he has a very good base in gay voters and gay donors, as did Clinton, and I think he is looking for opportunities to stay in touch with those communities," said a gay entertainment company executive, citing the "Ellen" remarks as one example.

Gore's relationship with Hollywood has been more strained than with the gay community. Tipper Gore's activities during the 1980s on offensive rock lyrics left a legacy of suspicion among some industry executives, and Gore's championing of the V-chip and television labeling have also generated anxiety.

On a trip to California in July 1996, Gore lectured entertainment industry

leaders for not doing enough to reduce violence in children's programs. During a visit earlier this year, he "stubbed his toe a little by going on too much about smoking in movies" and telling industry to stop glamorizing the practice, one executive said.

Thursday's speech was more conciliatory. "You have shown that this community can be a community of leaders, a responsible community, a community that cares," Gore said, citing the voluntary ban on liquor advertising, the new TV ratings and the agreement to add three hours weekly of children's programming.

Following his speech, Gore had dinner with a group of entertainment figures that included actor Tom Hanks and director Rob Reiner.

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to punish Islamic Salvation Front supporters who have switched allegiances to the government, which has provided some of the area's residents with arms. Some analysts suggest that the movement also provides cover to those settling personal scores and to mercenaries engaged in land grabs and criminal activities.

"It's quite complicated," said a Western-educated professional who lives in Baraki. "If you are not armed, you are a target. If you are armed, you are a target."

The attackers typically kill their victims by hacking them to death with axes, cutting their throats, disemboweling them or burning them alive. In Sidi Rais, one of the attackers cut the throat of a 2-year-old boy, then burned his body in a bread oven, said Rabah, 26, a survivor who declined to give his last name.

Hocine Zaourar, an Algerian photographer for the Agence France-Presse news agency, said he saw an infant lying on a domino table with his throat cut. Fetuses were ripped from the wombs of two women, according to Djamil Benrabah, a former government official whose wife was murdered by militants in 1995 and who now runs a private group to aid the victims of terrorism. A mentally retarded man was burned alive, a resident said.

Women and teenage girls have suffered a particularly cruel fate. Many who are not murdered outright have been kidnapped and raped. During a recent military operation against an Armed Islamic Group stronghold in Ouled Allel, a few miles south of the capital, security forces found a *fatwa*, or religious edict, in which the local Armed Islamic Group commander, Abu Abdullah Issa, told his men that "God gave us the right to take the women of the enemies," according to a copy reproduced in the independent newspaper Al Khabar.

A militant captured in the same operation, Abu Soufian, said at a news conference for the Algerian press that women captured during the Bentalha massacre were "raped by some members of the group for 10 minutes each, then killed." The victims' bodies were then thrown into a well, where they were found last week by civil defense workers, according to Al Khabar.

The killers take a deliberate approach to their work. In Bentalha, for example, they approached on foot from an orange grove at about 11:30 p.m., cut electricity by tossing chains over power lines and divided into three groups, said two witnesses.

One group cordoned off the area while the others spread out through the neighborhood of rough concrete-block homes and small courtyards shaded with grape arbors. Shouting obscenities, they exchanged gunfire

with armed members of the local self-defense group while moving from house to house in search of victims, residents said.

"One group watched the road, the other put bombs beside the doors and the third was cutting throats," said Khadim Ali Khouja, 36, a truck driver who saved his family by fending off the attackers with a shotgun. The neighboring Freiha family was not so lucky: After the attackers fled about 3 a.m., Khouja entered their three-room home to find the bodies of seven children and three women. Their throats had been cut.

While survivors said they discerned no particular pattern to the killing, the victims apparently were chosen with care. "This list was very well done," said Khouja, who speculates that the neighborhood—a one-time Islamic Salvation Front stronghold—was targeted because the government had given weapons to some of its residents. "They were calling people by their names."

Khouja and his brother, Abdel Rahim, said they identified the attackers as Afghans by their garb: black turbans, loose cotton robes and old military fatigues. Among them were two women, one in a red dress and the other in jeans and jacket, whose job was to loot the homes of those who had been slaughtered, the men said.

Like so much about the violence, even death tolls are subject to dispute. Benrabah, of the victims' group, said his organization has documented the deaths of 514 people in the Sidi Rais massacre, including 10 victims under the age of 2. That is more than five times the official figure of 98. Military officials did not respond to interview requests.

More puzzling is the apparently passive response of Algerian security forces to massacres that in some cases have occurred almost literally under their noses. In Sidi Rais, for example, the killing took place within a few hundred yards of an army garrison, a portion of which is visible from one of the streets where much of the killing occurred.

When the shooting started, several hundred residents fled on foot to the garrison, where they were given shelter in an adjacent villa, according to an older woman in a magenta robe who would not give her name. "I don't know why they didn't come," the woman said. "We cried and shouted that we have children. but the army didn't come."

In the case of the Bentalha, soldiers stayed in their barracks because "they were afraid" of mines and booby traps, said Khouja. But he also wasn't convinced by the excuse. "Of course, we are angry," he said with a sidelong glance at a nearby gendarme. "In this case, no one can hide his anger."

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Momentum

# A presidential page turner

*Clinton gives up summer novels for a new memo on priorities*

**W**hite House aides have faithfully reported on President Clinton's voracious appetite for summer reading at Martha's Vineyard, including a string of mystery novels and books on history and political science. But his most important reading material was hand delivered last week from the White House: an inch-thick memorandum outlining 14 policy priorities—or "pillars"—for the next three years, ranging from entitlement reform and fighting crime to protecting the environment and improving the inner cities. The president has often addressed these issues, but aides now want him to make some tough choices. Clinton is supposed to peruse the "options memo," which was ordered by Chief of Staff **Erskine Bowles** and prepared by Deputy Chiefs of Staff **Sylvia Mathews** and **John Podesta**, then parcel out assignments. A senior administration official says Clinton "knows he shouldn't take on all the issues personally." Instead, the president wants to devote himself to no more than three or four issues at a time to avoid spreading himself too thin as he did in 1993. At a minimum, Clinton is expected to immediately embrace education reform and promoting racial healing. He is expected to let Vice President **Al Gore** continue focusing on environmental issues and improving government efficiency. **Hillary Rodham Clinton** is likely to receive added authority over issues relating to children and women.

## Energizing CNN

New CNN President **Rick Kaplan** wasted little time cracking the whip at the all-news net-

work. When the former ABC executive held forth at his first early-morning board meeting in Atlanta, insiders say, he delivered a scathing assessment of that morning's news program. While many credit him with "energizing" the news operation, Kaplan raised a few eyebrows by telling CNN staff-

**Jesse Helms** over who will be the next U.S. ambassador to Mexico. The normally genteel Lugar will hold hearings this week on tobacco—a subject dear to Helms's constituents—and has packed the witness list with prominent industry critics. Helms has enraged fellow Republican Lugar by pledging

on the nomination. During 20 years in Congress Lugar, of Indiana, has rarely played tit-for-tat, but now he is using his chairmanship of the Agriculture Committee for political leverage. Lugar's hearings on a proposed legal settlement with the tobacco industry over smoking will feature five critics—including former Surgeon General **C. Everett Koop** and former Food and Drug Administration chief **David Kessler**—but only one industry spokesman. A Lugar spokesman calls the list "fair" and says tobacco farmers will testify later.

## Déjà vu in Bosnia

Some Western diplomats in Bosnia liken NATO's recent concessions to Bosnian Serb hard-liners to the Bay of Pigs fiasco in Cuba. They argue that U.S. troops with the NATO peacekeeping force reneged on a U.S. plan to protect and support Bosnian Serbs who rose up against indicted war crimes suspect **Radovan Karadzic**, who is still powerful in eastern Bosnia. The plan called for the troops to lend muscle if needed when police loyal to Karadzic foe **Biljana Plavsic**—the Bosnian Serb president—seized police stations. The plan envisioned international inspectors sweeping in to gather enough evidence of weapons and human rights abuse to justify sacking pro-Karadzic officers. But Karadzic loyalists learned of the plan and prepared to resist. As conditions deteriorated, U.S. commanders began to abandon the plan, even turning over a vital TV tower to Karadzic forces. Now, dozens of local officials who declared loyalty to Plavsic—partly on the strength of U.S. assurances—are being hunted by pro-Kar-



ers to limit their use of the word *scandal* in reporting on Clinton's campaign fund-raising woes. A longtime Clinton friend, Kaplan has stayed in the Lincoln Bedroom. CNN had no comment.

## No more Mr. Nice Guy?

It appears that Sen. **Richard Lugar** wasn't bluffing when he threatened to get tough with his North Carolina colleague

to single-handedly kill the ambassadorial appointment of former Massachusetts Gov. **William Weld**. The moderate, patrician Weld, also a Republican, had distanced himself from the conservative, populist Helms in an earlier campaign. Helms, claiming concern over Weld's views on legalizing marijuana, vowed to use his power as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to block a hearing

health permitting. No, she had not designated anyone to succeed her. God will decide. And no, she didn't have the time to answer a lot of questions from a journalist. "I am not important," she told me. "Go and see our children and our dying. Go and touch them and spread your love among them."

It was an admonition heeded by people all over the world. At any given time, dozens of volunteers make the pilgrimage to Calcutta to work at Mother Teresa's missions. Some stay a few days, some a few years. They help the nuns clean, prepare meals, bathe the residents, dispense medicine, play with the children, and—most important—nurture the dying.

For the human wrecks dumped outside Nirmal Hriday's front door or picked up at hospitals that reject them as untreatable, love has always been regarded as more important than medicine. Nursing emaciated patients suffering from tuberculosis, cholera, gangrene, dysentery, or other chronic conditions is no easy task. It was humbling to watch the volunteers—some young men and women barely out of their teens—patiently helping strangers bear their suffering and die easily, with dignity. There was a palpable spiritual serenity that buffered the harsh reality of the place, and it reflected a simple ideal: to care for the poorest of the poor, and thus be closer to God.

