

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 #

21408

August 13, 2000 through August 31, 2000

May 14, 2000 through May 20, 2000

NARA 18592

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 # 21410
Staff Daily Briefing Books NARA 18594

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

White House Staff Secretary

Chron Files

Box 11

November 29, 2000 through December 11, 2000

Chron

—

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Berger
Podesta

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-24-99
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

89 NOV 24 10:29

November 24, 1999

MEMORANDUM

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Jimmy Carter's Interest in Sudan Negotiations

On a recent memo concerning Jimmy Carter's comment in a Los Angeles Times article that your Administration has resisted his efforts to resolve the crisis in Sudan, you asked "what's the downside of letting him try?"

Several arguments mitigate against Carter's intervention. (He has not approached us formally with a request to intervene since April 1997.) Carter does not agree with our policy of isolating the National Islamic Front (NIF) and instead favors attempting to change Sudan's behavior through engagement. He has maintained contact with Sudan President Beshir since 1989, when his effort to broker a compromise between the NIF and the Sudan Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) failed. Supporting a Carter peace initiative could therefore signal our abandonment of the peace process led by the regional Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), but we continue to believe that this regional process is the way forward to peace in Sudan. Further, we are already partnered with several other countries in the International Partners Forum (IPF) to support the IGAD effort.

Another potential downside would be the upstaging of Florida Congressman Harry Johnston, your newly appointed Special Envoy for Sudan. Johnston has just returned from a trip which included his first IPF meeting in Rome and stops in all the IGAD countries. We would not want to undercut these efforts by seeming to support Carter's approach at this stage. (Johnston may well choose to consult with Carter at some stage, however, to eliminate the perception that the United States is sending conflicting signals.)

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

Copied

Berger

7543

Podesta

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

99 OCT 27 PM 9:38

October 27, 1999

10-31-99

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Jimmy Carter's Interest in Sudan Negotiations

In a recent interview with the Los Angeles Times, Jimmy Carter said that your Administration has resisted his efforts to resolve the crisis in Sudan. You asked whether Carter is too close to Sudan's leader.

We haven't called upon Carter recently because, though not particularly close to northern Sudanese leaders, he seems to overestimate their willingness to negotiate seriously. Carter's understanding of the situation differs from ours, in that his approach to the NIF is more conciliatory than the current situation warrants. Carter believes he can prevail upon President Beshir, and the National Islamic Front's Hassan Turabi, to compromise. Though both would likely welcome Carter's involvement, we believe that the United States should continue to work through the regional, and internationally backed, Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) peace process rather than a parallel track led by Carter.

Carter might also be miffed that we appointed former Florida Congressman Harry Johnston as Special Envoy rather than asking him to initiate a new peace process. Carter's interest goes back to 1989, when he tried to broker a compromise between Turabi and Sudan Peoples Liberation Army leader Dr. John Garang. Like other peace efforts, Carter's effort floundered because it assumed the possibility of negotiating a middle-ground option between the NIF's ideological commitment to an Islamic Sudan, which by definition excludes the southern, non-Islamic majority, and the Sudan People's Liberation Army's (SPLA) demand for a secular state in which all citizens have equal rights.

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

We favor the peace process led by IGAD because it has set forth a "Declaration of Principles" (DOP) which assumes that a just and lasting solution requires resolution of two fundamental issues: separation of religion and the state; and the right of Sudan's peoples to self-determination. Past peace efforts, including the Addis Ababa Accord which was signed shortly after Sudan's independence, and a Nigerian effort in the 1980s, failed because the issue of equal rights -- regardless of religion or ethnicity -- was never addressed. Khartoum accepted the DOP in 1997 because the international community agreed that no other vehicles for negotiations would be provided. Khartoum has since sought alternatives including less rigorous peace initiatives of the kind favored by Carter.

Attachment

Article and Question

What's the
downside of
letting him try?

Sunday

10-5-99

7543

What about Susan
is he too close to
US women leaders?

Bo

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Berger
NSC WW Desk
Padesta

LOS ANGELES TIMES

(first-edition) Page 1 for Tuesday, Oct. 5, 1999:

Top of page:

Col 1: Foreign newsfeature. Moving later with art.

Cols 2-5: Master Cheng Yen is Taiwan's version of Mother Teresa
a woman ministering to the poor and hoping to educate the rich
and the recent devastating earthquake in Taiwan has brought out the
best of her highly regarded organization. (with art) (TAIWAN-
CHARITY, moving Tuesday).

Col 6: An Illinois jury orders the nation's largest car insurer to pay
\$456 million for allegedly cheating millions of customers by
ordering body shops to fix their cars with low-cost generic
replacement parts. (INSURE-TIMES, moved).

Above fold:

Col 2: Advances in medical treatment for radiation victims give
hope that one or more of the three workers severely irradiated last
week in Japan could survive, doctors say. (JAPAN, moved).

Cols 3-4: Newsfeature. Moving later.

Col 5: The Supreme Court clears the way for mandatory drug
testing for school teachers, rejecting a constitutional challenge that
called the program "an exercise in symbolism." (SCOTUS-TIMES,
moved).

Below fold:

Col 4: National newsfeature. Moving later with art.

Bottom of page:

Cols 1-3: Foreign newsfeature. Moving later with art.

Cols 5-6: As recently as three or four years ago, if you spent your
college career burrowing into English literature or Picasso's
paintings and then went looking for a job in business, you might
have had trouble getting the time of day with many top corporate
recruiters, but not any more. (LIBERAL-ARTS, moving Tuesday).

With an Eye on His Legacy, a President Faces Aging
Unashamed

By Jack Nelson

Los Angeles Times

ATLANTA Jimmy Carter, wearing faded, tight-fitting blue jeans
and a white, yellow and blue polo shirt with the initials of the U.S.
Naval Academy, relaxed in an easy chair and propped his loafers on
a coffee table last week. In a few days, on Oct. 1, the former
president would turn 75 years old. Now, in his spacious office at the
Carter Center, he was spending an hour reflecting on questions
about his presidency and post-presidency, his relations with
President Clinton and three former presidents and even about life
and death and his 53 years of marriage with Rosalynn.

Carter, who has been nominated several times for the Nobel Peace
Prize, disclosed that he had expected to receive the award in 1994
for his efforts in North Korea, Bosnia and Haiti, but is now
reconciled to never receiving that honor. He also voiced irritation
that the Clinton administration has sometimes excluded the Carter
Center from its international diplomacy. Yet, the former president
was clearly at ease with himself and the life he has made since
leaving the Oval Office in 1981.

He had just finished printing out a manuscript copy of his 14th
book, a memoir about growing up in the South during the
Depression. And he waxed enthusiastically about his 15th book, a
novel-in-progress about the Revolutionary War that is three-fourths
completed. He plans to write other books, he confides, but never
another with Rosalynn because the tensions created by the one book
they co-authored, dealing with health issues, almost wrecked their
marriage.

The former president talks unabashedly about his deep love for
his wife, and both of them say these are the best years of their lives.
In his 1998 book, "The Virtues of Aging," Carter, writing about
older couples continuing to enjoy sexual relations, observed that
"well past 70, Rosalynn and I have learned to accommodate each
other's desires more accurately and generously, and have never had
a more complete and enjoyable relationship."

Question: You wrote about there still being a lot of prejudice
against the aged, that it's like sexism or racism.

Answer: There is. A lot of that is self-criticism. It's the
underestimation of people about growing older, about what they're
still capable of doing, so they withdraw from active and expansive
participation in life and lead an increasingly and unnecessarily
restrictive life. ... In generic terms, America does slough away a
tremendous reservoir of potentially beneficial human beings
because they themselves, and the general society, put a limit on us.
Like a mandatory retirement age of 60. Or almost all the major
corporate boards require somebody to resign when they're 65. I'm
fortunate in that that has not affected me. Rosalynn's mother had to
retire from the post office when she was 70. She's now 94. She
could have worked 15 more years, I think, and very beneficially.
But I tried to outline in the book some things that might be used to
accommodate that: part-time work, obviously beneficent work. We
have people in their 90s that are still helping us build houses for
Habit for Humanity.

Q: You're just turning 75 and you're as busy as you were when
you were 65 or 55. I want to know your secret.

A: I spent a year or two studying other people's aging processes
when I wrote "Virtues of Aging." I talked to people and analyzed
my own habits and those of Rosalynn and how other people in my
family have done. But I think I've just been blessed. So far, I've had
good health. We are vigorous. Rosalynn and I do everything
together, which is one secret. But we take up new habits, like
climbing mountains or bird watching or fly fishing or downhill
skiing. We do it together. We're always together, just about. We
have unique responsibilities.

But I think that keeps us vigorous and interested in things. I've
had the Carter Center as an almost unlimited menu from which I
could choose. ... We have, for any particular day, maybe 50 things
presented to us that we could select, and we choose the ones that we
want to do. It's never boring. Negotiating peace and dealing with
human-rights problems at the highest possible level. We monitor
elections and promote democracy. We have health programs,
agriculture programs in Africa. We have programs in 65 foreign
countries. And with a former president, the opportunities to
consummate a desire are almost unlimited. When I go to an African
country it is a big deal. It's not as big as the queen of England, but
it's a big deal.

Q: President Clinton recently presented both you and Mrs. Carter
with the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Can you say something

about your relationship with Clinton? It's been a little bit rocky in the past.

A: It's been quite rocky in the past. But, I think, the last few months, at least, both of us have gone out of our way to be reconciled and to understand each other a little bit better. I'd say the exclusion of the Carter Center by the Clinton administration from issues and assignments that I thought were appropriate for us is what caused my problem. ... When President Clinton went into office and The Washington Post and others began to report all the people that he brought in around him, in foreign policy, were Jimmy Carter people at that time, I really had a very low reputation my stature in the country was lower six years ago than it is now. But, I think, there was just a general statement, OK, we will not use Carter.

Q: Any particular projects you can think of?

A: I have offered a number of times to be directly involved when I had an opening in the White House. In recent years, since I came back from North Korea, I have had direct invitations from the North Koreans to come back and help resolve a crisis, and (from) Sudan.

Q: But has the Clinton administration resisted your going back to North Korea?

A: Yes. Yes. All three of those places.

Q: Any other place?

A: That's the only three I want to mention. What we've done is to carve out for the Carter Center in the fields of foreign policy although we have no authority those areas of the world where it does not create a problem with the White House or the State Department. And that's primarily the forgotten kinds of nations. ...

His people know what I'm doing, and I have never been on a trip overseas that I didn't send him immediately, the day after I returned home, a full report on everything I did that I think is important.

Q: What is your relationship with Vice President Al Gore?

A: Friendly, I would say. After Gore and Clinton were re-elected, I realized that we had a problem in this Carter Center relationship. I never have had a problem personally with President Clinton or anyone else, but I wanted particularly to see if I had done things that aggravated the White House, and I know I'm pretty aggressive when I go overseas. Clearly when I went down to Panama

Tobacco Firms in Secondhand-Smoke Court Battle

By Myron Levin

Los Angeles Times

LOS ANGELES Mobilizing against smoking bans and lawsuits that could cost them billions, tobacco companies are engaged in a far-reaching campaign to discredit evidence that secondhand smoke is harmful to human health.

Nowhere is the strategy more evident than in a legal battle over the evidence that has occupied at least 10 courts, including U.S. District Court in Los Angeles, where it appears likely to be resolved in the industry's favor.

In the latest phase of the discovery battle, Philip Morris is fighting University of Southern California researchers to get access to a single computer disk containing raw data from an influential five-city study, known as the Fontham study, that found a causal link between lung cancer and secondhand smoke. The company wants to scrutinize the data in hopes of casting doubt on the evidence, which is weaker for second-hand smoke than for some other environmental hazards.

Fontham and similar studies have provided the scientific bedrock for a small but growing wave of secondhand smoke litigation that the industry aims to head off. At the same time, cigarette makers are determined to slow the spread of California-style smoking bans to less-regulated areas of the United States and to foreign markets where smokers still light up wherever they choose. Research suggests that smoking restrictions reduce cigarette sales by inducing many smokers to cut down or even quit.

Researchers from USC and other institutions involved in the Fontham study say the industry's relentless pursuit of the data could have a chilling effect on future health research. Citing promises of confidentiality to subjects in the study, they have resisted demands to cough up the data, which cigarette makers say they need to defend themselves in court.

The industry has been largely thwarted in this long-running game of cat and mouse, obtaining but a sliver of the data. But its five-year quest may be about to pay off. In Los Angeles, U.S. District Judge Richard A. Paez will decide if USC must honor an industry subpoena, and he has already ruled for the industry once.

Although tobacco companies have their hands full with litigation over primary smoking such as the huge case filed last month by the Justice Department, secondhand smoke is an emerging threat, in

part because the industry's standard defense that victims accepted the risk is not applicable.

Cigarette makers won the only two secondhand smoke cases to be decided by juries, but in 1997 they agreed to settle a class action by airline flight attendants for \$349 million. The money was for health research and legal costs, not damages, but the agreement gave flight attendants a one-year window to sue once the settlement was final.

It became final last month, when lawyers opposed to the deal withdrew their challenge. As a result, a flurry of suits by flight attendants is likely over the next 12 months. A handful of secondhand smoke cases already are pending, including class actions on behalf of casino workers.

The industry counterattack produced a big victory last year when a federal judge in North Carolina ruled that the Environmental Protection Agency had made procedural and substantive errors in a landmark report in January 1993, concluding that secondhand smoke is a significant cause of lung cancer in nonsmokers. Federal officials have appealed the ruling.

In fighting to secure the Fontham data, the industry is taking aim at a major piece of research that helped persuade the EPA and other health organizations to declare secondhand smoke a significant hazard.

Named for Elizabeth Fontham, a principal investigator and lead author, the project teamed researchers from Louisiana State University, Emory University, the University of Texas and the California Department of Health Services, along with USC, in a study of nearly 2,000 nonsmoking women in Los Angeles, San Francisco, Houston, New Orleans and Atlanta including 1,253 subjects who were healthy and 653 with lung cancer. Their conclusion: Exposure to secondhand smoke raised the lung cancer risk about 30 percent.

The data sought by cigarette makers includes medical records and personal information on study subjects, such as work and marital histories, dietary habits and exposure to other toxic substances. But the researchers say they promised never to divulge that information, and that it will be hard to gain cooperation in future studies if they go back on their word.

But tobacco lawyers say it is perfectly natural they would want to examine the data. The Fontham study is "the No. 1 piece of evidence against us in any (secondhand smoke) lung cancer case," said Barry Davidson, a lawyer for Philip Morris.

Davidson called the confidentiality issue "a total red herring," noting that Philip Morris has sought a redacted copy of the data, with names, addresses and phone numbers of study participants deleted.

Patricia Buffer, one of the Fontham researchers, acknowledged some anxiety over the industry's intent to discredit the study. "If you know anything about statistics," she said, "adjustments can be made to produce conflicting results."

Indeed, secondhand smoke research may be uniquely vulnerable to the kind of torture test the industry would like to apply to the Fontham data. The reason is that even in the most incriminating studies, although the impact of secondhand smoke across the whole population may be substantial, the risk for each exposed person is low.

For a toxic agent to be deemed a proven risk to health, researchers typically insist that the rate of illness at least double, or increase 10 percent, for those who are exposed. Otherwise, other environmental factors or errors in classifying data might explain the difference.

The Fontham study, typical of research indicting secondhand smoke, found an added cancer risk of about 30 percent, well below the traditional threshold. By comparison, longtime smokers face a roughly twentyfold, or 2,000 percent, greater lung cancer risk than nonsmokers. Lifetime smokers have about one chance in eight of dying of lung cancer, compared with a risk of one in 200 for those who never smoked.

The industry's quest for the Fontham data began in 1994, when cigarette makers subpoenaed it from Louisiana State University as part of their defense of a secondhand smoke case in Texas. But Louisiana law provides sweeping protections against disclosure of confidential data in health studies, and the industry was turned down by three different state and federal judges when it tried to enforce its subpoenas.

Tobacco lawyers made two trips to state court in Georgia and finally got data from Emory University, but only for the Atlanta portion of the study.

In California, the first industry subpoena was quashed in 1997 by a San Francisco Superior Court judge. In Los Angeles, cigarette makers also subpoenaed the data from USC, first for defense of the flight attendants class action, and then in the secondhand smoke case of a Florida woman named Roselyn Wolpin.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 30, 1999

10-31-99

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY *LL*

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

I am attaching the following recent information items:

(A) ✓ **Summers memo on China trip** – Larry reports on his recent trip, during which his Chinese hosts “extended themselves” and allotted substantial time for top-level meetings (e.g., with Premier Zhu Rhongji and Vice Premier Wen Jiabiao); struck a cordial tone and did not mention contentious matters (e.g., embassy bombing); and showed a clear interest in restoring the U.S.-China relationship and on achieving WTO accession. Discussions focused on the WTO and China’s macroeconomic problems. Larry also notes several common U.S./China themes, including: the importance of expanding prosperity, particularly to areas that have been left behind; concurrent environmental protection and economic growth; the efficiency/stability tradeoff; and financial liberalization.

cf. (B) ✓ **Berger memo on Gulf War illness study** – Sandy reports on DoD’s recent release of a RAND study on the medical effects of Pyridostigmine Bromide (PB), an investigational new drug (IND) used during the Gulf War as a pretreatment to prevent death in the event of attack by the nerve agent soman. The report concludes that PB cannot be ruled out as a cause of long-term health problems of some Gulf War veterans and is the first DoD-published report that could be interpreted as finding a cause for some Gulf War illnesses. Although the report only concludes that more research is needed, it has generated considerable interest. Because PB is an IND, it was given to service personnel under special FDA rules that allow the administration of INDs to service personnel without their consent. The FY99 Defense Authorization Act gave you sole authority to grant a waiver of informed consent; on October 1, 1999, you signed an Executive Order that established stringent procedures for considering such a waiver request for military use of INDs. Our public message on PB is that we’re exploring all avenues to find a cause for Gulf War illness; there are currently 26 studies underway. DoD will continue to consider PB as a pretreatment when there is a credible soman threat – PB is a swift and sure killer and PB is the only known pretreatment – but will be judicious and take all pertinent research into account when considering future PB use.

(C) ✓ **Berger memo on President Carter’s interest in Sudan** – In response to an *LA Times* article reporting on Carter’s statement that you have resisted his efforts to resolve the Sudan crisis, you asked whether Carter is too close to Sudan’s leader. Sandy responds

10-31-99

that Carter is not particularly close to the northern Sudanese leaders, but that we have not called upon him recently because he seems to overestimate their willingness to negotiate seriously. Specifically, Carter's approach to the National Islamic Front (NIF) is more conciliatory than the situation warrants, and he believes he can prevail on NIF leadership to compromise. We believe that the U.S. should continue to work through the regional, internationally backed, Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) peace process -- which has set forth a Declaration of Principles -- rather than a parallel track led by Carter. Sandy also suggests Carter might be miffed that we appointed former Florida Congressman Harry Johnston as Special Envoy rather than asking Carter to initiate a new peace process.

Lane memo on Russian Proton launch failure – Neal reports on the recent launch failure of the Russian Proton, Russia's heavy-lift expendable launch vehicle, and cautions that the accident could have implications for the International Space Station (ISS). There was a similar Proton accident last July, after which the Kazakhstan government banned Proton launches, and the government has now reinstated the ban pending the results of a failure investigation. If the investigation is prolonged, it would affect the ISS. The next piece of the ISS, the Russian Service Module, is scheduled to be launched on a Proton at the end of the year. If the Service Module is delayed beyond February, it could cause a costly delay for the overall ISS program (NASA spends approximately \$100M/month). NASA is talking with its Russian counterparts and Neal will keep you apprised of developments.

Letter from James Harmon, Ex-Im Bank President (via Sosnik) – Harmon reports on his recent visit to Russia and improvements in the Russian economy. He suggests that the U.S. should continue to urge Russia to strengthen the rule of law, reform bankruptcy laws and encourage businesses to adhere to principles of transparency, and that the Ex-Im Bank is uniquely positioned to play an important role in Russia, providing financing support while the private sector remains reluctant to do business in Russia. Harmon traveled to Africa on October 15th and reports substantial progress in the Bank's program to increase financing for Sub-Saharan Africa. *We have forwarded his letter to NSC for a response.*

Congressional correspondence (via Chuck Brain) – letters from (1) Rep. Horn (D-CA), thanking you for including him in the Arts and Humanities event and praising your efforts to bring together "our fellow citizens who are of diverse race and ethnicity"; and (2) Rep. Sherman (D-CA), thanking you for attending the event for him and for your remarks.

We have also received the following items:

Corporation for National Service Board report (via Thurgood Marshall) – The Board of Directors of the Corporation for National Service submits its first report to you, describing the Board's evolution into an "independent, cohesive, diverse and politically balanced entity," and recommending (1) increased dialogue between you/your representative and the Board re: your priorities and objectives; (2) giving the Board more

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 24, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA

FROM: NEAL LANE *Neal Lane*

SUBJECT: Final Report from the Secretary of Defense on Recent Launch Vehicle Failures

On November 23, the Secretary of Defense sent the final report on its launch failure review to the President. The attached memorandum summarizes the DoD report, forwards it to the President, and recommends that the President sign the attached reply to the Secretary of Defense, to thank him for conducting this review, to ask Mr. Berger and me to review the report, and noting that he expects DoD to fully implement appropriate actions to correct these failures and ensure the nation's ability to access space for the future.

The FY 2000 Defense Authorization Act requires the DoD to forward copies of this report to the House Appropriations Committee, House Armed Services Committee, and House Permanent Select Committee on Intelligence, as well as the Senate Appropriations Committee, Senate Armed Services Committee, and Senate Select Committee on Intelligence.

Based on inputs and discussion with DoD, NSC, and your staff, I'd like to recommend the following sequence of events for forwarding the report to the Congress and making it available to the press, the media, and the public. After the President signs the reply to the Secretary of Defense, I will contact the office of the Secretary of Defense to advise them that they may forward copies of the report to the Congress. Next, the White House Press Office should release the attached fact sheet based on the text of the President's letter and issue a press advisory explaining how to find copies of the report which should be posted on the Air Force web site. In parallel, we will forward Press Guidance and Administration Talking Points to the White House Press Office and other White House staff, for use in responding to press and media inquiries.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the plan outlined above for releasing the report to Congress and the public, and forward the attached memo to the President

11-29-99

Approve ☒

Attachment
Fact Sheet

Disap: ☐

Sean -
Should we send this to Clark first?
Yes ☒
No ☐
DAN B TO PREPARE LETTER IN FINAL FORM - THEN FOR POTUS' SIG -

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 24, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR JOHN PODESTA

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RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the plan outlined above for releasing the report to Congress and the public, and forward the attached memo to the President.

Approve ✓

Disapprove _____

Discuss _____

Attachment
Fact Sheet

Neal

THE WHITE HOUSE

For Immediate Release
_____, 1999

Contact: 456-6047

FACT SHEET

DoD REPORT ON RECOVERING FROM SPACE LAUNCH FAILURES

Today, the President sent the following letter to Secretary of Defense William Cohen, after receiving the Department of Defense report on the causes of the U.S. expendable launch vehicle failures between August 1998 and May 1999, and actions required to assure our future access to space, as requested by the President in May 1999.

"Thank you for conducting and reporting on your thorough and in-depth review of the U.S. space launch failures that occurred in 1998 and 1999. I am pleased to know that you have identified the root causes behind each of the recent launch failures, and that you have worked with NASA, the Intelligence Community, and industry to take corrective actions to prevent recurrences. I also appreciate your efforts, and the efforts of industry, in uncovering and addressing the broader systemic concerns that may have contributed to this series of failures.

