

Final 1/17/00 8:45 p.m.
Glastris

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-18-00

'00 JAN 17 PM9:13

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
REMARKS ON GUN ENFORCEMENT
ORCHARD GARDENS COMMUNITY CENTER
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

January 18, 1999

MLK

Copied
Speechwriters

1-18-00

Acknowledgments: Sen. Ted Kennedy; Rep.
Frank Capuano
John Joseph Moakley; Mayor Thomas Menino; AG
Janet Reno; Treasury Undersec. Jim Johnson; ATF
Director Brad Buckles; U.S. Attorney Don Stern;
Orchards Garden Com. Cen. Director Lynn Jackson
Boston PD Detective Lisa Holmes;

(Paul Evans, Boston Police Commissioner)
(Jerry Flynn, Int'l Brotherhood of Police Officers)
Listening to Detective Holmes, I am reminded of Tom NEE, Nat'l Assoc. of Police Organizational

NY Boston

how far America has come in the last seven years,
both in reducing crime and in freeing our minds of
some old mental blocks about how to fight crime.

When I first became President, many people thought
the crime rate was fated to rise forever.

And Washington was locked in the old debate about whether we needed more crime prevention or tougher prosecution of criminals. To me, that was always a false choice. Ever since my days as Arkansas Attorney General more than 20 years ago, it seemed to me common sense that we needed more of both if we truly wanted to roll back crime.

Also Q → What role of fed govt → in fed purj
fed \$ → Fed purj

As President, I have worked hard to provide federal, state and local authorities with tools to do more of both. In 1993 we passed the Brady law, which has kept nearly half-a-million felons, fugitives and domestic abusers from buying firearms.

In 1994 we passed an historic crime bill, which has funded over 100,000 additional community police officers around the country—~~including~~ ~~right here~~ ~~in Boston~~. We also toughened penalties, passed the assault weapons ban, cracked down on illegal gun dealing to young people, and kept an eye out for the most innovative and successful local crime-fighting strategies, like Operation Ceasefire here in Boston, so that we could help other communities do what works.

These and other efforts have truly transformed America. Nationwide, the overall crime rate has dropped every year for seven years—the longest continuous decline in crime on record.

The murder rate is at its lowest level in 31 years.

Gun crime has fallen 35 percent. The number of juveniles committing homicide with guns is down 57 percent.

Meanwhile, gun prosecutions are up at all levels of government—from local to state to federal.

~~Today, I am pleased to announce that~~ Federal firearms prosecutions are higher today than in 1992, ~~and are~~ up 25 percent since 1998. And those convicted of federal gun crimes are serving longer sentences. This stepped-up level of enforcement sends an unambiguous message to criminals: if you violate our gun laws, you will pay a severe price.

1-18-60

No city has sent that message more clearly than Boston. But your success sends another message as well--that this is not simply a numbers game. You have shown that to reduce crime the most, prosecutions must be targeted where they will have the greatest impact--in Boston's case, on violent repeat offenders and on the gun traffickers who supply them. You have also shown that this must be a team effort, based on close partnerships among local agencies, ^{Citizen's Union} the local community, and the federal government.

You have made Boston one of the safest big cities in America. Now, we must take the lessons of Boston ^{to achieve a big goal for 21st C Am: to} ~~and~~ make America the safest big country in the world. I am pleased to announce five new initiatives to do just that.

First, the budget I will submit next month calls for hiring 500 new ATF agents and inspectors—part of the largest increase in the ATF firearms enforcement budget ever. These new agents and inspectors will help us crack down on violent gun criminals, illegal gun traffickers, and bad-apple dealers who supply guns to criminals and juveniles.

Second, my budget adds a thousand new federal, state and local prosecutors to help take dangerous gun criminals out of our communities and put them where they belong: behind bars.

Third, to strengthen the hand of prosecutors, my budget invests more in the ATF's national gun tracing center, and supplies local law enforcement agencies with the tools they need to utilize the center, from computers to training. With these new investments, it will be possible to trace the origin of every gun used in a crime in America.

Fourth, my budget will create a groundbreaking national ballistics network that will eventually enable us to trace almost any bullet left at a crime scene anywhere in America to the gun of the criminal who fired it.

Fifth, my budget provides local communities with grants to run the same kind of anti-gun-violence media campaigns that have been such an important part of the successful strategy used to reduce gun crime here in Boston, in Richmond, VA, and other cities.

1-18-00

Together, these efforts represent the largest national gun enforcement initiative in history. They will help communities across America push violent crime rates down further by cracking down harder on gun criminals. I ask Congress to support them.

But I also say to Congress: let's start this new century by abandoning another stale debate from the last century, about whether it's better to strengthen gun laws or enforce the laws now on the books. The fact is, we have to do both. That's what we have ^{to do} done, from the Brady law ^{to} increased gun prosecutions. The result has been a major drop in the crime rate. I'm determined to do more of both to bring the crime rate down even further.

1-18-00

Last year, Congress listened to the gun lobby rather than the American people, and gave up a chance to require Brady background checks at gun ~~shows~~ shows, child safety locks for all new handguns, and a ban on importing large-capacity ammunition clips. Passing this common-sense gun safety legislation should be the very first action of this Congress. We must do all we can to enforce our gun laws. But Congress must do its part, too, to make sure the laws we enforce are not riddled with loopholes.

The gun industry must also take more responsibility, and change the way it designs, markets and distributes firearms.

I know that there are responsible people in the gun industry who want to find new ways to make sure that the guns they sell don't end up in the wrong hands. I want us to work together to do that.

Part of the answer may be new technologies that could reduce firearms accidents. The accidental gun death rate of children under 15 is nine times higher in the U.S. than in 25 other industrialized nations combined. This is unacceptable. Technologies now exist that could lead to guns that can only be fired by the adults who own them. My budget helps the gun industry accelerate development of these smart guns.

In 1968, in his last campaign, Robert Kennedy said the fight against crime "is a fight to preserve that quality of community which is at the root of our greatness." Today, here in Boston, and across America, we are winning that fight. If, in this new century, we keep fighting to preserve that quality of community Robert Kennedy talked about, I have no doubt that America's greatest days are yet to come.

Thank you and God bless you.



**RealAccess
ALLIANCE**

Building Owners and
Managers Association
International

Institute of Real Estate
Management

International Council
of Shopping Centers

Manufactured Housing
Institute

National Apartment
Association

National Association
of Home Builders

National Association
of Industrial and
Office Properties

National Association
of Real Estate
Investment Trusts

National Association
of Realtors

National Multi Housing
Council

The Real Estate
Roundtable

1-18-00

J To Burkhardt for reply?

I Yes ☒ No ☐

Thru
Staff
Secretake

00 JAN 18 PM 5:43

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cess Alliance, representing our
ate industry, are writing to express
stand is now under consideration by
building owners, as a condition to
low the federal government to set the
communications companies could

We believe such an order is
unnecessary and counterproductive to advancing the worthy goal of creating
opportunities for a broader range of Americans to "plug in" to the information
superhighway, while seriously eroding the Constitutional rights of property
owners. In our view, such an executive order would only interfere in what is
currently a healthy marketplace for telecommunications access to buildings--as
evinced by the telecommunications companies themselves, who regularly
promote their access to thousands of buildings nationwide in premium markets.

The Alliance represents the interests of over 1 million members among 11 real
estate trade associations who support free market opportunities to negotiate with
telecommunications providers for safe, dependable services in buildings on behalf
of their tenants.

We strongly believe that any such mandate is unwarranted given the evidence that
competitive market forces are working and building owners are moving quickly to
offer the most advanced telecommunication services to their tenants. In today's
competitive marketplace, property owners understand that the availability of
advanced telecommunication services is a critical feature in attracting new tenants
or retaining existing ones. Many real estate companies have entered into
agreements with multiple telecommunication providers to offer their tenants a
wide range of telecommunication services including local and long distance
phone service, high speed internet access, and state-of-the-art video and data
transmission. The telecommunications industry agrees: for example, on December
21, 1999, Teligent, a proponent of forced access, issued a press release in which
its Chairman and Chief Executive Officer Alex J. Mandl announced that in just 14
months Teligent had "established a national service area that covers about 40
percent of the business customers in the United States. By any measure, this is an
extraordinary achievement." Other companies cite similar success.

We are doing our part to extend the benefits of a competitive telecommunications
marketplace to all Americans as expeditiously as possible. We do not, however,
believe it is necessary or appropriate to subject building owners to unprecedented
federal intervention in their business relationships with large, highly profitable
(often multi-national) telecommunications companies. The contemplated
executive order would effectively require building owners to relinquish valuable



Real Access ALLIANCE

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of Home Builders

National Association
of Industrial and
Office Properties

National Association
of Real Estate
Investment Trusts

National Association
of Realtors

National Multi Housing
Council

The Real Estate
Roundtable

January 12, 2000

Dear Mr. President:

The undersigned organizations of the Real Access Alliance, representing our nation's commercial and multi-family real estate industry, are writing to express our opposition to an executive order we understand is now under consideration by the Administration. That order would require building owners, as a condition to leasing space to the federal government, to allow the federal government to set the terms and conditions whereby third-party telecommunications companies could access and use the building owner's property. We believe such an order is unnecessary and counterproductive to advancing the worthy goal of creating opportunities for a broader range of Americans to "plug in" to the information superhighway, while seriously eroding the Constitutional rights of property owners. In our view, such an executive order would only interfere in what is currently a healthy marketplace for telecommunications access to buildings--as evinced by the telecommunications companies themselves, who regularly promote their access to thousands of buildings nationwide in premium markets.

The Alliance represents the interests of over 1 million members among 11 real estate trade associations who support free market opportunities to negotiate with telecommunications providers for safe, dependable services in buildings on behalf of their tenants.

