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3318 AVENUE D
BROOKLYN NY 11203
(718) 941-3286

'99 NOV 24 AM 8:37

November 22, 1999

The Executive Office of the President
1600 Pennsylvania Ave
Washington DC 20500

Dear Reader,

As the leader of this country, I know that President Bill Clinton is besieged with hundreds of letters everyday from people addressing many different concerns, and time doesn't allow him to read each letter. Therefore, I am begging of you to please make my letter one of those that graces the President's desk, as I am reaching out to him, asking for his help in a very grave situation that I am presently faced with.

The matter I am writing about has a tremendous impact on my life, deciding where and what I should do in the next few weeks, hence the reason why I deemed it important that it reaches the President's desk.

Thank you very kindly.

Respectfully

Debbie Placid

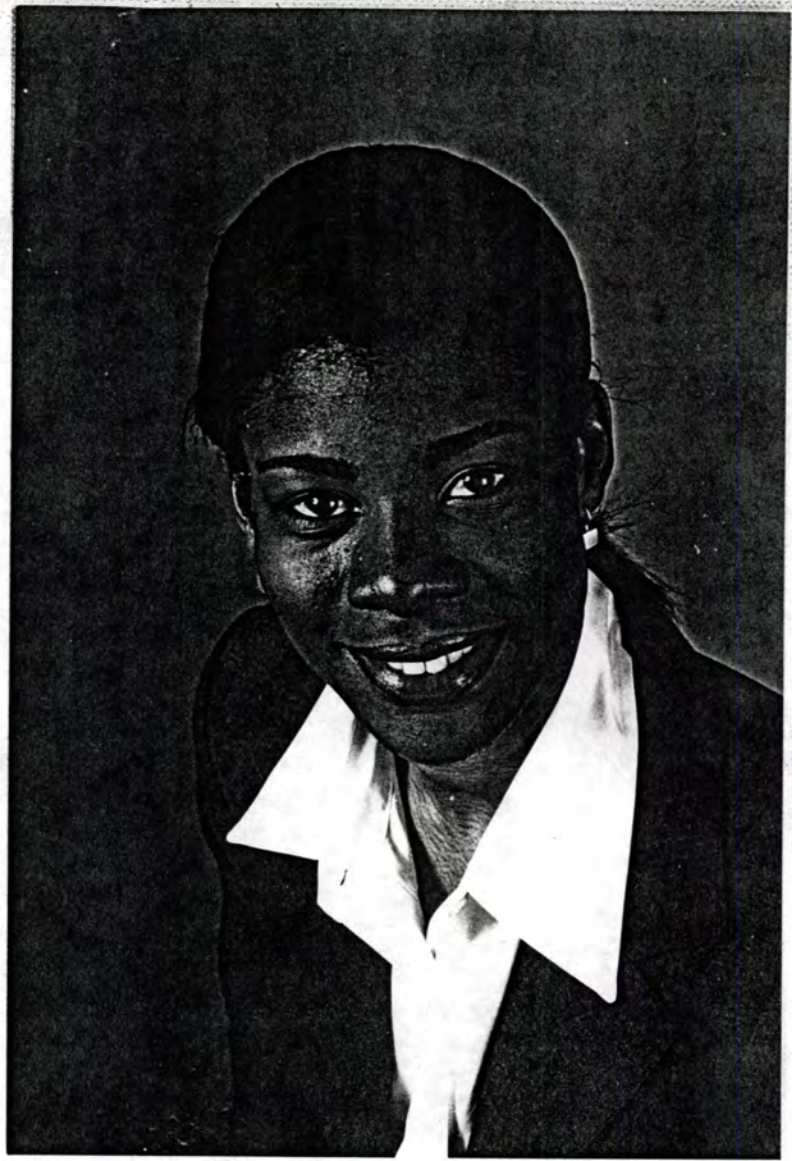
Debbie Placid

11-24-99
Send to Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒

No ☐

S.C.



3318 AVENUE D
BROOKLYN NY 11203
(718) 941-3286

November 22, 1999

President William Jefferson Clinton
The Executive Office of the President
1600 Pennsylvania Ave
Washington DC 20500

Dear President Bill Clinton:

My name is Debbie Placid, I am a 26 year old student attending New York University, with the hope of graduating with a Major in Political Science. I grew up in Grenada West Indies, and about seven years ago I started the journey of my dreams - moving to America to pursue a college level education, and to create a better life for myself.

Mr. President, I am writing to you about a very grave situation that I'm presently faced with, with the hope that you will understand why I resorted to writing to you, asking for your help. The grave situation that I am making reference to, has to do with my quest to obtaining legal residency here in the United States. This quest has not been an easy one, and over the years the attempts that I have made to be a legal resident, so far have alluded me. In penning this letter, I will try to explain as briefly and clearly, the troubles that I have endured during my attempts to be a legal resident, and why I see what will probably be my last hope to obtaining legal residency in this country, is by reaching out to you and asking for your help.

However, before I do so you may ask why is it so compelling that I write to you. Mr. President, I resorted to writing to you for two reasons:

- 1. I am kindly asking for your help, to help me be a legal resident of this great country, so that I may continue to live and go to school here, sparing me from returning to my country with very little to do there.**
- 2. I also write to draw attention to a bigger problem that affects many other immigrants like myself who are hardworking and diligent, and want to be part of this country's rich history of being the adopted home for many immigrants for centuries. However, because of some of the very strict immigration laws, these laws hurt some people that it shouldn't hurt. Admittedly, this country needs strict immigration laws to control the influx of immigrants, but I do believe that a second look should be given to revising some of these immigration laws.**

President Clinton, I first started the process to being a legal resident here, by working as a babysitter/housekeeper for a family in New Jersey, who in turn decided to help me obtain legal

President Bill Clinton

Page 2

November 22, 1999

residency through a sponsorship. After four years of working for them, difficulties arose in the family, which led to a separation between husband and wife. As a result of seething anger between the two, they could no longer work together to continue the sponsorship, which in turn was discontinued. Although I was tremendously disappointed by this change, fortunately, I had entered my name in 1998, for the **1999 Diversity Visa Program** and was selected one of the candidate to be interviewed for a green card. In October of 1998, I sent in the required application forms necessary for processing at the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) at 26 Federal Plaza, New York. My application forms were sent back to me three times from October 1998- March 1999 for the following reasons: 1. The INS had increased their fees after I had applied, and I immediately sent in the required amount. 2. The INS lost my Application for Employment Authorization, and I gladly submitted a new one, and finally, the INS thought that my money order was not clearly written, and so, the following day I sent in a clearly written money order.

After waiting for a couple of months without hearing anything from the INS, I decided to consult a lawyer whom I had worked with previously, for my application for residency through my sponsorship job for the family in New Jersey. The lawyer, Mr. Ira Denhoffer then informed me of changes in the Diversity Visa Program policies, that I was unaware of, and would not have known, since no reference of such changes was stated in the letter I received informing me that I was selected to be a potential candidate for a green card. The change in the policies which applied to my particular case stated, that since I had entered the United States before January 1998, and had over stayed my visa while I waited for my sponsorship to come through, I had to submit my application for residency from my country of origin (Grenada), instead of the United States, which I had already done. However, the lawyer advised me, that there is a clause in the policy that stated, since I had an Application for Employment Authorization on file through my earlier attempt for legal residency, and prior to being selected a potential candidate for a visa through the Diversity Visa Program, that application would "grandfather" me in to be interviewed in the United States.

Mr. President, it would have been much easier to explain these procedures to you verbally, but since knowing that is impossible, I hope that I am explaining these events to you clearly. The chain of events that followed from about June 1999 to present, have led me down a road of despair and uncertainty. After the conversation I had with the lawyer, I agreed that he would handle my case, and he went ahead and sent a letter to the INS inquiring about the status of my application. After two inquires and no reply from the INS, we decided that we should make a personal visit to the INS office. At the end of August 1999, my lawyer and I went to the INS office, and after being told to go from one floor to the next, finally we were told by a supervisor that my files were misplaced, however, they would look for it and sent me an interview date. I received a letter from the INS with an interview date set for September 10th 1999.

The officer a woman name Ms. Marshal who interviewed me, didn't ask me any question about my education qualification, that which was required by the Diversity Visa Program, nor did she ask any questioning pertaining to my activities here in this country. Instead she looked at the

President Bill Clinton
Page 3
November 22, 1999

files that my lawyer presented to her, showing that I was "grandfathered" in because of my existing Application for Employment Authorization, and stated, she didn't understand my being "grandfathered" in through my existing Application for Employment Authorization. As my lawyer try to explain the clause to her, a heated engagement ensued between the two, and we were asked to leave her office, pending a decision. My lawyer then asked to speak to her supervisor, and we spoke to a Ms. Woolhite, who advised that I was supposed to have paid a \$1000,00 penalty fee for overstaying my visa, which at the time I was unable to do because the cashiers had already closed. However, Ms Woolhite informed me that I should return on Monday and pay the \$1000,00 penalty fee and she would review my case. On Monday September 13th 1999, I returned to the INS office, paid the fine and also submitted a more complete package prepared by my lawyer, explaining my qualification. On Tuesday September 14th 1999, my lawyer received a letter from Ms. Marshall dated Saturday September 12th 1999, the day after I had my interview, and before I had paid the fine and submitted additional papers, denying my application for a green card. Immediately my lawyer filed a motion for a hearing with additional papers, exhibiting my "grandfathering" in through my prior Application for Employment Authorization. The following week, my lawyer received a call from Ms. Marshall in which she stated that she didn't realize that I had paid the \$1000,00 penalty fee, and furthermore **the INS had no more visas available through the Diversity Visa Program, making me no longer eligible to be interviewed for a green card.**

Mr. President, I hope I have not exhausted you by trying to explain the predicament that I am now faced with, but I could not have given you this picture of my ordeal without giving every details of the process that I have been through. In addition to receiving a letter from the INS stating that they had no more visas available, they explained in their letter, that contrary to what my lawyer had told me I was not "grandfathered" in because of my prior Application for Employment Authorization. Therefore, it now appears that I may have been given bad advise from my lawyer. Moreover, I have exhausted my entire savings throughout this process, paying the lawyer alone almost \$10,000.00. In addition, the INS kept my application for ten months before processing it, and only did so after my lawyer and I made a personal appearance to inquire about the application. The Diversity Visa Program expired September 30th 1999, which, had the INS processed my paper before the time they did, I would have had more time to make the necessary corrections that I needed to make. Furthermore, I also realized that my lawyer may have been incompetent in the ways in which he handled my case. I am enclosing a letter that I sent to my lawyer addressing these concerns, and the letter I received from the INS with their decision.

President Clinton, I am writing to you because I am scared, I am desperate, I am sad, but, I have not lost hope and faith. I am scared that soon I will receive a letter from the INS asking me to leave the country, and I will have to forego my education, that which has been my goal for all the years that I've been in this country. When I applied to New York University last year, I told the University that I had been a selectee of the Diversity Visa Program to be interviewed for a green card, and on this basis I was allowed to begin my studies. Now that this has failed to come

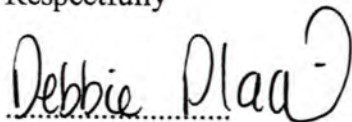
President Bill Clinton
Page 4
November 22, 1999

through, I am concern that the school would prohibit me from continuing my studies in the spring of the year 2000. So far Mr. President, I have been working full time as a housekeeper, taking 12 credits at school and maintaining a near A average.

Being in this country has widened my knowledge tremendously. I now have a broader knowledge of different World Cultures, The Arts, Politics, The Environment, and so much more; knowledge I would not have gained if I had remained in Grenada. I am scared sir, that I may have to return home, and although I love my country, it would not give me this level of education and experiences that I really crave. I feel that I have spent seven years here, and although I have worked long hours, sometimes seven days a week, I did it with grace, because I felt I am doing something to improve myself. It would be very devastating if I were to give that up and return to Grenada with very little to do there.

Mr. President, when I was told that I had an interview on September 10th 1999, I immediately called my parents and asked them to pray that I would get my green card, so that I'll be able to celebrate this Christmas with them after many years. I had hope sir, that I would accompany my parents to service on Christmas morning, and give thanks to God for his many blessings. I have yet to build the courage to call my parents and tell them what had happened, and as the Christmas season roles around the corner, my days are often filled with tears; tears that I will probably not be spending Christmas with my family, and tears of uncertainty and fear. However, I still thank God for his blessings, and for giving me the faith, courage and wisdom to be able to write to you, asking for your help. As I close this letter, let me thank you for giving me a listening ear. I hope with all my heart that you will make it possible for me to be a legal resident here. However, if my wishes doesn't come through, I hope that my letter would reach a bigger audience. The audience of this country's policy makers, so that they can begin the process of taking a second look at the country's immigration policies and procedures. In this respect, I am sending copies of this letter to the following government officials noted below. Once again I thank you very much for your time.

Respectfully

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Debbie Placid". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name.

Debbie Placid

cc. Senator Charles E. Schumer, Senator for New York

Congressman Edolphus Towns, Congressman for the 10th District of New York

November 16, 1999

Ira Denhoffer
450 Seventh Avenue
New York, NY 10123

Dear Mr. Denhoffer,

After carefully reading the letter from the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) in response to the motion filed for a hearing in my case, and their reasoning for denying my application, I am deeply disturbed by the explanation they gave as to why they denied the motion. It seems to me, that contrary to what you had told me that I'll be grandfathered in as a result of my certification from the Department of Labor from my prior application for residency, the INS has shown probable cause that I was not qualified to get a green card. The letter from INS stated, that my application was denied because 1. "The application for labor certification cannot be considered to have been properly filed, and 2. "Your client did not provide evidence from the Department of Labor indicating that the labor certificate was actually filed, that is, a receipt or statement from the Department of Labor stating that a labor certificate was indeed filed.

Although the INS has also indicated in the last paragraph of the letter that they had no more visas available, the fact remained, that even though they didn't have visas available, my application would have been denied for the reason stated above. Therefore, I am forced to ask many question about the advise you gave me in my quest for adjustment of status.

First, I must address the issue of the labor certification. When I visited you and discussed my concerns about my chances for getting a green card, since I heard that I have to be in my country of origin at the time I apply for adjustment of status to be eligible for a green card, at the time you were not sure of what route I should take in that matter. However, after having other conversations with you, you assured me that you had been able to figure out that I was grandfathered in because of my prior application for residency through my sponsorship with the Suders'. I recalled asking you if the fact that I no longer

work for the Suders' will affect me, and you said no. Why is it now, that the INS stated in its letter, that I had no proof that the labor certificate was actually filed ("having no receipt or statement.")? Likewise how come you thought my application for labor certificate would grandfather me in, whereas the INS noted that the document you provided from the labor department were not provable? It is one thing for INS to say we have no more visas available, but it is quite another for them to say the evidence you submitted to show proof that I was qualified to get a green card bears no merit.

Furthermore, I am also questioning your timing, for inquiring about my application, after I raised my concern of not hearing from the INS. You have been an immigration lawyer for quite some time and seems to be well versed in that area, why then did you waited until the end of August to make an appearance to the INS, when they had failed to reply to your written inquiry? You must have known, that there were a limited amount of visas to be handed out, and the sooner one get an interview, the likelier it is that person would get a green card. I remember calling you several times over the summer asking if you had heard anything, and what we should do, and you said then, that we should wait until the end of August before deciding to visit them. Didn't ever occur to you that by waiting until the end of August I would be running the risk of falling victim to the unavailability of visas.

In addition, you had never ask me once if I had paid the \$1000.00 penalty fee, the I was supposed to pay. It was not until we were seating in the waiting room for the interview on Sept.10th, that you as whether I had paid the fee. Yet, as we sat there that day I remember asking you what sort of questions that they would ask, and if they'll give me the visa, and your reply was that there are no reasons why they shouldn't give me the visas, and the only question they would ask me would be about my qualification. Why is it that you didn't know to ensure that I paid the \$1000,00, the responsibility of your service and expertise that I hired you for. I am know left to ask how this may have played a role in me not getting a green card on Sept.10th. Also looking at the events that took place on that day, I am also questioning the appropriateness of your attitude towards the interviewer-Ms. Marshall. You and I are well aware by now that engaging into confrontations with an immigration officer is not the right way to ahead making them see reason. You attitude that day lead to us being practically kicked out of her office. As an immigration lawyer who deals with the INS on a frequent basis you should know that the getting them to reason is not by insults, but acting appropriately even though you may be seething with anger. Again how as did played a role in her decision that day? The answer I would never know.

I am left wondering what recourse I should take now, in trying to obtain my legal residency, and to address what may have been bad advise from you, and how it may had

Ira Denhoffer
Page 3
November 16, 1999

hampered me from getting the green card. I am therefore requesting a copy of my entire files that you had put together for my case.

Respectfully

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Debbie Placid". The signature is written over a dotted line.

Debbie Placid



U.S. Department of Justice

Immigration and Naturalization Service

*26 Federal Plaza
New York, NY 10278*

October 20, 1999

Ira Denhoffer
450 Seventh Avenue
New York, NY 10123

RE: A# 76 158 377 Application to Adjust Status

Dear Mr. Denhoffer:

Reference is made to the motion to reconsider you filed on September 20, 1999. That motion has been granted and the case has been reviewed. The denial, however, stands.

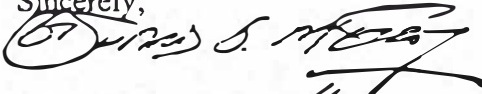
The application for adjustment of status was filed on November 19, 1998. On September 11, 1999 the application was denied because Service records reflected that your client was not in a lawful immigration status on the date of filing. You filed a motion to reconsider claiming that your client was in a lawful status. In your motion you state that the New Jersey State Department of Labor established a filing date for your client, and by that, she should be eligible for the "grandfather" clause. You also state that her application for labor certification was "approvable when filed."

Per a memorandum from Robert L. Bach, Executive Associate Commissioner dated June 10, 1999 (to which you made several references in your motion and supporting memorandum), an unadjudicated labor certification filed with the Department of State on or before January 14, 1998 may be used for the purpose of grandfathering if the "application meets all relevant regulatory requirements established by the Secretary of Labor for filing the application. The burden rests with the alien to submit sufficient proof." What your client submitted as proof was the actual application for labor certification upon which date stamps of November 12, 1996 were placed, and a form dated May 3, 1999 from the Department of Labor requesting additional information and documentation. At the top of the form, it says: "Additional information is needed to insure your application meets all Federal requirements. The items listed must be addressed before further action can be taken." Such a request is not indicative of all relevant regulatory requirements being established and therefore the application for labor certification cannot be considered to have been properly filed.

Furthermore, your client did not provide evidence from the Department of Labor indicating that the labor certificate was actually *filed*, that is, a receipt or statement from the Department of Labor stating that a labor certificate was indeed filed.

Furthermore, the U.S. Department of State has advised the Service that visa numbers for Fiscal Year 1999 Diversity Visa Program are no longer available. Your client is not eligible for adjustment of status under the 1999 Diversity Immigrant Visa Program.

Sincerely,



Edward J. McElroy
District Director

Thanksgiving Wishes



11-24-99

Send to Burkhardt?

yes ☒

No ☐

10/24 AM 8:37

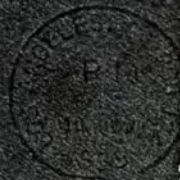
S.C.

Pres. Clinton & Mrs
Clinton &
Staff -

May holiday joys
and blessings
unfold for you
in a happy celebration
of Thanksgiving Day.

Just a thought of
Appreciation for all
your efforts!
Very truly -

Paul Merritt
Bx 9145
S. Laguna, CA 92652



President and Mrs. Clinton
% Betty Currie
The White House N.W.
1600 Pennsylvania Ave
Washington, D.C.

PAID BY ADDRESSEE



1124
To Burtbhardt
to coordinate w/
Scheduling on reply

'99 NOV 24 AM 8:37

November 11, 1999

Dear Mr. President,

This letter is a "Thank You" note and an "Invitation" to you and Mrs. Clinton.

First I wish to "Thank You" for being so kind and generous to "My Son" ... Glenn W. Powell, Transportation Supervisor for Air Force One. He thinks that you are a great President and ... person to be around. I wish that the laws would allow you to be President of this United States for a longer period of time, but ...

The times that I have met you here in Toledo Ohio at the pep plant and, in Detroit at Metro Airport, I was made to feel very special by your kind manner and words of compliment to my "Son Glenn" and "Me". Thank You Mr. President.

I am getting ready to retire from the KROGER Company (a very large corporation in these United States), after 40 years. I started my career as a part time cashier and, was, the first "Female" and also "Black Female" to become a administrative management person in their Stores.

Enclosed you will find a card
announcing the celebration that is being
held in my honor. We anticipate that there
will be around 250 people attending. I
know that you are very busy but, if
you could bring you into this area
on December 12, 1989 and, you have time
to stop, please feel free to attend. Having
you in attendance would complete my family,
you the pictures that have hanging above
my desk and, at home, I always tell
everyone that these are my "Joys" ... Ellen
and "Bill".

"Thank You" for taking time to
read this letter and, I will understand
if you can not make it.

Sincerely,
Your Adopted Mom,
Margaret L. Powell

Ms. Margaret L. Powell
2704 Hoehler Drive
Toledo, Ohio 43606

A message from...Ms. (Marge) Powell

For your information...the count down has started...I have chosen to move on to the next phase of my life. Saturday, December 11, 1999 will be my last scheduled work day with the Kroger Company at N-957. For my friends that can find the time to join in with me to applaud this wonderful time in my life there is a celebration planned for...

Sunday, December 12, 1999

H J's Prime Cut

206 New Towne Sq. Drive

Toledo, Ohio 43612

Cocktails at 4:00 pm

Dinner at 5:00 pm

Entree choices are...

1. Prime Rib Dinner
2. Chicken Shrimp Supreme
3. Deep Fried Jumbo Shrimp

Cost will be \$13.95 plus 6 1/4 % tax and 15% gratuity. Beverage is \$1.25 with unlimited refills.

Please include choice of Entree when you call the Kroger Company at 471-9237 with your reservation. Please RSVP by December 4, 1999. Ask for Laura Phillips, Robin Lind, Jeff Porter or Alex Koepfler. Thanx.

Copied
Blumenthal
Rohdester

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

99 NOV 12 PM 7:53

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 12, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL *SB*

SUBJECT: THE FLORENCE CONFERENCE

*Need to discuss
follow up
BS*

The Florence Conference on "Progressive Governance in the 21st Century" is the third in a series of public meetings of world leaders to discuss and promote the ideas of what is variously called the Third Way or the new center. The Florence event is the largest gathering so far. It provides the best opening yet for demonstrating that there is a new political mainstream in the world, that those who are creating it face common challenges and that they operate from common principles.

The political context and principles fit together:

Political Context: In the aftermath of the Cold War, the old political structures dissolved. People around the world made choices for democracy and free markets. The challenge of democracy today is to realize the promise of those choices. New policies and politics are in an early phase of establishing a new era, a new social consensus, and a new social contract. If this approach does not deliver, demagogic leaders will try to return to the politics of the past. But it is not possible to go back. To win the future, this new way must succeed. All the issues raised at the conference are at the heart of this challenge.

Principles: Despite differences, the leaders at the conference share a number of general principles. (1) On economics, the principle is that growth and opportunity for all must go hand in hand. Dynamism in the global economy cannot be sustained without also advancing social justice. (2) On society, the principle is social inclusion. Women must be raised to a level of equality; minorities treated as full citizens; cultural diversity must be encouraged. And rights also include responsibilities. Establishing an agreement on essential principles provides a solid foundation for discussion of particular issues. In fact, indisputably, the Third Way is the central subject of political debate in Europe. At Florence, the progressive record of the Clinton presidency can be presented to an unprecedented international audience.

Throughout the world, but especially in Europe, the success of the United States recently—our buoyant new economy, our restored civil society, multicultural vibrancy, universal appeal of our music and movies—has inspired admiration and resentment. Anti-Americanism has emerged as a major theme on the right and the left. The new anti-Americanism insists that the U.S. is seeking to impose its "model" on everybody else. This model, according to the criticism, runs counter to basic European traditions of social justice and solidarity. It is an Anglo-Saxon model of laissez-faire free markets. Britain is seen as our junior partner in this scheme; Blair is confused with

Thatcher. Our culture performs an insidious role in debasing an authentic European culture. We inhabit a vicious society of plutocrats and oppressed masses, are rife with guns and crime, using the market to suppress diversity and uplift Coca-Cola and syndication rights for *Dallas*. European leaders who are adapting their own traditions to the new realities to establish a new center, such as Schroeder, are being attacked as blind followers of the American model.

The answer to this line of attack is not to engage in triumphalism. It is to say that we are not seeking to impose any model on other countries. Rather, we are interested in sharing perspectives on the American experience. We hope we have something to offer in the way of our experience of economic management, the political task of renewing the traditions of social justice for a new time and encouraging cultural diversity. This provides the opening to discuss actual achievements of relevance.

Each of the leaders arrives at the conference with a different set of problems and different takes on the discussion.

Prime Minister D'Alema: See NSC briefing memo.

Chancellor Schroeder: Schroeder has suffered a series of political defeats in local and lander elections. His coalition with the Greens is fragile because of his austerity program. He faces opposition from the left of his own Social Democratic Party. The upper-chamber in the control of the Christian Democrats, who are likely to pass his program but are letting Schroeder stew for the moment. In May, he faces his biggest political test with the Rhineland-North Westphalia election, the SPD bastion but now restive. Despite his efforts to define a clear new center course, his ministers have made confusing statements. The former Finance Minister Oscar LaFontaine has emerged as an adamant opponent; and his former chief of staff and principal strategist, Bodo Hombach, has been moved to a sideline job because of questions about his personal finances. Bright signs appear, however in the economy, with indicators of growth up to a projected three percent and unemployment is down. He has come to Florence to gain support for his risky position.

Prime Minister Jospin: Jospin's participation in the conference is a significant political act on his part, though he refuses to use the term "the Third Way." Earlier in the year, he harshly criticized the joint manifesto on the Third Way issued by Prime Minister Blair and Chancellor Schroeder. He was only willing to come to Florence if you were to appear in public with him. His presence in Florence reflects his effort to position himself in the center. Jospin is highly popular, and his poll numbers, in the upper 50s to low 60s, are roughly the same as those of President Chirac. The French economy has strong growth, and Jospin is riding a bit of a wave, receiving the credit. On other hand, his efforts to take a more centrist tack is facing increasing opposition from his own left wing, his plural majority, particularly from the Greens and hard left. In response to them, he approved extensions of the 35-hour work week and reverse course on intervening in the Michelin tire layoffs. After initially attacking the Blair-Schroeder manifesto, Jospin now believes that whoever captures the center will capture the French presidency; though he disdains use of the term "Third Way," he wishes to engage its content in public for the first time at Florence. He extracted from Blair his presence at the Socialist Internationalist meeting in Paris a week ago as the price of his appearance in Florence. He is appearing there with strong forces in his coalition

trying to pull him to the left. He was also hurt by the loss of Dominique Strauss-Kahn, the Finance Minister, one of the intellectual powers of his administration. You might speak to him in private about your experiences about dealing with your traditional Democrats friends.

President Cardoso: Cardoso regards his participation at Florence as an important acknowledgement of Brazil and of his own role in developing a new approach. He is politically buffeted, at a low point in the polls. He sees Florence, according to Brazilian officials, as a way to cast his position in broad perspective and alongside other progressive leaders, especially you. Cardoso continues to focus on economic and political reforms to modernize Brazil's economy and to deal with questions of inequality. His political coalition is fractious, but there is no viable alternative to him. He is committed to his course and, in his own way like Schroeder, sees Florence as a platform to gain international support.

Prime Minister Blair: Blair is dominant politically within Britain. He has wisely pursued a prudent fiscal program that is now producing economic growth and government surpluses. He is at the beginning of the politics of surpluses. His principal challenge is how to consolidate political support for closer British ties with the continent, including joining the European Monetary Union. Blair's tactic so far has been to deal gingerly with the economic piece and to show leadership on European security issues, where he has public support. Hence, his strong leadership on Kosovo and with Chirac in building a European defense identity. But the challenge remains for him about how to lead Britain in Europe. Blair is deeply committed to the Third Way and to furthering its influence.

The afternoon session of the Florence conference will involve questions from leading intellectuals figures from each of the participating countries. The issues likely to be raised will be human rights and internationalism; international financial structure; cultural identity in a multicultural world; modernizing democracy; and the environment. (See the memo from Roger Ballentine on the environment.)

The cultural identity question comes from the French, who are anxious about American culture. Our basic position is that people have a right to informed choice, but that it is their choice. Let the people choose. If governments wish to subsidize various cultural industries, that is entirely their decision. But we should not build barriers against each other's culture. (See the NEC memo on complexities.)

Another looming issue for the next decade is how we deal with biotechnology and GM foods in particular. On this, there is a cultural and political gulf between Europe and us. A failure to deal with it could produce a damaging trade war with large ramifications. Europeans are taking some positive steps toward creating a FDA like organization within the EU, but that will be a long-term process. (See the NEC memo.) A productive way to discuss this might be to pose these questions: How do we maintain the confidence of consumers? How do we build consumer confidence in the regulation of modern science?

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-24-99

'99 NOV 12 PM7:52

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 12, 1999

THIRD WAY CONFERENCE

DATE: Saturday, November 20, 1999
LOCATION: Villa La Pietra
TIME: 7:20pm
FROM: Samuel Berger and Sidney Blumenthal

I. PURPOSE

For you to participate in the Florence Conference entitled *Progressive Governance for the Twenty-first Century*. You will attend a reception and dinner on Saturday night at Villa La Pietra, the former estate of Sir Harold Acton, now owned by New York University. The Florence Conference is the third in a series of continuing events to promote the new ideas of your presidency internationally.

II. BACKGROUND

The conference will include the participation of six world leaders including you, Prime Minister Tony Blair, President Fernando Cardoso, Prime Minister D'Alema, Prime Minister Lionel Jospin and Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder. The New York University School of Law and the European University Institute are co-sponsors of the Florence Conference. NYU sponsored the first conference in September 1998.

III. PARTICIPANTS

You	Melanne Verveer	Amb. Foglietta
The First Lady	Kelly Craighead	Mark Penn
Chelsea Clinton	Gene Sperling	Lynn Forester
John Podesta	Bruce Reed	Al From
Doug Sosnik	Loretta Ucelli	John Sweeney
Sandy Berger	Nancy Hernreich	
Joe Lockart	Consul General Lari	
Bruce Lindsey	Martinez	
Sidney Blumenthal	Secretary Albright	

IV. PRESS PLAN

Mix and Mingle
Dinner

CLOSED PRESS
POOL PRESS

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- You, the First Lady and members of the U.S. delegation will informally greet members of other delegations at the foyer.
- You and the First Lady will proceed to the outdoor tent and take your seats.
- Dean John Sexton of the NYU School of Law will make welcoming remarks.
- Jay Oliva, President of the New York University, will make welcoming remarks and present the Global Law School Program Award to the First Lady.
- The First Lady will make remarks
- Dinner will then be served.
- After Dinner, Professor Masterson of the EUI will introduce President Romano Prodi of the European Union, who will then make remarks.
- Dean Sexton will make closing remarks.
- You and the First Lady may spend some time with the leaders and depart.

VI. REMARKS

NO PREPARED REMARKS – all preparatory materials provided by Sidney Blumenthal and/or Sandy Berger.

VII. ATTACHMENTS

- November 12, 1999 “Memorandum for the President from Sidney Blumenthal.”
- October 27, 1999 “Memorandum for Sidney Blumenthal from Roger Ballentine.”

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

Bring
What do you
think of this, other
agents

Yes

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Podesta

]

A Proposal to Cut Through the Stalemate on Education

In Washington, where the political climate is the most acrimonious since Watergate and where neither party nor philosophy holds the high ground, compromise is a dirty word.

Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott and President Clinton barely met. On Capitol Hill, some committee chairmen and ranking minority members don't even speak. When there are bipartisan efforts, such as the reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, they are announced, especially by the establishment.

Education, for instance, is a top priority for voters, yet the stalemate paralyzes any action. Republicans talk about vouchers

more resources. As for vouchers, public support is mixed at best; most referendums have failed.

For their part, liberals attack vouchers without acknowledging they've never been given a fair test, while turning a blind eye to the bloated bureaucracies and rank incompetence of more than few big city school systems; the majority of fourth graders in urban schools today can't read.

A provocative proposal to break this deadlock has been offered by Matt Miller in a recent issue of the Atlantic Monthly. Mr. Miller, a former Clinton budget official turned journalist, argues that we should target three or four cities and increase school spending in them by 20%, while also providing a comparable stipend for vouchers.

If a big city spends \$5500 per pupil, then the federal government would provide \$1100 more per pupil to the school system. Parents also would have the option of getting a voucher—in this case worth up to \$6600—to send their child to a private institution. Schools that use extra funds to improve facilities, find better teachers and provide more remedial help should retain most pupils. But those that use it for more bureaucrats or to boost pay for incompetent teachers will see more kids opting for vouchers.

The beauty of this is that it would test the sincerity of both sides. For conservatives, are vouchers really just a way to avoid more spending on education so it doesn't affect their rich constituents' pocketbooks? Are liberals opposing vouchers chiefly as a sop to the powerful teachers unions—and their political contributions?

A few other bipartisan efforts are also on the table. The most ambitious—sponsored by Democratic Sen. John Kerry of Massachusetts and Oregon's Republican Sen. Gordon Smith—would sidestep the voucher controversy but provide more

money for schools and teachers while demanding far more vigorous evaluation and accountability.

Mr. Miller got a surprisingly favorable reaction for his proposal from diverse quarters. Kweisi Mfume, head of the NAACP, likes the notion because, unlike other voucher proposals, it doesn't ignore most poor children and would provide a realistic approach to the need for higher costs in public schools. Voucher propo-

voucher proposals is that they would short-change public education. But as the head of a major city with all the attendant school problems, Mr. Rendell doesn't have the luxury of worrying more about the political clout of teachers unions than about the kids.

Conservative hypocrisy runs just as deep, starting with the contention that education can take a cheap fix. They cite the low cost of parochial schools as a model but ignore the fact that these schools can dismiss disciplinary problems or reject kids with severe learning problems. Public schools can't do that.

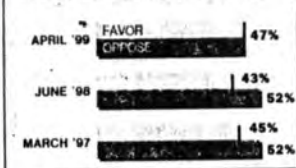
There are millions of kids getting a first-rate public education in America, chiefly in affluent suburbs. Very few do it on the cheap. Some of the right-wing voucher advocates affect devotion to poor minority kids by arguing that they should have the same sort of school choices that the wealthy elite have. But the tuition at elite private schools is closer to \$15,000 than it is to \$1500; bleeding-heart right wingers have yet to explain how they'd finance such expensive vouchers.

Private voucher efforts, principally one launched by Wall Street billionaire Ted Forstmann, will help tens of thousands of kids with annual stipends of \$600 to \$1500. Most of these kids will go to existing religious schools where there is limited room for added capacity. Ideally, vouchers should add to the existing stock of schools, but most experts think that the necessary capital investment for that is only possible if vouchers are valued at close to the prevailing per-pupil spending. Mr. Miller's experimental program, of course, would do just that.

The tradeoff of more spending accompanied by a voucher option ought to be on the 2000 political radar screen; it should be put directly to George W. Bush, Al Gore, Bill Bradley and John McCain. Their responses would be revealing.

A Divided Public

Do you favor tax-funded vouchers to parents who send their kids to private schools?



THE WALL STREET JOURNAL/NBC NEWS POLL

nents like former Education Secretary Lamar Alexander, though unenthusiastic about the increased spending, say it's worth a try.

There is, however, one holdout: the teachers unions, who won't even countenance consideration of anything that included vouchers. Many Washington Democrats, starting with Vice President Gore (who recently won the endorsement of the teachers unions), also refuse to consider any form of vouchers.

They should listen to the party's new general chairman, outgoing Philadelphia Mayor Edward Rendell. Apprised the other day of the details of Mr. Miller's proposal, he replied: "I'd be the first to sign up." The problem he has with most Republican

Politics & People

By Albert R. Hunt



and greater accountability, while Democrats talk about attracting more teachers, reducing class size and building more schools. They talk past each other, trying to posture and score points.

Education is also a hot topic in the presidential race. But despite promising initiatives from both sides, no one is offering an approach that might attract consensus or bipartisan support. Since it seems very unlikely that one party will totally dominate Washington after the next election, that's a prescription for more gridlock.

Poor kids would be the losers; Democrats and Republicans alike would be the hypocrites. Conservatives refuse to face up to the need for national testing, or the fact that reliance on local property taxes hurts the poor (Lisa Graham Keegan, Arizona's Republican superintendent of public instruction is a notable exception). They also don't accept that education isn't going to be significantly improved without devoting

This is great. use
So: ~~the President~~ ^{Must}
From: ~~sub~~ ^{get it}
to ~~refuse to sell~~

Written by one of ^{TOP} ~~sub~~
the developers of nuclear
bomb, Nobel laureate
and perhaps outstanding,
if aging, physicist in US.

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Podesta

The Treaty Betrayed

Hans A. Bethe

On October 13 the US Senate saw fit not to ratify the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. This made me sad, both for my country and for the world. I believe that it was a serious mistake both because the CTBT would have been good in itself and because I believe that the failure to ratify the treaty will have serious consequences for American foreign policy for years to come.

Fifty-four years ago I watched from a distance as the work we had done at Los Alamos was verified in the Trinity test. This was a necessary test for us. We did not know whether the device we had invented, designed, and built would explode. Like others who had worked on the atomic bomb, I was exhilarated by our success—and terrified by the event. A few weeks later atomic bombs were dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Fortunately, none has been dropped on an adversary since then.

I assume we want to keep it that way. One of the key elements in achieving this is for as few countries as possible to possess nuclear weapons technology. Another is maintaining the capacity to respond to any who attempt to use it.

The effort to get a comprehensive test ban treaty has a long history in this country. The basic purpose of a test ban is straightforward. On the one hand it would help curb proliferation, that is, the spread of atomic and nuclear weapons to additional countries. On the other it slows or stops the nuclear arms development race among existing nuclear powers.

In 1958, the President's Science Advisory Committee, of which I was a member, suggested to President Eisenhower that he propose a ban on tests of nuclear weapons. Eisenhower accepted our suggestion, and was joined by both of the other then-existing nuclear powers, the Soviet Union and Great Britain, in seeking such a ban. In 1961, Eisenhower said that one of his chief regrets upon leaving office was that this had not been achieved. Every administration since has had a stated goal of working for a comprehensive test ban treaty.

A scientific conference involving scientists from the three nuclear powers was held in 1958 to investigate the feasibility of a test ban. The conference determined that the process for detecting underground tests of weapons with an explosive power lower than 20 kilotons was unreliable. (For comparison, the Trinity test and the two bombs dropped in World War II had yields of between 15 and 25 kilotons.) Today reliable detection is possible for tests with explosive power as low as approximately one kiloton. The 1958 conference led to a treaty banning atmospheric nuclear weapons testing in 1962.

Opponents of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty have now raised three basic objections to it. First, those who wish to continue nuclear weapons development believe, correctly, that new weapons need to be tested in order to discover whether they work. Second, while the CTBT prohibits any testing whatever—"zero tolerance"—

there might be small-scale tests that could not reliably be detected. Third, occasional tests may be required as part of the process of maintaining our own stockpile. I would like to address each of these objections briefly.

Everyone concerned should realize that a test ban treaty is strongly in favor of the United States. We have a substantial lead in nuclear weapons technology over all other countries. We have tested weapons of all sizes and shapes suitable for military purposes. We have no need for further de-

velopment of nuclear weapons through testing. A test ban would make it extremely difficult for new nuclear powers to emerge. In testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, Richard Garwin, a distinguished physicist with long experience in arms control, pointed out that under ideal conditions we could now detect tests with nuclear yields as low as one pound! Under almost all conditions, tests of weapons with more than a one-kiloton yield can be reliably detected. The CTBT provides for an extensive increase in test-monitoring stations, which would improve the ability to detect nuclear tests anywhere in the world.



Hiroshima, August 6, 1945

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Opponents of the CTBT have made much of the possibility of undetectable tests by rogue countries. But it is extremely difficult to build a workable nuclear weapon whose yield could be relied on to stay beneath the detection threshold. Even if a new nuclear

power did build and test a nuclear weapon that escaped detection, the test would provide far less information than would be gained from testing a much-easier-to-build, and highly destructive, 5- to 20-kiloton bomb. Tests of that magnitude can be detected. Always, the information from a low-yield test that was undetectable would be of essentially no help in the development of a hydrogen bomb capable of destroying a large city. For the existing nuclear powers such very-low-yield tests would provide no useful information.

Thus the powers that could build weapons capable of escaping detec-

component shows signs of deterioration, it is refabricated. If the nuclear fuel itself is becoming degraded, the fuel can be remachined. It is well established that, with existing apparatus, the efficacy of the refabricated units can be proved by sophisticated non-nuclear tests. We do not need explosive tests to prove that these weapons work.

The key to the process of stewardship, however, is people. For the stewardship to be successful, the national laboratories need to recruit and retain top-flight scientists and engineers. The working environment at the labs must promote trust and stability. The head of one of the labs has testified, in essence, that with current personnel he could promise to maintain the nuclear stockpile's integrity without testing but that he would not be able to promise this in ten years if the present environment of constant budget cuts and witch hunts continues. I believe, moreover, that if the quality of our personnel diminishes, he could not promise to maintain the stockpile's integrity even with tests.

Thus, on close examination, the objections raised to the CTBT are not valid. We do not need to test new developments in nuclear arms since we are no longer in an arms development race. We have won it and the test ban would help preserve our advantage. While it is true that some tests might successfully be hidden by would-be nuclear powers, the tests that could reliably be hidden would be so small that they would not be helpful, especially for the development of thermonuclear weapons. And we do not need testing in order to maintain the stockpile as long as the government properly supports the stewardship program.

I believe that the rejection of the CTBT will hurt our country in more important ways. The treaty still needed the signatures of twenty-one "nuclear capable" nations to go into force and, with the defeat in the Senate, the chances of getting further agreement have been badly damaged. The United States has lost credibility in matters of arms control. It will take a long time before the US can regain leadership in this field. This is particularly serious because most of the ideas in arms control have come from America.

The most important current arms control initiative is START, the reduction in the number of strategic nuclear weapons from the absurd level of about six thousand both for the US and Russia. START was begun by President Reagan and is far more important than the test ban. It holds out the prospect that the largest and most dangerous stocks of nuclear weapons will be reduced to the minimum necessary for deterrence. Who will now take the lead in carrying it forward? Russia, which is struggling for political and economic existence? One of our NATO partners, such as Great Britain or France, which have relatively small nuclear arsenals, or Germany, which has none? China?

The vote against the test ban treaty undermines the entire future of arms control. It is a decision that should be reversed.

—October 21, 1999

The New York Review

Commander Kosovo Forces

Trajkovic used to
be Kerlosenich's man
in Albania.

Hardcore Communist.