I have asked Dr. Neal Lane, my Assistant for Science and Technology, and Mr. Sandy Berger, my Assistant for National Security Affairs, to review your report. Now and in the next century, our national security, civil, and commercial space sectors will continue to depend on reliable access to space to achieve our broader national goals. Your report correctly points out the critical importance of maintaining a focus on successfully flying the remaining current fleet of expendable launch vehicles already on contract, with missions valued at more than \$20 billion, while assuring mission success during the transition from these current systems to the modernized Evolved Expendable Launch Vehicles.

Thank you again for the hard work and dedication of the government-industry team in uncovering the problems, concerns, and corrective actions associated with these launch failures. Please implement appropriate actions to correct the causes, address the concerns that contributed to the failures, and ensure the nation's ability to reliably access space for the future."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 24, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NEAL LANE *Neal Lane*

SUBJECT: Final Report from the Secretary of Defense on Recent Launch Vehicle Failures

On May 19, you asked the Secretary of Defense, in coordination with the Director of Central Intelligence and the NASA Administrator, to provide you with an interim report in 90 days and a final report in 180 days on the causes of the U.S. space launch vehicle failures that occurred between August 1998 and May 1999, and actions required to assure our future access to space. On September 8, I received the interim report from DoD in the form of a briefing. On the same day, Lockheed Martin released the results of a similar independent review they had conducted over the past four months to investigate whether there are broader underlying problems that contributed to this series of failures. Boeing conducted a similar review through October. On November 12, I received a briefing from DoD on the status of the final report, and on November 23, I received the attached final report from the Secretary of Defense.

I believe the DoD-chartered team did a thorough job of assessing all aspects of launch-related activities since 1985—from design, procurement, and manufacturing, to the handoffs between the launch vehicle manufacturing plant and the launch site, as well as operations at the launch sites—seeking to uncover systemic or endemic problems that may have contributed to this series of failures. The DoD review focused on two main areas: (1) flying the remaining current fleet of expendable launch vehicles already on contract, with missions valued at a total of more than \$20 billion, and (2) assuring mission success during the transition from these current systems to the modernized Evolved Expendable Launch Vehicles (EELVs). Boeing and Lockheed Martin are partnered with DoD to develop EELVs to begin replacing the current expendable launch vehicles for commercial and government missions starting in 2002.

The report from the Secretary of Defense recaps the direction for the review, summarizes the cause of each Titan IV failure, and explains the corrective actions for each. Next, it summarizes the findings and recommendations from the independent reviews conducted over the past six months by Boeing and Lockheed Martin. It also summarizes the charter, issues, and recommendations from the DoD-chartered review. Finally, the briefing explains the DoD plans for addressing and implementing the recommendations. Here is a brief summary of the “bottom line” statements from the report, rolling up the 19 recommendations:

- The U.S. government should ensure that industry corrects the causes of the recent failures, and also improves their systems engineering and process discipline to minimize the chances of further failures.

- The U.S. government should establish clear accountability for the success of space launch missions using current launch systems and transition to the modernized Evolved Expendable Launch Vehicles (EELV).
- For both current launch systems and EELV, the U.S. government should enhance its partnership with industry by adding the needed management, engineering support, and emphasis on mission success.
- The U.S. government should provide a well-defined, coordinated, and disseminated transition plan from the current launch systems to the modernized EELV.
- The U.S. government should invest to build confidence in the EELV reliability with enhancements and increased oversight.

DoD already has actions underway to address these bottom lines, and it is developing detailed action plans to be presented to the Secretary of the Air Force within 60 days, to address all 19 of the specific recommendations in the report.

I have attached a proposed reply from you to the Secretary of Defense to thank him for conducting this review, asking Mr. Berger and me to review the report, and noting that you asked the DoD to implement appropriate actions to correct these failures and ensure the nation's ability to access space for the future.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached reply to the Secretary of Defense.

Attachments

1. DoD Report
2. Reply to the Secretary of Defense

cc: The Vice President
The Chief of Staff
The Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs
The Assistant to the Vice President for National Security Affairs

To
Dan
B.

The Honorable William S. Cohen
Secretary of Defense
The Pentagon
Washington, DC 20301-1000

Dear Mr. Secretary:

Thank you for conducting and reporting on your thorough and in-depth review of the U.S. space launch failures that occurred in 1998 and 1999. I am pleased to know that you have identified the root causes behind each of the recent launch failures, and that you have worked with NASA, the Intelligence Community, and industry to take corrective actions to prevent recurrences. I also appreciate your efforts, and the efforts of industry, in uncovering and addressing the broader systemic concerns that may have contributed to this series of failures.

I have asked Dr. Neal Lane, my Assistant for Science and Technology, and Mr. Sandy Berger, my Assistant for National Security Affairs, to review your report. Now and in the next century, our national security, civil, and commercial space sectors will continue to depend on reliable access to space to achieve our broader national goals. Your report correctly points out the critical importance of maintaining a focus on successfully flying the remaining current fleet of expendable launch vehicles already on contract, with missions valued at more than \$20 billion, while assuring mission success during the transition from these current systems to the modernized Evolved Expendable Launch Vehicles.

Thank you again for the hard work and dedication of the government-industry team in uncovering the technical and management problems associated with these launch failures. Please implement appropriate actions to correct the causes, address the concerns that contributed to the failures, and ensure the nation's ability to reliably access space for the future.

cc: The Director of Central Intelligence
The Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000

NOV 23 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Department of Defense Assessment of Space Launch Failures

As a result of your direction on May 19, 1999, the Department of Defense, in coordination with the Director of Central Intelligence and the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, has completed its review of the recent space launch failures and has identified several systemic problems which resulted in the technical deficiencies that caused the mishaps. The scope of our assessment included the results of the Accident Investigation Boards conducted by the U.S. Air Force, the comprehensive Broad Area Review commissioned to investigate the failures, and independent reviews conducted by the Boeing and Lockheed Martin corporations.

On November 12, 1999, the Secretary of the Air Force and Air Force Vice Chief of Staff presented our findings, recommendations, and planned corrective actions to Dr. Neal Lane and other senior government leaders. Dr. Lane accepted our report and asked that we forward it to you as soon as possible; therefore, I am enclosing the Department of Defense report along with an executive summary. I will also send a similar letter and copies of the report to the Chairmen and Ranking Minority Members of the Congressional Defense and Intelligence Committees in response to their request for information on the launch failures.

The Department of Defense has a long history of successful space launches and we are confident the recommendations offered by the various review teams will produce an even more reliable and robust national security space capability for the United States. The Air Force has already begun implementing a number of near term corrective measures and is reviewing other measures to further enhance our launch reliability. I will continue to actively track the results of our implementation efforts, and will ensure the difficult lessons learned in these launch investigations are successfully incorporated in our next generation space launch system, the Evolved Expendable Launch Vehicle family of vehicles.

NOV 23 17:25

A handwritten signature, likely of the Secretary of Defense, is located in the bottom right area of the page.

Attachments:

1. Executive Summary
2. DoD of Assessment Space Launch Failures

cc:

Director of Central Intelligence

Administrator of National Aeronautics and Space Administration

Secretary of the Air Force

**Department of Defense
Assessment of Space Launch Failures**

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Background

Between August 1998 and May 1999, the United States experienced three Titan IV-related government launch failures and two Delta III commercial launch failures. The failure of three Government missions, combined with the failure of two commercial missions within the same time frame, sparked widespread concern in our ability to assure access to space. Because assured access to space is critical to the overall strength and stability of our national security, commercial, and civil space sectors, both the Executive and Legislative branches asked the Department of Defense (DoD), in coordination with the Director of Central Intelligence and the Administrator of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, to examine the failures and to provide a report on the causes and corrective actions being taken to prevent their reoccurrence and to ensure future access to space. The Secretary of Defense subsequently tasked the Air Force to complete such a review; in turn, the Secretary of the Air Force requested and the Chief of Staff of the Air Force directed an independent Broad Area Review of space launch.

The United States Air Force is assigned the spacelift function by the Secretary of Defense -- providing access to space for both the Department of Defense and the Intelligence Community (IC). The Air Force relies on the Delta II, Atlas II, and Titan IV expendable launch vehicles (ELVs) to fulfill the medium and heavy lift requirements of the DoD and IC. Although there are smaller expendable launch vehicles in use by the government, they are generally not used by the national security community for major satellite payloads and were not included in the scope of the review. In FY 2002, the DoD will begin to rely on two Evolved Expendable Launch Vehicle (EELV) families of vehicles for its missions, consisting of the Delta IV (Boeing) and Atlas V (Lockheed Martin).

This summary highlights the investigations that were initiated by both the U.S. Government and U.S. industry following the launch failures.

Investigation Boards

In the span of eight months, three DoD missions on variants of the Titan IV core vehicle and upper stages failed at a total dollar loss in excess of \$3 billion. Three critical national security satellites were lost. Air Force Investigation and Safety Boards discovered one mission failed because of an electrical short in the core vehicle, and the other two failed due to problems with the upper stages. A combination of technical and process problems were the causative factors.

The Air Force has already implemented a number of specific corrective actions to address these three failures and is currently implementing additional process improvements to reduce the likelihood of reoccurrence. However, the timing and nature of these failures prompted the Government and U.S. industry to take steps beyond the normal post-failure investigation process. Both Government and industry initiated broad, independent reviews of the processes and procedures involved at all levels of launch vehicle design, production, assembly, and launch.

Industry Independent Reviews

The independent industry reviews were internal initiatives. Even so, both companies shared their results with the DoD, and the industry findings were also taken into consideration by the Space Launch Broad Area Review (BAR) commissioned by the Air Force. Both sets of studies were consistent in their findings and conclusions--design, engineering, quality, process, staffing, and skill retention were some of the common problems cited. The DoD is pleased with the initiative shown by industry in conducting investigations separate from the Government's, and plans to act to ensure that all findings and recommendations are followed-up and corrective action is taken where appropriate.

Space Launch Broad Area Review (BAR)

On 3 May 99, a Space Launch BAR was chartered by the Air Force to conduct a complete examination of the launch process in an attempt to better understand and prevent future launch failures, and to make recommendations for changes that could enhance mission success. The Institute for Defense Analysis (IDA) with the support of Air Force Space Command (AFSPC) and the National Reconnaissance Office (NRO) conducted the BAR. The Senior Steering Group was headed by former Chief of Staff of the Air Force, General Larry Welch (USAF, ret.), and consisted of highly respected active and retired members of the space launch community from both Government and industry. The group reported its results to the Commander, Air Force Space Command and the Director, National Reconnaissance Office.

Although the Launch BAR looked at the entire family of expendable launch vehicles and upper stages, the primary focus of the effort dealt with Atlas, Delta, and Titan "fly-out" (current) systems and the transition to EELV. The Launch BAR also examined the practices and experiences of a number of space launch customers and the role of various players in the space launch business. The team did not address foreign launch systems, the increasing number of commercial expendable and reusable systems, or spacecraft post-separation operations and on orbit failures.

The BAR findings were arranged under two overarching issues: (1) Mission success in fly-out of current (Titan, Atlas, Delta) systems--approximately \$20 billion in launch vehicle and spacecraft assets--includes critical systems with no spares; and, (2) Transition to the future systems--EELV families--building confidence in launch success. The BAR developed observations, findings, and recommendations for both the fly-out programs and the EELV program.

The BAR emphasized that a significant amount of resources and operational capability remain associated with the fly-out programs. Despite this large scope and magnitude, the Launch BAR found that both the Government and the contractors were focused heavily on closing them out and organizing to acquire and use the new EELV families. Further, it found the future reaching back into the present in that, in anticipation of transition to EELV, essential fly-out activities were curtailed. Additionally, it documented that clear authority and accountability for delivering DoD spacecraft on orbit is key to increased mission success. Analysis of the recent failures traced the primary causes to be engineering and factory workmanship-related deficiencies. The BAR made ten recommendations associated with the fly-out programs, categorized into the areas of Program Management, Schedule and Resources, Risk Management, System Engineering, and Titan Cost Pressures.

The BAR also documented key observations associated with transitioning to EELV. A critical observation is that the nation's future access to space depends on successful transition from the fly-out systems to the families of EELVs. The Launch BAR believed that current EELV technical support staffing (System Program Office, Federally Funded Research and Development Centers, and Defense Contract Management Command) is insufficient for the transition. The Launch BAR was unable to identify anything it believed qualified as either an EELV end state or transition plan - both urgently needed. The Launch BAR also maintained the Government has not fulfilled the urgent need to identify the end-to-end responsibility for delivery of spacecraft on orbit using EELVs. The BAR made nine recommendations associated with the transition to EELV, categorized into the areas of Management, Partnering, Independent Review, Building Confidence in Reliability Expectations, and Cost Pressures.

The BAR concluded its report with five bottom lines:

- Government ensure industry acts to correct causes of recent failures and improve systems engineering and process discipline.
- Government establish clear accountability for mission success for fly-out systems and transition to EELV
- Enhance government industry partnership with needed management, engineering support and emphasis on mission success

- Provide a well-defined, coordinated, disseminated transition plan to EELV
- Government invest to build confidence in EELV reliability with enhancements and increase oversight

The DoD closely followed the progress of the Launch BAR and believes that the review was conducted in a fair and comprehensive manner. We also noted the findings and recommendations from the Launch BAR were consistent with those from the independent reviews conducted by industry. The Secretary and Chief of Staff of the Air Force have tasked the Air Force to assess and specifically address all 19 Launch BAR recommendations. Additionally, the Air Force is already looking at three areas of interest: (1) mission assurance; (2) launch responsibilities, accountability, and authority; and (3) transitioning to EELV. Specific proposals are being prepared for review and approval in all three areas.

Action Plan and Way Ahead

The DoD has already taken many actions to correct the specific problems that contributed to the three failures that sparked this intense review, and more steps are underway. Meanwhile, the BAR identified several areas in which the Air Force can improve the ways that it does business; all 19 recommendations are being assessed and action plans developed. We are also confident that Lockheed Martin and Boeing have identified steps to improve their own practices, and we will work with those companies to ensure all corrective actions are completed.

In summary, the DoD has determined the causes of the recent launch failures, has implemented corrective actions, and is taking aggressive action to improve launch practices and procedures for future missions. The DoD has a long history of successful space launches and we are confident the corrective actions resulting from the various reviews will produce an even more reliable and robust national security space capability for the United States.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 29, 1999

Mr. B. Thomas Henderson
4106 Bradwood Road
Austin, Texas 78722

Dear Tom:

Thanks for your letter of November 8. It was great speaking with you recently, and I'm glad to hear you're feeling better. It is with regret that I accept your decision to resign at the end of your current term from the Presidential Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS.

During the past four years, you have served with dedication, conviction, and compassion, and I truly appreciate all you have done. I have valued your role in my Administration's efforts to respond aggressively to the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and I am especially grateful for your work on behalf of minorities, women, and young people. You can take great pride in knowing that your willingness to share your time, talent, and experience to help us end this terrible epidemic has truly made a difference.

I am pleased that you are continuing your work the Environmental Protection Agency, and Hillary and I send our best wishes to you and Mike for every future success.

Sincerely,

Bill

Thanks

11-16

NOV 15 1999

11-15-99

B. Thomas Henderson
4106 Bradwood Road
Austin, Texas 78722

Send to Beukhardt?

cc:
clerks

Yes ☒
No ☐

November 8, 1999

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

BC

SIG



C



Dear Mr. President:

First, thank you for your gracious and thoughtful phone call while I was recently in the hospital. As many times as we have talked in person over the years, and even just since you have been President, it still gave me quite a rush when the White House operator said, "Please hold for the President."

Knowing that you took time from your incredibly busy schedule to wish me well in my recovery, means more to me than you can possibly imagine. Tall cotton for a country boy from Mountain Home (Texas, that is!). Your call even made the *Austin American-Statesman* (leaving some to conclude that I must be at death's door, if the President was calling). I'm sure they must have envisioned some sort of "last rites" call or something worse, but it clearly got their attention! I am extremely flattered by and grateful for your very kind and generous expression of concern. I also appreciate the warm "get well" note from the First Lady and you. Thanks for caring!

The good news is that I am recovering well and feeling much stronger every day. The PCP (AIDS-related pneumonia) seems to be clearing up on schedule. The bad news is that means I really have to work hard at keeping myself in check and not trying to get back to "normal" too soon. I knew that I had been pushing hard but kept trying to believe that I was really pacing myself at a sustainable level. Obviously, I was wrong and will have to drop the pace back another notch or two. Hard for me to do, but I DO get the message!

I had been planning to send this letter for some time before becoming ill. As I mentioned in our phone conversation, at EPA I am working diligently on designing and overseeing the preparation of the air quality improvement plans required under the Clean Air Act for the Dallas/Fort Worth and Houston/Galveston areas. As you are well aware, I have been working on this issue, with Garry and others, for the past 10-12 years. These plans, when fully developed, will have a major bearing on the quality of the air that millions of Texans will breathe for the next 10-20 years or longer.

The opportunities you provided through the Federal Fleet Conversion Task Force back in 1993 were significant. Now, however, we are in an unprecedented position to make major progress by adopting and implementing serious air pollution control strategies to improve Texas' air quality. I want to do everything in my power to move that ball as far and as fast as possible while the opportunity is present! Thank you for the chance to continue at EPA that important work.

With that in mind, and knowing something had to give somewhere in what was rapidly becoming an insanely over-committed schedule, I had previously decided that, when my term as a member of your Presidential Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS (PACHA) expired on December 31, 1999, I would ask that I not be re-appointed to the Council. It has been a singular and distinct privilege and honor to serve you, this Administration, and, most importantly, people with HIV/AIDS throughout the world for the past four years as a PACHA member. I am profoundly grateful for that opportunity.

The Members of the Council are some of the most dedicated, talented, committed, selfless and passionate (as well as just plain funloving!) people I have ever had the pleasure of working with -- on any issue, at any time. They have, over the past four years, become very much "family" to me, and I love, admire and respect each one, in his or her own special way, immensely. In addition, Sandy Thurman, Todd Summers, Daniel Montoya, Sean Maloney and others, both in the Office of National AIDS Policy and the White House, as well as many capable and dedicated people at the Department of Health and Human Services, among them Kevin Thurm, Dr. Eric Goosby and Dr. David Satcher, contribute daily to this important effort. They serve you and those of us infected with or affected by HIV/AIDS well.

Secretary Shalala, in her address to the Council at our most recent meeting in Washington early last month, referred to PACHA as the "single most critical group of official Presidential Advisors in history". Deserved or not, that is neither a moniker we shirk nor a description for our work which causes us great concern. In fact, aggressively agitating for the focus, resources and action needed to end the AIDS epidemic is a task we have taken on willingly and with great relish. I thank you for affording me the opportunity for my voice to be heard loud and clear on these issues at the highest levels. (I'm sure there are days when you see me coming with another note in hand, that you have second thoughts about your judgment in that regard, but thanks, nonetheless!).

During your Presidency, much has been accomplished in the AIDS arena of which you can be justly proud. Focusing world attention on the issue with your "White House Conference on HIV/AIDS"; appointing persons of special dedication and talent to head your Office of National AIDS Policy; securing unprecedented increases in funding for AIDS research and treatment; and committing our nation to the goal of developing and disseminating an AIDS vaccine within a decade, to name just a few, are major accomplishments and should be viewed by all as such. However, your recent initiative to deal with drug pricing, in addition to its obvious merit for the general populace, is in my view, THE SINGLE most important issue which must be dealt with in order to ensure

adequate access to early HIV treatment. You may recall that we specifically raised this issue with you in our meeting last December.

Progress is clearly being made, but, oh, Mr. President so much remains to be done! We have advanced very little toward your stated goal of “reducing new infections until there are none”. In fact, we have accomplished little in even reducing the number of annual new infections, in the United States alone, from its current relatively steady level of 40,000. We have not done nearly well enough in making the case that one of the most effective means of stemming the rising tide of new infections is by tackling head-on the issue of substance abuse and its relationship to HIV infection.

In fact, the Secretary of Health and Human Services has not even done a very effective job of simply disseminating the clear and uncontradicted scientific evidence that programs like needle exchange actually *work* to reduce new HIV infections without increasing illicit drug use. We must do all in our power to lay out the facts, the *real* science, and to make sure that the truth is not drowned out by voices of ignorance or intolerance. Accomplishing that may require special efforts to educate some even within the Administration, particularly Drug Policy Director Barry McCaffrey.

As the epidemic expands to encompass more African-Americans, Latinos, Native Americans, Asian-Americans and especially, more women, new ways of dealing with those infected with, at risk for and affected by this disease must constantly be found. And we must not forget that a whole new generation of young, gay men who have not experienced the horror of watching all their friends and peers go through the agony of living and dying with AIDS, now face the daunting reality of dealing with their sexuality -- particularly their gay sexuality -- in a world where one mistake or one impulsive action can change their lives forever.

Because so much remains to be done, both at home and abroad, deciding to leave the Council at this point has been a very difficult decision for me. But I believe it is time to pass this torch to someone else; to give another person the huge opportunity you have given me to be involved at the highest governmental levels of this fight. New perspectives, greater commitment of resources, new ideas and new vigor are needed to end the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

J With that in mind, I would like to recommend your serious consideration of Mr. Eugene Sepulveda of Austin to fill my vacancy on the Council. Eugene is himself HIV+ and has been actively involved with AIDS issues in our community for many years. He previously served as Chair of our local HIV Planning Commission and of Leadership Austin. He has served on the Board of Governors of the Human Rights Campaign and as Chief Financial Officer of Minco Technology Labs, and is currently with PricewaterhouseCoopers in Austin. He would be an excellent choice to bring new perspective, vigor and commitment to the Council.

Additionally, one specific “new idea” that occurred to me as I was watching hurricane news coverage while in the hospital, was that the Federal Emergency Management

Agency (FEMA) really DOES understand and regularly practice crisis-management in ways that other federal agencies have simply never experienced. With hurricane season winding down for this year, maybe detailing someone from FEMA who truly understands how to mobilize people, resources, community good-will and other crucial elements of successful natural disaster relief programs, from FEMA to the Department of Health and Human Services for a 6-month- or- so stint could help HHS in its efforts to focus on dealing with AIDS crisis management. This could significantly help in cranking up the efforts of the Surgeon General and others to attack the epidemic in the most effective ways possible. Such cross-fertilization of ideas and methodologies could prove very useful.

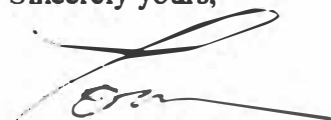
The Scriptures say that for everything there is a season. For those of us living with HIV/AIDS, the season for fighting AIDS will continue for the remainder of our lives. But just as the seasons of the year change, bringing new challenges and new perspectives, so too must our "seasons" change in continuing the fight. I believe now is the time for my "seasonal" role to change.

Thank you again for the challenging opportunity to serve as a member of your Presidential Advisory team on HIV/AIDS for the past four years. I look forward to continuing this battle, with you and others, in whatever new role or roles present themselves. (And I'm sure it won't come as any great shock to you or others when I continue from time to time to offer my two-cents-worth, solicited or not!).

Please don't forget, Mr. President, there is still plenty of time left during the remainder of your term to further strengthen your legacy regarding overcoming AIDS. I know you well enough to know that you would never want it said that you and your Administration settled for too little, when you could have gotten more. I don't expect that to be the case.