We strongly believe that any such mandate is unwarranted given the evidence that competitive market forces are working and building owners are moving quickly to offer the most advanced telecommunication services to their tenants. In today's competitive marketplace, property owners understand that the availability of advanced telecommunication services is a critical feature in attracting new tenants or retaining existing ones. Many real estate companies have entered into agreements with multiple telecommunication providers to offer their tenants a wide range of telecommunication services including local and long distance phone service, high speed internet access, and state-of-the-art video and data transmission. The telecommunications industry agrees: for example, on December 21, 1999, Teligent, a proponent of forced access, issued a press release in which its Chairman and Chief Executive Officer Alex J. Mandl announced that in just 14 months Teligent had "established a national service area that covers about 40 percent of the business customers in the United States. By any measure, this is an extraordinary achievement." Other companies cite similar success.

We are doing our part to extend the benefits of a competitive telecommunications marketplace to all Americans as expeditiously as possible. We do not, however, believe it is necessary or appropriate to subject building owners to unprecedented federal intervention in their business relationships with large, highly profitable (often multi-national) telecommunications companies. The contemplated executive order would effectively require building owners to relinquish valuable

*Thru
Staff
Secretary*

00 JAN 18 PM 5:43

building space to these for-profit telecommunications providers without the opportunity to seek market-rate compensation. The space involved is significant: it involves the use of very limited space not just on the rooftop, but also in the walls, "risers," basement, and closets that all telecommunications providers (including fixed "wireless" providers) must use to install equipment and wiring to connect to tenants inside the building. This space not only is extremely limited, but also is subject to a host of federal, state and local fire, safety, health and aesthetic rules for which the building owner is liable.

We also hope that you will give serious consideration to the executive order's potential to increase federal leasing costs which will ultimately be borne by the taxpayer. The General Services Administration (GSA) has previously expressed concern about similar proposals on the grounds that such a mandate could result in increased rental costs. GSA understands that if the conditions to leasing space to the federal government become unreasonably burdensome, leasing rates will inevitably reflect the cost of those burdens to property owners. Increased rates will be borne by the federal government and, therefore, ultimately, the taxpayers--effectively creating a new tax to subsidize the telecommunications providers.

We, therefore, respectfully request that you reject calls for the issuance of this executive order which would, in our view, amount to nothing short of "forced access" to our members' property. At the very least, further consideration of this proposed executive action should be deferred until the marketplace has had a chance to act.

Sincerely,

Building Owners and Managers Association International

Institute of Real Estate Management

International Council of Shopping Centers

Manufactured Housing Institute

National Association of Home Builders

National Apartment Association

National Association of Industrial and Office Properties

National Association of Realtors

National Association of Real Estate Investment Trusts

National Multi-Housing Council

Real Estate Roundtable

W 1/13/00

List

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.
455 EAST 51ST STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

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00 JAN 18 AM 11:08

Dear

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referring to FDR or to TR. I

incline to the TR school. See the

attached letter - forgive the inept
copying.

Faithfully yours,

Am

The President of the United States

Send to Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒No ☐

See Nancy's note

(attach PJTK essay on Roosevelt)

Br BC 5/6

letter, Holmes wrote that he was "much
pleased" with a review of his book, *Col-
lected Legal Papers*, which appeared in
THE NEW REPUBLIC on February 2, 1921.

JAMES A. PROZZI
Allison Park, Pennsylvania

5067499

Eugene

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.
455 EAST 51ST STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022

*Sui
fy - Bx*

9 December 1999

Dear Mr President:

Needless to say, I rejoiced in your designation of FDR as Man (Person?) of the Century. I trust that the soothsayers of TIME will have the good sense to follow suit.

With regard to the Justice Holmes story, you will be interested to know that there is scholarly dispute as to whether Holmes was referring to FDR or to TR. I incline to the TR school. See the attached letter - forgive the inept copying.

Faithfully yours,

Arthur

The President of the United States

JAN - 7 2000

WS 1/13/00

List

00 JAN 18 AM 11:08

Franklin & Theodore

Jacob Weisberg cited his recent article on Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan ("Moynihan," June 7) by stating that Moynihan's analysis of himself is "the reverse of FDR, whom Oliver Wendell Holmes famously called 'a second-class mind but a first-class temperament.'" However, a minor historical dispute has arisen about whether Justice Holmes was actually referring to Theodore Roosevelt rather than to FDR.

It is not disputed that Holmes spoke words to this effect to his law clerk, Donald Hiss (brother of Alger) and to Thomas Corcoran after a visit by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt to Holmes's home on March 8, 1933. According to Geoffrey Ward in his book on Franklin Roosevelt, *A First-Class Temperament* (1989), after Roosevelt left, Holmes said to Hiss, "You know, his [cousin] Ted appointed me to the court." Hiss replied, "Yes, Mr. Justice." Holmes then said, "A second-class intellect. But a first-class temperament." Ward's opinion about the subject of Holmes's statement is obvious.

However, both Gary Aichele, in *Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.—Soldier, Scholar, Judge* (1989), and Judge Richard A. Posner, in *The Essential Holmes* (1992), point out that Holmes knew little about FDR in comparison to Theodore Roosevelt, with whom Holmes met socially on many occasions after Holmes's Supreme Court appointment by T.R. Thus, both authors take the view that Holmes was referring to T.R. Posner notes that "many letters" of Holmes make this point clear.

Both Holmes books quote an excerpt from Holmes's letter about T.R. to his friend Sir Frederick Pollock, written after T.R.'s death. In a letter dated February 9, 1921, Holmes said: "He was very likable, a big figure, a rather ordinary intellect, with extraordinary gifts, a shrewd and I think pretty unscrupulous politician. He played all his cards—if not more. RIP." Posner notes that Holmes's letter to Pollock may not have made the

point about T.R. as "pithily" as it was made on March 8, 1933, but it was the same opinion.

Incidentally, at the end of the Pollock letter, Holmes wrote that he was "much pleased" with a review of his book, *Collected Legal Papers*, which appeared in THE NEW REPUBLIC on February 2, 1921.

JAMES A. PROZZI

Allison Park, Pennsylvania

New Republic

5 July 1993

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

00 JAN 18 PM 1:23

January 14, 2000

The Honorable William Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

I wanted to take this opportunity to say what a pleasure it has been to work for you as a Special Assistant to the President in the Office of Intergovernmental Affairs. In that capacity, I have served as liaison between the Administration and local elected officials around the country.

Prior to joining the White House staff, I worked for Baltimore Mayor Kurt L. Schmoke, as his Deputy Chief of Staff. Mayor Schmoke, just as so many of the other mayors, truly admire you and believe that you have been the greatest President for this country. I sincerely hope that my work here has helped build your legacy.

I will be leaving the White House to accept a position in the Department of Housing and Urban Development as Deputy Assistant Secretary for Community Empowerment. This appointment will allow me to continue as a member of the Clinton-Gore Administration and to work on important programs to which you and the Vice President are committed, New Markets and Empowerment Zones.

Thank you for this once in a lifetime experience!

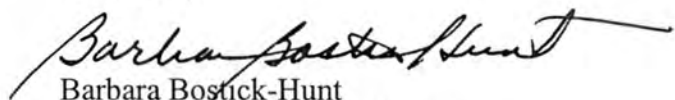
1-18-00
Send to Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒

No ☐

DB

Very Truly,



Barbara Bostick-Hunt
Special Assistant to the President

To Betty
Curry
personal &
confidential



FOR NATIVE AMERICANS COALITION
STAND UP

thru
Staff
Secretary

Dear President Clinton:

Jan 16, 2000

Congratulations on flexing your Presidential Eco Muscle in protecting our awesome Grand Canyon! Although you have done more than most Presidents in recent times, I understand your visit to the Lakotas has yielded little change. Hope your bold move for Mother Earth will give you confidence to do that for Mother Earth's Guardians.

In celebrating Martin Luther King and the progress of the Blacks, please flex your Humanistic Muscle for our First Americans, whose contributions to our quality of life in this Millennium are incomparable. Aren't they our MVP's?

From the heart,

Suzy Chaffee, exec director

Alden Naranjo-S.Ute, Norman Lopez-Ute Mt, Mark Mary-boy-Navajo, Tom Red Bear-desc Crazy Horse, Tom Harve-Cherokee, NVF's Ambass Cheyenne Ross Anderson, Telluride's: Jack Chrysler, Rabbi Michael Saftler, Loey Ringquist, Jill Dew, maitreya, Chief Marshal Kolar, Aspen: Jonas Weil-Museum, David Marlow (Architectural Digest), Steamboat's: Billy Kidd, Advisors: Roland McCook-N Ute Chairman, Bill Koch, Phil Jackson, Rick Bard-Manhattan Mag., Princess Carolina Murat (desc Napoleon), Wisdomkeepers: Lakota-Wallace Black Elk and Standing Elk, Oren Lyons & Warren Skye-Iroquois, Grandfather Martin-Hopi, Winnona LaDuke-Anashanabe, "Honor the Earth", John Nelson-1st Nations of Canada, Jesus Aguilar Reyes (Eagle King), rep of the most ancient culture of the Americas, the Tolteca

1-18-00

Send to Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒

No ☐

DB

~~PROPOSED~~ COALITION FAMILY - *being formed* ✓ (means on team)

STARS

Kevin Costner
 Martin Brando
 Daniel Day Lewis
 Dustin Hoffman
 Woody Harrelson
 Patrick Wayne
 Chief Dan George

Chuck Norris, Chief Apesanhkwat
 Cardinal Michael Grey Eyes

PRODUCERS

✓ Clint Eastwood
 ✓ Michael Douglas

Robert Redford
 ✓ Goldie Hawn
 ✓ Sean Connery
 ✓ Keith Carradine, Darryl Hannah
 Winona Ryder
 Paul, Joanne, Scott Newman Foundation
 Graham Greene
 Floyd Red Crow Westerman
 Gary Farmer, Litefoot
 George Schlatter
 Oliver Stone
 David Wolper