Some volunteers came to test the depth of their religious convictions; some were drawn by Mother Teresa's mystique; others weren't sure why they were there. Katrina, an Aussie in her mid-30s, came to India to mourn after her husband died in a motorcycle accident. Now she had found solace scrubbing floors and bathing the residents at Nirmal Hriday. Peggy, an energetic Philadelphia widow in her 70s, had been coming for 11 years, staying months at a time. "I don't know what keeps me coming, but Mother Teresa draws me back like a magnet," she said. "It has nothing to do with religion."

When the burden of caring for the dying became too much, some volunteers found respite at Shishu Bhavan, the children's home close to the mother house headquarters. Some youngsters had been abandoned on the streets; others were brought in by destitute, street-dweller parents. The children suffered from tuberculosis, polio, measles, asthma, sores, and parasites, and were always malnourished. A sign on the wall read, "Please refrain from kissing and cuddling the children for health reasons," but it was unclear to me for whose benefit the sign had been written.

In a sense, these were the luckier foundlings from the streets of the City of Joy. Few died once they reached Shishu Bhavan, another testimonial to the care that was heaped upon them by the sisters and the volunteers. Even though medical care was rudimentary, running the children's home alone cost more than \$2,000 a week for utilities, food, clothing, medicine, and supplies. Yet Mother Teresa refused to solicit funds. Asking where the money came from invariably drew the same laconic reply: "The Lord provides."

That he does—through a support network that ranges from schoolchildren saving their coins to the wealthy salving their consciences. In 1992, for example, she flew to New York to be presented with a \$100,000 award by the Knights of Columbus. At a white-tie banquet attended by 1,000 members of America's Catholic elite, Mother Teresa was accorded the kind of roaring adulation usually reserved for rock stars or the pope. Before the feast began, the diminutive nun chastened the throng by describing how it took her three hours to pick maggots from the body of an emaciated Calcutta derelict. Then, as was her custom, she left before eating because she felt it inappropriate to dine ostentatiously. An additional \$100,000—equal to the cost of the banquet—was later presented to her. The Lord provides.

Anyone could show up at the mother house and join her for morning mass or evening prayers. She would sit on a reed mat on the concrete floor, murmuring her devotions and occasionally nodding off. She tried to be the first up in the morning and the last to retire. When there was respite from supervising her worldwide missions, she took turns cleaning out toilets, visiting the dying at Nirmal Hriday or the children of Shishu Bhavan, and encouraging her volunteers. And if you called the mother house, as likely as not she would answer the telephone.

Mother Teresa may have been a living saint, but mortal saints don't live forever. Her devotion to duty and her reluctance to delegate authority or designate a successor (in March, she stepped down and was replaced by Sister Nirmala) had observers worried about the future of the Missionaries of Charity. Could the order survive when its founder and guiding spirit was incapacitated or dead? Mother Teresa typically placed such matters in higher hands. "The world will understand that it is not my work," she said. "It is God's. It will go on."



A place to die with dignity: Calcutta's Nirmal Hriday

It reflected a simple ideal: to care for the poorest of the poor and thus be closer to God.

# Critics Say Soulsby Should Have Known

## D.C. Police Chief's Performance Under Fire

By Cheryl W. Thompson  
Washington Post Staff Writer

When consultants Booz-Allen & Hamilton unveiled a report last February that blasted the District police department and said that two-thirds of the force made 10 or fewer arrests a year and that half of those made no arrests at all, Chief Larry D. Soulsby said he didn't know about the performance problem.

Weeks later, Soulsby said he was surprised to find out that a police inspector he had just promoted to run the department's principal crime-fighting program had served a year's probation for abusing his wife. Many other officials had known about the incident for years.

In September, the chief said he hadn't known that his homicide unit was solving only about one-third of the city's slayings this year or that some of the squad's detectives and supervisors were abusing overtime.

Now come more reports from Booz-Allen & Hamilton that identify mismanagement, sloppy record-keeping and questionable expenditures in parts of the department that maintain officers' cars, and store evidence, prisoners' property and records of criminal suspects.

Soulsby said he knew about some of the problems but didn't know of others.

"If he didn't know, what's wrong with him?" asked D.C. Council member Sharon Ambrose, a Democrat whose Ward 6 includes areas such as Capitol Hill. "How long can he go on saying he didn't know? This is a small city."

Soulsby has been chief since November 1995 but has been on the

force for more than two decades. Before becoming chief, he was assigned to the public information office, headed the homicide unit for four years in the mid-1980s and was head of the precinct that includes Adams-Morgan and parts of downtown Washington—all assignments, police experts say, that put Soulsby in positions to know where the department's biggest problems are.

"Some of my critics may want to blame me for 20 years of bad management, ill practices and underfunding," Soulsby said in an interview yesterday. "Then they certainly should support me and encourage me to continue addressing every issue and make the necessary changes so the department can be a more professional department."

"If every time we turn a stone over and find a problem and try to fix it, we're asked why we didn't fix it two days earlier, or told we should have known about it," Soulsby said. "It encourages managers to hide problems versus dealing with problems straight up."

Historically, the D.C. police chief receives daily reports that list the number of homicides by district and how many of the slayings have been solved. Overtime abuse in the department, including in the homicide section, has been singled out in several well-publicized reports in the last several years.

Chuck Wexler, executive director of the Police Executive Research Forum, said Soulsby—or any big-city police chief—should not be expected to know everything that goes on in the department.

"You do need to delegate and



Police Chief Larry Soulsby says he knew about some of the problems detailed in a consultant's report on the D.C. police department but not about others.

hold people accountable," Wexler said. "But like any organization, you can't be expected to know the minutiae. Police chiefs can sometimes be insulated from bad news, and that's a real danger."

Former U.S. attorney Joseph E. diGenova said he wonders how Soulsby could not have known of the department's troubles.

"These problems are too widespread, too important and too central to the department and its mission," diGenova said. "There's no way that a good chief of police shouldn't have known."

Whether Soulsby was aware of the problems may be murky, but

the support he continues to get from the D.C. financial control board is not.

The panel that decided to keep Soulsby as chief when it essentially took the department from Mayor Marion Barry says Soulsby is still their man.

"He has been very much about getting things changed and that's the reason we're supporting him," said Stephen D. Harlan, the control board's vice chairman. "We're not wedded to any particular individual, what we're wedded to is getting things fixed."

"Right now, he is insisting on performance. As long as crime

keeps coming down (reported crime is down 18 percent compared with last year) ... as long as there's progress made in homicide and property and throughout the department, we'll continue to support him."

Harlan initially blamed former homicide commander Alan Dreher for the unit's poor performance—including failing to follow up leads on more than 100 cases in which the Justice Department provided road maps to make arrests—but acknowledged that Soulsby ultimately is responsible.

"The buck stops at the chief, let's face it," Harlan said. "It hap-

pened on his watch. He can't know everything, but what you should know is whether things are improving or not."

D.C. Council member Jack Evans (D-Ward 2), chairman of the Judiciary Committee, said that he continues to support Soulsby because the chief has acted to correct problems as they are identified.

"If he says he didn't know, and no evidence has come forward that shows he did not know, I take him at his word," Evans said. "Should he have known before the [consultant's] study? Maybe."

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Mormon

# Furor Erupts Over Racial Definition

*Activists Seek to Eliminate 'Nigger' From Merriam-Webster Dictionary*

By Michael A. Fletcher  
Washington Post Staff Writer

The word "nigger" is defined in Merriam-Webster's Collegiate Dictionary as "a black person—usually taken to be offensive." And with only minor revisions, the authors of the best-selling dictionary say that definition has stood for nearly a century.

But a recent blurb in a magazine has ignited a nationwide campaign over the word's proper role in the English language and whether its definition should be rephrased, if not stricken, from dictionaries across America.

The leaders of the effort say the mere presence of the racial slur in the dictionary lends it undeserved legitimacy. And the definition offered by Merriam-Webster, they contend, portrays the word foremost as a synonym for black people while noting that it's a slur almost as an afterthought.

"I can't believe that in 1997 you can look up 'nigger' in the dictionary and it says 'a black person,'" said Delphine Abraham, a Ypsilanti, Mich., computer operator who launched a petition drive against Merriam-Webster several months ago after being shocked to find its definition in her dictionary.

"The word needs to be removed," added Kathryn Williams, curator of the Museum of African American History in Flint, Mich., who discovered the definition while trying to assure a young person that the word "nigger" cannot rightfully be applied to blacks. "The definition is simply not accurate. That is not what the word means."

Working separately, the two women have drawn up fliers and collected thousands of signatures on petitions circulated in churches, at nightclubs and shopping centers to support their position. That stance has unleashed a flood of e-mail and other correspondence to the dictionary publisher's Massachusetts headquarters and touched off an emotional national debate about the legitimacy of censorship, even when the word in question is widely consid-

ered among the most offensive in the English language.

Hundreds of angry people contacted Merriam-Webster after its definition of "nigger" was mentioned in the September issue of *Emerge* magazine. The outpouring prompted the company to issue a statement saying that its dictionaries are written with the oldest meaning first, the newest last. And the word "nigger" was first used [in the 16th Century] to refer to a black person, the statement said.

"We have made it clear that the use of this word as a racial slur is abhorrent to us, but it is nonetheless part of the language, and as such, it is our duty as dictionary makers to report on it," the statement said. "To do less would simply mislead people by creating the false impression that racial slurs are no longer a part of our culture; and that, tragically, is not the case."

John M. Morse, publisher of the dictionary company, said that Merriam-Webster, like most other hard-cover, college-level dictionaries, lists derogatory terms that are applied to a broad range of racial and ethnic groups. They also list vulgarities commonly used in the language. But those slurs are deleted from many soft-cover dictionaries and those intended for use by children, Morse said.

