

Session III :

Long - Term

Investment

President-elect Bill Clinton

Vice President-elect Al Gore, Jr.

- Kathleen Stafford

- Sandy Robertson

- Hipolito Roldan

- Isabel Sawhill *

- Sec. of Labor Robert Reich**

- Bruce Ratner

- Evelyn Lee

- Tony Sanchez

- John Sweeney

- Rev. William Gray *

- Director of OMB Leon Panetta**

- Donald Tyson

- Ann Kaplan

- Robert Kuttner

- Sec. of Commerce Ron Brown**

Andrew Brimmer

- Barbara Wilson

- John Young

- Sec. of the Treasury Lloyd Bentsen**

- Brenda Shockley

- John S. Reed

- Chair of CEA Laura Tyson**

- Chief Wilma Mankiller

- Felix Rohatyn *

- Dr. George Hatsopoulos

- Virginia Nelson

- Economic Policy Advisor Robert Rubin**

- Wilbur Hawkins

- Jerry Pearlman

- Carol Bartz



* = Presenter

Other Presenters

- 1. Henry Aaron *
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Anne Cohn Donnelly	Donna Shafala	Carol Browner	Roger Altman	Alice Rivlin	Mack McClarty	HRC	Mickey Kantor	Presenter 1	Presenter 2	Presenter 3	Presenter 4
X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Henry Cisneros	Doris Matsui	Madeleine Kunin	Vernon Jordan	Warren Christopher	John Emerson	Erskine Bowles	Mary Leslie	Team 32	Team 32	Team 32	Team 32

Long Term Investment

Name	Company	Category	St	Phone #
*Mr. Henry Aaron (From L.A.)	Brookings	Academia	DC	202-797-6000
Ms. Carol Bartz	Autodisk	High Tech	CA	415-331-0356
Mr. Andrew Brimmer	Brimmer Company	Academia	DC	202 342 6255
*Rev. William Gray	United Negro College	Non Profit	DC	202-737-8623
Dr. George Hatsopoulos	Thermoelectron	High Tech	MA	617-622-1000
Mr. Wilbur Hawkins	Community Diversity	Non Profit	TN	901-577-2600
Ms. Ann Kaplan	Goldman Sachs	Finance	NY	212-902-6563
Mr. Robert Kuttner	The American	Academia	MA	617-547-2950
Ms. Evelyn Lee	Only in Utah	Small Business	UT	801-582-3108
Ms. Wilma Mankiller	Cherokee Nation	Business	OK	918-456-0671
Ms. Virginia Nelsen	North Dakota Micro	Small Business	ND	701-667-2008
Mr. Jerry K. Pearlman	Zenith Electronics	High Tech	IL	708-391-8082
Mr. Bruce C. Ratner	Forest City Ratner	R/E,	NY	718-722-3500
Mr. John S. Reed	Citicorp	Commercial	NY	212-559-2732
Mr. Sandy Robertson	Robertson, Coleman,	Investment	CA	415 781 9700
*Mr. Felix G. Rohatyn	Lazard Freres and	Investment	NY	212 632 6122
Mr. Hipolito Roldan	Hispanic Housing	Non Profit	IL	312-443-1360
Mr. Tony Sanchez	Sanchez, O'Brien Oil	Commercial	TX	512-722-8092
*Dr. Isabel V. Sawhill	The Urban Institute	Academia	DC	202-857-8624
Ms. Brenda Shockley	Community Build,	Non Profit	CA	213-294-2355
Ms. Kathleen Stafford	Amgen Inc.	High Tech	CA	805-499-5725
Mr. John Sweeney	SEIU	Labor	DC	202-898-3000
Mr. Donald J. Tyson	Tyson Foods, Inc.	Agribusiness	AR	501-756-4511
Ms. Barbara Wilson	US West	Telecommunicati	ID	208-385-2628
Mr. John A. Young	Hewlett Packard Co.	High Tech	CA	415-857-2114

* Professor

WORKING GROUP III: INVESTMENT FOR LONG TERM GROWTH: DEFICIT REDUCTION

Presenters:

William Gray
Henry Aaron
Felix Rohatyn
Isabel Sawhill

Panelists:

Bartz, Carol Sausalito, CA

President, Chairman and C.E.O. of Autodesk Inc. (since 1992)
Autodesk is the world leader in computer-aided design software.
Former Vice President for worldwide field operations, Sun Microsystems.

Autodesk sells to manufacturing firms dependent on a strong industrial infrastructure. As a result, she is not as interested in short term gains as she is in seeing prolonged investment in infrastructure. She was very enthusiastic.

Brimmer, Andrew E. Washington, DC

President of Brimmer and Company, Inc. (economic and financial consultants)

Professor of Economics, University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Public Governor and Vice Chairman, Commodity Exchange, Inc.
Co-Chair National Commission on Financial Institutional Reform, Recovery and Enforcement

Member, Board Governors of the Federal Reserve System (1966-1974)

Mr. Brimmer long term strategies must start with investment in private R&D translating into changing technology. He is concerned with the lag in R&D; there should be a subsidy to encourage innovative research. He favors an R&D credit.

Mr. Brimmer also feels the recent improvements in economic indicators are a bubble; and that the growth rate will subside again to 1.5% or 1.75% growth. As a result, there will be no long term improvements in jobs. Therefore, he is also interested in short-term stimulus as well.

Hatsopoulos, George N. Boston, MA
Founder, Chairman and President of Thermo Electron Corporation
Thermo manufactures environmental and analytical instruments,
alternative-energy power plant, cogeneration systems, industrial
process and power equipment, and biomedical products.
Board of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston 1982-1989 (Chairman
in 1988-89)

Wrote several books and articles about thermodynamics and energy.
Served as board member on numerous committees and testified at
many congressional hearings on national energy policy

Interested in improving private investment in fixed capital and R&D.
The R&D gap between the U.S. and other countries is growing
dramatically. Interested in options for improving capital formation.

Hawkins, Wilbur E. Memphis, TN
Regional Manager for Community Diversity Development, Tennessee
Valley Authority
Former Executive Director, Lower Mississippi Delta Development
Commission - congressionally chartered project to attract attention to 219
counties in the Delta region. Resulted in "The Body of the Nation" and
"The Delta Initiatives."

Kaplan, Ann New York City, NY
General Partner, Goldman, Sachs & Co.
Heads Municipal Finance Department's general banking activities in
Eastern US. Senior responsibility for financing in housing, health
care, education and infrastructure.
Boards of National Housing Conference, Citizens Housing Planning Council,
Settlement Housing Fund

She has expertise in infrastructure at the state and local level. She
has a particular interest in transportation infrastructure. She
supports reducing impediments to the flexibility of tax-exempt
bonds for state and local government. She feels the economy can be
stimulated using existing delivery systems; i.e. We don't need new
bureaucracy.

Kuttner, Robert L. Cambridge, MA
Co-Editor, The American Prospect
Former national staff writer, Washington Post.
Contributing Columnist, Business Week; Contributing Editor, The New Republic; Commentator, NPR.
Former Executive Director, President Carter's Commission on Neighborhoods
Former investigator, Senate Committee on Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs
Books: *The End of Laissez Faire* (1991); *The Life of the Party* (1987); *The Economic Illusion* (1984); *Revolt of the Haves* (1980)

Primary concerns: The use of investment, public and private, to restore the economy to a path of sustainable high growth.

Lee, Evelyn Salt Lake City, UT
Co-owner, ONLY IN UTAH (conference planning and tours arrangement small business)
Former Director, Economic and Industrial Development Division, State of Utah.
Former Coordinator of Advertising and Public Relations, State of Utah
Former special education teacher.
Former Vice-Chair, Utah Drug Foundation Task Force; Utah Crime Prevention Effort; Chairman, Board of Pardons Selection Committee.

She is very interested in growth for small business.

Mankiller, Chief Wilma Tahlequah, OK
Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation (SHOULD BE CALLED CHIEF)
Elected first woman chief of second-largest North American tribe (130,000 members) in 1985.

She is primarily interested in increasing employment of poor people; small business development. She would like to see the tribes granted authority to issue revenue bonds. She is in favor of employment tax credits in areas of high unemployment. She is worried about Native-Americans losing jobs under NAFTA unless there are some safeguards or incentives like an employment tax credit.

Nelsen, Virginia

Bismarck, ND

Founder, Director and CEO, North Dakota Micro Business Marketing Alliance

The Alliance is a non-profit model product development and marketing project, showcasing rural North Dakota products.

Worked to foster microenterprises.

Owns a retail gift/gourmet food store in Bismarck with her husband.

Very interested in small business development and marketing and product development. Has worked in rural N.D. to form one, two and three person businesses. She is interested in communicating to others the kind of cooperative group effort they have undertaken in North Dakota.

Pearlman, Jerry K.

Glenview, IL

Chairman, President and CEO, Zenith Electronics Corporation.

With Zenith since 1971.

Formerly of Ford.

Board Member: Chicago Museum of Science and Industry;

Northwestern Univ.

Early supporter.

Interested in three areas to improve competitiveness:

1) Technology

With a focus on public/private research cooperation.

2) Infrastructure

He wants to "fiber" the country. He believes that the cable and telephone companies could be encouraged to compete to build the fiber network at no cost to the government.

3) Trade

He thinks it essential to coordinate the U.S. Government agencies involved with international trade to act together in the interests of the U.S. economy.

Ratner, Bruce C. Brooklyn, NY

President and CEO, Forest City Ratner Companies (urban real estate developer in NY)

Developed MetroTech Center (Gov. Clinton visited during N.Y. Primary) - \$29 million spent on relocating 100 families and 75 businesses; resulted in \$76 million in minority construction contracts.

Former head, N.Y.C. Department of Consumer Affairs (1970-73)

Former N.Y.C. Commissioner of Consumer Affairs (1978-82)

Interested in the role of cities in regional economies. He believes that cities must do well in order for their regions to prosper. He supports bottom-up strategic economic planning; since all regions are different, they each have different demands. Economic strategy should be tailored to each separate region.

Reed, John S. New York, NY

Chairman and C.E.O. of Citicorp (since 1984)

Started with Citicorp in 1961.

Boards: Philip Morris, Monsanto Company, The Rand Corporation

He is primarily interested in the trade-offs between short-term growth and deficit reduction. He is looking for a commitment to credible deficit reduction; With that, he believes there could be an agreement on infrastructure investment and tax credits.

Robertson, Sanford R. San Francisco, CA

Founding Partner, Robertson, Stephens & Company (since 1978)

This investment banking and venture capital firm underwrites more than \$10 billion of emerging growth stocks.

Director: The Tech Museum of Innovation

Robertson favors incentives for long term growth; he feels the tax incentives of tomorrow should build industrial capacity and not real estate.

He thinks a raise in personal income tax rates would make up for any loss in revenue from a capital gains tax cut (though he doesn't think a loss in revenue will occur).

Extremely enthusiastic.

Roldan, Hipolito "Paul" Chicago, IL
C.E.O. of the Hispanic Housing Development Corporation
Developed over 880 affordable apartments and townhomes in 12
developments in Chicago's Hispanic communities. Developed over 98,000
square feet of commercial space in Chicago- shopping centers.
Former developer of low-income housing in Brooklyn.
1988 recipient of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
Fellowship (spent \$100,000 of his prize money to establish a scholarship
fund to help Latinos enter the community development field).
Decorated Vietnam Veteran

He is committed to community development. He believes that we need to
use and enhance the pre-existing structure for community development
corporations. No need to reinvent the wheel. He wants to devise ways
to improve the banking system to be more effective in cities and
neighborhoods. He believes that the government could save money by
spending more on employment training and education and less on prisons
and law enforcement.

Sanchez, Tony Laredo, TX
Chairman and C.E.O., Sanchez-O'Brien Oil & Gas Corporation
Private gas and oil exploration and development; drilled over 550 wells
since 1973; Daily production: 80,000,000 cubic feet of gas and 2,500
barrels of oil.

"Energy independence is directly related to long-term growth." He also
feels that NAFTA is vital to long-term growth and that a regulatory over-
burden has been a deterrent to growth.

Shockley, Brenda Yvonne Los Angeles, CA
Executive Director of Community Build, Inc. - a community based
response to the L.A. riots; supported by Maxine Waters; focuses on the
economic causes of the riots.
Former President of Drew Economic Development Corporation - a non-
profit aimed at redeveloping the Drew University campus and
surrounding areas.

Primary concerns: Persistent poverty; unemployment among
minority males.

Stafford, Kathleen CA

Treasurer of Amgen Pharmaceutical, Inc.

Amgen is the largest independent bio-tech company in the U.S.

Long-term incentives are very important to her high-tech growth industry. She is very concerned that "drug price controls" could impact her company. She is worried a reformed health care system will frustrate the development of innovative new biotechnology.

Sweeney, John I. Washington, D.C.

International President, Service Employees International Union

Elected to fourth 4-year term in April 1992.

AFL-CIO roles: VP; Member, Executive Council; Chair, Health Committee

One of four dissenting members of the Advisory Council on Social Security Report. Frequent congressional witness on healthcare reform.

He has two primary interests:

- 1) The public component of turning the economy around; including state and local government issues, reimbursements, and privatization.
- 2) Interested in health care costs and their role in expanding the deficit.

Tyson, Donald I. Springdale, AR

Chairman of Tyson Foods, Inc.

"Just back from Brazil. Looking forward to participating."

Wilson, Barbara L. Boise, ID

Idaho Vice-President, US West Communications

Only Idaho officer for 14-state telecommunications corporation.

responsible for directing public policy strategies.

Board of Directors: Boise Area Chamber of Commerce; Idaho Association of Commerce and Industry.

Primary concerns: "How do we create an environment to allow and encourage U.S. businesses to effectively compete in a global economy? Regulatory reform; incentives to encourage investment in the U.S.; a viable information infrastructure; training and retraining; improved education; targeted investment based tax credits or other incentives (R&D, consortiums,...)"

Young, John A. Palo Alto, CA
Retired President & Chief Executive Officer, Hewlett-Packard Co.
Joined Company in 1958
Served 2 terms on board of trustees for Stanford University in CA.
Holds degrees in electrical engineering & business administration

Primary concerns: the role of technology in long-term development; how to improve R&D, the "Economic War" versus the former "Cold War", capital gains for entrepreneurs, and incentives for technical development. "The President-elect is very familiar with my views."

WORKING SESSION III: LONG-TERM INVESTMENT AND DEFICIT REDUCTION

EVENT:

Four three-minute presentations on the need for a balance of long-term investment and deficit reduction before kicking off a 45 minute discussion.

PRESENTERS:

- *Felix Rohatyn* is the head of Lazard Freres.
- *Henry Aaron* is the Director of the Economic Studies Department, Brookings Institution.
- *Isabel Sawhill* is an economist at the Urban Institute.
- *William Gray* is the head of the United Negro College Fund.

GOALS:

- Governor Clinton has rejected those who call only for attacking the deficit and those who ignore the deficit and concentrate only on new public investment. Governor Clinton has stated from the outset that there are two deficits -- a budget deficit and an investment deficit -- and that we must confront both if we are to have a strong long-term growth agenda. This session asks the participants to consider a balanced approach to both increasing key investments and bringing the deficit down.
- It is important to explain that large deficits can reduce national savings, drive up capital costs, and thus reduce private sector investment. We also need to stress that it is very important whether deficits are used to finance consumption or new investments in our economic future.
- Weak investment has been a fixture of America's economy for years now, and it will take years to rectify.

ATTACHED:

- Summary of the presentations.
- Points to note and suggested questions.
- Background:
 - US failure to invest and competitiveness.
 - Long-term deficit reduction and why its important.
- "Putting People First" summary on investment/deficits.
- Pitfalls: possible Q&A for discussion.
- (See also earlier background memo for Solow macro presentation).

SUMMARY OF THE PRESENTATIONS

1. Felix Rohatyn

Rohatyn will argue for a growth strategy as the most effective means for reducing the deficit. He will also stress that many years of fiscal mismanagement led us to the current record deficits, and that it will take us a long time to control them. He may stress that much of the Municipal Assistance Corporation's (MAC) success in helping New York in the 1970s was not solely more stringent borrowing standards, but key investments that helped spur a period of high growth.

2. Henry Aaron, Director of Brookings Institution

It is likely that Aaron will disagree with some of Rohatyn's points. He will agree with Rohatyn's overall call for investment-led growth, but he may make a far stronger case for deficit reduction, and state that Rohatyn is not rigorous enough in defending the case for significantly increased infrastructure spending. Brookings just released their annual "Setting Domestic Priorities" which stressed that the main priority should be to make infrastructure spending more efficient -- through measures such as congestion pricing of roads and airports. [However, the study also stresses that the best infrastructure programs have a 30% rate of return].

3. Isabel Sawhill: Urban Institute

She may stress that the main criteria for allocating resources should not be any specific mix of public or private investment, but the social rate of return of specific investments, regardless of whether they are public or private.

4. Bill Gray, Head of the United Negro College Fund and former Budget Chairman

Key points: Gray will discuss the implications of the deficit for public investment -- that spending limits enacted in recent years to cut the deficit have come at the expense of public investment (education, infrastructure).

POSSIBLE QUESTIONS TO START DISCUSSION:

Question: Mr. Aaron, Brookings has been more cautious than Mr. Rohatyn on infrastructure. I agree that we need to link additional investments to spending reform, but can we really afford not to invest more in infrastructure in light of our record compared to our foreign competitors?

Question: Mr. Aaron, I believe that any proposals for additional public investment must be tightly linked to a long-term deficit plan. I do have questions about timing. Given the fragility of the recovery, how large is the risk that deep spending cuts will dampen demand and stunt economic growth?

Question: Mr. Rohatyn, what have our global competitors done to reduce their deficits while investing for the future?

Question: Mr. Gray, the budget deficit amassed during the eighties meant steep cuts for public investment in schools and jobs programs. I have talked during the campaign of the need for us to at least conceptually divide the budget up into a consumption budget and an investment budget. However, some feel that if you put some investments in people in a "capital budget," everything would be classified as "capital." Is there any way we can come up with a clear definition of what should be seen as capital without leading to abuses?

BACKGROUND

A. The Failure to Invest Threatens America's Competitiveness

There are numerous examples of America's recent failure to make the long term investments in both human and physical capital necessary to remain the pre-eminent economic power. All of the following examples strengthen the case for the Clinton-Gore agenda, which includes a targeted investment tax credit, a permanent R&D tax credit, and a 50 percent reduction in long-term investments in small businesses.

In September, the Council on Competitiveness released its Competitiveness Index, which revealed some of the implications of failing to make these long-term investments:

1. Standard of Living: Fell 2.2 percent in 1991. Between 1972 and 1991, the U.S. ranked last among G-7 nations in growth in standard of living.
2. Investment: In 1991, U.S. investment in plant and equipment hit a 14 year low, declining by 7.1 percent. Since 1987, the U.S. has invested a smaller share of GDP in plant and equipment than any other G-7 country.
3. Exports: Exports have been a bright spot for the U.S., although Germany remains the top exporter of manufactured goods.

B. Long-Term Deficit Reduction and Why Its Important

While there is debate over how quickly the deficit should be reduced, there is general consensus by economists that a long-term commitment to deficit reduction is critical to America's competitiveness in the world economy. Here are some major points you might want to raise in the discussion:

DEFICITS IMPEDE INVESTMENT: With large budget deficits, an increasingly large percentage of the federal budget must go to paying just the interest costs on the debt. In the 1980's, consumer spending rose from 62.8 percent of GDP in 1979 to 66.9 percent in 1989; at the same time, gross business fixed investment fell from 13 percent to 10.8 percent. In short, a shift away from an investment-led economy to a consumption-led economy.

DEFICITS KEEP PRODUCTIVITY LOW: The large percentage of GNP going to interest costs on the deficit reduces the resources available for public and private sector investment.