Today, he is a
quarry of Kerlosenich.
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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Blumenthal
Podesta

11-24-99

Konstantinos

KARAMPATSAS

Researcher at LAW at EUROPEAN UNIVERSITY INSTITUTE

PALAZZO VECCHIO, Salone dei Cinquecento, Sunday, November 21st

I would like to address my question to the assembled heads of state
and government:

Do any guarantees exist for the support and development of
democracy in the 21st century considering the new orientation of
N.A.T.O. vis a vis the differing interpretations of "democracy" held by
other regimes?

In addition, do the various embargoes imposed by N.A.T.O. take
on board the best interests of civilian populations of these countries,
regardless of the nature of their leadership?

And before hearing your response can you consider what it might
be also if the question were to be posed at the advent of the 22nd
century?

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 9, 1999

99 NOV 9 PM 8:47

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SAMUEL R. BERGER

SUBJECT:

Legislative Proposal on Behalf of Flatow and
Brothers to the Rescue Plaintiffs*you're going to do them
need to do something
soon**Copied
Berger
Postle*Purpose

To obtain your approval of the attached legislative initiative to try to resolve the Flatow and Brothers to the Rescue (BTTR) cases.

Background

Prior to the August recess, a Treasury-Postal bill provision (Section 118) sponsored by Senators Kyl, Mack, and Lautenberg was passed by the Senate. Among other things, Section 118 would have repealed the waiver authority under section 117 of the FY '99 Omnibus Appropriations Act and would have allowed plaintiffs in both the Flatow and BTTR cases to attach blocked assets to satisfy outstanding judgments. On August 2, you agreed that the national security implications of Section 118 rose to the level of a veto threat (Tab C); at the same time, as you suggested, we expressed our willingness to work with Congress on an acceptable alternative on this issue. As a result, Section 118 was removed from the Treasury-Postal bill during conference.

At your direction, we worked with State, Treasury, Justice and OMB to devise an alternative that would provide a feasible recovery option for plaintiffs that does not conflict with our national security interests. In recent testimony, Stu Eizenstat signaled our interest in developing a bi-partisan mechanism to find a long-term solution to these cases and suggested a joint commission as a possible vehicle. We believe that the commission idea will have traction with Senator Stevens, who has expressed concern about the disadvantage to other claimants

inherent in Section 118 and has mentioned commission frameworks in the past.

Our proposal envisions the following three elements:

- Make advance payments to judgment holders as of September 30, 1999 (the Flatow, BTTR, and Ciccipio, Jacobson and Reed cases), offering some percentage of adjudged compensatory damages (less than 10 percent) through appropriated funds. An advance, without prejudice to their right to recover the entire judgment, has the benefit of limiting the amount of appropriated funds required (well over \$100 million for these claimants alone). Also, the payments will not be excessive compared to the total amount of assets currently blocked. This is relevant because (a) it will allow us to retain blocked assets as a foreign policy tool and (b) in the BTTR case, the judgment amount already exceeds the total value of the assets currently blocked and the approximately 5,000 pre-existing claimants expect an eventual settlement of their claims from these same assets. A partial payment will also minimize the amount we will need to recover (under our proposal's subrogation provision) in any future settlement negotiation with Cuba or Iran.
- Establish a Presidentially-appointed commission to study how best to resolve these suits, balancing the need to preserve blocked assets while providing means of effective compensation for American victims of terrorism. The commission would report findings and make recommendations for legislative solutions within 12 months after it is established.
- Authorize the United States to collect from the terrorist state the amount of any advances paid.

Even with this legislative remedy, the judgments in both cases would remain payable and the claimants would be free to continue to pursue payment through other means. For example, we continue to help Mr. Flatow locate unblocked assets for possible attachment. In August, Treasury turned over some 900 additional pages of documents related to assets in the U.S., and in September Mr. Flatow was provided information on a pending \$750,000 sale of land by an Iranian bank. While the information has not led to recovery because of difficulties in demonstrating the connection between Iranian commercial entities and the Government, we would continue to assist in efforts to locate assets to attach.

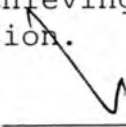
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RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the proposal at Tab A for use with Senator Stevens and others toward achieving an acceptable solution during this legislative session.

Approve 

Disapprove _____

Attachments

Tab A Legislative Proposal
Tab B Explanation of Proposal
Tab C Memo of July 15, 1999

SEC. ____ . PAYMENT OF CERTAIN ANTITERRORISM JUDGMENTS

(a) PAYMENTS. The Secretary of the Treasury is authorized to pay, subject to subrogation of the United States, pursuant to subsection (b), to the underlying claim against a terrorist-list state, each plaintiff in a case brought under section 1605(a)(7) of title 28, United States Code, that has reached final judgment as of September 30, 1999, [five] percent of the compensatory damages awarded by the court to each individual plaintiff, but not to exceed \$[2] million for each such plaintiff.

(b) SUBROGATION. Such portions of judgments against terrorist-list states paid pursuant to subsection (a) shall become the claims of the United States against respective terrorist-list states, with the United States fully subrogated to all rights of the judgment holder against such states. The President is authorized to take collection action, as appropriate, and to settle such claims with the respective foreign states.

(c) AMENDMENTS.

(1) Section 1610 of title 28, United States Code, is amended by adding at the end the following new subsection:

"(f)(3) WAIVER -- The President may waive subsections (f)(1) and (f)(2) in the interest of national security."

(2) Subsections (b) and (d) of section 117 of the Omnibus Consolidated and Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act, 1999, Pub. L. 105-277, Div. A, section 101(h), Title I, are repealed.

[Note: Regarding a commission, the preferred method would be to establish it by E.O., to which we could commit during discussions on this proposal. If legislation is required, the following could be used.]

[(d) COMMISSION ON COMPENSATION FOR VICTIMS OF TERRORISM.

(1) ESTABLISHMENT. The President shall establish a commission to review, evaluate, report, and make recommendations on the following matters:

(A) Experience under Public Law 104-132, specifically the amendment to the Foreign Sovereign Immunities Act permitting private actions against terrorist-list states, including the lack of effective remedies in view of existing sanctions against

relevant states under U.S. law in the national security interest of the United States.

(B) Options for addressing problems that have arisen in pursuing private actions under this amendment, including alternative approaches to victim compensation for terrorist acts that are the subject of such suits.

(2) REPORT. The commission shall report to the President no later than 12 months after establishment. The President shall transmit the report to the Congress no later than 90 days following receipt of the report from the commission. The report shall contain a detailed statement of the findings and conclusions of the commission, together with the commission's recommendations for such actions as the commission considers appropriate.]

(e) APPROPRIATIONS. For the purpose of making payments under subsection (a), \$[] are hereby appropriated.

EXPLANATION OF PROPOSAL

I. Issue. The following describes an option for a near-term legislative solution to the Flatow and BTTR-type judgments under the 1996 FSIA amendments. (See also accompanying draft legislative language.) These are default judgments against terrorist-list states for which there are no reasonably available assets to satisfy the judgments. This proposal assumes that some near-term payout to judgment holders is necessary to avoid a completely unacceptable provision such as section 118 of the TP bill.

II. Elements. This solution involves (a) advance payments with appropriated funds to certified judgment holders; and (b) establishment of a commission to study and complete a report on the problem, with recommended legislative proposals for long-term solutions.

Supporting rationale for this two-pronged approach:

- If current judgment holders could receive some funds allowing all parties to step out of the contentious, reactive situation we now have while the study takes a broad look at all issues that flow from the 1996 amendment conferring jurisdiction against terrorist-list states.
- These suits have not met the intended purpose of the amendment -- plaintiffs have been unable to collect on their judgments, and extraordinary pressure has been placed on the Administration to allow collection (via the FY 99 Omnibus Act's section 117 mechanism) from blocked assets.
- Paradoxically, the depletion of blocked assets would only harm our interests vis a vis terrorist-list states by eliminating leverage to affect their conduct.
- Thus, there is a need for a deliberative review of the problem of compensating American victims of terrorism, and that review should be informed by the three years of experience under the 1996 amendment.

III. Prong One -- "Advance" Payments. Payments would be limited to a percentage, up to a given maximum payment, of compensatory damages to persons currently holding judgments pursuant to the 1996 FSIA amendments (there are three existing

judgments: \$25M in Flatow, \$49M in BTTR, and \$65M in Ciccipio). Thus, a 5% advance would cost no more than \$7M.

- Representative Duncan Hunter's proposal in H.R. 2189 is a similar provision, authorizing the Secretary of State to approve payments to each hostage victim-plaintiff in the Ciccipio case (up to \$10M for a former hostage, and up to \$4M for a spouse).
- Subrogation. The provision should make the United States fully subrogated to all rights of the judgment holder for recoupment of these payments from the terrorist-list state. In so doing, this proposal would make these judgments an issue between the United States and terrorist states, and not simply a matter of private parties versus terrorist states.
- Although recoupment is not certain either in time or fact, it will be important to show that this is by no means solely a U.S. payout to compensate for the acts supported by a terrorist-list state.
- There are various options available to maximize the chances of collection on these advances. (For example, there could be a fallback provision directing that, if the advances are not recouped prior to normalization, they will be collected from blocked assets.)

IV. Prong Two -- Commission. Although the President has authority to establish a commission by executive order, Congress may prefer legislation. Thus, the statute could include language to establish a commission or urge the President to do so.

- The commission provision could follow the form of similar legislative initiatives to study related issues in the past.
- One is 22 U.S.C. 5510, which called for the President's recommendations on whether or not legislation should be enacted to authorize the United States to provide compensation to U.S. citizens who are victims of terrorism. (The report was to be submitted no later than November 1991, but we have been unable to determine whether it was completed.)
- Significantly, 22 U.S.C. 5510(b) authorized the President to "establish a board to develop criteria for compensation

and to recommend changes to existing laws to establish a single comprehensive approach to victim compensation for terrorist acts." A similar provision in this year's bill could have the President focus on and provide proposals in regard to the specific problem that has resulted from practice under the 1996 exception to the FSIA.

- Another example is found in the 1996 Antiterrorism and Effective Death Penalty Act, which authorized a commission with a very broad charter involving questions of Federal law enforcement in the future, with terrorism being one of the priorities for the commission's inquiry. Hearings have been held, but the commission has not yet concluded its work.
- Options the commission might consider include repeal of the FSIA exception in favor of a claims adjudication process, or a more permanent "advance payment" mechanism with several possible options to fund it (e.g., victims compensation and assistance accounts such as that established under 42 U.S.C. 10601, using excess fines and penalties).
- The value of establishing such a commission is that, by committing to this serious effort, we can perhaps remove pressure to obtain blocked assets and avoid setting up an ill-advised permanent mechanism this year. That is, Congress would provide advances to current judgment holders who have through significant effort and expense pursued cases against terrorist-list states, and would commit to formulating a longer term solution to benefit plaintiffs currently pursuing cases (e.g., Terry Anderson).
- Ideally the commission would be appointed by the President. More likely, the legislative process would result in a mixed executive-legislative commission. It will be important that membership, at a minimum, be equally divided between the branches. Given the requirement to vet any members of the commission who are not already full-time federal employees, the commission should be given at least 12 months from the date of establishment to complete its work. (Alternatively, the commission could be given 18 months from the date of enactment.)

V. Related Measures

- The above option in response to section 118 would provide some compensation and commit to reaching a longer term solution. This should be viewed as a complete alternative to section 118 -- the thrust of which is to make blocked assets and judgment fund debts of the United States available to plaintiffs. Thus, section 118 (in the Senate-passed FY00 Treasury Postal bill) should be withdrawn from further consideration in favor of this approach that would be supported by both the Administration and key Members of Congress.
- In addition, we should seek an amendment to section 117(d) (last year's bill) to repeal the provision making the foreign states in these suits subject to punitive damages, and at the very least make clear the President's broad waiver authority to protect blocked assets.
- This should be palatable because the above solution provides advance payments and commits to a longer term solution.
- A future proposal could conceivably involve the limited use of blocked assets, but the current situation where the USG must defend in various courts against the elimination of blocked assets is unacceptable.
 - ♦ In exchange for near-term payments, it should be made clear that the President has the authority to protect all blocked assets. This would moot the current litigation involving writs on blocked assets and telecom payments in the Flatow and BTTR cases. Those cases focus directly on the President's waiver authority under a purposefully vague waiver provision, and this has been costly not only to the United States but also, importantly, to plaintiffs who have yet to recover a dollar.
 - ♦ It is possible that the commission's recommendation might be to repeal all of section 117, the primary purpose of which is to expose blocked assets to attachment. Although it is highly unlikely that section 117 could be repealed this year, we should at least insist upon a clear provision for broad waiver authority in exchange for providing advance payments on the judgments.

VI. Summary. This substitute legislation for section 118 would be a fairly simple section that would accomplish the following:

- Authorize advance payments to judgment holders under 28 U.S.C. 1605(a)(7) as of September 30, 1999, limited to 5% of adjudged compensatory damages, not to exceed \$2M per plaintiff.
- Subrogate the United States to these claims against terrorist-list states to the extent of advances paid.
- Provide for a Presidentially chartered commission to study how best to resolve difficulties flowing from suits under 28 U.S.C. 1605(a)(7), recognizing important needs of preserving blocked assets in the national security interest and providing avenues of effective compensation for American victims of terrorism abroad. The commission would report findings and make recommendations for legislative solutions within 12 months of its establishment.
- Repeal section 117(b) of the Omnibus Appropriations Act for FY99 (making foreign countries liable for punitive damages); and confirm the President's authority to waive remaining provisions of section 117.

VII. Other options for funding advance payments. Capping advance payments and limiting qualified claimants to existing judgment holders would keep use of appropriated funds relatively low. Following are other funding options considered, in the event it is not possible to identify the required appropriated funds.

- Blocked assets. Provide the President authority to vest blocked assets of terrorist-list states to fund advances not to exceed the same or similar limits (e.g., 5% of compensatory damages not to exceed \$2M per plaintiff).
- Note: Arguably authority to vest blocked Cuban assets exists because they are blocked under the Trading with the Enemy Act (TWEA). However, limited use of this authority for *ex gratia* payments in 1996 was controversial, and further use could subject the United States to litigation risk. Moreover, clearly there is no authority to vest assets blocked under IEEPA, as in the case of Iran. Thus, clear legislative intent to provide the President vesting authority for these purposes would be preferred.

- Significant disadvantages: (a) depletion of blocked assets and thus diminution of bargaining chips for use in dealing with terrorist-list states; (b) the President would continue to receive inordinate pressure to use blocked assets to pay judgments.
- If this approach is chosen, it would be preferable to leave discretion in the President, but Members would probably require the President's political commitment to vest some assets and make payments before they agree to withdraw section 118.
- Victim compensation and assistance accounts. Although we are aware of some funds in existing accounts, there are obstacles to their use this year. There is a reserve fund managed by DOJ's Office for Victim Compensation (OVC) and consisting of excess fines and penalties paid into OVC's principal fund and not needed for other purposes. OMB advises that legislation to open the funds to this use would not be a scoreable event, since budget estimates have assumed that the fund would be depleted each year. Nevertheless, there would be significant political resistance to the use of this program, which is oriented towards the states. Governors would be likely to complain that these funds were being made available for the first time to pay compensatory damages when heretofore victims of domestic terrorist acts have received only modest payments such as to enable them to attend trials.

VIII. Unblocked assets. In any event, ongoing efforts to assist plaintiffs in locating unblocked assets for possible attachment would continue. In the Flatow case, some noteworthy progress was made in August (e.g., turnover of some 900 additional pages on August 13 pursuant to protective order).

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 15, 1999

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SAMUEL BERGER
JACOB LEW
CHARLES F. C. ROFF
LARRY STEIN*See my memo at end*

SUBJECT:

Flatow Litigation and Related Amendments
Appearing in LegislationPurpose

To obtain your guidance in addressing an amendment that is and will be attached to various pieces of legislation important to the Administration. The amendment would permit attachment of U.S. judgment funds payable by the United States to certain foreign states, permit attachment of foreign diplomatic property other than embassies, and permit attachment of U.S. telecom payments to Cuban entities. And, to keep you informed about our efforts to assist Stephen Flatow and the status of litigation to collect on his judgment against Iran.

Background

Legislative efforts. Senators Kyl, Mack, and Lautenberg have offered an amendment designed to ensure that Flatow, Brothers to the Rescue families, and other plaintiffs can attach blocked assets and U.S. funds owed to terrorist-list states.

The amendment would repeal your waiver authority under section 117 of the Omnibus Appropriations Act for FY99, providing in its place authority to waive only the attachment of a foreign embassy ("principal office of a foreign mission"). The amendment also allows attachment of U.S. funds due or payable to a targeted country such as Iran. Thus, plaintiffs could attach the Judgment Fund payment of last year's Iran-U.S. Tribunal award (over \$6 million) as well as other debts or funds that may be held pending resolution of claims (e.g., the

cc: Vice President-
Chief of Staff

\$400 million of Iranian funds that we are holding in the FMS Trust Fund).

We have discussed the serious national security implications of eliminating blocked assets as leverage, which this amendment would do. Sandy and Madeleine continue to believe strongly that, despite the sympathetic plaintiffs, we should not accept further erosion of your authority and flexibility to deal with terrorist-list countries. Blocking assets is one of the primary policy tools at our disposal to combat conduct by hostile states against the security of the United States. This amendment could clear the way for plaintiffs' to attach virtually all blocked assets of Cuba and Iran--worth hundreds of millions of dollars. As a result, blocked assets would not be preserved as a bargaining chip for negotiations to deter aggression, prevent WMD development, and discourage or end hostile actions against U.S. citizens abroad (as in the release of American hostages in 1981). Retaining blocked assets also strengthens your hand in efforts to normalize relations, including resolution of valid claims once a different government is in place.

X((An express waiver of U.S. sovereign immunity over U.S. judgment funds to be used to pay foreign claims awards is a major problem as well. In the event of an attachment, we would still owe Iran the Tribunal award, and U.S. assets in third countries could be attached to collect it, or we would have to find some other way to pay it from the U.S. Treasury at taxpayers' expense (funds which would themselves be at risk of attachment).

This amendment will be attached to bills largely free of other major problems; it also could well be offered on more than one bill. If your view included the possibility of a veto, with that understanding, we could take appropriate action to remove or modify the provision. Without that possibility, we are much less likely to be able to garner the necessary support for reasonable compromise language. Larry Stein and Jack Lew think it is important to note that there could be appropriations bills where we fully support the bill and would have little Hill support for a veto. However, both agree that it is important for us to understand the strength of your opposition to the Flatow amendments.

Whether a compromise is possible is open to doubt. One possibility would be to agree to legislation permitting you to prevent attachment on an asset-by-asset basis, allowing you, for example, to permit access to rental proceeds from Iranian diplomatic properties, while protecting the diplomatic

properties themselves. Although State may argue, with merit, that even this limited waiver would have serious consequences for the ongoing Tribunal process, as well as for future efforts to solve claims disputes, it may be necessary to give some ground in order to avoid total evisceration of your waiver authority. Moreover, even if we were to agree to some asset-by-asset waiver provision, there is a substantial risk that you would be put in the unappealing position of then exercising that authority to prevent the attachment of most, if not all, of the assets the plaintiffs identified.

With respect to the efforts by the Brothers to the Rescue families to attach the telephone company payments and other blocked Cuban assets, we have, as you requested, been exploring possible alternative solutions with Justice. We face a serious problem, however, in dealing with Judge King's decision abrogating your waiver authority under section 117. The appeal from that ruling is pending in the Eleventh Circuit, with oral argument scheduled for July 15, and any settlement before the court of appeals rules would leave Judge King's decision standing as the only -- and adverse -- judicial interpretation of section 117.

* (Senators Graham and Mack have been pressing Chuck Ruff and Stu Eizenstat to do something for the Brothers to the Rescue families and have argued that section 117 was passed in response to your statement, at the time of the shoot-down, that you needed legislative authority to make payments out of the blocked Cuban assets. Chuck and Stu have explained that you were subsequently advised that you could make use of those funds on your own authority and did so in the form of \$1.2 million dollars in ex gratia payments. They have also explained to the senators that section 117 actually went well beyond authorizing use of the Cuban assets and that the Administration had, and continues to have, serious concerns with the scope of the legislation insofar as it undermines your power to use the blocking of foreign assets as a foreign policy tool -- concerns that were ameliorated only by the availability of the broad waiver provision. It is fair to say that neither senator is convinced.

11 As a separate matter, while we have identified business-sensitive documents that may help the Flatows attach unblocked Iranian bank assets, the chain of ownership is often clouded and subject to competitive claims and thus litigation. (A more detailed review of the Flatow litigation is attached at Tab A.)

RECOMMENDATION

That you agree that legislation carrying such a provision could rise to the level of a veto.

Approve _____ ✓

Disapprove _____

Let's discuss _____

Attachment

Tab A Status of Flatow Litigation

Yes but we need to make
a deal and get some
to the Flatows - the
birds is to give reasonable
reimbursement without
letting these claims
~~evacuate~~ foreign policy →
we've been so stuck on
the "Camel's nose in the
tent" problem that we
haven't done enough
to resolve the hot cases

BC

Yes but we need to
make a deal and
get some to the
Flatows - the birds
is to give reasonable
reimbursement without
letting these claims
evacuate foreign policy → we've been so
stuck on the "Camel's nose in the
tent" problem that we haven't
done enough to resolve the hot
cases
BC

STATUS OF FLATOW LITIGATION AND ASSISTANCE TO MR. FLATOW

Assistance on unblocked assets

- Iranian banks. In March, Justice informed Flatow of Treasury's conclusion that assets of Iranian banks operating in the United States in the 1990s were not blocked. Treasury has identified business-sensitive documents that may be relevant to Flatow's efforts to locate assets of these banks. Upon court approval of a protective order, to which both parties have already agreed, Treasury will turn over the documents to Flatow's counsel.
- Eizenstat briefing. The information on bank assets has been developed through consultations since November 1998, when Stu Eizenstat led an interagency team that provided over 5,000 pages to Flatow and counsel. Many of those documents related to the Mostafazan/Alavi Foundation, against which Flatow has since obtained writs that are currently the subject of litigation.

Stephen Flatow's litigation to collect on his judgment against Iran involves several separate actions. Two cases in the D.C. District Court (Judge Lamberth) directly affect U.S. interests:

- Diplomatic property and bank accounts. Flatow has invoked section 117 to obtain these blocked assets notwithstanding your waiver.
- Judgment fund payment of Tribunal award. As a result of Flatow's writ of attachment, the USG has been unable to pay a June 1998, \$6 million Tribunal award to Iran. Court briefs by both sides were completed in late 1998.

Oral Argument June 22. Because of the delay in paying the Tribunal award, Justice has filed four supplemental memoranda seeking decision on the U.S. motion to quash the writ. The most recent memorandum explained the concern that further delay will prejudice U.S. interests at the Tribunal, particularly in view of upcoming hearings. Judge Lamberth called a hearing when the Tribunal hearing was imminent, and he decided to hear argument on both the judgment fund and section 117 issues.

- On the judgment fund payment, the judge seemed persuaded that Congress did not intend to waive U.S. immunity from attachment of such funds in its accounts.
- On section 117 and your waiver, the judge asked whether diplomatic properties could be attached if the waiver were found ineffective. Justice replied that there would remain a constitutional issue of encroachment on Presidential authority to receive ambassadors. The judge asked Justice to brief this issue more extensively. (The U.S. brief is due July 22, and plaintiff has another 30 days to respond.)
- Mr. Flatow's counsel argued that your waiver overreached and should have been selective if national security interests were truly at stake. (E.g., perhaps waive with respect to diplomatic real property, but not bank funds including rental proceeds.) Reflecting advance knowledge of the Kyl Amendment, he also indicated his strong belief that Congress will soon enact legislation removing any doubt about availability of these assets and judgment fund payments to satisfy judgments such as Mr. Flatow's.

Mostafazan/Alavi Foundation (Alavi). Mr. Flatow is also pursuing the unblocked assets of Alavi.

- Because of his counsel's inquiries about Alavi, last November Eizenstat's team provided Flatow Tribunal documents including the Tribunal's decision (for jurisdictional purposes) that the parent Foundation in Iran was owned and controlled by the government of Iran.
- After a May district court hearing in which Alavi defended against the writ, Flatow's counsel informally asked Justice whether the USG could support their position. They have not followed up formally, but Congressman Rothman (D-NJ) has written Eizenstat asking whether State considers Alavi to be an instrumentality of Iran, a question State has not addressed in the past.
- Anticipating further inquiries and possibly a formal request, NSC will convene interagency counsel to explore the matter (e.g., there are a number of difficult issues to address, including the effect of Alavi's tax-exempt status).

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

^PM-Master Teachers,670

^National board certification triples

^By ANJETTA McQUEEN= ^AP Education Writer=

WASHINGTON (AP) As more states reward their teachers for seeking advanced training, an elite corps of "master teachers" has tripled in the past year.

Exactly 2,965 elementary and secondary school teachers from 48 states and the District of Columbia have spent about a year submitting videotapes of their teaching, lesson plans, and samples of student work and then taking a test to prove they have mastered the subjects they teach and how to teach them.

The group brings the grand total of teachers winning certification from the National Board for Professional Teaching Standards to 4,799 a small dent in the 3 million-member national teacher force.

Nonetheless, President Clinton, who has sought funds to help more teachers pay for the \$2,000 application fee, is hoping to boost the "master teacher" ranks to 100,000 in the next seven years.

"With this announcement, we believe the national board is well on its way to reaching its goal," said Betty Castor, president of the private, nonprofit board of teachers, other educators and business leaders. The Southfield, Mich.-based board, founded in 1987 to increase standards in the teaching profession, has a \$35 million budget partially financed by the federal government.

As the national certification of teachers has risen, so has state acceptance of the program. In addition to the 35 states that offer teachers some incentive to gain the credential, up from a dozen a couple of years ago, 31 help pay the cost of gaining the credential or increase teacher pay for those who get it. Certificates are valid for 10 years.

For example, California gives such teachers a one-time \$10,000 bonus; Mississippi offers \$6,000 a year and Georgia gives a 5 percent salary increase.

The nationally certified teachers are in public and private schools, from preschool to high school in rural, urban and suburban districts; 40 percent have 16 or more years of experience in the classroom.

Critics contend the system interferes with states' own licensing procedures and unfairly increases the pay of teachers who can afford the time and the \$2,000 fee to get the credential.

"This is about rewarding teachers for staying in the classroom," countered Castor. "Unless you find a way to reward them, you are not going to be keeping the best and brightest teachers in classrooms."

As for the fee, she said about half of the 35 states that reward teachers who earn the certification also offer financial help to teachers seeking it.

All states license teachers, but just 42 test their teachers based on criteria ranging from specific subject matters to whether they understand the basics of teaching.

National board testing "says they can do a lot better," Castor said. "Most states are doing initial licensing." Teachers who apply for national certification have at least three years of experience, she said.

Some states such as Connecticut are setting up programs like the national board's for beginning teachers, using the videotapes and other methods to certify them.

The national credential process also is gaining support from business.

"Children who receive a good education become strong, productive adults who can thrive in a globally competitive society," said Bob Wehling, vice chair and global marketing officer of The Procter & Gamble Co. "We are proud to have supported National Board Certification from its inception and will continue to do so as well as encourage others to join in this most important education reform initiative."

For fiscal 1999, Clinton pushed for, and got from Congress, \$16 million to develop the tests in 30 specialty areas, and \$2.5 million to help teachers finance winning the credential. Clinton sought the same amounts for the current fiscal 2000, and got them from Congress, but the totals are subject to an across-the-board cut of 0.38 percent.

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Today's debate: Prescri

Drug firms seek to tighten lock on high-priced prescriptions

OUR VIEW Patent extensions would delay production of cheaper generics.

Anyone hoping that Congress would take a serious crack at addressing the rapid rise in prescription drug costs cannot be pleased by this week's turn of events.

At a time when drug prices are rising at a brisk 12% annual clip — pushing up not only out-of-pocket drug spending but also insurance premiums — lawmakers are seriously considering a measure that likely would keep prices needlessly high for several medications.

Chief among them is Claritin, the extremely popular prescription-only allergy remedy.

For years, its maker, Schering-Plough, has tried to coax Congress into granting a three-year extension on Claritin's patent, due to expire in 2002.

That would help protect Schering's \$1.9 billion in domestic sales from low-price generic competition. But it would cost consumers an estimated \$300 million in higher prices, since generics generally come in as low as 60% below brand-name prices.

Now Schering and other firms are again trying to get patents on a handful of brand-name drugs extended. A Senate committee is set to mark up a bill this week, and the measure could wind up in the big spending bill Congress is rushing to put together before it heads home for the year.

Schering and other drug companies pushing this measure are, ironically enough, trying to exploit a 1984 law designed to moderate drug prices by injecting competition into the market. That law made it easier to market generic versions of older drugs. At the same time, it encouraged research and development of new drugs by extending drug patents five years.

As a sop to the drug industry, that 1984 reform gave drugs that were already in the approval pipeline, such as Claritin, a two-year bonus on their patent lives.

But drug companies have pushed for even longer patents on these "pipeline" drugs. Schering sought to get additional extensions slipped into big bills in the dead of night, only

Drug prices

Average retail prices for brand-name prescription drugs have climbed sharply over the past six years, while generic drug prices have remained relatively flat. Average prices per prescription for consumers:



By Genevieve Lynn, USA TODAY

to be blocked by vigilant lawmakers. And now it wants Congress to wash its hands of the matter and allow the Patent and Trademark Office to decide on the extension, assuming the PTO will be a more sympathetic venue.

Never mind that Claritin has already received four years of additional patent life — two from the 1984 law and another two as a result of a world trade agreement — and it stands to get another six-month extension by agreeing to run pediatric tests on the drug.

And never mind that giving Schering the chance to extend its Claritin patent would set a tempting precedent for other drug companies anxious to hold on to their lucrative monopolies beyond the reasonable limits set in law.

In Washington, special-interest money often talks a lot louder than the public interest. And drug companies have an awfully big megaphone, spending millions each year to lobby Congress, and hundreds of thousands more on campaign contributions.

If Congress is ever going to break its addiction to special-interest money, this is a good place to start. Otherwise, consumers will keep paying through the nose for the drugs they need.

By Patricia

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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If only the French Had Invented Third Way Politics or Why the European Left Has
Plenty to Be Modest About

By Denis MacShane

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Podesta

When the democratic left and centre-left consider the 20th century, it should do so with a certain modesty. Our speeches have been magnificent. Our manifestos have been glorious. Our demands have been ambitious. But it has been our opponents who have held power. Other than in Scandinavia, the parties affiliated to the Socialist International in France, Britain, Germany, Spain and Italy have been in government for little more than 15 years out of the last 100 in each of the their countries. And in its time in office the left has often been compromised by coalitions, cohabitation, or internal party combats which has alienated the public.

Can this change in the next century? The democratic left knows how to write a good manifesto. Can the left and its allies learn how to run progressive governments that can permanently change the economy and society in a direction that corresponds to its values?

Or will the 21st century be another hundred years in which the left marches in the streets or moans on the Internet while the right sits in the ministries? That is the challenge that the new generation of the left in power in Britain think about constantly. Next year the Labour Party celebrates 100 years of existence. The British trade union congress is even older – it was founded in 1858. Two hundred and fifty years of combined existence but mainly as a political force on the outside of state power, not using government to advance the cause of social justice, support communities of class, gender and culture, or empower individuals to have richer, more rewarding lives.

In essence the famous third way is an attempt to devise a philosophy and a programme that can draw together all the forces of progress, modernisation, and reform in Britain to forge a new alliance that can make the 21st century one dominated by the forces of non-conservatism on the left and centre.

It is rooted in British specificity and national history but is profoundly international in its inspiration and application. The third way is an answer to the question of how the nation responds to globalisation.

Sometimes I regret that the term the third way was not invented in Paris. The British are political pragmatists, not political philosophers. We are strong in practice, weak in theory. We love ideas that come from France. Lionel Jospin's aphorism "Yes to the market economy, no to the market society" perfectly sums up third way thinking.

The French socialist government has opened up its economy and increased French participation in the global economy. London has its electricity delivered by a French firm, Westminster streets are cleaned by a French company and even MPs' favourite HP sauce is now made by a French food firm.

For English sovereignty supremacists like William Hague such penetration of the British economy by the French is uncomfortable. For the third way a return to frontiers closed to products, to capital, to ideas, to culture or to people is simply passé.

So the third way which is having such an impact in national debates in the European left is an internationalist doctrine rooted in British – not English - specificity. Its focus on the need for rigour in public finance was underlined when Goran Persson, the Swedish prime minister, told the Labour Party conference last month that "Social democracy can never be built on public debt." Many of the problems Gerhard Schröder faces in Germany stem from the mountain of public debt left to him by the previous right-wing government.

The second key concept of the third way is the idea that rights and responsibilities are linked in a process of mutual reciprocity. Thus if the state gives money to the citizen then the citizen has to accept a duty to work in a job allocated by the state. This is drawn from Nordic social democratic practice which has always refused the concept of welfare dependency.

The search for social dialogue with business is drawn from Wim Kok, the former head of the Dutch trade unions who pioneered the famous historic compromise that ended the Dutch class war in 1980s and in exchange for wage moderation allowed a massive creation of part-time jobs that has made the Netherlands the model third way economy in Europe.

At the heart of the third way lies the insistence on full employment. The idea that social democracy can be built on mass unemployment is absurd. Here we enter a delicate area for many of the continental left. For all their sense of superiority in Europe, it has been the United States that has created jobs – 20 million over the past 20 years – while Europe has been the world champion in destroying them. The third

way is not afraid to learn from the United States so that European social democracy becomes again a politics that creates jobs. That is why the presence of Bill Clinton alongside Tony Blair, Lionel Jospin and Gerhard Schröder at a third way conference on progressive government next week (20 Nov) in Florence is important as a symbol of why American and Europeans must share solutions in the quest for economic dynamism and social justice.

The main way of creating jobs by reducing social costs in the labour market. I receive £2200 a month as an MP. I now pay higher social charges (in the form of increased NI contributions) but my constituents in one of the poorest regions of Europe are now paying less. Rotherham now has the lowest rate of unemployment in 25 years. The third way reduces inequalities by using job creation as the main means of promoting social fairness.

The third way does not believe that government can create jobs. Businesses create jobs. Entrepreneurship must become accepted as norm in Europe. In the United States, one in 12 adults is trying to start a business. In Britain, one in 30 and in France and Germany one in 50 adults wants to start a business. Too much of the 20th century socialism was based on mass industrial employment, often under state ownership, that could not be sustained in the face of the revolution in technology, informatics, and citizens who want to pay the cheapest possible price for every product they buy.

In the question of recasting ownership, France is further down the third way in opening up state enterprises to private capital than many French socialists care to admit. As the world's third biggest exporter of services, France knows better than other European countries the need to make its economy as flexible as possible to earn the money to pay for social justice in the form of public service.

There are important differences between the left in France and Britain. Sometimes this is a problem of translation. The term "liberal" describes the hard right in French. In America, "liberal" is almost a synonym for communism. Many French socialists demand Keynesian economic policy. But Keynes was a Liberal. So was Lord Beveridge who invented the welfare state. So when Tony Blair says he wants to incorporate liberal ideas in the third way he is talking about a progressive tradition in British politics not the neo-liberalism of Chicago or the French *libéraux* who would be at home on the hard right of the Conservative Party.

There is also the problem of the state. Under Margaret Thatcher the British state became a centralising, Jacobin force used to weaken civil society and its

institutions. Hence the third way places the individuals and the different communities that individuals co-exist in – the community of family, the community of gender, the community of race, the community of education and culture – as having equal if not more importance than the state.

What French socialists call *L'état regalien* (the regal state) is a concept that make sense in France for historic reasons. It is not a concept that is easily supported across the Rhine in Germany where a strong state has been experienced twice this century with disastrous results. Across the Channel in Britain, after the Thatcher years the idea of a centralised state as the main source of power and progress has been rejected by the people and a key element of third way political practice is constitutional reform and devolution.

Debates over whether the European left can learn from the United States, or what exactly the sense to be given to liberalism means in different languages, or the national differences in approaches to state power are false quarrels. The big question is whether the ^{centre-}left can take the power given to it by the people of Europe at the end of a century dominated by the right and turn that support into a new practice of government for the next millennium. Like Molière's M. Jourdain who was speaking prose without realising it, modern social democracy in Europe is on the third way even if some of its leaders do not like to admit the fact.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 18, 1999

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-24-99

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GENE SPERLING

SUBJECT: Proposed Call to Sen. Lott on Africa/CBI Trade Bill

Purpose

To call Sen. Lott to urge that he engage with House counterparts in an effort to pass the Africa/CBI trade bill before adjournment.

Background

We have been encouraging the House and Senate before adjournment to reconcile their differences over the Africa and CBI trade bills. Thus far, Sen. Lott has not relented from his position that the House must take the Senate-passed bill, which provides much more modest tariff reductions for textile and apparel imports from Africa and the Caribbean than those desired by the chief House sponsors. Reps. Archer and Crane. Rep. Rangel has attempted to stimulate discussion of a compromise by floating, with USTR's help, a proposal that is based on the Senate bill but moves slightly in the direction of the House. Rep. Archer has responded positively and appears ready to negotiate a deal, notwithstanding Rep. Crane's reluctance. Yesterday, Archer criticized his Senate counterparts, and Rangel today encouraged you to call Lott and urge him to enter a dialogue with House with the purpose of reaching an agreement now for inclusion in one of the final bills.

Even if Lott agreed to discuss such a deal, there is little time left to work it through the legislative process. However, we believe it is worth the effort to give it one more try, if only to make it clear where the blame lies for the bill's failure to move (Rangel reports that Sen. Lott may have expected a call back from you after your last conversation on this topic). Moreover, passage of the bill would help us in our strategy to win developing country support for our agenda at the Seattle WTO Ministerial.

On the other hand, you should be aware that Reps. Gephardt and Levin are opposed to moving the bill at this time. Gephardt has always been opposed, but not vigorously so. And Levin had been quite supportive but has changed his view on timing in the aftermath of the China accession agreement. In addition, Lott may seek to play off his cooperation in this matter against a concession by you on some other. That said, he should be under some pressure from industry interests close to him to do a deal. US textile manufacturers

actually stand to gain considerably from CBI insofar as the legislation would make their coproduction arrangement with garment assemblers in the region more competitive vis-à-vis China and the Far East. These companies are eager to prepare as soon as possible for the competitive onslaught they anticipate from the elimination of US quotas on Chinese textiles and apparel after 2009 per the recently negotiated accession agreement. They may not want to risk missing an opportunity to improve their competitive position now.

Talking Points

- Want to know where you think we are on Africa/CBI.
- If there is still time, I would like to urge you to work with the House and us to develop a compromise Africa/CBI bill that can pass before the end of the session.
- Rep. Rangel has tabled a proposal that none of us would find perfect but which strikes me as a sensible basis for a discussion about a compromise. Archer seems to be willing to support it.
- Appreciate the help you provided on the Senate floor the other week with this bill. All of us have been working on this bill for the past couple of years. Let's see if we can bring it to closure. I believe you're not that far apart from Rangel.

THE WHITE HOUSE

'99 NOV 18 PM 1:21

WASHINGTON
November 17, 1999

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From Karen Tramontano
Stephanie Streett

Subject Seattle Ministerial

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-24-99

Background

We have been working to put together a schedule for you at the ministerial that demonstrates to a domestic audience the importance of trade to the national economy, local communities and workers. At the same time, your schedule should reflect your dedication to expanding international trade, assisting the least developed countries, and your efforts to put a human face on the global economy. Set out below are several elements of a day or a day and a half schedule that we are recommending for your consideration. We have also attached schedule options so you can decide whether you want leave Seattle Wednesday evening or leave on Thursday morning.

Events for consideration:

Morning event—Message of the Day

1.1.11
The Seattle Ministerial is designating Wednesday, December 1, Agriculture Day. This is the day you will be in Seattle. We are recommending that you begin the day with an event at the Seattle port with family farmers.

The port of Seattle is critical to exporting fresh apples and tree fruit from Washington State. The port has also made significant investments in cold storage facilities to provide interim storage of fruit, frozen fish, frozen potatoes and other products awaiting shipment to Asia and other markets around the world. These facilities are among the most sophisticated in the United States. One third of U.S. Agriculture products are shipped from Seattle.

*Cancel
Tramontano
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11-24-99

We recommend that you visit Terminal 91's chill facility. The facility has been recently expanded and is an indoor/outdoor facility located within the port of Seattle. After touring the facility you will meet with family farmers to talk about trade and agriculture issues and to highlight the WTO Ministerial's launch of the first agricultural round.

☒ Yes ☐ No ☐ Let's Discuss

Afternoon event—Ministerial Lunch:

As a result of Charlene Barshefsky's role, she will be hosting a lunch for the Trade Ministers on Wednesday, December 1. We recommend that you attend the lunch for a brief time and make remarks to the ministers. Additionally, there will be trade ministers that you may have to meet with briefly in "pull-asides" on specific issues e.g. labor, environment, biotech either before or after the lunch.

☒ Yes ☐ No ☐ Let's Discuss

Late afternoon Leaders' event:

There remains a mix of views among your advisors about inviting foreign leaders to attend the ministerial. John, Sandy, Gene and I would like to schedule a conference call with you to discuss this issue. If you conclude that foreign leaders should be invited, we recommend that you host a reception or another similar event facilitated by WTO Secretary General Mike Moore where the discussion would be informal and familiar rather than specifically geared to resolving any negotiating matters.

☒ Yes ☐ No ☐ Let's Discuss

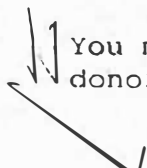
Alternate Late Afternoon or Thursday morning—International organizations event:

If foreign leaders do not attend the Trade Ministerial, or if you decide to stay until Thursday morning, we recommend that you convene a meeting of the international

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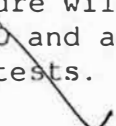
organizations e.g. ILO, WTO, World Bank, UNCTAD, UNEP, IMF, UNDP, UN, MDBs and OECD. This meeting is to promote a dialogue among international organizations about their contribution to "putting a human face" on the global economy and equipping developing countries to share more fully in the benefits of expanded world trade and investment. This meeting would also provide an opportunity to urge the international donor community to strengthen the institutional capacity of developing countries to design and implement policies in areas (biotech, labor, environment, e-commerce) that have a bearing on their ability to capitalize on trade opportunities and translate them into broad gains in living standards for their citizens.

 You may also want to invite a select group of interested donor and beneficiary leaders to come to this meeting.

 Yes No Let's Discuss

Depart Seattle on Wednesday evening

Nearly all of your advisors recommend that you depart Seattle on Wednesday evening. In general, they believe the less time you spend at the ministerial the better. They hope that your early departure will limit the national media's attention on the WTO and as a result limit the media's coverage of the protests.

 Yes No  Let's Discuss

Depart Seattle on Thursday morning

The only advantage of delaying your departure until Thursday morning is you would have more time, if foreign leaders attend the ministerial, to also convene a meeting of the international organizations. (If you want to meet with foreign leaders, convene a meeting of the international organizations and depart Seattle on Wednesday evening, your day would be extremely packed but it could be accomplished).