With greatest respect and warmest personal regards, I remain

Sincerely yours,



B. Thomas Henderson

Member

Presidential Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS

Cc: Sandra Thurman
Todd Summers
Daniel Montoya
Kevin Thurm
Dr. R. Scott Hitt, Chair
Members, Presidential Advisory Council on HIV/AIDS

*Let my
Sister*
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*Joyner H
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*copied
gift unit*

NTI

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 29, 1999

PERSONAL

Mr. Al Joyner
Ms. Mary Joyner
The Flo-Jo Memorial Community
Empowerment Foundation
Post Office Box 3609
Mission Viejo, California 92691

AL

Dear Al and Mary:

Thanks so much for the inscribed copy of Flo-Jo's book. I was deeply touched by your warm words of support -- your continued thoughtfulness means a lot to me.

Hillary and I hope you both are well, and we send our best.

Sincerely,

Barack

White House Gift Record

Presented: 10/26/1999
Arrival: 10/26/1999
Entered: 11/01/1999

Gift ID: 5005942/GIFTINT1

Donor Information

Mr. Al Joyner
~~Mr. Al Joyner~~ *Mary Joyner*

The Flo-Jo Memorial Community Empowerment Foundation
Post Office Box 3690
Mission Viejo, CA 92690

g. bc. draft

Acknowledged By: ~~Cards - Form Acknowledgements~~

BC Gift Card

Possible BC sig

AL

Gift Information

Intended: President

Disposition: Archives

Description:

Location:

Paperback. "Running for Dummies," inscribed by
Al and Mary Joyner.

The gift is in Archives.

Total Gift Value is \$20

To
Mr. President
Bill Clinton
You will always be
the Best that ever was
My God. Bless you & your
Family Always

from
The Joyner's
Olympic Champion

Love
Mary
Joyner



F
Y
of

R
Mc
inc

**You can make a difference. Buying this book
contributes \$1 to The Flo-Jo Memorial
Community Empowerment Foundation.**
— See back cover for details

A Reference for the Rest of Us!™

by Florence "Flo-Jo" Griffith Joyner

Five-Time Olympic Medalist

& John Hanc

Running & Fitness Columnist for Newsday

Foreword by Jackie Joyner-Kersey

Six-Time Olympic Medalist



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-29-99

Sovereign Dineh Nation

180 Andante Drive

Sedona, AZ

86336

FACTS TRANSMITTAL

URGENT - PRIORITY

TO: President Bill Clinton
First Lady Hillary Clinton
FAX: (202) 456-2461
Attn: Room 184, Ext. 65323

FROM: James Lewis, Sovereign Dineh Nation
Phone/Fax: (520) 203-4819

George Hormel II
Hormel Mansion 6112 Paradise View Drive
Paradise Valley, AZ 85253
FAX (602) 955-3168
Phone: 1 (800) 255-6348

DATE: November 21, 1999

COMMENTS:

Dear President Clinton and Hillary Clinton,

Please respond to this as soon as you possibly can as this situation is escalating rapidly. Several Dineh 'Grandmothers' in their 80's and 90's have already died because of this situation.

Thank You,
Sincerely,
James Lewis

SORVEREIGN DINEH NATION
180 Andante Drive Sedona AZ 86336 PH/FAX (520) 203-4819

TO: Carrie Street, Presidential Scheduling
President Bill Clinton
First Lady, Hillary Clinton

FROM: James Lewis, Sovereign Dineh Nation
180 Andante Drive, Sedona, AZ 86336
Phone/Fax: (520) 203-4819

George Hormel II
Hormel Mansion 6112 Paradise View Drive
Paradise Valley, AZ 85253
Phone 1-800-255-6348
Fax: (602) 955-3168

DATE: November 20, 1999

SUBJECT: National Treasures Act Presidential Meeting

I am sending you a revised 'rough' of the idea of a "National Treasures Act", which the Sovereign Dineh Nation is beginning to discuss with the Hopi Nation in order to avert a crisis on February 1, 2000. This "Act" is only one of many alternative solutions which need to be addressed at the proposed meeting with President Clinton and the First Lady. The presence of Hillary Clinton at this meeting is imperative due to the fact that the Sovereign Dineh Nation is a Matriarchal society and so being her presence would expedite and help facilitate proactive solutions.

The timing of this meeting is critical due to the fact that there now exists (as predicted), a potentially explosive situation on "Hopi Partitioned Lands". Please do not underestimate the magnitude of this situation. The possibility of mass blood shed is very real. The answer to this is diplomacy, not confrontation as the latter would, most certainly result in weapons of destruction being employed, sabotage, marshall law, and outright war, receiving National and International media attention..

The Elders of the Sovereign Dineh Nation are armed and the "Hopi Tribal Rangers" are more than adequately prepared - i.e.: "The Hopi Tribal Rangers" are a para-military group equipped with very sophisticated weaponry and communications and do not necessarily represent "The Hopi Tribal Council" nor the "Hopi Tribe". The leader of "The Hopi Tribal Rangers", Vernon Jackson is a displaced Navajo, trained in military ops and openly states that he hates the

the "Hopi Tribe". The leader of "The Hopi Tribal Rangers", Vernon Jackson is a displaced Navajo, trained in military ops and openly states that he hates the Navajo.

At this moment, people from many countries are arriving on The Sovereign

Most of these individuals and organizations do not have the background knowledge to understand this situation. Some of these volunteers guard the Elders sheep while the Elders travel. This is necessary because "The Hopi Tribal Rangers" and the B.I.A. have begun shooting and impounding the livestock when the Elders are not home.

President Clinton, I have stood behind you all the way, one hundred per cent, yet I urge you to act, to meet with us as soon as possible. Please do not rely on Lynn Cutler or anyone else appointed to deal with this, as the Dineh people will not respond to anyone other than The President and First Lady.

Mr. President, I have spoken with many Tribal Leaders and Traditionalists from many countries and the input which I have received is that your direct involvement regarding this issue would leave you with an unprecedented positive Legacy for the Clinton Administration of understanding and working with the Native Americans in a direct and honest way. This Legacy would live on. I am sending a copy of a letter that you sent me in 1996. In that letter you mention religious and spiritual freedom which is the crux of the Accommodation Agreement. "The Dineh Elders" would lose all of their religious and spiritual freedom when they sign "The Accommodation Agreement, which in their culture, is unacceptable.

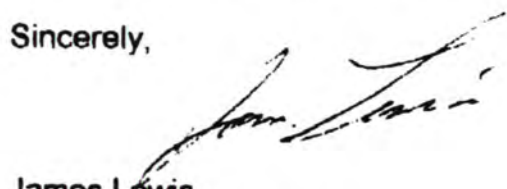
Present at this proposed meeting would be as follows:

- James Lewis, Sovereign Dineh Nation
- George Hormel II (Ambassador James Hormel's Brother)
- Roberta Blackgoat, founder of "Sovereign Dineh Nation" and most respected Dineh Elder and leader.
- Sam Tso, Dineh (Manybeads heir)
- A representative from the Hopi Tribe (unselected as yet)

This proposed meeting could take place at the Wrigley Mansion in Phoenix, Arizona, which is solely owned by George Hormel II, or at the White House, at your discretion.

Mr. President, please feel free to call and/or fax me at any time.

Sincerely,



James Lewis
Sovereign Dineh Nation

Sovereign Dineh Nation

Attachments: Letter of 1996
"draft" National Treasures Act

2

AMERICAN INDIAN MOVEMENT
2300 Cedar Ave
Minneapolis, MN 55404

SOVEREIGN DINEH NATION
180 Andante Drive
Sedona, AZ 86336

NATIONAL TREASURES ACT CALLED FOR"

A PETITION TO PRESIDENT CLINTON

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE:
November 19, 1999

Contacts: Mr. Dennis Banks and Mr. Clyde Bellecourt
606-581-9456 or 612-822-5153 FAX: 612-724-8090
James Lewis - Sovereign Dineh Nation - PH & FAX 520-203-4819

American Indian Movement's Grand governing council and the Sovereign Dineh Nation is calling on President Clinton to declare, by executive order, the area of land known as The Hopi - Partition Land as a "National Treasure Area". This order would establish by boundary, and by residents within, a first National Living Treasures Area. People within this area would be exempt from any law attempting to relocate them, their belongings, and their way of life from their ancestral lands.

The Traditional Hopi Villages, including the areas known as "First Mesa"

ancestral lands.

The Traditional Hopi Villages, including the areas known as "First Mesa", "Second Mesa", and "Third Mesa", would be encompassed by this executive order and declared "National Treasures Area", conferring for both the villages and their inhabitants, these same inalienable exemptions and rights as The Hopi - Partition Land and its Dineh residents would receive.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1996

Mr. James Lewis
Sovereign Dineh Nation
Post Office Box 40319
Flagstaff, Arizona 86004

Dear James:

Thank you for getting in touch with me during my recent visit. I appreciate knowing your views on the Navajo-Hopi Land Dispute Settlement Act.

My Administration is firmly committed to improving the federal government's relations with Native Americans. During the past two years, we have made significant progress, and we will continue to work for tribal economic sovereignty, religious and spiritual freedom, and quality education for all Native Americans.

As we work together to promote respect, cooperation, and understanding among our people, I appreciate your input and involvement. Thanks again for taking the time to write.

Sincerely,



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-29-99

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

99 NOV 24 PM 2:03

November 24, 1999

copied
Lockhart
Podesta
Palmieri
Streett

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Joe Lockhart

RE: Millennium Interviews

Over the next month, I recommend that you conduct a series of interviews that highlight your accomplishments, thoughts on the millennium and ideas for the future. The following series of interviews are balanced among the major media outlets and will allow you to explore a variety of topics. Communications, Sosnik and Podesta are in agreement with these recommendations. I am working with scheduling to identify times on your schedule for these interviews. While we may not be able to accomplish all of the options noted here, I wanted to get your approval of the concepts noted here and will then work to schedule as many as possible.

Issues
TELEVISION

ABC 20/20 Barbara Walters Interview

This 30-minute interview would be solely about millennial issues, specifically exploring your views on the future. 20/20, ABC's most-watched news program, has requested to be the first program to broadcast a millennium interview with you. I suggest taping the interview in the first part of December, to be aired in mid-December.

CBS 60 Minutes II

60 Minutes II is planning a millennium special, anchored by Charlie Rose, to air on Tuesday, December 28, 1999. A 30-minute interview with you and Rose would be a major piece of this show. As you know, Rose recently conducted a successful interview with you, in conjunction with Time Magazine, discussing FDR as the "Time Man of the Century." The interview for 60 Minutes II will take a broader focus on the millennium and what the future has in store.

NBC TODAY Show Interview

The TODAY show is planning a special week of programming to air the last week in December. An interview with you would air in the first half-hour of TODAY, for four consecutive days from December 27 – December 30 and again during NBC's extensive New Year's Eve coverage.

Katie Couric would conduct this 30-minute interview, focusing on things that Americans should hope and dream for in the new millennium.

✓ CNN Larry King Interview

King would like one half-hour with you sometime during the week of December 20th. The show would be issue-oriented, focused mostly on the millennium, and could be taped at your convenience.

✓ CSPAN American Presidents Interview

C-SPAN has devoted 41 weeks of programming this year to the lives of America's presidents. They began their coverage in March from George Washington's home in Mt. Vernon, and will conclude in early December with programming from Arkansas and Washington, D.C. C-SPAN will be spending a week discussing your life and Presidency and would like to conduct a 30-minute interview with you on your career, your Presidency, your thoughts for the future and on other Presidents of the century.

✓ Univision

Univision would focus a 15-minute interview with you on the impact of Hispanic culture and race issues in the next century, including topics such as immigration, bilingual education, and the One America Initiative. Univision reaches over 95 percent of the Hispanic audience in the United States. The interview would appear on *Noticiero Univision*, the most watched and trusted Spanish-language network newscast in the country.

✓ Roger Ebert

Roger Ebert would be the ideal personality to highlight your favorite movies of the century. This light-hearted, 15-minute interview would allow you to speak on a cultural topic. The producers at "Roger Ebert & The Movies," have responded enthusiastically, saying they could turn a thirty-minute interview into a full program. One sample question the program posed was "Of all the movies you've seen, which would you put in a time capsule for the year 3000, to represent American life, ideas and society?"

✓ ESPN

This ten-minute interview with Stuart Scott of ESPN SportsCenter would focus on the President's choices for the ten best athletes of the century. Like the Ebert piece, this would be a light-hearted, enjoyable interview for you.

RADIO

✓ CBS Radio News

CBS Radio News is producing a three-hour broadcast entitled "The CBS News 20th Century Roundup," which will air in December. White House Correspondents Mark Knoller and Peter Maer would like 15 minutes to interview you as a cornerstone for this broadcast, which would

also include a roundtable discussion with past and present CBS News Correspondents, reflecting on the major news stories of the century. Knoller and Maer intend to focus on your views as the last President of the "American Century."

CBS Radio News has more than 600 affiliates and more than 23 million listeners; Knoller and Maer are two veteran White House correspondents with solid reputations for fair coverage. Knoller is also one of the only veteran White House correspondents who has not interviewed you.

National Public Radio

According to National Public Radio, the Saturday, January 1, 2000 broadcast of "Weekend Edition" is the first regularly scheduled news program of the new century. NPR is requesting either a taped or a live 15-minute interview with you for this broadcast. Weekend Edition host Scott Simon would like to focus his interview on using history as a lesson for the future.

PRINT

/Life

Life has agreed to a special Kosovo package as a part of its January 2000 issue. Harry Benson shot a series of behind-the-scenes photos in Kosovo, and these photos will be accompanied by a Presidential essay addressing the moral dilemma of cultural divides. Life's January Millennium issue will likely be a keepsake for millions of Americans.

/Fortune

This would be an excellent publication for you to highlight your views on "The New Economy" – the future in the context of your economic accomplishments. This interview would take approximately 20 minutes.

/New York Times

The New York Times would be an ideal platform for a discussion on religion and the new millennium. We have contacted their religion writer, Gustav Niebuhr, who would conduct this 30-minute interview, guaranteeing that the topic remains on religion.

/The Christian Science Monitor

The Christian Science Monitor has had a long interest in doing an interview with you. This 20-minute interview, to be conducted in late December, would be used to frame the dominant issue at the time.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

cc [unclear]
CUC

Return to
[unclear]
[unclear]

November 29, 1999

Caroline Kennedy
888 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Dear Caroline:

Thank you for your note -- Hillary and I were
touched by it.

We'll both be looking forward to seeing you
either in New York or as soon as you feel up to
making a visit here. You're in our thoughts.

Sincerely,

Bill

Caroline Kennedy
888 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10021

Caroline Kennedy

CB

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton,

I'm sorry it has taken so long for me to sit down and write to thank you for everything you did for me, for John and for our whole family last summer. It was truly an honor to John and one he would be proud of, as am I.

I didn't think it would be possible to bring some peace and comfort out of all the shock and

Sadness, but the love and support of
so many people, you both and Chelsea
foremost among them, made that
miracle happen. You have extended
yourselves for me at two of my
life's most difficult times, and
I will always be grateful.

I hope you will pass along
my thanks to all those in the
White House who worked so hard
to help last summer.

Caroline Kennedy

The cartoon you sent brought
tears to my eyes, as did the
prospect of visiting the White
House. I was so touched by
your invitation to attend the
Conference on Philanthropy but
just didn't feel up to it
right now.

I hope our paths cross

Soon. I'm so happy you will
be in New York Please give
Chelsea my love, and tell her
to call if she comes to town.

With thanks and love,
Carline

Caroline Kennedy
888 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10021

RECEIVED
MAR 12 AM 6:57

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

U6
In return to
Nancy's
New York
Sen. Over

cc: NH, MM
w/ incoming

November 29, 1999

Larry W. Hale
705 De Queen Avenue
De Queen, Arkansas 71832

Dear Larry:

I'm so glad you'll be here for the holidays.
We are really looking forward to Kimberly and
Myra performing here.

We'll try to work out a time to visit with you.
Please call Nancy Hernreich and give her your
schedule.

Sincerely,

Bill

Larry W. Hale
705 De Queen Avenue
De Queen, Arkansas 71832

NOVEMBER 9, 1999

FAX MEMO TO: NANCY HERNREICH
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LARRY W. HALE

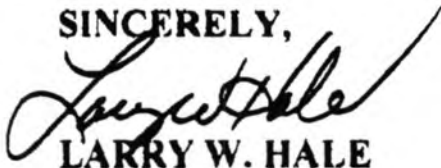
NANCY,

I WOULD APPRECIATE IT VERY MUCH IF THE FOLLOWING LETTER
COULD BE PRESENTED TO THE PRESIDENT. WE ARE VERY PLEASED
FOR THE OPPORTUNITY MY DAUGHTERS AND WIFE HAVE BEEN
GIVEN, AND HOPE TO GET TO SEE THE PRESIDENT AND FIRST LADY,
IF THEIR SCHEDULE PERMITS.

CINDY AND I MET YOU BRIEFLY LAST SPRING ON THE PRESIDENT'S
VISIT TO TEXARKANA. OUR SON, GREG, WAS DOING THE LEAD FOR
THE TEXARKANA PORTION OF THAT TRIP.

THANKS FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE.

SINCERELY,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Larry W. Hale", is written over the printed name.

LARRY W. HALE

LARRY W. HALE
705 DE QUEEN AVENUE
DE QUEEN, ARKANSAS 71832

EP
Reply
ce
MM

November 9, 1999

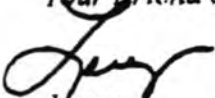
The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Mr. President,

Cindy and I have just been notified that our daughters, Kimberly Harris and Myra Katherine Fritz, have been invited to sing at the White House on December 21st. Cindy will accompany them on the piano. They are to give a forty-five minute program at 5:00 P.M. and another around 6:30 or 7:00.

Needless to say, we are very excited and pleased that they are getting this wonderful opportunity. We are all looking forward to this visit, and if your schedule permits, we would certainly appreciate the opportunity to visit with you and the First Lady.

With Warmest Regards I remain,
Your Friend and Supporter,


Larry

Want
for
CD

cc: gift
unit
w/ both

HITE HOUSE
SHINGTON

Copied
Brulee
Curie

November 29, 1999

Charlotte Salisbury
315 East 68th Street
New York, New York 10021

Dear Charlotte:

I finally got the CD of the rhapsody written in
your grandmother's honor. Kenneth Radnofsky
sent a nice note and inscribed the cover to me.

It's a beautiful piece, and I'm so glad you and
Kenneth shared it with me.

I think I really would have liked Elise Hall.
She sounds a lot like you.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 29, 1999

Kenneth Radnofsky
Post Office Box 1016
East Arlington, Massachusetts 02474

Dear Kenneth:

Thank you so much for sending your recording of
Debussy's saxophone rhapsody. It's beautiful.
Thanks, too, for your kind inscription.

I appreciate your offer to play for us. I'll
keep that in mind. Again, thank you for your
thoughtfulness.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

Kenneth Radnofsky
PO Box 1016, E. Arlington, Ma. 02474
Phone/fax 781-646-5748
e-mail: KRADWWCP@aol.com

November 5, 1999

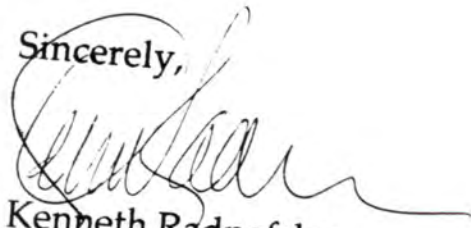
President Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-200
Attn. Betty Currie or Ann McCoy

Dear President Clinton,

Here is a copy of my NY Philharmonic recording of the Debussy Saxophone Rhapsody, written for Charlotte Salisbury's grandmother, Elise Hall. Charlotte told me you had expressed to her your interest in hearing it. **Elise Hall was an amazing woman in the early part of this century, thought of as a somewhat radical and cutting edge personality, unhindered by any limitations of age, society or gender.** Her rather interesting biography is enclosed in the cd booklet.

I will be celebrating her life in performance during women's history month this year in Boston and elsewhere. If you'd like some of the music written for Charlotte's grandmother performed for you and Mrs. Clinton at the White House or elsewhere, just let me know. It would be my pleasure and honor to do so.

Sincerely,


Kenneth Radnofsky



U.S.
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ARL IN
NOV 1

Presented: 11/06/1999
Arrival: 11/06/1999
Entered: 11/12/1999

Gift ID: 5007506/GIFTINT

Ms. Charlotte Salisbury
315 East 68th Street
New York, NY 10021

on
Box 439
Salisbury, CT 06068-0439 this time of year
Acknowledged By: Pending Bill Clinton personal response

Mr. Kenneth Radnofsky
Post Office Box 10166
Arlington, MA 02474

Acknowledged By: Pending Bill Clinton personal response

Comments:

Letter addressed to Betty Currie/Ann McCay. TY to be done by Eugene.

Intended: President

Disposition: Archives

Description:

Description:

Compact disc, "New York Philharmonic" by Kurt Masur, CD jacket signed by donor.

The gift is in Archives.

Total Gift Value

Thanks Eugenie - we are waiting for archives to bring the CD back & we'll send it to Betty.

Maureen

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-29-99



Edward M. Gabriel

Ambassador

Embassy of the United States of America

November 15, 1999

BC -
 Please schedule
 state visit in
 early 2000
 (by June?)

Mrs. Hillary Rodham Clinton
 The White House
 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
 Washington, DC 20500

Dear Hillary:

Attached is a letter to Sandy Berger recommending a State or official visit by King Mohamed VI to the US to meet with the President and other appropriate officials. President Clinton recommended I send this note to Sandy. The letter speaks for itself but I very much need your intervention. Otherwise I fear it may not be given the appropriate attention.

Thank you for all your support. I wish you well in the coming year.

Sincerely,

Edward M. Gabriel

copied
 Berger
 Podesta
 Streett.

Sandy
 I agree w/ you
 and would
 like to do it for
 him - Be

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
RABAT, MOROCCO

November 10, 1999

THE AMBASSADOR

Dear Sandy:

In a recent conversation with President Clinton, he suggested I drop you a note on the following request. I believe it is vitally important to issue an invitation to King Mohamed VI for either a State or official visit to the U.S. in the first half of 2000 to meet with the President and other appropriate officials for the following reasons:

1. The hospitality extended to the First Lady this year by the Kingdom of Morocco was unprecedented. For us not to reciprocate would be embarrassing and in my opinion, inappropriate.
2. The King is going through a delicate transition. A visit would significantly contribute his strength and stability at home.
3. The King has unofficially indicated his interest in making a visit to Washington during the first half of 2000.

I know Secretary Albright and the Department of State have also recommended to the White House, as essential, a State visit for King Mohamed in the first half of 2000.

I am available to elaborate on this or any other point at your office's direction.

Sincerely,



Edward M. Gabriel

The Honorable
Mr. Samuel R. Berger,
Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs,
The White House.