DEFICITS DRAIN ALREADY LIMITED PRIVATE SAVINGS: As federal budget deficits have ballooned over the last 20 years, the country's savings rate has declined. The personal savings rate dropped to 3.3 percent in 1987 from the post war average of 7.5 percent. Corporate savings over the same time period fell to under 1 percent during the 1980's, as compared to the post war average of 2.9 percent of GDP. In sum, consumption, instead of savings and investment, dominated consumer and business trends.

DEFICITS KEEP FAMILY INCOMES LOW & REDUCE JOB PROSPECTS: High government borrowing and the low levels of private savings and low private and public investment has led to lower productivity rates, which leads to lower real wage gains and lower family income.

DEFICITS PUT AMERICA AT A COMPETITIVE DISADVANTAGE: Heavy borrowing, much of it from foreign sources, has led to trade deficits and a lower share of world markets.

[Source: "Why Deficits Matter" by David Wyss of DRI/McGraw Hill]

C. "Putting People First" on Long-Term Investment and Deficit Reduction

1. BOOST PRIVATE INVESTMENT

PPF offered a targeted investment tax credit for investments in new plants and equipment, a targeted capital gains tax exclusion for long-term (5 years or more) investments in new businesses, and a permanent R&D tax credit.

2. BOOST PUBLIC INVESTMENT

Key elements here include an \$80 billion (4 year) infrastructure/advanced technologies initiative, full funding of Head Start and WIC, a National Service Trust Fund to enable every American to go to college, a national apprenticeship program for non-college bound students, a youth opportunity corps, and a community development proposal.

3. DEFICIT REDUCTION

PPF promised to cut the budget deficit in half over four years, from the current \$297 billion to \$141 billion. We know from John White's assessment that CBO has since revised its deficit baseline projections upwards. PPF proposed \$144 billion in spending cuts (the biggest revenues in collecting taxes from foreign firms and defense cuts). PPF raised revenue by increasing the top marginal income tax rate from 31 to 36 percent, a surtax on millionaires, and increasing the alternative minimum tax.

Session IV:

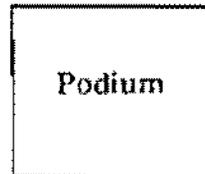
Environment &
Economic Growth

President-elect Bill Clinton

Vice President-elect Al Gore, Jr.

- Lilia Calderon Clemente
- John Correnti
- Ed Romero
- Sanford Greenberg
- Sec. of Labor Robert Reich
- Joan Bok
- Bill Wiley
- Pam Linton
- Frank Popoff *
- Gordon Moore
- Director of OMB Leon Panetta
- Paul O'Neill
- Craig Fields *
- Edward Lewis
- Sec. of Commerce Ron Brown

- Maria Elena Torano
- John Bryson *
- Alfonso Fanjul
- Sec. of the Treasury Lloyd Bentsen
- Lynn Williams *
- Mary Ann Mills
- Chair of CEA Laura Tyson
- John Clendenin
- Katherine "Kay" Hammer
- Drew Lewis
- Gus Speth
- Economic Policy Advisor Robert Rubin
- Larry Perlman
- Richard Clarke
- Carol Browner



* = Presenter

Other Presenters

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.

	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Donna Shalala	Carol Browner	Roger Altman	Alice Rivlin	Mack McClarty	IIRC	Mickey Kantor	Presenter 1	Presenter 2	Presenter 3	Presenter 4
	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
	Anne Cohn Donnelly	Henry Cisneros	Doris Matsui	Madeleine Kunin	Vernon Jordan	Warren Christopher	John Emerson	Erskine Bowles	Mary Leslie	Team 32	Team 32

Gore Panel

Name	Company	Category	St	Phone #
Ms. Joan Bok	New England Electric	Utility	MA	508-366-2796
Ms. Carol Browner	State of Florida	Environment	FL	904-488-4805
* Mr. John E. Bryson	So. California	Utility	CA	818-302-2265
Mr. Richard Clarke	Pacific Gas &	Utility	CA	415-972-7000
Ms. Lilia C. Clemente	Clemente Capital,	Business	NY	212-765-0700
Mr. John L. Clendenin	Bell South Corp.	Utility	GA	404-249-2021
Mr. John Correnti	Nucor Corporation	Metals	NC	704-366-7000
Mr. Alfonso Fanjul	Flo-Sun	Agribusiness	FL	407-655-6303
* Mr. Craig Fields	MCC	High Tech	TX	512-338-3910
Mr. Sanford Greenberg	TEI Industries, Inc.	Small Business	DC	202 333 8080
Ms. Katherine Hammer	Evolutionary	High Tech	TX	512-346-3813
Mr. Drew Lewis	Union Pacific	Transportation	PA	215-861-3200
Mr. Edward T. Lewis	Essence	Communications	NY	212-642-0700
Ms. Pam Linton	Pollution Solutions	Environment	VT	802-860-1200
Ms. Mary Ann Mills	Soapbox Trading	Small Business	MA	617-492-6204
Mr. Gordon E. Moore	Intel Corporation	High Tech	CA	408-765-8080
Mr. Paul O'Neill	Aluminum Company of	Metals	PA	412-553-4545
Mr. Larry Perlman	Ceridian & Corp.	High Tech	MN	612-853-5283
* Mr. Frank P. Popoff	The Dow Chemical	Chemical	MI	517-636-0816
Mr. Ed Romero	Advanced Sciences,	High Tech	NM	505-828-0959
Mr. Gus Speth	World Resources	Academia	DC	202-638-6300
Ms. Maria Elena Torano	Meta	Small Business	VA	703-243-3608
Mr. Bill Wiley	Battelle - Pacific	Small Business	WA	509-375-2201
* Mr. Lynn R. Williams	AFL-CIO - United	Labor	PA	412-562-2300

* Present

WORKING SESSION IV: ENVIRONMENT, NEW TECHNOLOGIES,
AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

Presenters:

John Bryson
Craig Fields
Frank Popoff
Lynn Williams

Panelists:

Bok, Joan Westboro, MA
Chairman, New England Electric System (1984-present)
Director, Boards of Monsanto, John Hancock mutual Life, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston
Trustee: Urban Institute, Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology

Browner, Carol Florida
Nominated for Environment Protection Agency Administrator
Transition Director for Vice President-elect Gore
Former Florida Secretary of Environmental Regulation
Former Senate aide to Senator Gore.

Clarke, Richard A. San Francisco, California
Chairman and CEO of Pacific Gas and Electric Company since 1986
Director of BankAmerica Co., Potlatch Co., Pacific Conservation Services Co., Pacific Gas Transmission Co.
Served on President Bush's Commission on Environmental Quality.

Clement, Lilia Calderon New York, NY
Chairman and C.E.O. of Clemente Capital, Inc. - specializing in Asia/Pacific Rim investments.
President of First Philippine Fund (a closed-end country fund listed in the NYSE)

Clendenin, John L. Atlanta, GA
Chairman and CEO of BellSouth Corporation
Board member of Coca-Cola Enterprises Inc., Wachovia Corporation,
New York Stock Exchange among others
National President of the Boy Scouts of America
Former Chairman of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce

Particular concerns: Develop strategies aimed at job creation, savings and investment stimulation, and infrastructure rebuilding, but avoid inflationary spending.

Correnti, John D. Charlotte, NC
President and C.E.O. of the Nucor Corporation
Former General Manager of Nucor-Yamata Steel in Blytheville, AR
Boards: 1st National Bank of Blytheville, Arkansas College.

30% of the steel Nucor "mini" steel mills outputs is not produced by union labor. Correnti maintains that Nucor's plants are cleaner, cheaper, and friendlier to the environment than traditional steel mills. Nucor uses nothing but scrap metal at its plants in UT, NE, IN, TX, SC and AR.

Correnti and Lynn Williams, a presenter in this same session, are polar opposites on the issue of steel making. Correnti claims that only non-union mini-mills can compete with foreign steel-makers. Williams disagrees.

Faniul, Alfonso Palm Beach, Florida
Chairman and CEO of Flo-Sun, Inc. (sugarcane grower)
Board member of Pennzoil, FPL Group, Inc.
Listed in the Who's Who Among Hispanic Americans

Greenberg, Sanford
Former White House Advisory Staff under President Johnson
Trustee of the DNC
Founding director of the American Agenda that identified major problems and solutions for President Bush
Director of the National Committee on the U.S.-China Relations and member of the Council on Foreign Relations
Recipient of several "Outstanding Man" awards
Greenberg is legally blind.

Hammer, Katherine

Austin, TX

President, Founder and C.E.O. of Evolutionary Technologies, Inc.
ETI is developing EXTRACT software technology, the first spin-off project from MCC research (see Craig Fields above)
Ph.D. in Linguistics and former professor at Washington State Univ.
Joined Texas Instruments in 1981

Lewis, Drew

Bethlehem, PA

Chairman, Union Pacific Corporation
Former Secretary of Transportation (Reagan administration)
Former Chairman of The Business Roundtable and Tenneco Inc.
Boards: American Express, AT&T, Ford, FPL Group, Gulfstream Aerospace, The Rockefeller Group
Former deputy chairman of the Republican National Committee in 1980-81

Mr. Lewis is a strong proponent of a gas tax increase, even though Union Pacific is the nation's largest consumer of taxed gasoline (non-military).
"Whatever it takes to get the deficit down."

Lewis, Edward T.

New York, NY

Publisher and C.E.O. of Essence Communications, Inc.
Co-founded magazine for black women in 1970
Works to encourage minority business development
Director of TransAfrica, Chairman of Africa News, Director of Meals on Wheels
Board member of American Women's Economic Development Co., Magazine Publishers of America, International Peace Academy, School of American Ballet
Former deputy chairman, RNC 1980-81

Linton, Pam

Burlington, VT

Founder, President, and CEO of Pollution Solutions
Bush voter in '88
Co-chair of Businesses for Clinton in VT
expanded operations to Canada in 1992
appointed by Governor Kunin to the Technical Advisory Board for Solid Waste Disposal and the Board of Directors of the Institute for Sustainable Communities
Serves on several environmental committees in VT
Best friend and next door neighbor to Madeline Kunin.

Mills, Mary Ann Cambridge, MA
Vice President and Managing Director, Soapbox Trading Co. DBA The Body Shop (Very successful and very environmentally-correct toiletries shops)
Vice-President and Account Supervisor, McGrath/Power Associates
(PR/consulting)

Moore, Gordon E. Santa Clara, CA
Co-founder and Chairman of Intel Corporation
Intel just recaptured majority share of computer chip industry.
Director of Varian Associates and Transamerica Corp.
Member of National Academy of Engineering

O'Neill, Paul Pittsburgh, PA
Chairman, and C.E.O. of Alcoa
Former President, International Paper Company
Former Deputy Director of OMB (1974-77)
Manages by delegating authority, decentralizing operations,
eliminating management levels,
Expanded operations into Europe and Asia

Pearlman, Larry Minnesota
Chairman, President and CEO of the Ceridian Corporation
Director of Computer Network Technology Corp., G&K Services Inc.,
Seagate Technology among other groups
Member of the National Advisory Board for the Chemical Banking
Corporation
Board member at Carleton College, Business Roundtable, among
several other committees

Romero, Ed L. Albuquerque, NM
Founder, Chairman and C.E.O. of Advanced Sciences, Inc. (environmental
engineering and waste management)
Served on the President's Hispanic Advisory Committee and the Advisory
Committee for Trade Negotiations for the Department of State.
Delegate to the Democratic Convention
President of Hispanic Culture Foundation and New Mexico Minority
Business Association

Speth, Gus New York, NY
Founder and President of World Resources Institute
Former Chairman of the Council on Environmental Quality in the
Executive Office of the President
Board member of the Environmental Law Institute, Keystone Center,
National Resource Defense Council and numerous other
environmental foundations
Recipient of several awards for environmental service

Torano, Maria Elena Arlington, VA
President of META, Inc.
META is an environmental services company for federal, state and local
governments. (one of top 200 Hispanic businesses in the U.S.)
Majority interest in METEC (asset management) - largest Hispanic
contractor to the Resolution Trust Co.
Member, Hispanic Congressional Caucus Institute; Chair of the National
Hispanic Leadership Institute; a director of the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of
Commerce;
Bush appointee to bipartisan U.S. Commission on Minority Business
Development.

Wiley, Dr. William R. Seattle, WA
Director, Pacific Northwest Division, Battelle Memorial Institute (a
private research company in Washington state.
Among the Institute's programs is operating the Department of
Energy's Pacific Northwest Laboratory.

WORKING SESSION IV: ENVIRONMENT, NEW TECHNOLOGIES, AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

EVENT:

A discussion of the relationship between environmental responsibility and economic growth with emphasis on the new technologies that increased environmental awareness will foster. This discussion will be divided into two sections:

- A. False Choice: How to create bold investment that is pro-environment.
- B. Industries of the Future: An intelligent government-business partnership can revitalize existing industries and help create the industries of the 21st century.

RATIONALE AND GOALS:

This session seeks to squarely confront the false perception that an industrialized country must choose between environmental preservation and economic growth.

- **John Bryson**, an industry executive, will address the false choice question.
- **Lynn Williams**, President of United Steelworkers, will speak to the importance of environmental protections in terms of worker health and safety. He will also testify to the Steelworkers' view that the new technologies that environmentally sound manufacturing requires are also an essential element in improving efficiency and enhancing competitiveness.
- **Craig Fields** will discuss government's role in fostering these new technologies.

CONTENTS:

- I. The false choice between economic growth and the environment
- II. Case studies
 - Michael Porter
 - Alcoa
 - Dow Chemicals
 - Dupont
 - Pacific Gas and Electric
 - Southern California Edison
- III. Labor and Environmental Protection: United Steel Workers
- IV. Industries of the Future: Craig Fields

[Source: Katie McGinty Briefing for Senator Gore; Part IV: Tom Kalil]

I. THE FALSE CHOICE BETWEEN ECONOMIC GROWTH AND THE ENVIRONMENT

WHO: John Bryson is Chairman of the Board and CEO of SCEcorp and its principal subsidiary, Southern California Edison Company. He joined Edison in 1984. From 1979 to 1982, he served as president of the California Public Utilities Commission. Bryson is a director of Times Mirror Company, First Interstate Bancorp, Council on Foreign Relations and World Institute. He is a trustee of Stanford University and Polytechnic School in Pasadena.

BACKGROUND:

"Nothing is more discouraging or more pointless than newspaper articles with headlines like 'The Economy vs. the Environment, which will it be?' The answer is that it had better be both or else it will be neither."

-- Remarks by E.S. Woolard, Jr., Chairman of DuPont, May 5, 1992.

The old view of environmental protection posits an inherent conflict between economic growth and the environment due to the assumption that pollution control automatically increases costs. Environmental protection is seen as an economic burden rather than an economic opportunity. This is true only in a narrow sense in which environmental performance is equated with installation of expensive end of pipe pollution control equipment with no other changes in production processes, technologies, worker-management coordination, or institutional frameworks (utility demand incentives, waste trades, flexible regulations). In other words, this view assumes that we are not smart enough to do anything else. As economic growth continues, rather than develop new products and production processes which improve environmental performance, we just 'tradeoff' environmental quality for more goods and services. This "can't do" attitude is a long run prescription for 'neither' because the economy and the environment are interdependent.

The new view is that economic and environmental performance can be mutually reinforcing if we are smart enough to reexamine current production processes, products, regulations, and institutions that were not designed to encourage dynamic environmental improvements. These other factors are a commitment to environmental performance by top management, worker empowerment to allow myriad specific improvement opportunities to be discovered and utilized, a goal of continuous improvement toward zero emissions rather than contentment with the status quo, and the designing in of environmental considerations from the beginning of both production processes and products rather than at the end of the pipe.

II. CASE STUDIES

A. MICHAEL PORTER (Scientific American article, April 1991)

The conflict between environmental protection and economic competitiveness is a false dichotomy based on a static view of competition. Environmental regulations only dictate higher costs if nothing changes except for the installation of expensive pollution control equipment. However, many things can change as a dynamic response to environmental problems. For example, environmental standards often trigger innovation and upgrading. In many cases, the result is a process that not only pollutes less but lowers costs or improves quality. For example, the 3M Company estimates that its 'Pollution Prevention Pays' program has saved \$482 million since 1975, while eliminating more than 500,000 tons of waste and pollutants, and has saved another \$650 million by conserving energy.

The strongest evidence that environmental protection does not automatically harm economic growth is the economic performance of nations with high standards. Countries with the most rigorous environmental requirements often lead in exports of affected products. Germany and Japan have stringent environmental standards and high rates of productivity growth.

Environmental regulations which specify outcomes rather than methods will allow firms to change their processes and technologies to simultaneously meet economic and environmental goals.

B. ALCOA – PAUL O'NEIL, CEO

Alcoa has a proactive environmental policy which attempts not only to comply with current environmental regulations, but also to anticipate environmental issues and take appropriate actions which may precede new regulations.

ALCOA ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMS

Sustainable Development: Alcoa is examining the implications of the Brundland Commission's concept of sustainable development for its operations. Sustainable development requires a change in the concept of economic growth to make it less material and energy intensive. Alcoa is attempting to incorporate the notion of sustainable development into its decision making processes for resource extraction, selection of manufacturing processes, design of products, management of releases of pollutants, disposal of waste materials, recycling, and interaction with government, nongovernmental organizations, communities, and shareholders.

In order to facilitate understanding of sustainable development, Alcoa is developing position papers on Global Pollutants, Habitat and Resources, Social Issues (communities that plants operate in), and Institutions and Processes (new approaches from business and government such as flexible regulations and life cycle analysis). These will provide an analysis of the issue, possible effects on Alcoa, and recommended courses of action.

Management of CO₂: Alcoa is a significant producer of CO₂ because aluminum production is energy intensive. Hence, Alcoa is considering efficiency, conservation, fuel selection and alternative energy sources (for new facilities and major retrofits) in designing strategies for CO₂ management. Long term strategies also include the development of new production processes to reduce CO₂ generation. Alcoa believes that improvements in energy use practices will produce significant and cost-effective reductions in CO₂ emissions.

Alcoa also encourages aluminum recycling in the US and worldwide. This can be an important component of a CO₂ management strategy because it takes 95% less energy to create a product from recycled aluminum than from original bauxite.

Waste Minimization: Alcoa has prepared an 8 step Waste Minimization Guide which provides an understanding of waste minimization methodology and tools. Alcoa's (Pittsburgh) Environmental Control Department's goal is to have business strategies of all parent company units and subsidiary operating units include waste minimization programs.

C. DOW CHEMICAL – FRANK POPOFF, CEO

Dow believes that pollution prevention is the most cost effective approach to addressing environmental problems. Waste reduction is seen as a way to weed out economic inefficiency as well as to protect the environment. Dow also emphasizes senior management commitment to pollution prevention, employee initiative in seeking out waste reduction opportunities, and the sharing of information on pollution emissions and control efforts with local communities.

DOW ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMS

Waste Reduction Always Pays (WRAP):

- (a) WRAP has a pollution prevention oriented waste management hierarchy consisting of source reduction as the preferred option, followed by recycling, treatment or incineration, and deposit in a secure landfill.
- (b) All Dow plants inventory pollutants released to air, land, water and measure relative to production rates. This yields an index of pounds of waste versus pounds of product that can be tracked by each site on a regular basis.
- (c) DOW Employees propose waste reduction projects every year. Projects can involve changes to capital equipment as well as changes to maintenance, operation, or administrative procedures. Although DOW would prefer that all projects save money, it is recognized that some projects may not have a return on investment that can be quantified. Employees are rewarded for their efforts in seeking out waste reduction opportunities.
- (d) Results: The WRAP program has lived up to its name by reducing pollution and saving money in many cases. Many materials previously lost are recovered and reused, there are savings in transportation and disposal costs, and emissions have been significantly reduced. DOW has cut its air emissions in the US at least in half since 1985.
- (e) Example of successful results: A project team at Dow's Western Division in Pittsburgh, California identified opportunities to recycle and improve the control of a reactant used in the production of agricultural products. Traditionally, the reactant was incinerated after a single use. Using computer modelling techniques, the team was able to find ways to cut the consumption of the reactant by 80 percent through recovery and reuse, thereby eliminating 2.5 million pounds of waste per year. As a result, the team saved Dow \$8 million annually from reduced raw materials use and lower environmental and labor costs.
- (f) Another example: DOW's Louisiana division invested more than \$12 million in 47 waste reduction projects in 1988-1989 with an average payback time of 10 months.