 Yes No Let's Discuss

OPTION 1WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1999

DOWN UNTIL 10:00 AM

10:00	am	THE PRESIDENT' departs Hotel TBD via motorcade en route Port of Seattle [drive time: tbd]
10:30	am	THE PRESIDENT' arrives Port of Seattle
10:45	am-	HOLD FOR MESSAGE EVENT
12:15	pm	TERMINAL 91 Port of Seattle Remarks: Staff Contact: Karen Tramontano, Thurgood Marshall, Jr. Event Coordinator: Julie Eddy PRESS TBD
12:30	pm	THE PRESIDENT' departs Port of Seattle via motorcade en route Location TBD [drive time: tbd]
12:45	pm	THE PRESIDENT' arrives Location TBD
1:00	pm-	LUNCH WITH TRADE MINISTERS
2:30	pm	LOCATION TBD Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr. Event Coordinator: Julie Eddy PRESS TBD
2:35	pm	THE PRESIDENT' departs Location TBD via motorcade en route Location TBD [drive time: tbd]
2:55	pm	THE PRESIDENT' arrives Location TBD
3:00	pm-	HOLD FOR MEETING WITH FOREIGN LEADERS OR
5:00	pm	INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS LOCATION TBD Staff Contact: Karen Tramontano, Samuel Berger Event Coordinator: Julie Eddy PRESS TBD

November 17, 1999 (6:01 PM)

Header Date

5:00	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Location TBD via motorcade en route Seattle-Tacoma International Airport [drive time: tbd]
5:30	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Seattle-Tacoma International Airport
5:45	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Seattle-Tacoma International Airport via Air Force One en route Andrews Air Force Base [flight time: approximately 4 hours, 30 minutes] [time change: +3 hours]
1:15	am	THE PRESIDENT arrives Andrews Air Force Base
1:30	am	THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews Air Force Base via Marine One en route The White House [flight time: 10 minutes]
1:40	am	THE PRESIDENT arrives The White House
BC/HRC RON		THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON, D.C.

November 17, 1999 (6:01 PM)

OPTION 2WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1999

DOWN UNTIL 10:00 AM

10:00	am	THE PRESIDENT departs Hotel TBD via motorcade en route Port of Seattle [drive time: tbd]
10:30	am	THE PRESIDENT arrives Port of Seattle
10:45	am-	HOLD FOR MESSAGE EVENT
12:15	pm	TERMINAL 91 Port of Seattle Remarks: Staff Contact: Karen Tramontano, Thurgood Marshall, Jr. Event Coordinator: Julie Eddy PRESS TBD
12:30	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Port of Seattle via motorcade en route Location TBD [drive time: tbd]
12:45	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Location TBD
1:00	pm-	LUNCH WITH TRADE MINISTERS
2:30	pm	LOCATION TBD Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr. Event Coordinator: Julie Eddy PRESS TBD
2:35	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Location TBD via motorcade en route Location TBD [drive time: tbd]
2:55	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Location TBD

Header Date

3:00 pm-
5:00 pm

HOLD FOR MEETING WITH FOREIGN LEADERS

LOCATION TBD

Staff Contact: Karen Tramontano, Samuel Berger

Event Coordinator: Julie Eddy

PRESS TBD

BC RON

SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

November 17, 1999 (6:02 PM)

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1999

8:20	am	THE PRESIDENT departs Hotel TBD via motorcade en route Location TBD [drive time: tbd]
8:35	am	THE PRESIDENT arrives Location TBD
8:45	am-	HOLD FOR MEETING WITH INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS LOCATION TBD Remark: Staff Contact: Event Coordinator: Julie Eddy PRESS TBD
10:00	am	
10:00	am	THE PRESIDENT departs Location TBD via motorcade en route Seattle-Tacoma International Airport [drive time: tbd]
10:15	am	THE PRESIDENT arrives Seattle-Tacoma International Airport
10:30	am	THE PRESIDENT departs Seattle-Tacoma International Airport via Air Force One en route Philadelphia, PA [flight time: approximately 4 hours, 30 minutes] [time change: +3 hours]
6:00	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Philadelphia, PA
6:15	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Philadelphia Airport via motorcade en route Pennsylvania Convention Center [drive time: tbd]
6:30	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives Pennsylvania Convention Center
6:30	pm-	TRIBUTE DINNER FOR MAYOR ED RENDELL ROOM TBD Pennsylvania Convention Center Remarks: Staff Contact: Minyon Moore Event Coordinator: Heather Davis PRESS TBD
TBD	pm	

TBD	THE PRESIDENT departs Pennsylvania Convention Center via motorcade en route Philadelphia Airport [drive time: tbd]
TBD	THE PRESIDENT arrives Philadelphia Airport
TBD	THE PRESIDENT departs Philadelphia Airport via Air Force One en route Andrews Air Force Base [flight time: approximately 35 minutes]
TBD	THE PRESIDENT arrives Andrews Air Force Base
TBD	THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews Air Force Base via Marine One en route The White House [flight time: 10 minutes]
TBD	THE PRESIDENT arrives The White House
BC/HRC RON	THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON, D.C.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-24-99

November 11, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA

FROM: GENE SPERLING *Gu*

SUBJECT: REP. KANJORSKI'S ENVIRONMENTAL BOND PROPOSAL

*We need to discuss
this is a way to help the idea -
target bonds to these kind of type areas
let's discuss*

Representative Paul Kanjorski from the 11th district of Pennsylvania has a proposal to use Federal tax-credit bonds, similar to the President's proposed "Better America Bonds," to fund environmental restoration and economic development in twelve counties in Eastern Pennsylvania that have suffered environmental and economic degradation from anthracite coal mining. Kanjorski has discussed his proposal with the President on several occasions, most recently on the new markets trip. The President indicated enthusiasm for the proposal and briefly discussed it with Speaker Hastert.

Kanjorski claims the support of the three other Congressman with districts that would benefit from this proposal (one other Democrat and two Republicans). He has also met with Hastert who, according to Kanjorski, would be receptive to it if we were to propose it.

The way that Kanjorski describes his proposal makes it sound very appealing, in part because the Congressman claims that the costs to the Federal government would be minimal or nonexistent. But a closer analysis of this proposal makes it clear that it would involve a substantial, long-term commitment of Federal government resources for a proposal that suffers from some major design flaws. Secretary Summers and I both have severe reservations about the proposal and do not think that it will be fixable within the framework of the current budget endgame.

My staff and I have communicated some of these reservations to Kanjorski, but the Congressman is very insistent that the President is in favor of this proposal and that he will only take an answer of no from the President himself.

Description of the Kanjorski's Proposal

Like Better America Bonds, this proposal would allow qualified borrowers (State or local governments or other entities) to issue tax-credit bonds. The maturity of these bonds would be 30 years, as compared to 15 years for Better America Bonds. The Federal government would pay the interest on these bonds in the form of tax credits. The proposal limits the bond issuance to \$1.2 billion with the specific borrowing proposals chosen by the Secretary of the Interior. This money can only be used for qualified borrowing in 12 specific counties in Pennsylvania. The

money can be used for several purposes including: buying, restoring, and redeveloping abandoned mine land, cleaning up waterways, constructing infrastructure, and economic development. The cost would be approximately \$60 million annually for the next thirty years.

Problems with the Proposal

Although it is modeled on the President's Better America Bonds, there are several problems with Congressman Kanjorski's proposal. These include:

- *No cost sharing for States or localities resulting in a "moral hazard" problem.* The design of the proposal would not involve any cost sharing on the part of States, localities or other qualified borrowers. They would be able to invest a fraction of their borrowing in a "sinking fund" that would be used to repay the principal, thus effectively transferring the entire cost – principal and interest – to the Federal government. This could create a "moral hazard" problem where borrowers would benefit from the upside but not pay the full cost of the downside, encouraging them to undertake risky and inefficient projects. The lack of cost sharing also could interfere with incentives to develop the best proposals on the part of States and localities. The design of the proposal also includes substantial risk of arbitrage, whereby States and localities could use their interest free loans to make money, with a potentially large fraction of the money invested outside their communities.
- *Earmarking.* Better America Bonds were designed as a nationwide competition. This has two benefits: (1) it ensures that the resources go to the most needy areas and (2) it stimulates innovation by applicants for the bonds. Given the serious environmental damage from coal mining in Eastern Pennsylvania, this area would be a good candidate for Better America Bonds. It is, however, hard to explain why Pennsylvania and not West Virginia or other similar places should get this assistance. Also, the \$1.2 billion commitment to this area is substantial. (Our Better America bonds proposed allocating \$1.9 billion worth of bonds each year for the next five years.) In making this earmark, it may undermine the Better America Bonds proposal.
- *Long-term commitment.* The proposal would commit approximately \$60 million annually for 30 years to 12 counties in Eastern Pennsylvania. Kanjorski does not have any offsets in mind to pay for this cost. This commitment is probably longer than could be justified by the time necessary to complete reclamation projects, and could undermine the ability of the Federal government to ensure that the money is being used well and to set priorities in the future. (Better America Bonds have a proposed maturity of 15 years.)
- *Weak environmental safeguards.* The environmental safeguards in the proposal are weaker than those contained in Better America Bonds, including the fact that the Environmental Protection Agency has no role in the allocation of the bonds. The legislative language also stipulates relatively weak conditions on the acceptable use of the funds and even allows funds to be used for purposes unrelated to environmental remediation.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1999

Seal
Mr. President,

(I wanted the message, ideas
in showed on the highway -
perhaps the sign of speech itself)

I thought you'd want to read Tony Blair's speech delivered to the Labour Party conference. When I was in London two weeks ago, I discussed at length with his people the new politics of solvency and surplus. The British political situation, in its own way, has reached the point we reached about a year ago. With Gordon Brown's announcement that economic growth was greater than previously predicted and the existence of the surplus revealed, the Labour strategy is proved. Once again, Blair and New Labour have our example to guide them. Blair, as he does in the speech, can claim credit for real accomplishments and use them as a platform. The difficulty, as Jonathan Powell explained to me, is that the Tories are seen as the natural party of government and power, having held it for most of the century. Labour lacks even a progressive theory of history. Their tendency is to see themselves as outsiders and accidental. I suggested to Powell that the conservative periods could be seen as consolidating reform while also reacting against it. New Labour has to be perceived as the latest of the forward movement, a response to new conditions, but also ~~leading~~ ^{bearing} the legitimacy of tradition (more important there). For Labour this would be a break in self-image, away from the hackneyed class struggle model and toward broader progressive ideas. Blair, I think, has figured out ~~how to cast Labour as progressive~~.

We, too, at times, need to explain more often how your presidency fits the progressive American tradition.

in his speech

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Speech by Tony Blair MP, Prime Minister and leader of the Labour Party

Bournemouth, Tuesday 28th September 1999

--- CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY --- CHECK AGAINST DELIVERY ---

Today at the frontier of the new Millennium I set out for you how, as a nation, we renew British strength and confidence for the 21st century; and how, as a Party reborn, we make it a century of progressive politics after one dominated by Conservatives.

A New Britain where the extraordinary talent of the British people is liberated from the forces of conservatism that so long have held them back, to create a model 21st century nation, based not on privilege, class or background, but on the equal worth of all.

And New Labour, confident at having modernised itself, now the new progressive force in British politics which can modernise the nation, sweep away those forces of conservatism to set the people free.

100 years in existence, 22 in power, we have never, ever won a full second term. That is our unfinished business. Let us now finish it and with it finish the Tory Party's chances of doing as much damage in the next century as they've done in this one.

Today's Tory party – the party of fox hunting, Pinochet and hereditary peers: the uneatable, the unspeakable and the unelectable.

There's only one thing you need to know about today's Tory Party.

Clarke and Heseltine: outcasts.

Hague, Widdecombe, Redwood and Portillo in charge.

The only Party that spent two years in hibernation in search of a new image and came back as the Addams family.

Under John Major, it was weak, weak, weak.

Under William Hague, it's weird, weird, weird.

Far right, far out.

But not far enough for some. Like the letter I got last week from a man who said did I know the Tories had been listening to Britain. They can't have been listening too hard, he said. They're still here.

The more useless they get, the more extreme they get.

In the last few months alone, I've been compared to Hitler, Mussolini and Milosevic. Maybe they think I should be indicted for war crimes – the crime of leading the Labour Party into government, and disturbing the natural order of things.

By convention, Prime Ministers start with all the good things their Government has done. I want to start where the British people start: with all we have still to do.

More than 1 million still unemployed.

Schools and hospitals still needing investment.

Pensioners still living in hardship.

People still petrified by crime and drugs.

3 million children still in poverty.

A century of decline, 20 years of Conservative Government still not put to rights. Do you think I don't feel this, in every fibre of my being?

The frustration, the impatience, the urgency, the anger at the waste of lives unfulfilled, hopes never achieved, dreams never realised. And whilst there is one child still in poverty in Britain today, one pensioner in poverty, one person denied their chance in life, there is one Prime Minister and one Party that will have no rest, no vanity in achievement, no sense of mission completed, until they too are free.

X [So I do not claim Britain is transformed. I do say the foundations of a New Britain are being laid.

After decades of Tory boom and bust, it is New Labour which is the party of economic competence today and for that we can be proud; and proud of our Chancellor too.

Indeed, I can stand here today, leader of the Labour Party, Prime Minister, and say to the British people: you have never had it so prudent.

As we think back to 1985, and to Neil Kinnock, wasn't it brilliant yesterday, in this hall of all places, to see a Labour Chancellor, "scuttling" back from Washington to hand out the best economic news in a generation, to his own party's Conference.

650,000 more jobs in the economy, long-term youth unemployment halved and – here's one for us to put back down a few Tory throats – fewer days lost in strikes than any of the 18 years of Tory Government. Who says Labour's not working now?

[All employees with the right to a paid holiday.

[Leave for parents to take time off work for a family crisis.

[And after 100 years of trying, the right for union members to have their union recognised, not on the whim of an employer, but as a democratic right in a fair and free society.

[Maternity grant doubled.

[7 million families with the largest ever rise in Child Benefit Britain has seen.

And I say to Britain's pensioners: I know when you get an extra £100 for every pensioner household this November - not just those on benefits, everyone - it's not the end of your worries, but it's £100 more than you got under any Conservative Government; and they'd take the £100 back off you if they were ever elected again.

THE PRESIDENT

11-24-99

Half-way through one Parliament. Nothing like half-way towards meeting all our goals.

And all around us the challenge of change.

A spectre haunts the world: technological revolution.

10 years ago, a fifteen year old probably couldn't work a computer.

Now he's in danger of living on it.

Over a trillion dollars traded every day in currency markets and with them the fate of nations.

Global finance and Communications and Media. Electronic commerce. The Internet. The science of genetics. Every year a new revolution scattering in its wake, security, and ways of living for millions of people.

These forces of change driving the future:

Don't stop at national boundaries.

Don't respect tradition.

They wait for no-one and no nation.

They are universal.

We know what a 21st century nation needs.

A knowledge-based economy. A strong civic society. A confident place in the world.

Do that and a nation masters the future. Fail and it is the future's victim.

The challenge is how?

The answer is people.

The future is people.

The liberation of human potential not just as workers but as citizens.

Not power to the people but power to each person to make the most of what is within them.

People are born with talent and everywhere it is in chains.

Look at Britain. Great strengths. Great history. English, the language of the new technology. The national creative genius of the British people. But wasted.

The country run for far too long on the talents of the few, when the genius of the many lies uncared for, and ignored.

Fail to develop the talents of any one person, we fail Britain. Talent is 21st century wealth.

Every person liberated to fulfil their potential adds to our wealth.

Every person denied opportunity takes our wealth away.

In the 18th century land was our resource.

In the 19th and 20th century it was plant and capital.

Today it is people.

The cause we have fought for, these 100 years, is no longer simply our cause of social justice.

It is the nation's only hope of salvation.

For how do you develop the talent of all, unless in a society that treats us all equally, where the closed doors of snobbery and prejudice, ignorance and poverty, fear and injustice no longer bar our way to fulfilment.

Not equal incomes. Not uniform lifestyles or taste or culture.

But true equality: equal worth, an equal chance of fulfilment, equal access to knowledge and opportunity.

Equal rights. Equal responsibilities.

* [The class war is over.

] But the struggle for true equality has only just begun.

To the child who goes to school hungry for food, but thirsting for knowledge, I know the talent you were born with, and the frustration you feel that it's trapped inside. We will set your potential free.

To the women free to work, but because they are also mothers, carers, helpers barely know how to get through the day, we will give you the support to set your potential free.

To the 45 year old who came to my surgery a few months ago, scared he'll never work again, I say: you didn't become useless at 45. You deserve the chance to start afresh and we will set your potential free.

And to those who have wealth, but who say that none of it means anything if my children can't play in the park, and my mother daren't go out at night. We share your belief in a strong community. We will set your potential free.

[And it is us, the new radicals, the Labour Party modernised, that must undertake this historic mission. To liberate Britain from the old class divisions, old structures, old prejudices, old ways of working and of doing things, that will not do in this world of change.

] To be the progressive force that defeats the forces of conservatism.

[For the 21st century will not be about the battle between capitalism and socialism but between the forces of progress and the forces of conservatism.

They are what hold our nation back. Not just in the Conservative Party but within us, within our nation.

The forces that do not understand that creating a new Britain of true equality is no more a betrayal of Britain's history than New Labour is of Labour's values.

The old prejudices, where foreign means bad.

Where multi-culturalism is not something to celebrate, but a left-wing conspiracy to destroy their way of life.

Where women shouldn't work and those who do are responsible for the breakdown of the family.

The old elites, establishments that have run our professions and our country too long. Who have kept women and black and Asian talent out of our top jobs and senior parts of Government and the Services. Who keep our bright inner city kids from our best universities. And who still think the House of Lords should be run by hereditary peers in the

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

interests of the Tory Party.

The old order, those forces of conservatism, for all their language about promoting the individual, and freedom and liberty, they held people back. They kept people down. They stunted people's potential. Year after year. Decade after decade.

Think back on some of the great achievements of this century.

To us today, it almost defies belief that people had to die to win the fight for the vote for women. But they did. That battle was a massive, heroic struggle. But why did it need such a fight? Because Tory MPs stood up in the House of Commons and said: "voting is a man's business". And that is why we can be so proud that it is this Labour Party that has more women MPs and more women Ministers than any Government before us until our record is bettered by a future Labour Government.

Look at this Party's greatest achievement. The forces of conservatism, and the force of the Conservative Party, pulled every trick in the book – voting 51 times, yes 51 times, against the creation of the NHS. One leading Tory, Mr Henry Willink, said at the time that the NHS "will destroy so much in this country that we value", when we knew human potential can never be realised when whether you are well or ill depends on wealth not need.

The forces of conservatism allied to racism are why one of the heroes of the 20th Century, Martin Luther King, is dead.

It's why another, Nelson Mandela, spent the best years of his life in a cell the size of a bed.

And though the fact that Mandela is alive, free and became President, is a sign of the progress we have made: the fact that Stephen Lawrence is dead, for no other reason than he was born black, is a sign of how far we still have to go.

And they still keep opposing progress and justice.

What did they say about the minimum wage? The same as they said right through this century.

They tried the employment argument – it would cost jobs.

They tried the business argument – it would make them bankrupt.

They then used the economic argument – it would cause inflation.

They then resorted to the selfish argument – businesses wouldn't want to pay it.

Well, businesses are paying it. Inflation is low. Unemployment is falling. There are one million job vacancies in the country.

And two million people have had a pay rise because we believe they are worth more than poverty pay.

These forces of conservatism chain us not only to an outdated view of our people's potential but of our nation's potential. What threatens the nation-state today is not change, but the refusal to change in a world opening up, becoming ever more interdependent.

The old air of superiority based on past glory must give way to the ambition to succeed, based on the merit of what Britain stands for today.

For the last half century, we have been torn between Europe and the United States, searching for our identity in the post-Empire world.

I pose this simple question: is our destiny with Europe or not?

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

*Can come to
a great history
1/2*

If the answer is no, then we should leave. But we would leave an economic union in which 50 per cent of our trade is done, on which millions of British jobs depend. Our economic future would be uncertain.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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But what is certain is that we would not be a power.

Britain would no longer play a determining part in the future of the continent to which we belong. That would be the real end of one thousand years of history.

We can choose this destiny. But we should do it with our eyes open and our senses alert, not blindfold and dulled by the incessant propaganda of Europhobes.

The single currency is, of course, a decision that must be dependent on the economic conditions; and on the consent of the British people in a referendum.

If we believe our destiny is with Europe, then let us leave behind the muddling through, the hesitation, the half-heartedness which has characterised British relations with Europe for forty years and play our part with confidence and pride giving us the chance to defeat the forces of conservatism, economic and political, that hold Europe back too.

There is no choice between Europe and America.

Britain is stronger with the US today because we are strong in Europe.

Britain has the potential to be the bridge between Europe and America and for the 21st century the narrow-minded isolationism of right-wing Tories should not block our path to fulfilling it.

The nation-state is changing.

The Tory policy on devolution left them without a single seat anywhere in Scotland and Wales. Delivering our promise of a Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly has strengthened the UK not weakened it, and now having defeated the force of conservatism in granting devolution, let us continue to defeat the separatism which is just the forces of conservatism by another name.

And don't let the forces of conservatism stop devolution in Northern Ireland too.

Those who are addicted to violence. Those who confuse any progress with selling out. They shouldn't determine Northern Ireland's future.

Walk through Belfast. No armed soldiers.

Drive through it. No road blocks.

In the last year, the first time in 30 years, not a single member of the security forces killed. 1996, 8,000 plastic bullets fired. This year 99.

Yes, there is violence and any violence is unacceptable.

But don't throw away all that has been achieved.

And I ask the Conservative Party: we supported you when you were in Government; don't make our task harder now because that would be the real betrayal of the children of Northern Ireland.

It would be comforting to think the forces of conservatism were only Tories. But wrong.

There were forces of conservatism who said changing Clause 4 would destroy the Labour Party, when in truth it was critical to our renewal.

Who said a referendum on devolution was a ploy to stop it happening, when I knew it was the only way to make it happen.

Who said that making young people take a job that was offered to them was a denial of social justice, when our attack on youth unemployment is the route to social justice.

The Third Way is not a new way between progressive and conservative politics.

It is progressive politics distinguishing itself from conservatism of left or right.

New Labour must be the new radicals who take on both of them, not just on election day but every day.

People say in our first two years we ran a Tory economic policy. Nonsense. If we had run a Tory economic policy Britain would be in recession by now which is no doubt why they predicted it.

We gave the Bank of England independence.

We cut the borrowing.

We cut unemployment. We are at long last reforming welfare, making work pay more than benefit for hard-working families through the Working Families Tax Credit.

They would scrap each and every one of these reforms.

Slowly the Tory general election strategy is emerging.

To 2 million people given a pay rise through the minimum wage. Tory pledge 1: we'll cut it.

To 1.5 million families helped by the working families tax credit. Tory pledge 2: we'll scrap it.

To 250,000 young people getting through the New Deal, Tory pledge 3: you'll go back on the dole.

I say: roll on the next General Election.

Our reforms are why we are spending £4bn less on interest payments this year.

Saving £2bn by cutting unemployment.

Why, thanks to economic growth, billions of pounds of wealth has been created, not lost in Tory boom and bust.

And as a result, the next three years show the biggest ever investment in schools and hospitals. Not just one year. But the year after and the year after that.

And, if we carry on running this New Labour economic policy I can tell you today we will continue to get more money into schools and hospitals in a way we can sustain year on year on year. We are rewriting some of the traditional rules of politics.

Now after a century of antagonism, economic efficiency and social justice are finally working in partnership together. We are demonstrating that it is possible to cut poverty and run the economy well. At last our historic reputation for compassion is being matched with a hard won reputation for economic competence. From now on people will vote Labour with their head as well as their heart.

The political landscape of Britain has changed forever.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SET

11-24-99

That's why Prudence's chastity belt stays on, even for the Liberal Democrats.

And then we open up the UK economy.

Open it up to electronic commerce, so we cut the cost of buying and selling.

Open it up to competition so we can stop the consumer being ripped off.

And private capital alongside public investment. In transport, to read some of the papers you would think John Prescott had created Britain's transport problems. Thanks to him, and the new Strategic Rail Authority, the next 10 years will see the largest investment in the railways for 100 years. Let's be honest. When it comes to transport we are all the forces of conservatism. But the real anti-car policy is staying as we are.

Let us take on the forces of conservatism in education, too, the greatest liberator of human potential there is.

No more nursery vouchers.

No return to 11+.

No freeze on student numbers in our universities.

No more Assisted Places Scheme.

Not the right. But not the old Left either: no tolerance of failing LEAs.

No truce on failing schools.

No pupils condemned to failure.

We owe it to every child to unleash their potential. They are of equal worth. They deserve an equal chance.

A failed education is a life sentence on a child.

If we are to succeed in the knowledge economy, we need – as parents, as teachers, as a country – to get a whole new attitude to learning.

What other country in the world sees being "too clever by half" as a fault?

In today's world, there is no such thing as too clever. The more you know, the further you'll go.

The forces of conservatism, the elite, have held us back for too long.

Why is it only now that we are getting nursery places for all three and four year olds?

Why has it taken this government to realise that 5, 6 and 7 year olds need that extra attention that smaller classes give them?

Why, when we have known all our lives the importance of the 3 Rs, is it only now that we have put in place the literacy and numeracy strategies to get those basics taught properly? And look at the results for 11 year olds: maths up 10 per cent, reading up five per cent, a tribute to our children, to their teachers and to David Blunkett.

Why has it taken this government to set about ending the culture of failure in our inner city comprehensives? Doubling the number of specialist schools; creating 1,000 beacon schools; every run down school getting help with buildings, equipment, facilities from the £5bn modernisation programme: LEAs with a track record of failure taken over and run by people with a track record of success.

Why is it only now, we have lifted the cap on student numbers and 100,000 more will go to university in the next 2 years, 700,000 more to further education. So today I set a target of 50 per cent of young adults going into higher education in the next century.

Why if education is the key to success do we allow so many children to leave school at 16 when we should be doing all we can to get them to stay on. Today we are announcing a smartcard to offer all 16-18 year olds who stay in education cut price deals at shops, in theatres and cinemas and on trains and buses.

Only now can this happen because there is a Labour Government that cares about educating the many and a Labour Party with the courage to reform the system to do it.

And critical to reform are our teachers. I appeal to them.

You do a great job in our schools. We know how important it is for you to work as a team. But if we are to get the real step change in your pay you and we both want, we have to link it to performance. We have to raise standards, and we have to remove those who really cannot do the job.

And if a Head Teacher transforms a school and so transforms the life chances of our children, aren't they worth as much as a good doctor, banker or lawyer?

In 10 years we will have transformed our schools. And our NHS too.

And I know the impatience here is at its highest. After all, we created the NHS. It has to be us that rebuilds it.

And yes it needs money. And yes, the first two years were tough.

But the money is now starting. And money is not all it needs.

A predecessor of mine famously said she wanted to be able to go into the hospital of her choice, "on the day I want, at the time I want, with the doctor I want".

That was Margaret Thatcher's argument for going private.

I want to go to the hospital of my choice, on the day I want, at the time I want. And I want it on the NHS.

I say in all frankness to the BMA. You want our reforms to slow down. I want them to speed up.

Already: 4,000 more student nurses and midwives.

4,000 more nurses returning to nursing.

27 new hospitals being built.

20 million people now covered by NHS Direct.

And the dreaded Tory internal market finally banished for good.

And over the next 3 years:

There will be 7000 more doctors 15,000 more nurses 37 hospitals built

The whole country covered by NHS Direct.

Every casualty department that needs it refurbished.

And waiting times and waiting lists lower at the end of our time in Government than at the beginning.

And will that be enough?

No. But in time, if we are returned to power:

We will have booked appointments for everyone.

Walk-in NHS centres in all our major towns and cities.

Primary care surgeries that offer you all services on one site.

And everyone with the chance to go back on the NHS to see their dentist.

And just to show you it's not impossible. Today I can tell you: we will start next year with booked appointments for cancer and cataract patients.

And working with the British Dental Association, everyone within the next 2 years will be able once again to see an NHS dentist just by phoning NHS Direct.

So much more to do. But it will be done.

We aren't just workers. We are citizens proud to say there is such a thing as society and proud to be part of it.

Yet, today, we feel our social fabric torn.

Respect for law and order broken.

My grandfather's generation was strong on values. Respect for people. Good manners. Horror of crime. But it was a generation also of deference and of prejudices: racial, sexual, social.

The modern world is different. There is less prejudice, less deference, but also less respect.

It is time to move beyond the social indifference of right and left, libertarian nonsense masquerading as freedom.

This generation wants a society free from prejudice, but not from rules, from order.

A common duty to provide opportunity for all.

An individual duty to be responsible towards all.

There will be a new Crime Bill in The Queen's Speech.

With the new DNA technology we have the chance to match any DNA at any scene of crime with those on police records. Already thousands of criminals are being caught that way. But less than a fifth are on record.

I can announce we will provide the extra resources for a database where every known offender will have their DNA recorded, and evidence from any scene of crime will be matched with it.

And I saw that we said on drugs and new powers was attacked by civil liberties groups.

I believe in civil liberties too:

The liberty of parents to drop their kids off at school, without worrying they're dropping them straight into the arms of drug dealers.

The liberty of pensioners to live without fear of getting their door kicked in by someone thieving to pay for their habit.

The liberty of young people to live a full life, not die young, the victim of the most chilling, evil industry the world has to confront.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99



Civil liberty to me means just that: the liberty to live in a civil society founded on rights and responsibilities, and in dealing with the drugs menace, that is the society we can help to build.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

So when I speak of the need for a new moral purpose and some on the right and left rise up and say this is nothing to do with politics, leave it all to the bishops, I tell you these people know exactly what I'm talking about.

That's what I mean by fulfilling our potential as citizens as well as workers.

We don't live by material goods alone.

* That's why today we set out more plans to boost arts, culture, competitive sports in schools. It's why John Prescott puts his heart and soul in the battle to protect our environment, so we leave to our children a safer, healthier planet than the one into which they were born.

Yes we are three times richer than our grandparents. But are we three times happier?

Ours is a moral cause, best expressed through how we see our families and our children.

To our children, we are irreplaceable.

If anything happened to me, you'd soon find a new leader. But my kids wouldn't find a new Dad.

There is no more powerful symbol of our politics than the experience of being on a maternity ward.

Seeing two babies side by side. Delivered by the same doctors and midwives. Yet two totally different lives ahead of them.

One returns with his mother to a bed and breakfast that is cold, damp, cramped. A mother who has no job, no family to support her, sadder still – no-one to share the joy and triumph of the new baby ... a father nowhere to be seen. That mother loves her child like any other mother. But her life and her baby's life is a long, hard struggle. For this child, individual potential hangs by a thread.

The second child returns to a prosperous home, grandparents desperate to share the caring, and a father with a decent income and an even larger sense of pride. They're already thinking about schools, friends she can make, new toys they can buy. Expectations are sky high, opportunities truly limitless.

A child is a vulnerable witness on life.

A child sees her father hit her mother.

A child runs away from home. A child takes drugs. A child gives birth at 12.

If we are in politics for one thing – it is to make sure that all children are given the best chance in life. That the moment they are born, their potential and individuality can sparkle.

That every child can grow up with high hopes, certainty, love, security and the attention of their parents.

Strong families cherished by a strong community.

* That is our national moral purpose. So when I pledge to end child poverty in 20 years, I do so not just as a politician, but as a father.

Can I tell you something? And there are only four other people alive who know this – it's actually a bit odd being Prime Minister.

Everyone has views about you, and no hesitation giving them to you.

You read things about yourself, on a daily basis, that are a complete mystery.

And you find that a lot of strange new people want to be your friend, and lots of other strange people want to be your enemy.

We're only flesh and blood in the end. Sometimes can't sleep. Worry about the job. Worry about the kids. Worry about growing old. Worry about interest rates going up. Worry about Newcastle going down.

Then you've got these big worries – when's the health money really going to make a difference? Why are there still people sleeping in doorways? Can't we turn round failing schools more quickly? How many of our pensioners will go cold this winter?

It's a big job. A lonely job. The red boxes really do come at you day and night, papers to read, decisions to make. Sometimes life and death decisions. Often decisions, after all the advice and the consultation, that only the Prime Minister can make.

So it's a pressure. But it's a privilege too. There is no greater privilege than serving your country. And there is no greater purpose than realising your potential.

I was lucky. A good education, a loving home, a great family, strong beliefs, a great Party in which to give them expression.

Everyone has talent. Everyone has something to offer. And this country needs everyone to make a contribution.

You'll see me on the TV, getting on and off planes, meeting Presidents and Prime Ministers, Kings and Queens.

It's all part of the job. But the part that matters most to me is getting my sleeves rolled up and pushing through the changes to our country that will give to others by right, what I achieved by good fortune.

Let me read to you the words of someone else who thought ours was a moral purpose, and said this about the people in our Party.

"The men and women who are in it are not working for themselves; they know perfectly well that all they can do is but to create the beginning of a condition of things which will one day bring peace and happiness and freedom and a fuller life for those who are to come after us."

Our very first leader, Keir Hardie.

But 100 years ago, the circumstances of our birth and our political childhood was such we never realised our potential.

Born in separation from other progressive forces in British politics, out of the visceral need to represent the interests of an exploited workforce, our base, our appeal, our ideology was too narrow.

People were made to feel we wanted to hold them back, limit their aspirations, when in truth the very opposite was our goal.

We were chained by our ideology.

We thought we had eternal doctrines.

When they are in truth eternal values.

Solidarity, social justice, the belief not that society comes before

individual fulfilment but that it is only in a strong society of others that the individual will be fulfilled. That it is these bonds of connection that make us not citizens of one nation but members of one human race.

And wouldn't Keir Hardie have been proud when under Britain's leadership, this week we cancelled the debt of those African nations deep in poverty so that their people too can realise their potential, have the hopes and dreams for their children we want for ours?

And wouldn't Clem Attlee and Ernie Bevin have applauded when in Kosovo, faced with racial genocide in Europe for the first time since they fought fascism in the Second World War, it was Britain and this Government that helped defeat it and set one million people free back to their homeland?

And wouldn't it bring a smile to the faces of all Labour leaders to see how confident our Party is today?

Today we stand here, more confident than at any time during our 100 years, more confident because we are winning the battle of ideas; we are putting our values into practice; we are the only political force capable of liberating the potential of our people.

Knowing what we have to do and knowing how to do it.

Arrayed against us: the forces of conservatism, the cynics, the elites, the establishment. Those who will live with decline.

Those who yearn for yesteryear.

Those who just can't be bothered.

Those who prefer to criticise rather than do.

On our side, the forces of modernity and justice. Those who believe in a Britain for all the people. Those who fight social injustice, because they know it harms our nation.

Those who believe in a society of equality, of opportunity and responsibility. Those who have the courage to change. Those who have confidence in the future.

The battleground, the new Millennium.

Our values are our guide.

Our job is to serve.

Our workplace, the future.

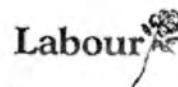
Let us step up the pace. Be confident. Be radical.

To every nation a purpose.

To every Party a cause.

And now, at last, Party and nation joined in the same cause for the same purpose: to set our people free.

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To: President
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BY MORTIMER B. ZUCKERMAN/EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

India at center stage

If only its economy could equal the success of its democracy



One of the greatest events of our times is taking place, and the world barely notices. The largest democracy in history—India—is counting the votes of close on 370 million of its citizens, roughly the number of voters in the United States, Canada, and Europe combined. It is a fair bet that the final results on October 10 will also receive scant attention. We have, it seems, eyes only for China. This is shortsighted.

Both China and India are vast commercial markets, each with about a billion people or more, growing at about 6 percent per year. India is a working democracy, with the kind of decentralized federal system necessary to govern large market economies, along with a highly evolved system of law and widespread use of a language—English—that the West understands. China, by contrast, is increasingly unreliable politically and may well be spinning out of control. Yet China receives 20 times more foreign direct investment than India—and far more political attention.

Pride of place. As Mahatma Gandhi once put it, India is “a house with all the doors and windows open.” It is pluralistic and diverse, with 35 different languages each spoken by more than a million people, yet in the years since independence it has managed to create a sense of national identity. It is an ancient civilization, and it is right to be proud of its democracy. It would be formidable indeed if it could match its political success with a similar achievement in its economic policies. In fact, it has regressed: Its share of world gross domestic product has fallen from 2 percent to 1.4 percent in the past 50 years. It has mass illiteracy, poverty, disease, and hunger.

Its defense of these failures is the democratic system that attracts such admiration. A democracy, the argument goes, cannot push through economic reforms with the speed and zeal of the more authoritarian East Asia tigers. But it was not really democracy that delayed India’s advance. It was the hangover from the nostrums of state socialism that became so fashionable in the wake of the Great (capitalist) Depression, the apparent success of the So-

viet five-year plans, and the genuine success of the government-directed Marshall Plan in Europe. India adopted an economic system that limited the growth of the private sector. It was allowed to expand only with government permission, rarely granted. Competition and rational business practices were frustrated by labor laws and job protection. Incompetence was masked by subsidies. Trade was stunted by quotas and high tariffs. These policies rewarded failure and punished success, permitted the politicians and bureaucrats to become parasites, and depressed

the energy, resilience, and talent of the Indian people.

Only the threat of bankruptcy in 1991 made possible limited reforms and pushed the “Hindu rate of growth” from 3.5 percent a year to 6 percent. Should the Indians extend reforms and deregulate the economy, they could well grow at about 8 or 9 percent a year.

They will need support and encouragement to do this. The sad truth is that the world began to pay more attention to India only after

it exploded the nuclear bomb last year. The United States reflexively imposed sanctions, despite the fact that India is prepared to join the nonproliferation regimes. India’s record of responsible international conduct should separate it from rogue states such as Iraq and North Korea. The rationale for sanctions—hurting the innocent as the only way to punish the guilty—makes no sense when a country is contending with threats from Pakistan and China.

The expansion of U.S. involvement with India is long overdue. It would serve our common interests in controlling the Islamic terrorism that now stretches from the Caucasus through Afghanistan and Pakistan and in influencing a more constructive policy from Iran. India, for its part, must continue to liberate the energies of its remarkable people. The new government will have the political stability necessary to disabuse the notion that Indians are incapable of greater control over their future. They well know Mahatma Gandhi’s great notion that there is no easy walk to freedom.

The sad truth is that
the world began to
pay attention only
after India exploded
the bomb.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-20-99

November 20, 1999

MR. PRESIDENT:

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Attached are the following weekly reports:

- (A) Weekly Economic Briefing
- (B) Update on Global Markets/Interest Rates and Stock Prices
- (C) OSTP
- (D) Intergovernmental
- (E) Cabinet Affairs

11-24-99

Tabs C + D

not returned.

S.C.

also Tab E pages 1-3 missing

Lisel Loy

TAB A : Page 7 - Sperling, Reed, HRC, Podesta
Entire report - Bailey, Podesta

TAB E : Page 7 - Reed, Podesta (not all W)
Entire report - Marshall, Podesta
(missing pages 1-3)

WEEKLY ECONOMIC BRIEFING OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

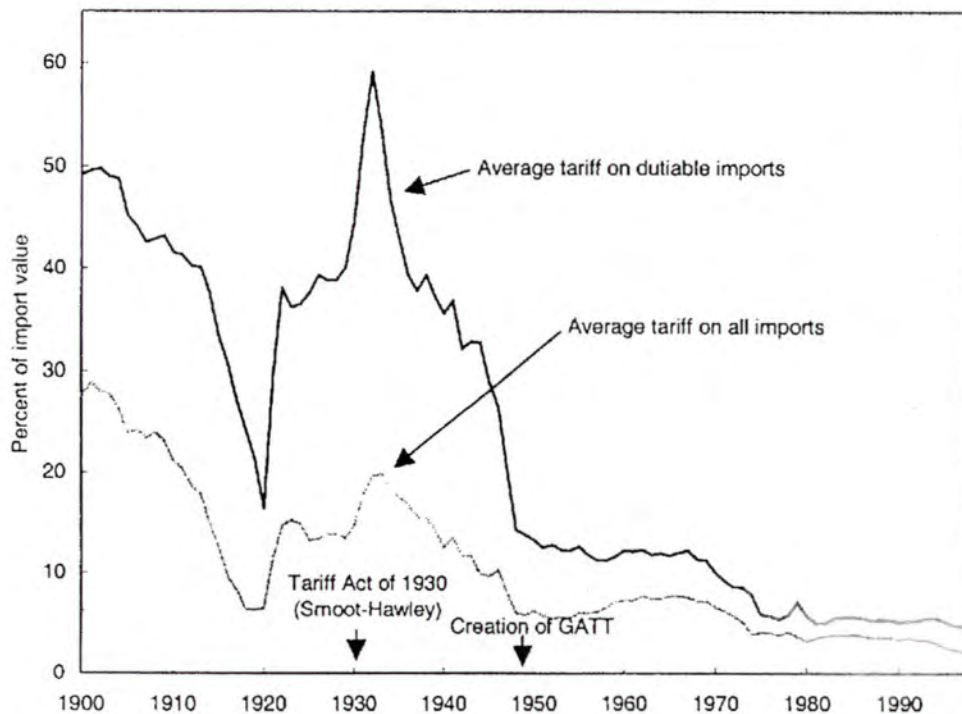
Prepared by the Council of Economic Advisers
with the assistance of the Office of the Vice President

November 19, 1999

*Copied
Bailey
Podesta
(entire report)*

CHART OF THE WEEK

U.S. Tariff Rates, 1900-1998



Until the rounds of multilateral trade negotiations after World War II, U.S. tariff rates were quite high. Tariffs on dutiable imports reached almost 60 percent under the Smoot-Hawley tariff act. By 1998, however, the average tariff rate was 4.7 percent on dutiable imports and 2.0 percent on all imports.

CONTENTS

SPECIAL ANALYSES

Who Is the Most Open of Them All?	1
Y2K Effects in Financial Markets.....	3

ARTICLE

Patents and Innovation in the On-line World	5
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DEPARTMENTS

Business, Consumer, and Regional Roundup.....	7
International Roundup.....	8
Releases	9
U.S. Economic Statistics	10
Financial and International Statistics.....	11



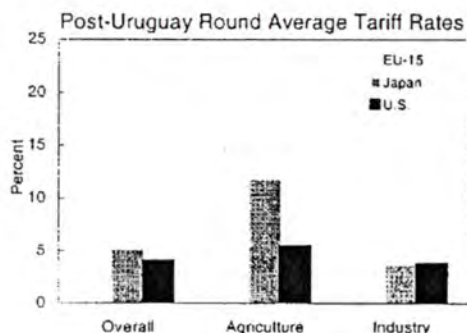
"Any intellectual property yet, honey?"

SPECIAL ANALYSIS

Who Is the Most Open of Them All?

