

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-3-00



C. Jennings / cc Street

~~Simon G. G. G.~~

Thomas J. Flammang, Ph.D.

U.S. Food and Drug Administration

They expect us to deliver the

National Center for Toxicological Research

help -

How big is project? Office of Research

Jefferson, AR 72209

How important? - ~~from~~ ~~united~~

870-543-7291 (Voice)

870-543-7576 (Facsimile)

NEWARK, NJ

~ Feb 17, 2000 - NCTR
\$44M FDA laboratory dedication

- Delta project - FDA/USF Pine Bluff regulatory science degree
- Fresh TAA™ - NCTR scientist lease product to industry
- Drug safety - special populations

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U.S. FOOD AND DRUG ADMINISTRATION
National Center for Toxicological Research

Jefferson, AR 72079

MEMORANDUM

1-3-00)

Date: December 23, 1999
From: Tom Flammang
Subject: Fax for President Clinton (two pages follow)
To: President William Jefferson Clinton
C/o Ms. Betty W. Currie
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

*Copy sent to
Buckhardt*

Carl

Dear Ms. Currie,

I have sent this communication in your care as President Clinton requested; **two pages follow.**

Since I would guess that the President has little time to read everything, I ask you a favor. If you feel an abstract of the letter would be a better way to bring these matters to his attention again, please highlight the critical points for him.

If there is some confusion I should deal with please feel free to contact me at work in Jefferson (telephone no.: 870-543-7291) or at home in Rock (501-562-4980).

Sincerely yours,

Tom Flammang



Thomas J. Flammang, Ph.D.
U.S. Food and Drug Administration

National Center for Toxicological Research
Office of Research
Jefferson, AR 72209

870-543-7291 (Voice)
501-562-4980 (home)

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December 23, 1999

President William Jefferson Clinton
C/o Ms. Betty W. Currie
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

This letter fills in some details, as I promised in our December 19 conversation, for the dedication of the new \$44 million dollar facility of the U. S. Food and Drug Administration located in Jefferson, Arkansas. Yes, it indeed is a breath away from completion, and yes indeed the dedication ceremonies are scheduled for February 17, 2000. We would be honored with your presence and undeniably you can help us punctuate that high technology endeavors have a home in Arkansas; and rural Arkansas at that. According to protocol, your formal invitation will arrive through Secretary Shalala.

I have worked for the National Center for Toxicological Research since coming to Arkansas in 1976 and it is clear to me even the initials "NCTR" mean almost nothing to most Arkansans, let alone imparting any knowledge of our role in the FDA or in their health care. This upcoming dedication is strategic to turn this tide. This event will highlight the synergistic power of interactions gained through intra- and interagency, academia, industry, and community collaborations.

This new facility is known as the Arkansas Regional Laboratory to help identify it with Arkansas. The new regional laboratory brings increased efficiency to the Agency by consolidating several smaller, regulatory-laboratory facilities and it will have a large impact on ensuring the safety of imported foods. Furthermore, its co-location with the NCTR represents a synergism of intellect between a research arm and a regulatory arm of the FDA that has already paid dividends. The recent work of two NCTR research scientists, who normally develop analytical instrumentation, invented a practical and inexpensive consumer device that indirectly indicates bacterial contamination. "FreshTagTM" has been licensed to private industry and it will appear in supermarket food packaging beginning in the year 2000. They are now altering this technology to be a suitable tool for the field regulators.

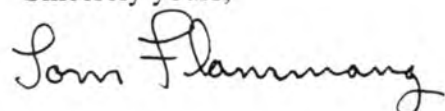
The NCTR also has a new Phototoxicology Laboratory, built in collaboration with the National Institute of Environmental Health Sciences, that will help the FDA evaluate the risks of combining sunlight with exposure to commonly available cosmetics, drugs and chemicals. Actually few people in the world are aware of this recently completed facility and it is one of only two laboratories like this in the world. Industry, which owns the other facility, helped us with design, indeed some of its components are identical to theirs. This is only the newest example where NCTR has leveraged its limited funds in support of Agency science.

The new Arkansas Regional Laboratory will bring another 150 high-skill positions, in addition to the 650 positions already at NCTR, to the Delta Region. The whole complex including NCTR has recently been named the Jefferson Laboratories of the U. S. Food and Drug Administration that should help people identify this resource with the Agency. A large number of the new positions at the laboratory are for chemists, microbiologists and other specialists. In anticipation of this opportunity the NCTR and the University of Arkansas at Pine Bluff have cooperated to establish a degree program in regulatory science; the first of its kind in the nation. This new program fits well with our long-standing collaboration with the University of Arkansas for Medical Sciences Toxicology Program that we use to train scientists and to interest them in careers of government service.

Chelsea, Elizabeth and Rebecca are coming into this next century well prepared for rewarding careers in part because of the educational status of their parents. This background is not afforded to the majority of my neighbor's children in Little Rock, let alone the poorer parts of Arkansas in the adjacent Delta area. It is even more disheartening to me that the limited conversations Marianne and I have had with a few young adults in our neighborhood astonish us in that they have no concept of opportunities right in front of them. The NCTR educational efforts of the past have made a huge difference for a few young adults; however, realistically, our limited funds, and above all the limited time of our staff, cannot make a sizeable training difference for many Arkansans. I think that above all else the real difference that the NCTR can make in Arkansas is to foster the concept of the varied opportunities available for the young. New laboratory buildings celebrations aside, I believe the high profile that yourself, the First Lady and Chelsea can bring to the dedication will be to make those opportunities appear on every television set in Arkansas; something we cannot do readily.

I guess it is evident that I find our achievements laudable on many interfaces and am more than passionate to make the Jefferson Regional Laboratories of the FDA a household word in Arkansas. Your staff can contact Mr. Pete Attwood, (telephone: 870-543-7130), NCTR's Director of Management for details; Pete will co-ordinate this event. I will be delighted to answer any of your questions or those of your staff anytime (telephone: 870-543-7291, work; 501-562-4980, home).

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Sam Flammang". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "Sam Flammang".

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-30-99

Reply

President Clinton

Send to Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Dec. 1999
Dear Mr. President,
By the end of the next
year, we'll each be leaving
a great job. I owe mine to you,
and I am grateful for that. I was
surprised this month to find myself
among the 50 women named "Pride of the Century"
by Latina magazine — amazingly the only woman
from your administration to make the cut. Jennifer
Hopen and I bring up the ~~rear~~ (HA! HA!).
Meanwhile, I was approached in California
about running for Congress. As the ultimate
pro, whadya think??
hats & love,
P.S. I'm stateside through
Jan. 8. Cell # is
202 491-7401.

Wishing you Peace and Joy
this Holiday Season
and a Bright, Prosperous and
HAPPY NEW CENTURY!

Carolyn Curiel

The Honorable Carolyn Curiel
U.S. Ambassador

MUJERES DEL

As we embark on a new millennium, *Latina* looks at the past century to honor 50 women who have defined the meaning of success. We begin our list with five extraordinary women who are towering figures in their fields: Rita Moreno ignited the stage and screen with her performances; Ileana Ros-Lehtinen won a seat in the U.S. House of Representatives; Rosie Casals fulfilled her dreams on the tennis court; Celia Cruz unleashed a rhythm that reverberates throughout the world; and Dolores Huerta forced *el patrón* to the bargaining table. To borrow from one of writer Julia Álvarez's favorite Native American legends, we are standing on the shoulders of these and many other women. *Latina* presents *mujeres* of the century, whose contributions have laid a solid foundation upon which we and future generations of *hermanas* can continue to build.

A punto de comenzar un nuevo milenio, le echamos una mirada al siglo que termina y rendimos homenaje a 50 mujeres que se han destacado en diferentes campos. Estas hermanas nos llenan de orgullo porque han abierto camino para las nuevas generaciones. Entre ellas, la actriz Rita Moreno, la congresista Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, la tenista Rosie Casals, la cantante Celia Cruz y la sindicalista Dolores Huerta.

HISTORY-MAKING LATINAS WHO HAVE CONQUERED THE NEW WORLD



RITA MORENO

Única ganadora de un Oscar, Grammy, Emmy y Tony, además de varios premios ALMA, la polifacética Rita Moreno pertenece a esa casta única de artistas completos que logran destacarse en cualquier género. En la pantalla grande nos cautivó como la enamoradísima Tuptim de *The King and I*, y como la fogosa Anita de *West Side Story*; en televisión nos educó en *The Electric Company* y *The Muppet Show*. A pesar de 50 años de triunfos y galardones, ciertos reconocimientos no dejan de emocionarla. "Se me cayeron las chancias", fue su reacción al enterarse de que era una de nuestras Latinas del Siglo.

Comedian Paul Rodriguez once said, "In my neighborhood, we didn't know who the president was. We didn't know who our congressman was...but we all knew Rita Moreno."

The only performer to win an Oscar, Grammy, Emmy, and a Tony—among several ALMAs and a slew of other awards—the multifaceted Moreno represents a rare and fading breed of well-rounded, genre-savvy entertainers. On-screen, she engaged us as the love-torn Tuptim in *The King and I* and as the fiery Anita in *West Side Story*, and on television she educated millions in *The Electric Company* and *The Muppet Show*.

With almost 50 years in the business, this Hollywood conquistadora is still going strong and only recently put her many trophies on display. She did so, she says, after a friend convinced her that "prizes are given; awards are earned."

Special recognition continues to excite her. "It knocked my chancias off," Moreno said after being named one of our *mujeres* del Siglo. *Leticia Marrero*

ILEANA ROS-LEHTINEN

A former teacher and Florida state legislator, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen was elected to Congress in 1999. Ros-Lehtinen, 47, says she was joined for politics by the family she has built, where "homemade" laws were discussed and passed the better way.

As the first Finnish in the Hispanic community and a woman, she has been able to help the party to expand its reach in Miami. Representing a traditionally Democratic district, Ros-Lehtinen has a record of bipartisanship. She has worked with both sides of the aisle to pass legislation, including the passage of the Cuban Democracy Act, the Cuban Liberty and Democratic Solidarity (LIBERTAD) Act, and the Cuban American National Foundation Act.

Along with her husband, Juan Carlos Lehtinen, she is a member of Congress. In 1999, she was elected to the House of Representatives, representing the 19th district of Florida. She is the first Hispanic woman to serve in the House. She is also the first woman to serve as the chair of the House Committee on Education and the Workforce.

Con una vocación que nació en las discusiones políticas a la hora de la cena, Ileana Ros-Lehtinen, maestra y legisladora, fue la primera latina en el Congreso. Representando un distrito de Miami desde 1999, la republicana cubano-americana fue una de las pocas en rechazar el proyecto de Newt Gingrich que endurecía las leyes migratorias; y convenció al Congreso de reincorporar los beneficios para inmigrantes. "Voto mi conciencia y voto mi distrito", dice.





ROSIE CASALS

"Rosebud." Not an unlikely nickname for an aggressive athlete, considering that Rosie Casals, a champion tennis player in the 1960s and 1970s, helped plant the seeds for other young women in a male-dominated sport.

Frustrated by the lack of recognition and indecent pay for women's athletic achievements, Casals, her doubles partner Billie Jean King, and their peers took a stand. In 1970 they rocked the tennis establishment by inaugurating the Virginia Slims Invitational, the first all-women pro tennis tournament. Casals won that pivotal event—and a \$1,500 prize. Three years later, Rosebud won \$30,000 for the Family Circle Cup—the largest purse awarded to a woman in any sport at that time.

Casals, 51, holds 12 grand-slam doubles titles. But she is most proud of "opening people's eyes to women's sports," says Casals. "All the money in the world couldn't take those times away." *Michelle Longo*
Rosie Casals, ex-tenista profesional, preparó el terreno para las mujeres atletas. Frustradas por la falta de reconocimiento y baja paga, Casals y sus compañeras inauguraron en 1970 el Virginia Slims Invitational, torneo sólo para mujeres. Tres años más tarde, Casals ganó el Family Circle Cup, con la mayor suma otorgada a una mujer en los deportes: \$30,000. A los 51 años, la mayor satisfacción de Casals es "haber podido elevar el status del deporte femenino".

triumfos/successes



DOLORES HUERTA

For nearly 40 years, Dolores Huerta's name has been synonymous with the Chicano rights movement. Her passion: achieving a dignified life for thousands of farm workers who toil in the fields to put food on our tables—a fight for which she has been arrested many times. In 1962 she cofounded the United Farm Workers of America with the legendary César Chávez. As UFW vice president, Huerta directed the much publicized grape boycott of the late 1960s—one of the largest and most successful in U.S. history. This fierce leader stood up to teamsters boss Jimmy Hoffa and challenged crop growers and legislators.