Environmental Award: In 1989, Dow won the World Environmental Center's Gold Medal for International Corporate Environmental Achievement. In its award citation, the international jury that selected Dow took note of its innovative program for waste reduction, its top-down commitment to environmental protection, and its open communication with the public on environmental matters.

** Note to AG: you have worked with him in the past as part of the Global Tomorrow Coalition's Business Roundtables. Most recently, he shared the podium with you at GTC's post-Rio assessment dinner and dialogue.

D. DUPONT – ED WOOLARD, CEO **

DuPont envisions environmental progress as an opportunity to make innovative changes rather than an economic penalty. DuPont emphasizes senior management commitment to environmental excellence and worker initiative in reducing emissions.

Environmental goals for the 1990s: Include a 35 percent reduction of hazardous waste from 1990 levels, a 60 percent reduction of toxic air emissions from 1987 levels, building of additional plants to recycle plastic waste, phasing out the manufacture of CFCs, intensification of research and development of clean fuels.

Examples of innovations that saved money and reduced pollution:

Example 1: Titanium dioxide is a major DuPont product. The production process emits large quantities of carbonyl sulfide. A 60 percent emission reduction relative to 1987 has been accomplished by the end of 1992. The emission reductions were achieved through source reductions made possible by improved process control, new operating strategies, design modifications, and slightly lower-sulfur coke.

This project has also been good financially for DuPont. The program eliminated the need for an incinerator that would have cost somewhere between \$20-\$40 million, plus \$6 million in operating costs. The remaining emission reduction costs of \$2 million dollars per year are one third of incinerator operating costs.

Example 2: Workers at a New Jersey plant (Imaging Systems, Parlin) started a project to reclaim packaging from film products that didn't meet specifications. Instead of disposing of the substandard products and packaging, they are sent to a workshop to be dismantled. The package is then returned for recycling. This has reduced solid waste generation and saved DuPont \$300,000 per year.

Environmental Award: In 1987, DuPont won the World Environmental Center's Gold Medal for International Corporate Environmental Achievement.

** Will not be participating. FYI.

E. PACIFIC GAS AND ELECTRIC -- RICHARD CLARK, CEO

PG&E is the nation's largest investor-owned gas and electric utility, serving 11 million people in California. It has embarked on a long-term strategy of reliance on energy efficiency and renewable energy as its primary sources of new electricity supply.

PG&E ENERGY EFFICIENCY/ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY PROGRAMS

PG&E plans to meet 75 percent of electric load growth projected for the 1990's with customer energy efficiency. These programs will save the equivalent of 2,500 MW of power generation. The remaining load growth will be met with renewable generation sources and more efficient use of existing facilities and of the distribution grid.

PG&E plans to spend well over \$2 billion in the 1990s on programs that provide cost-effective efficiency opportunities. These programs are expected to save PG&E industrial and residential customers \$2.4 billion relative to the expenses that would be incurred if customer needs were met by building new generating capacity. This is \$2.4 billion that is available for other purchases or investments that stimulate the economy and create additional jobs.

These economic savings are accompanied by environmental savings due to air emission reductions. Due to PG&E's energy efficiency efforts, air emissions in the 1990s will be reduced by over 20 million tons of carbon dioxide, 27,000 tons of nitrogen oxides, and 5,000 tons of sulfur dioxide.

F. SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA EDISON – JOHN BRYSON, CEO

Edison's energy policy is meant to promote a healthy environment and a strong economy. Energy policy goals include least cost integrated planning, the use of market solutions rather than command and control regulation, broad-based initiatives to internalize environmental impacts, and incentives to encourage investments in cleaner technologies. Edison believes that utilization of electricity in new technologies in energy efficiency, transportation, industrial processes and environmental protection has outstanding potential for the nation's economy.

NOTE THAT BRYSON'S WORK HAS IMPORTANCE and application across many sectors of the economy -- not just the electric utility sector. So. Cal. Edison is saving industrial and residential customers money by advising them on cost-effective conservation strategies. In at least one instance (see below), their advice has made the difference between success and bankruptcy. Also, Bryson will have something to say about government-industry partnerships on critical technologies (see electric car discussion)

EDISON ENVIRONMENTAL PROGRAMS

Energy Efficiency: Edison's 1992 programs include the use of cash incentives to residential and industrial customers to purchase energy efficient appliances, home energy surveys, and cash incentives to developers for constructing homes that are more energy efficient than state standards. These programs are estimated to save customers more than 800 million kilowatt-hours annually. Many of these savings will last from 10 to 30 years. To achieve these savings, Edison will spend \$87 million and customers will invest \$62 million in energy-efficient equipment in 1992. The life-cycle savings from these investments are estimated to be \$336 million, more than a 2:1 benefit-cost ratio. These savings will also result in improved environmental quality through reductions in emissions of carbon dioxide and nitrogen oxide.

Climate Change Mitigation: Edison has pledged to reduce CO₂ emissions and believes that it can be done without increasing costs to customers. Edison plans to reduce CO₂ emissions from its power plants by 10 percent over the next decade, and another 10 percent by the year 2010. These gains will be achieved by cost-effective energy efficiency and conservation programs, greater use of alternative and renewable resources, and repowering of existing generating plants.

Customer Technology Application Center: This was created to provide residential, commercial, and industrial customers with state-of-the-art, energy efficient technologies. Since opening in 1990, the Center has welcomed more than 70,000 visitors for seminars, technology demonstrations, hearings, and training.

Business Retention Program: This helps local industrial customers to remain competitive at their existing locations. Services include energy-efficiency rebates and incentives, alternate electric rates, technical feasibility studies, environmental counseling and technical evaluations, assistance with required permits, industrial process studies, and new technology applications.

Example of Successful Business Retention: The Sunshine Biscuit Company was considering an out of state move prompted by environmental regulations and increasing costs. Edison demonstrated two modern radio frequency dryers on Sunshine's baking production lines, which enabled it to meet air quality regulations, improve product quality and increase shelf life. Operation and maintenance costs were reduced and productivity increased, and Sunshine stayed in California.

Renewable Energy Resources: Renewables represent 21 percent of Edison's total energy supply, a rate that is twice the national average. Edison's goal in the 1990s is to reduce the costs of renewables by joint partnerships with renewable technology developers, other utilities, and state/federal governments to advance the most promising renewable technologies.

Example of Progress in Bringing Renewables to Market: Edison has been involved in efforts to accelerate the development of cost-effective and environmentally clean photovoltaic systems. In April of 1991, Edison and Texas Instruments jointly announced a patented breakthrough in making solar energy technology affordable to consumers. This new technology, known as spherical solar, improves on existing photovoltaic processes by combining inexpensive materials with low-cost manufacturing equipment to reduce the cost of solar-cell energy by as much as 80 percent.

Electric Vehicles: Electric vehicles (EVs) have no tailpipe emissions, and are 97 percent cleaner than gasoline-powered vehicles even considering emissions from power plants that provide the electricity for EVs, according to the California Air Resources Board. EVs have been cited by a Congressionally mandated panel as one of 22 "National Critical Technologies" that should be pursued to achieve the country's economic and energy security goals. Conversion of defense/aerospace industries to commercial-scale advanced EV and transit industries would allow the US to take advantage of a highly skilled workforce to establish new domestic industries and penetrate world markets.

Edison is playing a role in this new industry development as a participant in CALSTART - a consortium of more than 40 California-based companies and organizations aimed at developing an advanced electric transportation industry in California. Edison's main contributions to CALSTART will be in building and coordinating the infrastructure necessary to charge EVs, managing the CALSTART electric bus/mass transit program, and galvanizing community awareness of and support for clean transportation. CALSTART could contribute to the development of a major new industry in California that pays high wages and is environmentally sound.

III. LABOR AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION: UNITED STEEL WORKERS

WHO: Lynn Williams is the International President of the United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO/CLC. He has been a member of USWA since 1947, and he has been in his present position since 1983.

BACKGROUND:

The United Steelworkers of America (USWA) are strong proponents of the fact that there is no inconsistency between the objectives of the labor movement and environmental protection. In fact, the USWA are strong, strong environmentalists. They issued a report "Our Children's Future" in 1990, which was the result of a year long USWA Task Force on the Environment. The report was overwhelmingly adopted at the 25th Constitutional Convention of the USWA in 1990. There are three main topics relating to the environment that the steelworkers especially emphasize.

1) Occupational and Environmental Health

- The Steelworkers have a strong record of backing safety, health and environmental laws. "Workers have a gut understanding of environmental issues - 100,000 North Americans die each year from workplace diseases that later find their way into our air and water. The environment outside the workplace is only an extension of the environment inside" - -Our Children's World: Steelworkers and the Environment, United Steelworkers of America, 1990, p 18.
- Some examples of the link between environmental protection and worker health include:
 - Initiatives to prevent chemical plant explosions: A rule was developed by OSHA, in response to the 1989 chemical plant explosions in refineries in Texas, which sought to set safety standards for training contract workers. This rule was delayed for months by the Bush regulatory moratorium - even though an oil refinery explosion in Wyoming this summer led to the death of one worker and left others critically burned -- all while the OSHA rule remained in OMB's grip.
 - Additionally, the OMB and the Council on Competitiveness have been holding up 47 Environmental Protection Agency rules. Of these, at least 29 should have qualified for exemption from the regulatory moratorium because of statutory deadlines, health concerns, or benefit to business. Some rules held victim included pesticide standards to protect the health of workers, and several Clean Air Act rules.
 - Asbestos: OSHA has issued this fall a final regulation striking certain asbestos-like substances from coverage under the asbestos standard for worker health. These substances, when finely ground, cause asbestos-related health problems. Not only workers are affected: children also come into contact with these minerals when playing in sand made of ground stone.

- More on worker health: OMB under Bush blocked new health standards for more than 6 million workers. The blocked rule would set permissible exposure limits, or PELs, for over 1,000 hazardous substances used in the construction, maritime and agriculture industries. According to OSHA, these toxics cost 8-13 deaths per year. A similar standard for general industry has been in place for nearly three years. OMB rejected the PEL rule citing a theory never used before in the regulatory review process. OMB claimed that the rule would lead to a cut in wages and that since rich people are generally healthier than poor people, such a regulation might actually hurt workers more than it would help them.

2) Concern about the Global Environment

- Concern about their children's future. "Steelworkers have always fought for a better life for their children. Most of us are the descendants of immigrants who came to the US and Canada seeking a better future, not just for themselves, but for later generations as well... Today, the greatest threat to our children's future may be the destruction of their environment. Some of the worst consequences of environmental damage, such as global warming and the death of the oceans, will not occur in our lifetime. But they could devastate the world of our children." Our Children's World, p 12.

3) Competitiveness.

- There is no jobs-environment trade-off. "In every fight for a new health and safety regulation, or better wages, or improved pension, there is a corporate economist to tell us that if we persist, the company or the industry will fold, with hundred or thousands of lost jobs. It rarely turns out to be true, and for good reason. Someone has to design the cleaner process or equipment. Someone has to build it. Someone has to install it. Someone has to operate it. Someone has to maintain it. In the long run, the real choice is not jobs or the environment. Its both or neither." - Our Children's World, p 14.
- To remain on the cutting edge, modern technology that is cleaner and more efficient must be pursued. Japan and Germany are taking the lead. Unless the US does the same, we will lose international competitiveness and jobs.
- "Even in the short run, companies that exist only by destroying their resource base or pushing their environmental costs off onto others, will not be in business very long. Some plants have shut down, not because they acted responsibly toward their neighbors, but because they did not." - Our Children's World, p 14.
- Many pollution prevention projects save companies money in addition to improving environmental performance. Such projects often go hand in hand with manufacturing modernization, which increases the long run viability of the company. This means a more competitive company and more job security.
- Environmental regulations have stimulated a large and increasing domestic and global market in environmental goods and services. This industry is an important source of new

jobs. Although the relaxation of environmental regulations may forestall the decline of a particular plant in the US, it may also imply the loss of much larger US job opportunities in supplying the global market for environmental technologies. For example, while the U.S. used to lead the world in the production of Clean Air technology, 12 years of relaxed enforcement have also resulted in a loss of that industry. Today the U.S. imports more than 70% of its clean air technology needs.

- Jobs were lost under the Bush Administration because of their inability to understand the link between the economy and environmental regulations. Environmental goods and services are one of the fastest growing areas of economic activity in the country. An estimated 40,000 jobs will be created because of the 1990 Clean Air Act. - Institute of Clean Air Companies, July 1, 1992.
 - Dollars spent in the US to comply with air pollution control rules are not lost, but are merely transferred from polluting industries to a growing, dynamic U.S. pollution control industry.
 - Many business leaders now see pollution as a symptom of inefficient processes. To the extent air pollution control rules stimulate new technological and management devices to avoid wasteful practices, the regulated industry becomes more efficient and more competitive.
 - U.S. Government and foreign studies show that those countries with the tightest air rules produce the most internationally competitive air pollution control industry. Delaying US clean air rules makes the US pollution control industry less competitive in the global market.

Labor Relations and Environmental Protection:

1. Existing labor organizations such as worker safety and health committees at the plant level could be used to encourage progressive environmental policies. Collective bargaining agreements may include environmental concerns beyond the plant such as the right of workers to be consulted in the setting of environmental policy, to participate in environmental audits, to refuse work leading to serious pollution problems, and to have the power to subject plants to inspection by environmental protection agencies. Labor organizations at the plant level are often in the best position to detect and correct environmental problems.
2. Existing labor inspection systems could be extended to play a part in environmental protection.

Labor Readjustment and Environmental Protection:

Labor and environmental groups have cooperated in promoting readjustment programs for workers and communities affected by environmental considerations.

Lax Environmental Regulations as an Unfair Trade Practice:

Labor and environmental groups maintain that a failure of a country to establish and enforce its own environmental regulations should constitute an unfair trading practice. Imports to the US made under such conditions should be subject to countervailing duties. To this end, Labor supports the expansion of the Section 301 procedure to include lack of environmental standards and the conditioning of US trade preferences (Generalized System of Preferences and Caribbean Basin Initiative) on effective environmental regulations in the designated countries.

The recognition of lax enforcement of environmental regulations as an indirect subsidy subject to trade sanctions would minimize the competitive disadvantages borne by U.S.-based firms which are complying with environmental regulations. Note that this issue should be avoided at this time. Discussion could prejudice NAFTA negotiations.

IV. INDUSTRIES OF THE FUTURE:

WHO: **Craig Fields** is currently the Chairman and CEO of the Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corporation, an Austin-based R&D consortium of over 50 U.S. and Canadian information technology corporations. Fields joined MCC in 1990 after a much-publicized removal as director of Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency (DARPA). His efforts to fund high-definition displays and other technologies with both civilian and military applications lead to a year-long confrontation with top White House officials.

GOALS:

- Discuss the potential of government-industry partnerships to strengthen America's technological leadership and create jobs.
- Discuss proposals for leveraging the government's \$76 billion investment in R&D by shifting funds towards civilian R&D with industrial applications.

QUESTIONS TO ADDRESS TO PARTICIPANTS:

1. I believe that an information superhighway will be as important to America's economic future as the interstate highway system was in the 1950's and 1960's. How do you see an information superhighway effecting your business?
2. Have you been involved in a consortium or other form of government-industry partnership? What lessons have you learned from that experience? [This would be a good question to address to Dr. Gordon Moore. Moore is Chairman of Intel and a member of SEMATECH.]
3. What are the major emerging markets of the 1990's? How well is the United States positioned to take advantage of those markets?
4. Many people have noted that the adversarial relationship we have between business, government and labor is a real obstacle to implementing an effective technology policy. Do you have any specific recommendations for addressing this problem?

POTENTIAL NEGATIVE QUESTIONS OR COMMENTS:

1. I think all of this talk about technology policy is just another name for picking winners and losers. We should let the markets decide what technologies are important -- not some bureaucrat in Washington.

Response: I think the "picking winners and losers" argument is a red herring. First of all, there is a broad consensus on the technologies which will be most important for the 21st century. Second, we would require that civilian technology initiatives be industry-led, with at least 50 percent of the funds coming from industry. This would ensure that these programs are market-oriented.

2. Why do you want to create a civilian version of DARPA? Won't reorganization or creating a new organization be a big waste of time?

Response: We are not committed to creating a new organization. We are also considering broadening the mandate and mission of existing organizations.

SUMMARY OF CLINTON-GORE POSITION PAPERS ON TECHNOLOGY & MANUFACTURING

1. **Invest in 21st Century Infrastructure:** Investing in infrastructure means more than repairing bridges, roads, and highways. America's infrastructure needs in the 21st century will include "information superhighways," high-speed rail, and intelligent vehicle-highway systems. For example, an advanced communications network will put immense resources at the fingertips of American teachers and students, allow doctors across the country to access leading medical expertise, provide technical information to small businesses, and make telecommuting much easier. A portion of the \$20 billion/year Rebuild America Fund will be devoted to 21st century infrastructure.
2. **Invest in technology programs that empower America's small businesses:** America's 20 million small businesses account for 40 percent of our GNP, half of all employment, and more than half of the job creation. The Clinton-Gore technology policy recognizes the importance of small businesses by (1) creating a national network of manufacturing extension centers; and (2) expanding the Small Business Innovation Research (SBIR) program. The manufacturing extension centers will build on the efforts of state and local governments to help small businesses improve productivity, adopt computer-integrated manufacturing techniques, and identify training needs.
3. **Reform federal R&D programs to focus on critical technologies:** At present, 60 percent of \$76 billion R&D budget is devoted to defense programs, and 40 percent to non-defense programs. With the end of the Cold War, over the next three years, the federal government should shift the balance between defense and non-defense programs back to a 50:50 balance, which would eventually free up \$7 billion for investments in critical technologies such as advanced materials, information technology, and advanced manufacturing.
4. **Reform our National Labs:** America's 726 federal laboratories collectively have a budget of \$23 billion, but their current missions reflect the priorities of the Cold War. Federal labs which can make a significant contribution to U.S. competitiveness should have 10 to 20 percent of their existing budget assigned to establish joint ventures with U.S. industry.
5. **Create a World-Class Business Environment for Private Sector Investment and Innovation:** In a global economy in which capital and technology are increasingly mobile, we must make sure that the United States has the best business environment. This will require changes in tax and regulatory policy such as making the R&D tax credit permanent, offering a 50 percent tax exclusion for long-term investments in new businesses, and allowing firms to form joint production ventures.

THE STATE OF U.S. HIGH-TECH COMPETITIVENESS

A variety of assessments of America's competitiveness in high-tech industries have been made in recent years. Most have concluded that the United States is behind or slipping in some sectors (e.g., consumer electronics, machine tools, flat-panel displays), but remains strong in others (e.g., pharmaceuticals, biotechnology, aerospace).