Further complicating the debate is the broadening meaning of "nigger"—depending on who is using the term. Indeed, it is meant to be anything but insulting when used among African Americans—as it frequently is in everything from rap music videos to casual conversations—a fact pointed out in the dictionary. In those contexts, the word is often offered as a term of endearment.

"People have turned the word into a badge of honor," said Earl Ofari Hutchinson, author of *"The Assassination of the Black Male Image."* "Blacks, frankly, have legitimized it and sent a message that it is okay to use."

Russell L. Adams, chairman of Howard University's Afro-American Studies Department, said the word is unique because "when an outsider directs it at an African American it becomes a speech act, and you've got to have that fight." But, he said, it loses that impact when blacks use it among themselves.

Still, to Adams, the word should remain in the dictionary, if only to document its often offensive meaning.

Josh Parr, a writer and teacher at several youth centers in the San Francisco Bay Area, said the word is widely used even by nonblacks, often with no derogatory intent. "White kids in the suburbs use it with each other," he said. "They would never ever say it to an African American, but they say it to one another."

Despite its broadening use, some critics remain adamant that the word should not appear in the dictionary. "Words are not value-neutral," Hutchinson argued in a recent commentary for Pacific News Service. "The word 'nigger'—no matter who uses it or how it's used—remains the most hurtful and enduring symbol of black oppression."

If the word must be dictionary defined, Hutchinson and others argue, it should be taken out of a racial context or the definition should be reworded to say "a racially derogatory term applied to African Americans," as in the case in some dictionaries.

In 1993, during its most recent full revision of its popular collegiate dictionary, Merriam-Webster took steps that it thought would leave no doubt about the offensive nature of the word. After providing other definitions, including "any member of a dark-skinned race—usually taken to be offensive, and "a member of a socially disadvantaged class of persons," the dictionary said the word "now ranks as perhaps the most offensive and inflammatory racial slur in English." It also described the word as "expressive of racial hatred and bigotry."

Morse said the company felt that the entry would make the company's position clear. But in light of the recent outcry, he said the company will review the definition in time for its next edition.

In recent times, the company has issued new editions of its collegiate dictionary every 10 years, although minor changes are made annually. "I think we're going to have to look at this," Morse said. "As a dictionary publisher... we certainly don't want to be misunderstood."

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# The Slowly Rising Price Of Delay and Foul-Ups

By R. W. APPLE Jr.

WASHINGTON, Oct. 7 — Most Presidents and their Administrations would rather spend a winter at the South Pole, rather be audited by the Internal Revenue Service, than have people describe them as bumbling and ineffective. But not this one, which is curious and perhaps revealing.

Bill Clinton has a grasp of the details of government and the mechanics of politics equaled by no other President since Lyndon B. Johnson. He has a formidable memory for names, faces and numbers. He is, in other words, a thoroughgoing government professional, who has spent his entire adult life in the game.

So when he, and the people he trusts most, tell the investigators hacking through the luxuriant undergrowth of fund-raising scandal that they cannot remember exactly what they said or did, it is surprising. As it is when the President says blandly, as he did on Monday, that the failure to turn over videotapes of 44 White House coffees in anything approaching a timely fashion was "just an accident."

That picture of ineptitude is politically highly undesirable, of course. But foul-ups still play better in the game of politics than do cover-ups.

Except in the most extreme circumstances, people do not accuse the President and his aides of lying. But on Capitol Hill, the conviction is widespread and growing that as a conscious policy, the White House tells as little as possible as late as possible.

There is nothing necessarily illegal about that; indeed, it is far from clear that either Mr. Clinton or Vice President Al Gore did anything illegal in raising funds for their 1996 re-election campaign. But it certainly makes the President look devious, and it prompts people to ask whether he is hiding things.

"The defense of incompetence is wearing thin," said Senator Fred Thompson of Tennessee, the Republican who heads the Governmental Affairs Committee. That was on Monday. Today, he accused Mr. Clinton of letting Mr. Gore and Attorney General Janet Reno take the heat for things that were basically the President's responsibility, in these words: "Much of this money that was raised, illegal money, was for your campaign and for your re-election. This is your White House. This is your Department of Justice, and these are your tapes. And you have a responsibility."

Mr. Thompson added, "Clearly, the strategy now is to wait this committee out."

A committee Democrat, Senator Joseph I. Lieberman of Connecticut, was equally skeptical in his comments.

"The accumulation of foul-ups" at the White House, he declared, "begins to raise an understandable question in the mind of this committee."

The committee had been asking since April whether there were tapes of such meetings, and it had been told no again and again. In August, the committee specifically asked whether the White House Communications Agency had recorded any such

events, and again the reply was negative.

That was the agency that made the tapes — indeed, it tapes large numbers of Presidential events, with a camera evident to everyone in the room — but when the requests from the committee came in, Mr. Clinton said on Monday, "probably" nobody discussed them with the agency.

For a crucial few days, the existence of the tapes was hidden even from the Attorney General. Charles F. C. Ruff, the White House counsel, knew of the tapes when he met with Ms. Reno last Thursday, but he did not mention them. At the time, Ms. Reno was trying to decide whether Mr. Clinton's participation in the coffees constituted grounds for her to seek court appointment of an independent counsel.

Only after she sent an exculpatory report to Congress, and after Time magazine reported the tapes' existence, were they sent to the Justice Department.

George Stephanopoulos, a senior adviser in the President's first term, said the delay in the tapes' surrender was surely a result of poor supervi-

## Obfuscation and resistance begin to take a toll on credibility.

sion and inadequate communication between the archival staff and White House aides rather than of cover-up. While acknowledging that "the incompetence defense is getting thin," he argued that the tapes showed nothing damaging.

"What the conspiracy theorists miss," Mr. Stephanopoulos said, "is a big piece of the puzzle — motive. For their point to have merit, they have to be able to explain why the White House would want to cover up information that would exonerate the President."

But much the same pattern of delay has applied all through the Clinton Administration.

A missing set of Hillary Rodham Clinton's legal billing records belatedly materialized in the private quarters at the White House. In dribs and drabs, the White House put out conflicting accounts in 1994 of how Mrs. Clinton came to make a killing in the commodities markets more than a decade earlier. A memorandum surfaced that suggested that Mrs. Clinton had pressed aides to dismiss the staff of the White House travel office, long after investigations into the affair had begun.

On campaign finance, the White House at first said it had never heard of John Huang, a major fund-raiser for the Democrats, only to acknowledge later that he had visited the place 78 times in 15 months. And only after it was announced that Harold M. Ickes, former deputy White House chief of staff, would testify before the Senate committee today did the White House deliver E-mail messages from his files that the committee had been seeking for many months.

The question is why all the obfuscation and telling of semitruths. Ever since Watergate, it has been revealed political gospel that the best way to deal with trouble is to do it all at once — get all the available information out, put the best possible face on it, take whatever damage is caused and moved on. But the Clintons have repeatedly taken short subjects and made them feature-length melodramas.

Inevitably, the effort to camouflage, to minimize, to delay becomes the focus of attention, rather than the event in question. The tapes may show, as Mr. Thompson noted, that contrary to repeated White House assertions, the President met with donors not only in the residential quarters but also in the Oval Office itself.

But that is a detail, and the country has shown itself to be largely unconcerned with details, especially where no illegality has been established. As Mr. Thompson suggested, the public tends to put much of the Administration's fund-raising frenzy down to "a certain exuberance or certain excesses or certain things that maybe everybody did in fact do," and leave it at that.

What exacts a political price and slowly erodes any President's capacity to lead is what is beginning to happen now: fair-minded politicians of both parties develop the nagging suspicion that the Administration does not tell the truth — in full, and on time — because it cannot afford to.

*Moments*

## The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1997

# House Tweaks Clinton Over Designating National Monuments

By NEIL A. LEWIS

WASHINGTON, Oct. 7 — The House voted today to limit President Clinton's authority to declare Federal lands to be national monuments, a gesture of legislative anger by the Republican majority over his designation last year of 1.7 million acres in southern Utah as a national monument.

Voting largely along party lines, the House passed an amendment to the Antiquities Act, a law dating to 1906 and used by President Theodore Roosevelt to set aside land at Yellowstone and the Grand Canyon as unique sites to be preserved.

Representative James V. Hansen, a Utah Republican and principal proponent of the legislation, said Mr. Clinton had abused his authority when he created the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument in Utah without informing the local members of Congress or the Governor. The bill, which now goes to the Senate, passed 229 to 197, suggesting Congress might not be able to over-

## Fallout from the President's election-eve action to create a Utah park.

ride a Presidential veto.

Mr. Clinton took the action on Sept. 19, 1996, to demonstrate his environmental commitment just a few weeks before the Presidential election. With the dramatic south rim of the Grand Canyon behind him, Mr. Clinton extolled the region's beauty.

But Mr. Hansen said this week that Mr. Clinton made the declaration in Arizona because he did not dare do it in Utah, where Mr. Hansen said the opposition was widespread.

Representative Bruce F. Vento, a Minnesota Democrat who opposed the bill, said opponents of the creation of the Escalante monument were also being crafty. They did not dare deal with the issue directly by trying to overturn Mr. Clinton's action, Mr. Vento said, because that measure would not pass.

"Why aren't they proposing a bill to overturn his declaration?" he said in the debate before the vote.

The 1906 law was enacted at Roosevelt's urging because many lawmakers believed that legislation was too slow to protect sensitive areas from that era's threats: vandalism, looting and mining. The law

allowed Presidents to proclaim such areas to be national monuments without Congressional approval.

But the law specified that the region must have some scientific or natural uniqueness worth protecting and that the monument should encompass the smallest area possible to accomplish that objective.