C.C. First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton ✓
The Honorable Madeleine K. Albright
The Honorable Martin S. Indyk

Nuclear Age Peace Foundation

WAGING PEACE WORLDWIDE

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Adam Curle, Ph.D.
Hugh E. DeWitt, Ph.D.
M. M. Eskandari-Qajar, Ph.D.
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Farzeen Narsi, Ph.D.
Jan Øberg, Ph.D.
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Theodore B. Taylor, Ph.D.
Leonard Wallack, Ph.D.
Burns H. Weston, J.S.D.
Robert C. Wilkinson

U. N. Representative

Vernon C. Nichols

Staff

Christoph Haenterman, Ph.D.
Laura Lynch
Carah Ong
Christopher Pizzinat
Penny Sidoli
Sharon M. Tolar

*Nobel Laureate

November 15, 1996

President William Jefferson Clinton
Attn: Betty Currie
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

I have written to you on many occasions concerning our nation's security with regard to nuclear weapons. In the wake of the recent Senate rejection of the CTBT, I would like to request a meeting between you and a handful of concerned citizens on the matter of reducing the nuclear dangers that exist. These individuals include former Senator Alan Cranston, General Lee Butler, former Commander-in-Chief of the U.S. Strategic Command, Jonathan Granoff, UN representative for Lawyers Alliance for World Security, attorney Gerry Spence and myself. This thoughtful group, along with others, have been meeting to discuss ways to reduce the threats posed by nuclear weapons, including deeper multilateral strategic cuts in weapons, de-alerting and de-coupling, and the commitment to reducing numbers of weapons to zero through a Nuclear Weapons Convention.

We would like the discussion at our meeting with you to center on the larger context in which the CTBT is embedded, namely our obligation under Article VI of the NPT to pursue good faith negotiations for nuclear disarmament (in all its aspects). We would also like to discuss with you the threats to our national security inherent in our current nuclear weapons policy.

Nothing threatens the security of our nation more than our continued reliance upon nuclear weapons, the example this reliance provides to other nations, our continued belief in the sanctity of nuclear deterrence policy, and our failure to fulfill our obligations under Article VI of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Decisions on these matters can no longer be made in the context of partisan politics. Some true leadership is needed.

There is much that you can do as President without the advice and consent of the Senate. I believe that you have been listening to the wrong advisors on these issues, and that you could create a sound strategy of action

*Recommend sending
to Scheduling*

yes ☒
no ☐

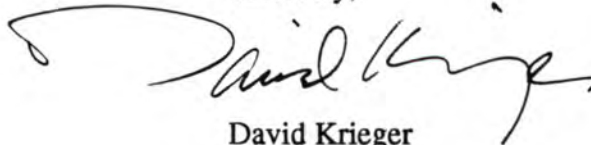
President William Jefferson Clinton
November 15, 1999
Page 2

reassert much needed U.S. leadership on this issue, and enhance your legacy as the President who seized the opportunity to set us on the path to a nuclear-weapons free world.

Please let me know if it would be possible to meet with you on the issues I have touched upon. I enclose a short paper, "Ten Reasons to Abolish Nuclear Weapons."

With best regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "David Krieger", with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke extending to the left.

David Krieger
President

DK:smt
Enclosure
c:\napfcorrespondence\ltrclinton111199.dk.doc

Nuclear Age Peace Foundation

TEN REASONS TO ABOLISH NUCLEAR WEAPONS

by David Krieger*

1. **Existing Obligations.** The nuclear weapons states have made solemn promises to the international community to negotiate in good faith to achieve nuclear disarmament. Each of the nuclear weapons states accepted this obligation when it signed the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), and extended this promise at the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference. India and Pakistan, which are not signatories of the NPT, have committed themselves to abolish their nuclear arsenals if the other nuclear weapons states agree to do so. The only nuclear weapons state that has not made this promise is Israel, and surely it could be convinced to do so if the other nuclear weapons states agreed to the elimination of their nuclear arsenals. The International Court of Justice, the world's highest court, unanimously highlighted the obligation for nuclear disarmament in its 1996 Opinion: "There exists an obligation to pursue in good faith and bring to a conclusion negotiations leading to nuclear disarmament in all its aspects under strict and effective international control." This means an obligation to reduce the world's nuclear arsenals to zero.

2. **Nuclear Weapons Proliferation.** The failure of the nuclear weapons states to act to eliminate their nuclear arsenals will likely result in the proliferation of nuclear weapons to other nations. If the nuclear weapons states continue to maintain the position that nuclear weapons preserve their security, it is only reasonable that other nations with less powerful military forces will decide that their security should also be maintained by nuclear arsenals. Without substantial progress toward nuclear disarmament, the Non-Proliferation Treaty will be in jeopardy when the parties to the treaty meet for the NPT Review Conference in the year 2000.

3. **Nuclear Terrorism.** The breakup of the former Soviet Union has weakened the command and control system relied upon by the Russians. This could lead to nuclear weapons or weapons-grade materials falling into the hands of terrorists or criminals. Because terrorists and criminals are not easily locatable, they are not subject to deterrence, which relies upon the threat of retaliation. It isn't possible to retaliate against a party that is not locatable.

4. **Nuclear Accidents.** The breakup of the former Soviet Union has also weakened Russia's early warning system, since many parts of this system were located outside of Russia. This could result in the launching of nuclear weapons by accident or miscalculation, given the short time periods available in which to make decisions about whether or not a state is under attack.

5. **Immorality of Threatening Mass Murder.** It is highly immoral to base the security of a nation on the threat to murder hundreds of millions of people. This immoral policy is named nuclear deterrence, and it is relied upon by all nuclear weapons states. Nuclear deterrence is a dangerous theory that in implementation places humanity and most of creation in jeopardy of annihilation.

9/23/99

6. **Undermining Democracy.** Nuclear weapons undermine democracy by placing the power to destroy the world as we know it in the hands of a very few individuals. No one should have this much power. If these individuals make a mistake, everyone in the world will pay for it.

7. **Secrecy from Public.** Decisions about nuclear weapons have been made largely in secrecy with little involvement from the public. In the United States, for example, nuclear weapons policy is set forth in a Presidential Decision Directive, which is not made available to the public. On this most important of all issues facing humanity, there is no informed consent to presidential policy.

8. **Drain on Resources.** Nuclear weapons have drained resources, including scientific resources, from other more productive uses. A recent study by the Brookings Institution found that the United States alone had spent more than \$5.5 trillion on nuclear weapons programs since the beginning of the Nuclear Age. The United States continues to spend some \$25-\$35 billion annually on maintaining, testing and developing its nuclear arsenal. All of these misspent resources represent lost opportunities for improving the health, education and welfare of the people of the world.

9. **Warnings by Distinguished Leaders.** Distinguished leaders throughout the world, including generals, admirals, heads of state and government, scientists, and Nobel Peace Laureates, have warned of the dangers inherent in relying upon nuclear weapons for security. These warnings have not been heeded by the leaders of nuclear weapons states.

10. **It Is Our Responsibility.** We have a responsibility to our children and grandchildren to end the threat that nuclear weapons pose to humanity. If we do not accept responsibility to speak out and act for a world free of nuclear weapons, who will?

* David Krieger is president of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, and a founder of Abolition 2000, a Global Network to eliminate Nuclear Weapons. He can be contacted at Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, PMB 121, 1187 Coast Village Road, Suite 1, Santa Barbara, CA 93108, or by email at dkrieger@napf.org. Further information on achieving a nuclear weapons free world may be found at the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation web site at www.wagingpeace.org.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-29-99

Cross
interference
RB

Copied
Sperling
Podesta

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-29-99

Robert J. Samuelson

We Don't Need This Trade Pact

If ever there was a pointless meeting, the gathering of the World Trade Organization in Seattle scheduled for this week seems to be it. The meeting's stated purpose is to start a new round of trade negotiations, which—if launched—might last between three years and eight years (the last one took 7½ years). But world trade doesn't need a new agreement, and the meeting could be a public relations disaster. Hordes of protesters are descending on Seattle, and the main result may be a mountain of misinformation about trade and its side effects.

In this debate, the protesters do not occupy the moral high ground. Trade has been an enormous force for good. Since 1950 the world economy has expanded six-fold to about \$30 trillion of output, and trade has grown 14 fold to about \$5.5 trillion of exports. Countless countries (starting with Japan) have benefited through higher incomes, better diets and longer life expectancies.

No one contends that trade created these benefits single-handedly. But trade helped drive economic modernization by providing ways (imports, international investment) for countries to acquire new products, technologies and management skills. Nor does anyone say that trade is all good and no bad. There are often nasty side effects: chaotic urbanization, environmental degradation and social tension. Still, gains overshadow losses. According to one study, developing countries with "open" trade policies grew three times as quickly between the mid-1970s and mid-1990s as countries with restrictive policies (the eager traders grew about 6 percent a year; the others, 2 percent).

It's also claimed that poorer countries' gains have come at the expense of richer countries, which have lost well-paying manufacturing jobs to "cheap" imports. This is a misleading exaggeration. Yes, job losses afflict some industries. A few (steel, for instance) have high wages. But most involve low wages and low skills (textiles and apparel, for example) because these are the industries where poorer countries enjoy an advantage.

The notion that trade "drains away" U.S. jobs consistently collides with reality. Despite a rising trade deficit, unemployment now hovers around 4 percent. What mainly determines U.S. unemployment is the health of the domestic economy. The huge trade deficit reflects two factors: First, the U.S. economic boom feeds the demand for imports; and second, other countries want dollars—the major global currency (this raises the dollar's exchange rate and makes imports cheaper).

And then there are trade's gains. Americans can buy less-expensive imports and export advanced products. About a third of U.S. exports are "capital goods," from computers to tractors. Jobs in these industries are generally well paid. Finally, competition from imports improves the quality and restrains the prices of products made at home. Low inflation prolongs economic expansion.

Well, if trade's so good, why wouldn't another global trade agreement make it better? After all, there's still much protectionism—in farm products, for example. But a new trade agreement might not matter much.

Once upon a time, the dividing line between "trade barriers" and domestic economic and social policies was clear. To oversimplify a bit: tariffs (taxes on imports) and quotas (limits on imports) were trade barriers; everything else wasn't. Now



distinctions have blurred. Europeans say they subsidize farmers to preserve countryside. Although the argument may rationalize protectionism, it's not entirely unreasonable.

The point is that trade issues increasingly infringe upon what people—in many countries—have viewed as domestic matters. In the United States, labor unions and environmentalists believe that the WTO should be used to promote humane "labor standards" and strong environmental policies. Countries that didn't abide by the rules might lose trade benefits. Naturally, poorer countries object to this sort of arm-twisting.

Countries may cede some economic sovereignty to the WTO. They—and this includes the United States—are less willing to cede political and social sovereignty. As a result, any new agreement might not contain many concessions. Conceivably, it might weaken the WTO by dragging it into areas (labor standards, environmental regulation) where its authority and competence are weak. The more the WTO wanders from trade, the more it risks nationalistic backlashes.

The reason that these problems aren't crippling is that trade liberalization is occurring without a new agreement. Gains from trade now seem so obvious that many poorer countries want to get into the WTO. This requires them to cut tariffs, reduce quotas and, in general, move toward open trade. At present, 32 countries have applied for WTO membership, with China being the largest.

The second factor driving liberalization is the competition for international investment. In 1998 there was \$644 billion of cross-border investment (including mergers), estimates the United Nations. Countries increasingly see this as a source of technological vitality and job growth. But with some exceptions (China is one, because it's so big), companies won't go places with a hostile business climate. They want to be able to export and import easily; they want sound banking systems and easy communications; they don't want regulations that favor domestic companies. Many countries—rich and poor—are spontaneously discarding rules that restrict competition or discriminate against foreigners to attract investment.

This is a healthier process politically than having change imposed from the top through a WTO agreement. Countries are acting in their own perceived self-interest. It is also—for the moment—a lot faster. At best, the spectacle in Seattle may start a process that, in many years, could be helpful. At worst, it may be a dramatic waste of time.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1999

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Border Drug Seizures On Rise

*Increased Traffic
From Mexico Alarms
U.S. Authorities* **A1**

By MOLLY MOORE
Washington Post Foreign Service

MEXICO CITY—Cocaine and marijuana seizures inside the southwestern U.S. border and along Mexico's Pacific coast have escalated dramatically in the past two years, alarming U.S. law enforcement authorities who say Mexican traffickers are sending greater quantities and larger loads of drugs into the United States.

Seizures of marijuana by U.S. agencies along the southwestern U.S. border, where 70 percent of all illicit drugs enter the country, were up as much as 33 percent over last year, according to U.S. drug interdiction agencies. Between 1991 and 1998, seizures have jumped from 113 tons to 720 tons. At the same time, cocaine loads off Mexico's Pacific coast appear to have increased dramatically, and this year the U.S. Coast Guard made the largest cocaine hauls in its history in both the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean.

The heavier flow of drugs has exacerbated ongoing problems of trust and cooperation between U.S. and Mexican authorities, and is particularly troubling to U.S. law enforcement in light of new statistics showing rising marijuana use among American teenagers.

The rising number of seizures reflects not only greater smuggling activity but also dramatic increases in drug production in Colombia and Mexico, according to U.S. officials and reports from law enforcement agencies. U.S. authorities estimated that they capture 10 to 15 percent of all drugs smuggled into the country. While many officials credited improved coordination among U.S. law enforcement agencies for the increase in seizures, they said the trend clearly indicates more drugs are arriving in the United States.

The year's mounting tally of drug seizures, along with new U.S. calculations of significantly increased co-

caine production in Colombia and expanding opium poppy and marijuana production in Mexico, are sending "shock waves through the system," said a senior U.S. official involved in monitoring drug trafficking.

Mexican authorities disputed some of the U.S. conclusions, but said they would not compile Mexican seizure totals until next month and declined to discuss this year's trends until their figures are made public. Earlier this year, Mexico's top anti-drug official, Mariano Herran Salvatti, said he believed that cocaine shipments into Mexico had dropped 50 percent this year, but he did not provide detailed supporting data.

Herran said in a news conference this summer that marijuana and poppy yields were up in Mexico because eradication was becoming increasingly difficult, noting that "the illicit plantations are turning ever more away from populated areas and into federal lands in the mountains."

Mexican drug cartels appear to be reorganizing their operations to improve the transport of South American cocaine and Mexican marijuana and heroin to the United States at a time when many Mexican anti-drug units are in disarray and have made little progress in targeting the country's biggest cartel leaders, according to U.S. law enforcement agencies.

"The drug groups are flexible and innovative and are using ever more sophisticated and well-organized counter-surveillance and counterintelligence," according to a new U.S. government intelligence assessment. "They are constantly... identifying and exploiting law enforcement predictability, patterns, weaknesses, vulnerabilities and routines."

While politicians at the highest levels of both countries' governments continue to say that cooperation has improved, Richard A. Fiano, chief of operations for the U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration told a congressional subcommittee in September: "Until such time that adequate anti-corruption assurances and safeguards can be implemented, DEA will exercise extreme caution in sharing sensitive information with our Mexican counterparts."

Fiano described the "investigative achievements" of Mexico's

most elite anti-drug units against major cartels as "minimal." A special fugitive apprehension team created by Mexico's anti-narcotics agency to track down the leaders of the Tijuana-based Arellano-Felix cartel, one of Mexico's two largest drug mafias, "has not participated in any significant enforcement activity," Fiano said.

Even Mexican political leaders this year became so frustrated with failed attempts to clean up the country's corrupt law enforcement agencies that they created a new national police force for fighting drug trafficking and other crime. Top political leaders also pledged a multimillion-dollar increase in support to the military and existing civilian agencies for counter-narcotics efforts.

The surge in Mexican marijuana leads comes in the face of new U.S. government statistics showing that marijuana use among American youth between the ages of 12 and 17 has doubled in the last six years. In the first nine months of 1999, marijuana seizures nationwide were up 29 percent, from 513 tons during the same period last year to 663 tons this year.

Although those figures include domestically produced marijuana, the seizure figures for Mexican marijuana were up by even more staggering amounts. Border-wide seizures were up about 33 percent, and in southeastern Texas—which has become the hottest transit zone on the international boundary in recent months—marijuana seizures were up nearly 70 percent over last year, according to law enforcement agencies.

In February, five tons of Mexican marijuana were seized at one southern Texas residence, and a month later another five tons were captured at a second home.

"Despite record border seizures, Mexican marijuana remains readily available," DEA officials wrote in the intelligence report. "Mexico-based trafficking organizations . . . have enhanced and strengthened their production, smuggling and distribution capabilities to ensure a continuous supply of drugs to U.S. communities."

At the same time, cocaine loads also have expanded dramatically, according to U.S. records. Cocaine loads have become so large off Mexico's Pacific coast that the U.S. Coast Guard is planning to launch unprecedented armed helicopter assaults against boat traffickers simi-

lar to a highly classified program tested in the Caribbean earlier this year against smaller, high-powered, high-speed boats carrying drugs from Colombia, according to Coast Guard officials.

While Colombian cocaine traffickers and the Mexican cartels that handle the transportation of their cocaine were first detected using the wide open Pacific sea lanes in the mid-1990s, law enforcement officials said they were stunned by the large caches discovered in recent months.

On Aug. 13, the Coast Guard nabbed a Mexican shark fishing boat stuffed with 10.5 tons of cocaine about 500 miles off Acapulco. It was the largest cocaine bust ever made off the Mexican Pacific coast and the second biggest sea seizure ever by U.S. law enforcement.

On June 15, the Coast Guard seized 7.7 tons of cocaine in another Mexican fishing vessel 500 miles offshore.

Overall, Coast Guard cocaine seizures in the Pacific and Caribbean were up 35 percent this year compared with 1998, agency officials said. While U.S. law enforcement agencies working along the south-

west border have been suspicious of cooperating with their Mexican counterparts, U.S. Coast Guard authorities said cooperation with the Mexican navy in maritime seizures has never been greater.

As for opium and heroin, the cultivation of the opium poppy in Mexico has increased 30 percent since 1990. Although Mexican authorities have eradicated more acres of poppies each year, they have been unable to keep up with improved yields. In 1998, Mexican authorities reported yields totaling 60 tons of opium—a 25 percent increase from 1997, according to figures provided to the State Department by Mexico.

"The increase in poppy cultivation is particularly worrisome as it led to an increase in heroin production," the State Department wrote in this year's drug assessment of Mexico.

At the same time, Mexican seizures of opium in 1998 were less than half of those in 1997, cocaine seizures were the lowest in four years, and heroin seizures were one-third the amounts of three years ago. Marijuana seizures have continued to increase slightly every year.

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Seeing Enemies Everywhere, Serbia Begins a Legal Offensive

By CARLOTTA GALL

BELGRADE, Serbia, Nov. 28 — In recent weeks, Serbia has become enveloped in a frenzy of arrests and trials that fill the television news programs and newspapers, enhancing the siege atmosphere in an isolated state.

The most dramatic accusations came last Thursday when Information Minister Goran Matic said Serbian authorities had uncovered a plot to assassinate President Slobodan Milosevic. Five men, Serbs from Bosnia and Serbia, were arrested and accused of plotting to kill the president under the supposed orders of the French intelligence service — a charge France swiftly denied.

The men were mercenaries, Mr. Matic said, and, while working for the French, had also committed atrocities in Kosovo, and at Srebrenica in Bosnia, where Serbian forces are thought to have slaughtered thousands of Muslim men in one of the worst mass killings in Europe since 1945.

At a news conference, Mr. Matic showed videotapes of the men and their passports — although he has yet to produce any direct evidence connecting them with an attempt to kill Mr. Milosevic.

The startling accusations nevertheless filled newspapers and news programs on state television.

Lawyers and human rights organizations say they detect increasing signs of what they call the government's isolation and paranoia. Several members of the opposition have been subjected to violent attacks, harassment and hefty fines; around the country, there are trials of alleged members of paramilitary groups, supposed members of the Kosovo Liberation Army and people the authorities denounce as traitors.

Some of the judicial activity is normal, said Barbara Davis, the representative in Belgrade for the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. There is often a rush of trials from November through January, she said, since prosecutors tend to prepare them in September and October after the summer break.

Yet the war in Kosovo and the opposition rallies that followed the end of the war have resulted in an enormous number of political trials. Hundreds of ethnic Albanians arrested last spring in Kosovo during NATO's bombing campaign are now being tried, mostly on charges of terrorism. A number of Serbian civilians, among them a journalist, a television technician and an icon painter, have recently gone on trial for undermining the authority of the state.

And now the authorities have begun prosecuting members of paramilitary groups, accusing them of committing war crimes, spying for the foreign governments and threatening the life of the president.

The five men in the latest case, four from Serbia, and one from Bosnia, were arrested on Nov. 11 and have yet to go on trial.

Two other cases will begin soon. In the town of Kraljevo, 12 men, described as mujahedeen, or Islamic fighters, are to be tried for terrorism and conspiracy against Yugoslavia. The men are said by the authorities to possess passports from Sweden, Norway, Egypt and Turkey, and to belong to a unit from Bosnia. They were arrested on Serbia's border with Macedonia last year.

A Serbian man from Kosovo is also expected to go on trial soon in the town of Pozarevac. Boban Perkovic, 33, from Velika Hoca, is charged with killing three Albanian civilians. Another man, Djordje Simic, 21, is to be tried as an accomplice.

These cases, reported in small scraps in the Belgrade newspapers, seem intended to try to blame the atrocities in Kosovo and even Bosnia on small groups of men and thus to excuse the government of Mr. Milosevic, who has been indicted for war crimes by the international tribunal in The Hague with which Yugoslavia refuses to cooperate.

But the cases that concern human rights lawyers most are those of Serbs imprisoned for clearly political reasons, and of the hundreds of Albanians from Kosovo, who are

Campaign to silence the opposition aggravates the nation's grim mood.

largely thought to be innocent of the kind of crimes that have earned some of them long sentences. Lawyers and human rights organizations are scrambling to attend all the trials going on around the country.

Gradimir Nalic, a Belgrade lawyer and head of the Yugoslav Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights, is defending a television technician, Ivan Novkovic, who ran a tape on local television in his hometown of Leskovac last summer urging people to walk downtown to protest against the local Socialist-led government.

Timing his tape for the break in a widely watched soccer match, Mr. Novkovic drew an enormous crowd after the game. He is now on trial, accused of misusing his position at the television station, and damaging the reputation of the local government leader. His next court appearance is scheduled for Dec. 22.

He may experience the same fate

as Bogoljub Arsenijevic, an icon painter from Valjevo, known by his nickname, Maki, who emerged as an inspirational leader of some of the opposition rallies in his town. He was recently jailed for three years on charges of using violence against the police during a demonstration.

Another case that concerns human rights organizations is that of Nebojsa Ristic, who ran the local television station in the small town of Soko Banja. His station was shut down, and the police confiscated two political posters, one advocating a free media and another for the Student Resistance, a student opposition movement.

Mr. Ristic was sentenced to one year in prison, convicted of undermining public confidence in the state authorities. "His father is dying," said Ms. Davis. "He's a man in his thirties. It's a case we are very concerned about."

The fate of the Albanians is her greatest worry, Ms. Davis said. Flora Brovina, a well-known doctor from Kosovo, is the most prominent Albanian political prisoner. She is on trial in the southern Serbian city of Nis. Last week, for the second time, her case was postponed — this time because a key witness was said to be delayed by bad weather.

"They are delaying the case because they cannot make a decision," said Nikola Barovic, legal counsel to the United Nations. "You see the results. Brovina is still in prison and they have time to make up their minds."

With strong international interest in her case, Dr. Brovina may be better off than most Albanians. Ten days ago, almost unnoticed, 12 Albanian farmers from Kosovo were sentenced in Prokuplje, a town in southern Serbia, Mr. Barovic said. All the men received sentences of 14 years for terrorism in what Mr. Barovic described as a sham trial, lacking in all legal standards and procedures.

"And the thirteenth man in that group was dead," he added. The man had died in police custody in May at the notorious Dubrava prison in Kosovo, he said.