The private-sector Council on Competitiveness, established by John Young (HP) and now chaired by George Fisher (Motorola) conducted an in-depth analysis of America's technological competitiveness. Their report concluded that:

- 1. There is a broad domestic and international consensus about the critical generic technologies driving economic growth:** When asked to develop a list of "critical technologies", government industry officials and industry executives in the EC, Japan or the United States always point to advanced materials, advanced manufacturing, electronics and information technology. Environmental and transportation technologies are also mentioned because of their social and economic importance.
- 2. The U.S. position in many critical technologies is slipping, and in some cases, has been lost altogether.** The Council found that the U.S. was "weak" or "losing badly" in one-third of the critical technologies, and that "future trends are not encouraging." The United States tends to be strong in technologies that are close to the basic research phase, do not have heavy capital investment requirements, can be initiated largely by individual efforts, and are strongly supported by private sector and U.S. government investment in R&D. Conversely, the United States is weak in those areas that have high capital needs over a long period of time, have a significant manufacturing focus, or have been targeted by foreign governments.
- 3. Foreign governments are systematically pursuing leadership in critical technologies:** Our competitors have used R&D incentives, government-industry consortia, infrastructure programs, tax policy, and trade policy to strengthen the competitiveness of their high-tech industries. Partly as a result of foreign targeting, the United States has lost market share in these industries.
- 4. U.S. public policy does not support American leadership in critical technologies:** Other countries are spending more on civilian R&D as a percentage of GDP than we are. Only a small fraction of America's \$76 billion R&D budget is relevant to the needs of industry.
- 5. Most of the technologies that will drive economic growth over the next decade already exist.** Industry needs to be able to improve its ability to convert them into marketable products and services.

PRINCIPLES FOR A GOVERNMENT ROLE IN SUPPORTING TECHNOLOGY

The National Research Council's Panel on the Government Role In Civilian Technology, chaired by former Secretary of Defense Harold Brown, recently released a report which sets forth six principles for a civilian technology policy:

1. **Cost Sharing:** Requiring firms to "match" public funds leverages scarce federal resources. It also ensures the market relevance of R&D projects, since firms are unlikely to participate in projects that are not linked to commercial markets if they must contribute 50 percent of the costs. Historically, federal civilian R&D programs paid for entirely by the government have not done well.
2. **Industry Involvement in Project Initiation and Design:** Projects for cooperative R&D ventures funded through government-industry partnerships should be proposed and structured by industry.
3. **Insulation from Political Concerns:** The choice of R&D projects should be based on technical and economic assessments of the merits of a specific R&D program. Political considerations should not influence the direction of R&D programs or the location of R&D facilities. If "pork-barrel" politics is allowed to drive the allocation of R&D funding -- funds will be wasted, and a more activist technology policy will be discredited.
4. **Diversification of Investments:** A successful federal program will have a broad portfolio of investments in biotechnology, materials, advanced manufacturing, and computers and telecommunications. This will ensure that the program does not become captured by any one industry.
5. **Projects Open to Foreign Firms that Contribute to U.S. Economy:** U.S. R&D programs should be open to foreign firms that have extensive R&D and manufacturing operations in the United States. Limitations on foreign participation in cooperative R&D projects can isolate the U.S. from technological advances made in other countries. [Note: This is probably the most controversial recommendation. Some American industries have argued that a "U.S.-only" approach is sometimes necessary.]
6. **Program Evaluation:** Civilian R&D initiatives should be evaluated by independent experts to determine whether (1) the individual projects funded are worthwhile; and (2) whether the mechanism the government has chosen for funding civilian R&D is effective.

EXAMPLES OF GOVERNMENT-INDUSTRY PARTNERSHIPS

1. Advanced Technology Program: The ATP at the National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST) provides matching funds for technology development proposals from individual businesses and industry-led joint R&D ventures. The purpose of the program is to "assist United States businesses to carry out research and development on pre-competitive generic technologies." Criteria for selection include scientific and technical merit, broad-based benefits to the U.S. economy and technology base, technology transfer benefits, and the proposer's level of commitment. Its level of funding has increased from \$10 million in FY90 to \$67.9 million in FY93. The ATP program is highly competitive. In the first two rounds of awards, for example, (FY90, FY91), the ATP received 520 proposals, but was only able to fund 38. The ATP is supporting a broad range of technologies, including biotechnology, microelectronics, machine tools, advanced automobile manufacturing, advanced materials, etc. One project the ATP has funded is the:

- **Rapid Response Manufacturing Joint Venture:** Led by the National Center for Manufacturing Sciences, this joint venture is designed to shorten the time from product design to production through computer-integrated manufacturing. The project uses the production lines of consortium members as test-beds for evaluation of automated design and production systems. Members include Ford, GM, Texas Instruments, United Technologies, CAD Inc., and Oak Ridge National Labs.

2. High Performance Computing and Communications Initiative:

The passage of the High Performance Computing Act of 1991, introduced by Senator Gore, established the framework for this initiative. The goal of the HPCCI is to "accelerate significantly the availability and utilization of the next generation of high performance computers and networks." In FY 93, the Administration requested a total of \$803 million for the four major components of the program:

- **High Performance Computing Systems:** Development of prototype systems, with a goal of supercomputers capable of trillions of operations per second by the mid-1990's. Much of this R&D is being conducted in partnership with supercomputer companies such as Thinking Machines and Intel.
- **Advanced Software Technology and Algorithms:** Generic software technology, new algorithms, and prototype applications software. Oriented towards solving "grand challenges."
- **National Research and Education Network:** One goal of the NREN is to "revolutionize the ability of U.S. researchers to carry out collaborative R&D." In the short-term, the focus is on upgrading the Internet. The long-term goal is to promote the technology base necessary for a gigabit network. The network will also serve as a testbed for new communications technology.

- **Basic Resources and Human Resources:** Basic research, university facilities, and education, training, and curriculum.

A number of "grand challenges" that the HPCCI is intended to solve have been identified. These are problems of "such a magnitude and complexity that they will require continuous advances in computational power and improvements in computational models for the next decade or more." Examples of these grand challenges include rational drug design, simulation of high speed civil transport, design of combustion engines for greater fuel economy, and modeling of ozone depletion.

3. SEMATECH:

This partnership was established in 1987 to restore American leadership in semiconductor manufacturing technology. At the time, the United States was losing market share to Japan at an alarming rate. A study conducted by the Defense Science Board concluded that dependence on foreign semiconductors posed an unacceptable risk to America's national security. For these reasons, the Congress supported a \$100 million investment in an industry-led R&D consortia -- matched by a \$100 million investment from 14 of the nation's largest semiconductor firms.

SEMATECH eventually focused on shoring up U.S. semiconductor manufacturing equipment firms. Here too, U.S. industry was rapidly losing ground to Japan. SEMATECH improved the relationship between semiconductor manufacturers and their suppliers, and tried to ensure that there was at least one U.S. supplier for every essential tool of the manufacturing process.

Today, the U.S. semiconductor industry and its supplier base is poised to reclaim global leadership from Japan. SEMATECH is only one of the factors behind this resurgence -- but it has worked.

Session V:

Reforming Government

Reform Panel

Name	Company	Category	St	Phone #
Ms. Cathy Bonner	Texas Dept. of	Government	TX	512-472-5059
Mr. Ron Carey	Int'l. Brotherhood	Labor	DC	202-624-6800
Mr. Derrick Cephas	State of New York	Government	NY	212-618-6634
Mr. Robert Cizik	Cooper Industries	Business	TX	713 739 5401
Ms. Patricia Cloherty	Patricof and Co.	Small Business	NY	212-753-6300
Mr. Ernesto Cortes	Industrial Areas	Non Profit	TX	512 459 6551
Mr. Max De Pree	Herman Miller	Business	MI	616-772-3300
Mr. William Donaldson	New York Stock	Finance	NY	212-656-4100
Ms. Irma E. Flores	Hospital Klean, Inc.	Small Business	TX	210 342 1355
Mr. Bob Friedman	Corporation for	Non Profit	CA	415-495-2333
Mr. James Ho	San Francisco	Small Business	CA	415-567-2328
Ms. YuVonne Hoovestall	Greenway, Inc.	R/E,	MT	406-458-9411
Mr. Jim Jones	American Stock	Business	NY	212-306-1000
Mr. Gary D. Lamb	Iowa Farmers Union	Agribusiness	IA	515-489-2563
Mr. Paul Miller	Loyola Law School	Small Business	CA	310-736-1000
Ms. Audrey Rice Oliver	Integrated Business	High Tech	CA	510-275-2500
Dr. Ruth M. Ono	The Queen's Health	Healthcare	HI	808-547-4306
* Mr. David Osborne	Progressive Policy	Non Profit	DC	508-768-3244
Ms. Kathleen Piper	Pied Piper Flower	Small Business	SD	605-665-7700/0
* Mr. Doug Ross	Michigan Future	Non Profit	MI	313-645-0860
Mr. John F. Sandner	Chicago Mercantile	Commodities	IL	312 930 1221
Ms. Daphne A. Sloan	Walnut Hills	Non Profit	OH	513-861-6111
Ms. Rosemary Tomich	Livestock Clearing,	Agribusiness	CA	310 208 8800
Mr. Daniel T. Tully	Merrill Lynch & Co.,	Investment	NY	212-449-1232

* Presently

WORKING SESSION V: THE CONNECTION BETWEEN REFORMING
GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

Presenters:

David Osborne
Doug Ross

Panelists:

Bonner, Cathy Austin, TX

Executive Director, Texas Department of Commerce

She is responsible for economic development and international trade programs, work force training and retraining, and the state's tourism programs.

Former State Director of Economic Development.

Prior to that, Ms. Bonner owned a marketing firm specializing in economic development, a construction firm and a direct mail firm.

She was a founder of the Texas Cable Television network; she also founded the Leadership Texas and Leadership America programs.

Primary concerns: improving job training.

Carey, Ron Washington, DC

President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters

Teamster's first democratically elected president (1992)

Vowed to "rid the union of mob influence"

Joined the Teamsters in 1956 as a UPS delivery man.

Cephas, Derrick D. New York, NY

New York State Superintendent of Banks since 1991; Chairman of NY State Banking Board; a director of NY State Urban Development Corps and NY State Job Development Authority. Formerly a partner at Breed, Abbott & Morgan.

"What can we do to make government more flexible and less rigid, and more amenable to entrepreneurial innovation?"

Cizik, Robert Houston, TX
Chairman and C.E.O. of Cooper Industries, Inc. (with Cooper since 1961,
C.E.O. since 1975, Chair since 1983)
Chairman of National Assn. of Manufacturers; Vice-chairman, Board of the
Committee for Economic Development

"The regulatory environment is too onerous and too costly to business.
How can we reform regulatory structure to make it easier for business?"

Cloherty, Patricia M. New York City, NY
General Partner and Senior VP, Patricof & Co. Ventures, Inc. (since
1988)
Former Deputy Administrator, US Small Business Administration
(1977-78)
Founding President, Committee of 200 (organization of America's
leading women entrepreneurs and corporate executives)
Co-Founder, Tessler & Cloherty, Inc. (advised on venture fund
formation in several nations)
Chairs National Advisory Council on Small Business Investment Company
program.

Cortes, Ernesto Austin, TX
Director, Industrial Areas Foundation for Southwestern U.S.
Created community organizations such as UNO in L.A., COPS in San
Antonio, EPISO in El Paso and TMO in Houston.
Governor Clinton met with I.A.F. Network leaders in August in Austin

De Pree, Max Zeeland, MI
Chairman, Herman Miller, Inc. (design, manufacture and sale of
office furniture systems for the healthcare industry - second largest
furniture manufacturer in the world)
Started with Herman Miler in 1947.
Boards: Fuller Theological Seminary; Hope College; Words of Hope
Books: Leadership is an Art; Leadership Jazz

Donaldson, William H. New York, New York
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of New York Stock Exchange
Co-Founder of Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette, Inc.
Named U.S. Businessman of the Year by the Associated Press
Government and Military Service includes appointment of
Undersecretary of State by Former President Nixon

'Likes the idea of entrepreneurial characteristics being used to make government more efficient and operate like business:

Flores, Irma San Antonio, TX
President of Hospital Klean (janitorial company servicing military and government hospitals nationwide)
Board of San Antonio Chamber of Commerce

Friedman, Robert E. Washington, DC
Chairman and founder of the Corporation for Enterprise Development.
Books: *The Safety Net As Ladder: Transfer Payments and Economic Development*

CFED has pioneered economic development strategies such as: creating a realistic self-employment option for the poor and unemployed through micro enterprise development; flexible manufacturing networks as a business modernization strategy; asset building and Individual Development Accounts as an anti-poverty strategy; the Second (in-state investment) and Third (entrepreneurial governance) Waves of state economic development policy.

Primary concerns: Will the "enormous opportunity" portions of the Clinton plan (eg. microenterprises, development banks, IDAs, AFDC asset limits) be an integral part and priority of the growth package?

Ho, James K. San Francisco, CA
Senior Advisor to the Mayor of San Francisco
Serves on the San Francisco Airport Commission
Board member of Chinese Hospital
Director of the Chinese Chamber of Commerce

"Government should work more with, and like, the private sector, particularly as a partner of U.S. business abroad."

Hoovestal, Yvonne D. Helena, MT

President of Greenway Enterprises, Inc. (institutional construction since 1978)

Greenway builds industrial buildings, offices, warehouses, bridges, roads and highways, dormitories, jails, and many U.S. embassies abroad.

Member, Montana Chamber of Commerce Board

Ms. Hoovestal is a Gros Ventre Indian

Jones, James R. New York, NY

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the American Stock Exchange

Former Democratic Congressman from Oklahoma (1973-87)

Chair, House Budget Committee; Chair, Social Security Subcommittee, Chairman, U.S.-Japan Trade Task Force.

Former Special Assistant and Appointments Secretary for President Johnson.

Primary concerns: short term stimulus vs. deficit reduction

Lamb, Gary D. Iowa

President- Iowa Farmers Union

Former president of the Tama County Cattlemen's Assoc., 1978-1982

Iowa Agricultural Liaison for Senator Tom Harkin 1984-18-986

Member of Iowa Center for Agriculture Safety and Health

He believes that agriculture is a fundamentally different industry, and that government has to base its policies on that perception.

Miller, Paul Los Angeles, CA

Professor, Loyola Law School

Expert on the Americans with Disabilities Act

Leader in the disabled community.

Primary concerns: disability economic issues

Oliver, Audrey Rice

San Ramon, CA

President of Integrated Business Solutions, Inc.

IBS provides systems integration, software development, and hardware and software procurement to companies and government entities.

Developed Minority/Woman Business Enterprise participation programs for a variety of public transportation and utility and transportation agencies. (1974-1984)

Oliver wrote much of the language for the federal transportation regulations.

She is very excited to talk about small business, new technologies, investing in infrastructure, and access to capital.

Ono, Dr. Ruth M.

Honolulu, HI

Vice-President of The Queen's Health Systems (there since 1963)

President Emeritus, the American Business Women's Association

Boards include: Univ. of Hawaii, Hawaiian Electric, American Savings Bank, Hawaii Visitors Bureau.

Piper, Kathleen

Yankton, SD

Vice President, Pied Piper Flower Shop

Yankton County Commissioner, elected 1986 and 1990

Yankton Area Chamber of Commerce since 1976

Yankton County Democrats, vice chairwoman since 1989

South Dakota Youth Advocacy Project since 1989

She believes that our economic problems stem from a lack of expertise on the part of the people preparing state and local budgets. They over inflate budgets to protect themselves and end up spending all the excess at the end of the fiscal year, wasting billions.

"Government should be frugal."

Sander, John F. (Jack) Chicago, IL
Chairman of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange (on and off since 1980) -
developed GLOBEX - an international after-hours trading system for
futures and options.
President and C.E.O., RB&H, Inc., a futures commission merchant.
Former practicing attorney at Lane & Monday.

"The problem with the economy is that the mind set of government
regulators is to avoid risk and remain safe. This must be changed."

Sloan, Daphne A. Cincinnati, OH
Executive Director of the Walnut Hills Redevelopment Foundation, Inc.
(since 1985) - the non-profit corporation revitalizes historic buildings
with public/private partnership financing; also owns and manages 300
low cost housing units. The foundation also owns and operates
approximately 300 low income housing units.

Primary concerns: role of community development corporations

Tomich, Rosemary Los Angeles, CA
Chair and President of the Hope Cattle Company
Chair and President of Livestock Clearing Inc.
Owner of A.S. Tomich Construction Company
Senior Executive and Director of Continal Culture Specialists Inc.
Founding director of Palm Springs Savings Bank

Tully, Daniel New York, NY
President and C.E.O., Merrill Lynch & Co.
Primary concerns: long term growth and global competitiveness.

WORKING SESSION V: THE CONNECTION BETWEEN REFORMING GOVERNMENT AND ECONOMIC GROWTH

EVENT:

A one and a half hour discussion on the ways in which we can bring the entrepreneurial spirit to government.

RATIONALE AND GOALS:

- To emphasize that the Clinton-Gore investment plan is not politics as usual -- making promises to reform government that are abandoned upon winning the election. We recognize that government -- as well as the private sector -- needs to be restructured if we are to promote economic growth.
- Government must also be responsive to local initiatives, and help empower working families to revitalize their cities and communities.

WHO:

David Osborne is the co-author of Reinventing Government and author of Laboratories of Democracy. He lectures widely to business, government and academic audiences, serves as a fellow of the Progressive Policy Institute, and associate of the Council of Governors Policy Advisors, a consultant to state and local governments, and a columnist for Governing magazine.

Doug Ross is the President of Michigan Future, Inc., a citizen organization seeking to apply rebuilding of Michigan's economy, and a Visiting Lecturer for the Institute for Public Policy Studies at the University of Michigan. He served as Governor Jim Blanchard's Commerce Director in Michigan, winning the National Governors Association Award for Public Service Excellence in 1988. He has been a leader over the past decade in the effort to reinvent government in order to make it work better.

Ernesto Cortes is Director of the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF) for the Southwest United States. The IAF is a network of community mobilization groups across the nation. Cortes has founded IAF groups in Los Angeles, Arizona, and throughout Texas. Cortes's longest-lived and most influential group is COPS (Communities Organized for Public Service). According to the Christian Science Monitor, "COPS transformed neighborhoods of low-income, undereducated Hispanics into an organized, informed, and politically savvy group willing to take on city hall." Cortes was awarded one of the MacArthur Foundation's "genius" fellowships.

BACKGROUND:

Overview

According to Reinventing Government author David Osborne, Michigan economic consultant Doug Ross, and many others, the U.S. needs a fundamental restructuring of government -- especially the federal government. The public wants such changes: 85% believe the federal government needs "fundamental changes" or "complete rebuilding," and the average citizen believes over half of every federal tax dollar is wasted. Despite the rhetorical attacks on big government by the Reagan/Bush administrations, the civilian workforce grew by over 235,000 (to 3.1 million in 1992) during the past 12 years, and there were few significant reforms in the way the federal government does business.

Advocates of reform argue that, in an information age, centralized, top-down, command-and-control bureaucracies are usually ineffective, inefficient, and stifling to innovation. They call for a more entrepreneurial government that would be:

1. **Catalytic**; it should "steer" rather than "row."
2. **Community-owned**; it should empower citizens, not paternalize clients.
3. **Competitive**; it should use competition to improve services.
4. **Mission-driven**; it should be organized around missions, not turf.
5. **Results-oriented**; it should focus on real outcomes, not inputs.
6. **Customer-driven**; customers' needs, not the bureaucracy's, should rule.
7. **Enterprising**; departments should be allowed to earn money.
8. **Anticipatory**; it should find ways to foresee future impacts.
9. **Decentralized**; its operations should be close to the people.
10. **Market-oriented**; it should use market forces to achieve public goals.

In the Progressive Policy Institute's Mandate for Change, Osborne and Ross suggest specific ways to apply these principles to the federal government. These include:

- Revive federalism; devolve small grant programs to states and localities.
- Start a State & Local De-regulatory Initiative stressing waivers, etc.
- Push for annual productivity gains of 3% in all federal agencies.
- In certain over-centralized agencies, impose 6% annual budget cuts.
- Reform budget and accounting rules to stress flexibility and foresight.
- Create incentives for innovation.
- Introduce competition into federal agencies to improve services.

Reviving Federalism

While state and local governments once lacked professionalism, accountability, and capacity, there are now often better able than the federal government to meet public needs. They are closer to local circumstances. They have learned habits of fiscal discipline, due to their obligations to achieve balanced budgets. They have been more innovative than the federal

government on many issues throughout the past decade. They have a far higher level of professionalism now than in years past.