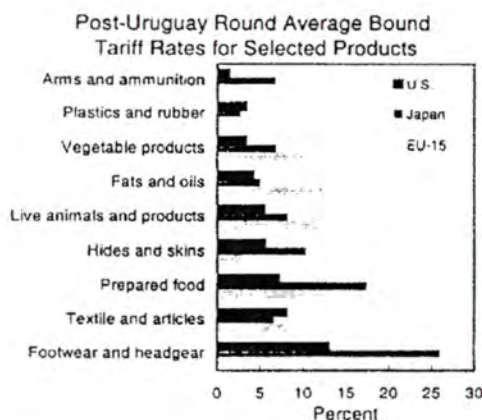
Through successive GATT/WTO rounds, world tariffs have been reduced from an average of 40 percent in 1947 to roughly 4 percent today. However, tariffs still exhibit wide variation, both across countries and across sectors within a country. One motivation for U.S. participation in negotiating lower tariffs at the WTO is that, on average, our rates are lower than those of our major trading partners. It also turns out that although we have a few products with very high tariff rates, we have fewer high tariffs than Japan or the European Union.

Uruguay Round commitments. At the WTO, the United States has committed to "binding" its overall MFN tariff rates to an average of 4.1 percent. This



compares with 5.1 percent for Japan and 7.4 percent for the EU (see upper chart). These differences are due mainly to the higher protection accorded to agricultural products elsewhere: 19.5 percent in the EU and 11.7 percent in Japan, compared with the much lower 5.5 percent in the United States. Rates for industry (manufacturing products) are much more uniform.

Highly protected sectors. The lower chart compares the average tariff rates for several product groups, ranked by the degree of protection received in the United States. The footwear industry is the most protected U.S. sector, with an



average rate of 13 percent for the combined footwear, and headgear product group. While this exceeds the EU rate of 8 percent, it is much lower than the Japanese average of 26 percent. The textile and apparel industry, another highly protected sector in the United States, has an average tariff of 8.0 percent, similar to the average for the EU (7.9 percent) and above that for Japan (6.6 percent).

Distribution of tariff rates. As averages may conceal as well as reveal, it is also useful to examine the dispersion of tariff rates. Out of roughly 10,000 tariff rates recorded for each group of countries, 66 percent of the U.S. tariffs are 5 percent or lower. By contrast, 54 percent of EU tariffs and 59 percent of Japanese tariffs are 5 percent or under. While both the EU and the United States have 98 percent of

their rates at or below 20 percent, only 94 percent of Japanese rates lie in this range.

Who has the highest of them all? The United States actually has a few products whose tariff rates exceed any in Japan or the EU. Seven tobacco products have rates above 300 percent, and five peanut products have rates over 100 percent. The highest EU rate is 89 percent (also for a tobacco product) while the highest Japanese rate is 60 percent. However, the United States has fewer of these high-rate categories than either the EU or Japan. While the United States has only 170 categories with rates between 20 and 60 percent, the Europeans have 242 such categories and the Japanese 514.

Tariff peaks are costly. From a purely economic perspective, tariff-induced economic costs rise with the square of the tariff rates, as a rough rule of thumb. Thus a 2 percent tariff is four times as inefficient, and a 3 percent tariff is nine times as inefficient as a 1 percent tariff. Because businesses and firms make production decisions based on price signals, distorting prices by putting 10 percent tariffs on some, but not all, products is probably more inefficient than applying an across-the-board 5 percent rate.

Possible benefits. While economic arguments point to evening out tariff peaks, there may nonetheless be important political reasons for preserving them. Granting high protection to a few politically sensitive sectors may allow more tariff reductions in other sectors, resulting not only in lower overall protection, but also in greater economic benefits.

SPECIAL ANALYSIS

Y2K Effects in Financial Markets

Financial sector disruptions both here and abroad have been a central concern related to the coming century date change. The smooth and efficient operation of financial markets and the banking sector relies on the extensive use of computers for record keeping, financial accounting, and electronic transactions. Studies by the Federal Reserve and the President's Council on Year 2000 Conversion report that federally insured financial institutions are very well-prepared for the year 2000 date change. Data from banks and financial markets provide additional information on the preparations underway and the magnitude of anticipated Y2K-related disruptions to the financial system.

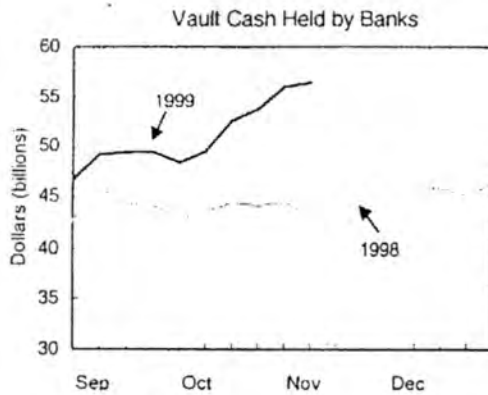
Year-end interest rate indicators. One measure of expected Y2K disruptions is the premium lenders receive for providing funds around the end of the year. This is measured in the chart by the difference between the rate on futures contracts in one important market for deposits running from mid-December to mid-January



and the average of the rate on contracts running from mid-November to mid-December 1999 and the rate on contracts running from mid-January to mid-February 2000. The spread on year-end 1999 contracts has been running well above the spread on comparable year-end 1998 contracts at comparable times a year ago and reached a peak of 120 basis points in October. Partly as a result of Fed actions to assure markets that ample

liquidity will be available at year-end, and partly as a result of a general easing of concerns regarding Y2K-related risks to financial markets, this spread has fallen to about 65 basis points. Other comparable year-end premiums (on fed funds futures and Treasury repurchase agreements) are even smaller. Evidently, market participants generally expect that Y2K disruptions will have only minor repercussions on financial markets.

Banks are building up stockpiles of vault cash. In addition to its role in soothing concerns over year-end liquidity, the Federal Reserve has also acted to ensure that sufficient quantities of cash are available to the public at year-end. It is widely believed that many people intend to withdraw abnormally large amounts of cash near the end of the year as a precaution against Y2K-related failures at banks and ATMs. In anticipation of this rise in demand for cash, the Fed increased the value of its order for currency through September by over 50 percent from the previous year. It has also implemented measures making it easier for banks to order and take delivery of cash. Starting in September, banks began building up their holdings of vault cash, which now stand about 30 percent



higher than at the same time last year (see chart). One of the reasons this build-up started so early is that armored carriers are normally in short supply during the Christmas shopping season. So far, however, public holdings of currency are running at normal levels. Evidently, the public plans to wait until the last minute to get its Y2K cash.

Conclusion. Indications from banks and financial markets suggest that the combined efforts by government agencies and private financial institutions to prepare for Y2K have been successful overall. Financial markets appear to expect relatively minor century-date change disruptions.

ARTICLE

Patents and Innovation in the On-line World

Three recent lawsuits raise the question of how Internet-based companies' ability to patent their business processes would affect on-line competition.

Background. On October 13, priceline.com sued Microsoft for infringing on its patent for a sales mechanism that allows buyers to submit price bids to sellers for airline tickets and other products. Then, on October 21, Amazon.com sued barnesandnoble.com for infringing on its patent for a purchasing method that allows customers to buy products with a single mouse click. Finally, on October 22, Trilogy Software alleged that CarsDirect.com infringed on its patent for a method that allows shoppers to customize their purchases by choosing among a variety of options. These companies might have decided to bring their suits in any case, but the legal environment may also have changed following an appeals court decision last year that some commentators have interpreted as possibly making it easier to patent business processes.

The economics of patents. An Internet company would want to patent a business practice for the same reason that a pharmaceutical company would want to patent a new drug—to gain a competitive advantage. Moreover, without some protection against competitors' simply appropriating an innovation, companies would have little incentive to invest in R&D. Society's decision to offer patent protection involves a trade-off between the costs of granting temporary monopoly power and the benefits from stimulating more innovation. Patents are inappropriate in cases where the costs clearly outweigh the benefits. For example, "natural laws," such as the laws of physics, are not patentable. On economic grounds, this would be justified to the extent that they are so inextricably embedded in a wide variety of innovations that the costs of their being monopolized would most likely be huge. Finer gradations than simply granting or denying a patent are also possible (for example, restricting the scope of a patent based on the novelty of the innovation). Once again, the economic decision is whether the benefits of encouraging innovation outweigh the costs of monopolization.

The case for on-line business process patents. Five years ago, no one sold products on-line. The first electronic commerce companies had to adapt standard business practices like the use of credit cards to the on-line environment. But they also had to develop new solutions to new problems. Amazon.com, for example, developed its patented, streamlined purchasing process, because it believed that it was losing sales by requiring customers to enter billing and credit card information with each purchase. However, such investment may be difficult to protect from imitators without patent protection. One reason is that imitation may be easier in cyber space than it is in the physical world, where other barriers, such as start-up costs, can provide protection even without a patent. For example, the New York Times invested \$350 million for a printing press to print the first

page of the newspaper in color. On-line, the ability to display color graphics is an integrated part of web browsers like Netscape's Navigator and Microsoft's Explorer.

The case against on-line business patents. Ironically, the case for limiting the patenting of on-line business processes draws on many of the same features of e-commerce as the case for expanding the scope of such patents. The fact that all on-line business practices are new means that a large number are potentially patentable. Restricting access to these innovations could seriously hamper the on-line world's famously frenetic pace of innovation and growth and might provide too great an advantage to the early holders of broad patents. In the extreme, it could amount to the physical equivalent of building a fast food restaurant while having to pay one party for the use of a drive-through window, someone else for incorporating a playground, and another for the very idea of running a fast food restaurant.

Finally, even though conventional barriers to entry like start-up costs may be low, the on-line world may have barriers of its own. One might be the importance of reputation. As the number of processes for facilitating sales (such as 1-click shopping) grows, the job of an on-line merchant may well become amalgamating components so as to make accessing the merchant's core product easier. The use of specific processes will become less important than having a reputation for providing an easily accessible site. Gaining a reputation for being the first to develop and incorporate new services might provide a powerful incentive for research and development even in the absence of patent protection.

Conclusion. On-line companies are looking to protect their investments in developing innovative business practices. The challenge for policymakers is to determine whether the unique characteristics of the on-line world call for striking a balance between the costs of granting a temporary monopoly and the gains from stimulating greater innovation that is different from the balance that is embodied in current patent law and practice.

11-29-99

BUSINESS, CONSUMER, AND REGIONAL ROUNDUP

FCC Issues High-Speed Internet Access Decision. Yesterday, the Federal Communications Commission adopted rules to promote competition in providing high-speed Internet access by directing local telephone companies to share their telephone lines with other access providers. This decision will enable competitive carriers to provide Digital Subscriber Line (DSL)-based services over the same telephone lines simultaneously used by the incumbent phone company for basic telephone service, a technique referred to as "line-sharing." Incumbents are already using line sharing technology to offer basic telephone service and DSL services over the same line. Now customers can use an alternative provider of high-speed Internet access without having to purchase a second line. The FCC's Order is intended to ensure that as many companies as possible will be able to deploy new technologies on a faster, more cost-effective basis, and should benefit residential and small business customers.

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Lending to Minority Home Buyers Is up, but So Are Denials. Home-purchase lending to low-income and minority households has expanded faster than lending to other borrowers in recent years, according to a new Federal Reserve study. For example, the number of conventional (non-government backed) home-purchase loans extended to low-income borrowers increased by 75 percent between 1993 and 1998, compared with a 52 percent rise among upper-income borrowers. At the same time, however, an increasing proportion of mortgage applicants, including low-income and minority applicants, have been denied. The study concludes that increased lending for subprime and (especially) manufactured-home mortgages plays a key role in explaining both the increased availability of credit to lower-income borrowers and the recent rise in denial rates for conventional home-purchase loans. (Subprime mortgages are those that exceed the level of credit risk that the government-sponsored enterprises Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac are willing to accept; manufactured homes are assembled in a factory and transported to the purchaser's site.) These mortgages are oriented toward lower-income and relatively less-creditworthy buyers and thus tend to be characterized by higher denial rates. Such mortgages were 14 percent of all conventional home-purchase mortgages in 1998, up from 5 percent in 1993.

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EITCs Spread to States and Now to Counties. Last month, Montgomery County, Maryland, enacted what appears to be the first county "EITC" in the nation—a refundable tax credit equal to 10 percent of the Federal EITC. Eight states currently have refundable credits (Colorado, Kansas, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York, Wisconsin, and Vermont) and three states have non-refundable credits (Iowa, Oregon, and Rhode Island). Seven of these 11 states have enacted or expanded their state credits since 1997. Most state credits range in generosity from 5 percent to 27 percent of the Federal EITC, although some offer higher credits in certain circumstances. Families in Wisconsin and Minnesota, for example, may be eligible for credits of up to 43 percent and 46 percent, respectively, of the Federal EITC. States finance their credits mainly through general funds, although states can use their TANF block grant to cover a portion of the cost of refundable credits.

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INTERNATIONAL ROUNDUP

ILO Concludes That Child Labor Can Be Reduced. In a recent report on the achievements of the International Program for the Elimination of Child Labor (IPEC), the International Labor Organization suggests that eliminating child labor is a feasible objective. Major accomplishments of the IPEC include introducing an innovative process of workplace monitoring along with social protection for affected children and their families, intensifying efforts to target the worst forms of child labor, and expanding IPEC in Africa. The report estimates that 130,000 working children directly benefited from the program during 1998-99, including 16 percent who were withdrawn from work or trafficking, 11 percent who were removed from hazardous working conditions, and 20 percent who went into the formal education system. One notable success was a workplace monitoring system introduced in the Bangladesh garment industry in 1995, at a time when 43 percent of factories employed children. By 1998, this percentage had fallen to 5 percent. An estimated 250 million children aged 5 to 14 are engaged in economic activities worldwide. Seventy percent are in the agricultural sector, but the worst injury and illness rates are found in construction, mining, and transport.

Assessing Developing Countries' Telecom Reform. Liberalization of telecommunications policies in developing countries since the 1980s has substantially improved industry performance, and the more radical has been the reform, the greater has been the improvement, according to a recent study. The paper notes that a monopoly is likely to exist, at least temporarily, in the early stages of liberalization, and it advises countries to control monopolistic behavior in order to benefit consumers and the national economy. However, good regulation may be too expensive for some countries. Hence, the study recommends that developing nations create joint regional authorities to regulate telephone companies. This approach would allow the regulator to develop specialized expertise at a scale that a lone developing country cannot afford; it would also allow the regulator to use information about technology, costs, and demand in one country to detect inefficiencies in another country.

U.S. Tax Burden Is Low among OECD Countries. New estimates released by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development show that in 1997 the United States continued to have one of the lowest ratios of tax revenues to GDP among OECD countries. Revenues collected at all levels of government were 29.7 percent of GDP in the United States, compared with rates in excess of 45 percent in Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Luxembourg, Belgium, and France. Sweden (51.9 percent) was the lone country whose general government revenue exceeded 50 percent of GDP. Only Mexico, Korea, Turkey, and Japan had tax shares lower than the United States', with Mexico's 16.9 percent the lowest of all. Between 1965 and 1997, revenues as a share of GDP increased from 28 to 42 percent in the European Union 15, compared with a rise from 25 to 28 percent in the North American countries (the United States, Canada, and Mexico).

RELEASES THIS WEEK

U.S. International Trade in Goods and Services

The goods and services trade deficit was \$24.4 billion in September; it was \$23.5 billion in August.

Housing Starts

Housing starts in October were virtually unchanged from September at 1.628 million units at an annual rate. For the first 10 months of 1999, housing starts are 3 percent above the same period a year ago.

Consumer Price Index

The consumer price index increased 0.2 percent in October. Excluding food and energy, consumer prices also rose 0.2 percent.

Industrial Production and Capacity Utilization

The Federal Reserve's index of industrial production increased 0.7 percent in October. Capacity utilization rose 0.3 percentage point to 80.7 percent.

MAJOR RELEASES NEXT WEEK

Advance Durable Shipments and Orders (Tuesday)
Gross Domestic Product (Wednesday)

U.S. ECONOMIC STATISTICS

	1970- 1993	1998	1999:1	1999:2	1999:3
Percent growth (annual rate)					
Real GDP (chain-type)	3.0	4.6	3.7	1.9	4.8
GDP chain-type price index	5.2	1.1	2.0	1.3	1.0
<u>Nonfarm business (NFB) sector:</u>					
Productivity (chain-type)	1.7	3.1	2.7	0.6	4.2
Real compensation per hour:					
Using CPI	1.0	3.9	2.8	1.2	2.2
Using NFB deflator	1.5	4.7	2.9	2.9	4.4

Shares of Nominal GDP (percent)					
Business fixed investment	11.4	12.5	12.6	12.6	12.8
Residential investment	4.5	4.2	4.4	4.5	4.4
Exports	8.2	11.0	10.7	10.7	10.9
Imports	9.2	12.7	12.9	13.4	13.9
Personal saving	6.6	2.6	2.2	1.8	1.5
Federal surplus	-2.8	0.5	1.1	1.3	N.A.

	1970- 1993	1998	August 1999	September 1999	October 1999
Unemployment Rate (percent)					
	6.7**	4.5**	4.2	4.2	4.1
Payroll employment (thousands)					
increase per month			129	41	310
increase since Jan. 1993					19794
Inflation (percent per period)					
CPI	5.8	1.6	0.3	0.4	0.2
PPI-Finished goods	5.0	0.0	0.5	1.1	-0.1

**Figures beginning 1994 are not comparable with earlier data.

New or revised data in **boldface**.

FINANCIAL STATISTICS

	1997	1998	September 1999	October 1999	Nov. 18, 1999
Dow-Jones Industrial Average	7441	8626	10714	10397	11036
Interest Rates (percent per annum)					
3-month T-bill	5.06	4.78	4.68	4.86	5.08
10-year T-bond	6.35	5.26	5.92	6.11	6.06
Mortgage rate, 30-year fixed	7.60	6.94	7.82	7.85	7.69
Prime rate	8.44	8.35	8.25	8.25	8.50

INTERNATIONAL STATISTICS

Exchange Rates	Current level	Percent Change from	
	November 18, 1999	Week ago	Year ago
Euro (in U.S. dollars)	1.030	-1.3	N.A.
Yen (per U.S. dollar)	105.9	1.2	-12.8
Major currencies index (Mar. 1973=100) (trade-weighted value of the U.S. \$)	93.16	0.6	-0.6

International Comparisons "	Real GDP growth	Unemployment rate	CPI inflation
	(percent change last 4 quarters)	(percent)	(percent change in index last 12 months)
United States	4.1 (Q3)	4.1 (Oct)	2.6 (Oct)
Canada	3.7 (Q2)	7.5 (Sep)	2.5 (Sep)
Japan	0.9 (Q2)	4.7 (Sep)	-0.2 (Sep)
France	2.1 (Q2)	11.0 (Sep)	0.7 (Sep)
Germany	0.6 (Q2)	9.1 (Sep) ^{2/}	0.6 (Sep)
Italy	0.8 (Q2)	12.1 (Apr)	1.8 (Sep)
United Kingdom	1.8 (Q3)	5.9 (Jul)	1.1 (Sep)

1/ For unemployment data, rates approximating U.S. concepts as calculated by the U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

2/ Rate for unified Germany.

CA will not cooperate in the federal plan to protect endangered wildlife unless the Federal Government finds a way to boost supplies. A senior Environmental Defense Fund attorney accused the Governor of playing an "obstructionist role" while a representative for growers facing water cutbacks welcome the Governor's involvement.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

- **FAO Trip:** On November 16, Secretary Glickman returned from the biannual meeting of the Food and Agricultural Organization, during which he outlined the U.S. role in solving world food security problems and addressed the upcoming WTO negotiations. Following his discussions in Rome, Secretary Glickman traveled to Geneva where he met with the new director general of the WTO on U.S. objectives for agriculture in the upcoming round.
- **Commodity Markets:** Wheat prices edged lower, responding to weak demand and burgeoning worldwide supplies. USDA's larger-than-expected forecast 1999-2000 U.S. production and stocks sent corn prices down. Soybean prices dropped on USDA's forecast of higher 1999/2000 ending stocks and expanded world supply. Rice prices fell as supplies remain ample and world prices continue low. Aggressive export sales by China and potentially larger exports by Pakistan left cotton prices down for the week. Cattle prices were almost unchanged, despite a slide in wholesale beef prices. Spot tightness for market-ready hogs and rising cutout values sent hog prices up for the week. Broiler prices moved lower in light holiday activity. Seasonally strong cheese production helped force cheese prices down. Butter was little changed in the face of active churning schedules and increased holiday activity.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

- **Section 232 Petroleum Report:** On November 12, Secretary Daley sent DOC's report to you on the effects of petroleum imports on U.S. national security conducted the Trade Expansion Act of 1962. You have 90 days to review the report and determine what if any action to take based on its findings and recommendations.
- **Egyptair 990 Recovery:** DOC's Marine Prediction Center (MPC) continues to provide support to the Egyptair 990 Recovery Task Force with customized forecasts of wind speed and wave height and graphics for the search area. A support team of weather specialists continues working around the clock at two MPC facilities, with further observations drawn from NOAA and DOD satellites, commercial ship volunteer weather observers, and the recovery vessels.

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- **Iraq Anti-Terrorism Controls:** DOC's Bureau of Export Administration is working on implementation of the anti-terrorism controls on Iraq mandated by Iraq's 1990 designation as a terrorist country. Possible liberalization of the UN embargo on trade with Iraq has made it necessary for the U.S. to develop its own implementation procedures. Proposed procedures will necessitate denial of all applications to export or reexport to Iraq commodities controlled for anti-terrorism reasons. State Department representatives have discussed a possible "carve-out" for commodities exported to Iraq in support of the UN oil-for-food program.
- **International Satellite Privatization:** On November 10, the House passed by voice vote legislation privatizing the international satellite communications market and appointed negotiators for a conference with the Senate. This bill drops a controversial provision allowing customers of Comsat -- the U.S. signatory to INTELSAT -- to renegotiate their long-term services contracts.
- **Satellite Home Viewer Act:** The Senate is expected to continue negotiations to resolve problems with the conference report for the Intellectual Property and Communications Omnibus Reform Act of 1999. On November 4, Secretary Daley sent a letter to House-Senate conferees urging the enactment of strong, pro-competitive legislation aimed at increasing competition in the multi-channel video marketplace. The bill's final language addresses many of the Secretary's concerns, and also includes provisions dealing with cybersquatting, and extends the Commission on Child Online Protection to November 30, 2000. The legislation calls for National Telecommunications and Information Administration to provide executive secretariat functions to the 19-member Commission.

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

- **Texas A&M Accident:** While OSHA does not have jurisdiction over the college, DOL is investigating whether the privately-owned crane and its operator may have contributed to the accident. An OSHA compliance officer is currently examining the crane. Secretary Riley called the school's president to express his support.
- **SPEAA/Boeing Contract:** The negotiators for the Society of Professional Engineering Employees in Aerospace (SPEAA), representing about 23,000 Boeing Aircraft employees, have recommended rejection of the most recent contract offer by the company. SPEEA stated that a 10 percent lump-sum bonus and other incentives offered to the Machinists last September was left out of the current proposal.
- **WA State/Boeing Dislocated Grant:** Over the next ten days, DOL will meet with state, union and company officials to resolve issues surrounding over-enrollments and funding shortfalls associated with the grant. Within the next 30 days, the state will receive the

second \$10 million installment to complete DOL's \$20.4 million commitment to approximately 3,000 workers.

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

- **Great American Smokeout:** On November 18, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) and the Agency for Toxic Substances and Disease Registry (ATSDR) anchored the Great American Smokeout and encourage all smokers to go smoke-free for one day. On November 17, Secretary Shalala taped a radio actuality for the HHS Radio Line amplifying the message of the Great American Smokeout and announced a single federal source for Internet access to more than 27 million pages of tobacco industry documents.
- **Synar Youth Access to Tobacco Law Compliance Enforcement Action:** During the week of November 22, Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA) will be releasing documents to DE, IA, MN, MO, OR, RI, WY, and DC from 1997, 1998, and 1999 on Synar program activities and State compliance findings. The request was made as a result of the hearing process initiated when these seven States and DC were notified by the Secretary that the SAMHSA Administrator has recommended that they be found out of compliance with the law and should be subject to the reduction of its Substance Abuse Prevention and Treatment (SAPT) block grant for FY99 as mandated by section 1926 of the Public Health Service Act. Before the Secretary makes a final determination, each state is entitled to a hearing at which it may present evidence to challenge this conclusion, including any evidence that should be taken into consideration and would justify a finding that the state was not out of compliance or that there were extraordinary circumstances.
- **High Performance Bonus Event:** On November 29, Secretary Shalala will join you at the High Performance Bonus event to highlight efforts to move individuals from welfare to work. You will announce the award of \$200 million in Welfare High Performance Bonuses to 27 states; the release of new welfare caseload numbers; the publication of the High Performance Bonus Notice of Proposed Rulemaking; and the issuance of an extended interim guidance to states for the bonus awards to be made in FY01.
- **Hospital Bankruptcy:** St. John's Episcopal Hospital-South Shore, a division of Episcopal Health Services (EHS), which has acute care hospital and nursing home facilities in Brooklyn, Queens, and Long Island, NY, may file for protection under Chapter XI under the U.S. Bankruptcy Code. St. John's has a mortgage with an outstanding balance of approximately \$23 million insured by (HUD) under Section 242 of the National Housing Act. Under an MOA with HUD, the Health Resources and Services Administration reviews and monitors hospitals seeking benefits under the 242 program. Meetings to resolve the issue continue.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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- **CHIP Amendment Approvals:** During the week of November 22, the Health Care Financing Administration will approve an amendment for DE and CA. The DE amendment will allow the State to discontinue the six month waiting period for people who were removed from CHIP due to failure to pay a premium. The State believes those who fail to pay the premium are people who recently switched from Medicaid and are unfamiliar with the concept of premiums. The CA amendment will expand income eligibility for the Healthy Families Program by including families with income between 200 to 250 percent of the Federal Poverty Level. The amendment is expected to enroll an additional 132,000 children.

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

- **Affordable Housing Grants:** In a series of conference calls with Members of Congress, Secretary Cuomo announced the award of \$638 million in grants for supportive housing for the elderly and \$153 million in grants for supportive housing for the disabled to 44 states and Puerto Rico.
- **Grants to Fight Drugs and Crime in Public and Assisted Housing:** Secretary Cuomo awarded \$261 million in grants to fight drug abuse and other crime in public housing and privately owned housing subsidized by HUD, across the country. HUD has awarded more than \$1.9 billion in Drug Elimination Grants since 1989.
- **Community 2020 Forum:** On November 30, HUD will host the eighth forum in its Community 2020 series, a discussion on the Role of Faith and Justice in Public Policy. Initiated by Vice President Gore, the purpose of the 2020 seminar series is to examine key policy issues in a forward-thinking manner by facilitating a discussion involving key academics and practitioners.
- **Nashville Faith-Based Conference:** HUD has scheduled a regional Faith-Based Conference in Nashville, TN to be held on December 8-9. Eight subsequent regional conferences designed to provide partnership opportunities with grassroots, community and faith-based organizations interested in working with HUD programs will be held from January to July 2000. Tentative dates have been set for six of eight remaining conferences to be held in Chicago, St. Louis, Houston, Denver, Seattle, Sacramento, Boston and the mid-Atlantic region.
- **Upcoming Grants:** Grants are being prepared for release over the next several weeks pursuant to the following programs: Resident Opportunities Self Sufficiency Program; Homeless Continuum of Care; the Community Development Technical Assistance; and the Fair Housing Initiative Program.

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DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

- **Y2K Review of U.S. Airlines:** On November 16, DOT announced that the ten largest U.S. airlines, which handle 95 percent of domestic passengers, were found to be completely Y2K compliant. The airlines were part of an FAA Y2K review of 2,822 U.S. carriers which focused on ground-based systems such as those that handle crew scheduling, pilot training and record keeping. Onboard systems, which handle flight and navigation, were reviewed earlier by the FAA's Aircraft Certification office and found not to pose a safety risk due to Y2K because they do not process the year date in a way that would affect flight safety.
- **International Aviation Conference:** On November 15, Secretary Slater announced that representatives of the international aviation community will convene in Chicago on December 5 to discuss the future of aviation in the new millennium. The three-day conference, entitled "Aviation in the 21st Century--Beyond Open Skies," will address the enormous advances and developments that have taken place in aviation over the 55 years since the historic "Convention on International Civil Aviation" took place in Chicago in 1944.
- **America Buckles Up:** On November 22, Secretary Slater will announce the kickoff of the 1999 Operation ABC Mobilization: America Buckles Up Children. This event will stimulate public awareness of the nationwide mobilization of more than 6,000 law enforcement agencies to increase seat belt and safety seat use.

DEPARTMENT OF ENERGY

- **Workplace Improvement Initiatives:** On November 17, Secretary Richardson unveiled a series of initiatives to improve the work life of DOE Headquarters employees, including the following: the use of appropriated funds in support of DOE's Child Development Centers; an increase in handicapped parking; the building an exercise facility at DOE's Germantown office; development of new programs and services at DOE for career enhancement, skill building, and recognition for outstanding secretarial and administrative support employees; and benefits to encourage the use of public transportation and support DOE's mission for increasing energy efficiency.
- **Electric Car:** In 1998, DOE's Office of Transportation Technologies wrote a book for children entitled *Daniel and His Electric Car*. General Motors provided illustrations and printed copies of the book. General Motors has translated and reprinted copies of the book into both Spanish and Chinese.

- **Beryllium Legislation:** On November 17, Secretary Richardson announced that the Administration has transmitted legislation to Congress that would establish a program to compensate current and former DOE contractors who are ill because of beryllium exposure at DOE nuclear facilities at the Oak Ridge East Tennessee Technology Park and the Paducah Gaseous Diffusion Plant in KY. The legislation would establish a beryllium compensation program modeled after the Federal Employees' Compensation Act system, administered by DOL for all federal employees, and would provide similar benefits. To date DOE screening programs have identified 146 cases of Chronic Beryllium Disease among current and former workers.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

- **Decatur (IL) School Suspension Controversy:** During a brief telephone conversation initiated by the Reverend Jesse Jackson, Secretary Riley indicated that DOE has extremely limited authority in controversies of such a local nature and suggested that Jackson work with DOJ's community service office, which already has staff on the ground in Decatur. The school originally expelled the students in question for two years, then, after Gov. Ryan intervened, reduced the expulsion to one year and allowed the students to attend an alternative school. Jackson wants the school to allow the students to return in January.
- **Math and Science:** On November 29, the Glenn Commission, which was established to improve math and science education, will hold its second meeting. The agenda will focus on high-quality teaching in mathematics and science, the core premises of effective teaching, and high-quality instruction.
- **New American High Schools:** At a White House ceremony on November 19, 13 newly identified New American High Schools (NAHS) were recognized. The 13 schools will receive a total of \$5 million. The NAHS initiative supports high schools that are committed to ensuring that all students meet challenging academic standards and are prepared for college and careers.

DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS

- **Korean Allies Seek Agent Orange Compensation:** Some of the 320,000 Korean soldiers who fought alongside U.S. forces during the Vietnam War have filed a suit in Federal court in Philadelphia, PA, for compensation related to their wartime exposure to Agent Orange. Earlier, allies from Australia, Canada, and New Zealand who alleged Agent Orange disabilities were included in the out-of-court settlement of a suit brought by U.S. veterans against Dow Chemical and six other manufacturers of the herbicide.

ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION AGENCY

- **Report on the Benefits and Costs of Clean Air Programs:** On November 15, the ninth anniversary of the 1990 Amendments to the Clean Air Act, EPA issued a major study of the prospective benefits and costs of clean air programs from the period 1990-2010. The report finds that the benefits of clean air programs significantly exceed the costs by a margin of four to one. The report projects that clean air programs will prevent thousands of premature deaths related to air pollution, millions of asthma attacks and a wide range of other human health and ecological effects. The report represents the culmination of a six-year effort by EPA and an extensive peer review by a distinguished panel of leading economists, scientists, and public health experts.

UNITED NATIONS

- **Iraq:** Representatives from the P-5 are meeting this week in NY, negotiating the next phase (Phase VII) of the Oil for Food resolution as well as the more comprehensive omnibus Iraq resolution. Adoption of the Oil-for-Food resolution is expected on November 19. Discussions on the omnibus resolution are likely to continue for some time.

OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY

- **Counterdrug Intelligence Architecture Review:** The Draft General Counterdrug Intelligence Architecture Plan (GCIP) has been updated based on departmental and agency comments, and agreements reached at the November 8 meeting of the Counterdrug Intelligence Coordinating Group (CDICG). CDICG members expect the final GCIP to be ready for Presidential approval and transmittal to Congress in December. The next CDICG meeting will be hosted by DEA on December 3. Key agenda items include FY00 budgeting and providing a temporary facility to allow to stand up of the Counterdrug Intelligence Executive Secretariat staff in January 2000.

FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT AGENCY

- **Hurricane Lenny:** On November 17, FEMA headquarters began 24-hour Emergency Support Team operations with the partial activation of staff to cover transportation, public works and engineering, fire fighting, information and planning, mass care, resource support, health and medical services, urban search and rescue, food, and energy. Available emergency materials and supplies already on the islands for immediate delivery include more than 6,000 rolls of roofing-quality plastic sheeting, 112 various sizes of generators, and 90,000 gallons of water, with another 125 gallons being readied for shipment from the U.S. mainland.

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION

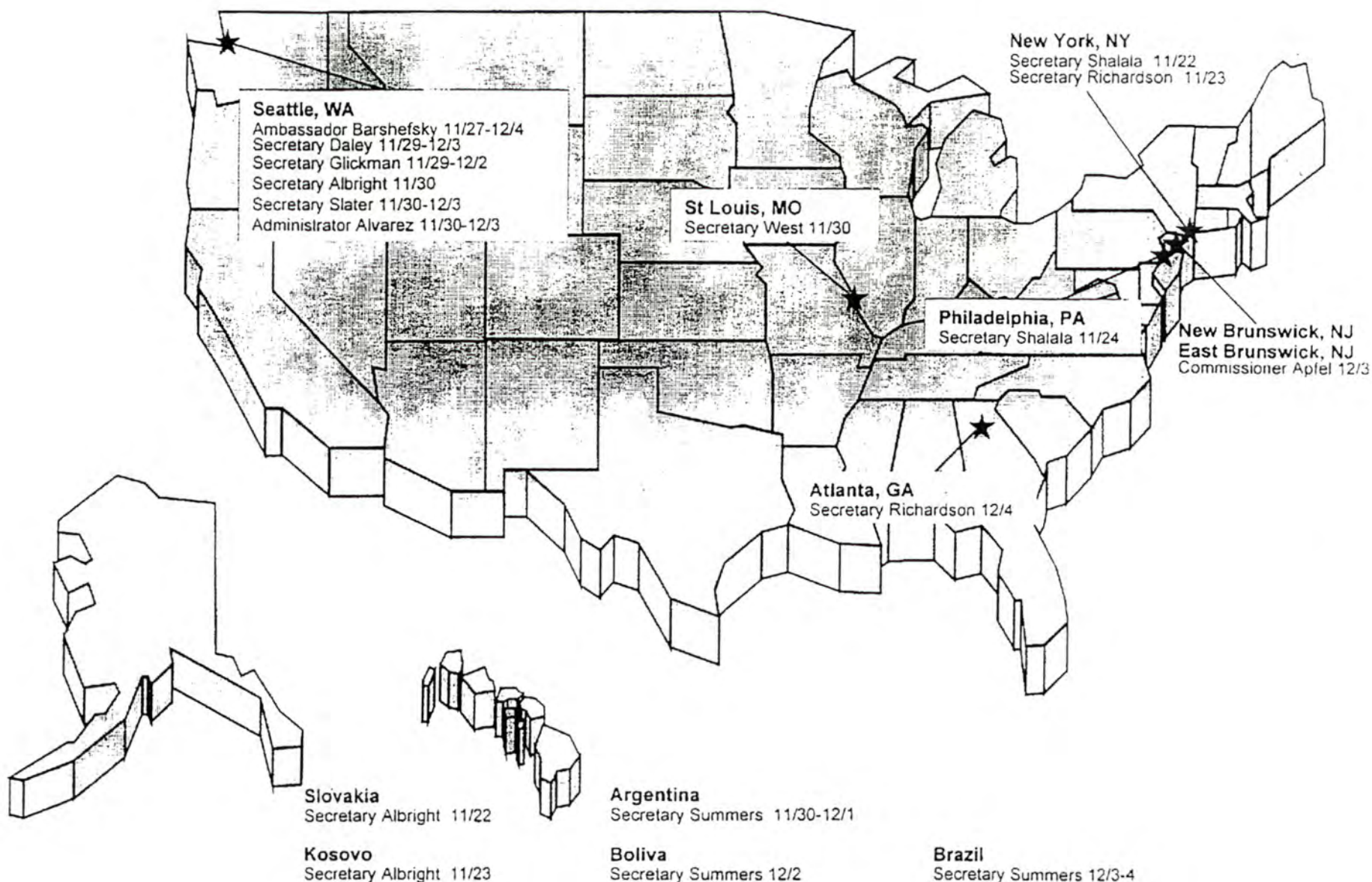
- **New Presidential Appointees:** On November 22, Commissioner Apfel will host a ceremonial installation for the new Deputy Commissioner Bill Halter and Inspector General Jim Huse who were recently confirmed by the Senate. Halter is the first Deputy Commissioner confirmed since SSA became an Independent Agency in 1995.
- **Accountability Report:** On November 19, SSA was scheduled to release its FY99 Accountability Report. The report provides an overview of SSA's FY99 financial operations, highlights the accomplishments of the Agency over the past year and recognizes the areas where improvement is needed.

cc:

The Vice President
John Podesta
Martin Baily
Sandy Berger
Sidney Blumenthal
Charles Burson
Mary Beth Cahill
Maria Echaveste
George Frampton
Mickey Ibarra
Ben Johnson
Joel Johnson
Janis Kearney
Neal Lane
Jack Lew
Ann Lewis
Joe Lockhart
Buddy MacKay
Sean Maloney
Minyon Moore
Bruce Reed
Steve Ricchetti
Doug Sosnik
Gene Sperling
Larry Stein
Lauren Supina
Loretta Ucelli
Melanne Verveer

Cabinet Travel

Monday, November 22 - Sunday, December 5, 1999



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

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Newt Gingrich

We Must Fund The Scientific Revolution

The highest investment priority in Washington should be to double the federal budget for scientific research. No other federal expenditure would create more jobs and wealth or do more to strengthen our world leadership, protect the environment and promote better health and education for all Americans. For the security of our future, we must make this investment now.

When I became speaker of the House in 1995 and we began to work toward a balanced budget, we were prepared to cut discretionary spending almost everywhere. At the request of Rep. John Porter, I met with the research vice presidents of all the major pharmaceutical and biotechnology firms. Even though they were overwhelmingly ideologically conservative, pro-free market and profit oriented, they unanimously agreed that the engine that was driving new medicines, new jobs and new profits was federal investment in basic scientific research and that American entrepreneurs would run out of new products and new services without that basic research.

Because of their convincing testimony, we protected scientific research. It became the one area that grew consistently despite the pressures to balance the budget.

After four years of interviewing scientists, entrepreneurs, academicians and business leaders, I now am even more convinced that we need a broad-front approach to funding basic research and that our goal should be to double scientific research throughout the federal government in the next five years.

Doubling the budget of the National Institutes of Health would be a good start because of its potential to benefit all Americans directly. But many of the most important breakthroughs that are transforming our ability to provide better health and health care come from the National Science Foundation, the Centers for Disease Control, the laboratories of the Department of Energy and the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency.

We are on the edge of major scientific breakthroughs that will transform our lives. Consider a few of the stunning possibilities:

- The first computer with a transistor, TRAD-4, was built in 1955 with 800 transistors. Today's Pentium chip has 7.5 million transistors. At Georgia Tech, scientists believe an experimental chip will be built in 2000 with a billion transistors and within 15 to 20 years, there will be a chip with one trillion transistors. Imagine what a laptop 10,000 times as powerful as today's would be like.

- Polio and smallpox have been eliminated in the United States, and AIDS deaths are declining because of the research and public health leadership of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. Now, with the increase in biological weapons, the CDC is researching immunizations and formulating plans to combat epidemic outbreaks from bioterrorist attacks. The comfort and safety we enjoy now will continue only if scientific funding supports the CDC's ability to do prevention research.

- Nanotechnology, the science of developing tools and machines as small as one molecule, will have a big impact on our lives as transistors and chips did in the past 40 years. Imagine highly specialized machines you ingest, systems for security smaller than a piece of dust and collectively intelligent household appliances and cars. The implications for defense, public safety and health are astounding.

ing.

- The human genome revolution has just begun. Francis Crick (the Nobel Prize winning co-discoverer of DNA) believes it will take a century of research to understand and apply all the potential breakthroughs this new knowledge makes possible. The implications for human health, food production and the environment are almost incalculable.

- New instruments (largely a product of National Science Foundation grants) make possible new measurements of the human brain while it is working (largely funded by NIH grants). This synergistic investment in better knowledge through better technology will prove that mental health parity is essential to any health policy and will offer opportunities to cure schizophrenia, bipolar disease, Alzheimer's and other current challenges.

These five areas only scratch the surface of

**"We are on the edge of
major scientific
breakthroughs that will
transform our lives."**

the potential for greater wealth, more jobs, a higher quality of life, greater national security and a future of unlimited opportunity. Moreover, in this age of scientific revolutions, many of the really big changes that will transform our lives will come from unpredictable breakthroughs—as they have in similar eras of our history.

If this case is so self-evident, why is it so hard to get Washington to double the budget for federal scientific research? The answer is not logic but politics. I have found scientists and investors to be among the least effective lobbyists and have watched more focused special interests receive more money than they deserve while the future was starved of resources.

There will be a grand agreement between the Republican Congress and the Clinton administration this fall. In that grand agreement, the budget caps will be broken. At that time, Congress and the president should agree that a substantial increase in all funding for scientific research should be part of that deal. In light of our budgetary surplus, the American people will support the broken caps for a combination of saving Social Security and Medicare, cutting taxes and strengthening vital government spending. Science research is vital to America's future and therefore is clearly "vital government spending."

Out of our sense of patriotism and our own enlightened self-interest, we should lobby our representatives and senators and insist that federal investment in scientific research be doubled over the next five years.

The down payment of the first 20 percent increase in all areas of scientific research should be made this month or next. Anything less will weaken the future for all of us.

The writer, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, is a former speaker of the House.

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A President In Caucasus Is Baffled By Moscow

By CELESTINE BOHLEN

NAZRAN, Russia, Oct. 23 — With each passing day, Ruslan Aushev, the president of the tiny enclave of Ingushetia in Russia's Northern Caucasus, is becoming more and more desperate with what he calls the "imperial thinking" in Moscow and Russia's prosecution of war in neighboring Chechnya, which has sent almost 170,000 refugees fleeing into his impoverished republic.