Steven Siegel
 Val Kilmer
 Lindsey Wagner
 ✓ Valerie Harper, Joy Bahar
 Heather Locklear-Lumbee
 Elizabeth Mathison & Harrison Ford
 Wes Studi
 Russell Means, Tantoo
 Adam Beach, Sherman Alexie
 Frank Marshal & Kathleen Kennedy
 Steve Binder
 Ray Stark

MUSIC STARS

Cher, Johnny Cash
 ✓ Paul LaRoche "We the People"
 George Harrison

John Trudell
 Walela, Ulali
 Shania Twain, Mary Wilson
 Jackson Brown, Michael Murphy

Wayne Newton-Cherokee
 Buffy St Marie, Rita Coolidge
 Willy Nelson
 Kenny Loggins
 John Denver (family)

ATHLETES Nick Lawry- "Native Visions"- NFL & NBA Players giving sports clinics & mentoring at reservations

✓ John Nabor- Prez of Olympic Alumni Association- Exchanges at reservations (6,000 Alumni-500 Nations)
 Muhammad Ali
 Carl Malone, Kareem Abdul Jabbar
 ✓ Phil Jackson, Michael Jordan
 ✓ Manley Begay- Navajo skier-Harvard's JFK Center of NA Econ Develop
 ✓ Billy Kidd
 Larry & Diana Mahan (Cowboy King & Olympic skier)
 ✓ Boris Said-Olympic Bobsled, "Mystery of Sphinx"
 ✓ Billy Mills
 Larry & Billy Jean King-Laplander, Cherokee
 Willy Littlechild - "2003 World Indigenous Games"
 ✓ Ross Anderson-NVFAmbassador Cheyenne skis 137 mph
 Ernie Lennie-1st Nations National XC Champion
 ✓ Troy Jungen-1st Nations Canada World Extreme Ski Star
 Iroquois Confederacy's Lacrosse Team-bronze in Worlds-possible Olympic Sport in 2004 Greece
 Jim Thorpe (Grace Thorpe)--we want to honor him at the 2002 Games as the "Greatest All Round Athlete of Century", symbolically opening it with a riderless horse with a Sac & Fox Bonnet.

CORPORATE ANGELS

Ted Turner & Jane Fonda
 ✓ Ben & Jerry's, Rolex
 Tom Cook, Geordie Hormel

✓ Jack Chrysler, Stuart Mott Foundation
 Jason Orabach, Tommy Hilfinger
 Anita Roddick--Body Shop
 ✓ Mike Hess-Telski, Michael Berry-NSAA Prez

POLITICAL, PRESS & EARTH ANGELS

✓ Senators Bill Bradley, Nighthorse Campbell
 ✓ Bobby Kennedy Jr & John Cronin-Riverkeepers
 General Colin Powell-America's Promise, Buffalo Soldiers
 ✓ Mikhail Gorbachev-Rustern Green Cross & Earth Charter
 ✓ Dr. Gabriel Cousins-Essene Priest, Naturpath
 ✓ Rick Bard-boxer, Manhattan Magazine, Eco leader
 ✓ Tom Rogers-Center for Respect for Life & Environment
 ✓ Steven Rockefeller-Earth Charter (we're on his committee)
 Padre Mizzi- Franciscan leader of world religions to take better care of Earth
 ✓ Green Beret- lives saved by Montenyard Tribe in Nam
 ✓ Senators Edward Kennedy, John Chafee-Health C., Patrick Ke
 ✓ Senator Olympia Snowe-Armed Forces C.
 General Norman Schwarzkopf
 ✓ French Princess Carolina Murat-Internat'l pianist
 Andrew Weil M.D.
 ✓ Tom Goldtooth-Indigenous Environmental Network
 Tribal Link, Sarah Pletts-Native Am Democracy Film
 Malibu Jewish Center for Ethics-did Native conferenc

NATIVE WISDOM KEEPERS

✓ Grandfather Martin, 107 Dan Evehema-Hopi
 Arvol Lookinghorse, Mel Lonehill-Lakota
 ✓ Mark Maryboy & Lennie Foster-Navajo
 ✓ Raymond Yakoleya--Dene 1st Nations
 ✓ Winonna LaDuke--Anishanabe
 ✓ Alden Naranjo, Norman Lopez, Roland McCook-Ute
 ✓ Jerry Spense-Cheyenne-1st Native American Chief Justice? Helen Nugent-Apache, Ute, Mirada
 ✓ Chief Oren Lyons-Houdenosaunee 6 Iroquois Nations - Warren
 ✓ Wallace Black Elk & Tom Red Bear-Lakota
 ✓ Standing Elk-Dakota
 ✓ Arnie Neptune-6 Wabanaki Tribes
 ✓ Wilma Mankiller, Carol Pate, Tom Harve-Cherokee
 Marge Anderson-6 Great Lakes Nations
 ✓ Richard Calling Eagle (Black Kettle)-Cheyenne

Mountain Living

FEBRUARY 2000

A WIESNER PUBLICATION \$3.95

COLLECTORS EDITION

Highlights

WHAT TO FIND, WHEN AND WHERE TO FIND IT IN THE HIGH COUNTRY

THE EAGLE COUNTS

A LARGE PORTION of the American bald eagle population winters in the San Bernardino Mountains of Southern California. Each year (between December and March) the U.S. Forest Service organizes monthly counts of the eagles in their habitat.

This annual event, which began in 1978 to study how the American bald eagle lives, migrates and survives, continues to provide valuable information. Volunteers—no experience necessary—are encouraged to assist in the project. Stationed at various vantage points around Big Bear Lake and other lakes in the San Bernardino Mountains, 50 to 100 eagle-watchers map and note their observations during the wintering season. For more information about the eagle count or to participate in the year-round Eagle Discovery Tours, call (909) 866-3437.



THE BEST OF THE HIGH COUNTRY

DANCING ON SKIS

OLYMPIC CHAMPION Suzy Chaffee—forever remembered as Suzy Chapstick—has a new voice, and people are listening. To promote goodwill, global consciousness and healing between the Native American community and the descendants of European settlers in our country, Suzy co-founded the Native Voices Foundation with Alden Naranjo, a Ute medicine man.

The foundation sponsored a *Welcome Home Ute Ski Celebration* four years ago in Telluride, Colorado. Other Colorado ski resorts—Aspen, Steamboat, Purgatory and Vail—have



joined the celebration. In addition, the Telluride Ski & Golf Company provides ski lessons and ski tickets for local Ute, Navajo and Lakota tribes. In turn, Native American youths educate the communities about earth-honoring principles through cultural celebrations

featuring Native American song, dance and drums.

On the East Coast, Sunday River in Maine hosts the *Welcome Home Penobscot Ski Celebration* this ski season. For more information, call (970) 728-1123. Internet: www.nativevoices.org.

1-1800

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

'00 JAN 14 PM5:42

January 14, 2000

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *MB*

SUBJECT: Proposed Response to Turkish President Suleyman Demirel Regarding Earthquake Relief

*Autocopy
7:14 PM
Carter
Mu. Fin*

Purpose

Respond to President Demirel.

Background

President Demirel wrote to thank you for the United States' support of Turkey in the aftermath of the recent earthquakes. He also notes that your recent visit has "served to deepen further the ties of partnership between our two nations." Your response thanks President Demirel for his letter (and for other recent letters on Bosnia and Kosovo), and expresses appreciation that his friend Kadir Has has provided an educational scholarship for Erkan Isik, (the baby you held in your arms in the tent city near Izmit), and other help for his family. Demirel included with his letter copies of the front pages of Turkey's major newspapers, featuring photographs of you with the baby and other earthquake survivors.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to President Demirel.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to President Demirel

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

Copied

Berger

Podesta

Personal File

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Suleyman:

Thank you for your kind words concerning my trip to Turkey. I share your view that the visit has helped strengthen the already close relationship between our countries.

Please express my appreciation to your friend Mr. Has for his efforts on behalf of the Isik family. Mr. Has' educational grant to baby Erkan reflects the generosity of spirit that is so obvious to all who come to Turkey. I was deeply moved by the warmth, endurance, and determination of the Turkish people, notably those with whom I met in the tent city near Izmit. I am confident that they will emerge stronger than ever from the tragedy wrought by last year's earthquakes, and am pleased that we were able to play a small role in helping to relieve their suffering.

I would also like to thank you for your letters concerning your recent trips to Bosnia-Herzegovina and Kosovo. I have long maintained that Turkey has a vital role to play in promoting peace and stability in the Balkans, and appreciate greatly your insights on regional developments.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke at the end.

His Excellency
Suleyman Demirel
President of the Republic of Turkey
Ankara



The President

Ankara, 29 November 1999

Dear Bill;

As a follow up to your visit to Turkey, I believe you would be pleased to know that the 7 month-old baby, Erkan Işık, whom you graciously held in your arms during your trip to the tent camp in Izmit, has been provided with a life-long education grant by Mr. Kadir Has, a prominent and respectable Turkish industrialist.

Mr. Has, who is also a close friend of mine, is renown in Turkey for his charitable contributions, particularly in the field of education, and I am certain he will do whatever is necessary to take care of baby Erkan and his family. Attached please find newspaper clippings concerning this issue.

I should also like to take this opportunity to thank you again for the assistance and support extended by the United States and its people in the aftermath of the earthquakes. You have once again proven that you are a great friend of Turkey and the people of Turkey. The coming of winter and snow fall have made the relief work all the more harder and the housing shortage in particular far more acute. Bolstered by the solidarity and assistance of our friends, we are trying to overcome the difficulties and hasten the recovery process.