Many programs that could be run locally are now run centrally -- and often, badly -- by the federal government. There are currently over 500 federal grant programs, supporting everything from local economic development to police protection. According to a 1981 study, 90% of 473 federal programs accounted for only 10% of the funding, and could have been devolved to state and local governments. The small amounts involved in many of these grant programs make federal administration impractical and expensive. For example, most of the Department of Education's 90 separate grant programs have funding levels of under \$15 million. Partly as a result of the need to micromanage small grant efforts, over a quarter of HUD's 4,000 employees work on "indirect support and management."

To revive American federalism and improve services, many of these programs should be devolved to lower levels of government. Osborne calls for eliminating about 100 current grant programs. This step would save \$17 billion. He suggests returning about \$7 billion of this amount to the states, and using the remaining \$10 billion for deficit reduction. He calls for consolidating another 400 grants into much broader, goals-oriented programs that would allow for far greater local flexibility.

The inflexibility of federal rules is also a barrier to good governance. Many waivers from federal programs take over a year to obtain, even though they may last only a year or two at a time. Congress has refused to permit the Department of Education any waiver authority for its programs. Osborne calls for a "State and Local De-regulatory Initiative" that would make it easier to obtain waivers on federal programs rules.

To oversee the sorting out of new responsibilities among the federal, state, and local governments, Osborne calls for a Commission on the New Federalism, and the appointment of a Federalism Czar. He compares these steps to other major points of reorganization in the federal government -- FDR's appointment of the Brownlow Commission, and Truman's creation of the Hoover Commission.

Making the Federal Government More Entrepreneurial

Specific ideas include:

Insist on 3% annual productivity gains from each agency. Private businesses typically expect this level of productivity gain each year. The same could be achieved in the federal government by cutting agency budgets by 3% each year, after inflation, except in cases where policy changes required budget changes.

Cut over-centralized agencies by 6% annually. Some parts of the federal government, such as the military, must "row" as well as "steer." But other agencies are unnecessarily centralized, bureaucratic, and involved in actual service delivery. Osborne cites Commerce, Agriculture, and HUD as examples. To encourage these agencies to assume a more catalytic role, their budgets should be cut by 6% annually.

Reduce the degree of line item budgeting. One military branch has 26 line items relating to housing repairs on its bases. Consolidating line items into broader groups would allow agencies to meet changing needs more efficiently and promptly, and can even boost job satisfaction and general morale.

Give agencies and individual staff incentives to save and make money. Agencies have little incentive to introduce money-saving or money-raising ideas (such as sale of assets) because funds saved or raised must be returned to the Treasury. Agencies should be allowed to carry over up to half of any budget savings at fiscal year's end, and Congress should pass a "Non-Tax Revenue Act," enabling agencies to keep half of any money they make on their own. Individual employees might be permitted to keep some portion of the returns from their money-saving ideas.

Introduce competition to improve government services. Agencies and divisions should require competition -- among public units, or between public and private units -- in providing certain services. The Postal Service, for example, could be required to contract out certain functions, with its own units permitted to compete.

Reform the Civil Service System. The system, which has not experienced basic reform since 1949, should be changed to reduce the number of job classifications, streamline appeal procedures on firing, provide greater use of bonuses and performance-based pay, and increase investments in training.

Create an Innovation Fund. Allow agencies to use a small percentage of their budgets on a discretionary basis to invest in money-saving initiatives.

Pass a sunset law on programs and regulations. Obsolete programs and needlessly detailed regulations -- such as DoD's 14 pages of regulations on how to purchase fruitcakes - - periodically should be required to justify their existence.

List of
Conference Participants

The list of Participants

Mr. Paul Allaire
Xerox Corporation
Stamford, CT

Mr. Robert Allen
AT&T
Basking Ridge, NJ

Mr. Edwin L. Artzt
Procter and Gamble
Cincinnati, OH

Mr. Clarence Avant
Tabu Productions, Inc.
Los Angeles, CA

Mr. Mike Bailin
Public/Private Ventures
Philadelphia, PA

Ms. Zoe Baird
Aetna Life Insurance
Hartford, CT

Mr. Dennis Bakke
Applied Energy Services, Corp.
Arlington, VA

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Helena, AR

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Brimmer Company
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New York, NY

Mr. Frank Brooks
Brooks Sausage Co.
Kenosha, WI

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Sara Lee Corp.
Chicago, IL

Mr. John E. Bryson
So. California Edison
Rosemead, CA

Mr. Philip M. Burgess
Center for the New West
Denver, CO

Mr. August A. Busch, III
Anheuser-Busch Companies, Inc.
St. Louis, MO

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Cabot Corporation
Boston, MA

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Int'l. Brotherhood of Teamsters
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Alexandria, VA

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Instrument Products
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Ms. Sandra Rhodes Duncan
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Ms. Jan Eddy
Wingra Technologies
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Ms. Marian Wright Edelman
Children's Defense Fund
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Mr. Herb Elish
Weirton Steel
Weirton, WV

Mr. Walter Y. Elisha
Springs Industries
Fort Mill, SC

Mr. Jim Fallows
The Atlantic Monthly
Washington, DC

Mr. Alfonso Fanjul
Flo-Sun
West Palm Beach, FL

Mr. Larry Farmer, Sr.
Mississippi Action for Community Education
Greenville, MS

Ms. Cherill Farnsworth
TME, Inc.
Houston, TX

Mr. Craig Fields
MCC
Austin, TX

Mr. George Fisher
Motorola, Inc.
Schaumburg, IL

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Bath, ME

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Washington, DC

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Guardian Industries
Northville, MI

Mr. David Glass
Wal-Mart
Bentonville, AR

Mr. Roberto Goizueta
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Atlanta, GA

Mr. Peter C. Goldmark, Jr.
Rockefeller Foundation
New York, NY

Mrs. Ellen R. Gordon
Tootsie Roll Industries, Inc.
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Mr. Earl Graves
Black Enterprise Magazine
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Ms. Margaret Green
South Central Bell, Kentucky
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Mr. Sanford Greenberg
TEI Industries, Inc.
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Mr. Brian Greenspun
Las Vegas Sun Newspaper
Las Vegas, NV

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Center on Budget and Policy Priorities
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Mr. Jesse Hill
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Atlanta, GA

Mr. Norman Hill
A Philip Randolph Institute
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San Francisco, CA

Mr. Fred Hochberg
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Greenway, Inc.
Helena, MT

Ms. Karen Horn
BancOne, Cleveland, N.A.
Cleveland, OH

Mr. Mary Houghton
Shorebank Corp.
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Ms. Karetta Hubbard
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Reston, VA

Ms. Marilyn French Hubbard
Marilyn Hubbard Seminars, Inc.
Detroit, MI

Mr. Paul C. Hudson
Broadway Federal Savings and Loan
Los Angeles, CA

Mr. Robert Hurst
Michigan Bell Telephone
Detroit, MI

Mr. Richard A. Jahn
WOTCO, Inc.
Casper, WY

Mr. Charles James
C.H. James and Co.
Charleston, WV

Mr. Richard H. Jenrette
The Equitable Companies, Inc.
New York, NY

Mr. Charles Johnson
Pioneer Hi-Bred Int'l, Inc.
Des Moines, IA

Mr. James Johnson
Fannie-Mae
Washington, DC

Mr. Robert Johnson
Black Entertainment Television
Rosslyn, VA

Mr. Roger W. Johnson
Western Digital Corp.
Irvine, CA

Mr. Clark J. Jones
Jones Motor Company
Savannah, TN

Mr. Jim Jones
American Stock Exchange
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Mr. Raymond Jones
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Iowa Farmers Union
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Westside Distributors
Southgate, CA

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Coronado, CA

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Salt Lake City, UT

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Levitt Media Company
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Mr. Drew Lewis
Union Pacific Corporation
Bethlehem, PA

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Essence Communications, Inc.
New York, NY

Ms. Pam Linton
Pollution Solutions of Vermont
Williston, VT

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Little Caesar's Enterprises
Detroit, MI

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Wachovia Corporation
Winston-Salem, NC

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Tucson, AZ

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RWDSU
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Soapbox Trading Company
Cambridge, MA

Mr. Olan Mills, II
Olan Mills Studios
Chattanooga, TN

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Florida A&M
Tallahassee, FL

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Mr. John Moores
JMI Incorporated
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Ms. Karen Nusbaum
9 to 5, National Association of Working Women
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Integrated Business Systems, Inc.
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The Queen's Health Service
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Patricof & Co.
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Zenith Electronics Corp.
Glenview, IL

Mr. Harry L. Pearson
Indiana Farm Bureau, Inc.
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Mr. Jorge Perez
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Lazard Freres and Company
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Continental Health Affiliates
Englewood, NJ

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Jim Walter Corporation
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Mr. Doug Ross
Michigan Future
Bingham Farms, MI

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Laredo, TX

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World Savings
Oakland, CA

Mr. John F. Sandner
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Bismarck, ND

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Globetrotters Engineering Corporation
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Livestock Clearing, Inc.
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Ms. Denise Zachary-Reed
Alaska Department of Revenue
Anchorage, AK

Mr. Bill Zagelow
Odessa, WA

Mr. Peterson Zah
Office of the President
Window Rock, AZ

ECONOMIC CONFERENCE PARTICIPANTS: BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

The following brief biographic information on those who have confirmed their participation in the December 14-15 Economic Conference is based on information provided to the Conference Secretariat as of 12 noon Saturday, December 12, 1992.

Aaron, Henry J. Washington, DC
Director of Economic Studies Program and the Brookings Institution
Former Assistant Secretary for Planning and Evaluation, Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1977-78)
Member, Institute of Medicine; V.P. of the National Academy of Social Insurance

Allaire, Paul A. Stamford, CT
Chairman and C.E.O. of Xerox Corporation (since 1991)
Started with Xerox in 1966
Member of Council on Foreign Relations, the Business Roundtable, the Business Council, and the Council on Competitiveness.

Allen, Robert E. Basking Ridge, NJ
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer-AT&T
Has served with Bell Telephone system since 1958.
Boards: Bristol-Myers Squibb Company; PepsiCo; Federal Reserve Bank of NY, Wabash College.
Member: Business Roundtable, Business Council, US-Japan Business Council.

Artzt, Ed Cincinnati, OH
Chairman and CEO of Proctor & Gamble since 1990
Director of GTE, Teradyne and Delta.
Member of President Bush's Advisory Committee on Trade Policy and Negotiations, and Bush's Commission on Environmental Quality.

Avant, Clarence Los Angeles, CA
President and owner, Tabu Productions

Bailin, Michael A. Philadelphia, PA
President of Public/Private Ventures since 1983
P/PV is a non-profit corporation dedicated to designing solutions to high dropout rate, illiteracy, teen pregnancy and youth unemployment, and helping public and private sector concerns to emulate successful programs.

Baird, Zoe Hartford, CT
Senior VP and General Counsel, Aetna Life and Casualty Company
Former Associate Counsel to the President of the United States (1980-81)
Board of Directors, Southern New England Telephone Company
Board of Advisors, Institute for Governmental Studies, UC-Berkeley; Board of Advisors, Yale Repertory Theater

Bakke, Dennis W. Arlington, VA
President, C.O.O., Board member and co-founder of the AES Corporation – builds, owns and operates cogeneration facilities. AES currently has eleven cogeneration projects in operation or construction, totaling over \$3 billion and producing approximately 2400 MW.
Books: *Creating Abundance – America's Least Cost Energy Strategy* (1984)

Barad, Jill Elikann El Segundo, CA
President and Chief Operating Officer for Mattel, Inc.
Oversees U.S. marketing and sales efforts for all Mattel brands
Board member of Board of Trustees of Queens College Foundation, Governores of Town Hall of CA., Reebok International Ltd.

Barram, Dave Cupertino, CA
Vice President, Worldwide Corporate Affairs, Apple Computer

Bartz, Carol Sausalito, CA
President, Chairman and C.E.O. , Autodesk Inc. (computer-aided design software)
Former Vice President of Sun Microsystems

Beatty, Michael L. Houston, TX
Executive VP, General Counsel, Member-Board of Directors, The Coastal Corporation
Former Professor of Law, Universities of Idaho and Wyoming
Responsible for corporate legal, federal and state political affairs

Bieber, Owen Detroit, MI
President, United Auto Workers
Major labor leader in auto industry.

Bergsten, C.Fred Washington, DC
Director of Institute for International Economics since 1981
Chairman of Competitiveness Policy Council
Former Assistant Secretary of Treasury for International Affairs 1977-81
Latest book: *America in the World Economy: A Strategy for the 1990s* (1988)

Bertsch, Richard Choi La Palma, CA
Founder of L.A. Sound and MetroSound
Manufactures and distributes of car audio products; imports and exports electronics between the U.S., Korea and Mexico.
Boards: Korean American Coalition, Korean Chamber of Commerce.

Bettridge, Thomas M. New York, NY
Director of Targeted Investments, Office of the Comptroller of New York City

Target investment of 8 city employee pension funds (\$900 million) for housing and economic development.

Bieber, Owen Detroit, MI

President, United Auto Workers
Major labor leader in auto industry.

Bildner, Allen I. New Jersey

Chairman of SME Co. Inc. - investment and consulting firm, est. 1951
Former Chairman of Kings Super Markets, Inc. and Food Marketing Institute
Founder-Director and Former Chairman of the New Jersey Food Council

Blinder, Alan S. Princeton, NJ

Gordon S. Rentschler Memorial Professor of Economics at Princeton University
Former Deputy Assistant Director of the Congressional Budget Office (1975)

Blum, Barbara Davis Washington, DC

Chair, President and C.E.O. of Adams National Bank since 1983
Chair of the Economic Development Finance Corporation
Senior advisor to United Nations Environment Program 1981-83
Former Deputy Administrator of E.P.A.

Bok, Joan Toland Westboro, MA

Chairman, New England Electric System (1984-present)
Director, Boards of Monsanto, John Hancock Mutual Life, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston.
Trustee: Urban Institute; Worcester Foundation for Experimental Biology

Bonner, Cathy Austin, TX

Executive Director, Texas Department of Commerce

Boutte, Alvin J. Chicago, IL

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Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Independence Bank of Chicago and Drexel National Bank
Board Member of Better Business Bureau of Metropolitan Chicago, Trust Inc.

Bowles, Crandall Fort Mill, SC

Executive VP of Springs Industries
Director of John Deere, Duke Power, Wachovia Corporation, and Springs Industries
Former member of Charlotte Branch of Richmond Federal Reserve

Boyer, Ernest L.

President of the Carnegie Foundation (since 1979)
Former U.S. Commissioner of Education (Carter Administration)
Former Chancellor of S.U.N.Y.

Books include: *Ready to Learn: A Mandate for the Nation*; *Scholarship Reconsidered*; *Campus Life*

Braceras, Wilfred Miami, FL
President, CEO, Member-Board of Directors - Med-Care Home Health Services, Inc.
Member, National Association for Home Care; American Federation of Home Care; Associated Home Health Industry of Florida.

Bradbury, Curt Little Rock, AR
President, Chairman, and C.E.O., Worthen Banking Corporation
President, Chairman, and C.E.O., Worthen National Bank of Arkansas

Brandon, William H., Jr. Helena, AR
President and Chief Executive Officer of First National Bank of Phillips County (joined bank in 1964)
President of American Bankers Association
Former President of the Arkansas Bankers Association

Bravo, Facundo Howell, MI
President of Uniboring Company, Inc. (precision machining specialty shop)

Briley, Martha Clark Newark, NJ
President of Prudential Asset Management Company

Brimmer, Andrew F. Washington, DC
President of Brimmer and Company, Inc. (economic and financial consulting company in Washington, D.C.)
Advisory committees: Bank of America, BellSouth, Gannett, and United Airlines.

Britt, David V.B. New York, NY
President and C.E.O. of Children's Television Workshop (CTW)

Brody, Kenneth D. New York City, NY
Founding Partner, Petrus Partners (private investment firm)
Goldman, Sachs & Co (1971-91)
Chair, American Federation of Aging Research

Brooks, Frank B. Kenosha, WI
President and CEO, Brooks Sausage Company, Inc.
Former President and CEO, Chicago Economic Development Corporation
Recipient, 1980 Finance Achievement Award, Black Enterprise Magazine

Browne, Robert S. Teaneck, NJ
Former Staff Director, Subcommittee on International Development, Finance, Trade and Monetary Policy, House Banking Committee

Founder: Black Economic Research Center ; Review of Black Political Economy;
Twenty-First Century Foundation; Emergency Land Fund

Bryan, John H. Chicago, IL
Chairman and C.E.O. of Sara Lee Corporation (since 1976)
Member of the Business Roundtable and Business Council.

Bryson, John E. Rosemead, CA
Chairman and CEO, Southern California Edison Company
Served as President, California Public Utilities Commission; Chair, California State
Water Resources Council
Director: Times Mirror Company, First Interstate Bancorp
Chair: LA/Pasadena 1994 World Cup Bid Committee

Busch, August A. III St. Louis, MO
Chairman and President of Anheuser-Busch Co., Inc.

Burgess, Philip M. Denver, CO
President of the Center for the New West, think tank est. 1989
Focus: trade, technology, public service programs
Former executive director of the National Policy Commission of the Democratic
Party

Cabot, Louis W. Boston, MA
Director Emeritus of the Cabot Corporation
Former Chairman of the Brookings Institution (1986-92)
Former Chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston (1975-78)
Sloan Commission on Government and Higher Education (1977-80)

Carey, Ron Washington, DC
President, International Brotherhood of Teamsters
Teamster's first democratically elected president (1992)
Vowed to "rid the union of mob influence"
Joined the Teamsters in 1956 as a UPS delivery man.

Carpenter, Candice M. Washington, DC
President of Time-Life Video and Television since 1989
Former V.P. of American Express, Travel Related Services for Direct Marketing

Carroll, Milton Houston, TX
Chairman and CEO, Instrument Products, Inc.
Founder of this Houston-based company specializing in oil field equipment,
other high-tech products.
Commissioner, Port of Houston Authority; Past Chair, Board of Regents, Texas
Southern University

Carter, Barry E. Washington, DC

Executive Director, American Society of International Law
Professor of Law, Georgetown University (on leave)
Senior Foreign Policy Advisor, Mondale/Ferraro '84
Senior counsel, Senate Select Committee on Intelligence Activities
Books: *International Economic Sanctions: Improving The Haphazard U.S. Legal Regime* (1988); *International Law* (1991)

Carter, Gwendolyn C. New Orleans, LA
President and Owner, USA Travel; Licensed real estate agent; Licensed tour guide.
licensed practical nurse.
President and founder, Greater New Orleans Black Tourism Network, Inc.

Castleman, Deborah R.
Engineer and policy analyst at RAND
Former satellite systems engineer at Hughes Aircraft Co.
Clinton/Gore campaign-science, space and technological issues

Cephas, Derrick D. New York, NY
New York State Superintendent of Banks since 1991; Chairman of NY State Banking Board; a director of NY State Urban Development Corp and NY State Job Development Authority. Formerly a partner at Breed, Abbott & Morgan.

Chambers, Letitia Washington, DC
President of Chambers Associates Incorporated
President, Coalition of Publicly Traded Partnerships
Former Staff Director, Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee (1979-80)

Chapman, Beverly M. Orlando, FL
President, Ashley's Productions DBA 3 C's, Unlimited (consultants on the Americans with Disabilities Act.
Former President and C.E.O., SHARED, Inc. (computer service company)
Former Director of Technical Training for Disabled Students at Valencia College.
Former Exec. Dir., Center for Independent Living in Central Florida.

Choquette, Paul, Jr. Providence, RI
President of Gilbane Building Company (since 1981)

Cizik, Robert Houston, TX
Chairman and C.E.O. of Cooper Industries, Inc. (with Cooper since 1961, C.E.O. since 1975, Chair since 1983)
Chairman of National Assn. of Manufacturers

Clarke, Richard A. San Francisco, California
Chairman and CEO of Pacific Gas and Electric Company

Director of BankAmerica Co., Potlatch Co., Pacific Conservation Services Co., Pacific Gas Transmission Co.