The New York Times

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 29, 1999

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Cuba wants child to be returned

Officials say U.S. policy is responsible for recent drowning of refugees

By Deborah Sharp
USA TODAY

MIAMI — An international custody battle is brewing over a young Cuban boy who survived a boat capsizing that killed his mother and nine others.

The Cuban government, meanwhile, said it warned the Coast Guard that the boat was heading into U.S. waters, and it blamed U.S. policy for the drownings.

"The entire responsibility for these new and painful deaths falls on the government of the United States because of the senseless way that illegal immigration is promoted, stimulated and rewarded from that country," the country's Foreign Ministry said Sunday in a declaration over Cuban state radio.

The drama began Thursday, when two fishermen found 5-year-old Elian Gonzalez clinging to an inner tube 2 miles off the coast of Fort Lauderdale. He had been in the water about two days.

Alerted by the fishermen, the Coast Guard launched a search for others. By the time the search ended Saturday, two adult survivors and seven bodies had been found.

The remaining three people who were aboard the boat are presumed dead.

Despite tense relations between the two countries, the U.S. Coast Guard frequently receives telexes from Cuban officials regarding rafters headed for U.S. shores.

Such a message came Tuesday, according to U.S. Coast Guard Lt. Ron LeBrec. The message said a boat with 13 Cubans was trying to enter the U.S. illegally.



By Walter Michot, The Miami Herald

'El niño del milagro': Elian Gonzalez was rescued off the coast of Fort Lauderdale.

Patrol boat crews never saw that boat, but did find another craft with four Cubans aboard. Those rafters were sent back to Cuba according to U.S. policy, LeBrec said.

"The Coast Guard interdicts people trying to illegally enter the U.S. by sea," he said. "We had law enforcement information, and we responded with law enforcement patrols."

The State Department had no comment Sunday regarding the Cuban government's charge that U.S. immigration policy rewards

Cubans who risk the dangerous sea crossing. According to U.S. policy, rafters who make it to land are almost always allowed to stay in this country. Those who are intercepted at sea are generally sent home to Cuba.

The Cuban government said over the weekend that Elian had been "kidnapped" by his mother and should be returned to his biological father in Cuba.

The boy's stepfather was the captain of the boat that capsized, and he is believed to have drowned along with the mother.

"Nobody kidnapped anyone. That's bull," said Georgina Cidruz, a cousin and a member of the extended family that is caring for Elian in Miami.

The child is already being cast in Miami's exile community as a symbol of freedom. The area is home to about 800,000 Cuban exiles, most of whom are opposed to the communist government.

The boy's father, who reportedly wants the youngster back, has little chance of seeing U.S. officials send him home, one expert says.

"The possibility of that happening are zero and none," said University of Miami law professor Irwin Stotzky, director of the center for the study of human rights. "The U.S. government will say it's a communist regime, and it's a horrible place to live. They'll let him stay for humanitarian reasons."

Sunday, Elian's cousins in Miami bought him gifts and tried to keep him occupied. He quietly told relatives that he knows his mother drowned, but they haven't yet asked him how he knows.

They call him "el niño del milagro," in Spanish, the miracle boy.

"He doesn't ask about her, but he is aware she died," said Cidruz, 26, who made her own journey from Cuba by plane when she was 10.

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according to an October survey by the Pew Research Center. Particularly gloomy are workers on the lower rungs of the economic ladder, who feel and probably are the most threatened by foreign competition. Of people making \$20,000 or less, 63 percent expressed the pessimistic view.

To its most militant critics, globalization amounts to an assault not only on local ways of doing business but also on deep-seated cultural values.

"While Indian villagers may now have access to CNN and 'Baywatch,' the dissemination of Western popular culture by global media companies is destroying diverse local cultural and artistic traditions," argued the International Forum on Globalization, a San Francisco-based alliance of scholars.

In a recent paper, the group complained that U.S. advertising glorified "Western taste, dress, food and lifestyle as being a sign of progress, while non-Western traditional values and cultures are viewed as backward and out of date."

Trade, some of the system's detractors maintain, inherently endangers the environment and should be regulated much more carefully.

A Noah's ark of dangerous pests has traveled the trade routes over the years, spreading blight through undefended forests, attacking farmland and wreaking havoc in water supplies. Current examples include the tree-killing Asian long-horned beetle, which journeyed from China to Chicago in wood crates, and the zebra mussel, which cruised in ship ballast water from Eastern Europe to the Great Lakes, where it has clogged water systems.

Only recently has anyone dreamed of connecting such assorted grievances to trade policy.

Critics of unfettered trade have waged a fierce and successful public relations campaign to block further trade liberalization, a campaign that has left many with a searing image of globalization.

"The image of factories on the U.S.-Mexican border spewing out toxic waste, with workers living in squalor, was plastered in union halls around the country and it made globalization come alive," said John Cavanagh, director of the Institute for Policy Studies, a liberal think tank in Washington.

Even some of trade's champions acknowledge that as trade expands, so do its darker consequences. None of this was foreseen when Congress blithely voted in 1994 to accept the World Trade Organization as referee of the global trading system. "I don't think there was a real appreciation of the full significance of the vote," said Rep. Robert T. Matsui, D-Calif., a leading trade specialist in Congress.

Only in hindsight has it become clear that Congress had endorsed a powerful symbol for all the grievances of the global economy and a target for the activist army encamped in Seattle today.

ANALYSIS: Stellar U.S. Record in WTO Arena Clouds Reality By Jonathan Peterson Los Angeles Times

WASHINGTON In any other league, America's record of 22 wins and 2 defeats would leave no doubt about which team would win the trophy. But in the global arena known as the World Trade Organization, the stellar U.S. won-lost record obscures a murkier reality.

Just ask U.S. cattle ranchers. The WTO recently ruled in their favor against Europe but lacked the leverage to pry open European markets to American beef.

"We are very frustrated but what are our options?" asked Alisa Harrison, spokeswoman for the American Cattlemen's Beef Association. The WTO, she said, "is the only game in town."

Delegates from the WTO's 135 member nations have converged on Seattle this week to try to set an economic agenda for the coming years.

On Monday an array of special interests will tell WTO officials that they have failed to consider the needs of workers, the environment and the world's poorest societies in setting economic policy. Throughout the week, the WTO will be under great pressure to open up its largely secret efforts to resolve disputes between its members.

President Clinton is expected to arrive Tuesday during a major protest demonstration by organized labor. By Friday, delegates from the WTO hope to announce the launch of a

"millennium round" of negotiations aimed at slashing a range of trade barriers between nations.

In the welter of protests leveled at the WTO, scant attention has been paid to whether U.S. interests have profited or lost at the hands of the organization—a matter of crucial importance for many billions of dollars in global commerce and, less tangibly, for America's stature as the world's most influential economy.

A review of the record and interviews with trade experts suggest the answer is as mixed as the results of the beef case.

"The jury is still out," said Timothy M. Reif, trade counsel for Democrats on the House Ways and Means Committee. "There are clearly some cases where U.S. industry walked away happy, yet we've won some cases where we haven't gotten any satisfaction at all."

The United States has played the WTO game more vigorously than any other country. It has lodged 60 complaints of unfair trade against its trading partners, with the European Union second at 47, according to analysts in Geneva. Of the complaints that have been resolved, the United States has won 22 and lost 2.

Separately, the United States has been named the defendant about 14 times, leading to five U.S. losses and nine settlements.

Two of the outright U.S. losses have been major: Kodak's bid to break through Japan's web of informal trade barrier to film sales, and a high-stakes tax case that could cost American companies more than \$2 billion in tax benefits. And environmentalists lament losses, such as one involving clean-air regulations.

And some of the victories—notably that of the cattle ranchers—have turned out to be hollow.

For years, the European Union has prohibited the sale of U.S. beef that had been fed with growth hormones, insisting that hormones made the beef dangerous for human consumption.

In January 1996, prodded by the ranchers, U.S. trade officials formally complained that Europe's restriction against hormone-fed beef was an illegal trade barrier masquerading as a health regulation. Over the next two years, Europe lost initial rulings and an appeal.

The WTO finally gave the Europeans a choice: open their markets to American beef or face high tariffs that would effectively block more than \$100 million worth of European exports to the United States. Europe chose the high tariffs, leaving American ranchers still on the outside.

Europe reacted in much the same way when when it lo a U.S. challenge to its effort to shield banana-growing former colonies in the Caribbean from competition.

Likewise, the United States prevailed against Argentina over discriminatory tariffs aimed at shoes, clothing and textiles. Argentina has managed to retain some of the barriers.

The WTO, which came into existence in 1994, was intended to be the first trade referee with the ability to make its findings stick. In a sharp departure from the previous approach, losing parties lost the right to block rulings, including financial sanctions unless they were joined by a consensus of WTO members, a nearly impossible test to meet.

These powers, supported by officials in the Bush and Clinton administrations, are at the heart of charges that the WTO is a kind of world government, and that WTO rulings have eroded sovereign rights of nations to determine their own policies. They are typically exercised by three-member panels, made up of politicians, economists, lawyers and professors.

Indeed, American leaders assumed the relatively open U.S. economy would prosper in such a system, and that the United States would lodge grievances much more often than it would be named by other countries' complaints, recalled C. Christopher Parlin, the U.S. legal adviser during those negotiations. "Count like people are much more willing to respond to a negative decision that is imposed under rule of law than one that is imposed under the might of an opponent," Parlin said.

In a resounding American victory, Japan in 1997 set a U.S. complaint that it was ignoring copyrights of recorded music from the 1950s and 1960s. The case highlights a key point made by WTO advocates: that individual cases or the mere threat of cases can echo through the global economy, paying rewards that are much greater than the issue at hand. While U.S. officials said that Japanese copies were costing the recording industry \$500 million

year, the settlement may have established a precedent of vastly greater value.

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"It led to changes in Taiwan, Korea, Hungary and Poland," said Neil Turkewitz, a vice president of the Recording Industry Association of America. Ukraine and Russia are addressing copyright infringement, he said. The WTO challenge, he concluded, has been "tremendously successful."

To cite a few more victories: U.S. officials successfully challenged Canada for trying to restrict the access of American magazines, India for disregarding the patents of American drugs and chemicals, South Korea for using food safety requirements as a device to keep out pork and other food imports and Japan for excessive taxation of alcohol imports.

Yet some observers believe that America's losses have gone a long way to offsetting such wins. The United States suffered a stinging defeat in 1997, when a WTO panel rejected an American charge that Japanese bureaucrats relied on a web of informal practices to keep out imports of foreign film. U.S. officials were particularly miffed that the WTO panel seemed to reward Japan for keeping its protectionist strategies off the record, ruling that such unofficial communications could not become part of the case.

Earlier that same year, the United States also lost a Clean Air Act challenge from Venezuela. The judges ruled that the Environmental Protection Agency discriminated against foreign refineries in the type of data it was demanding. The EPA then modified its rules satisfying critics who agreed that the data requirement was discriminatory, but enraging environmentalists who argue that the ruling ultimately could allow dirtier gasoline into the United States.

In another case of huge implications, a WTO panel in September endorsed a complaint by Europe that a type of U.S. tax break widely employed by big corporations amounted to an illicit export subsidy. General Motors, Boeing and many other major companies that operate overseas used the Foreign Sales Corp. provisions to get \$2.5 billion in tax breaks, affecting \$250 billion in exports.

"If this is upheld on appeal, it could be explosive," Parlin said.

Politicians Are Making Campaign Pilgrimages to Silicon Valley By Greg Krikorian Los Angeles Times

Almost a fourth of the U.S. Senate will pass through the Silicon Valley in early December, in a dizzying schedule of fund-raisers and round tables that underscores the area's status as a wellspring of ideas and political contributions.

The back-to-back visits begin Wednesday, when Majority Leader Trent Lott of Mississippi will head a delegation of seven GOP senators in a two-day blitz; at least one fund-raiser during that trip is expected to net \$250,000 by itself. Five days later, Minority Leader Tom Daschle of South Dakota will lead as many as 16 Democrats in another two-day swing. In addition to those appearances, there will be individual visits by several other senators stumping for campaign dollars.

"As we start the next year, everyone is looking to the new century's economy. And the Silicon Valley is the global leader of that economy," said Michael Meehan, political director for Daschle. "So it is natural that it would be one of the battlegrounds we would have economically and politically."

Ellen Stroud, communications director for the technology industry's bipartisan political organization Technology Network, said the December pilgrimages are about more than fund raising.

"Silicon Valley is the place to be," said Stroud, a former congressional staffer. "It is where the innovation and creative focus of the new economy is occurring. And (the senators) want to be part of that ... so they are going to be doing a lot more than raising money."

The lure of Silicon Valley has become virtually irresistible to Washington, D.C., lawmakers in recent years as the nation's leaders increasingly view it as the source of innovations in everything from national defense to public education.

"I think what we've seen is more and more policy-makers engaging with the high-tech industry because they see high-tech playing a greater and greater role not only in the economy but in society," said Tom Galvin, a spokesman for Cisco Systems Inc.,

a San Jose, Calif., company that is the leading maker of computer switchers and routers to direct data over the Internet.

The relationship was especially evident, Galvin noted, when Cisco Chief Executive John Chambers gave a dinner speech to a bipartisan political group in Washington that drew 93 members of Congress—a crowd that rivaled the attendance at the appearance of the Dalai Lama.

The Lott-led delegation of Republicans this week will stage a round-table discussion of regulatory and privacy issues, technology imports and exports and the high-tech work force with 30 industry executives. The Republicans also will visit a San Jose elementary school to showcase a public-private educational partnership in classroom computer education.

"Over the past several years, we have started a dialogue on policy initiatives that are important to the high-tech industry," said Lezlee Westine, Technology Network's vice president, general counsel and GOP liaison.

In the politically pragmatic world of Silicon Valley, Republicans such as Westine say, the GOP is well-positioned to win over voters who are fiscally conservative and socially moderate.

Democratic Party leaders also see opportunities in the region.

"It is an area where we have built a lot of great relationships during the '90s," said Meehan of Daschle's office. "We intend to continue those."

Fuel Additive Dispute Pits Trade Rules vs. Local Controls By Jonathan Peterson Los Angeles Times

SEATTLE To consider the case of Canada's Methanex Corp. against the United States is to get a sense of how the 1990s trade rules are banging up against broader social concerns.

On March 25, California Gov. Gray Davis ordered the phase-out within

the state of a fuel additive known as MTBE, which had been detected in drinking water.

Within three months, Methanex, which produces the chief ingredient in MTBE, filed suit seeking \$970 million in damages. The company, concerned about the sharp injury to its business, sued based on the North American Free Trade Agreement which protects foreign investors from government policies that result in unfair "expropriation" of their profits.

Although the suit remains unresolved, the mere fact that it could be filed led Daniel E. Seligman, trade policy analyst with the Sierra Club in Washington, to complain: "Before these trade rules came along, we thought it was our right to have clean air and clean water. This case shows that we have to pay foreign companies to maintain that right."

Ban on Testing of Drugs on Mentally Ill Is Lifted By Nicholas Riccardi Los Angeles Times

LOS ANGELES Los Angeles County's mental health department has quietly lifted its four-year ban on the testing of psychotropic drugs on severely disabled people in its care.

At the same time, officials are drawing up procedures to screen anticipated proposals for research on the drugs, which are used to treat mental disorders.

The more-than 2,000 patients affected are mostly impoverished people afflicted with severe schizophrenia whom a court has ruled unable to care for themselves and placed under the county's control as "conservatees." Scattered in nursing homes, board-and-care facilities and convalescent or state hospitals, conservatees can be forced to take certain drugs and lose their right to vote.

While the mental health department believes it has the power to lift the ban on its own, it has asked the county's lawyers for an opinion on whether the Board of Supervisors is required to set the guidelines for permissible drug trials. That opinion is forthcoming.

County officials acknowledge that permitting medical tests on conservatees is highly controversial, especially given the heightened national debate over testing. They say their policy will be extremely restrictive, most likely allowing only small-scale



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Paper for the Conference

PROGRESSIVE GOVERNANCE FOR THE XXI CENTURY

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Paper for the Conference

PROGRESSIVE GOVERNANCE FOR THE XXI CENTURY

IL RIFORMISMO NEL XXI SECOLO

WAR AND PEACE – the future of the international system

*Paper presented by the Istituto Affari Internazionali, (IAI – Rome)
to the Conference on Progressive Governance for the 21st Century
Florence, 20-21 November 1999*

Authors: Stefano Silvestri, Roberto Aliboni, Gianni Bonvicini, Natalino Ronzitti.

1. The new world order and the changing security framework

Security has changed profoundly. The end of the Cold War and the East-West confrontation has also meant, for all practical purposes, the end of the nuclear “balance of terror”. The prospect of a new global war has faded away. The territory of our nations is no longer threatened by a massive and imminent conventional or nuclear attack. While other threats and risks remain, the world has become more secure.

The end of the ideological divide between communism and democracy has increased the visibility of other imbalances: economic development and welfare, population growth, mass starvation, the availability of natural resources – from energy to water. Democracy is far from being the universal form of government and human rights continue to be challenged and violated. In the military sphere, the global spread of technological knowledge increases the likelihood of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (nuclear, biological and chemical), which could fall into the hand of rogue political states, but also of terrorist or other criminal groups.

While new forms of ethnic or religious nationalism appear, we are witnessing the crisis of many new and old nation states. A new category of “failed states” is spreading instability around them, while various rogue states are fostering a new and more lethal kind of terrorism, challenging the foundations of our civil society and democracy.

The openness of our societies, the global web of communications, travel, financial services and trade is a powerful factor of individual freedom and economic growth. Yet it also favors the development of international crime,

narco-trafficking, mafia-controlled illegal immigration, money laundering, trademark infringements, etc. The financial flow of crime-related money is staggering, and increases the volatility of the international financial system. Moreover, organized crime takes advantage of situations of domestic political or institutional crisis in weaker states in an attempt to establish "kleptocracies": states or wide regions under the control of a "*pax mafiosa*", challenging the rule of law and increasing the risks of instability and civil strife.

At the same time, however, the importance of international organizations and international law is increasing. We are witnessing the birth of a new world order, much more "regulated" than in the past, and in which trade and financial relations, but also important arms control and disarmament agreements, add stability to our relations. Fundamental values such as peace, human rights and fair trade become the shared vital interests of our societies and are translated into national laws and international treaties and regulations that we are supposed to uphold and disseminate.

A new, pro-active, international solidarity and legitimacy is developing to replace the old solidarity, based simply on the common interest of nations to defend their territories and keep the "balance of terror" under control. This is changing the alliances and the structure of the international security system. While only the United States can claim the role of superpower, other states can be ranked as great powers. The European Union, Russia, Japan, China, India, Pakistan, Brazil and other countries cannot directly challenge the United States, but hold a significant denial power and have the capacity to initiate autonomous policies of global relevance. Any kind of new world order, therefore, can only be based on a successful coalition policy among the only remaining superpower and at least some of these great powers.

2. Towards a new, value-related solidarity

Transition from the old defense-related coalitions to the new value-related solidarity is not proving easy. There is important political and cultural opposition, even inside our countries. A new nationalism is emerging in the United States and Europe. In America, it has sometimes taken the form of neo-isolationism or, more recently, disregard for the interests and policies of other countries, including allies. These are the political forces that also oppose the United Nations and any proposal that could extend the rule of new international

legal instruments to the US. In Europe, this new nationalism has favored the development of extremist anti-European movements, on both the right and the left. These tendencies undermine international solidarity and increase the fragmentation of the global security system.

A much discussed alternative to a new system of international solidarity, barring anarchy and war, could be a new system of power politics, with an almost imperial American role challenged by a number of lesser powers. However, the ongoing debate on the development of a "unipolar" world fails to deal satisfactorily with the prospect of increasing conflictuality ensuing from this choice.

The existing alliances and international organizations constitute the fundament and working framework of the global security system. While we tackle the problem of defining the new balance of power and of dealing with a number of limited conflicts and crises, this powerful institutional and political framework allows for a great degree of overall coherence and the necessary level of international legitimacy. Change will be based on the solid base laid by our past achievements.

Yet, the new pro-active strategic priority, shifting from territorial defense to crisis management operations (peace-keeping, peace-support, peace-enforcing, peace-building and the like), modifies the texture and the decision-making of both alliances and international organizations. The old automatic consensus inspired by the immediate threat of a well identified enemy has disappeared. The establishment of a new consensus based on shared values, and parallel (but not necessarily identical) political priorities, is far from certain and requires a more complex and slower process of decision-making.

It is therefore necessary to grapple squarely with the many ambiguities and problems still lingering around this new prospect. Problems of legitimacy, decision-making and effectiveness cannot be pushed aside. The paramount question of coherence between ends and available means must be answered.

3. The ethical and political perspectives of crisis management

Armed interventions in favor of crisis management and peace enforcement have brought to the fore the problem of the relationship between respect of international moral principles and the effectiveness of recourse to arms.

The failure of some of these actions, such as the one in Somalia, have strengthened the conviction that the reference to ethical principles cannot be the only factor considered by international institutions or coalitions, when deciding to intervene to counter the violation of human rights, individual freedoms or social justice.

In deciding upon armed intervention, a mix of ethical motivations and political criteria must be taken into consideration. In general, the aim of international interventions is to re-establish overall governance (not only in the area of crisis but with respect to the entire international community) as well as the rule of law violated by the behavior of a deviant state. Therefore, the ethical motivations behind the intervention must be assessed on the basis of the effects it is likely to have.

This means that a number of political criteria must be brought into play whenever deciding to undertake armed intervention: in particular, *ultima ratio* and effectiveness.

The *ultima ratio* criterion should drive actors to use all diplomatic and economic instruments available to the international community, in the knowledge that they form a single package with the eventual military option. Their use must be considered in a *continuum* with military action, even when the latter is the last link in the chain. Very often in recent events, evaluation of armed intervention and its consequences has come too late, when the mix of diplomatic and economic pressures had already lost its deterrent function.

Before considering armed intervention and including it in the basket of negotiating instruments, its effectiveness must be assessed in light of three factors: 1) military superiority; 2) possible enlargement of the conflict; 3) peace-building in view of post-conflict conflict prevention (see also point 6).

The latter is the most difficult to assess since it largely depends on the evaluation of the other two factors. It is clear that the difficulties encountered in

the cases of Iraq and Serbia were primarily the result of the lack of a peace-building solution.

The key, in any case, remains the second factor (possible enlargement of the conflict), which can, on its own, cancel the positive effect of military superiority.

If global governance is to be the final objective of any military action aimed at solving a serious violation of ethical principles, it is rather evident that loss of control of a military action can jeopardize achievement of that objective. Thus, in management of local conflicts, the political criterion must be given priority.

Therefore, it is essential that the main actors involved – above all those that could react negatively to a military action – be addressed in a preventive phase. Preventive diplomacy, in other words, must not be directed only at the concerned parties, but also at states external to the conflict, yet strategically interested in it.

4. Prevention through cooperation and stronger international institutions

A sensible policy of value-related solidarity cannot be based only on military intervention: it should develop effective deterrence and be able to prevent most crises from happening or reaching unacceptable levels of violence.

For many years, conflict prevention held a dominant position on the international security scene. However, the eruption of (failure to prevent) a number of serious crises in sub-Saharan Africa, the Caucasus and Southeastern Europe weakened public confidence in conflict prevention policies. In addition, the failure to take preventive action in East Timor with respect to a highly predictable crisis may have exacerbated the feeling that conflict prevention policies are not really being pursued.