The compassion you and your family have so kindly shown to the earthquake survivors in person during your visit will be remembered for a long time to come as a great gesture of goodwill from the people of the United States to the people of Turkey.

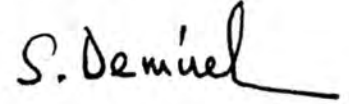
Our comprehensive discussions and the many contacts you and your delegation had in Turkey have undoubtedly served to deepen further the ties of partnership between our nations. My impression is that your visit to Turkey was eminently successful and well received in all regards.

The Honourable William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America
Washington, D.C.

Finally, I should like to emphasize how much Nazmiye and I enjoyed hosting Chelsea, Hillary and yourself in Ankara. We look forward to seeing you all again soon.

With my warmest regards,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "S. Demirel". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Süleyman DEMİREL



Başkan, minik Erkan'ı çok sevdi

İzmit'teki çadırkentte konuşma yaptıktan sonra çevresini saran depremzedelerle el sıkışan Başkan Clinton, içten görüntüler verdi. Clinton, polis barikatının arkasında ABD bayrağı tutan bir bebek görünce annesini yanına çağırdı. Anne Şennur Işık, yedi aylık oğlu Erkan'ı Başkan'a uzattı. Clinton, minik çocuğu kucağına aldı ve sevmeye başladı. Erkan, elini Clinton'ın yüzüne uzattı, burnunu tuttu. O anda Clinton da Erkan'ı öptü. ABD'nin başkanıyla Türk bebek arasındaki bu sınırsız diyalog herkesi duygulandırdı. Sayfa 10'da



Başkan'ın çocuk sevgisi

ABD lideri Bill Clinton, Doğukışla Çadırkenti'ni gezerken, 7 aylık Erkan Işık adlı bebeği kucağına alarak, uzun süre sevdi ve şakalaştı. Minik Erkan da Clinton'ın bu sevgisini karşılıksız bırakmadı ve dünya liderini gülücükleriyle adeta büyüledi.



'We love you - Seni seviyoruz'

ABD Başkanı Bill Clinton, eşi Hillary ve kızı Chelsea, Doğukışla Çadırkenti'nde, çocukların sosyal faaliyetlerde bulunduğu çadırları ziyaret etti. Clinton ailesi, 3-12 yaş grubu çocukları bulunduğu çadırlarda, kendileri için hazırlanan oyunları tebessümle izledi.



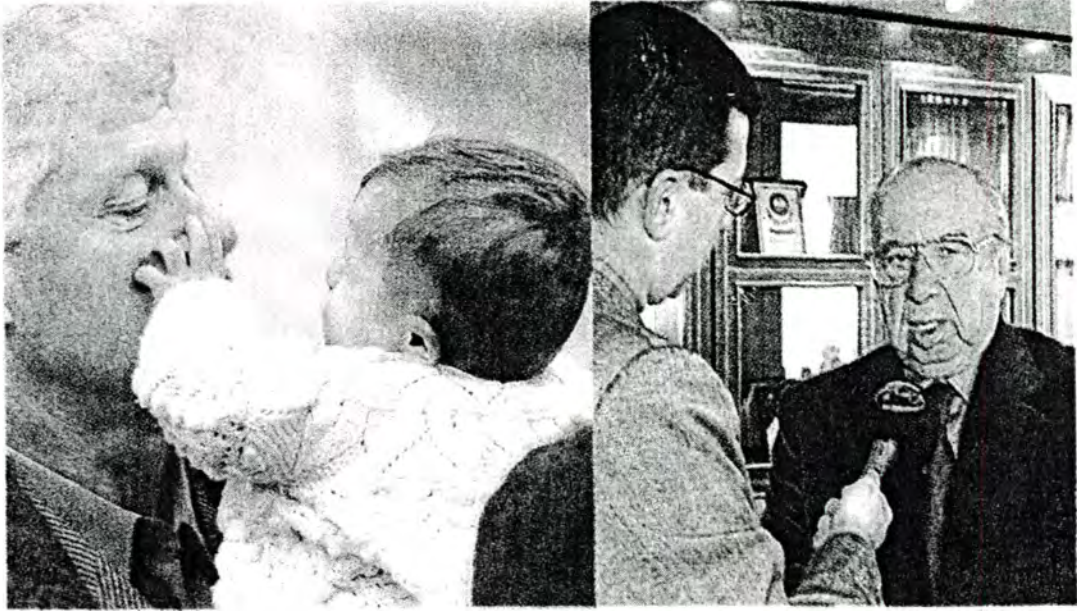
Clinton'ın yağmur altında yaptığı konuşma sırasında olan artçı deprem afetzedelerde panik yarattı. (HATİCE TUNCER)



Clinton ailesine depremzede çocuklar büyük sevgi gösterdi. (Fotoğraf: HATİCE TUNCER)

UMHURİYET

(3)



Kadir Has minik Erkan'a sahip çıktı

ABD Başkanı Clinton'ın burnunu sıkarak dünya basınına konu olan 7 aylık Erkan, artık emin ellerde. TGRT'nin haberine göre hayırsever ünlü işadamı Kadir Has, "Fakirliğin ne olduğunu bilirim" diyerek, Erkan ve iki kardeşine üniversiteyi bitirene kadar bakacağını söyledi.

● 13. SAYFADA

AİLESİNİ DE KURTARDI



İşadamı Kadir Has, ABD Başkanı Bill Clinton'ın burnunu sıkan bebek Erkan'la birlikte ailesine de kucak açtı. Vasiyetine yazdırdı...



Şennur Işık 25 yaşında
Anne. Evhanımı

Hacı Işık
36 yaşında
Asgari
ücretli işçi

Cansu
3 yaşında

Kader
7 yaşında

Erkan
7 aylık

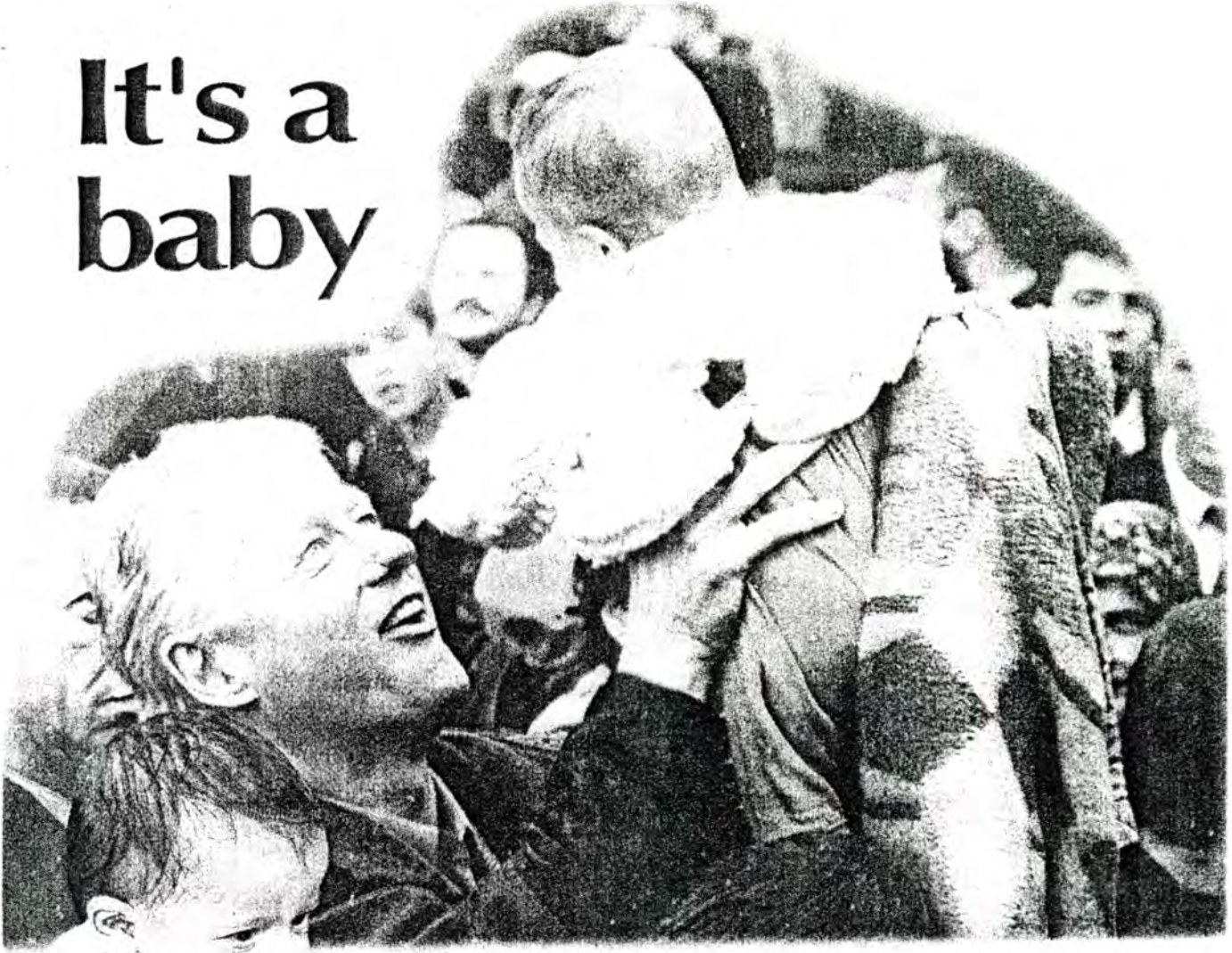
E RKAN Işık. Henüz 7 aylık ama artık onu herkes tanıyor. Clinton'ın burnunu sıkan bebek olarak ünlendi. İzmit Doğukışla Çadırkent'i'nde kalan ailesinin umudu oldu. Bronşite yakalanan Erkan'a, işadamı Kadir Has sahip çıktı. 25 yaşına kadar bütün giderlerini karşılayacağı sözünü verdi. Has, bununla da kalmadı. "Beyefendi itimat

edin, bu paranın beş kuruşu, ne benim, ne eşimin, ne de öteki iki çocuğumun boğazından geçecek. Hepsi Erkan için harcanacak" diyen baba Hacı Işık'tan çok etkilendi. Ve tüm aileyi himayesi altına aldı. Bunu vasiyetine de yazdırdı...