"They don't understand one thing," he said of the leaders in Moscow. "Even if we stamp out the bandits, dunk them, destroy them — and here too I have my doubts — what will happen after that? Who will come and run the Chechen republic?"

"That is why we have to say clearly and succinctly, what is the goal that the federal center has set for itself," he said in an interview. "That goal is known only to a few people and no one else."

From his palatial premises in Magas, a cluster of glistening new office buildings that form the new capital of Ingushetia, Mr. Aushev, a former battalion commander in the Soviet Army and a decorated veteran of the war in Afghanistan who prefers military fatigues to suits, tries to sway the Kremlin.

On Friday, he was on the phone to Defense Minister Igor Sergeev, arguing that the Russian military had neither the legal nor moral right to usurp his authority as Ingushetia's elected leader.

He lost that argument, just as he has so far failed to persuade the Moscow authorities to resume a dialogue with the Chechen president, Aslan Maskhadov. Mr. Aushev said the Russian Prime Minister, Vladimir V. Putin, was "categorically" against any such meeting.

The war is close here — so close that on Thursday at about 6:30 P.M., residents say they could literally hear it. According to Mr. Aushev, people here reported what sounded like low-flying planes or missiles heading eastward. Moments later, four explosions went off in Grozny, the Chechen capital, where according to Chechen officials, more than 100 people were killed.

"This is not the way to fight terrorism," Mr. Aushev said in the interview in his office with The New York Times and Radio Liberty. "There are other ways."

"They should stop their imperial thinking," he added later. "It is imperial thinking that prevents the Russian leadership from having a policy in the Caucasus."

The military campaign, he said, is cutting off chances for a political region that has spent the last eight years slipping from war to unruly peace and now to war again.

For more than a month now, Ingushetia has had to cope with wave upon wave of Chechen refugees, anxious and terrified families that have clambered into cars, vans, buses and trucks, fleeing bombing attacks by Russian federal forces.

The various and diverse nationalities of the North Caucasus live at close quarters. Ingushetia is itself a recently created region that fought a bitter war with another neighbor, North Ossetia, over disputed territory in the early 1990's. Grozny is only about 40 miles away from Magas, on the outskirts of Nazran, Ingushetia's main city.

In Soviet times, the Chechens and Ingushes lived uneasily together in one nominally autonomous republic. Since the Soviet Union broke up in 1991, the Caucasus region has been a maze of brutal conflict, most notably in Chechnya, where Russian forces battled rebels who sought independence for two years before withdrawing in 1996 and leaving the breakaway region's status in official limbo until 2001.

That uneasy peace dissolved in August, when Chechen guerrillas became Russia's public enemy No. 1.

According to the Russian Government, Islamic militants based in Chechnya not only carried out armed raids in August against Dagestan, the Russian republic to Chechnya's east, but are also responsible for bombing attacks in Moscow and other Russian cities that killed almost 300 people.

This weekend, as Russian military vehicles lined the main highway between Nazran and Grozny, the flow of Chechen refugees — mainly women and children — was virtually stopped by order of Russian military commanders. Even before blocking the only highway out of Grozny, the Russians had set up a gantlet of checkpoints and roadblocks intended to filter out guerrillas.

With Russian forces now occupying Chechnya's northern tier, the first glimmer of a national debate has opened up in Russia over where the war should go from here.

Russian military commanders have not ruled out the possibility of an assault on Grozny, although many experts and a few politicians predict that if Russian troops move deeper into Chechnya, they will get bogged down in a hopeless war, where winter and a mountainous terrain will give the advantage to well-armed guerrillas.

"There will be no quick, decisive victory," Mr. Aushev said. "According to my information, there are about 26,000 guerrillas all armed to the teeth, and now, after the explosions in Grozny, there will be even more."

Here in Ingushetia, where the tide of refugees is overwhelming the region's meager resources and straining the hospitality of local families, Mr. Aushev says Moscow has to demonstrate that its war is against Chechen guerrillas and not against the Chechen people.

The same case is made, more passionately, by the refugees themselves. "What have we done to the Russians to deserve this?" said a woman from Grozny, leaping out of her family's van as it stalled in a milelong traffic jam at Ingushetia's border on Friday. "Tell us why this is happening to us."

Like other leaders in the region, Mr. Aushev has accounts to settle with the Chechen band groups blamed for a wave of kidnappings and violence that in the last two years has spread into Ingushetia. He is also critical of the Chechen leader, Mr. Maskhadov, for letting the situation inside Chechnya reel out of control after 1996, and for failing to prevent or condemn the armed raids into Dagestan in August.

But Mr. Aushev said the real cause for the latest conflict lay in Moscow, where political leaders are engaged in a bitter power struggle in the runup to parliamentary elections in December and presidential elections next summer.

"The situation in the Caucasus during the 1990's has always been in the hands of forces which at any time can be put into play," he said. "Whoever solves the problems here becomes a hero of the Russian federation, his ratings will go up, and he will have a big chance to become President."

Mr. Putin, a former K.G.B. officer and former head of Russia's security forces, was appointed Prime Minister in August, days after federal forces made their first stand against the Chechen guerrillas in Dagestan. Since opening the military campaign against men routinely branded terrorists by Russian officials and media, he has seen his approval ratings soar.

According to Mr. Aushev, the conflict in Dagestan was one that had long been foreseen by leaders in the region, and yet no preventive measures were taken by federal forces to protect Dagestan from attack.

"Who is going to answer for what happened in Dagestan?" he asked. "There are intelligence services; there are different structures. Say I am a director of a factory and I have a security service, and someone breaks in one night. Then later people tell me that everyone knew that someone was planning to rob my warehouse. So I go to my security chief, and I ask, did you know this? I knew, he says. So why didn't you take measures, I ask. Silence. Then I should fire him, right?"

The New York Times

MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1999

HOW CYPRUS NOW?

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-24-99

A. "Why Cyprus Now?"

Need one ask "Why Cyprus Now?" 45 years after a British minister said – in relation to Cyprus – that certain colonies could "never" be fully independent; 44 years after Greek-Cypriots rose against the British; 41 years after the first deaths in intercommunal fighting; 39 years after independence without popular ratification of the complicated constitutional terms negotiated; 35 years after constitutional breakdown led to further intercommunal strife, the creation of some Turkish-Cypriot enclaves and the arrival of UNFICYP; 31 years after the opening of intercommunal talks; 25 years after the double aggression by the Greek junta in July and the Turkish military in August resulted in 160,000 Greek-Cypriot refugees, and separation of the two communities; 20 years after the two high-level agreements laid the basis for a new federal, bicomunal and biregional Cyprus – a settlement is more than overdue.

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Cyprus is two issues inextricably intertwined. It is, and has been since 1954, an international problem. It is also, and has been since 1958, an intercommunal problem. Greeks and Greek-Cypriots often say it is only international; Americans and British like to say it is only intercommunal. It cannot be solved unless one has an interlinked policy for both. The US still does not seem to have such a policy. It certainly wants Turkey on the road to the EU and anchored to the West. It certainly also wants the Cyprus problem settled. It has not however so far integrated these aims into a consistent policy.

Yet it has today an opportunity. After the disastrous earthquake of 17th August, the Turkish people are disenchanted both with their system of government (the "inner" or "holy" state) and with the particular government of the day. They are also convinced the image of the Greek they have been presented these many years bears little resemblance to the truth. And for the first time, the majority of Turks desire not just to be in the Western alliance but to become a Western society. Yet there is no immediate way the majority can achieve its new aims – there is in the present parliament no conceivable majority that would accurately represent the post-earthquake outlook.

If Apo Ocalan had not been delivered to Ankara, if Mr Ecevit and the neo-fascist MHP had not won their great electoral victory as a result, with the CPP excluded from Parliament under the ten percent rule, the Turkish people and the US would have an easier task. The fact the present government majority no longer represents the popular mood is little consolation when they are the only conceivable majority in the present parliament the Turkish military can condone, and simultaneously the most militantly nationalist parliamentary majority since the Ecevit-Erbakan government of 1974.

This however does not obscure the fact the Cyprus problem needs to be addressed. It only makes it more difficult, requiring a prior answer to the question – "How Turkey Now?" For the lack of a Cyprus settlement after so many years represents a cancer, only kept in remission with intensive medical

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

care, in the organism of the Western Alliance. The risks have always been great – what is new is that their consequences have now in one respect become unavoidable.

The risk for Cyprus and Greece is less, although Cyprus has already suffered for many years. There remains in both countries a deep, though not of course universal, popular bitterness about Western failure to help solve the problem. The risk of rash consequences appears minimal with such reasonable leaderships in office in both countries. It is as well to recall however the very narrow electoral margins they both enjoy.

It is also advisable to recall the outrage Greek and Greek-Cypriot opinion expressed at active Western concern for inhumane ethnic cleansing in Kosovo when no such concern has been shown over Cyprus for 25 years, although in Cyprus there had also been a glaring breach of international law. Furthermore, contrary to myth, only Greek-Cypriots, not Turkish-Cypriots, had been at risk of their lives after the infamous 15 July 1974 coup by the junta and prior to the first Turkish intervention of the 20th. If merely anticipated danger to Turkish-Cypriots is held to have been adequate excuse for the first Turkish military intervention of July 1974 (nothing can justify the second in August), then what action does the murder of thousands of innocent Greek-Cypriots and the expulsion of over a quarter of the population from their homes, justify? Yet the US in 1998 leant heavily on the Cyprus government not even to take entirely legitimate measures of self-defence. Not surprisingly, Greek-Cypriot and Greek public opinion has long since concluded successive US administrations (not the Congress) had effectively been in league with the aggressor. Do not underestimate the possibility of this view at some point affecting the choice of leaders and the execution of policy: it is not however the most likely eventuality.

If all continues to go well, it will be because Greece is tied to the West not just with external bonds of alliance, but in its whole political, economic and social structure and system of beliefs: and so long as Cyprus' road to EU accession is not blocked, Greeks and Greek-Cypriots feel some progress is being made. The risks in respect of Turkey are infinitely worse.

For years the myth was that Athens prevented Turkey's entrance to the EU. The truth was that a majority of European public opinion thought (and thinks) Turks are non-European, and into the bargain an extremely expensive proposition for ultimate accession. All too many Europeans were delighted to encourage Athens to block Ankara behind the scenes, and loudly lament Greek obduracy for the benefit of the American audience in the auditorium. And some of the few who genuinely wanted the Turks in, were known to be disingenuous in their attitude to the process of European integration.

Now the situation is different. The objective reality of a legal decision by the European Court of Human Rights in the not yet famous Loizidou case, which Ankara has refused to honour, makes one thing certain. Either Ankara comes to honour this legal decision (and others that may follow it), thus acknowledging that Turkey is in actual control of that part of Cyprus its troops occupy and effectively discarding the fabricated "separate state"; or it continues to

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

dishonour the decision of the European Court of Human Rights and effectively blocks its own European vocation.

In short, the Cyprus problem is no longer a parallel problem to Turkey's relationship with the EU, connected through a likely succession of Greek vetoes. It is now an integral part of that problem, connected with the fundamental basis of the European institutions, namely the rule of law. And this in turn connects with the European demand and increasing Turkish popular desire that the rule of law should apply in practice, and not just in theory, inside Turkey itself.

The conclusion is clear. To obtain a federal Cyprus settlement is in the true interests of Turkey. Not to seek one, the policy of the present Turkish government, is against evident Turkish interests. No genuine friend of Turkey which believes in Turkey's European vocation – and the US, UK, the Netherlands and France are obvious examples – can do Ankara the ill-service of disguising the truth that Turkey's first fundamental problem in its European vocation and its Western orientation alike is the need for a general acceptance of the rule of law. From this would flow acceptance of a federal Cyprus in accordance with the relevant UN resolutions; from this too would flow the transformation of the Turkish polity into a Western one; and from these two in turn would flow the unmasking of the ulterior motives of any who do not want Turkey in Europe for reasons of religious or racial prejudice.

B. How Turkey Now?

Western governments have repeatedly surrendered their bargaining levers. Despite this error, they now have three, and for the first time one internal for the country itself.

These seem to be:

(1) The possibility EU countries might declare in December, or set a time-limit after which they will declare, that (provided its negotiating offers to the Turkish-Cypriots are not withdrawn) the problem of military occupation will not prevent the accession of the whole Republic of Cyprus, with the necessary derogation for the areas temporarily under foreign military control.

The effect of such an EU time-limit set in December 1999 on Turkish-Cypriot "presidential" elections in April 2000 might be beneficial. More important would be the influence on Turkish public opinion, since voices have already been raised there warning against Ankara finding itself in occupation of EU territory. Although in legal terms this would not put Turkey in any more fundamental breach of European legal norms than dishonouring the *Loizidou* case decision, it is a point easier for the politically less sophisticated to grasp. Informed Turks know very well the EU is and will remain their main trading partner.

(2) The possibility Western international and private financial institutions might point out the economic necessity for a decline in military expenditure now

11-24-99

that the sovereignty of the Turkish Republic over its territory is no longer in question.

X [Simultaneously, NATO countries might indicate their willingness to seek a UN resolution under which it would replace Turkey's military presence in Cyprus and undertake any necessary defence of the Turkish-Cypriot community.

There are three alternative prospects if this is done. The more realistic is that it would justify a firm approach by Western countries and financial institutions who could then with reason insist, in view of Turkey's need for reconstruction and economic development, that increased financial support must be dependent on proof Ankara is reducing military expenditure. And how better than by withdrawing all its occupation forces from Cyprus? The money saved directly would be peanuts compared with that saved through the resulting end of the military arms race with Greece. And Turkey's military security would be improved, as the concomitant of Ankara's military withdrawal and a NATO security presence would be the end of any possibility of Greek or Greek-Cypriot missiles or airplanes being aimed at Turkey from Cyprus.

There is here therefore a valid argument. Turkish public opinion should be allowed to perceive the cost of a policy of confrontation, a policy which in any event is no longer popular after the earthquake.

Ankara might in this way be moved to revise its present position, to drop its "two-state" language, and to encourage the Turkish-Cypriots to open intercommunal negotiations on the basis of the UN resolutions and the intercommunal high-level agreements, signed by Mr Denktash, it should be emphasized, freely and without any constraint whatsoever.

The second alternative is that Ankara might still refuse to revise its position on the substance of any future settlement, but might take up the offer to withdraw its forces in favour of a NATO force authorized by the UN. This would represent so stunning a move by Ankara that it might even face problems with the government of the Republic. It might still be negotiable however, on some basis like the following:

- (a) The NATO force to include equal Greek and Turkish contingents, of which the Greek contingent to be positioned in Rizokarpaso to make the position of the enclaved more tolerable.
- (b) All areas currently under Turkish military occupation but not lived in by Turkish-Cypriots to come under NATO policing and the Republic's administration. Not just Varosha but all the Green Line areas would be able to house tens of thousands of the Greek-Cypriot refugees.
- (c) NATO, which would only recognize the government of the Republic, would introduce controlled freedom of movement of people and of trade, to the great satisfaction of members of both communities. Thus would end the internal and economic aspects of the so-called "embargo" but not

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

those issues which flow from non-recognition of the 1983 UDI and the "TRNC" internationally.

Ankara would no longer be in occupation of Cyprus so could honour the Loizidou case award without the danger it would turn into a permanent financial drain. (There are hundreds more such cases in the background.)

Finally, with the international aspect of the problem solved the strong dynamic of events would operate to bring the two communities to a settlement of the intercommunal elements of the dispute.

The third alternative is, of course, refusal. This is by no means unlikely given Mr Ecevit's character, his (and Mr Bakceli's) political past, his present age and ill health, and his political problems. It is here however that the third element of leverage is important. For the first time there is the potential of leverage within the country.

(3) In the past all persuasion of the Turkish Government had to take place in private because public opinion, and hence the media also, were more nationalist than the government. This has changed dramatically since the earthquakes, as Mrs Albright's simultaneous interviews with "Kathimerini" and "Milliyet" showed. Much more of this can and needs to be done over the next three to six months. If the Greek Government continues its active "peace offensive" it should be possible to explain:

- (a) Greeks and Turks have lived in peace whenever the ground rules were known and respected, however unsatisfactory they may have been. Three examples: the Ottoman Empire, British rule in Cyprus, Greek rule in Western Thrace. There has been trouble whenever the ground rules have been questioned. The new ground rules for Cyprus will be worked out in an EU and NATO context.
- (b) There have been no greater atrocities by Greek Cypriots than against them (in numerical fact, rather less).
- (c) NATO country contingents, including the Turkish one, have demonstrated a readiness to die for others, so the Turkish Cypriots would be as secure, but Turkey itself would in the long-term be more secure than today.
- (d) Turkey needs to spend its money on reconstruction and social and economic progress at home.

The case against Turkish state policy could thus be argued publicly, with the assistance of large sections of the Turkish media. One cannot of course predict, particularly given Mr Ecevit's health, whether or when a breakthrough might be achieved.

There would be counterargument. It would be said, at worst, the Greek-Cypriots wished to "massacre", or, more mildly, to "dominate" the Turkish-

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

Cypriots. So one would have also to be able to persuade Turkish public opinion that a fair deal was possible, in fact "How Cyprus Now?" even if the "now" was a little down the road.

C. How Cyprus Now?

The Cyprus problem has been the same in essence since 1974. Either legal reality was to be brought into line with strategic through an effective Greek-Cypriot capitulation on terms, or the strategic reality was to be brought into line with the legal, through a withdrawal of Turkish military control and reassertion of the Republic's sovereignty, on a new federal basis.

For fifteen years, Western administrations worked in one direction while the parliaments and courts of the same countries have worked consistently in the other. The result is not just a stalemate between the Republics of Cyprus and Turkey, but a stalemate between Western institutions, among the West's long-term strategic thinkers and, to be blunt, within the Western soul.

In the last decade Administrations (or Executives) in the West have moved closer to the position of the legislatures and courts. They now want almost the same thing in theory and the best evidence for this has been the opening of Cyprus' EU accession process in 1995. They have also taken aboard a number of new ideas. Western administrations however have not simultaneously upgraded Cyprus on their Turkish agenda, so Ankara continues to believe, and publicly never ceases to proclaim, that military strategy rules and therefore it has won.

So "How Cyprus Now?" is easily answered in principle. By putting Cyprus top of the Western powers' Turkish agenda, as described in B above. If it is not put there now, it will be forced there at the latest in two years, when EU accession negotiations are completed. To put it at the top now however gives a better chance the problem will be solved in 2000, and a far higher chance it will be solved after the next Turkish election, which, given Mr Ecevit's health, will most likely be long before the normal end of the parliamentary term.

Where has new thinking brought a Cyprus settlement closer, provided Ankara has the will?

(1) On the military security aspect, there is probably a readiness to seek a UN resolution to replace all forces in Cyprus by a regional, specifically NATO force, with contingents from all member countries, but permitting no military presence in the Republic under national member-state command. No force, whether within or outside Cyprus, will challenge NATO, while NATO will never risk its relationship with either Greece or Turkey by allowing the security of either of the two communities to be placed at risk.

(2) On the legislature, the constitutional security of the Turkish-Cypriots and the three freedoms, adoption of proposals for cross-determination, and more specifically cross-voting for elections to the federal executive and legislature can serve as a "Columbus' egg". Cross-voting would encourage those politicians

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

and political parties supporting intercommunal cooperation. Furthermore, through the acknowledgement of all members of the federal legislature from each community (some of them elected by voters of the other community because of cross-voting), as being also the members of the legislature of that community's federated state, separate elections for the legislatures of the federated states by an electorate composed of residents of the two regions, would be made unnecessary alike in democratic theory and in practice. Since there would be no legislator of the other community in the legislature of the two federated states, each community's control of its zone or region would be politically unassailable. This would also be so from a security point of view because of the NATO presence and each federated state's control of the local police force, while from a political point of view every legislator and administrator in each federated state would belong to that federated state's community.

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#9 in
Cross Voting*

Given such absolute security of control for both communities in their federated states, there could no longer be any objection to acknowledging the fundamental human freedoms of movement, property-ownership and settlement, doubtless with some derogations in regard to the time of implementation of the freedom of settlement. Attempts at negotiating compulsory compensation of property would be both unliberal and counterproductive – as soon as there is a settlement acknowledging legal rights within the single economic space of the EU, markets will do the negotiators' job for them, with properties being freely rented, bought and sold..

It is clear that all the above comes as a package, and solves some of the most fundamental political aspects of the Cyprus problem in a creative but clearly federal manner.

(3) Replacement of the discriminatory 1960 provisions but also of the clearly, and unacceptably, confederal nature of the proposal the leadership of the Executive branch should rotate, with an arrangement under which all Cypriot citizens would vote for their common President and Vice-President (with Greek-Cypriot votes reduced in power proportionately if a Greek-Cypriot is elected President), with the Vice-President wielding real power through constitutional responsibility for coordination of policy in all fields within the competence of the federated states rather than that of the federal government.

(4) The President (of whatever community he or she may be) to appoint a member of the other community either as Foreign Minister or as Alternate Foreign Minister for European Affairs. This would mean members of both communities would participate in the formulation of foreign policy.

(5) Government functions to be either remitted to Brussels, or devolved to the regions to the maximum extent. Thus currency, monetary policy, indirect taxation, and market regulation would be federal functions in name but effectively would be managed in large part, sooner rather than later, from Brussels. Social security should be a federal responsibility, in the interests of equality, and because the trade unions of both communities so desire. Maximum use should be made of the EU principle of subsidiarity and of its increasing emphasis on regional rights.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

(6) The territory of both regional states should be divided at least into two areas. In one of the EU's Åland Island rule of total reservation for locals should apply (i.e. no European may buy property). These must however be areas where traditionally only members of the one community lived. In the other area older members of the other community (say over 55 or 60 today) would be encouraged to return at once, while to former residents of a younger age the period of derogation would apply, but freedom of settlement for all European Union citizens would apply in general. This would greatly diminish the final number of those returning, satisfy the desire there should be some areas inhabited by members of only one community, yet preserve the fundamental principle of freedom of settlement that applies in any federation, and in the EU.

Some instances of EU restrictions on ownership of holiday homes provide no parallel with or precedent for Cyprus. Holiday homes are an issue of property, not of settlement. Where settlement is concerned, we are speaking by definition of people who have lost their first homes.

(7) New thinking is still required on Anatolian immigrants. They should be recognized, except for those who have married Cypriots, as protected residents, but not citizens. This is close to the provision in the East Timor referendum, where only those who had married locals or had been born and lived in East Timor all their lives were apparently allowed to vote – a useful precedent.

These bullet points illustrate that, apart from the definition of the precise area of each federated state, most other issues have creative solutions already prepared or existing "in the wings". It would be hopeless however to try and negotiate these in a formal manner unless and until the Turkish Government moves from its two-state and confederal position, a direct challenge to the international community, to the basis set down in the intercommunal high-level agreements and UN resolutions. And this in turn means that whereas the issues arising under "How Cyprus Now?" may already be discussed, no negotiation on them should be encouraged until the questions raised in "How Turkey Now?" have been constructively answered.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 22, 1999

66-400-22-4-102

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT *SS*
LAURA DEMEO

SUBJECT: SCHEDULING DECISIONS

CC: JOHN PODESTA
NANCY HERNREICH

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ACCEPT:

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

Date TBD

Parental Leave Event
White House
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed

*B. Reed - add
(p. 5)*

(u)

11/29-12/21

2001 Budget Meetings (9-10 hrs worth)
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Gene Sperling, Jack Lew

11-24-99

11/29/99

Meeting with Senator Mitchell
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Sandy Berger

Senator Mitchell requested a brief meeting with you to discuss Ireland issues.

11/29/99

Work Incentive Improvement Act Bill Signing
White House
Staff Contact: Larry Stein

Representatives from the Disability community will attend this signing and we expect Senators Kennedy and Jeffords to attend as well.

11/29/99 National Geographic Map Presentation
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

The National Geographic map presentation is a tradition begun by FDR.

11/29/99 Ambassador Credentials Ceremony (10)
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Sandy Berger

There are ten newly appointed Ambassadors to Washington, DC who must present their credentials to you.

11/30/99 Budget Signing/Departure Statement
White House
Staff Contact: Gene Sperling

Teachers and cops will be attending the budget signing.

12/2/99 Child Labor Event
WTO; Seattle, Washington
Staff Contact: Karen Tramontano

12/3/99 Statement on Employment Numbers
White House
Staff Contact: Gene Sperling

12/3/99 Chanukah Event/Menorah Lighting
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

12/5/99 Kennedy Center Honors & Reception
Blue Room, White House; Kennedy Center
Staff Contact: Capricia Marshall

12/6/99 Meeting with the Congressional Black Caucus
White House
Staff Contact: Larry Stein

This is your annual meeting with the Congressional Black Caucus.

12/7/99 Meeting with NATO Secretary-General Lord Robertson
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Sandy Berger

We had to reschedule your meeting with Lord Robertson due to the Oslo, Norway trip.

12/8/99 Meeting with Ukrainian President Kuchma
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Sandy Berger

President Kuchma will be in Washington, DC to co-chair a meeting of the U.S.-Ukraine Binational Commission with the Vice President.

12/8/99 Pageant of Peace Tree Lighting
National Christmas Tree on the Ellipse, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Capricia Marshall

12/9/99 Meeting with President Zedillo of Mexico
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Sandy Berger

This is a bi-annual meeting to discuss U.S.-Mexico relations.

12/9/99 Annual Drop-by the Senior Regional Political Appointees Meeting
Presidential Hall, White House
Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

You will make brief remarks to approximately 100-150 of the Administration's senior regional political appointees.

12/10/99 Travel to Arkansas
Remarks to Little Rock Chamber of Commerce (9:30AM)
Arkansas Delta Events TBD
Tape Radio Address
RON Orlando, FL

12/11/99 Remarks to FL State Convention, Orlando, FL
Official Meeting, Ft. Lauderdale, FL
Hastings \$ Reception, Ft. Lauderdale, FL
Unity Dinner (DSCC/DCCC), Miami, FL
Return to DC
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore

12/13/99 Mental Health Report Departure Statement
 White House
 Staff Contact: Bruce Reed

The Surgeon General's Report on Mental Health will be released on December 13th. We expect Surgeon General David Satcher, Secretary Shalala and Mrs. Gore to participate in this announcement.

12/15/99 US-EU Summit
 White House
 Staff Contact: Sandy Berger

12/15/99 U.S. Open Champions Photo-Op
 Oval Office, White House
 Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

12/17/99 DGA Strategy Session
 White House
 Staff Contact: Minyon Moore

The Democratic Governors requested a meeting with you to discuss strategy for the upcoming 2000 gubernatorial elections.

12/20/99 Annual Children's Holiday Reading Event
 White House
 Staff Contact: Capricia Marshall

12/20/99 Meeting with Kazakhstani President Nursultan Nazarbayev
 Oval Office, White House
 Staff Contact: Sandy Berger

President Nazarbayev will be in Washington, DC for a meeting of the U.S.-Kazakhstani Binational Commission and will be meeting with the Vice President as well.

12/21/99 HMX Christmas Card Presentation
 Oval Office, White House
 Staff Contact: Mark Lindsay, Col. Simmons

12/24/99 Christmas Eve Call to the Troops
 Location TBD
 Staff Contact: Mark Lindsay, Col. Simmons

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

PENDING:

Date of Event:

Nov/Dec TBD

Description of Event:

Meeting with Wintley Phipps
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Karen Tramontano

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(P.S. only)

*he's just as thin
for well over a year
has been a friend*

Wintley Phipps would like to meet with you prior to the launch of his new organization, U.S. Dream Academy, Inc., on January 1, 2000. This Academy provides a comprehensive 12 tutorial curriculum via the Internet targeted at children falling behind in school, children of prisoners, and other at-risk children and youth.

Nov/Dec TBD

Announce the First-Ever Round of Welfare High Performance Bonus Awards

White House

Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr., Bruce Reed

*# of caseloads
do - 1 - 1000*

This announcement includes the award of \$200 million in Welfare High Performance Bonuses to 27 states; the release of new welfare caseload numbers; the publication of the High Performance Bonus Notice of Proposed Rulemaking (NPRM); and the issuance of an extended interim guidance to states for the bonus awards to be made in FY 2001.

December TBD

Host a Holiday White House Literacy Event

East Room or Presidential Hall, White House

Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill, Thurgood Marshall, Jr., Bruce Reed, Mickey Ibarra

*B Reed
a lot of welfare
volunteers turn
around*

This event will highlight the America Reads Challenge effort, underscore the importance of community partnerships to promote literacy and encourage the donation of books to disadvantaged children.

December TBD

Brief Meeting with Lawrence Small

Oval Office, White House

Staff Contact: Stephanie Streett

Jan 2

Lawrence Small, Secretary-Elect of the Smithsonian Institution, would like to meet with you briefly prior to

11-24-99

becoming Secretary on January 24, 2000.

Digital Divide/E-Commerce Event
Department of Commerce, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Gene Sperling, David Beier

Approximately 500 people, including several CEO's of major companies, will attend the Digital Divide/E-Commerce event at the Department of Commerce. Secretary Daley would like you to either address the group or participate in a smaller roundtable discussion.

12/9/99

*Good to address group
Q: Shouldn't call
of the run to U.S.*

January TBD

OK

Maxine Waters \$ Dessert Reception
Site TBD, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore

We offered Maxine Waters several dates in December, however, she would like to schedule this reception sometime after January 1, 2000. We will work out a convenient date.

REGRET:

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

11/30/99

*Too
Late*

Meet & Greet with 1999 Nobel Prize Winners
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Melanne Verveer, Neal Lane

The Swedish Embassy in Washington, DC is hosting a dinner for the Nobel Prize winners prior to their departure for Stockholm, Sweden to attend the official ceremony. These events are scheduled for November 30th, and Neal Lane is hosting a reception since you will be on travel that day.

December 6-7

*How many people
This - you invited in
advocate US in the Bill
then March for Peace
America*

Address the Fourth Farm Journal Forum
J.W. Marriott Hotel, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

You already have a full schedule on both of these days. OPL and Cabinet Affairs are working on an appropriate surrogate.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

12/7/99

Address the U.S. Committee for the Celebration of the UN
International Year of Older Persons
Capitol Hilton Hotel, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

OK

You already have a full schedule this day. You will tape a video on November 29th to be shown at this event.

12/17/99

can I shine representative?

First Flight Centennial Celebration
Kitty Hawk, NC
Staff Contact:

You have full day already with a message event, DGA strategy session, budget meeting and Gephardt dinner.

PERSONAL:

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

12/7-12/9

OK

Meeting with Jeff Hirschberg
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Stephanie Streett

Jeff Hirschberg has requested a meeting with you to discuss several issues including the Middle East, Russia, DNC and his desire to be appointed as a Special Envoy.

12/9/99

Meeting with Mickey Schulhof
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact:

OK

Mickey Schulhof, a friend of Jim Free's, met you at a dinner in NYC on October 25th. You indicated a desire to meet with Jim Free and Mr. Schulhof the next time Mr. Schulhof comes to Washington, DC. He will be in town on December 9th and has asked to meet with you if convenient. Would you like us to set up a meeting?

Yes _____

No _____

12/20/99

OK

Meeting with Bill Hybels
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Stephanie Streett

November 1999

*Presidential Calendar

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday																																																																																											
	1 Arrival Ceremony, Oslo, Norway Bilat w/ Norwegian PM Bondevik Official Lunch w/ King Harald V Bilat w/ Israeli PM Barak Bilat w/ PLO Chairman Arafat Rabin Memorial Dinner RON Oslo, Norway	2 Rabin Commemoration Ceremony Rabin Commemorative Luncheon Bilat w/ Russian PM Putin Trilat w/ PM Barak & Chairman Arafat Depart for Washington, DC Arrive WH (Time TBD) Election Day	3 Statement TBD Congressional Meeting Meeting w/ Prince Sultan Meeting w/ Senator Mitchell Evening Off BRT Policy Meeting	4 Depart for Newark, NJ Malcolm X Shabbazz HS Event Depart for Hartford, CT North End Community Event Depart for Little Rock, AR RON Little Rock, AR Gore/Bradley Debate Anniv. Rabin Assassination	5 Depart for Hermitage, AR Hermitage Tomato Co-op Event Depart for Chicago, IL Englewood HS Event Return to WH RON DC Release of the Employment #s	6 Day & Evening Off																																																																																											
7 Day & Evening Off	8 UNLV Golf Team Photo-Op Down Until 1PM Departure Statement Quandt Lecture, Georgetown Univ. Hold 7-8:30PM for DLC/Excite On-Line Town Hall Mtg.	9 Cabinet Meeting Millennium Interview Congressional Gold Medal Ceremony for Little Rock 9, WH Hold 1 Hour WLF Reception, DC DNC Hispanic Dinner, DC	10 Photo-Op w/ Prince al-Waleed Y2K Departure Statement Nat'l Trade Education Day Event, York, PA NCMB Dinner Bridge Builder Dinner PPI Released (October)	11 Veterans Day Breakfast Arlington Cemetery Veterans Day Event Arrival Statement Afternoon & Evening Off Veterans Day	12 Intern Photo Hold 9:30-10:30AM Meeting w/ Indonesian President Wahid Financial Mod. Bill Signing Tape Radio Address Evening Off	13 Day & Evening Off																																																																																											
14 Depart en route Ankara, Turkey (6AM) RON Ankara, Turkey	15 Wreath Laying Ceremony Arrival Ceremony Bilat w/ Pres. Demirel Exp. Bilat & Lunch w/ President & PM Speech to Parliament State Dinner/Award Presentation RON Ankara, Turkey	16 Depart en route Izmit, Turkey Visit Earthquake Survivors, Izmit, Turkey Depart en route Istanbul, Turkey US-Turk Business Lunch NGO Discussion Evening Off RON Istanbul, Turkey	17 Call on Ecumenical Patriarch (T) Depart en route Ephesus, Turkey Events TBD Depart en route Istanbul, Turkey Bosphorus River Boat Ride (T) OSCE Cultural Show RON Istanbul, Turkey CPI Released (October)	18 OSCE Summit Bilateral Meetings (T) Lunch Hosted by PM Ecevit Bilateral Meetings (T) OSCE Summit OSCE Charter Signing OSCE Summit Dinner RON Istanbul, Turkey	19 CFE Signing (T) OSCE Summit OSCE Closing Ceremony Tape Radio Address Depart en route Athens, Greece State Dinner RON Athens, Greece Projected Adjournment (Senate)	20 Arrival Ceremony Bilat w/ Pres. Stephanopoulos Bilat w/ PM Simitis Joint Statement w/ PM Simitis Speech TBD Embassy Event Depart en route Florence, Italy Third Way Dinner RON Florence, Italy																																																																																											
21 Leaders Breakfast Third Way Conference Working Lunch Third Way Conference Depart en route Sofia, Bulgaria Evening Off RON Sofia, Bulgaria	22 Wreath Laying Bilat w/ Pres. Stoyanov Bilat w/ PM Kostov Roundtable Disc. w/ Bulgarian Youth Call on Leader of Parliament Speech to Bulgarian People State Dinner RON Sofia, Bulgaria	23 Embassy Event Hold Day Return to Washington, DC @ 10:45PM	24 Down Until 10AM Hold 10AM-12PM for A. Meeting Pardoning of the Thanksgiving Turkey (1:15PM) Depart for Camp David, MD RON Camp David, MD	25 Day & Evening Off RON Camp David, MD Thanksgiving	26 Day & Evening Off Tape Radio Address RON Camp David, MD	27 Day & Evening Off RON Camp David, MD																																																																																											
28 Day & Evening Off RON Camp David, MD	29 Return to WH Message Event (T) Budget Mtg. (1hr) (T) Nat'l Geographic Map Presentation (T) Videos Ambassador Credentials (10) (45 mins) Hold Evening (SS) House Closed for Decorating	30 Departure Statement (Budget) LXCC Lunch, San Francisco, CA Official Meeting, San Francisco, CA Carper Conf. Call (T) Handgun Control Dinner, LA SW Voter Dinner, LA RON Seattle	October <table> <tr><td>S</td><td>M</td><td>T</td><td>W</td><td>T</td><td>F</td><td>S</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td></tr> <tr><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td></tr> <tr><td>17</td><td>18</td><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td></tr> <tr><td>24</td><td>25</td><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td><td>30</td></tr> <tr><td>31</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>			S	M	T	W	T	F	S					1	2	3	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31							December <table> <tr><td>S</td><td>M</td><td>T</td><td>W</td><td>T</td><td>F</td><td>S</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr> <tr><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td></tr> <tr><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td><td>17</td><td>18</td></tr> <tr><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24</td><td>25</td></tr> <tr><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td><td>30</td><td>31</td><td></td></tr> </table>	S	M	T	W	T	F	S					1	2	3	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
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December 1999

*Presidential Calendar

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5 Holiday Portrait Kennedy Center Honors Recep., WH Social Aide Photo-ops Kennedy Center Honors	6 Down Until 11AM Message Event (T) Make-A-Wish Photo-Op Budget Mtg (1hr) (T) CBC Meeting Congressional Ball	7 Mtg. w/ NATO SG Robertson Message Event (T) Budget Mtg (1hr) (T) Hold 1 Hour Johnson \$ Reception Keep Hope Alive PAC \$ Dinner, DC Gore/Bradley Debate Anniv: Attack on Pearl Harbor	8 Budget Mtg (1hr) (T) Meeting w/ President Kuchma of Ukraine (30 min) Pageant of Peace Tree Lighting Holiday Receptions	9 Remarks to Digital Divide Conf (T) Meeting w/ President Zedillo of Mexico (45 mins) Drop-by Senior Reg. Apptees. Mtg. DNC Gala, DC Ramadan Begins	10 Depart for Little Rock, AR Remarks to LR Chamber of Commerce (9:30AM) AR Delta Events TBD Tape Radio Address Depart for Orlando, FL RON Orlando, FL PPI Released (November) 51st Anniv: Human Rights Day	11 Remarks to FL State Convention, Orlando, FL Official Meeting, Ft. Lauderdale, FL Hastings \$ Reception, Ft. Lauderdale, FL Unity Dinner, Miami, FL Return to DC																																																																																											
12 Hold for Drop-by (4PM) Christmas in Washington WH Reception	13 Departure Statement (Mental Health Report) (T) Depart for Houston, TX DCCC \$ Lunch, Houston, TX (T) TBD \$ Reception, Houston, TX DCCC \$ Dinner, Houston, TX Return to DC	14 Down Until Noon Hold 12-2PM for Official Mtg. & Lunch Message Event (T) SOTU Prep Holiday Receptions CPI Released (November) 200th Anniv: Geo Washington's D...	15 US-EU Summit, DC U.S. Open Champions Photo-Op Videos Hold 1 Hour Holiday Receptions	16 Message Event (T) Budget Mtg (1hr) (T) DNC Gay & Lesbian Lunch, DC Holiday Reception	17 Message Event (T) Hold 12-2PM for DGA Strategy Session Budget Mtg (1hr) (T) Gephardt Dinner (TM Residence) Gore/Bradley Debate	18 Live Radio Address Holiday Dinner																																																																																											
19 Holiday Receptions Gore/Bradley Debate	20 Hold 30 mins. (SS) Meeting w/ Karakhsiani President Nazarbayev Budget Mtg (1hr) (T) MIL/PPD Departure Photos (T) Children's Holiday Reading Event Holiday Receptions	21 Holiday Service Event (T) Budget Mtg (1hr) (T) SOTU Prep Residence Reception Evening Off	22 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME Holiday Receptions GDP Final #s (3rd Qtr '99) First Day of Winter Candelight Tours	23 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME Residence Reception	24 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME Tape Radio Address Christmas Eve Call to the Troops	25 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME Christmas																																																																																											
26 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	27 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	28 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	29 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME HOLD FOR TRAVEL (T)	30 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME HOLD FOR TRAVEL (T)	31 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME New Year's Eve Dinner/ Gala New Year's Eve Panama Canal Control Reverts to																																																																																												

January 2000

*Presidential Calendar

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
						1 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME Projected House & Senate Recess New Year's Day
2 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	3 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	4 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME NCAA Football Championship	5 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME Gore/Bradley Debate Projected House & Senate Recess	6 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	7 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME	8 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME Gore/Bradley Debate
9 HOLD FOR FAMILY TIME Eid al-Fitr (End of Ramadan)	10	11	12 Hold for Working Visit of German Chancellor Schroeder (T) Gore/Bradley Debate Projected House & Senate Recess	13	14 Hold for New Markets Travel (T) Rev. Jackson Wall Street Project	15 MLK Jr.'s B-Day
16	17 Hold for SOTU Prep Day & Evening Off MLK Jr. Day Observed Gore/Bradley Debate	18 Hold for SOTU Prep	19 Hold for SOTU Prep	20 Hold for SOTU Prep	21 Hold for SOTU Prep	22 Hold for SOTU Prep
			Projected House & Senate Recess			
23 Hold for SOTU Prep	24 Hold for SOTU Prep IA Caucus	25 Hold for SOTU Prep	26 Hold for SOTU Prep	27 Hold for SOTU Prep State of the Union Address 26th Anniv. Roe vs. Wade	28 USCM WH Breakfast World Economic Forum Annual Mtg, Davos, Switzerland USCM Winter Meeting	29 Alfalfa Chub Dinner
	Projected House & Senate Recess					
30 SuperBowl World Economic Forum Annual Mtg, Davos, Switzerland	31					

December 99

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**Presidential Calendar*

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March 2000

*Presidential Calendar

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday																																																																																											
February <table> <tr><td>S</td><td>M</td><td>T</td><td>W</td><td>T</td><td>F</td><td>S</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td></td></tr> <tr><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td></tr> <tr><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td><td>17</td><td>18</td><td>19</td></tr> <tr><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24</td><td>25</td><td>26</td></tr> <tr><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>	S	M	T	W	T	F	S		1	2	3	4	5		6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29					April <table> <tr><td>S</td><td>M</td><td>T</td><td>W</td><td>T</td><td>F</td><td>S</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td></tr> <tr><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td></tr> <tr><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td></tr> <tr><td>16</td><td>17</td><td>18</td><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td></tr> <tr><td>23</td><td>24</td><td>25</td><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td></tr> <tr><td>30</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>	S	M	T	W	T	F	S							1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30								1 Gore/Bradley Debate	2 Hold for Vaccine Conference (T)	3	4
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5	6	7 HI, ID, ND Caucus (D) MO, RI, OH, CA, CT, VT Primary (D) MN, Am.Samos Caucus ME, GA, MD, NY, MA Primary (D&R)	8 International Women's Day Ash Wednesday	9 SC Primary (D)	10 WY Caucus (D&R) CO, UT Primary (D&R)	11 AZ, MI Primary (D)																																																																																											
12 NV Caucus (D)	13	14 FL, LA, MS, OK, TN, TX Primary (D) Joint Center for Political & Econo...	15	16 American Ireland Fund Dinner	17 St. Patrick's Day Reception (T)	18 Hold for Possible Foreign Travel																																																																																											
19	20	21 IL Primary (D&R) Hold for Possible Foreign Travel	22	23	24 St. Patrick's Day	25 Gridiron Dinner AK Caucus (D)																																																																																											
26 PR Primary (D&R)	27 DE Caucus (D)	28	29 Hold for Possible Official Working Visit of Egyptian Pres. Mubarak (T)	30	31 Vice President Gore's B-Day NCAA Women's Basketball Cham... Oxford University's Reunion, NY																																																																																												