Claybrook, Joan B. Washington, DC

President, Public Citizen (since 1982)

Former Administrator, National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (1977-81)

Books: *Retreat from Safety: Reagan's Attack on America's Health* (1984); *Freedom from Harm: The Civilizing Influence of Health, Safety and Environmental Regulations* (1986)

Claytor, W. Graham Jr. Washington, DC

Chairman and C.E.O. of the National Railroad Passenger Corporation (AMTRAK)

Former Deputy Secretary of Defense, Acting Secretary of Transportation, and Secretary of the Navy in the Carter Administration.

Clemente, Lilia Calderon. New York, NY

Chairman and C.E.O. of Clemente Capital Inc. – specializing in Asia/Pacific Rim investments.

President of First Philippine Fund – a closed-end country fund listed in the NYSE

Clendenin, John L. Atlanta, GA

Chairman and CEO, BellSouth

Largest of Regional Bell companies; one of 25 largest US public companies

Board Member: Capital Holding; Kroger; Coca-Cola; NYSE

Past Chair, US Chamber of Commerce; National Alliance of Business

National President, Boy Scouts of America

Cloherly, Patricia M. New York City, NY

General Partner and Senior VP, Patricof & Co. Ventures, Inc. (since 1988)

Former Deputy Administrator, US Small Business Administration (1977-78)

Founding President, Committee of 200 (organization of America's leading women entrepreneurs and corporate executives)

Chairs National Advisory Council on Small Business Investment Company program.

Cole, Johnnetta B. Atlanta, GA

President, Spelman College (since 1987)

First woman elected to Coca-Cola Board of Directors

Founding Director, Points of Light Foundation

Collier, June M. Montgomery, AL

Chairman and C.E.O. of National Apparel, Inc. (Largest manufacturer of chemical welfare protective clothing)

Member of President's Industrial Policy Advisory Committee

Collier, Sophia Portsmouth, NH

Founder of American Natural Beverage Corp.,

Director of Ms. Foundation
Trustee of Leadership New Hampshire

Collins, Susan M. Washington, DC
Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution
Associate Professor of Economics, Georgetown University
Former Associate Professor of Economics, Harvard University
Senior Staff Economist, President's Council of Economic Advisers (1989-90)

Considine, Jill M. New York, NY
Managing Director and C.A.O., American Express Bank Ltd. (since 1991)
Former N.Y. State Superintendent of Banks (1985-91)
Former boards: N.Y. State Urban Development Corporation, N.Y. State Mortgage
Agency, N.Y. Job Development Authority.

Cooke, John E. Burbank, CA
President, The Disney Channel
Former President, Times Mirror Cable TV
Boards include: Johns Hopkins University; Center for Civic Education; Constitutional
Rights Foundation; National Science Center; Alliance for Children's Rights.

Cooper, Kathleen B. Irving, TX
Chief Economist, Exxon Corporation (since 1990)
Former Executive Vice President and Chief Economist, Security Pacific National Bank
Former President, National Association of Business Economists

Correnti, John D. Charlotte, NC
President and C.E.O. of the Nucor Corporation
Former General Manager of Nucor-Yamata Steel in Blytheville, AR
Boards: 1st National Bank of Blytheville, Arkansas College.

Corry, Charles A. Pittsburgh, PA
Chairman and CEO, USX Corporation (since 1989)
Member, Policy Committee, Business Roundtable; Member, Business Council
Chair, Greater Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce
Member, Board of Trustees, Carnegie Mellon University

Cortes, Ernesto. Austin, TX
Director of the Industrial Areas Foundation for Southwestern U.S.
Created community organizations such as UNO in L.A., COPS in San Antonio, EPISO
in El Paso and TMO in Houston.

Cox, Jr., Archibald New York City, NY
President and CEO, First Boston Corporation
Former Managing Director, Morgan Stanley International
Board Member: Securities Industry Association; Claremont McKenna College

Crandall, Robert L. Dallas, TX
Chairman and C.E.O. of American Airlines (since 1985)

Cruz, Frank H. Los Angeles, CA
Chairman, Gulf Atlantic Life Insurance Company
Former President, Latino Museum of History, Art & Culture.
Former Vice-President, General Manager, Telemundo Group, Inc. (Spanish-language TV station with \$50 million operating budget).

Daley, William M. Chicago, IL
President & Chief Operating Officer of Amalgamated Bank of Chicago
Boards: Wheelabrator Technologies Inc., Oak Brook Bank, Special Children's Charities

Davis, Audrey Chicago, IL
Carolyn Jordan and Associates.

De Pree, Max California
Chairman, Board of Directors, Herman Miller, Inc. (produces office furniture systems and health-care products)
Boards: The Leadership Institute at U.S.C., Peter F. Drucker for Nonprofit Management
Author of *Leadership is an Art* and *Leadership Jazz*

Derr, Kenneth T. San Francisco, CA
Chairman and C.E.O. of Chevron (since 1989)
Worked for Chevron since 1959
Member: The Business Roundtable, Business Council, the President's Commission on Environmental Quality.
Boards: Citicorp, American Petroleum Institute, the American Productivity & Quality Center

Donahue, Thomas R. Washington, D.C.
Secretary-Treasurer of AFL-CIO (since 1979)
Chairman of the U.S. Special Trade Representative's Labor Advisory Committee
Former Assistant Secretary of Labor for Labor-Management Relations
Director: Muscular Dystrophy Association; Urban League; African-American Institute
Chairman: USTR Labor Advisory Committee

Donaldson, William H. New York, New York
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of New York Stock Exchange
Co-Founder of Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette, Inc.
Former Undersecretary of State (Nixon Administration)

Dramis, Francis A. Fairfax, VA

Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Network Management Inc. (international information technology firm)
Formerly of Salomon Brothers, Bell Laboratories, AT&T and American Transtech.

Duncan, Sandra Rhodes New Orleans, LA
President of Rhodes Enterprises (Funeral, Insurance, Limousine and Transportation)

Eddy, Jan Madison, WI
Owner of Joiner Software (now Wingra Technologies, Inc.)
Founder, Office Solutions Inc.
Member: Governor's Science and Technology Council; Dane County Economic Summit Council

Edelman, Marian Wright Washington, DC
Founder and President of the Children's Defense Fund
Author: *Families In Peril: An Agenda for Social Change; The Measure of Our Success: A Letter to My Children and Yours*

Eisner, Robert Evanston, IL
William R. Kennan Professor of Economics, Northwestern University
Past President, American Economic Association
Author: *Factors in Business Investment; How Real Is the Federal Deficit?*

Elish, Herbert New York
Chairman, President and Chief Executive Officer of Weirton Steel Corp
Graduate Harvard Law School in 1957
Former Commissioner of Sanitation of New York City
Former Vice President of Citibank

Elisha, Walter Y. Charlotte, NC
Chairman and CEO, Springs Industries, Inc.
Home furnishings and fabrics manufacturer, with HQ in S. Carolina; 43 plants in US and abroad.
1991 sales of \$1.9 billion; South Carolina's largest employer
Director: AT&T, Cummins Engine; Associates of Harvard Business School

Fallows, James Washington, DC
Washington Editor of *The Atlantic Monthly*
Former chief speechwriter for President Carter (1977-78)
Books include: *The Water Lords (1971); National Defense (1981); The System (1976); Inside the System (1977); More Like Us (1990); Looking at the Sun (in progress)*

Fanjul, Alfonso West Palm Beach, FL
Chairman and CEO, Flo-Sun, Inc. (Agribusiness)
Board Member: Penzoil; FPL Group (Florida Power and Light)

Farmer, Larry N., Sr. Mississippi
President and CEO of Mississippi Action for Community Education, Inc
Board member of numerous local, state and national boards

Farnsworth, Cherill Houston, TX
President and C.E.O. TME, Inc. (healthcare)

Faux, Jeff Washington, DC
President of the Economic Policy Institute
Former co-director of of the National Center for Economic Alternatives
Books include: *Rebuilding America; New Hope of the Inner City*

Fields, Craig L. Dr. Austin, TX
Chairman and C.E.O., Microelectronics and Computer Technology Corporation
R&D consortium, sponsored by over 50 companies active in information technology.

Fisher, George M.C. Schaumburg, IL
Chairman and CEO, Motorola, Inc. (since 1990)
Chairman, US Council on Competitiveness.
Member, Board of Directors, Japan Society of New York
Advisory groups: USTR; Secretary of Commerce.
Board of Directors: American Express, 3M. Trustee, Urban League.

Fitzgerald, Duane D. "Buzz" Bath, ME
President and C.E.O. of Bath Iron Works (since 1991)
Bath is Maine's largest private employer and one of the nation's largest shipbuilders.
Leading successful conversion to non-military shipbuilding.

Flores, Irma San Antonio, TX
President of Hospital Klean (janitorial company servicing military and government hospitals nationwide)
Board of San Antonio Chamber of Commerce

Freston, Tom New York City, NY
Chairman and CEO, MTV Networks
MTV Networks operates four cable TV programming networks: MTV; MTV Europe; VH-1 and Nickelodeon.
Board Member: Cable Advertising Bureau; Rock the Vote

Friedman, Robert E. Washington, DC
Chairman and founder of the Corporation for Enterprise Development.
Books: *The Safety Net As Ladder: Transfer Payments and Economic Development*

Frost, Philip, M.D. Miami, FL
Clinical Professor of Dermatology, University of Miami, School of Medicine.

Chairman: Key Pharmaceutical, Vax Corporation, North America Vaccine
Board: Pan American Bank Corp, American Exploration Corp, Intercontinental Bank
Governor: American Stock Exchange

Fukushima, Glen S. Tokyo, Japan
Director of Public Policy and Market Development at AT&T Japan Ltd.
Former Deputy Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for Japan and China (1988-90)
Former Director for Japanese Affairs, USTR (1985-88)
Books include: *The Politics of U.S. Economic Friction* [in Japanese] (1992)

Galinsky, Ellen New York, NY
Co-President of the Families and Work Institute
Books include: *The New Extended Family: Day Care that Works; Beyond the Parental Leave Debate; The Preschool Years; The Corporate Reference Guide to Work-Family Programs.*

Gallup, Patricia Marlow, NH
President and CEO, PC Connection, Inc.
Leading mail-order/direct supplier of personal computers, software and peripherals.
Recipient, Governor's Excellence in Business Award

Garcia, Dr. David B. Austin, TX
President and C.E.O. of SEA Pharmaceuticals
Former Department Head, Pharmaceutical Sciences, Radian Corporation

Gardner, Edward G. Chicago, IL
Founder and Chairman, Soft Sheen Products, Inc. (5th largest Black-owned and operated company in the U.S.)
World's leading manufacturer of ethnic health and beauty aid products.

Garten, Jeffrey G. New York, NY
Professor of Finance and Economics, Columbia Univ. Business School
Director of International Fellows Program, Columbia School for International and Public Affairs
Author of *A Cold Peace: America, Japan, Germany, and the Struggle for Supremacy*

Geffen, David Los Angeles, CA
President, Geffen Records
Founder of three record companies, plus song publishing, feature film, Broadway theater productions. Real estate and fine art investor. Major contributor to AIDS research.

Geiger, Keith Washington, DC
President of National Education Association
Spokesperson, Campaign for New Priorities
Member, Education Policy Advisory Committee.

Gerson, Ralph I. Northville, MI
Executive V.P. , Guardian Industries Corporation (manufacturer of flat glass products, insulation, molded plastics)
Former State Director of Commerce 1983-84 (under Gov. Blanchard)
Former Counselor to the Governor for Economic Development
Former Special Assistant to the Special Trade Representative

Georges, John A. Purchase, NY
Chairman and CEO, International Paper (since 1985)
Chairman of the Board, IP Forest Resources Company
Director: Warner-Lambert, Federal Reserve Bank of NY, NYSE
Member, President's Commission on Environmental Quality; Trustee: Drexel University

Georgine, Robert Washington, D.C.
President, Building and Construction Trades, AFL-CIO

Gerson, Ralph Northville, MI
Executive VP and Director, Guardian Industries Corp.
Worldwide manufacturer of flat glass products, insulation materials, oil pumps, injection molded plastics.
Former Director of Commerce, State of Michigan
Served as Counselor to Ambassador Robert Strauss (Mideast negotiations; OSTR)
Vice-Chair, Hungarian-US Business Council

Glass, David Bentonville, AR
President and CEO, Wal-Mart Stores, Inc.

Goizueta, Roberto C. Atlanta, GA
Chairman and C.E.O. of Coca-Cola Company (since 1981)

Goldmark, Peter C. Jr.
President of the Rockefeller Foundation (since 1988)
Former director of the Port Authority of NY and NJ (1977-1985)
Former New York State Budget Director (1975-1977)

Gordon, Ellen Center Harbor, NH
President, Tootsie Roll Industries, Inc.
Founding member and Chairman, the Committee of 200 Foundation.

Graves, Earl G. New York, NY
President and C.E.O. of Earl G. Graves Ltd.
Publisher, Black Enterprise
Chairman and C.E.O., Pepsi-Cola of Washington, DC (Magic Johnson's partner)
Former Administrative Assistant to Robert F. Kennedy

Gray, William H. III Reston, VA
President and CEO, United Negro College Fund (since 1991)
Former Member of Congress D-PA; Former House Budget Committee Chair; first African-American member of Congress to hold a position in House leadership.

Green, Margaret KY
President, South Central Bell, Kentucky

Greenberg, Sanford Washington, D.C.
Inventor of Variable Speech Control (device for compression and expansion of human speech)
Founding Director, The American Agenda
Former Member, White House Science Advisory Staff (Johnson Administration)

Greenspun, Brial L. Las Vegas, NV
President and Editor, Las Vegas SUN
Vice President of Prime Cable
President of Greenspun Management Enterprises, Inc. (athletic club, hospitality network, ShowBiz Magazine)

Greenstein, Robert Washington, DC
Executive Director of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities

Grieve, Pierson M. "Sandy" St. Paul, MN
Chairman and C.E.O. of Ecolab Inc. (cleaning, sanitizing and maintenance chemicals)
Boards: US West, Norwest Corp., St. Paul Companies.

Grinstein, Gerald Ft. Worth, TX
Chairman, President and C.E.O., Burlington Northern Inc. (since 1991)
Former C.E.O., Western Airlines
Member: Business Roundtable

Grogan, Barbara Denver, CO
President, Western Industrial Contractors
Chair, Denver Chamber of Commerce

Hager, Susan Washington, DC
President and Founder, Hager Sharp (a partnership programming consulting firm)
National Advisory Council of U.S. Small Business Administration

Hammer, Katherine Austin, TX
President and C.E.O., Evolutionary Technologies, Inc.

Handler, Sheryl L. Cambridge, MA
President, Thinking Machines Corporation
Founded corporation which introduced Connection Machine supercomputer.

Hanggi, Elena Little Rock, AR
Past President, ACORN

Harris, Elmer B. Birmingham, AL
President and CEO, Alabama Power Company
Boards: Business Council of Alabama; Alabama Symphony Association;
Samford University Board of Trust

Hatsopoulos, George N. Boston, MA
Founder, Chairman and President of Thermo Electron Corporation
Board: Federal Reserve Bank of Boston 1982-1989

Hawkins, Wilbur F. Memphis, TN
Regional Manager, Community Diversity Development, Tennessee Valley Authority
Former Executive Director, Lower Mississippi Delta Development Commission.

Hay, Jess Dallas, TX
Chairman and C.E.O., The Lomas Financial Group (since 1965)
Former Boards: University of Texas, SMU, U.S. Chamber of Commerce
Boards: Exxon, Southwestern Bell, Dial Corp.
Chairman, Texas Foundation for Higher Education

Hayes, Charles A. Greensboro, NC
Chairman and C.E.O., Guilford Mills, Inc.
Director, American Textile Manufacturers Institute; Knitted Textile Assn..

Hayes, Johnny H. Gallatin, TN
Commissioner, Tennessee Department of Economic and Community Development
Former President, Newman, Hayes & Dixon (independent insurance agency)

Hefner, Robert A. III Oklahoma City, OK
Chairman and CEO, GHK Company (independent natural gas exploration and
production)
Founder, The Hefner Foundation (research on energy's role in the economy)

Height, Dorothy I. Washington, DC
President, National Council of Negro Women.
Initiated the sole African American private voluntary organization working in Africa
in 1975; conceived and organized the Black Family Reunion in 1986

Heisen, JoAnn Heffernan New Brunswick, NJ
Treasurer of Johnson & Johnson (since 1991)
Former Vice President, Corporate Affairs at Primerica Corporation

Henley-Cohn, Betsy New Haven, CT

Chairman, Ansonia-Derby Water Coman
Chairman, Joseph Cohn & Sons, Inc., Atlantifc Floor Covering, Inc.
Memmbler, Committee of 200 (top business women in the U.S.)

Hiatt, Arnold Boston, MA
Former Chairman of the Stride-Rite Corp. (1982-1992)
Director of Businesses for Social Responsibility
Higher Education Coordinating Council of Massachusetts

Hill, Jesse, Jr. Atlanta, GA
Chairman and C.E.O., Atlanta Life Insurance Company (largest African-American controlled financial institution in the U.S.)
Boards: Delta, National Services Industries Inc., Knight-Ridder, Board of Regents of the State of Georgia.

Hill, Norman Washington, DC
President, A. Philip Randolph Institute.
Previous service: C.O.R.E.; March on Washington.

Ho, James K. San Francisco, CA
Senior Advisor to the Mayor of San Francisco
Member, San Francisco Airport Commission
Director: Chinese Chamber of Commerce

Hochberg, Fred Mt. Vernon, NY
Lillian Vernon Corporation

Hoovestal, Yuvonne D. Helena, MT
President, Greenway Enterprises, Inc. (institutional construction including U.S. embassies)

Houghton, Mary Chicago, IL
President and Director, Shorebank Corporation (oversees commercial bank holding companies implementing community development strategies)
Chair, Arkansas Enterprise Group; Director, Southern Development Bancorporation

Hubbard, Karetta B. Reston, Virginia
Principal and Founding Partner, Hubbard & Revo-Cohen, Inc. (1984)
Consultant to governmental agencies concerning women and minority issues

Hubbard, Marilyn French Detroit, MI
President and C.E.O., Marilyn Hubbard Seminars, Inc. (human resource management, training, and marketing)
Founder and C.E.O., National Association of Black Women Entrepreneurs
U.S. S.B.A.'s first national Minority Owned Business Advocate

Hudson, Paul C. Los Angeles, CA
President and C.E.O., Broadway Federal Savings (oldest African-American S & L west of the Mississippi; serving S. Central L.A.)
Past President, Los Angeles NAACP,
Boards: So. Cal. Edison, the 2000 Partnership, L.A. County Economic Development Corp.

Hurst, Robert L. Detroit, MI
President, Michigan Bell Telephone (since June 1992)
Member, Economic Club of Detroit; Board and Strategic Planning Committee, Detroit Urban League; Chair, Henry Ford Hospital Board of Trustees.

Irving, Clarence L., Jr. (Larry) Washington, DC
Senior Counsel, Mass Media, House of Representative Subcommittee on Telecommunications and Finance
Former Legislative Director and Counsel to Rep. Mickey Leland.

James, Charles H. III Charleston, WV
President of C.H. James & Co. (produce distributor)
U.S. Dept. of Agriculture Minority Contractor of the Year 1988, 1989, 1990

Jahn, Richard A. Casper, WY
Chairman, President and CEO, WESTECH (heavy steel fabrication)
Board Member: Casper Area Economic Development Alliance; First Interstate Bank of Wyoming

Jenrette, Richard H. New York, NY
Chairman and C.E.O., The Equitable Companies
Chairman of Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette
Member, the Business Roundtable

Johnson, Charles S. Des Moines, IA
Senior Vice President, Pioneer Hi-Bred International, Inc.
Co-chairman, Governor's Human Services Leadership Roundtable.
Member, Governor's Commission on Health Care Cost Containment.