■ FEYZİ HEPŞENKAL
YAZDI SAYFA 14'TE

It's a baby



BAŞKAN Clinton, Erkan'ı kucağına alıp havaya bile zıplattı. Bir baba şefkatiyle minik Erkan'la oynadığı gözlenen Clinton, bir ara başını alnına dayayarak sağa sola sallandı. Bu arada Erkan da boş durmadı ve Clinton'ın

burnunu sıktı. Bebeğin eli Başkan'ın ağzında ve burnunda dolaşırken, çevresindekiler kendisini uyardı. Bunun üzerine Clinton "It's a baby-O bir bebek" diyerek, endişelenmenin gereksiz olduğunu vurguladı.

■ **Cahit AKYOL**



**RAUF
TAMER**

Erkan Bebe'ye müjde

Hayatta tesadüfler ne kadar mühim... İnsanların hayat çizgisini etkileyen anlar vardır.

Hangi yaşta olursanız olun, talih kuşu -eğer bulacağı varsa- gelir sizi bulur.

Clinton, Erkan Bebe'yi kucağına aldı, sevdi, oynadı, şakalaştı... Biliyor musunuz, şimdi bebeğin istikbali garantide... İlk, Orta, Lise, Üniversite, bütün tahsil masraflarını **Kadir Has** karşılayacak... Tahsil çağına gelene kadar da aileyi himayesine alacak. (Yâni geçimini sağlayacak)

Clinton, kucağına Erkan'ı alacağına, başka bir çocuğu da alabilirdi...

Ama aldığı çocuk, belki bu kadar **şirinlik** yapmayabilirdi... Neticede bebek-tir, Clinton'un karnına tekmeler bile atabilirdi... Ciyak ciyak ağlayabilir, hatta Clinton'un üzerine işeyebilir, sevimsiz fotoğraflar verebilirdi.

Ama işte Erkan'ı aldı kucağına.

Erkan da pek sevimli çıktı... Clinton gibi bir **Dünya Lideri**'nin ağzıyla bur-nuyla oynadı. Tabii o zaman da çok il-ginç bir tablo doğdu.

Herkes Clinton kadar da Erkan'ı ko-nuştu.

İşte... an meselesi.

O an, bakın neler getirdi Erkan'a.

Önceki gece **Kadir Has** aradı. Kadir Has'ı bu sütunda tekrar anlatmaya lü-zum yok. Eğitim konusundaki **hassasi-yetini** bütün Türkiye biliyor.

Dedi ki:

- Ben bu çocuğun ailesini nerde bula-cağım?

Ve devamla:

- Bütün tahsil masraflarını üstleniyo-rum. Üniversite dahil, Avrupası, Ameri-kası dahil (**Clinton'un mezun olduğu üniversite dahil**) her şeyini üstleniyo-rum.

- Aileyi bulmak kolay dedim. Biz bu-nu gazetede haber yaparız. Ailesi okur öğrenir, bizi mutlaka arar, biz de seninle temasını sağlarız.

Dedi ki:

- Reklam gibi olmasın, aileyi rencide etmeyelim.

- Yok efendim, niye rencide olsun ai-le... **müjde haberi** bu... Deprem Bölge-sinde, yokluk içinde kıvranan insanlar, hep bu tip müjdeler bekliyor.

Biraz da çene çaldık, siyasi dedikodu yaptık, Demirel'in AGİT'teki performansı-nı övdük, **Başkanlık Sistemi**'nin genel provasının çok başarılı geçtiğini falan ko-nuştuk ve telefonu kapattık.

Sonra aklıma bir şey takıldı.

Bu çocuk, daha bebek... Tahsil haya-tının başlamasına daha **6 yıl var...** 6 yıl ne yapacak bu çocuk?

Bu def'a telefonu ben çevirdim, kafa-ma takılan suali Kadir Ağa'ya sordum.

Dedi ki:

- Onu da düşündüm... Aileyi şimdi-den **Dolar bazı**'nda bir maaşa bağlaya-cağım.

Miktarını da söyledi.

Felakete uğramış bir aile için **istikrarlı** bir gelir. Hele "**çocuğumun parasıdır**" diyerek biriktirebilirlerse, ilkokul'a başlar-ken Erkan'ın yüklü bir portföyü olacak. Dünyada kaç çocuğa çarpar bu piyango.

İşte... deprem yıkıntılarının arasından fıskıran bir **tebessüm** size...

İçinizi karartmayacak bir **pazar yazısı**.

Erkan Bebe'ye müjdeler olsun.

Kadir Abi'ye teşekkürler.

MOLECULAR PATHOGENESIS of HTLV-1

A Current Perspective

C Jennings
This guy w/ MS says
we don't do much by
inactivating HTLV
Rec

See letter

Copied

Jennings
Podeston

Edited by

O. John Semmes, Ph.D.
Marie-Louise Hammarskjöld, M.D., Ph.D.

President Clinton's legacy

Empowering Scientists' to
cure all chronic diseases.

Save Our Lives

Dick Edlich

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THE NEW
DEMOCRAT

FALL 1998

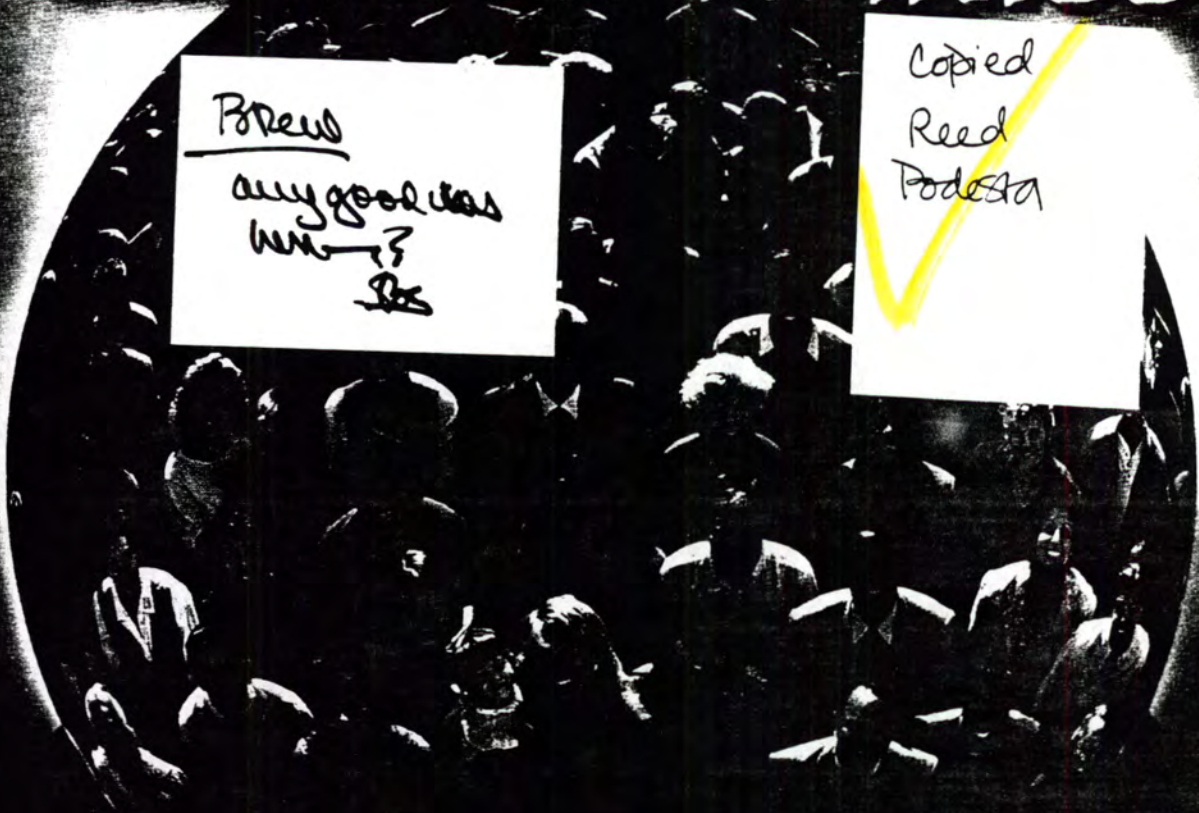
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IDEAS FOR A NEW CENTURY

Volume 1

SEEING THE FUTURE

The Next Politics



Five New Realities

Poll: The Active Center

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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1-18-00

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Berger
Sperling
Podesta

1-18-00

Robert Kagan

Clinton's China Two-Step

The wondrous contradictions of the Clinton administration's China policy were on full display last week. On Monday President Clinton announced an "all-out" campaign to lobby Congress to pass permanent most-favored-nation status for China. The lobbying will be rough, with a fully mobilized American business community working as the iron fist inside the administration's velvet glove. The same day Clinton kicked off his new campaign, U.S. Chamber of Commerce President Thomas Donohue warned, on cue, that members of Congress who oppose permanent trade status for China "will find themselves in an unhappy situation with the business community."

Then on Tuesday the Clinton administration announced its intention to introduce a resolution condemning China's human rights abuses at the U.N. this March. The administration suddenly wants to shine a "spotlight" on what State Department spokesman Jamie Rubin called the "serious deterioration in [China's] human rights situation." Two years ago, the administration decided against introducing such a resolution. Last year, it waited until March to do so, intentionally too late to have any chance of serious consideration. This year's early announcement presumably gives American diplomats time to actually round up some international support for a U.N. resolution condemning China's dismal record.