Still, in an international landscape affected by numerous intra- and inter-state conflicts, prevention continues to be needed to reduce the burden of conflict management in the shorter run, as well as conflict itself in the long run.

Prevention could foster domestic reform and international cooperation policies. A common effort is thus needed to restore and strengthen conflict prevention in the framework of international security policy.

Conflict can be prevented by three different set of policies, which vary according to time and the level of available solidarity: (a) fostering cooperative regimes and measures geared to arms control and limitation, as well as disarmament; (b) strengthening broad preventive diplomacy; (c) enhancing middle/long term measures for systemic and structural prevention of conflict.

Existing cooperative regimes to limit armaments must be improved and compliance with them strongly encouraged. Two aspects must be dealt with more effectively:

- 1 Great power compliance must be made more convincing by enhancing cooperative moves vs. deterrence and shifting more swiftly towards non-offensive defense postures;
- 2 A more effective and regular regional diplomacy is needed to tackle political sources of conflict, in particular where conflict is not terminated and can re-erupt, such as, for example, in the Eastern Mediterranean, Caucasus, South Asia, Persian Gulf, Horn of Africa, Western Sahara and Middle East.

In addition to pursuing broader actions of preventive diplomacy and long-term preventive policies, in many unstable regions diplomacy has to target specifically the eruption of armed inter-state conflict. In order to encourage concerned states to adhere to or comply with existing cooperative regimes, preventive diplomacy must encourage the establishment of Confidence- and Security-Building Measures to avoid impending conflict and, whenever possible, start a process of structural arms limitations or control. Of course, enhanced compliance mechanisms, equally applicable to all parties of these agreements, should be conceived.

More effective preventive diplomacy requires incremental and relentless efforts of political cooperation and consensus- and institution-building. Stronger or newly established regional and functional institutions and organizations are an essential step to achieve effective preventive diplomacy and conflict prevention policies - be they political institutions like the Stability Pact for Southeastern Europe or technical organizations like early-warning or conflict prevention centers.

In order to reach a higher level of consensus where it is weak, the interplay between universal and regional security organizations must be improved. The interlocking of institutions remains a crucial factor for the reinforcement of international security. This interplay requires a more convincing and recognized coordination between universal and regional layers as well as more flexibility, common purpose and openness among regional organizations - a good example is the post-conflict policies presently being conducted in Southeastern Europe, which rely on a complex mechanism of cooperation among different institutions.

Besides these short- and middle-term preventive policies, our policy should aim at focusing more effectively on long-term policies to create structural and systemic conditions for solving or managing conflicts. In the same spirit, international economic cooperation must implement the structural reforms suggested by the Washington Consensus, as well as favor development of the existing trends of globalization and liberalization.

Also, political reforms require a set of more complex and flexible policies and a good deal of compromise, tolerance and constructive dialogue. There is the need for building understanding and co-operation, as well as for joint action on the rule of law and good governance (referred to by the Washington Consensus as well as in the economic realm) to set a more articulated and productive dialogue in motion. Again, this dialogue must take place in a reinforced institutional setting, with fair and accepted interplay between different layers, whether global, regional or functional.

5. Improving international legitimacy

Humanitarian emergencies, such as the ethnic cleansing in Kosovo and the human rights deprivation and denial of self-determination in East Timor, require an immediate and vigorous response by the international community.

States should serve the interest of peoples and not vice versa. Human rights and good governance have become the common interest of mankind. National interest should be defined in connection with the common interest, as has been pointed out by the UN Secretary General. Pursuing the common interest means serving the national interest.

However, the promotion of these values raises the question of intervention and its legitimacy. Democracy and human rights are giving way to a new kind of very intrusive perception: the new foreign and security policies seem to be concerned mainly with the domestic policy of other states. Intervention into the internal affairs of other countries is becoming more direct under the pretence that it is done in the name of higher principles. This new reality could create a perception of uncertainty and risk: it is necessary to avoid that these perceptions become a stumbling block on the road to improving solidarity.

Intervention means not only the threat of use of force, but also other forms of coercive diplomacy, such as sanctions against the wrongdoer. Peaceful means should be exerted and interference should become a normal diplomatic practice, serving the cause of human rights and good governance.

Diplomatic means calling on states to abide by their international commitments are legitimate. These means are in the hands of individual states, groups of states, regional organizations or the United Nations. Diplomatic means are not in themselves a deterrent, however, unless followed by more compelling actions, should the target state not abide by its international commitments.

In this connection, sanctions are an appropriate means, provided they are applied by all states concerned. Sanctions can be decided by a group of states, by a regional organization or by the United Nations. When necessary, sanctions should be backed by forceful means, for example, by a naval blockade or traffic diversion on the high seas. Although humanitarian considerations might render sanctions less severe; shipment of medical supplies and foodstuffs should always be envisaged, provided they are channeled to the population of the targeted state.

In the present situation, the UN Charter prohibits the use of force, save in the common interest. In principle, intervention should be a UN matter. Humanitarian emergency should be considered a threat to peace, under Chapter VII, which gives the Security Council the power to authorize member states to intervene.

Regional organizations are also empowered. However, they require the authorization of the Security Council. Should the international community stand by idly if the Security Council is unable to pass a resolution authorizing intervention?

The international community should not passively tolerate mass killing and genocide and should adequately recognize the importance of universal values such as democracy and the rule of law. We need to define criteria to allow for intervention in case of inaction by the Security Council. These criteria should be embodied in a structural Security Council resolution. Thus, states grouped in a regional organization would be able to intervene legally if the criteria indicated by the resolution were respected and would not have to wait for an *ad hoc* resolution from the Security Council. This procedure could render the deterrent effect of intervention more credible.

Entering foreign territory calls for the consent of the territorial sovereign. However, humanitarian relief by NGOs and other humanitarian organizations should, under certain conditions, be permitted without the consent of the local government. This is particularly true when a foreign country is in a state of anarchy.

Intervention for protecting nationals abroad in mortal danger is permitted under international law and is in the interest of Western countries, which have their nationals dispatched abroad on relief or monitoring missions.

Both the European Union and NATO have defined the goal of intervention (Article 17 of the Amsterdam Treaty; NATO's new Strategic Concept and non-article 5 missions). A common strategy should be construed. Different views across the Atlantic on the notion of self-defense should be reconciled. It is a common understanding that self-defense might be resorted to in case an armed attack takes place. However, different opinions exist as to the legality of pre-emptive self-defense and other violent measures aimed at fighting international terrorism or proliferation of weapons of mass destruction.

6. Restoring deterrence and reforming the military means

The re-establishment of a credible deterrence posture is a key factor of future solidarity. Many problems have to be addressed:

- Deterrence of "strong to mad" (or rogue) states: the posture cannot be based on the assumption of rational behavior from all foes. Moreover, it is certainly more difficult to exert a deterrent pressure on non-governmental, terrorist or criminal groups than on national states.

- Deterrence of the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction: this may be based on the more traditional non-proliferation and disarmament policies, which have however frequently proved insufficient. Alternatively, it could be based on military counter-proliferation moves, which raise the question however of their legitimacy and of sufficient consensus among allies and in the international system.
- Conventional deterrence has normally been considered much less effective and credible than nuclear deterrence, yet the large majority of crises develop well below the nuclear threshold.

Agreement on a number of universally accepted norms (see point 5), particularly regarding non-proliferation and arms control, could certainly strengthen deterrence. At the same time, a more limited, empirical approach should be implemented which, while insufficient *per se*, would nonetheless help to increase the credibility of the overall posture.

The means at our disposal for exerting power to manage crises and implement universal values are weak. They are mostly of a "negative" kind, that is, we can enforce our will through a mixture of military and economic means, but we are much less able to devise "positive" actions to prevent crises or generate positive developments. Eight years of unsuccessful attempts to curb Saddam Hussein do not bode well for our prospects with Slobodan Milosevic. Equally, a future in which our countries will remain indefinitely tied to a military presence in the Balkans – or worse, be obliged to mount new military interventions in these regions – cannot be viewed positively.

Post-conflict conflict prevention (of new conflicts) and peace-building should therefore be considered as part of our new deterrent posture. This will require better organization of civilian as well as military interventions, greater coherence among peace-building policies and the establishment of a credible and effective international ability to project law-enforcement forces and agencies.

On the military side, a greater effort should be made by all parties concerned to develop means especially conceived to perform crisis management. We are now dealing with a number of limited military conflicts with means conceived to fight a major war. While this enhances our technological superiority, reducing the risk of human losses, it also reduces our options, escalating the conflict to higher levels than necessary. The development of new, non-lethal technologies, as well as the timely availability of forces especially tailored to crisis management tasks could multiply our options

and increase both our credibility and propensity to intervene sooner, when the crisis has yet to unfold.

7. The importance of the European model

It is no coincidence if most of the more effective examples of crisis prevention and management can be found in and around Europe. This is a direct result of the existence of a well established web of regional international organizations with a high level of effectiveness and a high degree of legitimacy. Structures such as the OSCE, the Council of Europe, the European Union and the Atlantic Alliance have proven their worth and are the building blocks of peace and stability on the continent.

This system can and should develop further. The web of "interlocking" institutions should carefully avoid the risk of becoming "inter-blocking". The agreement reached at the Washington Summit of the Atlantic Alliance has paved the way for a better and greater contribution of the European Union to the common task of preserving peace and managing crises. This will require the development of new European military capabilities as well as a new positive working relation with NATO. To maintain and increase their effectiveness, the enlargement process of these organizations should continue and go hand in hand with their institutional reform.

The role of the OSCE and of the other pan-European institutions remains essential and should be strengthened. The full participation of Russia and the other republics of the former Soviet Union is an essential factor in the implementation of a successful policy of peace and stability. Also, this would require better linkage between these regional organizations and global ones, such as the United Nations and the G-8. Any policy of peace-building should be based on a common and well articulated approach of the financial, political, trade and security institutions, both regional and global (as well as public and private).

The European model must be better understood and promoted elsewhere in the world to prevent the development of erratic or nationalistic behaviors and to increase the level of international understanding and solidarity. It cannot be construed as a hard-nosed, euro-centrist approach to the diverse problems of other countries and areas. After all, the necessary starting point of the

European experience was an decision taken autonomously by democratically elected European governments. It is up to the rest of the world to decide if and how such a model can apply to their problems and priorities. We can only say that, until now, we have been unable to find a better model elsewhere and that it therefore seems proper to us to encourage other countries to study our case.

8. The key role of the Transatlantic Partnership

In the end, a new and more effective global governance, and a new, value-based international solidarity will only have a reasonable chance to develop if a positive relationship is maintained, over the long term, between Europe and the United States.

We share many common values. Our societies

- a. are based on an open civilization,
- b. are not based on fundamentalist assumptions, while respectful of the essential role of religions,
- c. carry on silent revolutions,
- d. stress the long term,
- e. expand themselves through mediation.

Our democratic systems have proved their resilience and worth. Europe would have been unable to overcome positively the disaster of two world wars without the generous and far-reaching contribution of the United States. America's might and welfare would not be the same without Europe. Both are linked by a strong political and military alliance, as well as by a common economic, cultural and technological system. Yet, these positive accomplishments of our common past need to be revitalized.

Basically, we have moved from a situation of global war to one of global peace. This new situation requires a reappraisal of existing common policies and organizations. The process is already well under way, but requires attention, careful handling and at least some of the far-sighted spirit that enabled our fathers to envisage the existing web of institutions and system of values.

A stronger Europe needs a positive response from the United States. At the same time, it is impossible to conceive of a positive answer to the problem of international peace without a common Euro-American approach.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
November 24, 1999

1999 NOV 24 PM 12:30

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LORETTA UCELLI
JOSH GOTTHEIMER

CC: JOHN PODESTA
DOUG SOSNIK
STEPHANIE STREET

SUBJECT: PROPOSED INTERNET INITIATIVES

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-29-99

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all worked good!

As you have pointed out, your DLC Internet Town Hall Meeting was a resounding success, not only in offering citizens an opportunity to communicate directly with the President, but in demonstrating the technological capabilities of the Internet. By plugging into the Internet, Americans from a broad spectrum were able to participate directly in the democratic process, and experience a new sense of accountability not possible before the introduction of the Web.

We would like to build on this concept through a series of events that would allow you to speak directly to the American people and specific constituencies via the Internet. In addition, we have suggested other measures that would allow you to better communicate your agenda and accomplishments to the public through 21st Century technology.

We have developed several proposals for you to consider:

I. WEBSITE CHATS: USING TECHNOLOGY TO BUILD COMMUNITY

In the vein of President Roosevelt's fireside chats, this would be a series of online "websites chats" focused on the overarching theme: How Internet technology is being used by citizens and different communities not only to improve and enrich their lives, but to increase their involvement in the democratic process. It would give Americans the opportunity to communicate directly with their President through a virtual medium. You would be the first President to utilize the Internet as a regular form of communication.

We could launch the series with a large-scale, online chat, addressing the ways in which technology is affecting the lives of Americans, enhancing their democracy, and increasing their involvement in the democratic process. During this session, which could be coordinated with CNN Online or another online service provider, you would have an opportunity to discuss your policies with those online, and respond to their questions on a broad range of issues. Additionally, you might choose to host this first chat in your residence, evoking the image of Roosevelt sitting next to his fireplace.

Following the initial event, the series would address the interests of five specific constituency groups: seniors, students, women, small business owners, and community service participants. For each targeted audience, we would not only discuss the issues important to their community, but also highlight individuals who are utilizing the Web's potential to enrich their own lives or those of their peers. You might also choose to be joined by a small online panel, whose participants could field questions and offer their insight on the topics at-hand.

In addition, during the live chats, we could offer links to relevant websites that feature information on the topics under discussion. For example, during the chat with students, the online audience could access information on our Hope Scholarship, Pell Grants, or the Americorps program.

Each virtual forum would be hosted in partnership with web-based companies, whose content is geared toward the interests of a specific audience (for example, iVillage.com deals with women's issues). We would encourage these companies to: 1) hold their own online discussions in preparation for our event; 2) advertise the date, location, and topic of our event on their site; and 3) provide links from their site to our event. The format would be similar to the DLC event, except that we could host the events either at the White House or at off-campus locations.

There will be obvious costs involved in coordinating each of these online events. We will have to arrange the number and the extent of the events accordingly. So please feel free to amend the list as you see fit. We propose chats with the following five constituency groups:

Seniors: "How technology is impacting their lives." Seniors are the fastest growing group of Internet users. From health advice to safety tips, the Internet offers them an opportunity to easily tap resources that have long been out of their reach. We could partner with Thirdage.com and other web-based companies addressing issues relevant to senior citizens, like Social Security, Medicare, prescription drugs, and other health care issues. This event could be held at a senior center or at the White House.

Students: "The role of technology in the classroom." Whether in cities or in farm communities, classrooms across America can access the same information at the click of a mouse. As you know, your Administration has introduced several initiatives to help connect classrooms and libraries to the Internet. It's time we take full advantage of that progress, by plugging into this network, and "chatting" directly with students about interactive learning and technology in the classroom. We could partner with PTA.com and other popular websites frequented by students. This event could be held in a local classroom or at the White House.

Women: "How technology is impacting the balance between work and family." The Internet has become an essential tool in helping mothers deal with the demands of work and family. There are several sites with information on parenting and others that provide help with every day tasks like grocery shopping. We could partner with Oxygen.com, Parenting.com, or one of the popular parenting websites to discuss the challenges and solutions in balancing one's time at home and in the office.

Small Business Owners: "How technology is contributing to the growth of small business." With the development of Internet technology and the growth of electronic commerce, small business owners in Anchorage, Alaska have the same opportunities as those in New York City. The success of one's business no longer depends on location or physical infrastructure; but it does depend on web accessibility and bridging the digital divide. This event could be held in partnership with any number of e-commerce service providers, either at the White House or at the headquarters of a new startup company.

Community Service Participants: "How Internet technology can help to connect good will with good opportunity." Every week, new websites are developing to facilitate community service, with links to and information on service organizations. There are several community service information hubs on the Web, including Americorps and the Peace Corps, that we could partner with in an online chat.

Additional Proposals

II. LAUNCH REDESIGNED WHITE HOUSE WEBSITE

We are currently redesigning the White House Website to meet the latest technological advances. The site will be ready at the end of January 2000. To help promote it, you could host an event launching the redesigned site, and help explain some of its new functions and features.

III. INTERNET BRIEFINGS

We also suggest that following your regular message events, you ask senior White House officials and your cabinet secretaries to field additional questions via the Internet through their own online chats. You might also consider directing them to conduct their own online discussions independent of your events, focusing on the everyday issues important to their constituencies. These virtual chats would give ordinary Americans the opportunity to ask direct questions – unfiltered by the media – to their government officials.

IV. RADIO ADDRESSES

Currently, your weekly radio addresses are aired both on the radio and on the White House Website. Our redesigned site will have the technological capability to air a live video of you delivering the address, and will offer links to relevant information on the topic. At that time, you might also want to encourage citizens to send comments to you through our Website at www.whitehouse.gov.

V. INSTALL COMPUTER IN THE OVAL OFFICE

It might send a promising signal to the country if you were to install a computer near your desk in the Oval Office. As part of our holiday activities, you might even consider ordering holiday gifts off the Internet from your desk.

CAMP DAVID

Sir,

The following is the information
on the Drake family as you requested

(PNE)
Jean & Ann Drake

P.O. Box 9

Coleman, NC

27924-0009

(252) 356-1114

cc top sheet to
maine, address
to him -

Drake has a son
in Maine at Camp David
He's a big Democrat
at a Community College
in E. Hampton

will help US -
campaign money
contact him - R.C.

copied
Moore
Podesta

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENTSend to Burkhardt for *handling*
*reply?*Yes ☒No ☐

99 NOV 29 PM 2:36

FACSIMILE MESSAGE**TO: Sean Maloney****DATE: 11/29/99 TIME: 14:28:15 PAGES: 1 + Cover****FROM: Kiersten Todt****FAX: 202-395-6641****PHONE: 202-395-6370****Comments:****Mr. Maloney –**

Attached is a letter to be distributed at the awards luncheon of the Community Anti-Drug Coalitions Association (CADCA) conference this Friday, at which Director McCaffrey will be the keynote speaker. Director McCaffrey would like to read this letter at the luncheon and include it in a packet that each conference participant (roughly 1,200 participants in attendance) will receive. We are requesting approval by Thursday morning.

Please call or email me to confirm receipt. Thank you for your assistance.

December 3, 1999

Dear Colleagues:

Thank you for participating in the 10th annual CADCA National Leadership Forum and for your admirable leadership in addressing the serious threat of youth drug abuse. This conference has brought together over 1,200 community leaders, local and state government officials, and national organizations to learn about innovative programs and to frame a national agenda for combating drug abuse. Each of you has dedicated time and effort to saving this nation's youth from the dangers of illegal drugs. This country is truly fortunate to have leaders like you.

Community coalitions are critical to confronting this nation's drug problem, particularly among our youth. Coalitions garner the strength of a community and its resources to help solve drug abuse one community at a time. Your work across this nation is making a tremendous difference. Recognizing the importance of community coalitions and through the hard work of Drug Policy Director McCaffrey, I signed into law, with bipartisan support, The Drug-Free Communities Act on June 27, 1997. This program now provides support to over 215 coalitions, representing 45 states, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, and fifteen Native American communities.

The success of community coalitions in stemming youth drug use and taking drugs off our streets has benefited from strong bipartisan support. Under the leadership of Senators Joseph Biden (D-DE) and Charles Grassley (R-IA) and Representatives Sandy Levin (D-MI) and Rob Portman (R-OH), the Drug-Free Communities Act passed the Congress and continues to play an important role in communities throughout the country. We are grateful for their leadership.

We appreciate your commitment and recognize the invaluable efforts of your coalitions and organizations. The work you are engaged in through this forum will lead this country in a continuing trend of recovery from the harmful effects of drug abuse on our people and especially our youth. On behalf of the American people, I thank you for your dedication to our children.

Best wishes,

William J. Clinton
President of the United States

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-29-99

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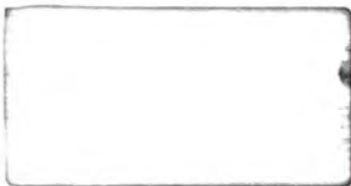
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REMARKS BY THE REVEREND JESSE JACKSON
AT
NATIONAL ACADEMY FOUNDATION LUNCHEON
Anaheim, California
July 8, 1999

Let me express -- I've sat here today with a measure of joy and sadness. I remember coming here in 1963, when Watts was burning and Dr. King walked these streets with Yvonne Braithwaite-Burke (phonetic) at that time. He came away, Mr. President, saying that what he had observed was, the rioters represent the voices of the unheard. No one wanted to hear what young people had to say. They had dismissed them. So today, as we hear them, we fulfill a part of Dr. King's dream and insight.

Secondly, I feel pain to the point of tears, in the sense that we are now finishing the last mission Dr. King had -- who was killed before he got to finish it. He determined that after we had gotten the public accommodations bill, and the right to vote, the legal tools were there to end the race gap. But he saw a profound resource gap, and that race was almost a diversion from focusing on the resource gap.

So on his last birthday, he spent in the basement of his church -- pulled together whites from Appalachia, some Jewish allies from New York, some friends from Marcus, Mississippi, some of the Chavez people from the farm workers, Anna Lowenstein and the like -- on a working poor people's campaign. He felt that if you tried to have a black economic development program, that other ethnic groups would tear it down by definition. You cannot have a one-ethnic-group economic emancipation plan, that you had to pull all these forces together.

So we were coming to Washington by train, by foot, by horseback, this multiracial mission. And he was killed; we couldn't finish the mission.

But this time, President Clinton is taking us from Wall Street to Appalachia to the Delta, to East St. Louis, to the Indian reservations, to Arizona -- now, here, and on to Anaheim. In some sense, you picked up -- on Monday night, we got through working, President Clinton in one of his late-night spurts of spirit decided to take a tour of Lorraine Motel. He walked for two hours through that tour, listening and teaching. And he stood where Dr. King had been killed -- in such a profound, spiritual way, to me -- that which Dr. King thought an American President ought to do, he was doing.

And his anxiety with Lyndon Johnson, though they were great friends, was that he thought the War on Poverty was going to make this happen, but the money got shipped to the war in Vietnam.

And that was a split. So in some sense, President Clinton, you fulfilled that mission. You fulfill it because you're talking about the resource gap, not just the race gap. You're talking about the money, and not just touchy-feely.

As we shared some time ago during the race dialogue, I'm not sure -- but Mel Farr is successful, Keyshawn Johnson's successful, because whenever the playing field is even, the rules are public and the goals are clear, race really isn't the issue. In track, it's who can run fast. In baseball, it's who can hit the ball; basketball, who can shoot it. It's really about an even playing field.

And I'm glad to see us begin to focus on the money, on the resources, not just on the color -- to look at the market, talk money, market, talent, rather than red, black, white.

It reminds me -- and I close -- of -- when I was growing up in South Carolina, one of the great folklore stories is, there was two drunks -- stood on the railroad track drinking wine. You know, before crack and stuff, wine was the real deal. And so, the white wino and the black wino, and the more they drank, the better they felt. And they got to feeling what they called tipsy -- real toward the edge, and they was fighting for what's called the corner, that last drop in that bottle.

So one wino, in his heat, said, I think I'll buy this railroad track. Other wino say, I don't think I want to sell it. Have a drink on me.