Mr. Hansen said that the vast red rock country in Utah did not fit the law's standards. "People will get there and say, 'Hey, where's the monument?'" he said.

Under today's measure, whenever a President declared an area of more than 50,000 acres to be a national monument, the designation would expire in two years unless Congress approved it. Moreover, a President would not be able to designate more than one national monument a year.

The red rock canyons of southern Utah are a repository of rare rock paintings by the Anasazi Indians who flourished in about 1200 A.D. The southern Utah tract has been at the center of a struggle in recent years between conservationists and miners.

Mr. Clinton's designation of the area as a national monument had the effect of blocking the exploration of what some believe are the largest known coal reserves in the country.

But Mr. Clinton also angered conservationists last month, when he said that the Federal Government would allow Conoco, a subsidiary of E. I. du Pont de Nemours & Company, to drill for oil in the region because it already holds leases there.

## Clinton and G.O.P. Reach Deal on Trade

WASHINGTON, Oct. 7 (AP) — President Clinton reached a compromise with House Republicans today on legislation he needs to expand free trade beyond Mexico, but he was having difficulty lining up Democratic support.

The deal, worked out with Representative Bill Archer, the Texan who heads the House Ways and Means Committee, represented another step in the Administration's uphill battle to gain approval of fast-track trade negotiating authority.

Labor unions have mounted an aggressive campaign to kill the proposal, insisting that the North American Free Trade Agreement with Mexico has been a disaster that has cost thousands of jobs in this country by encouraging United States com-

panies to move factories to Mexico to take advantage of cheap labor and lax environmental regulations.

The Administration insisted today that the compromise language, worked out in all-night bargaining with Republican committee staff members, would give Mr. Clinton the power he needed to insure that any future trade deals did not expose American workers to unfair competition from developing nations.

The committee is to vote on the proposal on Wednesday.

It was unclear how many Democratic votes Mr. Clinton would be able to gain. Mr. Archer has said that the proposal needs the support of 5 to 7 of the 16 Democrats on his committee to have a chance of passage in the full House.

## The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 8, 1997

Momentos

## Washington Wire

A Special Weekly Report From  
The Wall Street Journal's  
Capital Bureau **A1**

**CLINTON CAMP LEANS** toward having him deny all when testifying about Monica.

Adviser Lindsey favors the denial route; others discuss the possibility of Clinton's admitting to a relationship, acting contrite and apologizing. The strategy remains fluid. Legal adviser Kantor walks him through political ramifications of the choices. Others vow to help him no matter what. "We won't tell him how to testify," one aide says.

In the latest Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll, Americans still back his job performance despite the continuing scandal. Sixty percent say his ability to lead hasn't suffered, while 69% think he has handled the economy well. But this could change after his Aug. 17 testimony. By 54% to 39%, voters rate lying about sex as serious as lying about other things.

*Lewinsky drove through the night from New York to meet her lawyers here, avoiding journalists at airports and train stations.*

**AMERICANS SPLIT** over Starr's investigative tactics.

Nearly half of those surveyed express "very little confidence" his report will be fair and impartial. Nearly three of four say Starr should be removed if he leaked grand jury information. But he may gain public support if he reports to Congress before the November elections. Asked whether he should move that fast, 47% say yes, while 32% prefer that he wait.

But his push to finish may be complicated by an urge for more testimony. The court decision ordering presidential lawyer Lindsey to testify could open the way to subpoena others in the White House counsel's office. Public support might be limited; 76% say White House lawyers should be able to keep their presidential conversations private.

**CANDIDATES DODGE** new scandal flak as elections near.

The GOP majority doesn't want to shake up sunny outlook for incumbents. Public approval of Congress rises to 53%, with 67% giving plus ratings to their own House members — the best since 1989. Republican strategists hope the scandal will energize GOP voters and say sober handling of any Starr report will minimize potential backlash. Republican pollster DiVail concedes scandal hasn't yet hurt Democrats, but predicts it will strengthen arguments for congressional "checks and balances" against Clinton.

"The level of nervousness about this has exceeded the real damage by a factor of 100 to one," counters Democratic consultant Mellman. By 34% to 32%, Americans say they will back Democrats for the House. But Democrats worry the scandal may drown out health-care and Social Security messages as they try to recapture control.

*People like this Congress, even though 83% say its accomplishments are average or worse.*

**TOLERANCE WINS:** Only 38% agree with Lott's contention that gays choose to be homosexual; 41% say it dates from birth. And 72% support Clinton's order against antigay bias in federal agencies, while only 20% oppose it.

**BETTER ABROAD:** Clinton gets 58% approval on foreign policy following the China trip, up five points since June. Few see East Asia's economic crisis as a major threat, but 53% cite chemical, biological and nuclear weapons in Iraq or South Asia as top foreign concerns.

**THOUGH NATIONAL CRIME** rates fall, 52% say they are more worried about personal safety than a year ago; only 16% feel safer. The really worried are more often rural than urban, women rather than men. Blacks feel less safe than whites.

**CLEAR LOSER:** Linda Tripp finishes last in popularity among scandal figures. Voters dislike Clinton and Starr about equally, but a plurality likes her the least of all. Fully 75% think she was wrong to tape Lewinsky, and 70% call her motives either political or mercenary.

**HMOs RATE LOW** with voters, but score high with Democratic strategists.

Fully 79% of poll respondents want new laws to regulate managed-care plans, only 12% don't. By 69% to 21%, they back patients' rights legislation, and most favor a Democratic plan expanding the right to sue HMOs. They want that right by 61% to 29%; 81% contend it would improve medical care some or a lot. Of those who choose sides, 28% say the Democrats would be best at reforming HMOs, while 16% pick the Republicans; 37% see no difference.

But Democratic campaign managers do. They think the issue is a winner, and will push it hard during the weeks ahead. Some Republican House members will be special targets. GOP conservatives are worried. Presidential contender Forbes and antitax activist Norquist urge Gingrich and Lott to include medical savings accounts in any new health-care bill passed this year.

*Despite the public mood, chances decline that any HMO bill will clear Congress this year.*

**MINOR MEMOS:** Calling Miss Manners: 75% say Americans are less polite than 10 years ago. . . . Don't ask: A new comedy record will have an actor portraying a part of the presidential anatomy. . . . Despite Gore's warnings, only 24% blame high heat on global warming; 43% think it's just a bad summer.

—BY ROBERT KEATLEY

THE WALL  
STREET  
JOURNAL/  
NBC NEWS  
POLL

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

FRIDAY, JULY 31, 1998

# What's News—

## **A1** Business and Finance

**NORTHWEST AIRLINES FACES** the possibility of a strike as early as Aug. 29, after contract talks with its pilots union broke down. A walkout by the 6,000 pilots would ground the nation's fourth-largest airline and take a toll on the Midwestern economy. But even the possibility of a strike before the busy Labor Day weekend is likely to dent the airline's revenue.

(Article on Page A3)

**Cendant's CEO outlined plans** to restore credibility at the company in an interview. Silverman said he is considering selling software and publishing businesses that were part of CUC and possibly selling part of an interactive network in a public offering.

(Article on Page B1)

**Compensation costs climbed** in the quarter amid a tight labor market and accelerating health-care costs. Meanwhile, June new-home sales rose 3.8% to their fourth record in five months.

(Article on Page A2)

**Paul Allen will pay \$2.5 billion** in cash for Charter Communications and assume \$2 billion of the cable system's debt. The technology billionaire is paying a premium over recent cable deals in his latest acquisition.

(Article on Page A3)

**Columbia/HCA agreed to pay a \$2.5 million civil fine** imposed by the FTC, which cited Columbia's 'apparent reckless disregard' of antitrust laws when it bought some hospitals.

(Article on Page A3)

**AIG will acquire a 7% stake** in Blackstone and give the leveraged-buyout firm \$1.2 billion of investment capital, one of the largest single investments in the buyout sector.

(Article on Page A4)

**The Dow Jones industrials surged 111.99 points, or 1.26%,** to 9026.95, amid a broad-based rebound that also boosted the Nasdaq composite 2.02%.

(Article on Page C1)

**P&G posted a 12% jump in profit** for its fiscal fourth quarter, but shares fell 5.1% amid worries that the consumer-goods giant will miss future targets.

(Article on Page B2)

**GM's chairman and CEO told employees, dealers and suppliers** that this week's labor agreements will result in significant productivity gains at plants covered by the accords.

(Article on Page A4)

**Thomson Multimedia agreed with Microsoft** to put Windows CE operating systems inside popular TV brands, in a move intended to help create a market for interactive TV sets.

(Article on Page B5)

**Securities firms are taking more-aggressive steps** to keep individual investors from 'flipping,' or quickly selling, IPO shares, despite a probe into the use of so-called penalty bids.

(Article on Page C1)

**Anheuser's Teamsters rejected a national labor contract** for the second time. However, it isn't clear whether the union's members will strike.

(Article on Page A5)

**Glaxo's pretax profit dropped 21%** in the first half, but its stock surged in New York and London trading.

(Article on Page B5)

### Markets —

**Stocks:** Volume 681,115,380 shares. Dow Jones industrials 9026.95, up 111.99; transportation 3291.61, up 46.68; utilities 284.85, up 2.81.