Today the unstoppable 69-year-old UFW secretary-treasurer continues to lead *la causa*. "The greatest tasks still lie ahead, but as Latinas, we can do anything we want to do," notes Huerta. "I always say behind every successful woman is herself." *Ana Figueroa*

Dolores Huerta es sinónimo de lucha. Su objetivo: lograr una vida digna para los miles de campesinos migrantes en este país. Cofundadora del sindicato United Farm Workers of America (UFW), Huerta dirigió el famoso y exitoso boicót de las uvas a fines de los años 60, durante el cual fue arrestada más de 20 veces. Hoy, a los 69 años, sigue en la lucha como secretaria-tesorera del UFW. "Como siempre digo: 'Detrás de cada mujer exitosa, está ella misma'".

triumfos/successes

SARA ESTELA RAMÍREZ • Teacher, poet, and first Latina to publish a newspaper in the U.S., 1904. La primera latina en publicar un periódico en Estados Unidos.

DOLORES DEL RÍO • Famed actress of Hollywood and Mexico, 1920s to 1930s. La primera estrella latina del cine.

LUCREZIA BORI • First Hispanic operatic diva in the U.S., 1920s to 1930s. La primera diva hispanica.

RITA MONTANER • Cuban-born singer who was one of the first Latinas on the Broadway stage (*Wonder Bar*), 1920s to 1950s. Cantante pionera en Broadway.

CONCHA ORTIZ Y PINO DE KLEVEN • First Latina elected to a state legislature (New Mexico), 1936. La primera latina electa a un cuerpo legislativo estatal.

JULIA DE BURGOS • The beloved Puerto Rican poet, 1930s to 1950s. Poeta puertorriqueña que vivió y murió en Nueva York.

KATHY JURADO • Oscar-nominated Mexican actress who brought grace and dignity to any role she played, 1940s to the 1980s. Una actriz que triunfó con talento y dignidad sin cambiarse el nombre.

CARMEN MIRANDA • A Hollywood creation whose legacy we're still trying to shake off. But she was funny and talented and helped make Latin music popular early on, 1940s. Su talento vale, pero su imagen nos perseguirá por los siglos.

MINERVA BERNARDINO • Dominican activist who helped gain equal rights for women in the UN Covenant of Human Rights, 1945. Diplomática dominicana.

LA LUPE • The fiery Cuban singer, 1950s to 1960s. Cantante cubana.

CRISTINA SARALEGUI "One strong *hermana* who took el toro por los cuernos and decided to work like crazy to make her dreams come true." —María Hinojosa

Política social, líder cívica y fundadora de *Aspira*.

EVELYN MARGARET RIVERA • Received the UNESCO Award for her research on cancer and the



GLORIA ESTEFAN "She's achieved what no other Latino artist had before, and now she's leaving doors open for others to follow." —Shakira

biology of tumors, 1965. Investigadora biológica.

LUPE ANGUIANO • Helped develop the Bilingual Education Act while at the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1960s to 1970s.

Elaboró la ley de educación bilingüe durante sus años en Washington.

MIRIAM COLÓN • Actress and founder-director of the Puerto Rican Traveling Theater, 1960s to 1990s. Actriz y fundadora del Teatro Rodante Puertorriqueño.

MARÍA IRENE FORNÉS • The most recognized Latina playwright, director, and leader in contemporary American theater, 1960s to 1990s. La dramaturga más reconocida del teatro contemporáneo.

JOAN BAEZ • Mexican American singer-songwriter-social activist; only Latina to perform at Woodstock, 1969. Cantante y activista política.

GILDA CRUZ-ROMO • First Latina lead soprano at the Metropolitan Opera, 1970. Primera latina soprano principal en el Metropolitan Opera.

ROMANA ACOSTA BAÑUELOS • U.S. treasurer and the first Latina to hold a cabinet office, 1971. Secretaria del Tesoro y primer latino miembro del Gabinete.

CARMEN ZAPATA • Mexican American actress, director, and founder of the Bilingual Foundation of the Arts, 1970s to 1980s. Actriz, directora y fundadora de la Fundación Bilingüe de las Artes.

SONIA MANZANO • Emmy Award-winning actress and TV writer; Maria on *Sesame Street*, 1970s to 1990s. Galardonada actriz y guionista de televisión.

TANIA J. LEÓN • Cuban-born composer and conductor, and the first Latino music director of a Broadway hit musical (*The Wiz*), 1978.

Compositora de música clásica y directora de orquesta.

CAROLINA HERRERA • Venezuelan-born fashion designer who became a major player in the fashion world, 1980s. Diseñadora de modas de prestigio internacional.

GRACIELA ITÚRBIDE • Mexican photographer and activist famous for documenting the lives of her people, 1980s. Fotógrafa y activista.

MARY RODAS • At age 14, she was the youngest corporate executive ever (Catco Toy Co.), 1980s. La ejecutiva empresarial más joven.

CECILIA PRECIADO DE BURCIAGA • Dean of Graduate Studies at Stanford University and top-ranked Latina in higher education, 1985. Decana y una líder en el mundo académico.

RUTH BEHAR • Anthropologist, teacher, and MacArthur Foundation "genius award" recipient, 1988. Galardonada antropóloga, escritora y profesora judía-cubana.

ANTONIA NOVELLO • A Puerto Rican doctor who was the first woman and the first Latina appointed U.S. surgeon general, 1989. La primera mujer en ser nombrada cirujana general del país.

ISABEL ALLENDE • First latinoamericana writer to achieve continuous critical and commercial success in the U.S., 1980s to 1990s. Primera escritora latinoamericana en alcanzar éxito en E.E.U.U.

DOLORES SÁNCHEZ • Publisher and first Latina to own a newspaper chain in the U.S., 1980s to 1990s. Primera latina dueña de una cadena de periódicos.

ELLEN OCHOA • Mexican American engineer who became the first Latina astronaut, 1990. La primera astronauta latina.

LINDA ALVARADO • The first and only Latino owner of a major-league baseball



FRIDA KAHLO "To me she represents Mexico... her spirit was indestructible." —Salma Hayek

franchise (Colorado Rockies), 1991. La primera y única latina dueña de un equipo de las grandes ligas.

SANDRA ORTIZ-DEL VALLE • The first female professional basketball referee, 1991. La primera mujer referi de la liga de baloncesto profesional.

GIGI FERNÁNDEZ • Top-rated doubles tennis player who won a gold medal at the Barcelona Olympic Games, 1992. Una de las tenistas de más alto ranking y campeona olímpica.

JULIA ÁLVAREZ • Dominican American author who vividly depicts the Latino experience in the U.S., 1990s. Una de las más sobresalientes escritoras latinas.

SELENA QUINTANILLA PEREZ • Legendary Tejano singer whose success and tragic death helped

begin the explosive crossover of Latino entertainers, 1990s. Su meteórica carrera y trágica muerte lanzaron la explosión musical latina de los últimos años.

CLARISSA PINKOLA ESTÉS • First Latina author to make the *New York Times* best-seller list, 1992. Primera latina en la lista best seller.

LINDA CHAVEZ-

THOMPSON • Highest-ranking woman in the labor movement; first Latino on the AFL-CIO executive board, 1995.

La mujer de más alto rango en el movimiento sindical.

SANDRA CISNEROS • The first Latina writer to receive the MacArthur Foundation "genius award," 1995. La primera escritora latina en recibir este importante galardón.

REBECCA LOBO • Professional basketball player (the WNBA) and first Latina Olympic gold medalist, 1996. Primera latina basquetbolista profesional y ganadora olímpica.

JENNIFER LOPEZ • The highest-paid Latina actress ever, 1990s. La actriz latina mejor pagada de la historia del cine norteamericano.

CAROLYN CURIEL • Currently U.S. ambassador to Belize, and the first woman of color to write speeches for a president (Clinton), 1990s. La primera mujer de una minoría en escribir discursos presidenciales. —Vette Manners

CHITA RIVERA "An electric performer. One of a dying breed who can never be replaced for her professionalism and skill." —Rita Moreno



Shirley Kline
Interview
BSC

The Curse Of Blood and Vengeance

Copied
Bergen
Podesta

In remote northern Albania, communal life is governed by ancient codes of honor unchanged by modern notions of rights or the rule of law. That's why Shtjefen Lamthi was gunned down in broad daylight — and why his killer's family will probably get theirs, too, someday.

By Scott Anderson

Photographs by Paolo Pellegrin

By conservative estimate, at least 200 people witnessed the murder of Shtjefen Lamthi in Shkoder, the northernmost city of Albania, early on the afternoon of Aug. 3, 1998. The 43-year-old farmer was walking south along Zyhdë Lahi Street, one of the main thoroughfares of the Rus marketplace in downtown Shkoder, his hands weighted down with plastic bags filled with his day's purchases. Just in front of a small tobacco kiosk at the northwest corner of Rus Square, a burly man who looked to be in his mid-30's suddenly stepped into Lamthi's path, brought up a Kalashnikov assault rifle, shot him 21 times and walked away. None of the witnesses came forward to identify the killer. Instead, a wall of silence immediately descended. Today, 16 months later, Lamthi's murder remains officially un-

solved, despite the fact that almost everyone knows exactly who killed him. A strange event, but not in Albania.

Albania was largely forgotten during the war in Bosnia, and only talked of indirectly during the war in Kosovo, as those driven out of the province by the Serbs were of Albanian descent. But the tiny nation of 3.5 million, tucked between the former Yugoslavia and Greece on the Adriatic coast, was high among the concerns for the Balkans at the beginning of this decade. Intent on transforming the poorest land in Europe into a free-market economy, on building a democracy atop the ashes of one of the world's most repressive Communist dictatorships, Western nations poured untold millions in aid into Albania in the early 1990's. For a time, all seemed to go well — and then it all blew apart. Today, Albania is an economic ruin, its government is largely theoretical and the frequency of murders like that of Shtjefen Lamthi makes it one of the deadliest "at peace" nations on earth.

What is it about the Balkans that so defeats all efforts to calm them? In searching for an answer, observers have naturally focused their greatest attention on the succession of conflicts that have torn apart the former Yugoslavia. And in so doing, they have tended to conclude that the Balkans are singularly riven by centuries-old ethnic and religious hatreds — that these are people, or better, groups of people, who simply can't live together.

"Ethnic cleansing" and concentration camps are strong evidence of this assessment. And yet from my own travels through the Balkans over the past two decades, I've never found that explanation wholly convincing. How, for example, to reconcile the "centuries of hate" with the historical cosmopolitanism of places like Sarajevo and Belgrade? How to account for the high degree of intermarriage in cities between "enemy" groups like the Muslims and Orthodox Christians? What to make of a man like Radovan Karadzic, the Bosnian Serb

Fearing reprisal, Leka remains "locked" in his apartment.

leader whose genocidal pogroms against Muslims have earned him an indictment for war crimes, but who once routinely treated Muslim patients in his psychiatric practice and, by all accounts, got along with them very well? And how does this theory explain Albania, a corner of the Balkans that, despite its mix of Christians and Muslims, is relatively free of ethnic or religious tensions, but where people still die violently in appalling numbers?

I have come to believe that a key ingredient of the Balkan poison — perhaps the key ingredient — is a different kind of schism, one that largely disappeared from the rest of Europe a half-century ago: that between urban and rural, between village and city. In contrast to all but the most isolated pockets elsewhere in Europe, the gulf of experience between the city and the village in the Balkans represents an awful chasm. The cities of Sarajevo and Belgrade are — or were, until only yesterday — emblems of European sophistication and cultural fusion. The typical Balkan village, on the other hand, has always been a hard and pitiless place, one where ancient feuds are nursed and passed on for generations, where change and outside influence is deeply mistrusted. What's more, so ingrained is the Balkan village's medieval code of honor and loyalty — and this is true for Muslim and Christian villages alike — that even many of those who have escaped its grip and become city dwellers seem to return to its thrall in moments of crisis.