And the fact is, as long as they were just talking -- until the man who owns the railroad track or the train is at the table, dialogue is almost irrelevant. What two unemployed blacks and whites and browns -- what does it matter what they think about anything if they can't make the train stop, and they can't buy the track?

So then President Clinton brings to this dialogue those who own the railroad, and those who own the track, and those who need the skills to keep the track running, so that they would come here -- not just black, white and brown talking race talk. We come today talking resource talk. And no American President has ever, in a way this profound, taken a tour of America to make all of us fit under one big tent.

And I'm delighted to be a part of the fulfillment of Dr. King's dream. Mr. Clinton, we all are indebted to you, and we thank you very much.

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO NATIONAL ACADEMY FOUNDATION ANNUAL CONFERENCE
Anaheim Hilton and Towers
Anaheim, California
July 8, 1999

You know, Hazel, you might consider just skipping that hotel business and going right into politics. I want to thank all of you for your welcome. And I thank Hazel and her fellow winners behind us for reminding us of why we're here. Mayor Daley, thank you for making me feel welcome -- and, Secretary Daley, Secretary Slater. Representative Sanchez, we're delighted to be in your district and to be here with other members of Congress who are here.

I'd like to say a special word of appreciation to my wonderful friend, our former Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, who is here with us today and supporting this endeavor.

Since this is the last event for me in this week-long odyssey across America to our -- what we call America's New Markets, I'd like to say a special word of thanks to the folks on the White House staff who made it possible, including my National Economic Advisor, Gene Sperling, without whom this never would have occurred.

And I want to say a special word of thanks to Reverend Jesse Jackson, who worked with Sandy Weill on the Wall Street Project, went to Appalachia before it was fashionable, who always believed that poor people were smart, wanted to work, and had a right -- a moral right -- to be part of America's future. Thank you, Jesse Jackson.

And, thank you, Sandy Weill, for the Wall Street Project, which attempts to marry the investment capacity of Wall Street with the human capacity of all those places we've been visiting. Thank you for the National Academy Foundation. Thank you for being a good friend to me and to all these young people and so many others. And thank you for inviting me to this annual conference.

This is really quite an appropriate place for me and those who have traveled with me this last week on our New Markets trip to end our journey, reaffirming your commitment and ours to prepare all our children for the new century. Over the past four days, as I have traveled across America, we have sought to shine the spotlight on places still unlit by the sunshine of our present prosperity. A number of you have been along for what has truly been a remarkable ride.

We've seen the power of people in public and private life working together in the Appalachians and in the Mississippi Delta. We've seen the spark that retail investment can bring to the first shopping center built in decades in East St. Louis, Illinois. We've seen the impact in the most basic infrastructure and housing opportunities, even in the remote regions of Indian Country in South Dakota, still the most left-behind part of America.

In South Phoenix yesterday, in temperatures exceeding 100 degrees, we saw the enormous benefits of community reinvestment initiatives. And here, earlier today, we saw what education and job training can bring to young people in Watts -- people who are normally identified with distressed neighborhoods, showing me how to design automobiles on a computer, or to conduct sophisticated business transactions between two different countries with young Americans 17 years old, picking up a commission for being the middleman.

I took this trip for three reasons. First, I wanted every American businessperson, every American investor, to see that there are enormous opportunities out there today in the areas that have been left behind by our economic recovery. Second, because I wanted to highlight the tools that have already been put in place, to encourage more people to invest in those communities -- the Empowerment Zones and the Enterprise Communities which Vice President Gore has so ably led for six years now; the community development financial institutions that we have supported; the Community Reinvestment Act, which has led to billions of dollars of reinvestment in our developing neighborhoods; the education and training initiatives designed to give all of our people a chance not only to have good, basic skills, but to keep on learning for a lifetime.

And, third, I wanted to highlight our New Markets Initiative, a piece of legislation simply designed to give American investors who are willing to take a chance on new and expanded businesses in distressed urban and rural communities access to the same kind of tax credits and loan guarantees, to lower the relative risk of their investment in America, that they can get to invest in poor communities from Africa to Asia to Latin America to the Caribbean. I'm for those investments, but I think America's communities should have access to the same capital with the same incentives.

The idea behind this, obviously, is that the government cannot do this alone, but business cannot be expected to go it alone. When government provides the conditions and tools, acts as a catalyst to bring the power of the private sector to benefit all of our citizens, and provides the investment and the

education and training of our young people, this is not only good economics, it is the right thing to do. We can build one America where nobody is left behind when we cross that bridge into a new century. And if we do, we'll all be better off.

The CEOs and national leaders I have traveled with, we've heard it at every stop: look, we just need a chance; our kids need education, our adults need training, and we need somebody who believes in us enough to give us a chance.

I'll never forget the woman we met in the Mississippi Delta, who was working for a very small business in a depressed community that had five employees. She made a very modest wage, and the owner of the business just decided to close up. He said to her she was the only person capable of running the business. But nobody would give her a loan because she'd never had any money in her life, she had only worked for modest hourly wages.

Because there was a community investor willing to take a chance on her, she got investment capital, she bought the business -- two years later, she went from five to 11 employees and she has just about paid her loan off. There are thousands of stories like that waiting to be written in America in every community that is still depressed.

So we want to encourage that. And that's why so much of this trip is focused on how to get financing. A remarkable businesswoman from New York, Mary Ann Spraggins, went on this trip. She's trying to set up a vision fund with \$250 million in private sector capital to give venture capital to these kinds of places. If we get our way, the people who invest in that fund will be eligible for a 25-percent tax credit for putting that money into high unemployment areas, and they'll be eligible to borrow \$2 for every \$1 they put up in that fund and have it guaranteed by the government so we lower the interest rate. That's the government's contribution; but somebody still has to make the investment to put these people to work.

So most of the capital we've been talking about these last several days has been money. We see in the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota a remarkable grandmother, providing school clothes for her grandchildren, having to literally buy the tennis shoes her grandchildren wear to school on the installment plan all summer long while the shoes are kept in layaway, so the kids will have them. When there were 11 people living in a house with about 800 square feet, another 17 in an adjoining house trailer with about 900 square feet. We need money; those people need housing.

We also saw American Indians that have been waiting for nine years to move into their first homes. A little five-year-old boy, six-year-old boy took me by the hand and led me all through

his new home and showed me his sister's room and explained why it was okay that she had a bigger room than he did. She was a teenager, and teenagers needed things like that. The pride that they felt, these people, this mother who had worked all her life and finally getting a decent home for her children to live in.

So a lot of this is a money problem. I used to joke with a lot of my friends -- I still say this -- that I had about 9 or 10 rules of politics that I kept in my mind all during my career running for office, and rule number two was, when anybody stands up and tells you it's not a money problem, they're talking about somebody else's problem, not theirs.

So money is a big issue here. But there's another kind of capital that in some ways is even more fundamental -- human capital, people. When Hazel stood up here and you clapped for her, you were clapping for the astonishing development of human capital; of what she has done with her life and the chance that her mother took in going to Hawaii, the risks and the heartache and the difficulties her family went through -- it made you feel good.

And what I want to say to you today is that there are people just like these young people we're honoring back here on every Indian reservation, in every hill and hollow of Appalachia, up and down the Mississippi Delta, in every inner city. And they deserve -- they deserve -- the chance to be whatever they're willing to work hard to be. And unless we're prepared to do that, even our best efforts to bring new investment to these distressed communities will be less than fully successful.

Now, we have a better opportunity and a better reason to do that now than ever before. As I tell people, I spend a lot of time in Washington -- Sandy's always saying that I've done a good job as a Democrat with the economy so more people can live like Republicans. And I've done my best to do that.

But you should know that one of the things that we seriously debate back in Washington, D.C., a long way from Anaheim, is, how can we keep this going. We already have the longest economic expansion in peacetime in our history. We have the lowest African American and Hispanic unemployment rates ever recorded. We have almost 19 million new jobs, and we have very low inflation, and we've had an unemployment rate below five percent for two years. So a big question is, how much longer can this go on, and how can we keep it going without having inflation build up, then having interest rates go up and having the recovery stop.

This is not an academic issue if you're about to get your first job, or if you're sitting there trying to make up your mind whether to take out a huge bank loan to expand your business. You want to know if we can keep this going.

My answer is, we can keep it going if we can find non-inflationary ways to promote growth. Now, what are those? Well, we can sell more American goods and services around the world -- why I hope the Congress will agree to help us expand our trade with other countries. We can also bring populations that are outside the work force into the work force. With the welfare rolls that are now the lowest they've been in 30 years and there are a lot of people still on welfare that are able-bodied, but they have limited skills, we could bring more people from welfare into the work force.

You can bring hundreds of thousands of disabled people who are capable of doing more and more kinds of jobs, thanks to technology, into the work force. And the Congress, I believe, will soon send me a bill that will enable those that have high health care costs that are now being paid by the government to keep that health care coverage so private employers can afford to hire them.

But by far the biggest opportunity -- by far -- in keeping this economy going without inflation is to get more investments, more jobs, more new business owners, more new workers and, therefore, more new consumers, into the rural and urban areas that have not yet been blessed by this recovery.

That's why every single American actually has a vested interest in our success here. And more and more businesses are looking for young people like those we celebrate, because there's a shortage of skilled workers, even though there are people who are still looking for jobs. In some job categories, a shortage of hundreds of thousands. Therefore, if Americans are willing to look a few exits off the beaten path, we can continue to grow this economy and we can continue to have more of the kind of stories we just heard.

Let me also say to you, if we can't do this now, with the strongest economy we have ever had, when it is manifestly in the self-interest of every enlightened decision-maker in the country, when will we ever get around to doing it?

Let me tell you some of the things that we saw on the human capital front. We walked down the dusty streets on an Indian reservation. We saw the boarded-up storefronts in a town in the Mississippi Delta, famous for its role in the civil rights struggle. We saw desperate living conditions in a little hollow in Appalachia where everybody had a job and they still couldn't afford a decent house to live in.

But every place we went, nobody wanted charity, nobody wanted a handout. What they wanted was a hand up. That's why this will work. What people want is a good private sector job, the simple dignity of a paycheck, the ability to house and educate their children and provide health care for them. And what you know here, what these young people behind me demonstrate, is that intelligence and ability and drive and dreams are equally distributed in this country among the poor and the non-poor.

I've often said, things happen to people that derail their lives, and then they have to work hard to get them back on track. Things happen to places like that, too. I know the Mississippi Delta, which includes a big part of my own home state, the economy that once sustained that area has been gone a long time. Nobody was ever able to figure out how to put a new economy in its place. But there's a new economy out there that could fit in that place.

There are new economies that could fit in the most remote villages of the Appalachian Mountains. There are new economies that could go into the Native American reservations. How many data processing jobs do American companies ship overseas on airplanes every night to go to poor countries and other places? They could be done on Indian reservations, for example. We have got to think about that.

We all can identify with a human story. If Hazel stands up here and tells us the story of her family, it grips us and we pull for her. But what you need to know is, all these places have stories like that. We got the land and the mineral rights away from the Indians, and we said, oh, we'll make a deal, we'll have a nation-to-nation relationship with you, and we will provide for the education and health care and housing of your people; but we'll do a poor job of it and we'll spend just as little as we can get away with. And then, we'll say you must not really want to do any better.

We have to write new stories for these places. And it takes a commitment to money capital and human capital. And what Sandy and all of you who have been involved in this magnificent project show, this is Exhibit A that we can do it.

Now, let me say on a very positive note, I'm quite optimistic and I am quite sure that one answer to this in the United States and all across the world is better dispersal of technology. When I went to Africa, I went to these little villages where people had maps -- these children were in these little village schools that had maps that still showed the

Soviet Union and other nations that haven't existed in a long time. But if those kids just had one computer for the school and a printer, they would never have to worry about that. We could change the map of the world every day, and all those little kids would have an updated map. Right?

Technology will enable some of these areas to skip a whole generation of development if it is broadly dispersed. Secretary Daley referred to the Department of Commerce report today on technology. Let me tell you what it says. It confirms what you already know. More and more Americans than ever are connected to the Internet. It is the fastest-growing method of human communication in all of history by far.

But it also shows, this report, that there is a growing digital divide between those who have access to the digital economy and the Internet and those who don't, and that the divide exists along the lines of education, income, region and race. It might have pointed out, of course, that all of us parents are not as good as our kids. That divide's not so serious, but the real one is.

And yet, we know -- I will say again -- that the very information technology driving this new economy gives us the tools to ensure that no one gets left behind, gives us the tools to provide a story for these communities, to literally provide a self-sustaining economic infrastructure for the 21st century. Millions of Americans now on the economic margins can join the mainstream in the enterprise of building our nation.

A child in South Central L.A., in the most remote part of Indian Country, can have access to the same world of knowledge in an instant as a child in the wealthiest suburban school in this country. Now, just imagine if not simply a fraction, but all of our young people entered the work force, had access to the Internet always, and had mastered the skills of the new information economy.

So if we want to unlock the potential of our workers, we have to close that gap. We've done what we could. We have provided the Hope Scholarship and other tax credits so that we've literally opened the doors of college to all Americans. We have emphasized higher standards, smaller classes, more teachers. We're connecting every American classroom to the Internet, and I think we'll make our goal that the Vice President and I established here in California in 1994 of having all the classrooms connected by the year 2000.

The \$8 million in corporate commitments made today by this group are so very important, as are the information technology academies to which Sandy referred earlier. Sandy has said often

that today's students are tomorrow's employees, today's students are tomorrow's economy. They're not just somebody else's employees, they are tomorrow's economy.

So, bringing these skills to distressed families in distressed communities can have more to do with our ability to restructure the economy in these areas than perhaps anything else. I also want to thank AT&T -- and I think, Ann Hesse, the CEO of AT&T Wireless, is here -- for committing more than \$1.4 million to increase access to the tools of the high-tech economy.

I want to thank America Online, George Franberg of AOL is here, for providing more than \$1 million in grants to help narrow the digital divide. I want to thank Oxygen Media for the cable network it will launch next year. They will offer high-tech training on TV, so more embarrassed adults can learn what their kids already know.

This is the kind of thing we have to do. If we have money capital and human capital, we can bring hope to the places that have been left behind.

The last thing I want to say to you is this. This tour, this last four days that we have all spent together, has been a significant step toward opening America's new markets. But it can't be the end of the journey; it has to be, instead, the opening salvo of a battle to build a real economy in every community in this country. The real measure of our success is not whether CEOs join the President on a trip like this which moved the nation, but whether the same CEOs and others will return to those markets and move the lives of the people there.

So I say to you, you have to do that. The real test of the success is not whether I've got a great legislative idea, but whether Congress will set aside its partisan differences and put that idea into law, so we can have more investments in these communities.

Next week I will send our New Markets legislation to Congress. Over the next several weeks we'll announce a new national effort to promote the business link partnerships, pairing big businesses with smaller, often disadvantaged companies, an idea the Vice President has so strongly championed. And this fall we're going to take another tour. I am going to start in Newark to challenge the owners of professional sports teams and professional athletes to follow the example set by the owners of the New Jersey Nets, Ray Chambers and Lou Katz, who set up the ownership of the Nets in a way that 35 percent of the profits of the franchise are reinvested in downtown Newark to give to the people.

I must say, you might know that the Nets, those gentlemen have joined in a joint partnership with the New York Yankees -- they now have a big partnership -- and they have dedicated a significant percentage of the profits of the joint venture to reinvest in inner-city New York, in the Bronx, and in Newark.

So I'm going to go up there, I'm going to highlight what they're doing, I'm going to see what we can do to help, and we're going to make another round here to show people that there are things that we can do together that are both morally right and good business.

Often on this trip Reverend Jackson has referred to the fact that Dr. Martin Luther King, just before he was killed, thought that he had done about all he could do to get the legal changes necessary to get rid of the stain of racial segregation, and that the great disadvantages and discrimination still alive in America could only be eliminated if there were a new alliance of people across racial lines to create genuine economic opportunity for all Americans.

It's hard to believe -- to somebody like me, anyway, at my age, that it's now been more than 30 years since Dr. King was killed and his dream was put on hold. One of the lesser known passages in his famous speech at the Lincoln Memorial in August of 1963 involved language in which he challenged America -- and I quote -- "to refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity in this nation." Well, my fellow Americans, today those vaults of opportunity are more full than they have ever been in the entire history of this country. And we have more evidence than we have ever had that when children like those that we talked about today -- and when young people like those we celebrate today, Hazel and her peers behind me, do well, we are all strengthened; that there is a fundamental sense in which our futures are bound up together, from Appalachia to the Mississippi Delta to the Native American reservations to the inner cities, to the wealthiest corners of our land.

All our kids need a chance to live their dreams, and the American Dream needs for all Americans to be blessed by the opportunity that has given so much to us. Thank you for what you do to achieve that goal, and God bless you.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 26, 1999

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-29-99

copied
Sperling
Lane
Frampton
Podesta

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY *HL*

Subject: Biotechnology

The attached Sperling/Lane/Frampton memo and 1-page executive summary provide background on bioengineered crops, food, and labeling and present detailed policy options developed by NEC's interagency working group on biotechnology. *Karen Tramontano asked that we forward this memo to you at Camp David.*

Gene, Neal and George recommend three policy options (please see memo for additional detail). NEC, OSTP, CEQ, DPC, NSC, and OMB, along with USDA, EPA, State, Interior, and Treasury, support all three options. **Option #1, Enhancing Public Education and Outreach**, is intended to strengthen consumer confidence in the safety of biotechnology and the soundness of our regulatory system. *It has unanimous support among your advisers and the agencies (USDA, EPA, State, Interior, Treasury, Commerce, HHS, and USTR).* **Option #2, Maintaining/ Strengthening Confidence in the U.S. Regulatory Framework**, has two parts: **a)** requiring FDA notification 90 days before products are introduced; and **b)** organizing an interagency process to examine the adequacy of federal monitoring and regulation. *Option #2 has support from all your advisers and all agencies except Commerce, which does not support 2a.* **Option #3, Facilitating Voluntary Disclosure of Consumer Product Information through Non-Biotech Labeling and other Means**, is intended to reduce uncertainty and confusion for farmers, companies, and consumers through voluntary efforts to segregate and label non-genetically modified products. It has 3 parts: **a)** a USDA process on testing, quality assurance, and tolerances for non-biotech products; **b)** an FDA process to develop guidance for non-biotech labels; and **c)** an FDA process to develop other mechanisms for providing information to consumers. *Option #3 has support from your advisers and most agencies; HHS and USTR do not support 3a) or b) because they believe even these limited steps might have the unintended effect of energizing opponents of genetically modified products and undermining public confidence in them; Commerce supports 3a) and c) but not b), for the same reasons as HHS. Agencies supporting these options counter that biotech labels are appearing already, without government action, and that these modest steps simply recognize that development and attempt to reduce uncertainty and costs.*

Option 1 (Public Education/Outreach)

Approve ✓

Disapprove

Discuss

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

"-29-99

Option 2 (Confidence in U.S. Regulatory Framework)

2a (FDA advance notification)

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐

2b (Interagency process on federal monitoring/regulation)

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐

Option 3 (Voluntary disclosure of product information)

3a (USDA process on testing, etc.)

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐

3b (FDA process for voluntary, informational non-biotech labels)

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐

3c (FDA process for non-label information)

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

11-29-99

November 24, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GENE SPERLING
NEAL LANE
GEORGE FRAMPTON

SUBJECT: Decision on Biotechnology Issues

Executive Summary:

An NEC High-Level Group on Biotechnology was created last spring to assess international and domestic biotechnology developments and consider their implications for public policy. The attached memorandum provides a discussion of the relevant issues and a set of recommended policy options.

Federal regulatory agencies remain confident that bioengineered crops and foods sold in the U.S. are safe. The U.S. Government position on labeling of genetically engineered or modified agricultural crops and products has been to oppose any mandatory labeling of such products on the grounds that they are substantially equivalent to their conventional counterparts and do not meet the FDA's current standards for product labeling. While this policy is based on sound science, it has not entirely succeeded in quieting the demands of some NGOs and consumers for labels and other information about the bioengineered content of food. Some US producers are moving in this direction on their own, prompted in part by consumer preferences in the EU and the reality that other countries, such as Japan, Korea, Australia, and New Zealand, are following the EU's lead in mandating labeling of biotech foods. As some food retailers and processors have begun to demand GMO-free foods to protect their brand image and avoid loss of foreign and domestic market share, this is generating uncertainty among American farmers and concern about the added segregation and testing costs.

As a result, we are recommending a package of policy options that would: 1) enhance public education and outreach about the safety of the technology and the soundness of our regulatory system; 2) take two specific steps to reinforce the strength of our food safety and environmental regulatory oversight; and 3) facilitate and lend order to emerging voluntary efforts to provide consumer product information, including through non-biotech (GMO-free) labeling. The key issue for decision relates to the third option, under which USDA would develop suggested standardized testing methods and GMO tolerance levels to substantiate GMO-free claims, and FDA would provide guidance on what would constitute a truthful and not misleading non-GMO product label. While senior White House advisers and most agencies support these steps as a potentially helpful way to reduce uncertainty and confusion on the part of farmers, companies, and consumers as the private sector tries to sort out the labeling issue, FDA, USTR, and, to a lesser extent, Commerce believe that even this limited step is inadvisable in that it might have the unintended effect of energizing those who oppose the products and call for their mandatory labeling. A fourth option, mandatory approval and labeling of biotech products, is presented for your consideration but is not recommended by any agency.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
11-29-99

November 24, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GENE SPERLING
NEAL LANE
GEORGE FRAMPTON

SUBJECT: Decision on Biotechnology Issues

Purpose: There is considerable discussion in the U.S. and around the world (particularly in Europe) about how governments should most appropriately regulate foods and crops made using biotechnology. This memorandum is intended to present the issues surrounding the current debate and provide policy options.

Background

Man has been genetically engineering crops through cross-breeding in ways that nature could not for 10,000 years. Modern biotechnology or bioengineering, which is now nearly two decades old, refers to the use of recombinant DNA and related technologies to alter the genetic makeup of living organisms. These techniques allow scientists to identify and isolate genes of interest from any organism and put them into any other organism, as well as to introduce targeted genetic changes in organisms.

The practical effect is to open up vast opportunities for developing new food crops with beneficial characteristics such as pest and drought resistance, higher yield, enhanced nutrition, better taste and vaccine delivery. With global land *per capita* available for cultivation expected to shrink by over 40% and population projected to possibly double, boosting agricultural productivity is perhaps the only way to prevent serious humanitarian crises and environmental degradation in the next century.

Biotechnology has the potential to help mankind meet this challenge and, in so doing, advance our national security interests. The United States is the acknowledged world leader in the biotechnology industry. Although the use of biotechnology for producing new drugs and vaccines has been widely accepted around the world, the use of the technology in producing foods has been much less well-received in some countries. Indeed, some consumer activists have alleged that these foods are unnatural, calling them "Frankenfoods."