Johnson, James A. Washington D.C.
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Federal National Mortgage Association
Former Managing Director, Corporate Finance, Lehman Brothers
Past President, Public Strategies
Executive Assistant to Vice President Walter Mondale

Johnson, Robert L.
President and Founder, Black Entertainment Television
(First black-owned company to be traded on the NYSE)

Johnson, Roger W. Irvine, CA
Chairman and C.E.O., Western Digital (since 1984)
Chair, American Business Conference
One of the earliest Republican supporters of Clinton for President.

Jones, Clark Savannah, TN
Owner, Jones Motor Company, Jones Ford Mercury – Nissan
Owner, Jones Farms (cattle)
Former President, Hardin County Chambers of Commerce

Jones, James R. New York, NY
Chairman and C.E.O., the American Stock Exchange
Former Congressman from Oklahoma
Boards: American Red Cross; Committee for Economic Development; Bryce Harlow Foundation; U.S.-Japan Leadership Council.

Jones, Raymond Irving, TX
Founder and President, FABRICated Technology, Inc. (military articles)
Founder of Uni-Copy Corporation (retail distributor of copier and fax machines)
Member: Dallas Citizens Council; Co-Founder, RMBD (Recycling Minority Business Dollars) DALLAS

Jordan, Carolyn Chicago, IL
Owner, Carolyn Jordan & Associates (construction/construction management)
Executive Director, Metro Corporation (1979-81)
Deputy Director/Director of Housing, Human Relations Commission (1975-79)

Kamarck, Elaine Ciulla Washington, DC
Senior Fellow, Progressive Policy Institute.
Books: "The Politics of Evasion;" "Putting Children First" (with William Galston);
co-author of *Mandate For Change*.

Kamsky, Virginia A. New York, NY
Founder, President and C.E.O. of Kamsky Associates, Inc. (consulting firm representing multinationals in the Pacific Rim)

Kanter, Rosabeth Moss Boston, MA
Class of 1960 Professor of Business Administration, Harvard University
Editor, *Harvard Business Review* (1989-92)

Kaplan, Ann New York City, NY
General Partner, Goldman, Sachs & Co.
Heads Municipal Finance Department's general banking activities in Eastern US.
Boards: National Housing Conference; Citizens Housing Planning Council; Settlement Housing Fund

Kelleher, Herbert D. Austin, Texas
Chairman, Founder, President and CEO of Southwest Airlines Co.
Chairman of Advisory Council-University of Texas College of Business
Administration
Director; Better Business Bureau of Metropolitan Dallas, Inc.

Kelley, Mary Frances Denver, CO
Director of Audit and Consulting, Strait-Kushinsky and Company (accounting)
N.F.I.B. Board; Federal Reserve Board, Kansas City; U.S. Chamber of Commerce Small
Business Council.

Kempner, I.H. "Denny" III Sugarland, TX
Chairman, Imperial Holly Corporation

Kenmore, Ayse Manyas San Francisco, CA
Managing Director, Equivest Partners Inc.

King, Calvin Brinkley, AR
President, Arkansas Land and Farm Development

King, Susan B. Corning, NY
Senior Vice President for Corporate Affairs of Corning
Former Chair of the U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission (Carter Admin.)

Kistler, William New York, NY
Managing partner of Kistler Investment Co.
Co-editor and writer of lead essay for Buying America Back

Koplovitz, Kay New York, NY
Founder, President and C.E.O., USA Network (since 1980)
Led industry-wide anti-drug initiative with the Partnership for a Drug Free America
Boards: Liz Claiborne Inc., General Re, the American Business Conference, and the
New York City Partnership.

Krugman, Paul R. Cambridge, MA
Professor, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (since 1984)
International Policy Economist, Council of Economic Advisors (1983-83)
Books include: *Currencies and Crises* (1992); *Exchange Rate Targets and Currency
Bands* (1992); *The Age of Diminished Expectations* (1990).

Kumpuris, Andrew George Little Rock, AR
Private Practice of Cardiology
Medical Director of Coronary Care-Saint Vincent Infirmary Medical Center
Clinical Assistance Professor in Medicine-Univ. of Arkansas

Kurtzig, Sandra Mountain View, CA

Founder and Chairman, ASK Group, Inc.
Board Member: Harvard Business School, Anderson Graduate School - UCLA

Kuttner, Robert L. Cambridge, MA
Co-Editor, *The American Prospect*
Former national staff writer, *Washington Post*. Former Executive Director, Carter (National) Commission on Neighborhoods
Contributing Columnist, *Business Week*; Contributing Editor, *The New Republic*;
Commentator, NPR.

Lamb, Gary D. Iowa
President- Iowa Farmers Union
Former President, Tama County Cattlemen's Assoc., 1978-1982
Iowa Agricultural Liaison for Senator Tom Harkin 1984-18-986
Member of Iowa Center for Agriculture Safety and Health

Landegger, George F. New York, NY
Chairman of Parsons & Whittemore (manufacture of pulp and paper)
Chairman, Georgetown University School of Foreign Service

Lane, Vincent Chicago, IL
Chairman , Chicago Housing Authority
National Commission on Severely Distressed Public Housing (Bush administration)
Appointed to President's Commission on Model State Drug Laws

Lara, Edison R. Sr. Southgate, CA
President and Owner of Westside Distributors (Anheuser-Busch wholesaler)
Former Regional Manager, Country Club Malt Liquor.

Lausell, Miguel D. Hato Rey, PR
Legal Practice and Public Policy Consultant (since 1986)
Member, Governor's Economic Strategic Council (1990-92)
Chairman, Board of Directors, Ponce Federal Bank of Puerto Rico
Author ; DNC National Committeeman for Puerto Rico

Lawrence, Larry M. Coronado, CA
Chairman and CEO, Hotel Del Coronado Corporation.

Lee, Evelyn Salt Lake City, UT
Co-owner, ONLY IN UTAH (conference planning and tours arrangement small business)
Former Director, Economic and Industrial Development Division, State of Utah.

Levitt, Arthur New York City, NY
President, Levitt Media Company

Former Chair, American Stock Exchange

Lewis, Delano E. Potomac, MD
President and CEO, C&P Telephone Company
Former Board Member: Catholic University; United Negro College Fund

Lewis, Drew Bethlehem, PA
Chairman, Union Pacific Corporation
Former Secretary of Transportation (Reagan Administration)
Former Chairman, The Business Roundtable
Boards: American Express, AT&T, Ford, FPL Group, Gulfstream Aerospace, The Rockefeller Group

Lewis, Edward T. New York, NY
Publisher and C.E.O. of Essence Communications, Inc.
Co-founded magazine for black women in 1970
Deputy Chairman, RNC 1980-81

Linton, Pam Burlington, VT
Founder, President and C.E.O., Pollution Solutions
Co-Chair, Businesses for Clinton in VT

Lites, Denise Ilitch Detroit, MI
Senior Executive Vice-President, Little Caesar Enterprises, Inc.
Supervises Little Caesars Pizza's advertising and promotional campaigns.
Founder, "Let's Grow Up Smart" (anti-substance abuse education program.)

Llewellyn, J. Bruce New York, NY
Chairman and C.E.O., The Philadelphia Coca-Cola Bottling Company
Boards: Coors, C-Span, Essence, Manufacturers Hanover
Former President of Overseas Private Investment Corporation (Carter appointee)
Former Chairman of Freedom National Bank (largest minority owned bank in U.S.)

Lopez, Franklin D. Puerto Rico
Former President, Puerto Rico chapter, Home Builders Association (1986-1988)
Former State Chair, Democratic Party of Puerto Rico 1977-1980
Vice Chair, State Democratic Chairs Association

Lowe, Edward Green Bay, WI
Chairman and CEO, Edward Lowe Foundation (dedicated to educational, other support for entrepreneurs)
Inventor of Kitty Litter (current annual sales of \$500 million)

Lucassen, Sigurd Washington, D.C.
General President, United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners of America
(elected 1988; re-elected 1991)

Co-Founder, New Jersey Alliance for Action (labor-management group developing jobs through labor /management/ gov't. cooperation)

Malcom, Shirley M. North Carolina
Head of Directorate for Education and Human Resources Programs of the American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS)
AAAS Office of Opportunities in Science 1979-1989
Congressional Task Force on Women, Minorities and the Handicapped in Science and Technology
Boards: American Museum of Natural History

Mankiller, Hon. Wilma Tahlequah, OK
Principal Chief, Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma
Leads second-largest tribe in US; First woman elected Principal Chief

Mark, Reuben New York City, NY
Chairman and CEO, Colgate-Palmolive Company (since 1986)
With Colgate since 1963
Chair, Education and Youth Employment Committee, New York City Partnership
Founder, "From the Boardroom to the Classroom: Executives in Middle Schools" (program involving top executives with NYC middle school children and teachers)
Co-Chair, School and Business Alliance of New York

Markusen, Ann R New Brunswick, NJ
Director, Project on Regional and Industrial Economics at Rutgers University
Professor of Urban Planning and Policy Development
Books: *Dismantling the Cold War Economy (1992)*, *The Rise of the Gunbelt (1991)*; *Regions: the Economics and Politics of Territory (1987)*

Mathews, Jessica Tuchman Washington D.C.
Vice President, World Resources Institute
Columnist for *The Washington Post*
AAAS, Congressional Office of Technology Assessment,
Member, National Academy of Sciences
Co-founder and Member, Executive Committee, Surface Transportation Policy Project

Matter, David M. Pittsburgh, PA
President and C.O.O., Oxford Development Company
Chair, Pittsburgh Water and Sewer Authority

McCabe, Eugene L. New York, NY
President and Chief Executive Officer of North General Hospital (newly-constructed, state-of-the-art hospital in Harlem.)

Former regional director for Deleuw Cather/Parsons and Associates, a \$2 billion rail transportation joint venture.

McCammon, Molly Juneau, AK
Assistant, Fisheries and Resources, Alaska State Legislature
Specializes in fisheries, oil and gas, and oil spill legislation

McClendon, Raymond J. Washington D.C.
Vice President of Pryor, McClendon, Counts and Co., Inc.
(Largest minority investment banking firm in U.S.)
Chairman of the National Association of Securities Professionals

McCull, Jr., Hugh L. Charlotte, NC
President and CEO of Nations Bank Company.

McEntee, Gerald W. Washington D.C.
International President of AFSCME
Vice President of AFL-CIO and member of it's executive council
Member of the DNC and the DNC's Labor Council
Co-Founder and Chairman of Economic Policy Institute

McLarty, Mack Little Rock, AR
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of Arkla, Inc.
Arkansas Industrial Development Commission Advisory Committee.
Born in a town called Hope

Medlin, John G., Jr. Winston-Salem, NC
Chairman and CEO, Wachovia Corporation
Past President, Advisory Council, Federal Reserve System
Past Chair, Governor's Council of Management and Development
Boards: BellSouth Corporation; RJR Nabisco, Inc.
Trustee: Wake Forest University

Meehan, Diana M. Los Angeles, CA
Creator, VU Productions (a partnership of women committed to producing non-fiction media on issues relating to women, children and family)
Founder of the Institute for the Study of Men and Women at U.S.C.
Moderator, 1988 Great American Family Tour

Megdal, Dr. Sharon B. Tucson, AZ
Executive Director of Santa Cruz Valley Water District (Tucson)
Former Member, Arizona Corporation Commission.

Miller, Lenore New York, NY
President, Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Union.
AFL-CIO Vice President; chairs AFL-CIO Civil Rights Committee

Mills, Mary Ann Cambridge, MA
Vice President and Managing Director, Soapbox Trading Co. DBA The Body Shop
(environmentally-conscious toiletries shops)
Vice-President and Account Supervisor, McGrath/Power Associates (PR/consulting)

Mills, Olan II Chattanooga, TN
Chairman, Olan Mills Inc.

Mobley, Dr. Sybil C. Ph.D. Tallahassee, FL
Dean, School of Business and Industry, Florida A. & M. University
Boards: Anheuser-Busch Companies; Champion International; Hershey Foods;
Sears, Roebuck and Company; and Southwestern Bell.

Moore, Gordon E. Santa Clara, CA
Chairman, Intel Corporation (just recaptured majority share of computer chip industry)

Moores, John Jay Sugarland, TX
Chairman JMI, Inc. (family investments)
Chairman, Peregrine Systems (private software company)
Founder BMC Software, Inc.

Mulloy, W. Patrick II Frankfurt, KY
Secretary, Finance and Administration Cabinet
Partner: Mulloy, Walz, Wetterer, Fore & Schwartz, Attorneys

Munnell, Alicia Haydock, Ph.D. Boston, MA
Senior Vice President and Director of Research, Federal Reserve Bank of Boston
Advisory boards: World Bank, MIT, Economic Policy Institute and AEL.
Co-founder of National Academy of Social Insurance

Munro, Don Hot Springs, AR
Chairman and C.E.O. of Munro & Company, Inc. (footwear)

Natori, Josie C. NYC
President and Founder, Natori Company (since 1977)
Former Vice President of Merrill Lynch (1971-1977)
Boards: The Dreyfus Third Century Fund Inc., Manhattenville College,
Phillippine American Foundation, International Women's Forum

Nelsen, Virginia Bismarck, ND
Founder, Director and CEO, North Dakota Micro Business Marketing Alliance
The Alliance is a model product development and marketing project, showcasing rural North Dakota products.

Nusbaum, Karen Cleveland, OH

Executive Director of 9to5, National Assn. of Working Women
President of District 925/Service Employees International Union
Co-author of *Solutions for the New Work Force*

Nuzum, Janet A. Washington, DC
Member, U.S. Trade Commission
Former House Ways and Means Committee staff

O'Neill, Paul Pittsburgh, PA
Chairman, and C.E.O. of Alcoa
Former President, International Paper Company
Deputy Director of OMB (1974-77)

Oliver, Audrey Rice San Ramon, CA
President, Integrated Business Solutions, Inc. (provides systems integration, software development, and hardware and software procurement to companies and government entities)
Developed Minority/Woman Business Enterprise participation programs for a variety of public transportation and utility and transportation agencies. (1974-1984)
Founded the Boot Broker, a specialty shoe store in Denver.

Ong, John D. Akron, OH
Chairman and C.E.O., BFGoodrich Company (since 1979)
Transformed BFGoodrich from primarily a tire and rubber manufacturer to a major producer of specialty chemicals, plastics and aerospace components.
Chairman, The Business Roundtable

Ono, Dr. Ruth M. Honolulu, HI
Vice-President, The Queen's Health Systems
Boards: University of Hawaii, Hawaiian Electric, American Savings Bank

Orvis, Lacene E. Indiantown, FL
CEO, Caulkins Indiantown Citrus Co. and Via Tropical Fruits, Inc.
Agricultural Committee Chair, Florida Council of 100

Osborne, David Boston, MA
Fellow, Progressive Policy Institute
Associate, Council of Governors Policy Advisors
Books: *Reinventing Government* (co-authored 1992); *Laboratories of Democracy* (1988)

Otero, Jack Washington, DC
Vice-President, AFL-CIO
President of Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA)
Vice President of the Transportation and Communications Int'l Union (TCU)
DNC Vice-Chairman for Voter Participation

Parsons, Richard D. New York, NY
Chairman and CEO, The Dime Savings Bank of New York, FSB
General Counsel/ Associate Director, Domestic Council (1975-77)
Board Member: Fannie Mae; Philip Morris; Time Warner; Metropolitan Museum of Art; Rockefeller Brothers Fund; Howard University

Patricof, Alan I. New York, NY
Patricof & Co. Ventures, Inc.
Chairman of Entrepreneurs for Clinton/Gore

Payne, JoAnn Arlington, VA
Founder of the National Women's Business Enterprise Association
Arkansas native

Pearlman, Jerry K. Minneapolis, MN
Chairman, President and CEO, Zenith Electronics Corporation.
With Zenith since 1971.
Board Member: Chicago Museum of Science and Industry; Northwestern University.

Pearson, Harry L. Hartford City, IN
President, Indiana Farm Bureau, Inc.

Pennington, Hilary Challen Belmont, MA
Jobs for the Future (since 1984)

Perez, Jorge M. Miami, FL
President & Majority Owner, Related Companies of Florida Inc
Former Vice President and Director, Land Use and Market Services

Perrignon, Janine San Francisco, CA
Vice President and Manager, SBA Lending, Commercial Bank of San Francisco
Board member, National Association of Government Guaranteed Leanders
Regional Member, U.S. Small Business Administration

Perrin, Cheryl Portland, OR
Senior Vice President, Public Affairs, Fred Meyer, Inc. (124 large one-stop-shopping stores; \$2.7 billion in sales/year)
Oregon Governor's Recycling Markets Development Council.
Boards: Portland Regional Tri-Met Rail Advisory Council; "Transportation 2000 Commission;" Portland Urban League; Oregon A.C.L.U.

Piper, Kathleen Yankton, SD
Vice President, Pied Piper Flower Shop
Yankton Area Chamber of Commerce
Vice Chair, Yankton County Democrats

South Dakota Youth Advocacy Project
Former Yankton County Commissioner

Poling, Harold A. Dearborn, MI
Chairman and C.E.O. of Ford Motor Company
Worked for Ford since 1951

Pollack, Ron Alexandria, VA
Founding Executive Director, Families USA (a national advocate for families on
affordable access to health and long term care)
Former Dean, Antioch School of Law

Popoff, Frank Midland, MI
Chairman, President and C.E.O., Dow Chemical
Worked for Dow since 1959
Boards: American Express; Chemical Financial Corp.; Dow Corning

Porter, Michael E. Cambridge, MA
C. Roland Christensen Professor of Business Administration at Harvard Business
School (since 1973)
President Reagan's Commission on Industrial Competitiveness
Books include: *The Competitive Advantage of Nations*; *Competitive Strategy: Techniques for
Analyzing Industries and Competitors*

Prestowitz, Clyde V. Jr. Washington, DC
President and Founder, Economic Strategy Institute
Former Deputy Assistant, Acting Assistant and Counselor to the Secretary of
Commerce (1981-86)
Books: *Trading Places*

Raab, G. Kirk S. San Francisco, CA
President and C.E.O., Genentech, Inc.
Former President and C.O.O., Abbott Labs

Rainer, Bill Greenwich, CT
Co-founder and Managing Director, Greenwich Capital Markets (1981-88)
Kidder, Peabody and Co., Inc. (1971-1981)

Ratner, Bruce C. Brooklyn, NY
President and CEO, Forest City Ratner Companies (urban real estate developer in NY)
Developed MetroTech Center (Gov. Clinton visited during N.Y. Primary)
Former head, N.Y.C. Department of Consumer Affairs (1970-73)
Former N.Y.C. Commissioner of Consumer Affairs (1978-82)

Reed, Dr. Howard C. Little Rock, AR
Former Professor, University of Texas, Graduate School of Business

Books: *The Preeminence of International Financial Centers*

Reed, John S. New York, NY
Chairman and C.E.O. of Citicorp (since 1984)
Boards: Philip Morris, Monsanto Company, The Rand Corporation

Renge, Beth San Francisco, CA
Trustee and Chair, The Legacy Fund of the Japanese American Citizens League
Boards: Japan Society of Northern CA.; California Leadership

Riady, James T. Los Angeles, CA
Chairman, The Lippo Group (a federation of Banking & Finance, Investment Banking, Property, Insurance, Information Technology, and Industrial companies)
Former director of the Worthen Bank of Arkansas

Rice, Linda Johnson Chicago, IL
President and C.O.O., Johnson Publishing Co., Inc.
Executive Producer, EBONY/JET Showcase
Boards: Continental Bank Corp.; Bausch & Lomb Inc.; Magazine Publishers Assn.