Some may find the juxtaposition of the two announcements a bit odd. The Clinton administration inaugurates a big push to grant China the biggest prize in the history of U.S.-Chinese economic relations and, in the next breath, singles China out for special condemnation as a world-class violator of human rights. But there was nothing coincidental about last week's announcements. The administration's tougher public stance on China's human rights abuses is an essential component of its "all-out" campaign to win congressional approval for the trade deal. The administration has a high-stakes and high-risk battle on its hands.

The vote on permanent MFN for China will not be like the annual ritual of MFN votes in recent years, when it was practically impossible for opponents to win the veto-proof two-thirds majorities in both houses necessary to defeat renewal. This year a simple majority in either house can defeat permanent MFN and hand Clinton and Al Gore an election-year humiliation. And opponents have some other things going for them. Some members who voted to renew MFN in the past will be more reluctant to vote for permanent status for China, since doing

so gives away Congress's chief lever for influencing administration policy. Big Labor, meanwhile, fresh from its "victory" at the WTO meeting in Seattle, is targeting the China deal. "We will do whatever it takes," Teamsters President Jimmy Hoffa promises, and, "We will win."

The administration, therefore, has got to play a tougher game this year, but also a slicker game. It has to "address members' concerns." And if this means annoying the Chinese with a public dressing down in Geneva, so be it. The administration apparently has decided that the best strategy for winning permanent trade status for China this year will be to convince wavering members of Congress that the trade deal should be viewed as only that, a trade deal.

Clinton can't afford to let members use the trade vote to blow off steam about Chinese brutality against Falun Gong members, Christians, Tibetan Buddhists and democracy activists. When the day of the vote comes, the administration needs to be able to argue that it already is addressing the human rights problem—it is "telling it like it is"—but it is doing so in the appropriate, international forum. We'll work over the Chinese at the U.N., Mr. Congressman; you just pay attention to Mr. Donohue here.

To be sure, the Clinton administration's new political strategy requires a sacrifice, namely, the main rationale behind its policy of "economic engagement." For years, advocates of trade with China have argued that trade itself is an antidote to Chinese oppression. The more China opens itself to American goods and services, the better the chance for democracy to bloom.

Two years ago, administration officials argued that criticizing China in international forums was precisely the wrong way to go about winning greater freedom for the Chinese people. They pointed to the Chinese government's 1998 agreement to sign the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights as a great victory both

for their quiet diplomacy and for their policy of economic engagement.

Now the Clinton administration implicitly acknowledges the failure of this approach. Despite the administration's continuing policy of engagement, Rubin is compelled to note that over the past year the Chinese government "intensified its crackdown on political dissent"; initiated a "campaign to suppress the Falun Gong"; "intensified controls on unregistered churches and on the political and religious expression of ethnic minority groups, especially Tibetans"; and clamped down on the press and the Internet. The administration now admits that the only thing to do is to go back to beating the Chinese over the head publicly.

So trading with China is not quite the answer, after all. As Rubin said on Tuesday, "We engage with China to advance our national interests—as the president said yesterday, we are going to pursue the World Trade Organization issue with respect to the normal trade relations—but that doesn't mean that we have to forgo our principles." Perhaps some day we can drop the idealistic blather and admit that trade with China is not about democracy; it's about trade.

The Clinton administration's one-two punch this week is smart politics. Many members of Congress, and especially Republicans, will pay close attention to Donohue and to their big-business contributors. Others will be impressed that the Clinton administration is doing the right thing in Geneva this year, and they won't worry about motive. Perhaps the only solace opponents of Clinton's China policy can take is that in the interest of winning congressional votes, the administration finally has smoked itself out.

The writer, senior associate at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, will be writing a monthly column for The Post.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, JANUARY 17, 2000



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
young people changing the world

BREID / C-SHATCH / SIOF

- 1/2 Went to visit one of their community coaches
- 1/2 Went to have them back to the WH before I go -
- Sylvia - Pls follow up - BCG

copied
Reed
Mathew
Blumenth
Podesta

September 22, 1999

To: President William Jefferson Clinton
Fr: The Wasatch Group
Re: Report on 1999 Wasatch Group Meeting

We would like to thank you again for hosting the Wasatch Group for dinner at the White House in March. It was an incredible opportunity for us to hear your thoughts and vision about what our group can accomplish to positively impact this nation. We wanted to update you on the Wasatch Group's recent activities and the exciting projects we have selected to work on for the coming year.

The Wasatch Group met for the second time in Utah this past August. We took your advice and created an agenda with the main thrust to select up to three actionable projects with specific commitments made by individuals. Ten proposals were submitted for consideration prior to the weekend, including:

1. **Book Adventure**, proposed by Doug Becker and the Sylvan Learning Foundation, an internet-based reading incentive program designed for young readers.
2. **Community Coaches**, proposed by Do Something and Community IMPACT, a national school-based leadership initiative.
3. **Community Lab**, proposed by the Creative Artists Agency Foundation, an after-school technology learning center.
4. **Cyber Buddy**, proposed by Brian Fargo and Interplay Entertainment Corporation, an online mentoring program for young people to connect with corporate executives.
5. **Opportunity Quotient**, proposed by Do Something, the creation and promotion of an effective, symbolic and popularly-used measuring instrument to measure opportunities for young people.
6. **School Leaders Initiative**, proposed by Wendy Kopp and Teach for America, a program to create a model of training and funding excellent teachers to become directors of their own schools.
7. **STRONG (Strategic Training, Resources and Oversight for Nonprofit Groups)**, proposed by Farai Chideya and the CAA Foundation, a "super board" for non-profit organizations.
8. **Town Hall/Youth Voice**, proposed by Larry Lessig, a deliberative forum model designed to give students a taste of self-determination and empowerment.

9. **The Walt Frazier Foundation**, proposed by Ethan Penner, is a program that provides qualified students from economically disadvantaged families with summer internships.

10. **Wasatch Principles**, proposed by Do Something, envisions the creation of a set of principles to be adopted by business, government and educational institutions to help society move towards increasing opportunities for youth.

Two ad hoc proposals were presented during the meeting:

1. **Wasatch PAC**, proposed by Jesse Jackson, Jr., is a lobbying-type organization where Wasatch members would work to develop laws to increase opportunities for young people.

2. **Free China**, proposed by Li Lu, is a technology based initiative to send information via email and the internet to increase democracy in China.

Each idea was presented and analyzed before the entire group. Subsequently, we broke into small groups and analyzed each idea based on the pre-established criteria we presented at our dinner with you in March:

CRITERIA

Will the project have a measurable and positive impact on kids' lives?

Is the Wasatch Group uniquely suited to pursue the idea or issue?

Will the project activate and inspire the Wasatch Group into involvement and action?

Will the project make a lasting contribution/ Is it dramatic enough to have high leverage/high impact?

Is the project sustainable and is there a structure to support it (or is it feasible to create a structure to support it over time)?

Does it challenge the status quo and norms of thinking to ensure we effect real and substantial change in well-intentioned peoples' efforts to improve kids' lives?

Am I, as an individual, prepared--realistically-- to contribute (time, money, in-kind resources, contacts, etc.)?

After the small group discussions, we held a vote and three choices emerged: S.T.R.O.N.G. (Strategic Training, Resources and Oversight for Nonprofit Groups), Community Coaches, and School Leaders Initiative.¹

¹ After careful consideration, Wendy Kopp decided to withdraw the School Leaders Initiative because it was clear that for this next year, there was no institutional home for the initiative, and thus it would be difficult for the initiative to succeed. This project may be revisited in future years.

The following is a brief description of the two projects selected:

S.T.R.O.N.G.

One of the exciting ideas to emerge from our conversations was for the Wasatch participants to form what amounts to a social venture capital group, in order to support budding social entrepreneurs of the new generation. The initial proposal envisioned a "super-board" of Wasatch members who would consult and offer ideas to fledgling non-profit organizations. That proposal evolved over the course of the weekend into a structure more explicitly modeled on venture capital -- and in particular, the entity known in Silicon Valley as a "band of angels." As we now conceive it, STRONG would serve as a intellectual resource bank and possibly a seed funding source for a small number of social entrepreneurs each year. We would adopt these entrepreneurs and be their "angels." We would provide strategic guidance, contacts, industry-specific tips -- in short, as Alan Khazei of City Year put it, "rocket fuel." Many of the non-profit leaders in attendance emphasized that had they had such a resource in the early years of their ventures, it could have cut years off development time.

What we like about this idea is that it captures all the natural assets of a group such as ours -- our very diverse professional and personal backgrounds, our unique collective capacity to cross-pollinate ideas and tap into pools of expertise. We've now designated a subgroup of Wasatch participants to delineate and work through some of the core operational questions, including whether to raise funds for our own venture fund, how to select the organizations we'd adopt, how many to adopt, and so forth. We also will discuss how STRONG will fit into the agenda for next year's meeting. We are excited because this initiative represents a new model for how networks of people can come together and leverage their talents and resources in the service of social good.

Community Coaches

The Wasatch group is also energized around supporting an existing national initiative to create a new position in society: the Community Coach. Community Coaches are caring, committed adults who work in schools and community organizations to: help young people gain concrete leadership skills; teach young people values like responsibility and compassion; and guide young people in designing and implementing their own projects to address problems from violence and alienation to poverty, illiteracy and homelessness, among others.

Through Do Something, a national youth leadership organization, this fall Community Coaches are at work in 72 communities from 27 states, guiding young people's community activism. For Springfield High School Principal Harvey Chiles, who experienced a devastating series of tragedies at his previous school -- four student suicides, two murders on school grounds and significant racial problems -- Do Something is a chance to reach out to the silent leaders in his classrooms and the tough kids who have been disconnected from school for so long that they have developed their own subculture.