This was true, I think, of Radovan Karadzic, a university-educated psychiatrist — a Modern Man — who grew up in a tiny mountain hamlet so grim and remote that it essentially consisted of his own extended family. Only slightly larger was the home village of Karadzic's military commander — and fellow indicted war criminal — Gen. Ratko Mladic. Indeed, when looking at the backgrounds of those most responsible for the Balkan slaughters of this decade, including both Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic and Croatia's Franjo Tudjman, who died earlier this month, you can't help noticing that all of them came from villages or small towns. When crisis came — and the economic stagnation and political fracturing that befell Yugoslavia in the 1980's was surely a crisis — it was to the primitive laws and passions of the village that these men reverted.

This past autumn, I set out to explore the nature of the Balkan village — its codes and violent means of enforcing them. I chose to avoid the recognized battlefields of Bosnia and Kosovo and to journey instead to a corner of the Balkans that is officially at peace, but where the ancient ethos of the village has now resurfaced to deadly effect: northern Albania. The story of how Shtjefen Lamthi came to die in the streets of Shkoder, of who killed him and why, affords a glimpse into a world where old offenses are never forgotten, where no easy mechanism exists to break a murderous cycle of vengeance.

IN A DIFFERENT PART OF EUROPE, SHKODER WOULD BE A tourist resort. A city of some 80,000 in northernmost Albania, it spreads gracefully over the plains beside Lake Shkoder, surrounded on all sides by rugged mountains. On its southern edge, a great medieval castle overlooks the confluence of the Kiri and Drin Rivers, the country beyond giving over to wheat fields and forest. Rather than a tourist resort, though, Shkoder today is pretty much a ruin, its lake thoroughly polluted, most of its old factories crumbled to dust, the rows of drab high-rise apartments on its outskirts seemingly ready to follow suit. Most of all, Shkoder suffers under the reputation of being one of the most dangerous places in a very dangerous country.

Scott Anderson has written for the magazine about Sarajevo and Chechnya. He is the author most recently of "The Man Who Tried to Save the World."



Testament to the level of violence in Shkoder is that the junior prosecutor assigned to solving Shtjefen Lamthi's murder has trouble recalling much about the crime. At the moment, he is juggling some two dozen criminal cases, almost all of them murders, and the killing of Lamthi in the summer of 1998 is basically ancient history to him, the details growing indistinct.

"It did have one unusual aspect," he finally offered, when I sat and talked with him in a quiet cafe about 100 yards from where the killing took place. "To do it in public like that, with so many witnesses, that is not normal. It means the killer wanted to send a message." As for what that message might be, the prosecutor was unwilling to even hazard a guess.

PHOTOGRAPH BY PAOLO PELLEGRIN/GRAZIA NERI. FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



Preka was best friends with the man who was killed in his house.

On at least two points, there is no dispute: the end of Shtjefen Lamthi came very quickly and was very ugly. Before Lamthi had time to react, he was felled by several shots to the chest; his attacker then stood over him on the sidewalk and emptied the 30-bullet Kalashnikov clip into his body. When the firing finally stopped, the killer calmly slipped the assault rifle into a plastic bag and went on his way.

Brazen even by the standards of Shkoder, the murder in Rus Square seemed to underscore just how deeply a climate of mayhem had taken hold in Albania, and how little Shtjefen's killer had to worry about con-

sequences. When the police arrived at the murder scene, they simply loaded his body for the trip to the morgue, not even bothering to question any potential eyewitnesses to the attack. A young girl who had been wounded in the fusillade of bullets was taken home rather than to a hospital, her parents apparently wanting no association with the event. Even Shtjefen's brothers, who had accompanied him into Shkoder that day, were tight-lipped. When they came to the morgue to collect his body, they professed to have absolutely no idea who might want their brother dead.

"That's how it works in Albania," the junior prosecutor said that afternoon in the cafe. "No one talks."

ALBANIA HAS NEVER REGISTERED VERY HIGH IN THE average American's consciousness — and for good reason. For 40 years following the end of the Second World War, the small mountainous country was hermetically sealed from the outside world by its Communist strongman, Enver Hoxha, its inhabitants existing in an isolation rivaled by only that of North Korea. What news did filter out tended to fit neatly into the "News of the Weird" column: the hundreds of thousands of tiny concrete bunkers — "Hoxha's mushrooms" — being built to repel some phantom foreign invasion; the fact that in the entire country there were only 700 television sets and 400 cars, all in the hands of the state. With the end of Communism, the world saw fleeting images, but they still tended to be odd and decidedly un-European: impoverished Albanians crammed shoulder to shoulder on rusting freighters pulling up on Italian beaches in the early 1990's, gunmen and looters taking to the streets in 1997 after vast pyramid schemes had bankrupted the economy.

For such a small country — roughly the size of Maryland — Albania has very large problems. Along with being the poorest nation in Europe, it suffers the highest infant mortality rate and the lowest life expectancy. With virtually all its Communist-era factories in ruins, it has an unemployment rate well over 30 percent. It is also an environmental disaster zone, without a single waste-treatment plant in operation, and with huge tracts of the countryside now little more than toxic waste sites as a result of Hoxha's reliance on heavy industry.

Two years ago, both the national economy and the government collapsed, and looting was rampant. A special target of the looters was the police and army arsenals conveniently located outside nearly every town, so that Albania was suddenly awash in high-powered weaponry. Ever since, the central government in the capital, Tirana, has struggled to re-establish its legitimacy and some semblance of order.

While that campaign has had some success in Tirana, it has had little in the countryside. With whole towns controlled by heavily-armed smuggling mafias or mini-warlords, and ambushes frequent, travelers race to be off the roads before nightfall. In the northern district of Tropoje, several relief workers have been murdered by bandits, and the humanitarian organization, Doctors Without Borders, has had so many of its vehicles stolen that it has won the local nickname Doctors Without Cars.

The rise of organized and semiorganized crime is not the whole story, however. In fact, it has served to mask a deeper, darker truth about Albania. Communism never actually modernized Albania, but merely put the old ways, the village ways, in a kind of deep freeze — much as Tito did in Yugoslavia following World War II. The collapse of the state and the national economy has led many Albanians to once again openly embrace the traditional laws and loyalties of the village. These are spelled out in the *kanun* (pronounced ka-NOON), a book of rules and oaths. By the dictates of the *kanun* — there are actually several versions, most of which came into being centuries ago — one's primary allegiance is to clan and community, not to the state. In accordance with this allegiance,

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Balkan Blood Feuds

taking revenge in order to defend the honor of one's family is not only permissible but also a sacred duty. Of course, unlike medieval times, now that duty can be carried out with modern weaponry like assault rifles.

The most enduring of the kanuns, and also the most severe, was that formulated by a 15th-century nobleman named Leke Dukagjini. For centuries, the horrifically bloody vendettas sparked by his kanun in the northern mountains of Albania was the stuff of Balkan legend, until the practice was largely stamped out during the country's Communist era. Now, with the flood of weapons into the streets following the 1997 crisis, his edicts have been resurrected to deadly effect, claiming lives all across Albania.

Dukagjini's base of power was a narrow rugged valley in northern Albania that now bears his name; not coincidentally, the Dukagjin Valley was also the original home of Shtjefen Lamthi and of the man who killed him. That man's name is Leka Rrushkadoli, and on Aug. 3, 1998, he stalked Shtjefen through the Rus marketplace to take revenge for an incident that had occurred 13 years earlier in their home village, Thethi, 50 miles northeast of Shkoder. That incident began with an overturned dinner table. But in murdering Shtjefen Lamthi, Leka Rrushkadoli had set into motion one of the trickier tenets of the Dukagjini kanun. By atoning one blood debt he had given birth to a new one. Now it was his family's turn to be hunted, the Lamthi family's turn to take vengeance.

NESTLED IN THE UPPERMOST REACHES of the Dukagjin region, the vale of Thethi is imbued with a mournful kind of beauty, its spectacular setting tinged with a claustrophobic, end-of-the earth feel. Closed on all sides by sheer limestone cliffs of several thousand feet and cut through by a glacial blue river, its 500 or 600 inhabitants — mostly subsistence farmers and shepherds — receive only a few hours of sunlight a day, and for centuries their only way out was the narrow river gorge cutting south into the rest of the Dukagjin Valley. Today, a rugged and rarely used dirt track leads over the mountains to connect Thethi with Shkoder, three hours away.

So isolated and poor was the Dukagjin that the Islamic Ottomans who ruled Albania for 400 years barely bothered with it. As a result its inhabitants, mostly Catholic, lived out an existence little changed from medieval times. And rather than submit to any concepts of Ottoman or Western law, they continued to govern themselves according to the Dukagjini kanun.

At the south end of the Thethi vale is a reminder of the kanun's power, a three-story stone tower known as a *kula*. In old times, the males of a family involved in a blood feud would gather in a *kula* to await a peace settlement or to learn the terms of the vendetta, a wait that could last months or even years. Testament to the frequency of such feuds is that at one time nearly every Dukagjini family had a *kula*. While today most of the *kulas* are gone, the mentality that they represent is not.

At the northern end of the valley, a narrow path leads



ABOVE A street in Tirana. The city was starting to catch up with the rest of the Western world until pyramid schemes ruined the Albanian economy in 1997. **BELOW** Unemployed Tiranese look for day work outside the city.



over open fields to three stone houses. One belongs to Leka Rrushkadoli, the killer of Shtjefen Lamthi. Since the murder, his house has sat empty. Just up the slope from Leka's house is that of his 35-year-old cousin, Martin. Martin and I sat on his stone terrace one afternoon, eating olives and sipping raki, the homemade Albanian version of grappa, as his half-naked children scrambled about in the warm sunshine. But every few moments Martin turned to glance down the path. Caught in the act, he gave an embarrassed smile.

"Even sitting here," he explained, "sometimes it makes me nervous." He grabbed the arm of his youngest child, a 3-year-old boy. "Even this one, he has to worry, because after all this time we still don't know the terms of the blood."

Since the murder in Rus Square, Martin and all the other males of the extended Rrushkadoli family — some 50 just in the Thethi environs — have been "locked," confined to their houses as they wait for the Lamthi's to take their revenge. In that time, Martin has barely left his tiny patch of land; when he does, he always carries his Kalashnikov assault rifle with him. "We are all afraid, just waiting for the peace to be done or. . . ." He glanced down the path again. "Well, if they come for me and I kill them first, then I am free. By the kanun, they can't come for me a second time."

Taking in the limited view from the terrace — a few fields and then the enclosing wall of cliffs — I tried to imagine what it would be like to stare at that, and little else, for more than a year. When I brought this up with Martin, he seemed puzzled. "It's dull," he finally managed, "but I am luckier than most. My relatives in Shkoder, they can't even go outside their houses." Despite a life that amounts to a form of captivity, one in which death may be just around the corner, he has no anger toward Leka. "Leka had to do it to restore the family honor," he said. "He had no choice."

More than a mere set of laws, the kanun of Leke Dukagjini is a meticulous blueprint governing all aspects of communal life, with rules set in place for everything from how to bury the dead and conduct a proper wedding to what happens when one person's bee swarm ventures onto another's property. Even in the settlement of simple disputes, the logic can, at times, be elusive. If, for example, a neighbor's pig is marauding your property, it can be killed so long as it is not wearing a *verze*, or restraining collar; if it is wearing a *verze* — which presumably should have kept it from wandering off in the first place — and you kill it, the pig's owner has to be compensated.

But it is in the area of criminal law where matters become the most exacting — and the most exotic. At its core, the kanun is all about defending one's honor, since "a man who is dishonored is considered dead." While lesser offenses to one's honor can be settled through apologies or gift-giving, higher offenses mandate the taking of blood.

By the dictates of the kanun, a murder is the ultimate affront to a family's honor, the family existing in a limbo state of disgrace, essentially "owned" by the killer, until they "take their blood back" — and the most respectable way to do that is to kill the killer. Of course, once this is done, it means the other family is in disgrace and needs to take its blood back.