April 2000

*Presidential Calendar

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
						1 USVI Caucus (D&R) NCAA Women's Basketball Cham... NCAA Men's Basketball Champio... Oxford University's Reunion, NY
2 NCAA Women's Basketball Cham... NCAA Men's Basketball Championships	3	4 Hold for Official Working Visit (Bahrain) (T) WI, KS Primary (D&R)	5 Kick Butts Day	6	7 World Health Day	8 Hold Day (NH)
9	10	11	12 Hold for Possible Foreign Travel	13	14	15 Tax Day VA Caucus (D)
16 Palm Sunday	17 Nat'l Youth Service Day	18	19 Passover Begins at Sundown 5th Anniv: OKC Bombing & Gran...	20 Anniv: Columbine Shooting	21 Good Friday Passover Projected House & Senate Recess	22 Earth Day
23 Easter	24 Easter Egg Roll	25 PA Primary (D&R) Passover	26	27	28	29 8th Anniv: Los Angeles Riots WH Correspondents' Dinner
30 Projected House & Senate Recess			Projected House & Senate Recess			

March

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May

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28	29	30	31			

November 1999

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
	1 HRC \$, DC	2 HRC \$ Bkft HRC \$, NYC 5-7 HRC \$, NYC 7:30-9:30	3 Westchester Fund for Girls Anthony and Stan- ton Event	4 HRC \$, Vegas	5 HRC \$, Los Angeles	6 HRC \$, San Francisco HRC Tea San Francisco
7	8 Bio-Tech Confer- ence, NY	9 Travel to Israel WLF Issues Conference	10 Israel	11 <i>Veterans Day</i> Israel	12 Jordan	13 Jordan Greece
14 Turkey	15 Turkey	16 Turkey	17 Turkey	18 OSCE Turkey	19 OSCE Turkey Greece	20 Greece Italy
21 DC Italy	22 DC	23 DC	24 OSCE	25 <i>Thanksgiving Day</i> OSCE	26 OSCE	27 Italy
28	29 Crowley 7-9 Private Sector Hispanic Meeting NYC	30 Ackerman Minister's Mtg. DC	October S M T W T F S 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 December S M T W T F S 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31			

December 1999

Hillary Rodham Clinton

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5 Kennedy Center Honors DC	6 Congressional Ball HRC \$, DC NYC	7 HRC Bkft \$ HRC \$, Cocktails HRC \$, Soros Event Miracle Day Event Deloitte Touche NYC	8 Hearst Event (T) Irish Magazine Dinner NY Star Bkft (T) Pageant of Peace NYC	9 HRC \$, New Caanon, CT NYC	10 HRC \$, NYC Riverside Church DC/NYC?	11 DC																																										
12 Dessert Party Xmas in Washington DC	13 Holiday Party HRC \$, DC Lunch \$ Rhode Island DC	14 Holiday Party Library Mtg. (T) DC	15 Holiday Party Minneapolis Lunch \$ DC	16 Holbrooke Dinner (T) NY NYC	17 Holiday Party DC	18 Holiday Party DC																																										
19 Holiday Party DC	20 Night Before Christmas 5:30 Holiday Party 8:30 Holiday Party Hoyer Event (T) DC	21 NY State Dem. Holiday Party DC	22 5:30 Holiday Party 8:30 Holiday Party DC	23 Residence Party DC	24 DC	25 Christmas Day																																										
26	27	28	29	30	31 New Year's Eve Gala																																											

January 2000

Hillary Rodham Clinton

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday																																																																																				
						1 New Year's Day House and Sen...																																																																																				
2	3	4	5 NY State of State Address	6	7	8																																																																																				
House and Senate Recess																																																																																										
9 Jewish Leaders (T)	10	11	12 Gore/Bradley Debate, IA	13	14 Gore/Bradley Debate, NH	15																																																																																				
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16	17 Martin Luther King Jr. Day	18	19 Gore/Bradley Debate, NH	20	21	22 Roe V. Wade Anniversary POTUS in Lati...																																																																																				
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23	24 Iowa Caucus	25	26	27 State of the Union	28	29																																																																																				
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30 Super Bowl	31	December 99 <table> <tr><td>S</td><td>M</td><td>T</td><td>W</td><td>T</td><td>F</td><td>S</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td></tr> <tr><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td></tr> <tr><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td><td>17</td><td>18</td></tr> <tr><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24</td><td>25</td></tr> <tr><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td><td>30</td><td>31</td><td></td></tr> </table> February 00 <table> <tr><td>S</td><td>M</td><td>T</td><td>W</td><td>T</td><td>F</td><td>S</td></tr> <tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td></tr> <tr><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td></tr> <tr><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td><td>17</td><td>18</td></tr> <tr><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24</td><td>25</td></tr> <tr><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr> </table>					S	M	T	W	T	F	S				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31		S	M	T	W	T	F	S				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29			
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	1 NY Anchors Migs (CBS) NYTimes Publishers Lunch Anchor Mig (ABC) 1 Hr CoBed Mig NY Private Dinner w/MEG (11H) -Schwell 12PM Dismissal New York	2 Healthy Kids Mag. Event, Peace / press avail Press time / Retail lunch Ch. 5 Intv Foster's Daily Dem. Ed. Board Open Meeting w/ Al Gore, Derry RON NH, Manchester Note: Election Day NH (RON Manchester)	3 Bryant Gumbel AM Show The Exchange (NHPR) Visit Civics Class, Manchester Concord Monitor Ed Board 1PM Press/Rat. lun/1 hr call/45 min prep Return by 6PM/Intv on plane w/ Dowd -Schwell Parent Peer Group Mig 7:45pm Anniversary of Robin Assassination	4 10am Teamsters Exec. Mig. 30 min Life Long Learning, DC 30 min National Geographic Intv (20m) Videos (20 min) Mazars Intv/2 hrs call/ Amour photo RON, DC Veteran's Day Iowa	5 VP Down -Schwell vs. Marel 3pm POTUS Hold Day -AS Private Dinner w/ MEG, NAVOBS -NH (RON)	6 Open Mig in Lakes Region / 2 hr Intv Drive to N. Conway, AFL-CIO Convention (mig. membership and address) Press Roundtable W.R. Boc Reception, Dover Stratford County Demo Dinner RON NH -NOTE: POTUS Hold for New Markets Travel																																																																																										
7 Retail Brief in Merrimack/ Press Time Open Meeting, Manchester press avail - holding time Return to D.C. - Maureen Dowd on plane 7pm Private Dinner with MEG New Hampshire	8 Prescription Drug Message Event 1 Hr Mig, NAVOBS 1 hr Nat'l Geographic Interview Women's Meeting 7pm Private Dinner Drop by Farewell Party for Moe Vets Note: POTUS Foreign Policy Speech, DC Tennessee (RON)	9 7:20am Hold for Radio (Intv) DNC Hosp. Lunch, DC 12:30pm, Note: 60 Min. behind the scenes Press Time w/ Joe Klein and Jane Meyer, The New Yorker 90 min. Call Fly to Memphis (offic)-60 Min on travel/Ends KR 20 min Intv on board Church of God in Christ RON, Carthage TN 11:30pm Tennessee/Des Moines RON	10 10:5pm 60 Minutes Taping 45 Minutes Private Time Taping in Nashville 2 Meetings at HQ Dep Carthage 5pm RON, Des Moines Tennessee/Des Moines RON	11 Veterans on bus to Marshalltown w/press Marshalltown "Isleure resources center/ (medal) Open Meeting IA Public TV Taping, Des Moines Polk County Dinner RON, DC MEG in NH Veteran's Day Iowa	12 -Schwell Football Dinner (6:30-10pm) -Harvard No Classes -POTUS departs for Foreign Travel (thru 11/21) -Target Adjudgment Date California (RON)	13 G2K Fly to LA, Intv on plane w/ France Glamour Mag Event/Univision shoot 45 min G2K AA Reception, Pasadena -Private Mig (RM / RO) NAPABA, Los Angeles - 7pm Specialty Press RON, LA																																																																																										
14 Private time, LA, until 11am Noon, G2K Enviro Brunch, LA Environmental Announcement: Parks Univision Shoot - 45 Min. Fly to San Fran / 30 min Intv Political Mig DNC Dinner, San Fran, CA RON San Fran LA/San Fran (RON)	15 Fly to Seattle (offic) and DNC/Kranich Intv en route Microsoft visit -Enviro/Nat. Amer. Outreach Mig., Seattle One Hour Phone Call Message Event DNC Dinner, Seattle RON, Seattle San Fran/Seattle (RON)	16 -Fly back to DC / 1 hr call/ Walsh Intv prep for 1 Village -Tape 1 Village (4:30p) DC -Family Dinner Return to DC	17 VP DAY DOWN w/ MEG Tennessee	18 -11:15am DNC Lunch - Residence, Boston -1 pm DNC Lunch at Park Plaza, Boston / 30 min. press in car -Fly to NY -4:15pm Backlog Mig -DNC 2 NYC Dinners (1st 6:30-7:30, Tisch 8-8:15) -Fly to Manchester, RON NH 11:30 PM Boston/NY/New Hampshire (RON)	19 -Manchester - Mig. Event (Pavilions) -Press Time, Manchester -Drive to Claremont, HS Visit re: Vietnam -Press Time, Retail/Upper Valley News Ed. Board (7) -Travel to Keene, house party -1 Hr. for Berg -Drive Manchester, RON -NH (RON)	20 -Disabilities Forum, Londonderry -Open Forum, Concord -Fly back to DC -Macheneck, DC (8PM) -RON, DC Tennessee																																																																																										
21 VP DOWN -or Hold for 60 Minutes Taping with XGS Iowa/Illinois/Iowa (RON)	22 -G2K Travel -Iowa, daytime -IA G2K Lunch (T) 1 Hr Call -Chicago DNC Dinner -Return to IA, RON Iowa	23 -G2K Travel -Iowa Daytime 1 Hr Call -Return DC late afternoon -Schwell Fall Sports Banquet 6pm Tennessee	24 -11am Private Mig. (HP) -Hold time for 60 min. Taping -Travel to Tennessee for holiday w/ MEG -Harvard Break/Schwell 12PM Dismissal Tennessee Thanksgiving	25 VP DOWN -Columbia Law/Harvard/Schwell Down -Volunteer Work (T) / Possible 60 Minutes Coverage Tennessee	26 -Columbia Law/Harvard/Schwell Down Tennessee	27 Tennessee																																																																																										
28 -Tennessee Taping w/ 60 Minutes (forbid Some, HQ, Intv w/ Farensa) Tennessee	29 -10:30 AM G2K Travel to NH -Chv/Community Message Event Seacoast Visit Retail (Radio - WOKQWTSN) Drop by dinner at Jane Brzozowski's high tech 1st MMD 11 hour phone calls -Bedford Inn RON Note: Corcoran Reception for MEG 6:30pm (1) New Hampshire (RON)	30 -8:30am Politics and Eggs Brief - (T) Concord HS, School Safety -Press / Manchester Vets Lunch -1hr Call, return to DC -Schwell Parents College Night (7:00pm)	Oct 1999 <table><tr><td>S</td><td>M</td><td>T</td><td>W</td><td>T</td><td>F</td><td>S</td></tr><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td></tr><tr><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td></tr><tr><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td></tr><tr><td>17</td><td>18</td><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td></tr><tr><td>24</td><td>25</td><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td><td>30</td></tr><tr><td>31</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr></table> Dec 1999 <table><tr><td>S</td><td>M</td><td>T</td><td>W</td><td>T</td><td>F</td><td>S</td></tr><tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td></tr><tr><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td></tr><tr><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td><td>16</td><td>17</td><td>18</td></tr><tr><td>19</td><td>20</td><td>21</td><td>22</td><td>23</td><td>24</td><td>25</td></tr><tr><td>26</td><td>27</td><td>28</td><td>29</td><td>30</td><td>31</td><td></td></tr></table>			S	M	T	W	T	F	S						1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31							S	M	T	W	T	F	S					1	2	3	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31	
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			1 -Hold 30 Min. for 60 Minutes Invol -Nat'l Caucus of Black Legislators	2 -One Hour Phone Call -7 PM Barbara Cochran Dinner, DC (T)	3 VP DOWN -Note: Landing of Mars Pathfinder -Private College Night	4																																																																																											
			World AIDS Day		Hanukkah																																																																																												
5 Return to DC 3pm Kennedy Center Honors, DC	6 Down Day POTUS WH Congressional Bldg	7	8 -Gore-Kuchma Migs(4hrs incl. lunch) -G2K Dinner, 7pm/Manhattan/ 8:30 Brooklyn -Note: Columbia Last Day of Classes -Note: POTUS USSS/Military Hol Party Note: Pageant of Peace	9 -PM: DNC Gala, DC w/ MEG and POTUS POTUS Johnson DC Ramadan Begins	10 1 Hour Calls Columbia Exams - 12/21	11 Columbia Exams - 12/21																																																																																											
Hanukkah																																																																																																	
12 -2 Holiday Parties USSS (10p) Columbia Exams - 12/21 Note: Christmas in Washington	13 Columbia Exams - 12/21 POTUS Hold Travel Miami (T) *Ohio	14 Hold Evening RON, D C POTUS Host Holiday Dinner Columbia Exams - 12/21	15 POTUS Hol Party Columbia Exams - 12/21 Note: US-EU Summit, DC	16 2 Hours calls Hold Evening Columbia Exams - 12/21	17 -Highlight ABC Debate, NH -Note: 12-2 POTUS Lunch for Dem. Governors @ WH Columbia Exams - 12/21	18 Hold Evening -2 Holiday Parties POTUS Host Holiday Dinner Columbia Exams - 12/21 -Sidwell Winter Break																																																																																											
19 Hold Evening POTUS Holiday Reception -2 Holiday Parties Columbia Exams - 12/21	20 POTUS Holiday Reception Nazarbayev 3 Hrs. 1 Hr Calls Hold Evening, holiday party -11 Holiday Party Columbia Exams - 12/21	21 1 Hr Calls Columbia Exams - 12/21 *Iowa (RON)	22 Harvard Winter Break(22-3) First Day of Winter	23 -Hold Evening	24 VP DOWN DAY	25 VP Down Day Christmas																																																																																											
-Sidwell Winter Break																																																																																																	
26 VP DOWN	27 VP DOWN *Waterville, NH - Skiing	28 VP DOWN	29 VP DOWN	30 *Carthage, Tennessee	31 VP DOWN White House New Year's Eve Dinner/Gala *Tennessee																																																																																												
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VP DOWN DAY

-Sidwell Winter Break
New Year's Day
Harvard Winter Break(22-3)

7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
		-2 Hrs Calls -Sidwell Class Reopens	-2 Hrs Calls			2 Hours Calls -Sarah's Birthday -Sidwell Reading Day (Upper School)		-Sidwell Exam 9:30am -Des Moines Reg. Debate - Confirmed
-Sidwell Winter Break Harvard Winter Break(22-3)								
9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17
	-Prep/2 Hrs Calls -Columbia Classes begin -Sidwell Exam 9:30am	-Prep/2 Hrs Calls			-Sidwell No Classes			
	-Sidwell Upper School Exams(10-13)							-Harvard Midyear Exams
-Harvard Fall Reading Period								
16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
	-IA Black Brown Debate - confirmed -Sidwell/Harvard No School							
	MLK Day							
-Harvard Midyear Exams								
23	24	25	26	27	28	29	30	31
	IA Caucus (T) -Sidwell No School (Upper School Only)		-WMLR Debate (T)					
-Harvard Midyear Exams								
10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
House Dem Caucus Retreat (T)	House Dem Caucus Retreat (T)							

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Time for a Deal on

The past two weeks have witnessed frantic diplomatic maneuvering by the United States and the United Kingdom to head off use of a veto in the upcoming Security Council deliberations over how best to deal with Iraq's disarmament obligation. The British diplomats, together with their American counterparts, understand that any such use of a veto would threaten the viability of the Security Council as an organization committed to enforcing its own dictates, and would strengthen Iraq's resolve to continue defying the law.

in the accounting of the prohibited weapons.

This report has analyzed the Security Council's ability to deal with Iraq's refusal to cooperate with the weapons inspectors of the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM), who were withdrawn from that country on the eve of Operation Desert Fox in December 1998, and have not been allowed by Iraq to return since then. It was Operation Desert Fox that sowed the seeds of the Council's current discord, with Russia, China and France blaming the United States and the United Kingdom for acting without the authority of the Council and, worse still, using UNSCOM, an organ of the Council, for purposes other than mandated by Security Council resolution.

ous diplomatic initiatives, the United States and Britain are now scrambling to create the basis for some form of consensus among the permanent five Council members prior to the U.N. body's deliberations. Unless a breakthrough is achieved, these deliberations will likely bog down in heated debate and, ultimately, witness the use of a veto by Russia, China and/or France to block any new disarmament measures. Even an abstention by two or three of the permanent members would pave the way for an Iraqi refusal to accept any new resolution.

interviews. Furthermore, the inspectorate must be professional, which means veteran UNSCOM inspectors should be allowed to serve, especially in senior management positions. Finally, any inspection program must incorporate stringent export-import control mechanisms.

In return for a viable program of monitoring-based inspections, the United States and United Kingdom should agree to the suspension of economic sanctions along the lines of proposals put forward by France. This, more than anything else, is what the French, Russians and Chinese want. If, in exchange for an end to sanctions, the United Nations could emerge with credible inspections and a Security Council united with regard to Iraq's disarmament obligation, that would be a great accomplishment indeed. Unfortunately, it is an unlikely outcome, given the deeply entrenched position of the Clinton administration not to yield on the lifting of sanctions until Iraq has fully complied with its disarmament obligations.

Iraqi weapons of mass destruction put out by the White House makes a case for active measures to counter any reconstitution of Iraq's prohibited weapons, highlighting the need to get viable inspections back on track in Iraq. But it makes clear that the United States "will use the means at our disposal to detect and deal with reconstitution." Any failure of the Security Council to act regarding Iraq could push the United States to launch "Desert Fox II," bombing in and around Baghdad in an effort to destroy Iraqi industrial targets believed capable of, or actually involved in, the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction. Such an escalation of hostilities outside the framework of the Security Council could prove fatal to any hope of ever reviving meaningful weapons inspections in Iraq.

The Washington Post
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1999

11/25/99

Sid → 3 way

Next time, some of the leaders who
knows better —

- 1) Europe - G.B., Fr., Germany, Italy, EU - Prodi
Netherlands
Portugal
Austria (?)
Scan. Ctr-left PHS
Ireland (?)
Pol., Hung., Czech, Slovak (which on Ctr-left?)
Slovenia
Bulgaria
Romania
Greece
Belg? - is new gov't Ctr-left?
Any Baltics?
Any Caucasus-Cent. As.?

- 2) NAFTA - :
Canada
Mexico?
Any C.A.M. Ctr-L
Cepree
Blumenthal
Podesta

- 3) South
Brazil
Uruguay?
Chile?

- 4) Asia - any new gov't? China?
- New Zealand gov't change? BK

Bleed
intelligence
has shown
~~to~~ be in touch
with - Reed
reply -

CC: Jeff Bleich

This is very interesting
you should be in
touch with them.

Re

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

Copied
Bleich
Reed
Podesta

The Silvan S. Tomkins Institute
255 South 17th Street (Suite 2403)
Philadelphia, PA 19103-6224
215-546-1853 (voice) 610-896-6885 (fax)

29 July 1999

William Jefferson Clinton
President, The United States of America
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Donald L. Nathanson, MD
Executive Director

Jonathan L. Grindlinger, MD
Training Director

Melvyn A. Hill, PhD
Chief Psychologist

Marsha Schwartz Klein, MEd
Membership Director

Martha Frisoli Gibson
Strategic Planner/Funding Director

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

Dear Mr. President:

Over the past 40 years, violence has become an increasingly severe problem for Western culture as a whole. In no way is this trend limited to gender or within any racial, socioeconomic, religious, or political subgroup. Although it is American culture that concerns us most during the current crisis, any attempt to understand and alter this trend in our country must acknowledge its near universality. Just as economic markets exhibit cyclicity, human attitudes toward specific emotions and systems of emotion modulation also change in sequence. In order to appreciate the depth of our problem, it is essential to sketch its origins.

Well documented is the turbulence and dangerousness of life in the Middle Ages, when merely bumping into someone in the town square might occasion a fight to the death, and when couples might engage in sexual behavior in full view of others. All of this began to change in 1530 when the philosopher Erasmus of Rotterdam published a manual of good behavior for small boys that *for the first time* made misbehavior embarrassing. His book went through more than 130 editions well into the 18th century, and a 1558 adaptation even today is read in some parochial schools! These two books ushered in four centuries of strict behavioral control by the shame family of emotions, and with it a new level and type of respect for authority. Deadly brawls evolved first into the symbolic fight of fencing and eventually to team sports, while sexuality came ever more under the sway of shame until the beginning of the 20th century when Freud mistook embarrassment for a force he called "repression" and worked hard to pick apart the controls it had installed. In rapid succession over the past 40 years have come such advances as near-universal availability of contraception, bright lighting and apartment building window technology that reduced the possibility of privacy and the shame of being seen by others, massive increase in the availability of drugs that undo the reticence brought by shame, and technology that allows us to see in the dark and distribute words and images universally. The "old ways," the authoritarian systems of shame-based behavioral control that had worked for centuries do not now work and cannot work because the changes within people brought by such advances in technology have rendered this type of control inoperable. Furthermore, we've lost the whole idea of authority required by that system.

In previous communications I have made reference to my concept of the Compass of Shame, four poles of behavior marshaled when people evade the information that the physiological mechanism of shame has evolved to illuminate for them. During most of the 450 years since Erasmus and others took control of rowdy and bawdy behavior by making it embarrassing, the overwhelming majority of people responded to shame at the *Withdrawal* and *Attack Self* (deference) poles of the compass. Now we as a culture have shifted back to the more dangerous options available at the *Avoidance* (narcissism) and *Attack Other* (violence) poles, handling personal shame as a response to insult. Worse still, the incorporation of the technology of guns, videotape, drugs, and automobiles into our culture has made the experience of shame even more dangerous than it was before the Renaissance. Despite that all emotions are important, we have excellent evidence that the overwhelming majority of the violence seen in our society results from this shift in the management of one single emotion! Even casual review of broadcast and print interviews with both perpetrators and survivors of school violence demonstrates unanimous agreement that unfettered humiliation is its major cause.

11-24-99

How best, and how quickly can we modify so massive a shift in the emotion management system of an entire culture? Clearly, we must influence our children before they have become set in the ways outlined above. Culture is maintained and managed in home, school, and through worship. Whatever we do must be integrated with these powers.

Wherever we have taught people about the nine families of emotion and the Compass of Shame, our group has shown that discord, violence, and other forms of antisocial behavior are reduced significantly in individuals, couples, families, businesses, schools, and communities. Our system demonstrates that the overwhelming majority of all anger and fighting may be traced to activity at the *attack other* pole of the compass. When we suggest new ways for the management of shame, most bad situations calm considerably.

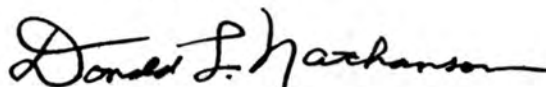
Our first initiative is aimed at the teaching profession. The Tomkins Institute is far less interested in conflict resolution than conflict prevention. **From Insult to Injury: A Plan to End School Violence** is a highly systematized program through which teachers will learn the nine families of emotion, the Compass of Shame, and how to teach this material in a student workshop environment. This **Philadelphia Initiative** harnesses the creativity of teachers by validating their own expression of affect in their own personal styles. We foster the instruction of students at all levels of the educational system in ways carefully adjusted for age and local conditions. In selected situations we will use the ISS (**Internalized Shame Scale**), a 10-minute psychological test devised by a member of our group, from which we can identify the small number of students for whom clinical attention may allow reversal of the kind of shame response seen in the Littleton massacre and other outbursts of student violence. We have shown that the encounter between kids who shame and kids who are shamed is central to the problem of violence in the schools. We understand better than anyone that the person who most shames others has already been hurt by internalized shame and is in the greatest need of attention. In the language of infectious disease, unless so stopped the chronic shamer can infect a whole cluster of unsuspecting peers. Bullies have much less power when kids are immunized against the toxicity of the *attack other* response.

National concern about the "crisis in the schools" mandates urgent attention. With the cooperation of the Philadelphia School District, we plan to start the first pilot program in one of the most "difficult" high schools anywhere, and a second in an elementary school. If in this Fall semester we can show significant change in the volatility of our most challenging environments, we can bring hope to a justifiably frightened nation.

Both pilot programs will be covered by a video crew under the supervision of an Academy Award winning director/producer of documentary films. The drama of the difficulties and accomplishments of these teachers and students will be edited into professional video presentations of theory and practice to be used when the program as a whole is brought from its pilot version to the entire community of American schools. From October through December 1999, while these two projects are operating, our Institute will conduct a national study of school districts in order to identify which should be prioritized for rollout. A representative range of districts will then be contacted and assessed for interest. Because the problem is so huge and the need for its solution so urgent, the Tomkins Institute plans to start a national awareness campaign publicizing the results of its Philadelphia Initiative, and offering it to interested school systems. The campaign will be multi-faceted, utilizing Public Service Announcements from television and radio stations, print ads in selected professional and trade publications, public relations tools such as video, audio, and print interviews, published reference material, Internet indexing to its website, and website program documentation and analysis. Through a toll-free telephone number we will provide personal response to questions of educators, parents, and students. Through its website, the Institute will also introduce a moderated e-chat discussing issues of school violence and offering direction for their resolution. We welcome inquiries from any school system and should be able to initiate programs within six months of a request.

The problem of school violence, which masquerades as an issue limited to the emotional development of children and adolescents, is only a small part of a larger danger threatening the American way of life. Central to it is the way a people manages its genetically based innate emotionality. The Silvan S. Tomkins Institute exists for the sole purpose of helping people understand and manage their emotions, and looks forward to helping our nation and its President both in this crisis and in the years to come.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Donald L. Nathanson". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "Donald" being the most prominent.

Donald L. Nathanson, M.D.
Executive Director
The Silvan S. Tomkins Institute

Clinical Professor of Psychiatry and Human Behavior
Jefferson Medical College

Egypt

Blinking sphinx

CAIRO

LAST month, when President Hosni Mubarak promised to clean house, he was taken seriously. Expectations soared, unusually high. Now that the changes have happened, the pyramids have not budged, though the sphinx may have blinked, just. It was, after all, the most wide-ranging shuffle in Mr Mubarak's 18 years of rule.

By many standards, the power shift looks puny. Mr Mubarak simply appointed one of his longer-serving ministers, Atef Obeid, as prime minister. Mr Obeid in turn named a 33-member cabinet, only a third of whose members are new to the government—and the fresh faces do not include the ministers of defence, the interior, information or foreign affairs. A number of presidentially appointed posts, from provincial governorships to chairmanships of state agencies, are also changing hands.

By the slow pace of Egyptian politics, these are fairly radical steps. Some outgoing ministers had been fixtures for longer than Mr Mubarak himself. And in accepting his new job, Mr Obeid declared some significant shifts. His lacklustre predecessor, Kamal Ganzouri, had tried to subdue a divided cabinet by concentrating ever more power in his own hands. Mr Obeid says he will free ministries to pursue their own goals, and will move oversight of 16 state agencies from the prime minister's office, where Mr Ganzouri had lodged it. He has also spoken of cultivating second- and third-tier officials for future leadership, something Egypt's hyper-hierarchical administrative structure has historically resisted.

Mr Mubarak, for his part, has issued a series of unusually stern policy directives to the new government, demanding stricter standards of honesty, greater openness and more concern for the poor. Whether or not the new government will live up to these demands, it is clear that Mr Obeid intends to accelerate the process of economic reform. As minister in charge of Egypt's privatisation programme, he was credited with sticking to liberal goals without alienating the entrenched interests inherited from the country's failed experiment with socialism. His task will now be eased by the departure of ministers who balked at privatising industries such as telecoms and banking. Mr Obeid also has a powerful ally in the probusiness economy minister, Yousef Boutros-Ghali, who is being given wider scope.

Not surprisingly, Cairo's long-sluggish stockmarket leapt by 10% on news of the shuffle. Investors will also have been cheered by the comment of one opposition editor from the Islamist left, who described the shake-up as nothing less than "an IMF-

sponsored coup d'état". But few Egyptians shared this view. The public mood was better caught by a cartoon in a liberal daily, *Al Wafid*, which showed Cairenes searching high and low, behind doors, under cars, down manholes. "They can't find where the change is," ran the caption.

For most Egyptians, the changes seem irrelevant. The cast of new ministers, mostly grey-suited technocrats in their 60s, looks little different from previous teams. The 67-year-old Mr Obeid's gruff, jowly and sunken-eyed persona projects an image of stolidity rather than dynamism. The survival of unpopular figures, such as an information min-



Obeid's familiar jowls

ister who has kept a clammy grip on broadcasting for nearly two decades, adds to the picture of continuity. The mild but general disappointment with the scale of change also reflects impatience with the system itself. On the Cairo omnibus, a high degree of political apathy sometimes obscures an even higher level of acuity. Having indulged in an orgy of speculation, Egyptians found themselves waiting helplessly for the decision about who was to govern them to descend from above. However wise the choice may have been, the fact that the public at large has so little part in making it is beginning at last to grate.

South Africa

Wrist-slapping the corrupt

JOHANNESBURG

African development has been crippled by corruption, said Kofi Annan, the UN's secretary-general, this week, in a speech delivered for him at an international anti-corruption conference in South Africa. We look at what is happening in the host country and then, in the next article, the bigger anti-corruption problems that Nigeria is now facing

DELEGATES in Durban had looked forward to a strong speech from the host, South Africa's President Thabo Mbeki. The conference, sponsored by Transparency International, a Berlin-based organisation, was the ninth of its kind but the first to be held in Africa. Given Mr Mbeki's vigorous approach to corruption after his election earlier this year, the meeting had hoped he would take a lead in introducing specific new African initiatives. But, as he took the stage, together with the World Bank's president, James Wolfensohn, Mr Mbeki's rather philosophical thoughts, in a speech entitled "Integrity as an integral part of the New African Order", amounted to little beyond a lament for the sad fact that material values have gained at the expense of spiritual ones.

But in June, Mr Mbeki had peppered his inaugural address to parliament with six references to corruption, plus 13 to investment. He was the man, he seemed to suggest, who would smack the country into shape for foreign investors, sweeping away all vestiges of dodgy dealings. The new president then formed an FBI-style special police force, called the Scorpions, to investigate corruption in the police, and ordered a shake-up of the criminal justice system. It looked as if something might be done.

But his government continues to be dogged by allegations of high-level corruption. The latest, and perhaps most serious,

came with the signing last month of a \$5 billion arms deal. Before the ink was dry, an opposition politician, Patricia de Lille, a member of the Pan Africanist Congress, was alleging in parliament that senior but unidentified officials were taking bribes from arms companies. She promised to name names, but has not done so yet.

There are many other instances of the integrity of South Africa's public servants being called into question. The authority that regulates telecoms is beset by accusations of bribery and nepotism in the issuing of a third mobile-phone licence. A provincial prime minister recently claimed that it was perfectly all right for a politician to lie. In all, more than 50,000 cases of fraud are waiting to be dealt with by a special investigating unit, named after Judge Willem Heath who heads it, and dozens more allegations surface each week.

The government is backing a whistleblowing initiative that may help to track down officials who have made off with public money. But there are delays in bringing suspects to trial. For instance, a regional official accused last year of using the country's wildlife parks as collateral for promissory notes worth \$200m has been successful, so far, in stalling legal proceedings.

South Africa does not rank too badly in Transparency International's last published index on "corruption perceptions" (a new

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

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index is due later this month). In 1998 it was number 32 out of 85 countries, with Denmark, at number one, the least corrupt (and Nigeria one of the worst, at 81). But South Africa is higher in the corruption list of shame than it was in the first post-apartheid years. One consequence of this may be the net outflow of 2.8 billion rand (\$465m) of foreign direct investment from the country in the first half of this year. To get investment back, South Africa needs to be much more open.

Nigeria

Probing the past

LAGOS

AT A magistrate's court in central Lagos on Thursday, Mohammed Abacha, the eldest surviving son of a former military dictator, the late Sani Abacha, and four others were charged with murder. Mr Abacha and Major Hamza al-Mustapha, General Abacha's chief security officer, stand accused of killing in 1996 Kudirat Abiola, wife of Moshood Abiola, who won the 1993 election and died in 1998; Major al-Mustapha is also charged with murdering Shehu Musa Yar'Adua, a former vice-president in 1997. All pleaded not guilty.

Major al-Mustapha's lawyer had protested against the choice of Lagos, a hotbed of opposition to army rule, fearing for the safety of his client. The government spokesman dismissed this as nonsense. The trial, he added, is "a question of the rule of law."

The rule of law and good government are at the heart of three big investigations currently going on in Nigeria, alongside Mr Abacha's trial. Together they represent Nigeria's attempt to find out what happened in the country's dismal past, and name those responsible. The scale of the task makes the Augean stables look like a litter tray.

One inquiry is looking into the theft of public funds during General Abacha's rule. President Olusegun Obasanjo has asked his security adviser, Aliyu Mohammed, to trace and recover hundreds of millions of dollars stolen from public coffers. Mohammed Abacha and his mother Maryam were made to hand over \$750m last year. But this is said to be a mere fraction of the money that went missing. For instance, a court case in London is looking at the money paid out for a steel works at Ajaokuta. This was one of Africa's more notorious white elephants, costing some \$5 billion, of which \$2 billion is alleged to have gone into the pockets of Abacha's ministers. This week, Switzerland froze the accounts of members of the Abacha family.

A second investigation, under the chair-

manship of a former Supreme Court judge, Chukwudifu Oputa, is looking into murders and other atrocities under military rule. It was originally set up by Mr Obasanjo to examine the record of military regimes since 1994, but its remit has been extended twice and it has now been asked to investigate events as far back as the first military coup in 1966. That means it will have to look at the 1967-70 Biafran civil war and all the military regimes since. Admitting the hugeness of the task, Mr Oputa says, "If we know what happened...there are things we cannot undo, but the knowledge itself will heal, and if someone says sorry that will heal too."

Another aspect of Nigeria's messy past is being dealt with by a committee probing the financial actions of the military regime that took over on Abacha's death in 1998 and was headed by the affable General Abdulsalami Abubakar. The seven-member group, chaired by a businessman, Christopher Kolade, has been beaver away since June at a mountain of contracts, licences and awards made by the Abubakar administration in a last-minute spending spree before handing over to civilian rule in May. Mr Kolade, no novice in the jungle of Nigeria's public sector, says that even he was surprised by the scale of corruption. So far, 16 oil licences awarded in March have been torn up.

The hungry are always with us

ROME

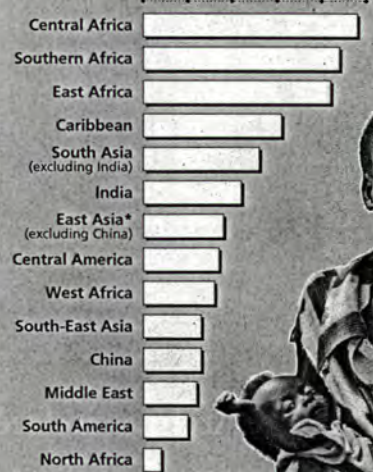
ALITTLE good news first: the number of people in the developing world who do not have enough to eat declined by 40m during the first half of the 1990s. This, however, is eclipsed by the bad news: there are still 790m hungry people in poor countries, plus another 34m in richer ones. The first report on "The state of food insecurity in the world", published this week by the UN's Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), shows how much is still to be done to reach the goal set in 1996 of halving the number of hungry people by 2015.

Unsurprisingly, India and China, with the most people, also have the most ill-fed people: India 204m and China 164m. But, between 1979 and 1997, both have slashed the proportion of their undernourished, India from 38% to 22% and China from 30% to 13%. Other Asian countries are doing less well. Almost half the people of North Korea and Mongolia, and one third of those in Laos and Cambodia, go hungry.

The most desolate results come from sub-Saharan Africa, where one-third of the population is still undernourished. It is a bleak picture, made worse by war, past and present. According to the FAO, over half the people in Congo, Mozambique, Eritrea

Hunger pangs

Undernourishment, % of population 1995-97



Source: FAO *Including Papua New Guinea



and Ghana go hungry, and almost three-quarters in Somalia. Still, even in sub-Saharan Africa there are a handful of successes, mainly in West Africa. Ghana has made the most Af-

rican progress: 20 years ago, two-thirds of Ghanaians suffered hunger; now the figure is about one-tenth. The FAO's research shows areas of Latin America and the Caribbean doing poorly. In Venezuela, its oil notwithstanding, hunger has increased four-fold over the past 20 years, and the proportion of hungry Venezuelans is now higher than the proportion of hungry Chinese. North Africa is the one lucky region able to show general improvement, with no country having more than 5% of its people undernourished.

Recording the numbers, and where they live, is a beginning only.

The FAO's report looks at the groups of people at risk, and what creates their predicament. Again, there are not many surprises: vulnerable groups range from the victims of conflict to migrant workers to children everywhere. Two out of five children in the developing world are stunted, one in three is underweight and one in ten is "wasted". Stop fighting, and go all out for economic growth, is the FAO's predictable but difficult-to-execute advice.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

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MEMORANDUM

TO: POTUS
FROM: Senator John Breaux *John*
DATE: October 20, 1999
SUBJECT: Medicare reform

Notwithstanding the fact that we are approaching an election year, I still think there is a narrow window of opportunity to pass real Medicare reform. Senators Roth and Moynihan have expressed a bipartisan commitment to revisit this issue early next year and the Senate Finance Committee continues to be the most likely forum to begin addressing this issue.

The fee-for-service modernization provisions included in your Medicare reform proposal are an important part of a comprehensive solution. The premium support proposal that a majority of the Commission endorsed was based on an environment where private plans would compete directly with a government-sponsored fee-for-service option. It also included proposals to modernize HCFA so that it is able to effectively compete in a premium support world.

I think our proposals are similar in many respects and that a compromise is possible. In terms of moving Medicare to a more competitive system, both the Commission proposal and your plan would put the government-run fee-for-service plan into direct competition with private plans. Both proposals would establish a new premium schedule that allow beneficiaries to pocket most of the savings if they chose inexpensive plans and both would give the fee-for-service plan more flexibility to innovate and compete. The key difference is that your proposal links the new premium schedule to the current fee-for-service plan, preventing the premium for fee-for-service from increasing more than expected under current law, but limiting the potential savings. The Commission's plan links the premium schedule to the average premium of all plans, offering greater potential for savings by making fee-for-service fully compete with private plans.

Short of a comprehensive approach, I think we could pass legislation early next year that represents a real down payment on Medicare reform. Specifically, we could try to package some fee-for-service modernization proposals with the establishment of a Medicare Board which was an integral part of the Commission proposal. Since many lawmakers do not trust the Department of Health and Human Services to run a fair competitive system and the fee-for-service plan at the same time, the establishment of an independent board to oversee the competition is critical to the successful

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

transition to a modernized Medicare program. As part of the transition, the discussion should include gradually moving oversight of the Medicare+Choice program to the Medicare Board. The Board would have to be an entity independent of HCFA with real oversight, not simply advisory, authority. I think the IRS Oversight Board created in the 1997 IRS restructuring bill could offer guidance on the establishment and responsibilities of a Medicare Board. I know there will be resistance within HHS to the creation of such a board but I really think it is critical if we are serious about modernizing Medicare and moving it to a more competitive system. The establishment of a Medicare Board would also represent a commitment to long-term reform and would justify giving HCFA some of the modernization tools it needs to prepare for a more competitive environment.

I look forward to talking with you about this in more detail. Thank you for the opportunity to share my thoughts on this with you.

Premium Support System

MEDICARE BOARD

- Ensure quality standards
- Negotiate premiums
- Approve benefits package
- Safeguard against adverse selection
- Provide information to beneficiaries

HCFA Administered
Fee-For-Service Plan

Private Plan
#1

Private Plan
#2

Private Plan
#3

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

Kate Britton

October 18, 1999

Dear Bill,

Thank you for sharing with me in such a personal way your own past reasoning in regard to partial-birth abortion, in response to the extraordinary *Eulogy for Matthew*. As a friend and sister-in-Christ, I feel a desire to respond to the explanation you offered as to why criminality should not be attached to partial-birth abortion.

As you know, your success in keeping this procedure free of criminality has not restricted its practice to a "benign zone" wherein partial-birth abortion is performed only on behalf of conflicted and earnest parents facing rare circumstances. I wish to bring to your attention some results of the growing practice of partial-birth abortion in our country. I enclose for you an article, "Dead Baby Parts Business Booming" (*The Wanderer*, 9/30/99) which exposes grotesque sub-industries that now openly auction the intact corpses of American babies. This article shows that the lack of criminality of partial-birth abortion has had an effect far beyond that of being lenient toward women whose unborn babies have rare medical conditions. The article quotes directly from brochures and publicity materials published by fetal tissue wholesalers which solicit or advertise their leasing of space at abortion facilities, in order to have their own employees on site for the purpose of harvesting correctly-packed fetal tissue, limbs and organs. Vendors of human body parts offer top price only for *intact* organs. The prices for fragmented parts are reduced by 30%. The incentive for increased partial-birth abortion, which results in an intact body, becomes clear. The industry anticipates only increasing demand for tissue harvested from intact aborted babies. *What kind of nation are we becoming?*

Bill, when you personally legitimized the reasoning of five mothers who defended their decisions to end their pregnancies by means of partial-birth abortion, you assumed the obligation of guaranteeing that this option must be permissible even if practiced on a large scale. When you protect from criminality the decision of a mother who decides for partial-birth abortion due to a desire to preserve her future fertility and/or end the suffering of her child, you also condone the error she makes of naming the undeniable but *relative goods* of fertility and freedom from suffering superior to the *absolute good* of already-created human life. Scripture records in countless passages that God has reserved exclusively to Himself the right to number the days of a human life. ["*The LORD kills and brings to life.*" I Samuel 2:6 "*There are... things which the LORD hates... hands that shed innocent blood.*" Proverbs 6:16,17] No creature may assume a right superior to the rights of the Creator Himself. These mothers' poor formation in natural law led them to the wrong conclusion that protecting their potency to have another baby with a longer life-expectancy or better health was an *absolute good*. No parent, however prayerful, has an absolute right to fertility or to a healthy child. These are gifts of God--gifts which He is free to grant or to withhold. ["*For My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways My ways, says the LORD. For as the heavens*

Bill / M. Britton

What about the
signatures on p. 12 -
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11-24-99

are higher than the earth, so are My ways higher than your ways." Isaiah 55:8,9] The tragic cost of each mother's erroneous ranking of *relative goods* (the natural desire for fertility, for a normal pregnancy and for freedom from suffering) over an *absolute good* (man's obligation to heed God's absolute injunction against the taking of innocent life) was the intentional death of her baby.