"Do Something gives us an opportunity to change the culture at our school and create an environment where students connect with each other, connect with adults and connect with their community," Chiles says.

Community Coaches can serve as the infrastructure needed to reach young people in an ongoing fashion with all of the ways Wasatch members intend to help young people over the next 20+ years.

As part of this initiative, in neighborhoods with more than 10 Community Coaches, the national non-profit organization Community IMPACT USA will bring in its model to create a neighborhood network with a trained staff person to invest in grants and scholarships for local youth and help coordinate local efforts that maximize the benefit to youth and the community.

We are excited about this initiative because it can be an effective solution to combat the realities of violence and alienation in our nation's schools which have become all too apparent through recent events in Littleton and other communities. Community Coaches are not simply another program; rather through Community Coaches, we envision a paradigm shift among young people and schools where young people are seen as leaders and where teachers and administrators actively listen to our young people.

The Wasatch group is developing a strategy for bringing this initiative to schools nationwide. A subgroup is developing a government and association strategy to gain funding and exposure. Some of our corporate leaders are helping gain support in the business sector. Our military members have designed "Operation Neighborhood Hard Wire," which envisions the many ways the military can get involved in the initiative. We have a marketing team working on a street marketing campaign to build the Do Something brand and create demand for Community Coaches among young people.

Outstanding Issues

While we are energized about the projects we have selected, we face some big questions about how we proceed and would greatly value your advice. Before we formally voted to adopt the projects, some members spoke about the need for this group to think bigger and to strive for ever greater social change. Those members believed that the selected projects were too tactical without a grander vision or direction.

What resulted was a lengthy discussion where participants offered their visions of where America should be and why they are part of this group. For example, Christy Haubegger offered a strong possible goal statement, through which we could view the selected projects as tactics to meet our goals and objectives: "In 2030, every child born has the opportunity to achieve the promise of America." Alan Khazei also got the group interested in developing a larger pool of systems-changing ideas.

As we move forward, it is clear that we need to balance the desire for long-term large scale social change and short-term action. How do we best achieve that balance?

The Wasatch Group will be meeting again in August, 2000 in Utah. We believe that by that time, we will have begun to meaningfully impact the opportunities for the next generation. We remain excited about the potential of this cross-sector group, and hope to stay connected with you over the years to come.

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Henry Kissinger

Our Nearsighted World Vision

U.S. foreign policy careens from overcommitment to abdication.

The end of the millennium coincides with the moment when America's preeminence turned into predominance. Never before has a single country achieved a comparable ascendancy on a global basis and in so many fields of endeavor, from weaponry to entrepreneurship, from technology to popular culture.

The American ascendancy finds the United States acting as the bulwark of stability, mediating the key trouble spots and stationing troops around the world in peacekeeping missions that shade into near-permanent occupation duties. America dominates the international financial system by providing the most attractive haven for investment capital as well as the largest single pool of it.

Yet America's dominance has expressed itself less as a strategic design than as a series of seemingly unrelated decisions taken largely in response to specific crises and driven less by an overarching concept than by responses to domestic pressure groups. It came about in an administration preoccupied with domestic politics, the views of many of whose leading members were shaped by the protests of the early 1970s deprecating the role of power and seeking to replace it with "New Age" issues such as the environment and humanitarianism. Ironically—and perhaps because of this ambivalence—the Clinton administration has found itself drawn to a more frequent use of military power than any other postwar administration.

In the heyday of their preeminence, the Roman and British empires managed to transform their power into consensus and their governing principles into widely accepted norms. The United States has not yet achieved such a position. Its decisions shape international events to an unprecedented degree, but they have often appeared, especially to non-Americans, as either arbitrary or random responses to domestic constituencies. The problem goes beyond the biases of the Clinton administration. A society that has never known a permanent threat has been tempted by the end of the Cold War to impose its preferences unilaterally, without calculating the reactions of other peoples or the long-range costs of such a course. Vigorous and highly competitive media have compounded the tendency for foreign policy to become a subdivision of domestic politics.

One result has been to spur groupings of nations at least in part designed to reclaim a greater freedom for regional or national decisions. To some extent, this is an inevitable reaction to our dominant position. Yet while regional groupings may turn out to be the building blocks of a new international order, it makes a great deal of difference whether they seek their identity in cooperation with America or in opposition to it.

A dominant power unable to shape an international consensus fails in its principal potential contribution to world order. Administration diplomacy has been most successful where the challenge was most comparable to domestic politics, as in the Arab-Israeli negotiations. It has not managed to integrate either Russia or China into a workable international order. And it has failed to develop a strategy for the two most fundamental issues of global order: how to deal with rogue states and how to translate our moral values into an opera-

tional diplomacy.

Iraq has been a test case for America's policy toward rogue states. But we have been in retreat since December 1998. Then, British and American planes attacked Iraqi military installations in retaliation for flagrant Iraqi violations of the U.N. inspections system. Coupled with tough sanctions, the inspections system established at the end of the Gulf War in 1991 was supposed to eliminate Saddam Hussein's ability to pose a military threat to Iraq's neighbors and to stability in the gulf.

The Clinton administration codified this into a containment strategy designed, in the words of Secretary of State Madeleine Albright, to "put Saddam in a box." Implemented in the style of the "New Age" diplomacy, it alternated the rhetoric of conciliation with ineffective spasms of military confrontation.

For his part, Saddam Hussein moved tenaciously to wiggle out of international restraints. In 1996 he moved his army into the Kurdish autonomous zone, heretofore, at least tacitly, under U.S. protection. By 1998 he felt strong enough to challenge the U.N. inspections system frontally. Nevertheless, on Nov. 15, 1998, President Clinton still spoke of giving Saddam Hussein an opportunity "to become honorably reconciled by simply observing U.N. resolutions."

Predictably, Saddam Hussein accelerated the pursuit of the three objectives that have guided his policy: (1) to shift the world's attention away from Iraq's flouting of U.N. obligations and to the alleged harm being done by U.N. sanctions to Iraq's population; (2) to magnify and force into the open the latent disagreements among the permanent members of the Security Council over Iraq and (3) to involve the Secretary General of the United Nations as a mediator, thereby placing his grievances on the same level as his adversaries'.

President Clinton reacted to Saddam Hussein's defiance by ordering airstrikes. But the administration's ambivalence about the use of power for strategic or political objectives turned that enterprise into a cover for abandoning the inspections system rather than for enforcing it. Unrelated to any specific political demand, the bombing lasted but three nights, earning us opprobrium without political benefit.

Clearly, these events have left Saddam Hussein far closer to his objectives than the United States is to its own goals. The U.N. inspectors he evicted have not returned. And U.N. diplomacy has focused on the

removal of sanctions, so that their end seems only a question of time.

As a result, the victory of the Gulf War is in danger of unraveling. None of the gulf states believes in the possibility of reconciliation with Iraq. The Islamic Republic of Iran watches amid its own domestic debate over the relative merits of moderation and intransigence. When Tehran's hard-line leaders see how a defeated neighbor succeeds in defying a multilateral coalition ostensibly headed by the United States, their incentive for moderation surely will diminish.

A political vacuum is emerging in which



an ambivalent United States will be obliged—without significant allies—to defend the weak gulf states against the two strongest states in the region—hardly an ideal example for deterring rogue states globally.

The strategic and political paralysis in dealing with the rogue challenge in the gulf has been overshadowed by the most dramatic use of NATO military power since World War II—the 78-day bombing campaign over Kosovo. Nothing could show more clearly the emotional priorities of the Clinton administration than the fact that it devoted 78 days to destroying the infrastructure of Serbia, a country representing no strategic threat, and only three nights to overcoming Saddam Hussein's eviction of the U.N. inspections system, heretofore considered the key to stability in the vital gulf.

For weeks during and after the Kosovo crisis, both Washington and London trumpeted their humanitarian foreign policy as the progressive alternative to traditional diplomacy based on equilibrium. But life has been far more complicated. Multi-ethnicity in the Balkans has proved far more difficult

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The Washington Post

MONDAY, JANUARY 10, 2000

than "progressive" exhortations to that effect. Ethnic cleansing by Serbs has been replaced by ethnic cleansing by Albanians—under the eyes of NATO forces.

Nor has the Kosovo intervention solved the political problem that gave rise to it. NATO occupation of Kosovo is based on a U.N. resolution that explicitly describes Kosovo as an autonomous part of Yugoslavia (Article 5) and reaffirms the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all of Yugoslavia (Article 8). To underline the U.N. commitment to a multi-ethnic state, the KLA (the armed forces of the Albanian resistance) was supposed to be disarmed by NATO.

None of these provisions has been implemented or has a prospect of being implemented. The KLA has not truly disarmed; the opposite of a multi-ethnic society is coming into being; Yugoslav sovereignty can only be exercised at the price of a bloody Serb intervention. In the name of a humanitarian foreign policy, NATO has maneuvered itself into a position in which it is condemned either to the permanent occupation of Kosovo or to seeking a different U.N. rationale—a change Russia probably would veto—to permit the emergence of an independent Kosovo.

But an independent Kosovo is precisely what all NATO states have sought to avoid. They have evaded their own principle of self-determination because they know that an independent Kosovo would evoke claims for a similar status for Albanians in adjoining Macedonia. Yet a breakup of Macedonia could unleash another Balkan war and lead to yet another NATO protectorate.

America and its allies were right in resisting Serbian ethnic cleansing. But their means were inappropriate to the objective. The NATO demand at Rambouillet for unlimited right to move forces across Yugoslav territory and occupy a province of a sovereign country—before ethnic cleansing had started on a large scale—guaranteed the most bloody outcome. Not even a reasonable Yugoslav government could accept such terms. Less emphasis on domestic politics and more thoughtful understanding of history would have produced a better balance between the humanitarian and political challenges, saved more lives and created better conditions for a long-term political evolution. And it would have avoided the uneasiness caused in many parts of the world by NATO's drift from defensive to offensive missions.