If it sounds like a recipe for slaughter, it gets worse. Since the kanun of Leke Dukagjini was not written down until the beginning of this century, its precepts were passed down orally — which meant they mutated. In the original edicts, for example, only the actual murderer was targeted in a "blood," or a kanun-sanctioned vendetta, but those parameters gradually expanded over time to include all his male relatives.

In some villages, certain crimes were judged so heinous that they mandated a 2-for-1 or even 3-for-1 payback. A result was bloods that ranged over entire regions and for generations — the longest reportedly lasted 240 years — and left scores dead. They also had a devastating economic impact. Since a home could never be invaded in order to carry out a blood, the males of an entire extended family on the wrong side of a feud could spend years "locked" inside their houses or kulas.

It was not until the rise of Enver Hoxha and his particularly vicious brand of Communism in 1945 that the cycle of vendetta in northern Albania began to be broken. In his fanatical pursuit of transforming the na-

For the next hour, Leka matter-of-factly explained why he killed Shtjefen Lamthi. 'By the kanun, any of the Lamthis were equal, just so long as one of them paid. I saw Shtjefen first, so he paid.'

tion into a Red beacon, Hoxha immediately set about crushing anyone or anything he deemed counterrevolutionary — and he took special aim at the kanun. In the Dukagjin, the kulas were razed and the authority of village elders subsumed by party commissars. For those caught in possession of a book of kanun, the sentence could be years of hard labor in the prison camps and the banishment of their families to the opposite end of the country. An especially ghoulish end was said to await those found guilty of committing a blood killing; according to folklore, Hoxha ordered the killers to be buried alive in the coffins of their victims.

Not surprisingly, overt adherence to the kanun all but disappeared in the Dukagjin during the long Communist era. But the kanun was not eradicated. It survived quietly, beneath the Communist state, and it was a collision of these two forces — the laws of the village and those of the state — that ultimately set the Lamthis and Rrushkadolis of Thethi at war with each other.

SIX MILES NORTH OF SHKODER IS A GRIM PATCH OF WIND-SWEPT farmland, remarkable only for the rounded tops of a half-dozen old bunkers of the Hoxha era rising out of the earth. Just beyond is a decrepit, three-room farmhouse held together with wood scraps and plastic sheeting. For eight years, this has been home to Shtjefen Lamthi's older brother, Preka Lamthi, his wife, and their three daughters and two sons.

Preka Lamthi, 52, has the unmistakable air of a mean drunk, the sort who can slide from macho joviality to offended rage in a flash — and on the day I visited, Preka had been drinking a lot. As we sat in his dingy living room, he brought out a bottle of homemade raki and filled the shot glasses he had set before us.

He began with a rambling, 15-minute disquisition on the evils of Communism, the horrors inflicted on Albania during Hoxha's rule. Then he suddenly stopped, raised his raki glass and waited until I raised mine. "When the Communists came to Thethi," he said slowly, in broken English, "I was the first person they asked to join the party. I didn't have to join. It was not required." He broke into a mirthless grin. "I joined."

In the next instant, the grin was gone, replaced by anger. "And what do I have for my years of service?" he sneered. "This place. One cow, seven sheep, two pigs. That is all. I swear to you, that is all. That is what serving Hoxha gave me."

In the collective memory of his people, Enver Hoxha lives on as a

malignant ghost. From the end of World War II until his death, in 1985, he ruled Albania with all the capricious cruelty of a Stalin, combined with the paranoid xenophobia of North Korea's Kim Il Sung. For the slightest sign of disobedience to the Great Leader, an Albanian could be denounced as an enemy of the state and sent to one of the country's myriad prison camps; given the all pervasive security apparatus and the handing out of medals to schoolchildren who detected subversive tendencies in their parents, Hoxha was assured a steady supply of victims.

Maintaining this "workers' paradise" required constant vigilance against all taint from the outside. The few Albanians allowed to pos-

ing the dining-room table, one of the gravest insults that can be committed in an Albanian home. When Preka ordered him from the house, Noue instead went for his knife, stabbing Shtjefen six times before being overpowered. Then, either there in the living room or in the corridor leading to the front door, someone stabbed Noue once in the chest. The blow hit his heart and he fell dead.

"It was all a stupid, tragic thing," Preka says, "because Noue was a good friend of mine. But you have to say he brought his end on himself by taking up the knife."

The authorities agreed. At an official inquest into the incident, a tribunal ruled that whoever struck the death blow — it was never determined which of the men in the room stabbed Noue — had acted in self-defense, and the case was dropped.

Dropped but not forgotten. To Noue Rushkadoli's two teenage sons, Leka and Angelo, then 19 and 16 respectively, Preka Lamthi had escaped justice because of his high position in the Communist Party. Even more to the point, he had violated one of the most solemn covenants of the kanun.

"The house of the Albanian belongs to God and the guest" reads the kanun of Dukagjini, and so sacred is this notion of hospitality that a homeowner is expected to lay down his life for

it. For the woman of the house, says the kanun, churlish behavior toward a guest deserves the same punishment as adultery: a cut lock of hair for a first offense, a bullet in the back for a second. There have even been cases of killers finding protection in the homes of their victims, for, as the kanun states, "If a guest enters your house, even though he may be in blood with you, you must say to him, 'Welcome!'"

While Preka Lamthi had clearly failed to maintain these high standards, to Noue Rushkadoli's two sons that wasn't the half of it. By officiating over the death of their father inside the Lamthi house, Preka had committed a crime explicitly listed in Chapter 157 of the kanun as mandating the "fire-torch and ax" punishments: "If someone commits these crimes, he is executed by the village, his family is fined, his house is burned, his trees are cut down, his garden and vineyards are destroyed, and his survivors are expelled from the country with their belongings."

If the Rushkadoli brothers couldn't restore their family's honor so long as Preka was the Communist Party boss in Thethi, they were willing to wait.

In 1988, with Hoxha dead three years and the Communist apparatus in Albania disintegrating, Leka made his first strike. Ambushing Preka in a Thethi lane, he managed to stab him several times before being pulled away. According to Preka, it was his first indication that the Rushkadoli boys considered themselves "in blood" with him.

"And that is not the way of the kanun," he told me. "You must inform the other side immediately that a blood exists. I had gone to their father's funeral, I had shaken their hands, so to attack me years later, this was a violation of the kanun."

Not seriously injured in the attack, Preka declined to press charges against Leka. For the next several years the two families maintained a wary vigil — even as the society around them came apart at the seams.

When Communism finally collapsed in 1991, it was as if Albania had awakened from a 46-year slumber. For the first time, Albanians saw both the cruel hoax they had lived in Hoxha's "paradise," and the comparatively fantastic wealth of their capitalist neighbors. Almost overnight, the face of the country changed. Tens of thousands of young men streamed for the borders, becoming the new "guest labor" of the continent, while mountain villagers who had been barred

'Well, all of us who are related to Leka have guns in our houses, of course, but maybe we also have them buried in the fields for when we are working. ... The situation in Thethi today requires it.'

sess radios or televisions, mostly the party elite, were constantly watched by the secret police; those found to have rigged homemade aerials to pick up transmissions from nearby Italy were sent to the gulags. In the 1970's, even as the horse-drawn cart remained the chief source of transportation in his impoverished nation, the Great Leader embarked on a fantastically expensive project to ring Albania with his reinforced concrete bunkers, not stopping until some half-million of his "mushrooms" dotted the landscape. Perhaps most crucially of all, his rigid control of internal migration ensured that Albania remained a largely village society.

But of course, there is really no such thing as one-man rule; like despots everywhere, Hoxha sat atop a great pyramid of capos, each level of the pyramid lording its power over those below and at the mercy of those above. In the village of Thethi, Hoxha's man was Preka Lamthi.

First recruited into the party as a teenager in the 1960's, Preka steadily rose through the ranks until he was named the secretary general for the Thethi region in the late 1970's. As such, he was one of the most powerful men in the Dukagjin, with virtual life-and-death control over everyone else. To the Rushkadoli family, a clear sign of Preka's omnipotence was what occurred inside his house on the night of Jan. 13, 1985.

Both the Lamthi and Rushkadoli clans had been in the Thethi area for centuries — in fact, given the degree of intermarriage over the years, it was difficult to determine where one family ended and the other began — and one of Preka's closest friends since childhood was a neighbor named Noue Rushkadoli. As men, and as fellow members of the Communist Party, the two frequently got together in the evenings to socialize, which usually meant playing cards over glasses of raki. So was the plan on the night of Jan. 13, 1985, when Noue dropped by the Lamthi house in Thethi; already gathered in the living room was Preka, his younger brother, Shtjefen, and two or three other men. While accounts differ on specifics, all agree that a lot of drinking ensued.

"For a time," Preka recalled, "everything was fine, all having a good time. But then Noue lost his temper over something — and he had a bad temper when drinking."

According to Preka, the argument culminated in Noue's overturn-



ABOVE Culture clashes in Shkoder, where the Lamthi-Rrushkadoli feud flared up. **BELOW** A policeman guards seized stolen cars. Before they were recovered, they were sold in an open-air market.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY PAOLO PELLEGRIN/GRAZIA NERI, FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Balkan Blood Feuds

from moving in Hoxha's day poured down into Tirana and the coastal towns. With land ownership and free enterprise having been banned for nearly a half-century, everywhere a mad scramble was on to stake a claim or start a business.

Amid the tumult, backwaters like Thethi quickly emptied out — and among the first to leave that isolated village was the Lamthi family. By late 1992, nearly all the extended clan, including Preka and his five brothers, had gone over the mountains to resettle on the wind-swept plains north of Shkoder.

If no longer enjoying the relative privilege they had known with Preka as party boss in Thethi, the six Lamthi brothers were at least able to get by on their Shkoder farmsteads. Gradually, with the Albanian economy coming to life under a succession of nominally democratic governments, they could even afford a few simple pleasures: radios, televisions, a battered old Mercedes for running errands into town. As for the old blood feud with the Rrushkadolis, most of the brothers barely gave it a thought.

"We would watch if someone approached the house," Preka said, "maybe look around a bit when we went into town, but nothing more than that. It was a new time, so those things were over."

Life slowly improved for the Rrushkadoli boys, too. In 1996, they also abandoned Thethi, moving together into a small apartment on a back street of Shkoder. If the living quarters were cramped — both Leka and Angelo were now married — they were earning enough from short-term jobs to keep things together and at least imagine a better future. The feud with the Lamthis, now living six miles away, seemed all but forgotten to Leka and Angelo as well.

For all, the brighter future ended very abruptly in early 1997, when Albania was felled by one of the most outlandish financial swindles the world has ever seen.

By the mid-1990's, so-called investment banks had begun popping up in Albania and promising remarkable returns on client's deposits, often 200 percent to 300 percent annually. With little understanding of how capitalism actually worked, and with the Albanian government doing little to monitor the banks, Albanians began selling everything they had to cash in on the gold rush. As the deposits grew, so did the competition among the "banks"; by late 1996, several were advertising returns of 40 percent per month.

In truth, the investment opportunities were nothing more than pyramid schemes, and when they started to collapse in February 1997, Albania exploded into violence. The riots seemed to release a collective rage that had been held back since Hoxha's time, and the mobs turned their wrath on any symbol of authority they could find: police barracks, town halls, even the old state-run factories. They also turned their attention to the weapons arsenals that Hoxha had built outside almost every town. By the time the government was brought down and more than 6,000 mostly Italian peacekeeping troops arrived in April of that year, Albania had been transformed into

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ALBANIA

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a very scary place; there were now an estimated 650,000 modern weapons, mostly Kalashnikov assault rifles, in the hands of people largely ungoverned, destitute and steeped in the notions of blood and vengeance.

One person that the collapse deeply affected was Leka Rrushkadoli. Now 35 and unemployed with a young son to care for, he seemed to remember suddenly his old blood feud from the Dukagjin. Buying a Kalashnikov assault rifle in the Shkoder market, he set out to find one of the Lamthi brothers. The first one to cross his path, on the early afternoon of Aug. 3, 1998, was Shtjefen.

Of course, the 1997 crash had also profoundly altered the Lamthi family's lot in

life, leaving them little incentive to ignore the "in blood" demands placed on them by the kanun for the murder of one of their own.