Rivera, Dennis New York, NY
President, Drug, Hospital and Health Care Employees, Local 1199 (100,000 members)
Co-Chair, National Benefit Plan for Hospital and Health Care Employees (largest self-insured health care plan in the U.S.; \$260 million/year)
Co-Vice Chair, New York State Democratic Party

Roberson, Roger Champaign, IL
Chairman and CEO, PFT/Roberson Corp.
Chairman, American Trucking Associations
Owner: Roberson Farms, Inc.(farming); Canyon Leasing Inc.(trailer leasing);
Roberson Equities Inc. (Student housing)
Member: Illinois State Chamber of commerce; Department of Employment Security Advisory Board.

Roberts, Brian L. Philadelphia, PA
President, Comcast Corporation (third largest cable TV operator; cellular communication service; largest independent Muzak franchisee)
Member of Board and Executive Committee, National Cable Television Association
Boards: Turner Broadcasting System; QVC Network; Viewer's Choice

Robertson, Sanford R. San Francisco, CA
Founding Partner, Robertson, Stephens & Company (investment banking and venture capital firm)
Director: The Tech Museum of Innovation

Robichaux, Jolyn H. Chicago, IL.
Retired President & Chief Executive Officer, Baldwin Ice Cream Co.
Commissioner, Chicago Economic Development Commission
Works as nutrition consultant and fund-raiser for community projects

Rohatyn, Felix G. New York, NY
Senior Partner, Lazard Freres & Co. (corporate mergers and acquisition)
Chairman, Municipal Assistance Corporation for the City of New York (directed restructuring of N.Y. City's debt during fiscal crisis of mid-1970s)

Roldan, Hipolito "Paul" Chicago, IL
C.E.O. of the Hispanic Housing Development Corporation
Former developer of low-income housing in Brooklyn.
1988 recipient of the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Fellowship
(spent \$100,000 of his prize money to establish a scholarship fund to help Latinos enter the community development field)

Romero, Ed L. Albuquerque, NM
Founder, Chairman and C.E.O., Advanced Sciences, Inc. (environmental engineering and waste management)
The President's Hispanic Advisory Committee and the Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations for the Department of State.
Delegate to the Democratic Convention

Rosen, Jack Alpine, NJ
Chairman, President and C.E.O., Continental Health Affiliates (since 1976)
President, Danro Corporation (Real estate)
President, Hazel Bishop Company (Consumer products)
Member, Advisory Committee, House Trade and Competitiveness Task Force on Economic Policy; N.J. Governor's Commission on International Trade.

Ross, Dennis M. Tampa, FL
President and C.E.O., Jim Walter Corporation (manufactures building materials)
Former Deputy Chief of Staff to Florida Governor Bob Graham

Ross, Doug Bingham Farms, MI
President, Michigan Future, Inc. (citizen organization to rebuild Michigan's economy)
Michigan State Senator (1978-82)
Director, Michigan Department of Commerce (1984-89)
President, Corporation for Enterprise Development (1989-91)

Rubin, Robert E. New York City, NY
Co-Senior Partner and Co-Chairman, Goldman, Sachs & Co.
Member: SEC Market Oversight/Financial Services Advisory Committee; Board of Directors, NYSE; Board of Trustees, Carnegie Corporation

Chair, NYC Host Committee, 1992 Democratic Convention

Russell, Herman L. Atlanta, GA

Chairman and C.E.O., H.J. Russell & Company, (construction, property management, concessions, and communications – third largest minority-owned business in the U.S.)
Boards: Georgia Power; Citizens Trust Bank; Wachovia Corp.; Atlanta C.O.C.

Sanchez, Tony Laredo, TX

Chairman and C.E.O., Sanchez-O'Brien Oil & Gas Corporation (private gas and oil exploration and development)

Sandler, Marion O.

President and C.E.O., Golden West Financial Corporation and World S&L Association (Golden West is the nation's third largest thrift)
Appointee, The Glass Ceiling Commission, 1992.

Sandner, John F. Chicago, IL

Chairman of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange

Satrom, Katherine North Dakota

Owner of Satrom Travel & Tour
Former Public Relations Director for Mary College
Former employee to North Dakota Governor Arthur A. Link

Sawhill, Isabel V. Washington, DC

Senior Fellow at the Urban Institute
Director of the Children's Roundtable
Director of a multi-year assessment of the Reagan Administration's domestic policy initiatives.
Books include: *Challenge to Leadership: Economic and Social Issues for the Next Decade*

Schaffer, Matt Sandpoint, ID

President and C.E.O. of Schaffer Corporation (international finance and marketing consultant)
Former Senior Vice President for Policy of U.S. Export-Import Bank (1977-80)
Former Assistant to U.S. Defense Secretary Harold Brown
Former Assistant for Foreign Policy and Defense for Carter campaign and transition
Books include: *Winning the Countertrade War, New Export Strategies for America* (1989)

Schneider, Dr. Thomas L.

President of Restructuring Associates Inc. (management consultants on strategic planning, organizational and labor problems, employee stock ownership plans)
General Partner in O'Connor & Hannan law firm.

Schofield, Seth E. Pittsburgh, PA

Chairman, President and C.E.O. of USAir, Inc.

Boards: Erie Insurance Group, Pittsburgh National Bank.
Washington Board of Trade and Flight Safety Foundation
Board Chairman of the Greater Pittsburgh Chamber of Commerce

Schorr, Lisbeth B. Cambridge, MA
Lecturer in Social Medicine at Harvard; Member, Harvard Working Group on Early Life; Director, Harvard University Project on Effective Services.
Books: *Within Our Reach: Breaking the Cycle of Disadvantage (1988)*

Schwartz, Bernard L. New York, NY
Chairman and C.E.O., Loral Corporation (since 1972)
Books: *The Future of the U.S. Industrial Base, Foreign Ownership of U.S. Defense Companies: Where Do We Draw the Line?*

Sculley, John Cupertino, CA
Chairman and C.E.O., Apple Computer
Former President and C.E.O. of Pepsi-Cola

Shah, Niranjan S. Chicago, IL
CEO and Co-founder of Globetrotters Engineering Corporation (program development for minority and small business economic development)
Licensed professional engineer overseeing federal, state and local agencies

Shalala, Donna E. Madison, WI
Chancellor, the University of Wisconsin-Madison
Former President, Hunter College.
Former Assistant Secretary for Policy Development, U.S. Dept. of Housing and Urban Development
Board Chair, Children's Defense Fund
Boards: Committee for Economic Development, Spelman College, The Brookings Institution, Carnegie Foundation

Shanker, Albert Washington, DC
President, American Federation of Teachers (since 1974)
President's Council on Competitiveness

Shapiro, Andrew L. New York, NY
24-year-old graduate of Brown University; attends Yale Law School
Author, *We're Number One!*

Shaw, David New York, NY
Managing Partner, D.E. Shaw & Co.
Founder, Stanford Systems Corporation
Member, Board of Governors N.Y. Academy of Sciences

Shockley, Brenda Yvonne Los Angeles, CA

Executive Director, Community Build, Inc. (a community-based response to the L.A. riots; supported by Maxine Waters; focuses on the economic causes of the riots)
Former President, Drew Economic Development Corporation (a non-profit group)

Shuman, Stanley S. New York City, NY
Executive Vice-President, Managing Director and Member, Executive Committee,
Allan & Company, Inc. Investment Bankers
Longest-serving member, Financial Control Board for City of New York
(monitoring agency born out of NYC 70's fiscal crisis).

Simmons, Adele Smith Chicago, IL
President, The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation
President- Hampshire College (1977-1989)
Member: Union of Concerned Scientists (trustee since 1983); President's
Commission on Environmental Quality (since 1991)

Sloan, Daphne A. Cincinnati, OH
Executive Director, Walnut Hills Redevelopment Foundation, Inc. (since 1985 – the
non-profit corporation revitalizes historic buildings with public/private partnership
financing; also owns and manages 300 low cost housing units.)

Smith, Frederick W. Memphis, TN
Chairman, President and C.E.O., Federal Express
(Nearly \$8 billion per year in revenue)

Solow, Robert M Massachusetts
Institute Professor, MIT
Alfred Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics for 1987

Sombrotto, Vincent R. Washington, D.C.
President, National Association of Letter Carriers
Chairman, AFL-CIO, Standing Committee on Community Services
AFL-CIO: Vice-president; Executive Council (since 1981)

Sparks, Willard R. Memphis, TN
Chairman & CEO, Sparks Companies, Inc. (since 1977: agricultural research and
consulting firm)
Co-owner: Refco, Inc. (futures commissions merchants), Vining-Sparks
IBG (general securities), Storage-USA (real estate)

Spence, Roy M. Jr. Austin, TX
Founder and President of GSD&M Advertising
Developed marketing strategies for Wal-Mart, Fannie Mae, Chili's Restaurants.

Spero, Joan Edeiman New York, NY
Executive V.P., Corporate Affairs and Communications, American Express
Former U.S. Ambassador to the U.N. Economic and Social Council (Carter Admin.)
Books: *The Failure of Franklin National Bank; The Politics of International Economic Relations*

Stafford, Kathleen Thousand Oaks, CA
Treasurer, Amgen Pharmaceutical, Inc. (the largest independent bio-tech company in the U.S.)
(Note: She has expressed concern that a reformed health care system will frustrate the development of innovative new biotechnology)

Stephens, Warren A. Little Rock, AR
President and C.E.O., Stephens Inc.

Stern, Paula Washington, D.C.
President, The Stern Group (economic analysis/trade advisory firm)
Former Chair, ITC
Boards: Westinghouse, Scott Paper Co., Dynatech Corp.

Stewart, Caryl Burlington, VT
President, Vermont Development Credit Union

Stiriz, William P. St Louis, MO
Chairman, President and C.E.O., Ralston Purina
Started with Ralston Purina in 1964
Native of Jasper, AR

Stith, Rev. Charles Boston, MA
National President, Organization for a New Equality
Senior Pastor, Union United Methodist Church, Boston.

Strange, Marty Walthill, NE
Program Director and Co-Founder, Center for Rural Affairs (since 1973)
Focus on sustainable agriculture, rural economic development, federal farm program.
Book: *Family Farming: A New Economic Vision*

Sturdivant, Mike Glendora, MS
Chairman MMI Hotel Group (MS, FL, GA, LA)
Managing Partner of Due West Plantation
Board: Millsaps College
Democratic candidate for Governor of Mississippi 1983 and 1987

Sturgill, William B. Lexington, KY
Founder and President, Golden Oak Mining Company, L.P.
40 years in coal mining industry.

Co-Founder and former Chairman of the Board, Kentucky Coal Association.
Former Kentucky Secretary of Energy

Summers, Lawrence H.

Chief Economist, The World Bank
Nathaniel Ropes Professor of Political Economy, Harvard (on leave).
First social scientist awarded the N.S.F.'s Waterman Award for outstanding scientific contributions
Fellow, American Academy of Arts and Sciences
Member, Brookings Panel of Economic Activity
Board of Advisors of the Congressional Budget Office.
Books: *Tax Policy and the Economy* and *Understanding Unemployment*

Sweeney, John J. Washington, D.C.

International President, Service Employees International Union
Elected to fourth 4-year term in April 1992.
AFL-CIO roles: VP; Member, Executive Council; Chair, Health Committee
One of four dissenting members of the Advisory Council on Social Security Report.

Swensen, Lee Denver, CO

President, National Farmers Union
Vice-President, International Federation of Agricultural Producers

Tarr-Whelan, Linda Washington, D.C.

President and Executive Director, Center for Policy Alternatives

Tashjian, Vicki Wilmington, DE

President, Tashjian & Company.

Teerlink, Richard F. Milwaukee, WI

President and C.E.O. of Harley Davidson, Inc. since 1988 (worked for H-D since 1981)
In 1986, helped lead Harley Davidson back to public ownership.

Tellep, Daniel M. Calabasas, CA

Chairman and C.E.O., Lockheed Corporation
Joined Lockheed as principal scientist for the X-17 missile experiments in 1955.

Tese, Vincent New York

Director of Economic Development for New York State, appointed by Governor Cuomo in 1985
Commissioner of the State Department of Economic Development
Chairman of the State Job Development Authority and the State Science and Technology Foundation
Vice Chairman of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the NYS Urban Development Corporation

Thayer, Bennie L. Capitol Heights, MD
Chairman and C.E.O. of the National Association for the Self-Employed (NASE represents 300,000 small business owners)
C.E.O. of Diversified Concepts, Inc.
Former owner of 7-Eleven and N-a-Minit franchises.
Former Chairman of the National Business League of Southern Maryland
State Chairman and National V.P. for membership of Rainbow Coalition 1984-90

Thomas, Franklin A. New York, NY
President of the Ford Foundation (since 1979)
President, the Bedford Stuyvestant Restoration Corporation (1967-77)
Former chair, Study Commission on U.S. Policy Toward Southern Africa.

Thompson, Jeff Norman, OK
21 year-old sophomore at Oklahoma University
President and Founder of Peripheral Outlet
Sells computer memory upgrades in 50 states and 20 countries.
Founded company in his parents' basement at age 15.

Thompson, Kathryn G. Irvine, CA
Chairman and C.E.O., Kathryn G. Thompson Development Company
Real estate, construction, development in Southern California

Tisch, Thomas J. New York, NY
Managing Partner, FLF Associates (an investment partnership)

Tobin, James New Haven, CT
Sterling Professor of Economics Emeritus at Yale University (At Yale since 1950)
Member of President Kennedy's Council of Economic Advisors.
Member, National Academy of Sciences.
Nobel Laureate in Economic Studies (1981)

Tomich, Rosemary California
Chair and President of the Hope Cattle Company
Chair and President of Livestock Clearing Inc.
Owner of A.S. Tomich Construction Company
Senior Executive and Director of Contintal Culture Specialists Inc.
Founding director of Palm Springs Savings Bank

Tompkins, Susie San Francisco, CA
Co-owner of Esprit de Corp.
Corporate advocate of AIDS awareness and environmental responsibility.

Torano, Maria Elena Arlington, VA
President of META, Inc. (one of top 200 Hispanic businesses in the U.S.)

Majority interest in METEC (asset management) – largest Hispanic contractor to the Resolution Trust Co.

Member, Hispanic Congressional Caucus Institute; Chair of the National Hispanic Leadership Institute; a director of the U.S. Hispanic Chamber of Commerce; Bush appointee to bipartisan U.S. Commission on Minority Business Development.

Trumka, Richard L. Washington, D.C.
President of United Mine Workers of America

Tull, John Earle, Jr. Lonoke, AR
Rice, soybean, corn and wheat farmer; cattle rancher.
Active with Farmers and Ranchers for Clinton/Gore

Tully, Daniel New York, NY
President and C.E.O., Merrill Lynch & Co. Inc.

Tyson, Donald J. Springdale, AR
Chairman of Tyson Foods, Inc.

Uribe, Charles New York
Chairman of AJ Contracting
Led construction of podium for 1992 Democratic National Convention, and 1984, 1980 and 1976; other projects include NY Public Library, The Rose Building at Lincoln Center, The Dreyfus Corporation

Vagelos, Dr. P. Roy Rahway, NJ
Chairman, President and CEO, Merck & Co., Inc. (since 1985)
Former cellular physiologist and biochemist, National Heart Institute
Member, President's Commission on Environmental Quality; Advisory Committee on Trade Policy and Negotiations.
Trustee, The Rockefeller University; University of Pennsylvania; Danforth Foundation.

Vindasius, Julia C. Pine Bluff, AR
Executive Director of the Good Faith Fund/Southern Development Bancorporation
GFF targets low income entrepreneurs in SE Arkansas; modeled after Grameen Bank of Bangladesh.
Former Assistant to Mary Houghton of the Southshore Bank of Chicago.

Wachner, Linda New York, NY
Chair, Pres, and CEO of Warnaco Inc (leading US apparel company)
Only woman CEO of a Fortune 500 company.
Advisory Committee for Trade Policy Negotiations under Presidents Bush and Reagan
Commission on Workforce Quality and Market Efficiency under Reagan
Board of New American Schools Corporation (appointed by Bush)

Walsh, Michael H. Houston, TX
Chairman and C.E.O. of Tenneco, Inc. since 1991 (natural gas pipelines, farm and construction equipment, automotive parts, shipbuilding, packaging and chemicals)
Former Chairman and C.E.O. of Union Pacific 1986-91
Former U.S. Attorney 1977-80

Walsh, Michaela New York, NY
Chairperson, C.E.O., and Trustee, Women's Asset Management, Inc.

Wardlaw, William Los Angeles, CA
General Partner, Freeman Spogli & Co.

Wexner, Leslie H. Columbus, OH
Founder, Chairman and President, The Limited, Inc., 1963
Director and Member of the Executive Committee of Banc One Corporation, Sotherby's Holdings, Inc., the United Way of America and several other foundations

Wharton, Jr., Clifton R. New York City, NY
Chairman and CEO, Teachers Insurance Annuity Association and College Retirement Equities Fund (TIAA-CREF). With assets over \$112 billion, TIAA-CREF is the largest private pension fund in the US.
Became first African-American to head a Fortune 100 service company.
Former President, Michigan State University
Former Chancellor, State University of New York system.
Former Chair, Rockefeller Foundation.
Boards: Ford and N.Y.S.E.

Wheeler, Jr., Thomas W. Duluth, GA
President and Owner, Wheeler/Kolb Management Company
Has worked for twenty years in all phases of real estate with concentration in shopping centers, from regional malls to specialty centers.

White, Sr., Alan Stamps, AR
Chairman Emeritus, Alan White Company
Founder of small business (furniture and upholstery manufacturing) now employing 400 people with over \$20 million sales
Gov. Clinton appointee as delegate to Carter White House Conference on Small Business; early Clinton advisor on small business
Arkansas Federal Liaison Officer, NFIB
Former President, Southwest Manufacturer's Association

White, John

Whitman, Marina von Neumann Ann Arbor, MI

Distinguished Visiting Professor of Business Administration and Public Policy,
University of Michigan
Former VP and Chief Economist, General Motors.
Member, President's Advisory Committee on Trade Policy and Negotiations
(since '87)
Commission on Presidential Debates (since '87)

Wiley, Dr. William R. Seattle, WA
Director, Pacific Northwest Division, Battelle Memorial Institute (a private
research company in Washington state)
Among the Institute's programs is operating the Department of Energy's Pacific
Northwest Laboratory.

Williams, Claudine Las Vegas, NV
Chairman of American Bank of Commerce
Nevada Commission on Tourism; Travel and Tourism Industry Advisory Council
(Senate Commerce Committee)
First woman inducted into the Gaming Hall of Fame

Williams, Jim Ocala, FL
Long time citrus grower
Former Deputy Secretary of Agriculture 1979-81
Former State Senator

Williams, Lynn R. Pittsburgh, PA
International President, United Steelworkers of America, AFL-CIO (since 1983)
Advocate of workplace participation initiatives, implementation of employee stock
ownership plans, and the multi-company Career Development Institute.

Wilson, Barbara L. Boise, ID
Idaho Vice-President, US West Communications
Only Idaho officer for 14-state telecommunications corporation. responsible for
directing public policy strategies.
Board of Directors: Boise Area Chamber of Commerce; Idaho Association of
Commerce and Industry.

Wilson, Julius William
Lucy Flower University Professor of Sociology and Public Policy at the U. of Chicago
Director of the Center for the Study of Urban Inequality at the U. of Chicago
Books include: *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, The Underclass, and Public Policy*

Wolf, Stephen M. Chicago, IL
Chairman and C.E.O., UAL Corporation/United Airlines
Former Chairman, President and C.E.O. of Tiger International, Inc.
President and C.E.O. of Republic Airlines (1984-86); Continental Airlines (1982-83)

Former Exec. Dir. of DNA-People's Legal Services; under his directorship ,the DNA took several cases to the Supreme Court, helping establish the rights of individual Native Americans and the sovereignty of Indian Nations.