The same tendency to seek immediate solution to a historical problem has also exacerbated the situation in East Timor. The West pressed an interim, unelected Indonesian government that already had granted autonomy to East Timor to move toward independence—in the middle of Indonesia's first democratic election. This perversely reduced that government's ability to restrain its dissident military. And the lack of sensitivity to Indonesia's concern with the precarious unity of its state and of the religious issues involved has mortgaged not only the fledgling democracy but Indonesia's historical partnership with the West.

Six months after the proclaimed triumph over Kosovo, the West's reaction to Russian repression of Chechnya showed that Kosovo had established far from a general principle. Russia, like Serbia, is trying to impose its rule on a dissident province. In both cases the conflict is religious in origin, with the rulers seeking to break the will of their subjects by making their lives in their home province unendurable, generating mass migration.

What differs is the reaction of the Western allies. The apostles of the so-called ethical policy can bring themselves to utter criticisms of Russia only in a shamefaced form designed to placate critics at home rather than affect decisions in Moscow. Moscow is criticized, if at all, for inflicting excessive casualties, not for the purpose of the operation—which, in fact, President Clinton endorsed as protecting the integrity of Russia's borders and fighting terrorism. Both in official statements and in the media the "freedom fighters" of Kosovo have been transmuted into the "rebels" or "militants" of Chechnya.

The reluctance to jeopardize relations with a potentially powerful Russia is understandable. But if the absence of historical perspective caused us to veer too far in the direction of moral crusades in Kosovo, we now have erred by adopting too narrow a definition of the national interest. Even granting that blocking Russian intervention was impossible, it nevertheless was important to discourage Russia from future attempts to rely on force in regulating its relations with its many neighbors. And this required a less timid response.

Moral precepts are absolute and make no allowance for historical evolution. When thwarted, they allow no fallback. But foreign policy must deal with nuances and processes rather than terminal points. Public relations myths—or worse, self-delusion—cannot serve as a substitute. Oscillation between overcommitment and abdication will vitiate our power and our capacity to shape a stable international order.

The writer, a former secretary of state, is president of Kissinger Associates, an international consulting firm that has clients with business interests in many countries abroad.

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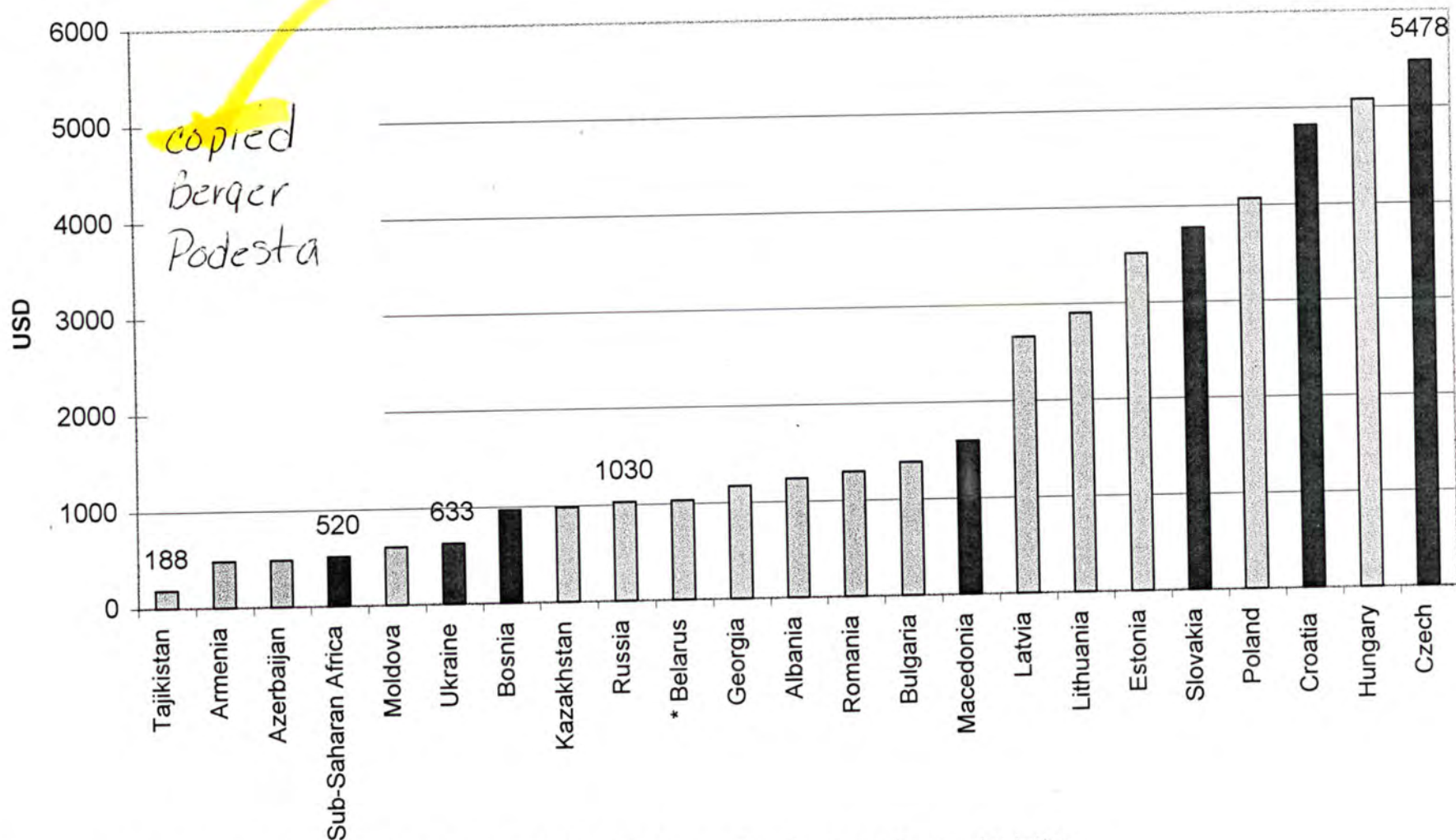
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Projected Per Capita GDP of Selected Countries in 1999



* The per capita GDP figure for Belarus is overstated because of exchange rate manipulation.

For the countries in blue, 1998 data are used because 1999 projections are unavailable.

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Barak Delays 3rd West Bank Transfer, Angering Palestinians

By DEBORAH SONTAG

JERUSALEM, Jan. 16 — After Prime Minister Ehud Barak of Israel decided to postpone a withdrawal from the West Bank due to take place later this week, senior Palestinian officials reacted today by condemning the Israelis, saying they were souring the relationship.

Mr. Barak, who is scheduled to leave on Tuesday for Washington to resume peace talks with Syria, told his cabinet today that he would attend to the land transfer on his return. Officials said the Prime Minister had not had sufficient time to review the maps and present them to his cabinet for approval before leaving.

Coupled with that explanation, Mr. Barak's postponement heightened Palestinians' concerns that the Israeli-Syrian peace negotiations would adversely affect them. Some Palestinians fear that Israeli officials and American mediators will be distracted and that their peace track will be relegated to second-class status.

Indeed, a senior Israeli official, in discussing the delay tonight, said, "You have to take it to consideration the Syrian track. It takes our energy."

The land transfer was supposed to take place on Thursday under the interim peace agreement signed last



Associated Press

Israel said Prime Minister Ehud Barak did not have time to review maps for the West Bank transfer.

September in Sharm el Sheik, Egypt. It was to have been the third and final Israeli withdrawal under the

interim agreement, giving the Palestinians full or partial control over about 40 percent of the West Bank.

"This decision is totally rejected, and it is a blow to all our attempts to create a partnership," said Saeb Erekat, a Palestinian negotiator. He added that the Israelis did not consult with the Palestinians, despite regular talks between the two sides, but made a "unilateral decision."

Israelis and Palestinians have been speculating that the Israeli government might include some Arab neighborhoods just outside Jerusalem in the next withdrawal. If true, this would make the land transfer a very sensitive political issue for Mr. Barak.

In the view of many Israelis, giving back land near Jerusalem under the interim agreement would be premature since the final status of Jerusalem is under negotiation in the permanent peace talks.

With Jerusalem as one of the most complex issues before them, Israelis and Palestinians are heading into an intensive period of negotiations to hammer out a framework agreement for final peace by Feb. 13. It is another deadline that may well end up being postponed.

At different moments, both Israelis and Palestinians have accused each other of stalling the framework negotiations.

In postponing this withdrawal, Mr.

Barak seems to be inching closer to the position he put forth last summer — that the third withdrawal should take place in mid-February. Before the Sharm el Sheik agreement was signed, Mr. Barak unsuccessfully tried to persuade Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian leader, to link the third withdrawal with the successful completion of a framework agreement.

But Mr. Arafat did not agree, and a Jan. 20 deadline was set for the third withdrawal. The prime minister's office said today that when the Sharm el Sheik agreement was signed, the Palestinians also verbally agreed that a three-week extension would be acceptable.

"They wanted to make sure it happened before the framework agreement, and this will be the case," said Gadi Baltiansky, Mr. Barak's spokesman.

"Barak doesn't intend to violate the Sharm agreement," he added. "But Barak wants to see the overall picture first."

Mr. Arafat is flying to the United States this week, too, to meet with President Clinton and to present him with the Palestinian outline for the final status. It is possible that there will also be a three-way meeting with the Israelis, to discuss where final negotiations stand.

Israeli officials said Mr. Barak did not want to risk a miniature crisis with the Palestinians before that meeting, in the event there was a dispute about the territory Israel selected for the land transfer.

The second withdrawal was significantly delayed because of a bitter disagreement over the maps, but took place earlier this month.