LLESH PRELA CLEARLY subscribes to the best-defense-is-a-good-offense theory. A "cousin" of Leka Rrushkadoli, in the elastic way that term is used in the Dukagjin, the 71-year-old shepherd has made a number of preparations around his little stone house in the back reaches of Thethi should one of the Lamthis come calling. When asked what those preparations consist of, the elfin old man smiled mischievously.

"Well," he said through an interpreter, "all of us who are related to Leka have guns in our houses, of course, but maybe we also have them buried in the fields for when we are

working. Maybe some of us have grenades, even rocket launchers. The situation in Thethi today requires it."

For seven months after the killing of Shtjefen Lamthi, Llesh Prela never left his property. He now feels emboldened enough to venture a little farther afield, usually to visit with other Rrushkadoli relatives in Thethi who are similarly "locked." With evident amusement he told of a cousin who lived in Canada for 10 years, but who returned to Albania the previous summer.

"Bad luck," he laughed, "because now he is locked, too."

The Lamthi-Rrushkadoli blood feud is, in fact, just one of two currently taking place in Thethi. The other is so bizarre that Mark Shyti, a wizened man who

fixed his age at "about 80," can barely bring himself to speak of it. "It is within one family," he whispered with incredulity, "one set of cousins against another. This is something I've never heard of before, against everything in the kanun."

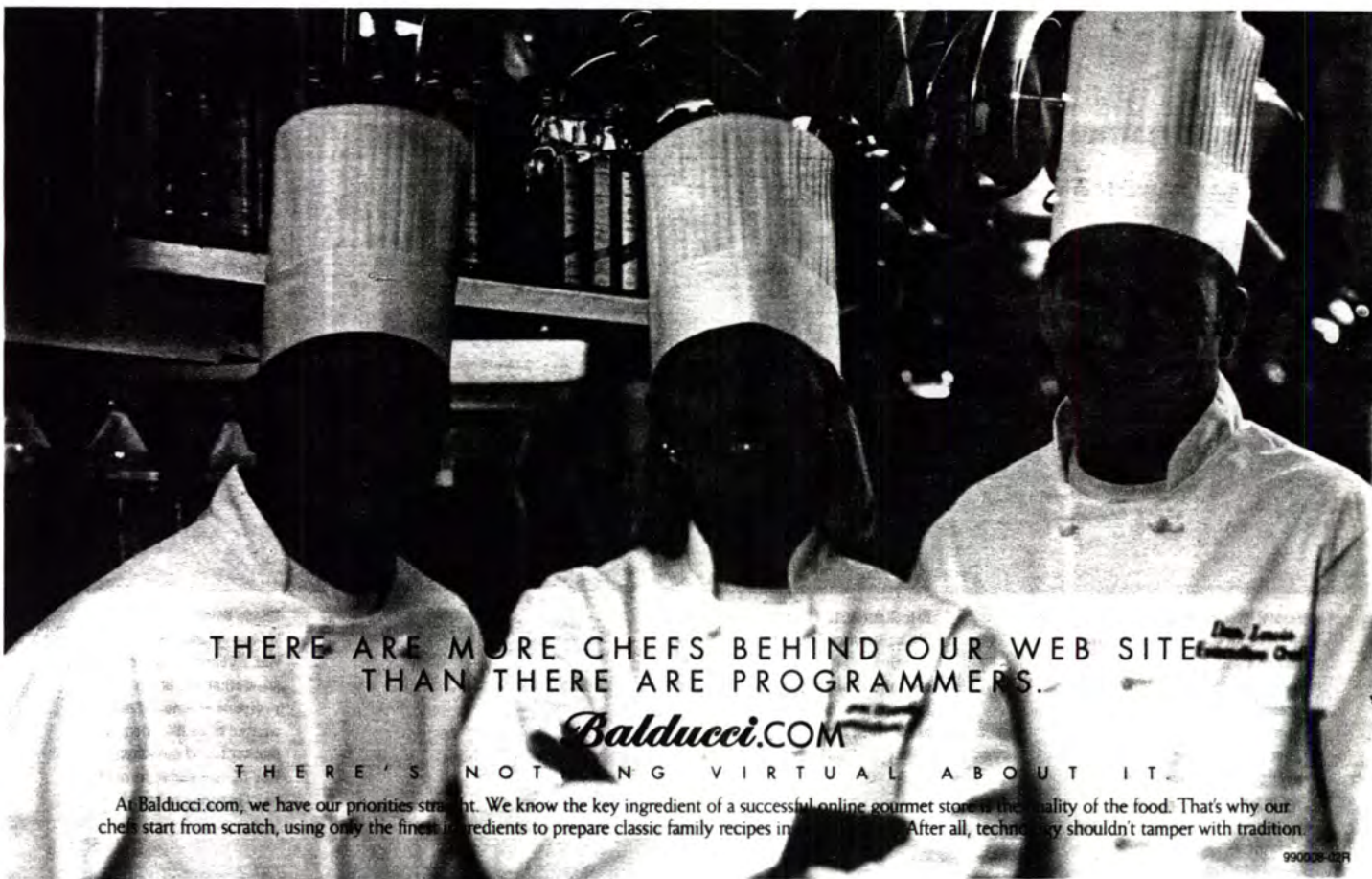
This blood is such a disgrace and blot on Thethi's reputation that the old man became fretful at the mere suggestion of my meeting the family. "But these people are very low," he said, "not worthy of being spoken to. It could cause problems for you." The implication was that my own status as a privileged guest in the valley would suffer should I pursue the matter.

As a lifelong resident of the Dukagjin, Shyti has tremendous experience with bloods; he estimated that, in this region of some 13,000 inhabitants, there

have been at least 200 blood killings in his lifetime. "Very many when I was young," he said, "then very few during the dictatorship. Now it has come back again, and new ones are starting all the time."

As one of the elders of Thethi, Shyti is occasionally called upon to mediate in local disputes and, with luck, forge a peaceful resolution. He also represents a vital bridge over the Hoxha interregnum, drawing on his knowledge of earlier bloods to set precedents — and limits — for those occurring now. Late into one night, we sat with half a dozen other men in the living room of his son's home as he described noteworthy bloods of the past and their legalistic peculiarities. The conversation eventually turned to a very recent in-

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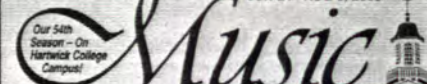


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when all the guns came out in the '97 crisis, that's when the killing really started. The big problem now is a lack of government, so it keeps spreading. Before, the Dukagjini kanun was only in the north, but since '97 you are seeing it in Tirana, in the south, even in other countries."

According to Emin Spahia and others, there have been several cases of Albanian émigrés in the United States and Western Europe being killed as a result of homeland feuds; there have also been cases of émigrés returning to Albania in order to take revenge.

By coincidence, the headquarters of the All-Nation Reconciliation Mission — a windowless second-floor cubicle donated by a local merchant — is a mere 40 feet from the spot where Leka Rushkadoli gunned down Shtjefen Lamthi. That blood feud is one that Spahia and his mediators have been trying to end. Over the past year, the general secretary has paid a number of visits to the Lamthis on their farmsteads north of town, as well as to many of the Rushkadolis who are "locked" in Shkoder.

"I'm optimistic about ending this one," Emin Spahia said, "because the Lamthis seem ready to negotiate. The big obstacle, though, is Leka. His relatives are still too nervous to arrange a meeting with him, and until we speak, it's very difficult to negotiate a peace."

When I mentioned that I'd heard Leka was living as a fugitive in the hills above Thethi, Spahia smiled. "Yes," he said, "that is what families like to say in these situations, but it is possible that he is still here in Shkoder."

That night an intermediary with extensive contacts in the "locked" community of Shkoder led a rambling tour through the town's deserted back streets. It turned out that Shkoder's "locked" inhabitants, estimated to number about 1,500, maintain an informal network among themselves; after knocking on the doors of half a dozen homes, and staring down the barrels of several guns, we were directed to an address near downtown. After a brief discussion with a woman at the building's entrance, we were told to come back in the morning, that someone who might know Leka's whereabouts would meet with us.

THE METAL DOOR OPENED A FEW INCHES, AND A heavily-built man quickly looked me up and down. I noticed he had worried eyes and was very pale. After a moment, he pushed the door open and ushered me inside, into a tiny living room adorned with old family photographs and Catholic icons. As we sat, the man continued to study me, seeming both timid and wary. "I am Leka," he said finally.

A few minutes later, we were joined by Angelo, Leka's younger brother. He, too, was very pale, but he had used his 14 months of house imprisonment to learn rudimentary English from a textbook.

For the next hour, Leka matter-of-factly explained why he killed Shtjefen Lamthi, starting with how his father came to die in Preka's house 13 years before. Interestingly, his account of that first death differed very little from Preka's, and he readily acknowledged that his father had escalated

the argument by going for his knife. When I suggested that this act made his father more culpable in the tragedy, and the Lamthis less so, Leka simply shrugged.

"That doesn't matter in the kanun," he replied. "By the kanun, the very worst crime is to kill someone inside your house, no matter the circumstances or how it started."

"That's right," Angelo chimed in. "For this, the Lamthis should have left Thethi. By the kanun, Preka should have been executed, his house destroyed and all his family made to leave the valley and never show their faces again."

Leka nodded. "But we didn't ask for that. All we wanted was for Preka to come to us and ask for our forgiveness. But he was the big party boss for the district, he knew he couldn't be touched, so he treated it like nothing. For 13 years we waited for him to come to us, and finally I could not wait any longer."

Throughout the brothers' tale ran a deep current of animosity for Preka. For Shtjefen, on the other hand, there seemed no rancor and even a measure of sympathy; after all, both Leka and Angelo recognized that he was the first victim in

ANSWERS TO PUZZLES

OF DECEMBER 19, 1999

HADJIS	CRUSADE	BATHED
AMOEBA	BANANAS	UNRULY
WITHINGENUITY	ANDGUILLE	
SHUDDER	LOA	OGRESS
EYE	GLENN	TEY
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INVENTIVENESS	ANDFLAIR	
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ABLARE	Eocene	ONEIDAS
KEANU	CHRON	ETNA RIA
JHIDMYHOARDS	SOSLYLYLL	
TARP	IAN	POSY ELEM
ANDA	ERE	MAIZE NALDI
ALL	CARNE	ANI
GRANDE	ORT	ABETTED
BEBLESSED	IFIKNOWWHERE	
ORIENT	DENUDES	TIARAS
WISETO	ADELINE	STROBE

(ANNIE) DILLARD, AN AMERICAN CHILDHOOD — How ... gracious is the straight ... girl. She spreads before her friend a gift-wrapped, beribboned gag line he can claim for his own, if only he will pick it up instead of pausing to contemplate what a nitwit he's talking to.

- | | |
|---------------|---------------|
| A. Dogfish | N. Ishtar |
| B. Ibn Saud | O. Creep |
| C. Litotes | P. Apothegm |
| D. "Laugh-In" | Q. N.C. Wyeth |
| E. Attila | R. Coffey |
| F. Run along | S. "Howl" |
| G. Donner | T. Ipswich |
| H. Atlantis | U. Lowlife |
| I. Newspeak | V. Dirt bike |
| J. Agrippa | W. Harper |
| K. Mince | X. Obie |
| L. Egg white | Y. Offish |
| M. Rossetti | Z. Dingbat |

NOTE: 1-Across in this week's diagramless puzzle begins in the eighth square of the top row.

the whole case, stabbed by their drunken, knife-wielding father. It prompted me to ask an obvious question.

"Rather than kill Shtjefen, why didn't you wait for the chance to kill Preka?"

Leka pondered. "But it made no difference," he said eventually. "By the kanun, any of the Lamthis were equal, just so long as one of them paid. I saw Shtjefen first, so he paid."

What the Rushkadoli brothers wanted now was a peace settlement with the Lamthis so that they could venture out their apartment door and return to the world. The score has been evened at one death apiece and, as Emin Spahia had earlier pointed out to me, it is always easier to broker peace when the score is tied. Except this blood feud doesn't quite have a tie score, as Angelo reminded his brother: "There is still the time you stabbed Preka in Thethi."

"That's right," Leka conceded. "That will have to be negotiated."