I can state with confidence that the mothers you mentioned who said that they were Catholic acted in violation of 20 centuries of unequivocal teaching by the Roman Catholic Church upholding the absolute dignity and sanctity of every human life, irrespective of its health or duration. The freedom of a Catholic to follow her conscience proceeds from the obligation first to achieve a rightly-formed conscience. These mothers cannot cite a single Scripture passage, the writings of any Church Father, a Papal Encyclical nor reference from the Catholic Catechism which supports their decisions to end their pregnancies—no matter how hard to bear the cross of painful circumstances surrounding them.

is this true?
It is a sad fact that your five women—and any woman to whom partial-birth abortion is presented as the best option—were given poor medical care. Partial-birth abortion has not been shown to influence positively maternal fertility. Its effectiveness as a means of euthanizing a handicapped child *in utero* is undisputed. Today, the vast majority of partial-birth abortions are performed in the 5th or 6th months of normal pregnancies and are completely elective, that is, not associated with maternal or fetal risk. Most doctors in practice today did not learn this method of abortion in medical school. The procedure was devised, absent scrutiny of mainstream physicians, by physician-operators of abortion clinics. In 1992, details of the procedure were presented publicly for the first time at the National Abortion Federation. The electorate, the courts, and the medical establishment became aware of partial-birth abortion only after this presentation. The procedure is unnatural in every way and clearly was designed to manipulate the scope of *Roe v. Wade*. The procedure's inventors wagered (so far, correctly) that if they insured that *only the head was allowed to emerge* previous to delivering the fatal puncture, they evaded the protection guaranteed to a whole person under the Constitution.

Bill, I ask you to re-examine your past stand and look hard at what motivated you in it. This procedure is evil and, as the enclosed article shows, its results are evil, and you—a Christian and President of the United States—should not continue to support its protection from criminality.

Bill, every president needs moral standing before the people he serves. Let a reversal on your part toward the criminality of partial-birth abortion be a sign of your humility and moral courage toward that end. It's never too late to do what's right. I urge you to take bold advantage of extraordinary graces that are offered by Jesus Christ to all those who are blessed to be alive for the celebration of the 2000th year since His birth. Jesus Himself assures you personally, "*Do not be afraid!*" [Mt 28:10] We recall that the Mary's pregnancy with Jesus was not without aspects of "crisis." God did not spare even the mother of His own Son anguish and confusion in her maternity. She too feared for

the proximate and ultimate fate of her baby. Jesus has truly gone before us in every way in order to provide for our needs *right now*.

My favorite parable is the one where Jesus tells about two brothers who are given an order by their father. One says immediately that he will obey, but does not. The other defies his father verbally, but then reconsiders and ultimately does obey. Jesus asks, "*Which of the two did the will of his father?*" [Mt 21:31] I love this story because I am like the second brother. Many times in my life—sometimes in grave matters—I too say "no" to my Father. Upon reconsidering (often *years* later), I must repent of my words and deeds of defiance and follow instead the *narrow way* of God's Will. What a relief it is to me to know that my habitual, ever-ready expressions of self-love do not determine my ability to repent and then *do the will of my Father!* I am grateful that He is the God of second chances.

I'll be praying for you regarding the criminality of partial-birth abortion. A change within your heart is the basis for the change of mind in you that can instantly strike a measurable blow to this evil. I know that this is hard, but it is not too hard for you, if you surrender to God's doing of it through you. Ask Him sincerely, and then watch how He makes for you "*a hiding place from the wind; a covert from the tempest; streams of water in a dry place; shade in a weary land.*" [Is 32:2] I believe in you and in your capacity, as Mother Teresa taught us all, "*to do something beautiful for God.*" I see in you *liberation of spirit*, a virtue much-loved by God, for those blessed with it can seek and find Him everywhere and in everyone. Take courage in the knowledge that God has called and kept hidden Donna Wilkes as a *suffering co-worker* both of your interior life in Christ and your public life as President of the United States. At Mass today, we heard proclaimed, "***Despite the increase of sin, grace has far surpassed it, so that, as sin reigned through death, grace may reign by way of justice leading to eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.***" [Rom 5:21] Let us claim this verse for the sake of Jesus Christ's babies!

+ In Christ,
Ratz

11-24-98

Dead Baby Parts Business Booming

By PAUL LIKOUDIS

Here is a sign of the times of American life in the Clinton regime:

"Human embryonic and fetal tissues are available from the Central Laboratory for Human Embryology at the University of Washington. The laboratory, which is supported by the National Institutes of Health, can supply tissue from normal or abnormal embryos and fetuses of desired gestational ages between 40 days and term. Specimens are obtained within minutes of passage and tissues are aseptically identified, staged, and immediately processed according to the requirements of individual investigators. Presently, processing methods include immediate fixation, snap fixation, snap freezing in liquid nitrogen and placement in balanced salt solutions or media designated and/or supplied by investigators. Specimens are shipped by overnight express, arriving the day following procurement. . . .

"Inquiries:

"Alan G. Fantel, Ph.D.

"Department of Pediatrics, RD-20

"Seattle, WA 98195."

In cold, clinical research terms, here is the end product of the "fetal tissue issue" — an economical-

ly important byproduct of the sexual revolution.

(For those who want to see the document themselves, it's only a click away on the Internet. Just call up the ask.com search engine, type in "Where can I purchase fetal tissue?," and within seconds, "NIH Guide" will appear as one of the answers.)

Here, courtesy of the National Institutes of Health, in taxpayer-funded black and white, is the reality of America's culture of death: commercial cannibalism of the young of the human species, a business about to break into the mainstream as a coalition of major medical and health organizations, businesses, and associations press for federal funding of lethal embryo research.

Since the widespread legalization of abortion, abortionists, protected and promoted by media publicists, have dramatized the plight of the poor pregnant girl whose life can only be set right by free and easy access to tax-funded abortions.

The abortion industry, however, has always been about money, and now Houston-based Life Dynamics has shown it's a double-profiteering, body-snatching supplier for the rapidly growing biologics and pharmaceutical industries which require a continuing supply of fresh human bodies, brains, organs, flesh and bones for research, product manufacturing, treatments, and therapies.

Following the release, last May, of a powerful LifeTalk video featuring "Kelly," a fetal tissue procurer for the Maryland-based Anatomic Gifts Foundation, Life Dynamics has released documentation obtained from fetal tissue wholesalers, that is, companies which place their employees in abortion facilities to harvest tissue, limbs, organs, etc. The tissue is

See

"business booming" p. 8

Business Booming

(Continued from Page 1)
then shipped to universities, pharmaceutical and biologics firms, and government research centers.

Just Business

Included in the documents are price lists and shipping and procurement instructions.

Opening Lines, a division of Consultative and Diagnostic Pathology, Inc., of West Frankfurt, Ill., will pay \$999 for brains eight weeks old or less ("30% discount if significantly fragmented"), \$400 for an intact embryonic cadaver eight weeks old or less; \$600 for an intact embryonic cadaver above eight weeks; \$550 for gonads; \$350 for bone marrow, and various prices for everything but the scream: livers, spleens, pancreas, thymus, mesentery, kidney, pituitary gland, ears, eyes, skin, lung and heart block, spinal column, spinal cord, cord blood, limbs.

Anatomic Gift Foundation will pay \$220 for a first-trimester aspiration abortion ("fresh") and \$260 if it is "frozen."

Opening Lines provides two kinds of promotional literature, brochures for abortion clinics and brochures for researchers and industry, which Life Dynamics includes in its booklet of documentation.

The front page of the brochure for abortion facilities proclaims: "Find out how you can turn your patients' decision into something wonderful." Inside is this text: "We know your patient's decision to have an abortion [was] carefully considered and we also know it was a very difficult one to make."

"Now that the choice has been made, we ask that you propose to your patient a simple program that could help thousands of people."

"Consultative and Diagnostic Pathology, Inc., will be asking to obtain tissue specimens from your patient's medical procedure."

"This is an opportunity to make a difference... and it can be beneficial to your clinic."

"1) Consultative and Diagnostic Pathology will lease space from your facility to perform the harvesting and distribution of tissue. The revenue generated from the lease can be used to offset your clinic's overhead."

"2) Consultative and Diagnostic Pathology can train your staff to harvest and process fetal tissue. Based on your volume we will reimburse part or all of your employee's salary, thereby reducing your overhead."

The brochure for industry declares: "Fresh Fetal Tissue harvested and shipped to your specifications... where and when you need it."

The company boasts its tissue "is the highest quality, most affordable, and freshest tissue prepared to your specifications and delivered in the quantities you need when you need it."

A Ghoulish Request

Also included in the Life Dynamics booklet are dozens of copies of completed "tissue requested" documents, along with protocols for harvesting, preserving, and shipping.

One such document is a request for "Limbs, Liver, Thymus."

"Preservation: Fresh shipped on wet ice. IMDM/10%, 1x 1-Glutamine, Pen/Strep. Will supply if necessary. Limbs intact. To be removed under sterile conditions...."

"Shipping: Fresh, wet ice. Priority overnight or same day."

"Tissue Use/Significance: Human fetal tissue will be used for the generation of SCID-humice. Briefly, a SCID mouse is engrafted with either a human bone marrow fragment, thymus/liver graft, or a lymph node. These mice will then be used to study hemoglobinopathies in vivo.... Approval for the production of SCID humice and transplantation of cells into them has already been obtained from the IUCUC of Genetech, Inc. (Study #97-156)."

Other documents stipulate that organs must be retrieved within ten minutes, indicating that the organ must be procured from a living, aborted baby.

Other documents stipulate "no dig," which instructs the abortionist that no digoxin (a fetocidal chemical) can be used, for it would harm the desired organs.

Other norms stipulate "no anomalies" or "no congenital abnormalities" — evidence perfectly healthy babies are being aborted for organ harvesting.

Life Dynamics also discloses that these fetal organ harvesting businesses set up promotional booths at conferences held by the National Abortion Federation.

Much of the fetal tissue is used for HIV/AIDS research.

Technically, this gruesome business is illegal. It is against federal law to sell human tissue or body parts, but as Life Dynamics points out: "The fetal material [the companies] harvest is 'donated' to

them by the clinics. However, they do pay a 'site fee' to the clinics for the right to access the tissue."

"The tissue is then 'donated' to the researchers who in turn pay the wholesalers for the cost of retrieval. Profit is realized by the wholesalers' ability to set their own retrieval fees."

Something Old, Something New

Fetal tissue research, harvesting organs from living, aborted babies, building "humice" for research and the rest of the brave new world of biomedical research is not new; the work goes back to the 1920s, according to the American Life League's Judie Brown in "Recycling Babies: The Practice of Fetal Tissue Research" (1996).

In the American Life League's *Pro-Life Activist's Encyclopedia* entry on "Fetal Experimentation: Frankenstein Revisited," author Brian Clowes traces the gruesome history of fetal experimentation and organ harvesting — the "road to Auschwitz" — back to European and U.S. universities in the 1960s. The practice rapidly accelerated with the legalization of abortion.

On May 20th, a coalition called Patients' CURE (Coalition for Urgent Research) started lobbying in Washington, D.C., for federal taxpayer funding of stem cell research that requires the killing of human embryos, accompanied by an enormous media blitz ballyhooing the alleged benefits of fetal tissue research for a host of medical problems.

Members of the coalition include the Alliance for Aging Research, the American Cancer Society, the Glaucoma Research Council, Juvenile Diabetes Foundation International, Parkinson's Action Network, Resolve: The National Infertility Association, and the Spina Bifida Association, Inc.

As Richard Doerflinger of the U.S. Bishops' Pro-Life Activities office observed, the demand for federal funding for destructive embryo research — currently against the law — represents a dramatic turn in the American abortion culture: Government now can only fund those abortions which "save the life of the mother," but

under proposed legislation, will fund abortions that "produce life-saving benefits for others."

Clowes estimates that, with the aging of America and the growing callousness of baby-boomers, there will be an increased demand for medical treatments using organs and tissue harvested from aborted babies.

"It may be expected," he wrote in *ALL's Encyclopedia*, "that as many as five million people will make use of fetal tissue on a regular basis. This means that the total amount of fetal tissue required to satisfy the demands of these 'neo-vampires' will be measured in the tons every year."

"Since there are only about 120,000 second and third trimester abortions in the United States, this means that demand for fetal tissue will crushingly and inevitably overwhelm the available supply."

Clowes predicted "inflated prices... a thriving black market; the growing and selling of preborn babies for sale; the import of fetal tissue from poor and developing countries; and entrepreneurs encouraging women to abort as late as possible for a monetary reward."

Clowes wrote the above in 1995.

In 1999, Kelly, the pseudonymous organ harvester who unloaded her documents at Life Dynamics, confirmed that women are "coerced" into having abortions. Women, she says, would change their minds after entering the abortion mills, but they were sedated by staff into a "Niquil nap."

Kelly also testified on the Life Dynamics video that women are encouraged to have late-term abortions to meet the demands of an industry that requires intact specimens and tissues.

Mark Crutcher, president of Life Dynamics, says he's convinced that the reason the abortion industry fights so hard to keep "partial-birth abortion" legal is that it wants to sell the fetal tissue.

"Why do pro-aborts fight so hard to keep it?," he asks in an interview published last month in *The Alberta Report*. "All it says is you can't kill them by this method...."

"This is about maximizing profits. First, you sell the woman an abortion. Then you turn around and sell the dead baby you take out of her. But you have to take it out whole or you don't have anything to sell."

11-24-99
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
TWENTY-NINTH SUNDAY: YEAR A
(10/17/99)

46. GIVING TO GOD WHAT IS GOD'S

46.1 Loyal collaborators in fostering the common good.

The *First Reading* of today's Mass shows us how God chooses his instruments of salvation wherever He pleases.¹ To bring his People out of exile the Lord takes hold of Cyrus, a pagan king. The Lord uses political authority to do good. There is nothing in the universe that lies outside his paternal dominion.

In the Gospel for today² Jesus reaffirms the duty of all of us to obey civil authority. The Pharisees and the Herodians had attempted to lay a trap with their question: Was it licit to pay tribute to Caesar? There were those among the Jews who argued that such payments simply reinforced the tyranny of foreign domination over the Chosen People. If the Master were to acquiesce in this payment, the Pharisees would be able to accuse him of collaboration with the Romans. He would thus be discredited before a good part of the people. But if He were to oppose the tax, the Herodians, who were in league with the (occupying) civil power, would then have grounds for a denunciation to the Romans.

Jesus gives his enemies a profound response, which went far beyond their twisted expectations. He does not limit himself to a 'yes' or 'no'. The Master speaks: *Render therefore to Caesar the things that are Caesar's*, he says, *and to God the things that are God's*. Give to Caesar what

rightfully belongs to him: tribute, obedience to just laws ... but nothing more. The State does not enjoy absolute power and dominion. As ordinary citizens, Christians have *the obligation of rendering to the state whatever material and personal services are required for the common good*.³ For their part, civil authorities are obligated to act with equity and justice in the distribution of their goods and services. They have to serve the common good without looking for any personal gain. They have to legislate and govern with the greatest respect for the natural law and the rights of people. This includes the protection of life from the moment of conception, defence of the family, religious liberty, the rights of parents regarding the education of their children. The Lord speaks through the Prophet Isaiah: *Woe to those who decree iniquitous decrees*.⁴

Christians are obliged to pray for those who exercise civil authority. Rulers and governments have a great responsibility to carry out. Christians should fulfil their duties to society with virtually scrupulous exactitude. There should be no more loyal collaborators for the common good than the Christian faithful. This fidelity will spring naturally from well-formed consciences. Their relations with civil authority should become, in fact, a path to sanctity: the payment of taxes, the power to vote, our involvement in associations for public welfare, active participation in political life should that be our calling ... Let us examine ourselves today to see if we are truly being good examples to others of fostering the common good.

1. *First Reading*, Is 45:1; 4-6
2. Matt 22:15-21

3. Second Vatican Council, *Gaudium et spes*, 75
4. Is 10:1

46.2 The religious dimension of man.

The Lord recognized the civil power and its rights, but He also stated quite clearly that we have to respect the rights of God.⁵ Human activity cannot be reduced to strictly social and political spheres of action. Every individual has a profound religious dimension to his being. It informs all of his works and gives them tremendous dignity. This explains why the Lord adds those important words: Give ... *to God the things that are God's*.

Whenever a Christian plays a part in public affairs, in education, say, or in cultural life, he or she cannot behave as if to reserve the faith for some better occasion in the future. *The distinction which Christ made was not intended to relegate religion to the temple – to the sacristy – so that temporal realities would develop apart from divine and Christian law.*⁶ Quite the contrary; Christians are challenged to be *light and salt* in the middle of the world. We are called to transform the environments in which we live and work, so as to make them more human. We should strive to make the path to God accessible for as many of our fellow men as possible. In the words of the Second Vatican Council: *The laity accomplish the Church's mission in the world principally by that blending of conduct and faith which makes them the light of the world; by that uprightness in all their dealings which is for every man such an incentive to love the true and the good and which is capable of inducing him at last to go to Christ and the Church; by that fraternal charity that makes them share the living conditions and labours, the sufferings and yearnings of their brothers, and thereby prepare all hearts, gently, imperceptibly, for the action of saving grace; by that full awareness of their*

*personal responsibility in the development of society, which drives them on to perform their family, social and professional duties with Christian generosity.*⁷

46.3 The Faith, a powerful light.

When it comes to fundamental questions of social morality, Christians should be fully aware of the fact that their religious faith serves as a powerful light illuminating the whole area of the common good. The teachings of God and his Church are not an obstacle to human welfare or scientific progress. They are rather a sure guide for the realization of those worthy goals. When, for example, a Christian maintains the indissolubility of marriage, he is showing the way to guaranteeing the health of society.⁸ He thus provides huge benefit to all. It is not a question of safeguarding our own special privileges. We have so much to give for the good of society! This is what we can learn from the example of the first Christians. A person with a well-formed conscience can make an enormous contribution to the real welfare of his or her fellow citizens. The Christian has a most precious light to offer amidst so much darkness!

What has come to pass in our society is most lamentable, as was pointed out by Cardinal Luciani, later Pope John Paul I: *In this same society there is a terrible moral and religious void*, he wrote, *Today all seem frantically directed toward material conquests: make money, invest, surround oneself with new comforts, live the 'good life'. Few think also of 'doing good'.*

God – who should fill our life – has, on the contrary, become a very distant star, to which people look only at

5. cf Second Vatican Council, *Dignitatis humanae*, 11

6. J. Escrivá, *Letter*, 9 January 1959

7. Second Vatican Council, *Apostolicam actuositatem*, 13

8. cf J. M. Pero-Sanz, *Believers in Society*, Madrid 1981, p. 30

• certain moments. People believe they are religious because they go to church; but outside of church they want to lead the same life as many others, marked by small or big deceits, acts of injustice, sins against charity; and thus they totally lack coherence.⁹ This is not the way to render to God the things that are God's. The proper path lies in living a coherent life of faith. We should act as children of God in the halls of government as well as in the living-rooms of our friends. We should have the firm conviction that the Church is an unquenchable source of truth, the only source capable of filling our modern age's terrible moral and religious void. A society without these values is at the mercy of aggressive elements and prey to a gradual dehumanization. God is not a distant star out of touch with mankind. He is a most powerful light who gives meaning and significance to all human affairs. We Christians, then, are the ones who have to transform the world we live in, in alliance with all people of good will. How can we stand idly by in the defence of human life from its beginnings? Shall we be silent in the face of genetic manipulations that degrade the subject and at the same time every other human person? In another area, what is to be done about the right of parents to educate their children?

Render to God the things of God. The Lord is the life of every person from the moment of conception. The Lord sanctified family life in Nazareth and later taught us to respect the indissolubility of marriage. The Lord revealed these truths even though many of his hearers were scandalized at his message. Despite all social pressures and propaganda to the contrary, married Christians should take care not to block the wellsprings of life. Truly, all men and women should make a serious effort to receive good

formation for their consciences.

Our entire life is for the Lord, and everything in it. How is it possible that we could reserve some area of it for our sole personal domain?

9. A. Luciani, *Illustrissimi*, p. 179

7B 15K

PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-24-99

PRESIDENT CLINTON

Copier
Podesta
WW
Berger

11-24-99

MEMO

To: President Clinton
From: Bob Miller
Subject: Fact Sheet for Bulgaria Visit
Date: November 15, 1999

Mr. President, pursuant to our recent conversation, here are a few background notes for your consideration with respect to your visit to Bulgaria:

- This is my third visit to Bulgaria, with the first visit being three years ago on behalf of the U.S. Government. On that trip, which was taken with Mr. Tom Tait, Executive Director of the Nevada Commission on Tourism, an analysis of Bulgaria's tourism potential was undertaken. Meetings were held with various government and tourism officials, including my first meeting with Bulgarian President Petar Stoyanov.
- This past summer, my family and I vacationed at the seaside resort of Albena, located on the coast of the Black Sea, where we were the guests of the resort owner and good friend Dr. Todor Radev, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Albena Tourist Co. Dr. Radev was additionally my host on my trip three years ago. Both Dr. Radev and Tom Tait will be present during your visit to Bulgaria.
- While it may be too politically sensitive of an issue to comment on directly, **the Russian boycott of Bulgaria has caused an economic hardship for the country and the Black Sea resorts specifically. Last summer, Albena alone has conservatively lost over \$2 million tourism dollars due to the boycott. You will recall I discussed that fact with you. That may be very sensitive. But if you desired you could mention the tourism potential of the Black Sea Resorts. Albena, by the way, is considering designing Bulgaria's first golf course and would love for you to be the first person to play on it.**
- Finally, as background, I will be meeting with President Stoyanov on behalf of myself and others in Las Vegas and presenting a proposal regarding retaining us to help Bulgaria with its tourism message, advertising and lobbying/consulting issues.

cc: Spurlin
T. Brainer
Boulton

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-24-99

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Spurlin
Podesta
Branch
personal file

11-24-99

PUBLIC LIVES

A Clinton Whiz Kid Who's Still There and Still a Believer

By ROBIN TONER

WASHINGTON
GENE SPERLING, director of the National Economic Council, assistant to the President for economic policy and legendary workaholic, was alternating between Diet Coke and coffee at 10 P.M. on Thursday.

He was trying to reflect on his life, but the final negotiations on legislation to overhaul the nation's financial services industry were playing out on Capitol Hill, and Mr. Sperling was in the thick of it. So periodically an assistant would come to the door to announce a phone call from Treasury Secretary Lawrence H. Summers or the like, requiring Mr. Sperling to retreat, take the call, return and then try to slip back into cosmic mode.

For example, why has he endured, when so many of the other Clinton whiz kids have not?

"When you ask what keeps somebody here, it really is that knowledge that you may never have the opportunity to have this kind of impact again in your life," Mr. Sperling said, somewhat wistfully. "And that you have a chance, at times, to do good things for people who may not have the power to be at the table."

He worried, a moment later, about sounding self-important; in reality, as he reminisced about the economic battles of the Clinton years, he sounded like one of the last true believers. Most of the Clinton believers who made the leap from the campaign are gone — feeling burned out or betrayed or simply ready for something new. Mr. Sperling is enmeshed in his seventh season of budgetary combat.

His job, previously held by Robert E. Rubin and Laura D'Andrea Tyson, puts him in the center of the Administration's economic agenda; he brings a deeply political background. In addition to his role in last week's banking negotiations, Mr. Sperling is a prime strategist on the Administration's latest Social Security move, to try to shore up the program with projected Federal budget surpluses, and — not coincidentally — prevent the Republicans from seizing the political high ground.

Mr. Sperling was out berating the Republican opposition on CNN on Sunday, asserting that they had a "cynical strategy to say that Demo-



Shana Raab for The New York Times
 Gene Sperling, head of the National Economic Council and workaholic.

crats are spending Social Security surplus when they are."

His sparring partner, Senator Pete V. Domenici of New Mexico, chairman of the Budget Committee, shot back, "This is typical of this White House, and I'm very sorry that the White House staff is not advising in a different mode."

In President Clinton's first term, Mr. Sperling was deputy director of the National Economic Council, and in the trenches for the budget battles of 1993 and 1995. He was economic policy director for the Clinton campaign in 1992. One of the advantages of his longevity, he says, is his relationship with the President.

"You know where his policy vision and his heart is," Mr. Sperling said. "And he knows you know where his policy vision and his heart is."

Mr. Sperling is 40 now, much better dressed, and no longer carrying the air of a grad student the day after an all-nighter. He has his workaholic tendencies under better control, he suggests: "Definitely have eased up some, but it's still at times too much." In fact, *W* magazine recently declared the never-married Mr. Sperling "one of the hottest catches on the Washington social scene" and "an unusually likable policy wonk." (This caused no end of amusement at the White House, including a "Dating Game"-style introduction by one of his colleagues in the press briefing room: "He loves tennis, rapid G.D.P. growth and romantic mid-

night walks on West Executive Drive.")

Mr. Sperling recently betrayed a touch of midlife crisis, going bungee-jumping on a Presidential visit to New Zealand. "It was a personal, conquer-your-fears challenge by a person who's seriously afraid of heights," he said.

BUT Mr. Sperling is still the same passionately political policy wonk that he was in 1988, when he was happily spinning reporters about the virtues of the college loan program proposed by Michael S. Dukakis, then the Democratic nominee for President. When asked about his best moments in the White House, Mr. Sperling tended toward budgets, like the passage of the 1993 agreement, "the sense that after all the campaign battling over the budget, you'd

been part of a team that had actually done something significant, in terms of deficit reduction, in terms of the earned income tax credit."

When asked his worst moment, he cited 1995, when the Republicans had just taken over Congress: "The fear that very important protections in Medicaid, the earned income tax credit and food stamps would be undermined on your watch."

One of four children of a lawyer and an educational consultant, Mr. Sperling grew up in Ann Arbor, Mich., went to the University of Minnesota, received his law degree from Yale and attended Wharton Business School. He was one of a generation of young Democrats who came of age during the Reagan years and yearned to bring their party back to power with policies that broadened its appeal, particularly an economic message that could embrace both strong private-sector growth and strong Federal spending on social policy.

As the interview was ending, Mr. Sperling returned to the question about his best moments in the White House. What it came down to, he said, was "that special sense of camaraderie that you feel with certain people, when you have a mission and a cause you believe in." There seemed to be a lot of ghosts in the room, from Robert E. Rubin to George Stephanopoulos. Earlier, Mr. Sperling acknowledged that he missed them.

Gene

Congratulations but this -
 you deserve it - and of course
 I'm grateful - to the fact is
 whether we be
 turned the
 country
 around in a way that has had
 a positive impact on all Americans
 you've got said our separate cubes
 are wrong -

The New York Times

MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1999

BC

Jack Rosen

910 Sylvan Avenue
Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632
201-567-4600

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-24-99

11/12/17
Podesta
How did the
Treasury come out?
2. Pres.

November 10, 1999

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of The United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

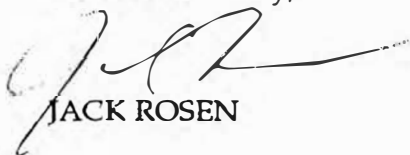
Dear Mr. President:

I am sending you this brief note concerning the FCC's support for legislation to reverse numerous federal court decisions and allow the agency to reclaim spectrum licenses from companies that have filed for bankruptcy protection (the so-called "C-block" licenses). As you know, I have been attempting to settle the issues arising out of these bankruptcy proceedings to everyone's satisfaction, including the FCC's. We continue to negotiate in good faith to achieve that end.

My understanding is that the FCC-sponsored provision to reclaim the licenses of any company that has filed for bankruptcy protection remains alive in the appropriations process. As you know, OMB has stated that the driving force for this proposal is the \$500 million score attached to it. However, recent events suggest that the score is not the sole or perhaps key motivation: there have been efforts to add the FCC bankruptcy proposal to several unrelated measures over the last few days, including the satellite and bank reform measures. This "win at all costs" approach is disturbing and completely inconsistent with our good faith efforts to negotiate a reasonable settlement of this case.

Finally, I am attaching a letter I presume that you have seen from ten of the most senior legislators in the house indicating their unequivocal opposition to this proposal and their strong desire that it not be included as a budget spending offset. Thanks for your attention and consideration.

Sincerely,


JACK ROSEN

Copied
Podesta

Congress of the United States
Washington, DC 20515

November 4, 1999

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

It is our understanding that the Administration is considering the use of the "C-block" proposal as a spending offset in the FY 2000 budget negotiations. Please be advised of our strong bipartisan opposition to this idea.

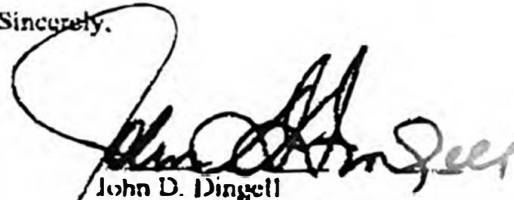
This proposal would empower the Federal Communications Commission to seize in bankruptcy proceedings radio licenses previously issued to telecommunications companies pursuant to Section 309(j) of the Communications Act of 1934. Such authority would be contrary to both current telecommunications policy and bankruptcy law. It would strip away from these companies vital property rights that are available to all other American companies under the Bankruptcy Code. Moreover, this proposal would apply retroactively.

The "C-block" proposal would have a severely detrimental effect on an important and growing sector of the economy. Start-up telecommunications companies will not be able to attract the capital investment they so desperately need if their most valuable asset is subject to a perfected, first priority security interest of the Federal Government.

For these reasons, we strongly urge you to not present this proposal as a spending offset in the budget negotiations.

Sincerely,


Tom Bliley
Chairman
Committee on Commerce

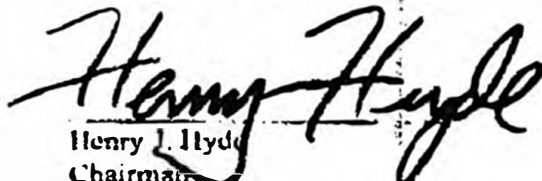

John D. Dingell
Ranking Minority Member
Committee on Commerce



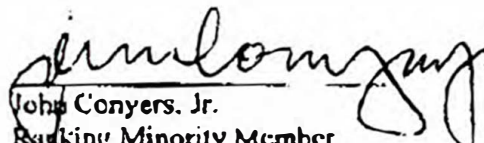
W.J. "Billy" Tauzin
Chairman
Subcommittee on Telecommunications,
Trade, and Consumer Protection



Edward J. Markey
Ranking Minority Member
Subcommittee on Telecommunications
Trade, and Consumer Protection



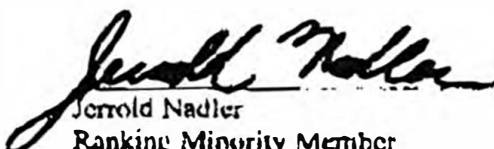
Henry J. Hyde
Chairman
Committee on the Judiciary



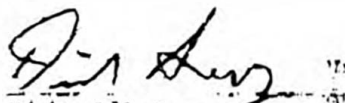
John Conyers, Jr.
Ranking Minority Member
Committee on the Judiciary



George J. Gekas
Chairman
Subcommittee on Commercial
and Administrative Law



Jerrold Nadler
Ranking Minority Member
Subcommittee on Commercial
and Administrative Law



Richard K. Armey
Majority Leader



Richard A. Gephardt
Minority Leader

Jack Rosen

910 Sylvan Avenue
Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632
201-567-4600

November 10, 1999

Via Facsimile: (202) 456-6703/456-2883

Ms. Nancy Hennreich
Executive Office of the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
1st Floor, West Wing
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Nancy:

I would appreciate it if you could please give the attached letter to the President.

As always, thank you for your assistance.

Sincerely,



JACK ROSEN

Att.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-24-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

November 22, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Melinda Bates *MB*

RE: Your Visit to Turkey

On my computer at home I am a participant in a bulletin board for tango lovers on the Internet. There are about 900 subscribers to this service, and there are messages every day from different people about the music or dance of Argentine tango. Last week I saw a message from a man in Turkey and wrote to him about a Turk – one of my favorite tango teachers. He wrote back that of course he knows this man and also knows who I am – the person who brought tango to the White House. Then he sent me the attached message about your visit, and the very warm feelings Turks have for you, your family, and America. I thought you might enjoy seeing these comments from an ordinary person who saw your visit from a little distance, and is still thrilled by it. It is a wonderful privilege to see you represent America to the world. Congratulations on another successful trip.

cc Sincerely

Dominic Lettato Turin man

Copied
Bates
Berger
Padesta



tangerauna@earthlink.net
11/18/99 11:41:00 AM

Record Type: Record

To: Melinda N. Bates@eop

cc:

Subject: Fw: Metin

----- Original Message -----

From: Hayri Erenli <mhayrie@escortnet.com>

To: Melinda Bates <tangerauna@earthlink.net>

Sent: Wednesday, November 17, 1999 11:57 PM

Subject: Re: Metin

> Dear Melinda,
>
> Thank you for your nice message and your words
> for the terrible earthquake which hit us again.
>
> Your boss has conquered our hearts. It is so nice
> and such a privilege to host him. He addressed
> the Grand National Assembly in Ankara the other day
> and gave some very valuable messages and then visited
> the earthquake area. We are all very much impressed
> (in fact much more than impressed).
>
> The alliance between our countries, which has been developing
> since the end of WW II is a fine example of how an alliance
> should be. It has developed in the past decade into a
> strategic alliance between Israel, the US and Turkey and this
> has tipped off all the balances in the Middle East. That's why
> you get a lot of cry from such states as Iran, Syria and Libya.
>
> President Clinton is the third US president to visit Turkey.
> It started with President Eisenhower (late 50's), then
> Mr. Bush visited us in late 80's, but none has left such
> an impression as Mr. Clinton did during this visit. Not only
> did we have a US President as a guest, but a close friend
> and a historian with a vision.
>
> How lucky you are to have such a President and how lucky
> we are to have such a friend.
>
> Take care
> Hayri
>
>

D. Jeffrey Hirschberg

November 15, 1999

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

re: Syria-Israel negotiations

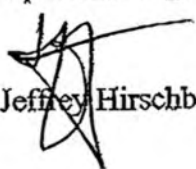
Dear Mr. President:

I am sending you the attached note with back-up material and a proposed agreement from my friend Ronald Lauder. The proposal is something that is worth your consideration and I suggest that you may want to call President Assad on the issue.

I am aware of the previous exchange of views between you and Ronald. While we are available for further discussion, I request that you call Ronald as he is the best person to speak with. His telephone number is (212) 572-6964.

Enjoy your trip!

Best personal regards,


D. Jeffrey Hirschberg

cc: Samuel J. Berger

1225 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036

11-24-99
Send to Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Coordinate with NSC?
Yes ☒ No ☐

B.

*Jefferson
0770
Please see
This is destroyed
Probably there
Sandy*

99 NOV 24 13:28

RONALD S. LAUDER
SUITE 4200
767 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10153

November 12, 1999

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

It appears that some misunderstandings have arisen regarding some of the issues we discussed in our last meeting. In order to be of assistance in clarifying these matters, I have meticulously reviewed all the records of the hours we spent in those intensive five weeks of meetings about relations between Syria and Israel during the summer and fall of 1998. I would like to share with you the last positions of both sides which reflect where our efforts ended.

While great progress was made, the talks were left at a crucial juncture and were not completed because the security zones between Syria and Israel could not be finalized until a map of the June 4, 1967 line was provided by Israel.

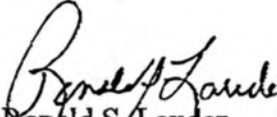
During the process, there was much discussion and exchanges of views and, as you can well imagine, the two parties were very far apart on some issues. However, as the talks proceeded, most of those differences were narrowed and real progress on many previously unresolved issues were made.

As I mentioned to you, some of the points dated August 29, 1998, that I shared with you in our previous meeting, were never accepted by Syria. In subsequent visits, we reached agreement on the points attached in the letter. I believe these points still need to be finalized by defining the security zones on both sides of the border.

-2-

I am also sending you the points that were agreed to by both sides on September 12, 1998, in the hope that they will assist you and your Administration in your pursuit of a lasting peace between Israel and Syria. I am ready to further clarify any remaining questions in regard to my efforts and to do all that I can to assist you in obtaining the goal we share of peace between Israel and her neighbors.

Sincerely,



Ronald S. Lauder

Treaty of Peace Between Israel & Syria

Israel and Syria have decided to establish peace between them. The peace will be based on the principles of security, equality, respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, and the political independence of both. The Parties agree to the following provisions:

1. Israel will withdraw from the Syrian land taken in 1967, in accordance with Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, which established the right of all states to secure and recognized borders in the "land for peace" formula, to a commonly agreed border based on the line of June 4, 1967. The withdrawal will be effected in three stages and completed over a period of 18 months with normalization implemented during the third stage and declaring an end to the state of war during the first phase of withdrawal.
2. Due to the existing agreements between Syria and Lebanon, the two tracks should go simultaneously both in solution and in signing peace agreements between Syria and Israel and Lebanon and Israel.
3. In the framework of the peace process, Syria and Lebanon with other parties will discuss paramilitary activities across the borders with Israel with the aim of finding an appropriate solution.
4. The adoption of the paper reached between the parties during previous negotiations on [Aims and Principles of Security Arrangements] including the establishment of demilitarized zones of limited forces on both sides.

5. In the case of a pressing need for ground early warning station it is agreed that:

a. EWS can remain on Mt. Hermon for a duration of 10 years after total withdrawal: five years followed by a yearly extension for another five years upon agreement by both sides for a total of 10 years.

b. It will be an American-French facility under their total auspices and responsibilities.

6. Peace to comprise of diplomatic and normalized relations including the opening of embassies and various agreements about peaceful relations provided that it is done according to laws and regulations.

7. The issue of water is to be addressed by Syria and Israel according to international laws and norms including the development of new water resources.

8. Syria believes that the achievement of a just and comprehensive peace will solve a lot of problems in the region in the forefront of which is the achievement of real and lasting peace between Syria and Israel.

12 Sept. 1998

FAX

Number of pages including cover sheet 6

TO: The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House

Phone
Fax Phone 202-456-6703

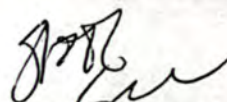
CC:

FROM: D. Jeffrey Hirschberg
1225 Connecticut Avenue, NW
Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036

Phone 202-327-8343
Fax 202-327-6737
Phone

REMARKS: ☐ *Urgent* ☐ *For your review* ☐ *Reply ASAP* ☐ *Please Comment*

NARAL Promoting Reproductive Choice



'99 NOV 24 PM 5:28

Date 11/18/99Fax Cover Sheet
Executive DepartmentTO The Honorable William J. Clinton ^{C/O} Nancy HeeneFAX 202/456-6703 PHONE 202/456-6610FROM Kate Michelman, President

RETURN FAX 202-973-3099

RETURN PHONE 202-973-3001

This is page 1 of 2 Pages.11-24-99

Send to Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒No ☐B.National Abortion
and Reproductive Ri
Action League1156 15th Street, NW
Suite 700

Washington, DC 20

Phone (202) 973-30

Fax (202) 973-3096

10536 Culver Boul

Suite B

Culver City, CA 90

Phone (310) 559-5

Fax (310) 204-694

<http://www.naral.org>E-Mail: naral@naral.org

**NARAL***Reproductive Freedom & Choice*

November 18, 1999

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We are at a disappointing moment in our nation's history. Anti-choice Republicans have forced the greatest nation on earth to adopt a policy out of step with its people and their values. This policy threatens the health care, the fundamental right to reproductive services, and the very lives of millions of women around the world.

The agreed-upon restrictions on U.S. funding for international family planning will have severe repercussions worldwide. NARAL calls on you to make a strong public commitment now to reverse the harm done by these restrictions.

Extreme Republican lawmakers presented you with an impossible choice by unconscionably linking the payment of U.N. dues to restrictions on international family planning funding. The intolerable result of this action will be a decrease in critical resources to protect women's health, as well as establishment into law of anti-choice, anti-democratic restrictions you have opposed consistently in the past.

Administration officials have emphasized that your intention was to accept this language in a short-term spending bill to minimize its impact. We ask you to pledge to block inclusion of the "Mexico City" restrictions on U.S. grantees' use of private funds, and the cap on funding for organizations affected by these restrictions, in next year's spending bill or any other legislation.

Additionally, there must be compensation for the loss in funding resulting from the expected waiver of these restrictions. Since the Republicans took control of the Congress in 1995, the U.S. international family planning program has been slashed by nearly 30 percent. This year's agreement further diminishes the ability of international family planning programs to serve women and children in developing nations.

This year, you made protecting the U.S.'s role as a world leader in the United Nations the Administration's top priority. Next year, the priority must be restoring our role as a world leader in protecting women's health. By making a strong public statement now to work to reverse these restrictions, you will be sending a message to the women of the world that your Administration will be vigilant in protecting their health and their lives. Please work with us and the millions of others who want to reverse this short-sighted and dangerous policy.

Sincerely,

Kate Michelman
President

National Abortion
and Reproductive Right
Action League

1156 15th Street, NW
Suite 700
Washington, DC 20005
202 973 3000
202 973 3096 fax

10951 West Pico Boule
Suite 100
Los Angeles, CA 90064
310 234 2805
310 234 8806 fax

<http://www.naral.org>
naral@naral.org



Embassy of the United States of America

*Original
in your
"In Box"*

Gaborone, Botswana
November 16, 1999

'99 NOV 24 PM5:28

Mr. Kris Engskov
The White House
1st Floor, West Wing
Washington, D.C. 20500

*Copy to
Podesta
Street*

Dear Mr. Engskov:

Before President Clinton visited Botswana during his triumphal African tour last year, I wrote him a letter describing some of the people he would meet. I had sent the letter by way of Kirk Hanlin to be sure that it reached the President -- which it did. Kirk later mentioned to me that you are with the President more regularly than he, and that if I had a message that I wanted to be certain to reach the President, he suggested I ask your help.

That's what I am doing now.

My letter, as you will see, requests a very brief meeting following the conclusion of my service as U.S. Ambassador to Burundi and Botswana. The President and I have known one another for some years, and knew of one another well before I served in the U.S. Senate or as ambassador.

If you might deliver my letter to the President requesting a brief appointment between December 10-18, I would be most grateful.

Yours sincerely,

Robert Krueger
Robert Krueger
U.S. Ambassador to Botswana

11-24-99

Send to Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒

No ☐

cc: NSC? Y ☒ N ☐

Scheduling? Y ☒ N ☐

Podesta ☒

b.



November 16, 1999

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to offer my resignation as Ambassador to Botswana, to be effective at your pleasure. But I am also writing, as I complete 5-1/2 years of service and two ambassadorships as your representative, to request a brief meeting with you before taking my leave.