**Bonds:** Lehman Brothers Treasury index \$074.10, up 29.19.

**Commodities:** Oil \$14.23 a barrel, up 15 cents. Dow Jones futures index 126.67, up 0.59; spot index 125.06, up 0.64.

**Dollar:** 143.72 yen, up 1.29; 1.7805 marks, up 0.0082.

\* \* \*

## World-Wide

**CLINTON FACES** the possibility of physical evidence of an affair with Lewinsky.

The FBI lab will test a dress turned over to Starr by the former White House intern. Such tests usually are quick. If evidence of sexual activity is found, the Whitewater prosecutor may seek DNA samples, such as blood or hair, from the president. A match would put Clinton, who swore in the Paula Jones suit that he didn't have an affair with Lewinsky, in peril. Meanwhile, more Secret Service agents testified before a grand jury in the investigation. (Article on Page A12)

*Congressional leaders of both parties have instructed members to play down the inquiry even as they quietly prepared for a report that is expected from Starr.*

\* \* \*

**Keizo Obuchi was confirmed** as Japan's prime minister, ending turmoil touched off by his predecessor's resignation over the ruling Liberal Democrats' poor showing in July 12 elections. Meanwhile, the new finance minister, Kiichi Miyazawa, expressed a reluctance to intervene in support of the yen. (Articles on Pages A8, A9 and C6)

\* \* \*

**The Senate has approved,** with little fanfare, billions in emergency appropriations to get around budget caps. More than \$6 billion has been agreed to, including \$2.2 billion this week alone, as the Senate rushed to adjourn today. The House, which stays in session next week, is under pressure to take a similar course. (Article on Page A2)

**A major privacy initiative** is to be unveiled today by Gore, who is set to call for legislation to ban firms from collecting marketing data on children under 13 unless parents give their consent. He also wants businesses to better protect medical and financial records. (Article on Page A12)

\* \* \*

**Drug makers would be able to promote "off label," or alternative, uses** of their products that haven't been specifically approved by the government, under a ruling by a federal judge. He decided the FDA can't restrict such activity, which he ruled is commercial speech. (Article on Page A12)

\* \* \*

**Yugoslav President Milosevic said** that an offensive against Albanian rebels in Kosovo is over, though fighting continued, and that he is ready for talks. The drive has created many refugees. Meanwhile, seven Kosovo Albanians died in a crash while trying to run a German border checkpoint.

\* \* \*

**Iran-based groups are being courted** by the U.S. in its effort to overthrow Iraq's Saddam Hussein, a reversal by Washington. The U.S. has been leery of the Shiite Muslim groups, going so far as allowing Baghdad to use helicopters to crush a Shiite revolt soon after the Gulf War. (Article on Page A9)

\* \* \*

**Cambodia's Hun Sen said King Sihanouk** backs coalition rule including Prince Ranariddh and Sam Rainsy, but the challengers continue to dispute the strongman's claim of victory in Sunday elections. Hun Sen threatens to rule alone if they refuse his offer.

\* \* \*

**Myanmar's top dissident said** junta troops kidnapped her and forced her to return to Yangon, ending a six-day standoff at a roadblock that drew criticism abroad. The standoff began when Aung San Suu Kyi was stopped on a car trip to visit allies.

\* \* \*

**Turkey's parliament scheduled elections** for April, setting up a fresh showdown between pro-Islamic and secular forces. The Islamic Welfare Party, forced from power by the army last year, is now called Virtue and will compete again. (Article on Page A9)

\* \* \*

**A mass grave in Angola was uncovered** by U.N. troops in Lunda Norte province, bolstering government claims that Unita slaughtered 215 people last week. There were 105 bodies in the grave. Unita says they were victims of a gang war over diamonds.

\* \* \*

**Indonesia won \$7.9 billion in pledges** by international lenders to plug a budget gap. Jakarta also announced big wheat and sugar purchases. Meanwhile, an East Timor independence leader denounced a small Indonesian troop withdrawal as a token gesture.

\* \* \*

**Two small French planes collided off Brittany,** and all 15 aboard are presumed dead. Fourteen were on a commuter plane operated by a carrier allied with Delta. In a separate incident, two Navy F-14s hit over the Mediterranean, killing one crewman.

\* \* \*

**A former Beijing mayor was sentenced** to 16 years in prison for corruption, a fresh signal of Chinese leaders' determination to fight graft. Chen Xitong, also the capital's Communist Party boss, is the highest official prosecuted in the five-year-old effort.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY

Washington, D.C. 20503

June 29, 1998

Dear Ms. Kagan,

Wanted you to have a copy of the third edition of ONDCP's grants directory, *Responding to Drug Use and Violence: A Directory and Resource Guide to Public- and Private-Sector Drug Control Grants*. This directory will help individuals and organizations throughout this nation as they seek the resources needed to address the problems created by drug use and drug-related violence.

This edition of the directory features information on more than 60 federal grant programs and an expanded section on private-sector resources for anti-drug programs. The Directory lists the sponsoring organization, point of contact, amount of funding available in FY 1997 and 1998 and a program description for each grant program it lists.

If you could use additional copies of this directory, please contact my office. Look forward to working with you to address the threat of illegal drugs and their consequences.

Sincerely,

Janet Crist  
Chief of Staff

Ms. Elena Kagan  
Deputy Assistant to the President  
for Domestic Policy  
The White House  
West Wing, Second Floor  
Washington, DC

Pamela -  
She doesn't  
use pronouns  
either!

Elena

MOMENTOS

*Momentos*



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Jerold R. Mande

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02/04/98 07:25:48 PM

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Record Type: Record

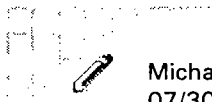
To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: Tobacco Mtgs.

Thank you for including me in the Donna, COS, and JD tobacco meetings. I genuinely appreciate your respect for the help I can give the President on this critical issue. Here is another approach you might want to try: invite me to the meeting, but I have to go in my underwear.

Momentos



Michael Waldman  
07/30/98 08:51:36 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Bruce N. Reed/OPD/EOP

cc:

Subject: keeping you in the loop

In case you saw the memo referenced in the NY Times on the millenium -- a classic -- not, for the record leaked by me!! -- here's the original, with a reply drafted by Jeff Shesol

#### **ORIGINAL MEMO (from Stacie)**

Some of you may have already heard this, but since I just stumbled upon it I thought I should send out a brief email to alert you as well.

The language of the Millenium, and the logo (until we hear otherwise), is for millenium use only. Although we always want to consider whether there is a millenium component in our message opportunities, it is very important to the overall strength and infrastructure of the millenium project that it remain quite distinct and separate from the WH and our day to day messages and words that we use.

If you have any questions about this, or feel the need to run some language by someone because you are not sure, please feel free to call Ellen Lovell, Ann, or me to check it out. Thank you for your consideration of this.

#### **REPLY FROM JEFF SHESOL**

To whom it may concern:

This letter, I hope, shall serve as my request to use, freely and without abandon, the term "21st century." As a speechwriter to the President, I find it a helpful rhetorical flourish at the conclusion of remarks (i.e., "...making America strong *in the 21st century.*"). After hours, in my own, less formal, remarks, I am also partial to the term: "The new VW Bug," I might say to a friend, "is so *'21st century.*'"

I hope the above usage is deemed appropriate and in no way gratuitous. I will be happy to fill out any required forms or clearances.

Sincerely,  
Jeff Shesol

P.S. Tonight I'm gonna party like it's 1999. Can I say so?



DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY  
WASHINGTON

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

May 23, 1994

MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY BENTSEN  
DEPUTY SECRETARY ALTMAN

FROM: Alicia Munnell *AM*  
SUBJECT: Welfare Reform Meeting of May 24, 1994

At 6:30 this evening, we were notified of a 10:15 meeting tomorrow morning with the President in the Oval Office to finalize the details of welfare reform. In response, Les Samuels, Alan Cohen, Maurice Foley, Linda Robertson, and I got together to figure out the best strategy at this stage.

Our conclusion, after considerable discussion, was that the best option would be to send up a welfare-reform bill with no payfors. The reasoning that led us to this conclusion is as follows:

1. At this point, welfare reform may be short as much as \$3.9 billion over five years, and \$8.5 billion over 10 years (see Tab 1).
2. No logical source of revenue appears to be available to fill this gap. Panetta's plan to close the gap with Superfund's corporate environmental income tax will undermine the credibility of our commitment to GATT, and may endanger the CEIT as a payfor for any program by riling up the environmentalists. Trying to use the CEIT for both welfare reform and GATT will open us to serious criticism.
3. OMB has offered no new proposals for expenditure cuts and appears to have none in reserve.
4. The House leadership in last week's meeting argued strongly that they do not want a welfare-reform bill in which the payfors are a major issue.
5. Sending up a bill without financing would send a strong signal that we recognize that enactment of welfare reform this year is very unlikely.

We recommend that you talk with Leon Panetta before tomorrow's meeting. The above may be useful talking points for that conversation. In any event, we are on your schedule to brief you at 8:15 tomorrow morning.

TO: SENATOR MOYNIHAN

FROM: PAUL OFFNER

DATE: DECEMBER 16

SUBJ: WELFARE REFORM

*Thank you!*  
*J*

*Finance*

Bruce Reed called from the White House to let you know that yesterday's Washington Post story left the incorrect impression that the Administration was considering including child support assurance (where the government in effect guarantees child support payments) in the President's welfare reform proposal. Bruce said that child support assurance would not be included, although the Administration would probably recommend doing some demonstrations to test out the idea.

*Momentos*  
*/*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

FEBRUARY 2, 1993

TO: ALL DEMOCRATIC HOUSE AND SENATE OFFICES  
FROM: OFFICE OF LEGISLATIVE AFFAIRS  
SUBJECT: WELFARE REFORM

Attached is a copy of today's talking points on President Clinton's plan for welfare reform.

The President gave a speech this morning at the National Governor's Association on this issue.

We pass these along for your information. Please feel free to communicate these points to your constituents.

Do not hesitate to call us at 456-6620 if you have any questions.

**Comments on the President's Schedule  
Tuesday, February 2, 1993**

- \* The focus of the President's schedule is welfare reform. He is implementing his campaign pledge to "end welfare as we know it."
- \* Welfare reform, joined by economic renewal, reform of the health care system, comprehensive campaign and lobbying reform, and national service constitute the President's highest priorities for his Administration. These are the President's priorities for reversing the policies of the last twelve years.
- \* He is determined to provide growth over stagnation and leadership over inaction. He will replace a government that favors the rich with a government determined to reward work and strengthen the middle class. He will reconnect the American people to the their government and disconnect the hold that special interests have over it.