LATER, WHEN I TOLD EMIN SPAHIA of my meeting with Leka, he was pleased. "This means he is trusting now," Spahia said, "maybe even a bit desperate for it all to end. I'm very confident that we will have a peace here very soon."

He may be right, but I can't say I share his confidence. I remember sitting across from Preka Lamthi, his look of feigned amazement when I asked about the ongoing blood feud between him and the Rushkadolis.

"Blood? But we have no blood with them. That is all in the past now."

At that, his two grown sons had exchanged sly glances and smirked.

I also remember what the Rushkadoli brothers said as I left them. Perhaps emboldened by the presence of a visitor, they had stepped across their apartment threshold to stand on the landing and gaze out at the sunlit street.

"The Lamthis should give us peace now," Angelo said, "because technically they still owe us. We are not asking for anything more but, by the terms of the kanun, for killing our father inside their house, they owe us three deaths."

"That's right," Leka had nodded, blinking furiously against the sunlight he had barely glimpsed in 14 months. "Three of theirs." ■

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-03-00

December 30, 1999

Dear Mr. President,

I know this is very late in the process of working on your remarks for your midnight speech on New Year's. But I wanted to pass on to you four ideas I thought you might find useful. At different times in the past, Terry and I have discussed most of these.

1. The first is a way for you to emphasize the spirit of optimism and purpose that would set a strong tone for your remarks. You used it in 1994, in the UCLA commencement, but it is even more appropriate for tomorrow night (and I am sure no one will reach back to 1994 to imply that you have said this already). The line is:

"When our memories outweigh our dreams, we become old. And it is the eternal destiny of America to remain forever young."

Without belaboring this, the entire celebration that will precede your speech (especially the Spielberg film) -- and certainly the buildup of the last few months -- will have focused people somewhat nostalgically on the past, especially the triumphs and challenges of the great 20th Century. That is very appropriate, but your challenge as President is as much to rekindle the inspiration and the commitment about the journey that lies ahead as it is to celebrate the past. A line like this one tells the story of the nation and, indeed, the world's challenges in terms of the way people think about their own lives. And it has an uplifting quality that helps provide the inspirational tone this crucial moment deserves.

2. There are two ideas that are references you might use to put your lasting brand on this moment of reflection about the future.

- A. You could use your wonderful phrase "the Age of Possibility," which so perfectly sums up the era in which we are living and the way that you want people to perceive our times.
- B. If you talk about the Information Age, you might refer to the hope that we can make the "Information Age into a New Age of Enlightenment, a time in which people do not simply know more, but in which they understand the world and one another better."

3. Finally, you might reinforce for people that we enter this new moment in history with our "faith" renewed, faith in ourselves as individuals, in ourselves as a nation, in ourselves as a community throughout the world, and -- at the root of all these -- faith in the belief that our efforts in this world are part of a larger mission that goes far, far beyond only ourselves. I think this idea of faith is very important to people at this moment, and it is an idea that you are the right person to hold out to the world.

I'm sorry for flinging this all at you so late. I am working on, as usual, a somewhat belated memo for you about the State of the Union, which will contain some of these thoughts in greater detail and which I will send to you through Terry next week. In the meantime, I know that, as you always do, you will touch people deeply at this important moment. And I wish you a very happy New Year.

Yours,

Don Baer

Should we send to
Berkhardt for repl

NOTE -
HE USED IN
THE LINE IN
RECOMMENDED
IN THIS SPEECH
AT THE LINCOLN
MEMORIAL

NO. 679 P. 2

DEC. 30, 1999 4:37PM

*All the
mayors who support
us should be
in line*

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Cc: NH
BMC
E. Bisulco

December 30, 1999

The Honorable Thomas M. Menino
Mayor of Boston
Boston, Massachusetts 02201

Dear Tom:

Happy 57th Birthday! Hillary and I
send our very best wishes for health
and happiness in the coming year.

Sincerely,

P. W.

*copied
K. Henneich
B. Currie
E. Bisulco*

NOV 23 1999

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 23, 1999

RECOMMENDED PHONE CALL

TO: Thomas M. Menino, Mayor of Boston, MA
617/ 635-3151 (O) (Contact: Chief of Staff Julie Burns)
617/361-6364 (H)

DATE: December 27, 1999

RECOMMENDED BY: ✓ Mickey Ibarra, Director of Intergovernmental Affairs

PURPOSE: To wish Mayor Tom Menino a happy birthday.

BACKGROUND: Tom Menino was born on December 27, 1942. Tom and his wife Angela have two adult children, Susan and Thomas, Jr. Mayor Menino has four grandchildren (three girls and a boy). His daughter Susan gave birth to twins last August. The Mayor will be working on his 57th birthday.

The Mayor will welcome the Millennium on City Hall Plaza. Boston's Millennium celebration is America's oldest New Year's Eve celebration. This year they are planning a large and elaborate production.

Mr. Menino was first elected Mayor of Boston on November 2, 1993, winning 64 percent of the vote and 18 of the city's 22 wards. He was re-elected to a second term without opposition in November 1997. Mayor Menino has made education, jobs, economic development and public safety his top priorities. Under his leadership, Boston launched a community policing effort that has brought crime to its lowest point in 30 years and a juvenile crime prevention strategy that has been hailed as a model for the nation.

TALKING POINTS: Happy birthday! I understand you will be working on your birthday. I hope you find time to enjoy yourself.

How was Christmas? I hope you had a wonderful time with your

02201

family and specially your grandchildren.

I understand Boston's "First Night Celebration" is going to be terrific. Are you ready for it?

Thank you for your continued support. You have been a friend throughout the years and I appreciate your loyalty.

Again, have a happy birthday and a wonderful New Year!

STAFF CONTACT:

Mickey Ibarra (6-7060)

Democrat

To Tony Lake
with
Anthony Lake

Irish-Americans
Endorse
Gore

The Honorable Anthony Lake
605 Candy Court
Annapolis, Maryland 21401

CLINTON

IRISH AMERICAN

PRESIDENT OF THE CENTURY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
12-30-79

Tony Lake

Buffalo, New York

The Irish American Democrat
Vol. 3, No 1, Spring 1999

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Cover photo: Buffalo, Courtesy of the Buffalo News

Irish American Democrats support President Clinton and Democratic candidates who promote peace, justice and prosperity in Ireland. "Always Irish, always American, always Democrat."

Shame on You, Jack Quinn!

President Clinton is the best friend Ireland ever had in the White House. But in his hour of greatest need, Representative Jack Quinn of Buffalo, New York, who rose to power claiming to be a friend of Ireland, deserted him. This is an unforgivable offense for which Irish American Democrats (IAD) vow he must suffer the political consequences in November 2000.

Representative Jack Quinn had a unique opportunity to join with the President in securing peace in Ireland because for the first time in Irish American history he had the power to forge a united front on Ireland between Congress and a dedicated President in the White House. This would have presented a formidable obstacle to efforts by anti-peace forces to delay or halt the Good Friday Agreement.

Instead of seizing this historic opportunity, he chose to succumb to the narrow demands of the conservative elements in his party and traded his leverage in the Irish peace process for short-term party political gains by voting to impeach the President.

The mission of Irish American Democrats, therefore, is to ensure that the overwhelmingly Democratic Irish American state of New York will replace Congressman Quinn with a faithful Democrat who will proudly carry the torch for Ireland so courageously lit by President Clinton in 1992.

Stella O'Leary
President



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-3-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 13, 1999

39 1000000000
Copied
Lane
Spelling
Podesta

Sam
Ayer
R

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NEAL LANE *neal*

SUBJECT: Workforce of the 21st Century

This memo responds to your request of this afternoon concerning workforce issues and the S&T initiative. The proposed S&T initiative increases funding for NSF to encourage new strategic partnerships among higher education, the K-12 sector, federal agencies, private industry, informal science education providers, and state and local governments to create a coherent and coordinated approach to workforce issues. NSF is uniquely positioned to form the vital linkages that will ensure that all Americans have the opportunity to participate in the 21st century workforce.

The S&T initiative helps ensure continued U.S. leadership in the global economy by focusing on three key workforce issues:

- (1) *Strengthening University-Based Research.* The tight weave of research and education that exists in our research universities has served the nation exceptionally well. It provides new knowledge and new scientists and engineers ready to contribute to all sectors of the economy. The S&T initiative's funding increases for university-based research will improve S&T education by investing in people, their ideas, and the tools they use to enhance our understanding of how humans learn.
- (2) *Enhancing Science & Technology Educational Performance.* By pursuing new strategies for enriching S&T education at all levels, we can balance long-and short-term efforts to develop the next generation of experts who can lead science and mathematics reform. We must provide training to teachers not yet prepared to deliver standards-based education to our children – the workforce of the 21st Century. Included in the S&T initiative will be funding for digital libraries that will provide ready access to the highest quality educational materials, pedagogy, and research on learning, and will enhance the quality of graduate, undergraduate, K-12, and public science education.
- (3) *Broadening Participation within the Science and Technology Community.* We need greater focus on underserved institutions, population groups, and geographic areas. Non-Hispanic white males, who have traditionally supplied a large fraction of United States scientists and engineers, are projected to form a significantly decreasing portion of the population. A strong S&T workforce requires all U.S. citizens to participate at increasing rates. For too many of our citizens, however, inadequate preparation in K-12 math and science limits their ability to participate. The S&T initiative will support programs such as Advanced Technological Education (ATE), which supports collaborations of industry with secondary school and community college systems. The curricula in these programs are designed to educate students for either work in the industry upon completion of the two-year Associate degree or transfer to a four-year college. ATE is a very important gateway for women, minorities, and people with disabilities entering the S&T workforce.

LIZ ROBBINS ASSOCIATES

441 New Jersey Ave., SE
Washington, D.C. 20003
202/544-6093
Fax: 202/544-1465

Washington Representatives
E-Mail: robassoc@crois.com

2211 Broadway
New York, NY 10024
212/580-2308
Fax: 212/580-8048

To: Betty Currie

5 pages
including
cover

Loved talking to you -
happiest interview!

Here's what Paul forced me
to get to the President ASAP.

1-3-00

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes ☒
No ☐

XXO,
Liz

Copy given
to Potus

C.

PAUL NEWMAN

William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, DC 20502

January 1, 2000

Dear Mr. President,

First, may I wish you, Hillary, and Chelsea a great Twenty First Century and thanks for all you've done to make it so.

Second, I want to recommend something for your legacy and to be included in your budget. Specifically, certain of the laws incentivizing charitable behavior haven't been updated in decades and need to be. The income limit - - 50% of adjusted gross income (A.G.I.) - above which individuals can't get a tax deduction for charity, hasn't been updated since it was established and means that some of us pay tax on money we're giving away.

And for those giving stock, the limit is only 30% of A.G.I. Now for all those about to be "dot com millionaires" who are being compensated with lots of stock and very small salaries, there might not be much of a tax incentive unless we raise the limit. I agree with what Peter Hart said at your wonderful conference on philanthropy; we must work hard to get the new economy to participate philanthropically. Incentivizing its entrepreneurs to give when it's easier (i.e. of their founders stock) could make for some fabulous paydays for so many worthy causes.

Finally, the 10% A.G.I. limit on a tax deduction for corporate giving hasn't been raised since Senator Kennedy did so in 1981. My goal in recently establishing the *Committee to Encourage Corporate Philanthropy* is to increase corporate giving; this would help. And clearly, the time to raise the limit would be before we do make some headway with corporate America and some green eye shade type estimates that raising this bar would be prohibitively costly to the Treasury.

I met with Secretary Rubin and Senator Moynihan about this last year. Senator Moynihan talked to Chairman Roth and other colleagues about it and consequently, an increase in all these limits was included in the so-called bipartisan tax bill that passed the Senate last year.

I hope you can start the ball rolling this year and fashion something along these lines for your budget. I would like to just eliminate the limits altogether, but significantly raising the ceilings would be a good start as well as a good outcome from your White House conference. Most hopefully, it would help perpetuate all your good works.

Hoping it would help your staff draft something for you, I've attached a page describing the current restrictions on tax deductions for charitable giving and a chart describing both the Senate passed provisions easing these and their cost estimates

Sorry for the rushed note. I wanted to write you before your budget was finalized.