In 1986, an interagency group led by OSTP determined that the statutes underpinning the framework for regulating existing technologies provided appropriate authority for regulating the products of biotechnology. In publishing the "Coordinated Framework for Regulation of Biotechnology," the interagency group determined that existing health and safety laws were sufficient to provide immediate regulatory protection and certainty for industry. In light of a general scientific consensus that the

process of genetic engineering posed no inherent risk, the policy determined that regulation should continue to be based on product uses, applying the existing standards with respect to health and environmental risks of new products. Should the existing standards be found insufficient for a given class of new products, agencies would promulgate regulations under their existing authorities. For example:

- USDA promulgated regulations requiring developers of bioengineered crops to obtain a permit before planting such crops in the field. After USDA obtained significant experience with certain bioengineered crops, a more streamlined notification system was established for them. USDA regulations focus on risks that the bioengineered crops might pose to agriculture and the environment. If USDA determined from its review of the resulting data that the crop posed no unacceptable risk, it would classify the crop as a non-regulated article and allow it to be planted with no subsequent USDA involvement.
- FDA promulgated no new regulations, but did publish a statement of policy indicating that new substances bioengineered into foods would be subject to premarket approval as food additives if those substances differed significantly from substances commonly found in the diet. It went on to note, however, that most, if not all, substances that were being considered for introduction into foods through bioengineering were substantially the same as other substances found in the diet and therefore would not need premarket approval. FDA encouraged firms to consult with it on safety issues prior to marketing, which firms have been doing. This policy has been challenged in litigation that is pending in the District Court for the District of Columbia.
- EPA promulgated rules for the regulation of bioengineered microbes, as new substances, and for the regulation of pesticidal substances introduced into plants. EPA examines both environmental and human health risks of the microbes and pesticides.

Current US Government Perspective. Federal regulatory agencies remain confident that bioengineered crops and foods sold in the U.S. are safe, although some agencies believe that bioengineered species used in agriculture may pose environmental risks justifying enhanced Federal oversight. The U.S. Government (USG) position on labeling of genetically engineered or modified agricultural crops and products has been to oppose any mandatory labeling of such products. This position is based on the Food & Drug Administration's conclusion that genetically engineered foods are substantially equivalent to their conventional counterparts. However, the FDA requires labeling of food, including that which is bioengineered, whose composition has been significantly altered, whose nutritional values or intended use is different from conventional food, or which has allergenic properties. While this interpretation and policy is based on sound science, it has not entirely succeeded in quieting the demands of some NGOs and consumers for labels and other information about the bioengineered content of food. Some other NGOs privately admit that they are not concerned about biotechnology but will not say so publicly because of the politics of the environmental community. The strength of the U.S. regulatory system is its independence from political interference in decisions affecting health, safety or environment. Indeed, the EU is seeking to replicate such a system. Steps here that appear to be undermining our regulators' independence would adversely affect public trust and provide arguments for those in Europe who want to block such a system.

International Considerations. Even though the large majority of bioengineered corn and soybeans are used for domestic purposes, the international considerations are substantial. The EU is proving increasingly problematic, in part due to recent food safety scares unrelated to biotechnology. Last June, the EU Environment Council decided to require that agri-biotech products be proven to have no environmental or health risks before being placed on the market and that the EU Directive regarding biotechnology regulation (90/220) be revised to include additional procedures for handling already-approved biotech seeds and bulk commodities. No products would be approved until the completion of this process, which the EU admits could take at least three more years. US producers are being adversely affected by this effective moratorium on regulatory approvals of bioengineered products. Corn growers are losing up to \$200 million per year in exports because the EU has refused to approve seven US-approved corn varieties that are co-mingled with the sole EU-approved variety.

US producers are concerned that additional countries, such as Japan, Korea, Australia, and New Zealand, are following the EU's lead in mandating labeling of biotech foods, as foreign food retailers and processors are beginning to demand GMO-free foods to protect their brand image and avoid loss of market share without much regard to the validity of their claims and despite recognition that genetically engineered food is safe. This is generating uncertainty among American farmers and concern about the added segregation and testing costs. As a result, the Administration is working to promote fair market access for US exports and sound approaches by foreign governments to biotech issues on several fronts, including:

- Technical cooperation and information sharing in the OECD and Transatlantic Economic Partnership in projects initiated at this past June's G-8 and US-EU Summits as well as through the National Academy of Sciences and its British counterpart, the Royal Society;
- A high-level US-EU governmental dialogue that was initiated in your recent meeting with EU Commission President Prodi for the purpose of securing more predictable regulatory approval processes in Europe and resolution of outstanding market access issues, including blocked US corn exports;
- Preparation of US negotiating objectives for the Seattle WTO Ministerial aimed at focusing any discussion about biotechnology in the new trade round on ensuring the continuing application of existing trade disciplines to biotech trade and promoting greater predictability to regulatory approvals based on sound science;
- Active participation in the 156-member CODEX Alimentarius Committee on Food Labeling Biotech Working Group, which is scheduled to report in May 2000 on guidelines and recommendations on labeling of biotech food and additives, and may reconfirm that biotech foods are equivalent to conventional foods and need not be labeled; and
- In the January 20 – 28 high-level negotiations in Montreal on the Biosafety Protocol, cooperation with our Miami Group allies to ensure that the talks do not produce an unworkable agreement that unduly restricts trade or imposes high costs without commensurate environmental benefits.

Domestic Considerations

- Consumers. Although US consumer perceptions of agri-biotech products remain largely positive, the situation is fluid. In its September 1999 edition, *Consumer Reports* magazine advocated labeling of bioengineered food products, while advocating that such products are safe.

And US advocacy groups are intensifying media and public education campaigns. Some contend that bioengineered foods should be subject to formal FDA safety approval before being marketed, labeled as bioengineered, and examined more thoroughly for potential environmental risks. A number of them filed a lawsuit last year against FDA, alleging that it is violating the law by not requiring such labeling and premarket approvals. Another lawsuit has been filed against EPA, alleging that its oversight of certain pesticidal substances in bioengineered crops and foods is inadequate. However, these efforts have not, so far, influenced the vast majority of U.S. consumers to demand labeling.

- Industry. Bioengineered corn, soybeans, cotton and canola are widely grown and consumed in foods here, and American consumers retain a generally benign view of the technology. Nevertheless, companies are increasingly concerned that public acceptance could erode in the face of media questions and activists' representations that the technology poses unknown long-term risks. And companies fear that international resistance to the products, especially in Europe, could eventually spill over into the US market. If this were to occur, an extremely valuable technology would be jeopardized. Industry has not reached a consensus on what direction the U.S. should take to address the problems of commodity segregation and consumer product labeling. Food processors and their trade organizations (e.g. Grocery Manufacturers Association, National Food Processors Association) are opposed to the labeling of GMOs mainly because of the increased cost. They are also concerned that efforts to facilitate or promote voluntary labeling domestically would ultimately lead to mandatory labeling and foster the perception that engineered foods are less safe than their conventionally-derived counterparts. However, some have recently begun quietly suggesting that some degree of greater engagement by the government would be desirable, including additional public education, a requirement that companies notify FDA of new bioengineered products before marketing them, and work by USDA and FDA to help farmers, companies, and consumers determine what constitutes a non-biotech product, which, so far, no country has been able to do.
- Medical and Scientific Community. The medical and scientific community, both academic and industry, is concerned that steps the Administration takes regarding bioengineered foods may have spill-over to public perceptions about the safety of pharmaceuticals and therapeutics developed through biotechnology.
- Farmers. Perhaps the most pressing aspect of the issue is the uncertainty facing farmers, who fear development of a two-tier price system with discounts for biotech crops and a shortage of conventional seeds next spring. Many of our farmers in recent years switched to bioengineered crops because of their enhanced traits, reduced costs of pest/disease control, and environmentally friendly attributes. However, growing demand for non-GMO commodities is expected to add costs due to segregation and handling, in the range of 12% to 17% more for non-GMO bulk commodities. This figure could increase substantially if very stringent thresholds were adopted by countries and companies (e.g., the EU has recently proposed that any product containing more than 1% of bioengineered product be considered bioengineered), suggesting that the US has a major

commercial stake in how such decisions are made. Currently, farmers are receiving a modest premium for non-GMO corn and soybeans. However, growers must also self-certify that their crops are GMO-free and must retain full liability for the commodity throughout the marketing chain, even in the absence of uniform and reliable standards, segregation methods and testing capabilities.

- Environment. Finally, agricultural genetic engineering could have significant environmental impacts, both good and bad. Examples of projected benefits include reduced pressure to clear tropical rainforests for farmland (due to enhanced agricultural productivity), quicker, more effective clean-up of oil spills (with genetically engineered plants and microorganisms) and less use of harmful pesticides. Examples of potential risks include the development of “super-weeds” (if genetically modified plants hybridize with wild relatives), adverse impacts on non-target species (such as the monarch butterfly) and disruption of ecosystems (for example, by the unintended release of “super-growth” salmon into the marine environment). It is important to note that most, if not all, of these risks are not new to food production systems. In several recent cases, agencies have identified environmental risks from GMOs and responded accordingly. In 1997, EPA expressed concern about hybridization of certain genetically-modified cotton crops with wild relatives in certain parts of Florida and Hawaii, and denied approval for planting in those areas. EPA is currently considering guidelines to protect monarch butterflies in the planting of Bt corn, while the Fish and Wildlife Service is reviewing its potential effects on the Karner Blue butterfly, a species listed under the Endangered Species Act. In other cases, the regulatory authorities for addressing environmental impacts of GMOs may be less clear. FDA, for example, is currently considering applications for the approval of genetically-modified salmon that grow faster and larger than native species. Although FDA is considering the ecosystem impacts of an unintentional release of the modified salmon as part of a NEPA review, it is not clear that FDA’s legal authorities would allow the agency to deny approval based on adverse ecosystem impacts if any were found.

Options

An NEC High-Level Group on Biotechnology was created last spring to assess these developments and consider their implications for public policy. Principals, Deputies and staff have met and conducted outreach with the producer and NGO communities. Following are policy options that have emerged from this process for your consideration. The first three options (enhancing public education; strengthening FDA and environmental regulatory oversight; and facilitating voluntary efforts to provide consumer product information, including voluntary labeling) have broad support among agencies. The key issue for decision relates to the third option, which recommends that USDA and FDA initiate processes to provide guidance for voluntary efforts to segregate and label non-GMO products for the purpose of reducing uncertainty and confusion for farmers, companies, and consumers as the private sector sorts out the labeling issue. USDA would develop suggested standardized testing methods and GMO tolerance levels on which to base GMO-free claims, and FDA would provide guidance on what would constitute a truthful and not misleading GMO-free product label. FDA, USTR, and, with respect to FDA’s role, Commerce believe that even this limited step is inadvisable in that it might have the unintended effect of energizing those who oppose the products and call for their mandatory labeling, thereby undermining public confidence in them. The fourth option, mandatory approval and labeling of biotech products, attracted no agency’s support.

It should be noted that HHS believes that any decisions affecting FDA policy should not be made until FDA has completed three public meeting scheduled between November 18, 30, and December 13, reviewed the comments received, and reported to HHS and the White House on what it learned. In addition, none of the options in this paper would directly facilitate access for U.S. products in other countries. Countries that are requiring approval and labels, such as the EU, have their own regulations (which they have not been able to implement), and U.S. products must meet their regulations.

1. Enhancing Scientific Discussion and Public Education and Outreach to Strengthen US and Foreign Consumer Confidence

- Domestically, engage in greater outreach to emphasize the scientific basis of US regulation and convene public sessions and meetings for the purpose of soliciting broad public and scientific input on whether additional regulation (for food safety, food labeling, environmental safety) is appropriate. Panels also could be set up to provide a forum for discussing non-scientific (e.g., cultural and social) issues of public concern.
- Intensify international educational, cooperative scientific, diplomatic, and technical assistance activities to explain US regulatory policies and work toward more consistent policies.

These activities would enable the regulatory agencies to hear public concerns, receive scientific input, dispel inaccurate information, and influence regulatory decisions in foreign markets. All agencies are supportive of these steps, and many, including USDA, FDA, EPA and State, are undertaking them presently.

2. Maintaining and Strengthening Confidence in the US Regulatory Framework

a) Require Companies to Notify FDA 90 Days before Biotech Products Are Introduced into Commerce. In 1992, FDA issued a policy statement to provide industry with guidance on Federal requirements that must be met before feed and food products derived through recombinant DNA techniques can be introduced into commerce. This policy statement did not mandate pre-market notification or approval, but encouraged consultations between industry and FDA. To date, all new feed/food products have gone through this voluntary consultative process; however, critics point to the voluntary nature of this process to make the claim that FDA's oversight of GMO food is based on an honor system. In an attempt to address this criticism, FDA has launched a series of public listening sessions over the next month in part to explore what if any modifications to its policies might be warranted.

This step would provide an added level of assurance that government is aware of all products marketed and that all regulatory questions are answered prior to marketing. It would build public confidence in FDA oversight, responding to criticism that current system is an honor system in which industry voluntarily engages FDA in its safety evaluation, and possibly provide an opening to work in a more cooperative fashion with the Europeans on biotech issues. At the same time, it would not directly address the principal criticism that bioengineered foods are not subject to

mandatory premarket approval and may provide ammunition to opponents of the technology, who may portray this requirement as evidence that bioengineered foods pose special risks not associated with other foods.

All agencies are generally supportive; however, FDA has noted that going forward with mandatory premarket notification would require development of a legal rationale that does not undercut the US government's scientific assessment that foods from bioengineered plants are not inherently different from or less safe than foods from conventionally derived plants.

b) Direct CEQ/OSTP to Organize an Interagency Process to Examine the Adequacy of Federal Environmental Monitoring Activities and Regulatory Authorities with Respect to Biotechnology.

This proposed process would look at the adequacy of our environmental monitoring activities and capabilities as well as the sufficiency of the existing regulations. It would build on the the outreach processes already underway by USDA and EPA, through the creation of an independent standing committee of experts under the aegis of the National Academy of Sciences and the establishment of regional pest management centers. Analysis would begin with case studies of how the existing system applies to different transgenic organisms. Work would be designed to identify strengths and weaknesses of the current system and, in combination with scientific information, establish a foundation for future recommendations. New directions might include recommendations for additional environmental monitoring and risk assessment activities. Initial recommendations would be likely within six months. This policy option would help address questions about the environmental implications of agricultural and other biotechnology and bolster public confidence that the federal government is taking them seriously. It is supported by all agencies; however, some concern was expressed that care would have to be taken to avoid the impression the Administration did not have complete confidence in the U.S. regulatory system or had concerns about biotechnology.

3. Facilitating Voluntary Disclosure of Consumer Product Information through Non-Biotech Labeling and Other Means (i.e., defer to the private sector on product segregation, tolerance-setting, and choice of mechanism for providing consumer information, including non-biotech labeling, but engage with it in a process to reduce uncertainty and confusion for farmers, companies, and consumers).

This option would create a process of public outreach and technical research through USDA and FDA to support an orderly process of voluntary product segregation and non-biotech labeling to the extent one emerges in the private sector. USDA would develop suggested standardized testing methods and GMO tolerance levels for use in substantiating GMO-free claims, and FDA would provide guidance on what would constitute a truthful and not misleading non-GMO product label. The aim would be to reduce uncertainty and confusion on the part of farmers, companies, and consumers as the private sector sorts out the labeling issue. These steps would build on the three planned FDA hearings, the purpose of which is to share the agency's approach regarding safety evaluation and labeling of food products derived from bioengineered plant varieties, solicit views on whether FDA's policies or procedures should be modified, and gather information on appropriate means of providing information to the public about these products.

Although there is general confidence in and out of government that bioengineering *per se* does not pose unique health risks in food products that would require mandatory FDA labeling, consumer preferences abroad and, to a lesser extent, in the US are prompting some commodity firms and food companies to segregate and voluntarily label non-bioengineered crops and products. Competing producers have an interest in ensuring that any such claims are not false or misleading. Consumers have an interest in ensuring that information voluntarily disclosed on products is accurate, reliable, and comparable to information found on other products, as illustrated by the current confusion of supermarket shoppers in the UK. Finally, farmers and grain elevator operators have an interest in ensuring that steps they take to test and maintain the segregated identity of non-biotech crops will be reliable and generally recognized as valid by commodity firms. It should be noted that industry is more comfortable with negative, or "non-biotech," labeling than it is with affirmative, or "contains GMOs," labeling, which it fears could unduly raise the profile of the issue for consumers given the widespread presence of bioengineered corn, soy and other ingredients in products on US supermarket shelves.

a) USDA process on testing, quality assurance and tolerances for non-biotech products. USDA would initiate a comprehensive process of public outreach and internal research to determine the feasibility of establishing standardized testing protocols, quality assurance programs, and tolerances for voluntary non-biotech product segregation and claims. This process would take into account both consumer demands and production and handling factors such as pollen drift and commingling. It would involve public meetings, specific stakeholder group consultations, and, for development of quality assurance procedures and tolerances, the issuance of an Advanced Notice of Proposed Rulemaking (ANPR). USDA has already begun research into standardized testing protocols, but the outreach process would most likely be initiated following next year's harvest after the industry has had more experience with segregating and testing commodities. Once a certification process were established, the GMO status of a given commodity would become a key component of industry-developed "chain of custody" programs, which might facilitate voluntary labeling of consumer products. The process could inform and support USG efforts to influence foreign regulatory decisions about where to set non-biotech tolerance levels, thereby potentially helping to preserve fair market access opportunities for US farm exports. Should domestic industry choose to use this information to develop labels, FDA would need to determine whether they were truthful and not misleading in order to ensure that no unwarranted inferences would be drawn by consumers concerning human health considerations.

b) FDA process to develop guidance for voluntary informational labels for non-biotech products. Under current Federal Food, Drug, and Cosmetics Act (FFDCA) authority, companies currently can label their products to indicate whether they contain genetically engineered ingredients. However, the labels must meet the standard of being truthful and non-misleading, as interpreted by the FDA. Such labels have already begun to appear on products, and FDA may at some point find itself compelled to issue guidance on their use and design even if you do not approve this option, particularly if companies begin to make inferences or claims about health or safety that FDA would consider misleading. Building on the current FDA hearings, this policy option would create a process by which the agency would take the affirmative step of developing guidance on the elements of a truthful and not misleading label for non-GMO food products in order to inform the design of any such claims voluntarily made

by companies. Such guidance would likely include a recommendation that GMO-free labels include a disclaimer indicating that bioengineered foods do not differ in safety or quality from other foods. FDA recommended use of a similar disclaimer in its guidance on labeling of milk from cows not treated with rbST.

c) FDA process to develop appropriate mechanisms, other than through the food label, for providing information to consumers. Building on the current FDA hearings, and on the experience FDA gained from developing a web-site listing the Y2K compliance status of thousands of medical devices, this policy option would create a process by which the agency would develop guidance on the listing of GM and GM-free food products on Federal or company web-site or on making such information available through 800-numbers.

USDA, NEC, OSTP, DPC, CEQ and other agencies support these options, with the exception of HHS and USTR, which do not support sub-options (a) and (b) because they believe that even limited governmental involvement in activities related to biotech labeling would implicitly bless and energize the actions of those who oppose the products and call for their mandatory labeling, thereby undermining public confidence in them. HHS is also concerned that adding information on food labels on matters unrelated to the safety or fundamental characteristics of the product would undermine the function and utility of food labels, in part by adding clutter and distracting consumers from core nutritional information and by potentially inviting other demands for right-to-know labeling unrelated to safety and health considerations. USTR believes the marketplace will sort these issues out without the help of government programs. Commerce supports sub-options (a) and (c) but not (b), for the same reasons as those attributed to HHS. Agencies that are supportive of the option counter these arguments by observing that biotech-related labels are beginning to appear on products without any government action and that taking these modest steps merely recognizes this reality in a practical attempt to reduce uncertainty and costs for all involved.

4. Supporting Mandatory Pre-Market Approval and Product Labeling

The Administration could adopt the EU posture of requiring pre-market regulatory approval and labeling of products with bioengineered content above a certain threshold. It could do so by sponsoring or endorsing legislation in Congress.

a) Mandatory FDA approval. Requiring approval of new products before they are introduced into commerce (as distinguished from requiring pre-market *notification* in Option 2a above) would allow FDA itself to vouch for safety of bioengineered foods based on in-depth reviews, as it now does for food additives. This would satisfy demands of at least some consumer groups by providing an additional assurance of safety, removing the criticism that the current system depends on the good faith of biotech companies. However, such a change in policy would be opposed by industry on the grounds that it could undermine public confidence by suggesting that the federal government has serious concerns about the safety of the technology. It could also create significant period of "regulatory limbo" between the time of the proposal and enactment, delaying market entry of commercially important new foods despite the longstanding Federal view that bioengineered foods do not raise scientific or safety issues warranting such oversight.

b) Mandatory product labeling. Supporters of this policy believe that mandatory labeling of bioengineered food products may ultimately be the only way for industry and government to cease being on the defensive about bioengineered foods, in part because many consumers may end up harboring misgivings about the technology absent greater assurance that they will have control over the decision to consume foods derived from it or not. Moreover, in light of the range of bioengineered crops grown in the U.S., the scale of the processed foods that would have to be labeled might actually serve to reduce any stigma associated with labeled products. The Administration might be able to get in front of the issue in this fashion, forcing stakeholders to work with Congress to develop a solution. And by affording the maximum degree of information to consumers, mandatory labeling in the long run might well lead to lower consumer concerns regarding the technology than would otherwise be the case.

On the other hand, mandatory food labels for biotech content could undermine the function and utility of the food label, whose purpose is to provide information pertinent to characteristics and composition of the food. As such, it could distract attention from important nutritional and health information now on food labels and trigger additional calls for consumer "right to know" labeling on other issues. In addition, an abrupt policy shift of this nature could foster greater distrust of bioengineered foods by giving the impression that they must be different and riskier than other products, leading food processors to avoid their use and consumers to boycott their purchase. Since industry is currently interested most of all in having the federal government clearly and repeatedly vouch for the safety of the products, it would undoubtedly be highly critical of this policy and consider fundamentally inconsistent with long-standing government position that biotech foods are as safe as their non-engineered counterparts and, as a class, have no distinguishing characteristics that would warrant labeling. Finally, shifting away from science-based labeling could reduce the Administration's credibility with U.S. science-based societies and industries. Pharmaceutical and Genomics industries are already concerned about spill-over of anti-science sentiment from agriculture to medicine, and abandoning science-based policy in this area could reduce the Administration's ability to enlist and maintain support for science-based standards and requirements in various international fora and negotiations.

No agency supports these options, reflecting the concern, shared by industry and farmers, that such a major policy shift might alarm and confuse consumers and create a disorderly shift in their purchasing behavior that would not be warranted by our scientific understanding of the issue. The top priority of industry and farmers is for the USG to take steps to reinforce the generally strong level of consumer confidence that still prevails in the US. They perceive that these steps would work at cross purposes to this objective.

RECOMMENDATION

USDA, EPA, State, Interior, Treasury, NEC, OSTP, CEQ, DPC, NSC and OMB support Options 1, 2, and 3. Commerce supports all but Option 2(a), and HHS and USTR support all but Options 3(a) and 3(b). In addition, HHS believes strongly that implementation of Option 2(a) should follow conclusion of its current outreach process.

Option #1 -- Enhancing Public Education and Outreach to Strengthen Consumer Confidence.

Option #2 -- Maintaining and Strengthening Confidence in the US Regulatory Framework by:

- a) requiring companies to notify FDA 90 days before biotech products are introduced into commerce; and
- b) directing CEQ/OSTP to organize an interagency process to examine the adequacy of federal environmental monitoring activities and regulation with respect to agricultural biotechnology.

Option #3 -- Facilitating Voluntary Disclosure of Consumer Product Information through Non-Biotech Labeling and Other Means.

- a) USDA process on testing, quality assurance, and non-biotech tolerances;
- b) FDA process to develop guidance for voluntary informational non-biotech labels; and
- c) FDA process to develop appropriate mechanisms, other than through the food label, for providing information to consumers.

_____ Approve Recommendation

_____ Disapprove Recommendation

_____ Discuss Further