**Focus on Welfare Reform**

Under the Bush administration, welfare rolls increased five times faster than under Presidents Reagan and Carter combined. With President Clinton, this will change:

- The Clinton administration is serious about ending welfare as we know it.
- Welfare must be a second chance, not a way of life. To break the cycle of poverty, we must give more opportunity but demand more responsibility.
- Work must pay the bills. No American who works full-time with a child at home should live in poverty. That means expand the Earned Income Tax Credit, control health care costs and reform health insurance so that welfare does not remain a way of life.
- Toughen child support enforcement. As much as \$25 billion in unpaid child support currently hurts working families and taxpayers.
- No more business as usual. Encourage experimentation at state and local levels, where many promising reform initiatives are already underway.

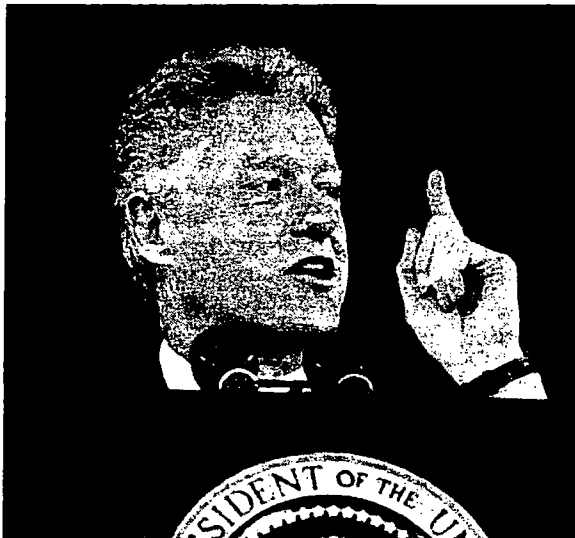
Please note. The President will announce today that he is forming a "working group" on welfare reform in his address before the National Governor's Association.

1. A ``blue sky" paper that Bruce and Belle Sawhill prepared for a July 14, 1993 retreat in Roslyn.
2. A memo to Clinton to prepare him for the June 18, 1993 meeting of the task force leaders
3. The memo/memos to Clinton about the Wisconsin Work Not Welfare waiver.
4. A memo that Bruce may have prepared for Clinton about the New Hope project, in conjunction with his June, 1993 visit there.
5. A memo that Bruce recalls preparing for Carol Rasco early on, about the problems of cost.
6. A note that Moynihan sent after the July 8, 1993 press conference, praising the effort but correcting a statistic. Also, other notes from Moynihan about statistics on non-marital births.
7. Bruce recalls sending Clinton FYI memos during the second half of 1993, to keep him up to speed on the planning process. Can you find them?

# The White House has only itself to blame

**W**hy is the Clinton White House victimized by women who save their dirty dresses and friends who tape the true confessions of their office-mates? Is it just bad luck or is it venal partisanship? The fact is that Clinton's handlers have only themselves to blame for the eccentricity of the witnesses against them.

Linda Tripp would never have taped — or even thought of taping — Monica Lewinsky had she not been savaged by Clinton attorney Bob Bennett when she backed up Kathleen Willey's story of molestation in the Oval Office. When an attorney of Bennett's stature and skill goes after you, it's no laughing matter.



*President Clinton's conduct is "Nixonian," writes former advisor Dick Morris.*

By the time Bennett had finished with her, Tripp knew that she would face more of the same if she told Paula Jones' lawyers about what Monica Lewinsky had

*Dick Morris*

**THE  
POLITICAL  
LIFE**



told her over the phone. Subpoenaed in the Paula Jones case, silence was no option. Tripp knew that she would have to choose between committing perjury and getting pilloried. If she told what Lewinsky had told her, she would be squarely in the White House sights — vulnerable to a smear campaign fueled by confidential information from her FBI file and her Pentagon personnel file and by dirt dug up by a legion of private detectives aka the secret police.

So what's a girl to do?

Tape, tape, tape. Get documentary evidence so that even Bennett's skilled disinformation campaign can't touch you.

I doubt that Lewinsky would have kept the stained dress in the first place were she not terrified by the treatment that she saw Tripp, Willey, Jones, Dolly Kyle Browning and a legion of others go through. Even if she did keep the dress initially as a souvenir, she would certainly not have kept it after the affair became public unless she needed the evidence to defend herself should she go public. The information that Terry Lenzner, secret policeman extraordinaire, had been delegated to check out Lewinsky's past for two months

must have reinforced her determination to hang onto that dress.

For months it had been clear that the White House tactic of smearing decent women who are trying to tell the truth was going to lead to just such a backfire. The efforts of Nixon's handlers to discredit Daniel Ellsberg by breaking into the office of his psychiatrist and to get dirt on Larry O'Brien by bugging his phones at the Democratic National Committee backfired big-time. Now the parallel attempts to dig up dirt on Tripp, Lewinsky and others are backfiring with possibly equal severity.

Bill Clinton's management style is to surround himself with strong-willed people and let them do what they will without having to order it himself. Much of the time it works. This strategy for manipulating his staff produces a Harold Ickes fundraising machine, a George Stephanopoulos spin factory, and a Dick Morris issue operation. But here letting the likes of Carville, Begala, Lenzner, Palladino, Bennett and Wright run wild without restraint or control has led to disaster.

Without the tapes and without the dress what would Starr have on Clinton? Not much. Why does he have tapes and the dress? Because overreaction begat overreaction until people saw that they had to go to extreme lengths to defend their reputations if they went public and told the truth. Before this counterproductive cycle of smears, vituperation, snooping and invasion of privacy goes any further, Bill Clinton must close it down. Before this kind of Nixonian conduct closes down his administration.

*Dick Morris is a former political consultant to President Clinton, Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.) and other political figures.*

**URGENT***MOMENTOS*Total Pages: 6

LRM ID: MNB206

**EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT  
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET  
Washington, D.C. 20503-0001**

Monday, July 20, 1998

**LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL MEMORANDUM**

**TO:** Legislative Liaison Officer - See Distribution below

**FROM:** Janet R. Forsgren (for) Assistant Director for Legislative Reference

**OMB CONTACT:** Melissa N. Benton  
PHONE: (202)395-7887 FAX: (202)395-6148

**SUBJECT:** **LABOR** Report on HR4257 A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to permit certain youth to perform certain work with wood products.

**DEADLINE:** 11:30 a.m. Tuesday, July 21, 1998

In accordance with OMB Circular A-19, OMB requests the views of your agency on the above subject before advising on its relationship to the program of the President. Please advise us if this item will affect direct spending or receipts for purposes of the "Pay-As-You-Go" provisions of Title XIII of the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990.

**COMMENTS:** This bill is being marked by the House Education and the Workforce Committee up the morning of Wednesday, July 22nd.

**NOTE VETO THREAT IN SECOND TO LAST PARAGRAPH.****DISTRIBUTION LIST****AGENCIES:**

61-JUSTICE - L. Anthony Sutin - (202) 514-2141  
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Karen Tramontano  
James C. Murr  
Janet R. Forsgren

LRM ID: MNB206      SUBJECT: LABOR Report on HR4257 A bill to amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to permit certain youth to perform certain work with wood products.

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RESPONSE TO  
LEGISLATIVE REFERRAL  
MEMORANDUM

If your response to this request for views is short (e.g., concur/no comment), we prefer that you respond by e-mail or by faxing us this response sheet. If the response is short and you prefer to call, please call the branch-wide line shown below (NOT the analyst's line) to leave a message with a legislative assistant.

You may also respond by:

(1) calling the analyst/attorney's direct line (you will be connected to voice mail if the analyst does not answer); or

(2) sending us a memo or letter

Please include the LRM number shown above, and the subject shown below.

TO:                    Melissa N. Benton Phone: 395-7887 Fax: 395-6148  
                         Office of Management and Budget  
                         Branch-Wide Line (to reach legislative assistant): 395-7362

FROM:                \_\_\_\_\_ (Date)  
                         \_\_\_\_\_ (Name)  
                         \_\_\_\_\_ (Agency)  
                         \_\_\_\_\_ (Telephone)

The following is the response of our agency to your request for views on the above-captioned subject:

\_\_\_\_\_ Concur

\_\_\_\_\_ No Objection

\_\_\_\_\_ No Comment

\_\_\_\_\_ See proposed edits on pages \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_ FAX RETURN of \_\_\_\_\_ pages, attached to this response sheet

**DRAFT 07/20/98 4:22 PM**

The Honorable William F. Goodling  
Chairman  
Committee on Education and the Workforce  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Chairman Goodling:

I understand that the Committee on Education and the Workforce will soon consider H.R. 4257 which would allow certain youths as young as 14 years of age to work in industries that process wood products (including sawmills) depending on their particular religious affiliation. I am writing to provide you with the views of the Department of Labor on this legislation.

Under the Fair Labor Standards Act's child labor provisions, minors under the age of 16 are prohibited from working in manufacturing operations, including sawmills. Hazardous Occupations Order No. 4 (HO 4) specifically prohibits youth under the age of 18 from working in sawmill operations and the logging industry. Hazardous Occupations Order No. 5 (HO 5) specifically prohibits such youth from operating power-driven wood-working machines.<sup>1</sup> The proposed legislation will provide an exception from those child labor restrictions for boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 18 who are members of any religious sect or division that precludes formal education beyond the eighth grade. Under this bill, children would be allowed to work anywhere inside a sawmill or other woodworking establishment if an adult supervisor is present as long as the young workers do not personally operate or assist in the operation of power-driven woodworking machines.