Every good wish to you and the next Senator,

Very Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Anthony Davis". The signature is stylized with a large, sweeping loop at the top and a long, horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Attachments

Percentage Limitations on Charitable Deductions

Existing tax law places limits on the percentage of an individual or corporation's income that can be offset with deductions for charitable contributions. For individuals, deductions for charitable contributions to churches, governments, educational organizations and public charities are generally limited to 50% of adjusted gross income. Deductions for gifts to private foundations and for gifts of appreciated property are subject to more stringent limitations (30% AGI). For corporations, deductions for charitable contributions are limited to 10% of taxable income. Contributions in excess of the percentage limitations may be carried forward for only five years.

These percentage limitations can impose severe burdens on individuals or corporations who choose to give substantial percentages of their income to charity, which makes it extremely difficult for them to do so. For example, an individual or corporation that gives all of its income to charity must liquidate other assets in order to pay the tax on income that cannot be offset by the charitable deduction.

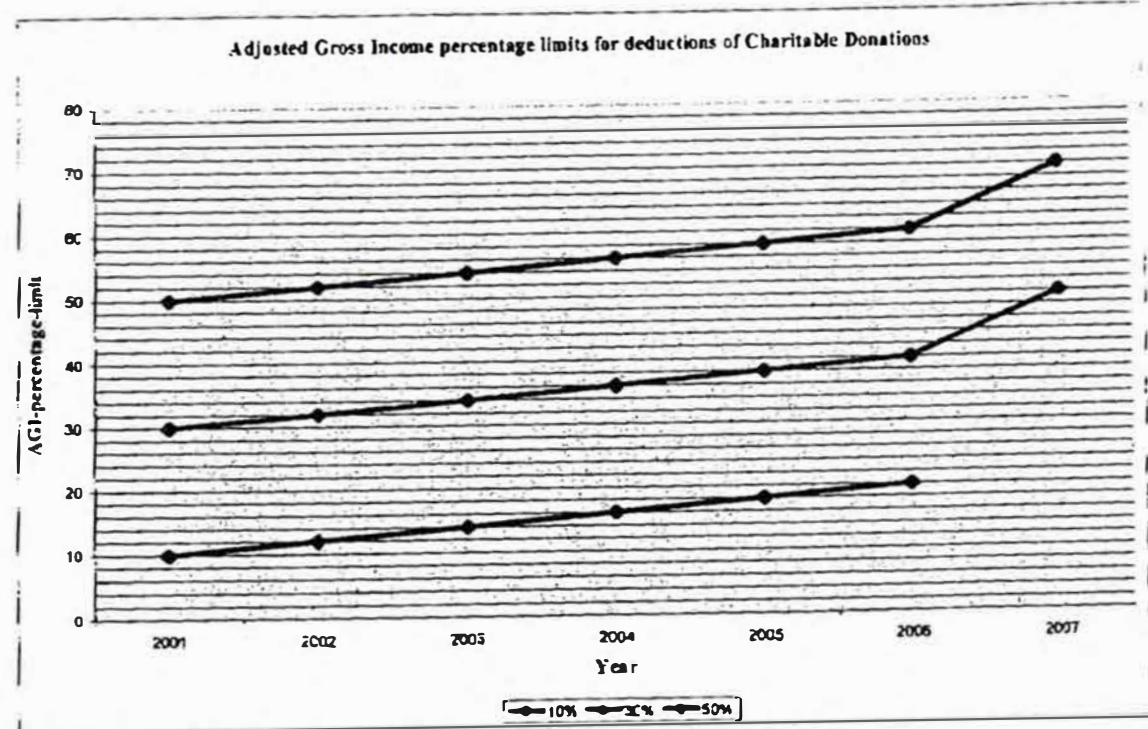
Congress has not looked seriously at these percentage limitations for many years. The 50% limitation on individuals has not been reviewed in depth since Congress worked on the Tax Reform Act of 1969, and the 10% limitation on corporations has not been addressed since it was increased to its present level in the Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981.

Congress should consider increasing or eliminating these limitations. With the increased emphasis on the role of the nonprofit sector in solving many of the nation's problems, it is poor policy for the tax law to discourage individuals or businesses from donating substantial percentages of their income to charity.

NEWMAN'S VERY OWN PROVISION IN CHAIRMAN ROTH'S TAX BILL

Section VIII G

- A. Beginning in 2002, increase the limit for deductions for corporate charitable donations by 2% annually until the 10% limit reaches 20%.
- B. Beginning in 2002, increase AGI percentage limits for deductions of charitable donations by 2% annually until the 30%-of-AGI limit reaches 40% in 2006 and then jumps to 50% in 2007.
(To the extent a taxpayer has not exceeded the 50-percent limitation, contributions of cash to private foundations and certain other nonprofit organizations and contributions of capital gain property to public charities generally may be deducted up to 30 percent of the taxpayer's AGI.)
- C. Beginning in 2002, increase AGI percentage limits for deductions of charitable donations by 2% annually until the 50%-of-AGI limit reaches 60% in 2006 and then jumps to 70% in 2007.



Cost Estimates

Millions of \$\$	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	Total
A. 10%-of-AGI limit	15	34	40	41	42	43	45	47	89	307	703
B. 30%-of-AGI limit	-	-	-	-	673*	-	-	-	-	-	1200
C. 50%-of-AGI limit	-	-	-	-	700	-	-	-	-	-	2511**

- * The cumulative 5 year cost of the 30%-and-50%-AGI-limit was \$1.373 billion. Thus, the \$673 million was calculated by subtracting the cumulative cost of 50%-AGI-limit alone from the total cost.
- ** Similarly, the cumulative 10 year cost of the 30%-and-50%-AGI-limit was \$3.711 billion. Thus, the \$2.511 billion was calculated by subtracting the cumulative cost of 30%-AGI-limit alone from the total cost.



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Harvey and Bernice Jones
Eye Institute

December 21, 1999

President Bill Clinton
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

Re: Lloyd R. George

I am writing to request that you grant a Presidential Pardon to
Lloyd R. George.

As you know, I have known Lloyd George for 20 years since my
arrival in Arkansas in 1979 as the Chancellor of the University of
Arkansas for Medical Sciences. Without question, he and
Representative John Miller served as the major leadership in the
Arkansas House of Representatives during this entire time. I
worked closely with Rep. George on virtually hundreds of issues
involving health care programs, educational programs and research
efforts. The changes that have occurred at UAMS and at Arkansas
Children's Hospital are largely a reflection of his legislative
leadership and enthusiastic support. He always demonstrated a
deep commitment for the betterment of our citizens. He was
unsparing of his time and energy and, in my judgment, our State is
remarkably stronger because of his leadership.

I have visited with him frequently since he resigned from the House
of Representatives. I know he is sincerely sorry for the
transgression that occurred. In view of his many contributions to
our State, I urge you to remove his name from the Federal Felon
List by granting a pardon to him.

My very best regards,

Harry P. Ward, M.D.
Chancellor

Send to Beukhardt?

Yes

No

1-3-00

C



Embassy of the United States of America
Bern, Switzerland

December 26, 1999

Office of the Ambassador

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. President; Dear Bill,

I wanted to write to you to once
sincere, heartfelt thanks for your con
in the position as U.S. Ambassador to
the path was not smooth with Senator G
appreciate your help in breaking that

Stephanie, the children and I arr
about a month ago and it has been a we
ever since. I have been very involved
pushing the agenda for the Joint Econo
proposed by Vice President Gore and th
Dreifuss of Switzerland. Our first me
successful and took place in Washington D.C. just ten days
after I arrived. The next meeting will be in Davos at the
World Economic Forum at the end of January.

Speaking of Davos, I hope the overall conference will
be further enhanced by your own presence, as I hear you are
considering attending. For the Swiss, and their pro-
American new President, having you once again on their soil
will be a fantastic honor and a good reason for them to
keep helping us in the Balkans and in Partnership for
Peace.

Having now gone through the whole process, two things
strike me. First, the general level of talent in the State
Department is very impressive. Secondly, having studied
everything I could about the issues, the culture, and all
else that matters in just one country -- Switzerland, my
regard for your total command of the global arena has
increased even further - if that was possible.

Thru
stuff security

1-3-00

NSC

To ~~Bush~~ for reply?

Yes ☒ No ☐

if necessary

~~Coordinate with NSC?~~

~~Yes ☐ No ☐~~

B.



Embassy of the United States of America
Bern, Switzerland

December 26, 1999

Office of the Ambassador

THU
STUFF
SECRET
100-4188

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. President; Dear Bill,

I wanted to write to you to once again express my most sincere, heartfelt thanks for your confidence in placing me in the position as U.S. Ambassador to Switzerland. I know the path was not smooth with Senator Grassley and I much appreciate your help in breaking that logjam as well.

Stephanie, the children and I arrived in the country about a month ago and it has been a wonderful whirlwind ever since. I have been very involved in creating and pushing the agenda for the Joint Economic Commission first proposed by Vice President Gore and then-President Ruth Dreifuss of Switzerland. Our first meeting was quite successful and took place in Washington D.C. just ten days after I arrived. The next meeting will be in Davos at the World Economic Forum at the end of January.

Speaking of Davos, I hope the overall conference will be further enhanced by your own presence, as I hear you are considering attending. For the Swiss, and their pro-American new President, having you once again on their soil will be a fantastic honor and a good reason for them to keep helping us in the Balkans and in Partnership for Peace.

Having now gone through the whole process, two things strike me. First, the general level of talent in the State Department is very impressive. Secondly, having studied everything I could about the issues, the culture, and all else that matters in just one country -- Switzerland, my regard for your total command of the global arena has increased even further - if that was possible.

When I was back in Washington for the JEC meeting, I spent time with the Baczkos. Joe and Kathy relayed some of the discussions he and you have had about "life after the Presidency" and a possible linkup with Georgetown. I told Joe that I would help out if he needs me, assuming, of course, that's your desire.

During the holiday season, when one reflects on life and its blessings, I wanted you to know how fortunate I feel to be your friend. You have, in the most positive way, impacted my own and my family's lives. We will be forever grateful.

Best of the holiday season to you, Hillary, and Chelsea. Tell Hillary I have given to her campaign and wish her the best of luck.

Your friend,

Wich

Palace of Gold & Light

Treasures from the
Topkapi; Istanbul

The Corcoran Gallery of Art
Washington, DC
March 1 - June 15, 2000

The San Diego Museum of Art
July 14 - September 24, 2000

The Museum of Art
Fort Lauderdale, Florida
October 15, 2000 - January 14, 2001

President William Jeffersor
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

As you may be aware, I ha
organizing the exhibition,
extraordinary Exhibition,
2000, is the most importa
of that importance, Presic
great friendship between our two nations.

In view of the importance of the Exhibition, the Government of Turkey has made a one-time exception to its policies and advised United States defense contractors that they may satisfy their offset obligations by financially supporting the Palace Arts Foundation's work on this project. (See attached letter from Turkish Government.) Determined to counter the devastating psychological and economic impact of the recent earthquakes, the Turkish Government looks to the success of this project as an important part of its effort to re-instill pride and confidence in its people's future.

While offset has never been a favored practice from the perspective of U.S. interests, when agreed to by defense contractors, offset obligations are legally binding, contractual commitments. Further, U.S. policy grants the President of the United States standing authority to make certain exceptions to our offset policy, when it serves the U.S. national interests. Here, not only are the obligations of U.S. firms clear, but also it would directly advance our interests to encourage American contractors to meet their current, lawful offset obligations to the Turkish Government through contributions to the Palace Arts Foundation. Since such contributions will ensure the great success of the Exhibition, the beneficiary of that success will be American-Turkish relations. Accordingly, we and our Turkish friends would be most grateful if you would inform the Department of Defense that the success of this Exhibition is in the interests of U.S.-Turkish relations and that U.S. contractors be instructed to consider supporting this project by taking appropriate steps in connection with their existing contractual obligations.