I would hope that our brief meeting might touch on five things:

- (1) I want to express in person my thanks for your appointing me as Ambassador to Burundi and Botswana. Serving as my country's representative and your personal emissary has been one of the greatest privileges of my life, and has brought life-changing experiences for my family and me, for which we will always be grateful. A letter seems too remote for the gratitude we feel.
- (2) Burundi. Five years ago you and I met in the Oval Office and looked at photos I had of a Burundian whose face had been clubbed featureless. You asked "Bob, what can we do?" and then responded affirmatively to my suggestions. But with 280,000 people in the last month placed by the ruling Burundi Army in concentration camps, I believe the world can do more at this time.
- (3) Botswana. If Burundi is one of Africa's greatest failures, Botswana is one of its greatest successes. I can suggest some reasons why.
- (4) Southern African Development Community (SADC). Another of my good fortunes in your administration was Secretary Albright's naming me as her Special Representative to SADC, a 14-nation community comprising 200 million people. One nation, the Republic of South Africa, accounts for 72% of the region's economic production. But even South Africa's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is equivalent only to that of Minnesota. And the GDP of the remaining 13 nations, with over 150 million people, is equivalent only to the GDP of Arkansas. America's economic and political power can, however, be harnessed to assist in pulling these nations into the economic mainstream.

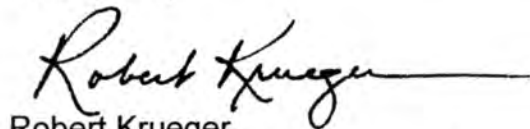
The President
November 16, 1999
Page Two

(5) I want to tell you a little about the Research Fellowship at Merton College, Oxford, which I will be taking in January, 2000, so that Kathleen and I can write a book on Burundi.

Finally, let me conclude by reporting a comment made by Lt. General Merafhe, the Foreign Minister of Botswana, as I was leaving a meeting with him almost a year ago. He said, "How is my friend Bill Clinton doing? You know, we Africans think he is the best President the United States has ever had." The visit that you and Mrs. Clinton made to Africa continues to have positive reverberations, as does the simple truth that Africans believe deeply that the Clintons care about Africa as has no other President before. I share their belief, and thank you for it.

It would be a great pleasure to conclude my service in your administration with a personal meeting. I shall be in Washington from December 10 - 18, and could, of course, meet at any time convenient for you. I look forward to hearing from your staff if this might be possible.

Yours ever,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Robert Krueger", followed by a long horizontal flourish line.

Robert Krueger
U.S. Ambassador to Botswana

Address until December 6:
American Embassy, Gaborone, Botswana
Telephone: (267) 353-982 or 357-111
Fax: (267) 353-238



Jeff
Be

for Burkhardt
Parks

'99 NOV 24 PM5:28

November 17, 1999

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you very much for coming home and agreeing to be our keynote speaker at our annual chamber meeting.

We plan to make this one of your most important and pleasurable trips. We look forward to recognizing you for your contributions to our city and state.

Enclosed you will find a copy of "Little Rock Business" that will be mailed to our membership on Friday. We expect to have 2,000 people in attendance.

Best regards,

11-24-99


Shelby Woods
Chairman of the Board

Send to Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒

No ☐

B.
cc: scheduling ✓

ds
jtm
33



**GREATER
LITTLE
ROCK
CHAMBER
OF COMMERCE**

Mark Your Calendar:

**"BIG DIG"
GROUND-
BREAKING
CEREMONY
FOR THE NEW
CHAMBER
CENTER
December 2**

**133RD
ANNUAL
MEETING
OF THE
GREATER
LITTLE ROCK
CHAMBER
OF COMMERCE
December 10**

**Contact
the Chamber
for Committee
Meeting Dates
& Opportunities
to Get Involved!
(501) 374-4871**

**Date Set For
Chamber
Groundbreaking**

Page 3

**\$2 Million To
War Memorial
Stadium**

Page 2

**Leadership
Greater Little
Rock Reports**

Pages 4 & 5

**National
Magazine Puts
Little Rock
In Top 25**

Page 5

BUSINESS

President Clinton Planned As Keynote Speaker At Annual Meeting

CHAMBER ANNUAL MEETING SET FOR FRIDAY, DECEMBER 10

With President Bill Clinton scheduled as keynote speaker, "BIG CHANGES" are taking place on Friday, December 10th, as the Greater Little Rock Chamber of Commerce hosts its 133rd Annual Meeting. The breakfast meeting will be held in the Statehouse Convention Center and will celebrate the changes ahead for our entire community as we enter a new century of progress.

In addition to President Clinton's keynote address, the breakfast program at the Annual Meeting will include a review of the Chamber's accomplishments over the past year by current Chamber Chairman of the Board Shelby Woods and 2000 Chairman Joe Ford will outline the changes ahead. These changes will include an all new visual identity and image for the Chamber, as part of a broad marketing campaign tied to the

Chamber's plans to move into its new high-tech home, the new Chamber Center, to be completed Fall 2000 (see back cover article).

Special invitations for the Annual Meeting will soon be mailed to Chamber members. The invitations include reservation procedures for both the Annual Meeting on December 10th and the "BIG DIG" groundbreaking event for the new Chamber Center, scheduled for December 2nd (see page 3 for more information about the "BIG DIG" groundbreaking). Seating will be limited for the Annual Meeting, which will be a sell-out. Ticket details will soon be announced.

SPECIAL AWARD RECOGNITION

Also during the Annual Meeting, recognition will be given to the 1999 recipients, and their companies, who earned special Cham-



**Big
CHANGES!**

**133RD ANNUAL
MEETING**

**President
Bill Clinton
Keynote Speaker**



Shelby Woods
1999 Chairman



Joe T. Ford
2000 Chairman

ber of Commerce awards. The Top Chamber Membership Volunteer, Ambassador of the Year and Small Business Spotlight Award winners will be announced and honored.

Our Chamber committee chairs and dedicated volunteers have accomplished much in

1999. A printed Annual Report will be distributed at the Annual Meeting to further document the area's growth and the Chamber's scope of accomplishments — providing a condensed overview of the thousands of volunteer hours devoted to bettering our community.

Baptist Health Baptist Memorial Medical Center Opens

Baptist Health dedicated its newest healthcare facility, the Baptist Health Baptist Memorial Medical Center on October 24th and opened on November 6th. The \$110 million project is the largest construc-

tion project in Arkansas history. General contractor for the project was Baldwin & Shell Construction Company. The new 320,000 square foot hospital is located at the intersection of I-40 and U.S. High-

way 67/167 in North Little Rock.

Opening with 134 beds, the new Baptist Health Baptist Memorial Medical Center is on a campus setting that will also house a child care center and a 125,000 square-foot, free-standing medical office building with an Ambulatory Surgery Center and CARTI. Long-term development planning will also include two hotels and a restaurant on the campus. The programs and services that will be available at the new hospital were developed after extensive work involving numerous civic and community organizations and is based upon estimates of future disease and utilization patterns for demographics unique to Central Arkansas.



Located on a 157-acre campus, the new Baptist Health Baptist Memorial Medical Center in North Little Rock represents a major addition to Greater Little Rock's healthcare industry.

Block 2 Lofts Groundbreak Across From Chamber Center Site

The Vanadis Group broke ground October 7th on the Block 2 Lofts development, located at Main and Markham Streets diagonally from the planned site for the new Chamber Center. The loft apartments project will provide housing in the downtown area with the first phase to be completed in the spring of 2000 and the balance by the fall of 2000. When completed, the development will feature retail and food shops on the first floor and 145 loft-type apartments on the remaining three floors. The renovations of three historic, multi-level buildings is key to the project's

goal of maintaining integrity for these downtown buildings

on the National Historic Register.



An artist's rendering hints at the renovated design work under way to create the Block 2 Lofts now under development across from the Statehouse Convention Center expansion in downtown Little Rock.

Governor Presents \$2 Million For Stadium Renovation

Governor Huckabee recently presented a \$2,000,000 check to the War Memorial Stadium Commission for continued renovation of the stadium. The funding was appro-

riated by Gov. Huckabee during this past legislative session. It will be used to help fund phase two of the stadium renovation, which will be in Janu-

ary and be completed in time for the year 2000 football season. War Memorial Stadium is the state's largest outdoor entertainment facility.

1999 Board of Directors

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Chairman-Elect	Joe T. Ford
Past Chairman	Janet Jones
President/CEO	Paul H. Harvel
Treasurer	Jack Fleischer
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VP/Little Rock 2000	Bill Clark
VP/Education/	
Community Affairs	Jesse Mason
VP/New Technology/Communications	Brian Foster
VP/Membership Development	Diana Hueter
VP/Governmental Affairs	Eddie Drilling
VP/Public Safety/CRIMEOUT!	Ed Ligon
Fifty For The Future	John Steuri
Doubleday Fund	Al McDowell
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BUSINESS

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101 S. Spring St., Ste. 200
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FAX: 501-374-6018

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Chamber Center Groundbreaking Set For December 2

All Chamber members should mark their calendars for the "BIG DIG" at 10:45 a.m. on December 2nd. Everyone is invited to this special outdoor media event to officially "break ground in a BIG way" for the new Chamber Center.

CEREMONY TO BE ATTENDED BY GOVERNOR MIKE HUCKABEE

The historic ground-breaking ceremony, to be attended by Governor Mike Huckabee and other civic leaders, will be held on the actual construction site located just east of the Statehouse Convention Center expansion in downtown Little Rock.

WATCH YOUR MAIL

Your "BIG DIG" invitation should be arriving soon, along with an invitation to the Chamber's Annual Meeting.

For more information about the new Chamber Center and how you and your company can share in this major economic development project, see the back cover.

BUSINESS EVENTS



COLLECTIVE PARTNERSHIP CELEBRATES GROUNDBREAKING FOR TRINITY COURT PLACE APARTMENTS

A recent groundbreaking and ribbon cutting ceremony took place to celebrate the beginning of construction of the Trinity Court Place Apartments, located at 2000 Main Street in Little Rock. Pictured above cutting the ribbon (from left to right) are Chamber Ambassador June Cia; Dale Taylor of Regions Bank; Chris Murdoch of Federal Home Loan Bank of Dallas; Jack Griffiths with Apollo Housing Capital of Cleveland; Paul Kelly, current City Director for Ward 9 and past Director for The Arc of Arkansas; Linda Galey, vice president of Metropolitan National Bank; and Steve Hitt, executive director of the Arc of Arkansas.



STATE'S OLDEST EMPLOYMENT AGENCY HAS NEW OWNER

Dianne Sims, new owner of the Lovette Employment Agency, accepts a chamber membership plaque. Chamber Ambassadors listened as Ms. Sims explained the history of the agency and what services are offered through her agency. The Lovette Employment Agency, located in the Executive Building at 2020 West 3rd Street, has been in operation since 1952. The agency's focus is on permanent professional placement, and Sims' specialty is human resources. She'll be joined by Marilyn Archer, who has been in the employment business for 12 years.

BUSINESS EVENTS



MICKEY'S SPECIAL AFFAIRS CELEBRATES NEW LOCATION AT 11614 HURON IN LITTLE ROCK

Chamber Ambassadors recently conducted a ribbon-cutting ceremony to celebrate the new location of Mickey's Special Affairs at 11614 Huron. In the photo above, Ambassadors present a chamber membership plaque and coffee mug to the Elegant Events Gallery Partners (from left to right): Kendra Boyle, ABC certified coordinator and planner; Dave Anderson, entertainment specialist; Dorothy Coleman, cake design specialist; Bettye Flowers, catering specialist; and Carla Fugate, specialist in wedding gowns, tuxedos, floral design and wedding accessories, and also an ABC certified coordinator.



CHAMBER AMBASSADORS AND NAVY LEAGUE CELEBRATE 224TH BIRTHDAY OF UNITED STATES NAVY

Chamber Ambassador Chairman Mary Menard "takes the cake" from Arkansas Council Navy League President Joe Havens (also a Chamber Ambassador) in celebration of the United States Navy's 224th Birthday as other Chamber Ambassadors look on. The Navy League is a civilian organization dedicated to the education of citizens and offers support for the men and women of the Navy, the Marine Corps, the Coast Guard and the Merchant Marines, and the families of those enlisted. The League has a network of over 330 Councils across the U.S. and boasts over 70,000 active members.

Leadership 2000 Climbs to New Heights

On October 21, Class XV of Leadership Greater Little Rock, under the direction of volunteers Lisa Joiner and Mark Stodola, participated in the 4-H Center's ExCEL Outdoor Challenge, or "ropes course." A series of obstacle courses, the ropes course is designed to promote self-confidence, teamwork, trust and cooperation. While part of the class was climbing a rock wall or doing trust falls, others were conquering "high elements" from the treetops.

Prior to the ropes course, the class had a weekend orientation/retreat at Mountain Harbor Resort. In addition to the study of individual personality types, led by Dr. Taibi Kahler, and a close look at leadership styles and teambuilding, led by Dr. Bo Thomas, the class was treated to a shrimp feast prepared by Leadership Alumni volunteers, and a ride on Bill Sowell's boat, the Pig Sty.

In November the class will learn more about the past, present and future of Little Rock in a session led by journalist Bob McCord. The session will be sponsored by Mitchell, Williams, Selig, Gates and Woodyard.

For more information, contact Judy Knod at 374-4871.



Leadership Greater Little Rock's Class XV participating in 4-H Center's "ropes course," described by members as "challenging," and "exhilarating," but mostly "fun!"

Leadership Alumni Hold Annual Meeting

The Leadership Greater Little Rock Alumni Association held its annual meeting at the ALLTEL Arena on October 20. The well-attended luncheon meeting featured Michael Marion, General Manager for the ALLTEL Arena, as guest speaker. Marion spoke about the challenges facing the Arena Board and management, and was optimistic about its future. Alumni were given the opportunity to join Marion on a tour of the building.

At this meeting new officers and board members were elected for the 1999-2000 fiscal year. The officers who will serve this term are: Chip Culpepper, Chair; Consevella James, Vice Chair; Sandra Robertson, Past Chair; Michael Manley, Secretary and Jeff Hildebrand, Treasurer. Other board members are Loretta Alexander, Wayne Berger, Russ Berryhill, Julie Kaplan, Tim Orellano, Paula Patterson, Carole Smith, Dwayne Stuart, Diane Vibhakar, and Paul Vitale. Lisa Joiner and Mark Stodola will represent Class XV on the board.

National Magazine Puts Little Rock In Top 25

Business Development Outlook magazine's "Top Choice Cities for 1999" recently ranked Little Rock among the top 25 U.S. cities overall in which to operate a business. Ranked 24th on the list, Little Rock was chosen after the magazine evaluated a variety of costs and other factors for businesses. For more information, visit BDO's website at www.bdomag.com.

BUSINESS EVENTS



RIBBON CUTTING CEREMONY MARKS GRAND OPENING OF CLARK'S RESTAURANT ON CANTRELL ROAD

Chamber Ambassadors were recently on hand to conduct a ribbon-cutting ceremony to celebrate the grand opening of Clark's Restaurant, located at 8805 Cantrell Road. In the photo above, Clark Parkison (middle) poses with Chamber Ambassadors at the entrance of the new restaurant. Clark's has a wide variety of appetizers, salads, burgers and sandwiches, grilled and fried entrees, pasta dishes, kids meals and sweet treats. Clark's serves both lunch and dinner and is open for business Sunday through Thursday, 11 a.m. to 9 p.m. and from 11 a.m. to 10 p.m. on Fridays and Saturdays.



ARKANSAS HOSPITALITY ASSOCIATION CONDUCTS 55TH ANNUAL CONVENTION AND TRADE EXPO

The Chamber Ambassadors recently assisted in the ribbon-cutting ceremony marking the beginning of what is known as "The Great Arkansas Food, Lodging and Travel Show." Pictured above at the ceremony are (from left to right): Rob Best, president of the Arkansas Restaurant Association; Linus Raines, past president of the Arkansas Lodging Association; Governor Mike Huckabee; Miss Arkansas Brandi Rhoades; Montine McNulty, executive director of the Arkansas Hospitality Association; Richard Davies, executive director of the Arkansas Department of Parks & Tourism; and Wayne Woods, past president of Arkansas Travel Council.

BUSINESS EVENTS



ONLINE TECHNOLOGIES MOVES TO NEW LOCATION AT 10307 MAUMELLE BOULEVARD

Phil and Becky Dively, owners of Online Technologies, and Chamber Ambassadors cut the ribbon of their new location in front of one of their new products - a wall-mounted gas plasma screen. Online Technologies started as a sales and service business for IBM products in 1985 and began audio-visual equipment sales in 1990. Since then it has come to deal exclusively with portable audio-visual projectors from a variety of manufacturers. They provide installation for all of their products and specialize in fixed remote-controlled systems. Their new location serves businesses throughout the state with two demo rooms, a board room and home theater.



THE COFFEE BEANERY INTRODUCES NATIONAL RE-DESIGN WITH NEW WEST LITTLE ROCK LOCATION

Chamber Ambassador Bret Curry (middle) and John Lloyd, co-owner (right) listen to Turner Lloyd, co-owner (left) as he welcomes Chamber Ambassadors and guests to the new Coffee Beanery located in the Centre at Chenal at 17200 Chenal Parkway. The Coffee Beanery is introducing a re-design of its national chain of stores at the Lloyd's new location. This design will be eventually incorporated nationwide. In addition to specialty coffee drinks and a light menu, the new location features indoor and outdoor seating, coffee beans and coffee-making accessories, and a wide selection of desserts. Live entertainment is provided on weekends and a player piano operates during the week.

Chamber Recognizes Jeanne Wallace As Top Ambassador For October



Jeanne Wallace
Mercantile Bank

Jeanne Wallace, a business development officer for Mercantile Bank of Central Arkansas, has once again been awarded top honors as Ambassador of the Month and recognized for her outstanding service to the Chamber.

Wallace values the business and personal relationships she builds through being an active Chamber Ambassador. She has participated in literally dozens of ribbon cuttings, ground breakings, new member receptions and other Chamber hosted activities. Interested in the growth of Little Rock, Wallace promotes the Chamber not only through her involvement as an Ambassador, but also in serving on the Chamber's Chairman's Club Member Recruitment Committee.

You too can benefit from being a Chamber Ambassador. Not only are Chamber Ambassadors involved with growth and exciting things happening in the area, but also in networking with other people interested in the future of our city. For more information, call 374-4871.

NEW MEMBERS ◀

Acadia Restaurant
Matthew Krause,
3000 Kavanaugh, Suite 202
Little Rock, AR 72205
501/603-9630
RESTAURANTS/CLUBS
Recruited by: Jane Krutz,
The Executive Building

Cotham's In The City
Jon Griffin
1401 W. 3rd Street
Little Rock, AR 72212
501/370-9177
RESTAURANTS/CLUBS
Recruited by: Jane Krutz,
The Executive Building

Fitness Concepts
Training Studio
Perry Shock, III
11715 Rainwood, Suite C-2
Little Rock, AR 72212
501/221-9929
HEALTH/FITNESS-
CENTERS & EQUIPMENT
Recruited by: Susie Marks,
Chamber Staff

H P Vending
Jerry Hendrix
1015 S. Monroe
Little Rock, AR 72204
501/280-0145
VENDING MACHINES
Recruited by: Susie Marks,
Chamber Staff

Old State House
Museum
Dale Walters
300 West Markham St.
Little Rock, AR 72201
501/324-9685
MUSEUMS
Recruited by:
Gerald Turner,
Chamber Staff

Roberts
& Company, Inc.
Mark Roberts
2701 W. 7th
Little Rock, AR 72205
501/374-5000
CONTRACTORS -
COMMERCIAL/
INDUSTRIAL/
RESIDENTIAL

We have your next office staff member!



STAFFING FOR INDUSTRY

West Little Rock 221-0055



▶ BUSINESS EVENTS



AMERICAN TAEKWONDO ASSOCIATION BREAKS GROUND FOR THE ATA INTERNATIONAL MUSEUM

Pictured above from left to right are Lottie Shackleford, Linus Raines of Arkansas' Excelsior Hotel, Little Rock Mayor Jim Dailey, Mrs. H. U. Lee and Grand Master H. U. Lee, and Chamber Ambassador Chairman Mary Menard. The first International Martial Arts museum will also involve an expansion for the Association's headquarters, located at 6210 Baseline Road in Little Rock.

PUT YOUR BUSINESS IN "BUSINESS"

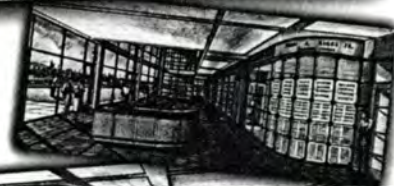
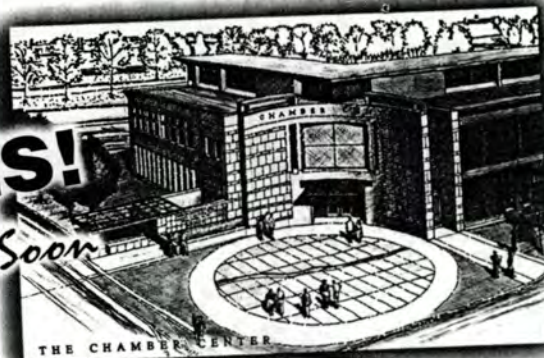
BUSINESS mails to
over 2,500 Chamber mem-
bers every month.

To reach the top busi-
ness people in Central Ar-
kansas - reach for the
phone! Contact Lori
Lemley at 374-4817 to re-
serve your advertising
space for the next issue of
BUSINESS.

Check out the preliminary drawings of your new Chamber Center, to be located in downtown Little Rock just across the street from the expanded Statehouse Convention Center at the entrance to the River Market District. The site will provide a thrilling view of the Arkansas River and Riverfront Park from the building's two-story glass atrium.

Big CHAMBER CHANGES!

Coming Soon



Planning For the Future

The new, high-tech home for the Greater Little Rock Chamber of Commerce is being designed to offer you a wide range of new services and valuable benefits. Inside the building, you'll find the Southwestern Bell Technology Center wing with state-of-the-art video teleconferencing facilities. World-class meeting facilities are also being planned for the John A. Riggs, Jr. Business Center wing of the new Chamber Center. Watch for more details in future issues of BUSINESS.

Planning For Pledges

It's a special time in our history, and the new Chamber Center will feature historical recognition for those who step forward with funding support. This is a once-in-a-lifetime marketing opportunity and your chance to help build a new landmark for our entire community. We have a wide range of financial pledge options open to all Chamber members, along with special levels of recognition.

For pledge information, call us today at 374-4871.



Where Business Comes Together

GREATER LITTLE ROCK
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE

Business

A Publication of the
Greater Little Rock Chamber of Commerce

Please Route To:

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

101 S. Spring, Ste. 200, Little Rock, Arkansas 72201-2486
(501) 374-4871 Serving Little Rock, North Little Rock and Central Arkansas

This issue of BUSINESS was printed by TWIN CITY PRINTING & LITHO, INC.



TO:

PRESIDENT CLINTON

11-24-99

Send to Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒

No ☐

B.

BOB DOLE

901 15TH STREET, N.W.

SUITE 410

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

November 3, 1999

99 NOV 24 PM 5:28

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

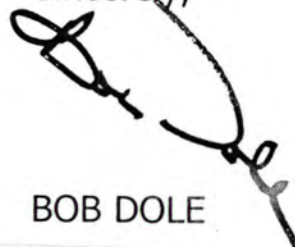
Dear Mr. President:

Thanks again for your call last week concerning Elizabeth.

As I mentioned, it has been very frustrating trying to obtain support from the T.V. and movie industry for the World War II Memorial. I believe an event at the White House would lower the barriers we are facing with the Hollywood community.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



BOB DOLE

10,000 in honor of Tom Hanks
Birthday (this year, 1999)
50,000 Wunderkinder Foundation
speelberg 1998
22,500 Dream Works 1998
15,000 David Geffen 1998
partner Dream Works
15,000 Jeffrey Katzenbach
partner Dream Works 1998
Total 112,500.00



American Battle Monuments Commi

JOYCE A. McCLUNEY
CONSULTANT
CAPITAL CAMPAIGN

Suite 410
901 15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005

(202) 371-
Fax: (202) 371-

SENATOR BOB DOLE
901 15TH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 410
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

July 30, 1999

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

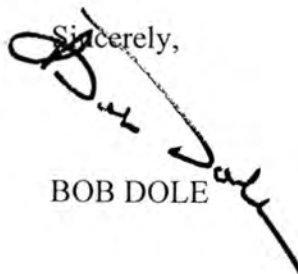
Dear Mr. President:

You may recall the White House event in January 1997 when the design for the World War II Memorial was unveiled. Following that event I was asked to serve as Chairman of the \$100 million memorial campaign.

We have now raised over \$65 million with contributions from corporations, foundations, veterans groups, civic and fraternal organizations, and more than 343,000 individuals. In addition, we have a public voice in Tom Hanks. Tom's contribution to the campaign has been significant, especially in his role as a national spokesman through a series of public service announcements. Steven Spielberg also has been very supportive.

Frankly, thus far our support from the T.V. and movie industry has been disappointing. If you would be willing to host a reception or dinner in Washington or Los Angeles, we could raise a minimum of \$5million and perhaps as much as \$10 million. We very much hope to break ground on November 11, 2000 but cannot do so unless we've raised the full \$100 million.

If you can accommodate this request it will be much appreciated by me and my Co-chairman, Fred Smith (founder, FedEx) and more importantly the World War II community.

Sincerely,

BOB DOLE

BOB DOLE
901 15TH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 410
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

July 29, 1999

Dear Jack:

Fred and I appreciated your taking our call to bring you up to date on the progress of the World War II Memorial.

As promised, enclosed are our latest corporate donor list and a copy of my letter to President Clinton.

I will have Jim Aylward, Executive Director of the World War II Memorial Campaign follow up with you on your offer to help coordinate this fundraising event.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



BOB DOLE

Mr. Jack Valenti
Chairman and CEO
Motion Picture Association of America
1600 I Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20006

Handwritten:

Out of - 100 -

Given to BETTY C. AS

SENATOR DOLE GAVE THIS
PACKET TO TRACEY AT
THE EISENHOWER SIGNING.
I HAVE GIVEN A COPY TO
JOHN PODESTA'S OFFICE.

11-24-99

Send to Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒

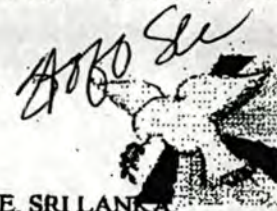
No ☐

Coordinate with NSC?

Yes ☒ No ☐

Dan - what do you
think? B.

PeaceAir



HEAD OFFICE :- 945, SRI JAYAWARDANAPURA MAWATHA, KOTTE, SRI LANKA
Reservations: 0094-1-888800 Tel: - 0094 75 519332 Fax: - 0094 75 344173 Fax : - 0094 75 519333
E-mail: peaceair@itmin.com peaceair.s@itmin.com peaceair.m@itmin.com

"PEACE BE WITH YOU"

"SHALOM"

"BARUCH HASHEM"

"BISMILLAH HIR RAHMAN HIR RAHEEM"

"MAY THE WILL OF ALMIGHTY GOD TAKE US PLACES"

His Excellency William J. Bill Clinton,
President of the United States of America
Oval Office, 1600, Pennsylvania Ave, NW 7,
Washington DC 20500

12th November 1999

'99 NOV 24 PM5:28

Your Excellency

Sri Lankan Presidency and the Suffering of 19 Million Innocent People

In all humility and humbleness I bring to your notice as in Matthew 18.15-20, that the President of Sri Lanka is about to use her power of control and win the Presidency. She is trying to show the world that this is a democracy when it is a whole hearted dictatorship. The only way to stop her is to tell the truth to the Election Commissioner on the day of the nominations. The nominations are on the 16th of November 1999. Please remember that Sri Lanka is 12 hours a head of USA time. We have only your Monday left. Tuesday morning Sri Lanka time nominations will be given. If the various opposition party candidates have the information on her bank accounts, assets etc., they can object to her asset declaration, (obviously she will make a false declaration) as it is required to declare ones assets to the Commissioner of Elections. Since she has declared her assets at the last Presidential Elections (when she was not corrupt) the difference of her wealth will be highlighted. The Commissioner will reject her application to contest. Even if she tried to contest people will know why she wants to be the President, only to purchase Air Buses Aircraft for commissions.

Your Excellency and the Central Intelligence Agency are the only handful of people who can help the suffering people of Sri Lanka by giving the Sri Lankan Public the account numbers, the amounts held by the President of Sri Lanka in Overseas accounts and the list of assets. Her asset list will show the extent of corruption over the last five years. She is the largest Arms importer from China to Sri Lanka.

I personally voted for her but, when she blocked over 300,000 Christians from going to Celebrate the Great Jubilee Year of Our Lord Jesus Christ, only to support purchase of Airbus then I knew that she is with the Devil and not will Almighty God. There are no direct flights and there will never be direct flights to Jerusalem.

She successfully stopped every single Boeing aircraft from coming here to Sri Lanka. She brought 12 Airbus aircraft and says that, after elections that she will buy over 20 Airbus aircraft. She and her partner makes 50% profit on each aircraft running into several millions US Dollars.(approximately US\$ 460 M). Letter is attached.

PeaceAir



HEAD OFFICE :- 945, SRI JAYAWARDANAPURA MAWATHA, KOTTE, SRI LANKA.

Reservations: 0094-1-888800 Tel: - 0094 75 519332 Fax:- 0094 75 344173 Fax :- 0094 75 519333

E-mail: peaceair@itmin.com

peaceair.s@itmin.com

peaceair.m@itmin.com

"PEACE BE WITH YOU"

"SHALOM"

"BARUCH HASHEM"

"BISMILLAH HIR RAHMAN NIR RAHEEM"

"MAY THE WILL OF ALMIGHTY GOD TAKE US PLACES"

If we don't bring this to the notice of the Election Commissioner and the Sri Lankan public on the 16th December 1999, she will be given her nominations for the Presidency. If we have this information we can present the information to the Election Commissioner who has already got the declaration of her assets, then, she will not be able to participate.

Otherwise, she will kill people and come to power at any cost. Sri Lanka will become a poorer country with more Airbus aircraft, when we don't even have no food to eat.

These are the mass scale murders and traitors to the nation and a bad influence to the world. I beg of you in all humility to consider the time difference and expedite the sending of documents for the sake of our little nation; Which can resolve our differences with the help of the UN, Your Good self and the American people. She had 5 years to negotiate, instead of talking, she was fighting. My Fax number 0094 01 75 344173 or through your American Embassy. God will Bless you a thousand fold. Please show mercy on poor Sri Lankans

Thanking you profoundly,

May the Almighty God, Our Lord Jesus Christ, The Holy Sprit and Our Lady of Lanka Bless you, your family and all Americans.

I remain yours sincerely,

Gamini Herman Wethasinghe
Chairman

LET US SUSTAIN LIFE ON EARTH

The Boeing Company
P.O. Box 3707
Seattle, WA 98124-2707

5th August 1999

Hon. Dharmasiri Senanayake, M.P.
Honorable Minister of Tourism and Civil Aviation
Ministry of Tourism and Civil Aviation
64, Galle Road
Colombo 3
SRI LANKA

Fax: 94 1 44 15 01

Ph: 94 1 4 14 64/44 15 02



Dear Hon. Minister,

On behalf of The Boeing Company Boeing Commercial Airplane Group, the Boeing PeaceAir Customer Team and myself, I wish to affirm Boeing's position in relation to a new Boeing customer airline named PeaceAir, based in Colombo, Sri Lanka. My name is J. Miguel Santos, Director Sales for Africa and Asia, and I am responsible for and lead Boeing's marketing and sales process with PeaceAir.

As you are aware Boeing is the world's largest aircraft manufacturer with a family of products designed to offer an airplane for every capacity and range market requirement that an airline may have.

Boeing is hereby confirming that we have an established and already excellent working relationship with PeaceAir. Throughout our business relationship we have explored several possibilities to place our products at PeaceAir. We are currently working with PeaceAir to successfully place a fleet of 747s in their fleet. These airplanes will represent the "launching fleet" of this new Sri Lankan carrier, capable of meeting both its passenger and cargo requirements.

Boeing has been fully supportive of PeaceAir's efforts to establish itself as the second carrier of Sri Lanka and it is our firm intent to continue to do so. We strongly believe that the economy of Sri Lanka will most certainly benefit from having an additional carrier capable of serving the needs of Sri Lanka by meeting its business, pilgrimage, tourism and cargo market demands.

With the purchase of new airplane Boeing will provide its full and comprehensive Customer Services package, including flight crew and cabin crew training, flight dispatchers training, maintenance training, spares planning assistance and provisioning. In addition, Boeing's airline advertising and promotion and marketing services will be available to PeaceAir as we have already been doing for the past fourteen months.

We are very thankful and appreciative to PeaceAir for choosing our product, the 747-400 and for the opportunity given to us to work together with them. I want to assure you that Boeing will do everything within our capability leading to the successful launch of PeaceAir into commercial operations. We would appreciate the efforts of your office to expedite the route approvals process within the Government of Sri Lanka, to enable PeaceAir to bring the 747-400 aircraft into Sri Lanka to serve the needs and requirements of the people of Sri Lanka and the pilgrims for the Great Jubilee Millennium Celebrations.

I look forward to have the opportunity to see you soon again during an upcoming visit to Sri Lanka; at such time as I have firm'd up a travel program I will kindly request an audience with you.

I want to assure you that Boeing will do everything within our capability leading to the successful launch of PeaceAir int'l commercial operations.

Very truly yours, sincerely,



A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'J. Miguel Santos'.

J. Miguel Santos
Director, Sales
Boeing Commercial Airplane Group

Ph.: 1-206-766-2153 (Office)
Ph.: 1-360-886-9779 (Residence)
Fax: 1-425-234-1706 (Company General)
Fax: 1-206-766-2170 (Company Direct)
E-Mail: jmiguel.santos@boeing.com

CC Ambassador Shaun E. Donnelly,
Ambassador of the United States of America to Sri Lanka
Fax 94 1 43 73 45
US Embassy, Sri Lanka

His Excellency Most Right Reverend Dr. Nicholas Marcus Fernando
Archbishop of Colombo Fax 94 1 69 20 09 Ph 94 1 69 54 71

ATTN: MR. MICHAEL OWEN

GE Aircraft Engines

FIRST SECRETARY, ECONOMIC & COMMERCIAL AFFAIRS

GEAE-15
May 11, 1999Contact: Rick Kennedy / Pat Klaus 513.243.581
Web site: www.ge.com/aircraftengines**GE ENGINE SERVICES, INC., AWARDED \$35 MILLION CONTRACT**

EVENDALE, Ohio — GE Engine Services, Inc., has been awarded a \$35 million contract to maintain, overhaul and repair the JT9D-7 engines of PeaceAir.

The ten-year contract covers the engines powering PeaceAir's fleet of five Boeing 747-200 aircraft. Overhaul, maintenance and repair work will be done at GE Aircraft Engines' Overhaul and Repair Center of Excellence in Nantgarw, Wales.

"We are pleased to have the opportunity to build upon our new relationship with PeaceAir," said Dave Settergren, director of GE Engine Services sales in Malaysia.

"GE Engine Services was last year awarded a contract to overhaul and repair PeaceAir's CF6-80C2-powered 747-400 fleet due to be delivered later this year, so we welcome the chance to extend our services further."

GE Engine Services, Inc. is based in Cincinnati, Ohio. In addition to its Center of Excellence located in Wales, GE Engine Services has a network of overhaul and repair Centers of Excellence located in Xiamen, China; Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia; Singapore; Ontario, California; Strother Field, near Arkansas City, Kansas; Miami, Florida; Dallas/Fort Worth, Texas; Prestwick, Scotland; Petropolis, Brazil; Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; and Cincinnati, Ohio, and also at Garrett Aviation Services' six Total Aircraft ServiceSM Centers.

###

SM Total Aircraft Service is a service mark of GE Engine Services-Corporate Aviation, Inc.(d.b.a. Garrett Aviation Services)



'99 NOV 24 PM 4:30

President Bill Clinton and Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
White House
Washington D.C. 20500
Attention: Betty Currie

Dear Bill and Hillary,

Do you ever go to these things? I've never heard of it. I'd love to have you as my guests. New York City on December seventh, 1999. The World Premiere of "Man On The Moon," a movie I produced and star in with Jim Carrey and Courtney Love.

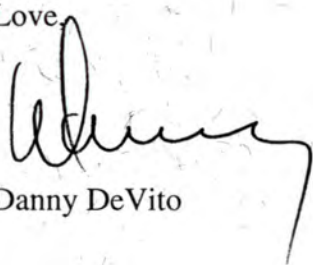
Of course, Chelsea is welcome.

If you can't make the New York Premiere, I'm having one in Los Angeles at The Chinese on the twentieth of December. The party's at The Paladium.

Let me know. Here's the thing. If you think it would be too wild, I'll set up a screening for you anytime, any place.

Thanks for always remembering my birthday.

Love,


Danny DeVito

11-24-99

Send to Scheduling?

Yes ☒
No ☐

cc: Patti Solis? (per Betty's request)
yes ☒ No ☐ S.C.

"Hello, my name is Andy and this is my premiere invitation."



JIM CARREY IS ANDY KAUFMAN IN

Man on the Moon



Comic Relief, Inc., a 501(c)(3) non-profit organization was created in 1986 by comedy writer-producer Bob Zmuda to raise funds for, and awareness of, America's growing homeless population. The designated recipient of monies generated from Comic Relief fundraising activities is the National Health Care for the Homeless Program, consisting of 25 projects in 23 major cities across America.

The National Health Care for the Homeless Program provides primary and secondary medical care and related health, mental health and social services to homeless men, women and children at shelters and on the streets via outreach teams.

Comic Relief from its televents and related activities has raised and distributed nearly \$50 million which has provided direct services to millions of homeless Americans.

ARTISTS RIGHTS FOUNDATION



Founded in 1991 by the Directors Guild of America and bringing together some of the industry's foremost creative leaders, the Artists Rights Foundation seeks to safeguard the rights of film artists, protect their works from alteration, and ensure that the artist's vision remains intact for future generations to enjoy.

We realize our goals through a variety of approaches: nationwide grassroots educational programs, international partnerships, legal efforts and the hosting of special events. All are designed to further expand our message of protecting and preserving "our" film heritage.

Tonight's generous contribution will go directly to support two nationwide educational programs: **The Creativity on Film Project**, a "hands-on" after-school filmmaking program for thousands of teenagers across the country and the **Consumer Movie Awareness Campaign**, focused on educating the public about the alterations that are made to the films they watch on television and rent in video stores. Through these programs, ARF is reaching millions of movie-going Americans.

Universal Pictures, Jersey Films/Cinehaus
in association with
Shapiro/West Productions
cordially invite you to the
West Coast Premiere of

Man on the Moon

to benefit

COMIC RELIEF

and

ARTISTS RIGHTS FOUNDATION

Monday, December 20, 1999

7:30 P.M.

Mann's Chinese Theatre
6925 Hollywood Boulevard

Immediately followed by a party
featuring a performance by Tony Clifton and the Cliftones
The Palladium
6215 Sunset Boulevard

Festive Dress

Response card enclosed

For information call Levy, Pazanti & Associates at 310-201-5033

Man on the Moon

Benefit Co-Chairs

Jim Carrey
Rhea Perlman & Danny DeVito
Milos Forman
Kelly Chapman & Ron Meyer

Carla & Michael Shamberg
Stacey Sher
Ranko Masuyama
& Bob Zmuda

Benefit Committee

John Branca
Maria & Joseph Collona
Billy Crystal
John Diemer
Karen & Mark Gordon
Pamela & Michael Hausman
Stacey Snider & Gary Jones
Stanley L. Kaufman
Pru & Michael Kaufman
Carol Kaufman-Kerman & Rick Kerman
Pia & Gary Levinsohn
Courtney Love
Deborah Klein & Mort Marcus

Lynne Margulies
Penny Marshall
Mike Medavoy
Kevin Misher
Victoria & Brian Mulligan
Michele & Rob Reiner
Nikki & Joseph Rocco
George Shapiro
Louise Hamagami & Marc Shmuger
Marlene & Howard West

(In Formation)

City of Los Angeles

Los Angeles Police Commission, Charitable Services Section



- NOT AN ENDORSEMENT BUT FOR INFORMATION ONLY -

INFORMATION CARD

COMIC RELIEF, INC.
10 Universal City Plaza, #1950, Universal City, CA 91608
(818) 762-0028

ACTIVITY "Man on the Moon" Movie Premiere, December 20, 1999, at Mann's Village and Pauley Pavillion, Westwood. Tickets at \$250 per person. Donations will be solicited.

PURPOSE Proceeds to support Comic Relief's health care and related services for the homeless and others in need through various projects.

EXPENSE All expenses will be underwritten by Universal.

CHAIR Dennis Albaugh, Vice President

1121

SOLICITATION RESTRICTED TO THE HOURS OF 8 A.M. - 8 P.M.
AN EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY—AFFIRMATIVE ACTION EMPLOYER

70-20.0 (4/97)

Universal Pictures
Cordially Extends Complimentary Tickets
To You And A Guest
RSVP to (818) 777-0603
Tickets will be mailed to you.

This is a Benefit Premiere.
Should you wish to make a donation,
a response card is enclosed.

White House Staff Secretary

Chron Files

Box 1

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments # 21406

December 12, 1999 through December 31, 1999

NARA 18590

January 1, 2000 through January 17, 2000

Box 2

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments # 21407

June 13, 2000 through June 15, 2000

NARA 18591

July 29, 2000 through August 9, 2000

August 13, 2000 through August 18, 2000

November 7, 2000 through November 28, 2000

Box 3

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments # 21406

August 13, 2000 through August 31, 2000

NARA 18592

May 14, 2000 through May 20, 2000

May 23, 2000 through June 5, 2000

July 1, 2000

August 19, 2000

Box 4 Enclosures filed in
 Oversize Attachments # 21409
August 20, 2000 through September 30, 2000 NARA 18593

Box 5 Enclosures filed in
 Oversize Attachments # NARA 18594
Staff Daily Briefing Books 21410
Staff Trip Books Enclosures filed in
 Oversize Attachments # 21411 NARA 18595

Box 6 Enclosures filed in
 Oversize Attachments # 21412
May 2, 2000 through May 12, 2000 NARA 18596
October 24, 2000 through November 2, 2000
March 13, 2000 through March 18, 2000
January 18, 2000 through January 30, 2000

Box 7 Enclosures filed in
 Oversize Attachments # 21413
Daily Schedules of the President from NARA 18597
February 1998 through October 1998

Box 8 Enclosures filed in
 Oversize Attachments # 21414
January 31, 2000 through March 3, 2000 NARA 18598
April 23, 2000 through May 1, 2000

Box 9

March 4, 2000 through March 12, 2000

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments # 21415

March 20, 2000 through April 22, 2000

NARA 18599

Box 10

July 2, 2000 through July 28, 2000

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments # 21416

June 6, 2000 through June 12, 2000

NARA 18600

June 16, 2000 through June 30, 2000

Box 11

Enclosures filed in
Oversize Attachments # 21417

November 29, 2000 through December 11, 2000

NARA 18601