The Department of Labor opposes H.R. 4257 because it would allow young children to work in hazardous woodworking and sawmilling occupations and because it would create special rules for members of certain religious persuasions. The lumber and wood products industry, which includes sawmills, is extremely dangerous. The 1996 occupational fatality rate of 25.6 work-related deaths per 100,000 workers was more than five times the national average "all private industry" rate of 5.1 per 100,000 workers and, had actually increased over the 1995 rate. The frequency of all non-fatal injuries was almost twice as high in the lumber and wood products industry (14.2 per 100 full-time workers) as the national average for all industries (7.4 for every 100 workers). Even for those workers who do not operate power-driven equipment, sawmills present significant occupational risks. The Occupational and Safety Administration has

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<sup>1</sup> HO 4 and HO 5 stem from the Department of Labor's statutory charge to prohibit the employment of minors under 18 years of age in occupations or industries found and declared by the Secretary of Labor to be particularly hazardous or detrimental to their health and well-being. Injury data collected over several decades consistently show that sawmills are particularly hazardous workplaces for adults, let alone children.

documented examples of workers who were suffocated by saw dust; crushed by falling loads; run over by front-end loaders and injured from rolling logs.

The Department also objects to special treatment under the child labor laws for members of designated religious orders because it provides unfair competitive advantages for some employers. Unlike other employers, employers of the same religious community as the excepted youths (including family-owned or religious-affiliated businesses) would be in a better position to avail themselves of a ready supply of teenage workers who need only be paid at the youth subminimum wage of \$4.25 for their first 90 days of employment. Similarly, employers located in geographic areas that have large populations of youth in the designated religious sect – and therefore an available labor pool – would also enjoy an unfair competitive advantage over their competitors in other parts of the county. Young members of qualifying religious sects would themselves have a hiring advantage over other workers and could displace entry-level adults who, unlike the youths, must be compensated at the full minimum wage.

The Secretary of Labor is charged with protecting the safety and health of working children without regard to their religious beliefs, ethnic origin, or cultural heritage. The Department believes that work experience can be beneficial for young people, but the work must be safe. This proposed legislation would allow inexperienced children to be employed in work environments that are recognized as some of the most dangerous in America. We have been advised, as well, that the Department of Justice has serious concerns about the constitutionality of the proposed legislation as drafted. If the legislation passes, we would urge the President to veto it.

The Office of Management and Budget advises that there is no objection to the presentation of this report from the standpoint of the Administration.

Sincerely,

Kathryn O. Higgins

**[DISCUSSION DRAFT]**

JUNE 23, 1998

105TH CONGRESS  
2D SESSION**H. R. \_\_\_\_\_**

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**IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

Mr. PITTS introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee  
on \_\_\_\_\_

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**A BILL**

To amend the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 to permit certain youth to perform certain work with wood products.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*  
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. EXEMPTION.**

4 Section 13(c) of the Fair Labor Standards Act of  
5 1938 (29 U.S.C. 213(c)) is amended by adding at the end  
6 the following:

7 "(6)(A) Subject to subparagraph (B), in the adminis-  
8 tration and enforcement of the child labor provisions of

June 23, 1998 (5:01 p.m.)

1 this Act, it shall not be considered oppressive child labor  
2 for an individual who—

3 "(i) is under the age of 18 and over the age of  
4 14, and

5 "(ii) is a member of a religious sect or division  
6 thereof whose established teachings do not permit  
7 formal education beyond the eighth grade,  
8 to be employed inside or outside places of business where  
9 machinery is used to process wood products.

10 "(B) The employment of an individual under sub-  
11 paragraph (A) shall be permitted—

12 "(i) if there is an adult present in a supervisory  
13 capacity; and

14 "(ii) if the individual does not operate or assist  
15 in the operation of power-driven woodworking ma-  
16 chines."

limits accomodation  
to people who are  
members of sects  
(cuts out those w/ no  
belief w/out the  
sects)

June 23, 1996 (5:01 p.m.)

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

SECRETARY OF LABOR  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

JUL 1 1998

The Honorable Arlen Specter  
United States Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510-6025

Dear Senator Specter:

This is in further reference to your letter on behalf of Amish sawmill owners who have been seeking special accommodation by way of relief from certain Federal restrictions on child labor. As indicated in my previous letter, the Department of Labor was examining specific proposals regarding the existing prohibitions on 16- and 17-year-old youths working in sawmills.

This issue arose as a result of a child labor compliance initiative conducted in western Pennsylvania in 1996 and early 1997 which targeted several industries where hazardous conditions are known to exist, including sawmills. Serious child labor violations involving very young children – in one case as young as 13 years of age – were documented and employers were assessed child labor civil money penalties. All employers immediately came into compliance with the child labor provisions and in all but one case, the penalties have been paid and our files have been administratively closed.

The lumber and woods products industry, which includes sawmills, continues to be a very dangerous industry. The industry's occupational fatality rate of 25.6 work-related deaths per 100,000 workers in 1996 was more than five times the national average "all private industry" rate of 5.1 per 100,000 workers, and increased over 1995. The industry's occupational injury rate is also quite high (please see enclosed fact sheet in this regard).

We have carefully examined the two specific proposals made during our July meeting with House Members and representatives of the Old Order Amish – which included site visits to operating sawmills – and have concluded that we cannot make the requested accommodations.

One proposal was to allow 16- and 17-year-olds to work in the sawmill building as long as they remained at least 150 feet away from the sawmill equipment. Our review identified the following very serious practical problems with this proposal:

- This rule would be difficult to enforce. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to substantiate whether or how often any distance rule was observed

WORKING FOR AMERICA'S WORKFORCE

- It would be difficult for employers to comply because the teens would likely be called upon or seek to help with work closer to the equipment putting them in danger of injury, either by the equipment or by projectiles from the equipment.
- Even 150 feet away, minors would still be exposed to other dangers in a mill, such as excessively loud noise and airborne sawdust.
- Further, this proposal is not likely to be feasible. The sawmills visited by our staff, which were representative of the industry, had such compact operations that any workers who must stay 150 feet away from the sawmill equipment would be outside of the building. The sawmill equipment is massive and takes up a lot of space. Any remaining space is used to store pallets and other materials. Virtually the only permitted work for the minors would involve clean-up work or stacking or loading that is not done by machines. It is not practical that young workers would be employed to clean only the area that is at least 150 feet away from the sawmill equipment.

The second proposal we examined would allow 16- and 17-year-olds to work in a physically separate part of a sawmill building. We identified the following practical concerns with this proposal:

- This is also not likely to be feasible. Based on our visit to the sawmills, there are no apparent operations that could take place in a separate walled-off room within a sawmill. Logs first enter a machine that removes the bark (either in the yard or in the sawmill building). The logs are then transported by conveyor through a series of saws to be cut into boards. The boards are then graded and are either processed into high-grade lumber used for furniture manufacturing or low-grade lumber used for pallets. In either case, the wood is further processed in the mill and then bundled or stacked, usually by machine, and transported for storage or shipment, usually by forklifts.
- Even in a physically separate part of a sawmill building, minors may still be exposed to some danger. The existing Hazardous Occupations Order was explicitly based not just on hazards from the equipment, but on hazards inherent in the sawmill operations, such as falling lumber, noise and vibration.
- As Secretary of Labor, I am required by law to protect the safety and health of working children. This charge extends to the children of our nation without regard to their religious beliefs, ethnic origin, or cultural heritage. For all the above reasons, I have concluded that it

would be inconsistent with the purpose of the Hazardous Occupations Orders and dangerous to their health and well-being to allow youth – including Amish youth – to be employed in sawmills in any circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

Nonetheless, the Department of Labor fully shares your constituents' belief that such work experience can be beneficial for young people, but such experience also must be safe. Let me once again state our repeated offer to the Amish community to provide compliance education and outreach so that the community's employers more fully understand and appreciate their child labor compliance obligations, and we can help them identify the many safe, legal employment opportunities available to their youth.

Sincerely,



Alexis M. Herman

Enclosure

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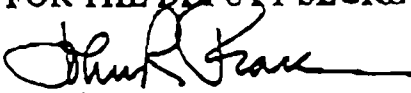
<sup>1</sup> Like all of the existing 17 nonagricultural hazardous occupations orders, HO 4 stems from the Department of Labor's statutory charge to prohibit the employment of minors under 18 years of age in occupations or industries found and declared by the Secretary of Labor to be particularly hazardous or detrimental to their health or well-being. Injury data collected over several decades consistently show that sawmills are particularly hazardous workplaces for adults, let alone children.



FEB 6 1998

## MEMORANDUM FOR THE DEPUTY SECRETARY

FROM:

  
JOHN R. FRASER  
Acting Administrator

THROUGH:

BERNARD E. ANDERSON  
Assistant Secretary for  
Employment Standards

SUBJECT:

Request by Four Congressman on Behalf of the Old Order  
Amish for Special Relief from Certain Child Labor ProvisionsISSUE

Congressman Peterson (R-PA), along with Congressmen Souder (R-IN), Pitts (R-PA), and English (R-PA), on behalf of the Old Order Amish Steering Committee of Kinzers, Pa., asked that we consider two possible accommodations that would permit Amish children to work in sawmills, employment prohibited for those under 18 years of age by the child labor regulations under the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA). ))

BACKGROUND

The FLSA prohibits minors under 16 years of age from working in manufacturing, including sawmills. Hazardous Occupations Order No. 4 (HO 4) prohibits youth under 18 years of age from working in sawmill operations and the logging industry. HO 4 was issued because of the historically high rate of fatalities experienced in these industries—a rate that is still four times greater than the national average (1995 data). HO 4 contains a very limited exception which permits 16- and 17-year-olds to perform such tasks as cleaning up the yard and working in offices and repair and maintenance shops that are not in the sawmill building.