If you or your staff have any questions regarding this project, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely

Richard C. Barkley

Richard C. Barkley
Chairman, Palace Arts Foundation

Palace Arts Foundation, Inc. 1000 Vermont Ave., N.W., Suite 450 Washington, D.C. 20005
T: (202)408-5700 F: (202)408-7677 e-mail: info@palacearts.org website: www.palacearts.org
Ambassador Richard C. Barkley (ret.), Chairman Dr. Mark A. Epstein, President
Prof. Walter B. Denny, UMass., Amherst, Senior Advisor Dr. Tülay Artan (İberkay), Sabancı Univ., Curator

Send to ~~Backhand~~ NSC
Yes ☒
No ☐

1/3/00

erthy.
3:25

Carol

| *

Palace of Gold & Light

Treasures from the
Topkapi, Istanbul

The Corcoran Gallery of Art
Washington, DC
March 1 - June 15, 2000

The San Diego Museum of Art
July 14 - September 24, 2000

The Museum of Art
Fort Lauderdale, Florida
October 15, 2000 - January 14, 2001

December 28, 1999

Thru Staff Secretary.
00 JAN 3 2000

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

Dear Mr. President:

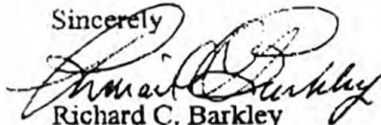
As you may be aware, I have the honor of serving as Chairman of the Palace Arts Foundation, which is organizing the exhibition, *Palace of Gold & Light: Treasures from the Topkapi, Istanbul*. This extraordinary Exhibition, which will open at the Corcoran Gallery of Art in Washington on March 1, 2000, is the most important cultural exchange ever to occur with the Republic of Turkey. In recognition of that importance, President Suleyman Demirel has identified this Exhibition as a central marker of the great friendship between our two nations. (See President Demirel's letter, attached.)

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Prof. Walter B. Denny, UMass., Amherst, Senior Advisor Dr. Tülay Artan (Ikerkay), Sabanci Univ., Curator



The President

Ankara, 8 October 1998

Dear Ambassador Barkley,

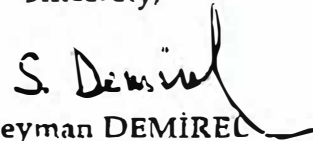
It was indeed a pleasure for me to meet you and Dr. Epstein and listen to your project regarding the Topkapı Exhibit in the US.

Activities of this sort are a perfect conduit in presenting the Ottoman/Turkish culture and society to the American people. I am confident that your ardent efforts and meticulous planning will render the exhibit a major success. The Turkish government stands ready to assist you in planning the said exhibit.

I should also like to advise you that promotion of Turkey through cultural events has increasingly been receiving support from Turkish as well as American business circles. You might, therefore, find this increased awareness, especially on the part of Turkish private sector, as a suitable source for sponsors. I encourage Turkish and American business communities to support your commendable project.

Thanking you for your personal efforts in further developing Turkish-American relations, I wish you success in all your endeavours

Sincerely,


Süleyman DEMİREL

Ambassador Richard C. Barkley, ret.
Chairman
Palace Arts Foundation, Inc.
100 Vermont Avenue NW, Suite 450
Washington, DC 20005
USA

The Corcoran Gallery of Art
Washington, DC
March 1 - June 15, 2000

The San Diego Museum of Art
July 14 - September 24, 2000

The Museum of Art
Fort Lauderdale, Florida
October 15, 2000 - January 14, 2001

Treasures from the
Topkapi, Istanbul

FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL

DECEMBER 28, 1999

TO: PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON FAX: (202) 456-6703

FROM: MR. TERRY MCAULIFFE

RE: PALACE ARTS FOUNDATION "PALACE OF GOLD & LIGHT" EXHIBIT

NUMBER OF PAGES: 3

Palace Arts Foundation, Inc. 1000 Vermont Ave., N.W., Suite 450 Washington, D.C. 20005
T: (202)408-5700 F: (202)408-7677 e-mail: info@palacearts.org website: www.palacearts.org
Ambassador Richard C. Barkley (ret.), Chairman Dr. Mark A. Epstein, President
Prof. Walter B. Denny, UMass., Amherst, Senior Advisor Dr. Tülay Artan (Berkay), Sabanci Univ., Curator

Do I have -
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cc: gift unit
w/all pages

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 3, 2000

John and Kathy Spotts
809 West Barton
West Memphis, Arkansas 72301

Dear John and Kathy:

Thank you for the terrific frog -- I love it!
You were kind to think of me.

Happy New Year.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

WHITE HOUSE GIFT REGISTER

GIFT INTENDED FOR

President ☒

Both/All ☐

First Lady ☐

Chelsea ☐

DONOR INFORMATION

Name: John & Kathy Spotts

Address: 809 W. Barton

West Memphis, AR 72301 Phone: _____

PRESENTATION

Date: _____ Event: Christmas

Handed to President ☐ Other Method ☐

Gift Description: Singing Cloth Frog

Send Gift and Register to OEOB, Room 457 x7133

\$ cc: his letter
to Paul

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

copied
Personal file

January 3, 2000

The Honorable Charles M. Harris
District Court of Appeal
Fifth District
300 South Beach Street
Daytona Beach, Florida 32114

Dear Charles:

Your letter meant a great deal to me. I am so pleased to know that Paul is considering public service in some part due to my own career. I hope you'll encourage him -- we need more fine people like him out there working hard for the American people. Please tell him I said hello.

I miss Harold, too. What a generous, humorous, and devoted person he truly was.

Happy New Year.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton



JOHN ANTONIO II
CHIEF JUDGE

JAMES C. DAUKSCH, JR.

WARREN H. COBB

WINIFRED J. SHARP

GILBERT S. GOSHORN, JR.

CHARLES M. HARRIS

EARLE W. PETERSON, JR.

JACQUELINE R. GRIFFIN

EMERSON R. THOMPSON, JR.

JUDGES

FRANK J. HABERSHAW

CLERK

TY W. BERDEAUX

MARSHAL

DISTRICT COURT OF APPEAL

FIFTH DISTRICT

300 SOUTH BEACH STREET

DAYTONA BEACH, FLORIDA 32114

(904) 947-1500-COURT

(904) 255-8600-CLERK

4b

President Bill Clinton
Attn: Nancy Hernreich
Director of Oval Office Operations
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

We are privileged to have had a mutual friend. I grew up in Piggott and have known Harold Jinks for as long as I can remember. Harold was instrumental in my being able to attend Arkansas Boys' State in 1952. On my trips back to Piggott, Harold would tell me about this great governor who was going to be President. Later, he would talk about this great President who was once the governor. Since I grew up without a father, Harold became my role model. I miss him.

My son was privileged to serve in the White House as an intern the semester he attended Georgetown. He recounted to us the time you shared his birthday cake and talked to him about the privilege of serving the public and the responsibilities that go with public service. He was greatly impressed with how hard you worked and described how at various functions, long after the press had left, you would continue to talk to and encourage those remaining.

Paul was selected to be one of the representatives from Volusia County at the recent Democratic State Conference. He was privileged to be seated directly in front of you when you gave your speech. He was gratified when you approached him after your speech and recognized him from his intern days.

Paul is an outstanding young man. He is now attending Cambridge, perhaps as close to Oxford as one can get. He is considering public service and I'm convinced that if he chooses that career, he will bring honor to whatever position he attains. If he does choose to enter public service, it will be in no small part because of the admiration and respect that he has for you.

Thank you for the kindness you've shown my son.

Sincerely,

Charles M. Harris

FAX NUMBER (904) 947-1562

E MAIL ADDRESS 5dca@flcourts.org

Bill (get
them? & not
send to us
cc: gift unit
w/all pages

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Copied
Came

January 3, 2000

Harry Barone and Family
186 Lakeside Boulevard
Oakland, New Jersey 07436

Dear Harry:

Thanks for the terrific cigars. You were kind
to think of me.

Happy New Year to you and your family.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

WHITE HOUSE GIFT REGISTER

GIFT INTENDED FOR

President

☐

Both/All

☐

First Lady

☐

Chelsea

☐

DONOR INFORMATION

Name:

Harry

Henry Barone + family

Address:

186 Lakeside Blvd.

Phone:

Oakland, NJ 07436

PRESENTATION

Date:

12.22-99

Event:

Handed to President

☐

Other Method

☐

Gift Description:

Box (12) Fuente Cigars - Hemingway

Send Gift and Register to OEOB, Room 457 x67133

per fin
ce his letter
to Taylor Branch
JSPB
Walpole quote
in Mountain

WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1/3/00

Copied
Personal file
Root incoming
Branch
Blumenthal

Paul Root
1075 Phelps Circle
Arkadelphia, Arkansas 71923

Dear Paul:

Thank you for your good letter. I appreciate
all your kind words.

I, too, am proud that the optimistic feelings I
had for our country in the early days of my
political career were not unwarranted. I
remain very positive about the direction we've
taken -- because I think the years ahead are
full of promise due in part to what we've been
able to accomplish these last seven years.

I loved the Walpole quote, and I think you're
right.

Hope to see you and Mary in March. Give Nancy
a call when you know your schedule.

Sincerely,

Bill

1075 Phelps Circle
Arkadelphia, AR 71923
December 14, 1999

EB

Bill Clinton, President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

I recently received a call from a friend in Indiana. He was laughing as he said, "You told me when Clinton was running that he would introduce high, idealistic ideas; his foes would explain for a year or two why they would not work; and one day you would notice that they had been accomplished." I was reminded of an article I recently read titled "GOP Held Firm, But Lost the War of 1999." He suggests:

1. Democrats appear to have the edge in the 2000 congressional elections
2. More teachers in smaller classrooms
3. More policemen
4. U.N. arrears
5. Environmental riders
6. Foreign aid

All of these areas are clear victories for you.

I have been amazed at the coverage and the speculation concerning the next election. I heard a group discussing the election recently. After analyzing all the candidates, they agreed that if you were eligible to run again, you could win.

I just watched you on CNN showing the job growth since you came into office. The followup they did on the kinds of new jobs was very positive. Income is rising faster than inflation. More Americans are now working than ever before.

I well remember the early speeches in Arkansas as you explained how this could happen. I believed you knew what you were explaining was possible, but I must admit that I am surprised as much by the continued boom as I was by the cutting of the deficit so quickly.

I have a book published in Canada in 1973, "The World's Great Speeches in History." A speech is included that was made in Parliament in 1741 by Sir Robert Walpole:

I will not conceal my sentiments that to be named
in Parliament as a subject of inquiry is to me a

subject of great concern. I have the satisfaction, however, to reflect that the impression to be made depends upon the consistency of the charge and the motives of the prosecutors.

He continues to point out that in spite of great opposition, the interests of the nation have been pursued and the economy has flourished.

The interesting point is that Walpole died in 1745 and his ideas and accomplishments are still being read and discussed. There is no mention of the people who prosecuted him. They, apparently, have been forgotten.

We missed your news conference on the 8th of December but I read your comment about nations and people harming themselves by bad policies or decisions. You have made no policy decisions that have harmed the United States. That will be clearer as time passes.

I am looking at the "Democrat-Gazette" headline stating: "Clinton sees library as 'Beacon of Hope,' a place to train young people in public policy and send them out into society to advance the goals of good jobs for all, a clean environment and an end to ethnic and other hatreds." That is an extremely high goal, but you have already made inroads in that direction. The normal operation of a presidential library in Arkansas will bring us prestige and prosperity, but the graduate policy school will make us a center for change--worldwide.

I am so pleased that you are working on specific helps for the Delta and Rodney Slater's role there is significant and very satisfying for those of us who count him as a friend.

Mary and I will return to D.C. in late March. You may be in New York. Hillary will need your help but I am sure she can win. I hope we have the opportunity to visit with you.

Things are going well with us. We expect a good Christmas. I directed a Christmas cantata in the Sunday morning (Dec. 12) at Third Street Baptist here in Arkadelphia. That is Gary Turner's church. I believe you spoke at the dedication of their sanctuary.

Thanks for doing what you said you would do as president: Maintain prosperity, bring down the deficit, improve race relations and improve international relations. Thanks.

Hope to see you in March.

Sincerely,

Saul Root

per fin
ce his lotto
to Taylor Penn
JEB
SPS get
Walpole funds
in mountains

plus fin
ce lui loto
to Taylor Pears
J&B
SPS get
Walpole funds
in minutes

1075 Phelps Circle
Arkadelphia, AR 71923
December 14, 1999

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Bill Clinton, President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

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