A 1996 FLSA enforcement initiative by our Pittsburgh district office found many child labor violations in area sawmills. Children as young as 13 were found working illegally in 8 of the investigations. Three of the establishments found in violation were Amish-owned and many of the others employed Amish youngsters. Child labor civil money penalties were assessed and several of the cases (including all three Amish-owned mills) were appealed and are awaiting hearing before an ALJ.

*Working for America's Workforce*

We met with the Old Order Amish Steering Committee on May 20, 1997, at a meeting hosted by Congressman Pitts and attended by staff of several other Congressional offices. The Amish leaders noted that their children, with the permission of State education systems, leave school and enter the workforce at the age of 14. They believe meaningful work is critical to the development of their youth, especially when many may be considering leaving the community for the "modern world." The Amish leaders contend that, as family farms no longer provide sufficient jobs for their youth, they must seek employment in the non-farm sector. Working in sawmills and furniture manufacturing, they feel, would allow their youth to acquire skills and contribute to family incomes without compromising their religious beliefs.

At a second meeting in July, Congressman Peterson requested that we consider two possible accommodations for the Amish—that their children be permitted to work in sawmill buildings:

- (1) as long as they remain some distance (Congressman Peterson suggested at least 150 feet away) from the power-driven equipment; or
- (2) if they work in an area segregated from the sawmill equipment by a physical partition.

Wage and Hour spent a considerable amount of time examining the feasibility of these options, including sending staff to Pennsylvania for on-site visits to working sawmills. Wage and Hour and SOL have been discussing these options, in particular whether we can make an accommodation and, if so, how we could make such an accommodation. The two methods under discussion for making any accommodation, if appropriate, involve (1) a novel legal interpretation of the regulations, or (2) a special enforcement policy. There are issues that arise from this second question that also need to be discussed.

### URGENCY

The four Congressmen and Senator Arlen Specter (R-PA) have written the Secretary urging special consideration of this issue. The appropriations report for our 1998 budget contained a statement urging the Department to resolve, by the end of 1997, all outstanding child labor issues relating to the Amish community. With the upcoming budget hearings, we would like to resolve this issue before the hearings.

### INTERESTED PARTIES

The National Consumers League has written Congressman Porter (R-IL) of the House Appropriations Committee challenging the requested accommodations.

Attached is our analysis of the proposals offered by Congressman Peterson.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To be discussed.

Attachments

Momentos

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

30-Nov-1994 01:29pm

TO: Paul J. Weinstein, Jr  
FROM: Christopher F. Edley, Jr  
Office of Mgmt and Budget, EG  
CC: Kumiki S. Gibson  
Sheryll D. Cashin  
Paul R. Dimond  
SUBJECT: EDI NOFA

I will try to do this calmly, althout it's not easy. Especially in budget season.

My perception is that NEC, DPC and OVP have a convenient way of including and excluding OMB officials when it suits your purpose. either I nor Rivlin have been a part of any "process" to reach a decision on how to spend \$300-400 million on EZC enhancements, and the money was not in the President's FY95 budget request for that purpose. There are competing possible uses for the money that have alternative political and substantive virtues, and the EZ cabal on the WH staff is not, to my knowledge, thinking about that larger picture. You are making deals to advance the agenda that you have in front of you. And it is not the only agenda facing HUD or thie Administration. Let me be clear: In my view, and in the view of the Director, we were not consulted. And we are not amused.

Kumiki admnitted yesterday that "perhaps" she doesn't understand OMB's role. Well, "perhaps" that is the problem. Tutorials can be arranged. The essential point, however, is that it is an organization of over 500 people with many millenia worth of public policy experience, dedicated to serving the President, and led by fairly seasoned political appointees; we are "enforcers" of Presidential policy, advisors on the entire range of budget, management and policy matters; arbiters of interagency disputes, under the terms of long-standing executive orders; and patient civil servants who never lose patience explaining elementary facts to uninformed and naive political appointees above them within OMB (or on the White House staff, for that matter). Several White House staff members have learned how to use OMB as a resource, but many have not. I say that as someone who, you will recall, held your job in my prior incarnation.

The fact that Secretary Cisneros and the Vice President have agreed to do something just makes matters worse. The pattern here

is that enthusiasts from one quarter rush to the Decisionmaker without thinking through a full range of implications. Maybe you did, maybe you didn't. Since we never had a meeting or discussion (a "mention" doesn't count; big decisions should be deliberated, not finessed), I certainly don't have confidence that whatever the Vice President and Secretary agreed to do, it was a judgment made on the basis of full briefing. But you do your jobs the way you think they should be done, and presumably to the satisfaction of your immediate principals. But I work for Rivlin, not for the NEC or DPC. So the fact that the NEC and DPC signed off on something is interesting, but little more.

Bottom line: I thought that the decision about how to spend this money would be made in the context of a decision about our FY96 urban policy. The NEC/DPC/OVP - led process for producing an Administration decision on whether and how to advance an urban agenda has thus far produced absolutely nothing of value, so far as I can see, except this "decision" to spend EDI money for reasons I don't quite understand and are perhaps not suitable for FOIAble e-mail anyway. In my view, this has been a process failing of enormous and tragic proportions -- tragic in both substantive and political terms. Within a few days, it will be too late to retrieve.

As for the EDI/NOFA meeting I am going to have: The NEC and DPC don't write checks, Sheryll. I'm not going to okay a \$300 million transaction until I understand it. You haven't run a process that educated me, so I am taking steps to educate myself. In a spirit of collegiality, I directed my staff to invite interested NEC/DPC/OVP staff. But I certainly don't need you there; the people I really need are HUD.

Meanwhile: Katz has cancelled because he is crashing on their budget appeal. I put in a call to Cisneros on Air Force Two to talk about this and other matters, and we had half a conversation, to be continued in an hour or so. I explained that I am not "opposed" to this, but wanted to be sure that some other concerns are met. I may or may not need to have the meeting; if I do, it is likely to be Monday.

Yes, this is budget season. Yes, I am losing my marbles. Yes I have many bigger fish to fry. And Yes, I have a chip on my shoulder. Anything else?

# Remember · 1990 ?

When Mayor Kelly took office in January 1991, the city government was chaotic.

- Scandals and corruption had discredited its leaders in the eyes of the citizens.
- The city was virtually bankrupt and government had no plan or desire to be fiscally responsible.
- The government lacked credibility in Congress and had no hope to receive just compensation from the Federal government.
- The bureaucracy was bloated with excess personnel in areas not essential for services to the citizens.
- Services were slow and inefficient. It took several hours to renew a driver's license or inspect a car. Ambulance response delays had become life threatening. Snow was no winter wonderland.
- Delinquency and crime were on the rise, with no end in sight. Our youth's role models had failed them.
- Residents and businesses were moving to the suburbs reducing the tax base.

## Where we started...

· 1991 · -1994

With

MAYOR

**Sharon Pratt KELLY**

The early nineties have been recession years that hit the region hard and challenged local governments to do more with less. During these lean years, despite having to provide state level services, the resolve and leadership of Mayor Kelly accomplished more than most of our neighboring jurisdictions.

- The city **erased the tainted image** of the past and regained its prestige as a major world metropolis and home to a rich and diverse cultural life.
- The Kelly administration courageously took unpopular measures to **close annual budget gaps**.
- The mayor negotiated a set-formula **increasing the annual Federal payment** to the City.
- Mayor Kelly **started an automation revolution**, bringing government services out of the dark ages, providing computers, modern telecommunications and training to government offices and employees.

File:  
moments

We came  
a long way !

- The Kelly administration identified and **abolished over 6,300 positions** from the Executive branch of government.
- It now **takes 15 minutes to renew a driver's license** and 30 to inspect a car. Average **response time of ambulances is down to 5½ minutes** avoiding senseless loss of life.
- Cooperation between Metropolitan Police and Federal law enforcement officials, coupled with community involvement, **curbed crime** by attacking its causes on all fronts. In Ward 3 crime fell by 33.7% in the first 6 months of 1994.
- **6,000 businesses (3,000 net gain) moved into the District.** Among them, Filene's Basement, Crate & Barrel, Ethan Allen, Planet Hollywood, Starbucks Coffee, Kenny Rogers Roasters and Boston Chicken brought new jobs and added to our City's tax base.

... and what we  
accomplished.

**On September 13**

**VOTE FOR  
MAYOR  
Sharon Pratt KELLY**

- **A VOTE for a no-nonsense bottom-line modern manager.**
- **A VOTE for the opportunity to complete the work started four years ago.**
- **A VOTE against returning to the situation of 1990.**
- **A VOTE for an experienced government team that will need no learning curve and will waste no time to attack the problems.**
- **A VOTE for the future of our city and of our children.**

***Just imagine  
what she could do  
with another four years !***

Energy Saving Tip: on September 13 give a friend a ride to the polling station; help get out the vote.

**Would you like to  
volunteer in your Ward ?**

- To display a campaign poster in your front yard;
- To drop campaign leaflets door to door;
- To hand out leaflets at Metro stations;
- To place campaign posters; or
- To work the phones for Mayor Kelly.

**CALL 244-1007**

**Ward 3 Campaign Office**

**Invest in our Vision for  
the District of Columbia**

**Make a contribution  
of up to \$100  
to help Re-Elect  
Mayor Sharon Pratt  
KELLY**

Make check payable to  
*The Sharon Pratt Kelly Committee*

Mail contributions to:  
*SPK Committee, P.O. Box 689  
Washington, DC 20044*

**IMPORTANT:** Election law limits contributions to \$100 and requires the following information of each contributor:

- Name
- Phone
- Occupation/Company
- Address, including ZIP Code.

Authorized by the SPK Committee, official re-election committee for Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly. *Marc Loud, Treasurer*

**YES**

**WE CAN !**

**Re-Elect**

**MAYOR  
SHARON  
PRATT  
KELLY**

**YES WE WILL!**