

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-4-00

00 FEB 3 PM 5:22

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

See several notes

February 3, 2000

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT
LAURA GRAHAM
LAURA DEMEO

SUBJECT: SCHED See note on 1st
CC: JOHN F regret - if I
NANCY can drop in &
do I should

ACCEPT:

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

2/4/00

Gun Dealers Departure Statement
South Portico, White House
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed

You and Secretary Summers will release the first-
comprehensive report on the gun industry and an
actions to expand the authority of the ATF.

2/4/00

Address the 2000 Senate Democratic Caucus Issues
Library of Congress, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Chuck Brain

This will give you an opportunity to discuss legislative
priorities for the coming year with the Senate Democratic
Caucus.

2/4/00

Attend the Bob Squier Memorial Service
National Cathedral, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Lisa Berg

The Memorial Service is scheduled to begin at 11AM. You will
attend this Service immediately after addressing the Senate

See several notes
See note on 1st
regret - if I
can drop in &
do I should

Copied
Streett
Graham
Demeo
Podesta
Hernreich

cc: Edavette
p-10.

pg 10 -
Burkhardt
(for reply)

2-4-00

Democratic Caucus.

2/4/00

Ronald Reagan Birthday Tribute
White House
Staff Contact: Joe Lockhart

This is your annual birthday greeting to former President Reagan that will be aired on Larry King Live.

2/7/00

CNN Moneyline Interview
Residence, White House
Staff Contact: Joe Lockhart

This interview will focus on the FY2001 budget.

2/8/00

Genetic Discrimination Event
Presidential Hall, White House
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed

2/8/00

Boy Scouts Photo-Op
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

This is your annual photo-op with the Boy Scouts and presentation of their Report to the Nation.

2/9/00

Charter Schools Departure Statement
White House
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed

You will release the Department of Education's fourth year report on Charter Schools.

2/10/00

Release of the Economic Report of the President
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Martin Baily

This is your traditional event with the Members and staff of the Council of Economic Advisors. You will sign the Economic Report and take a photo with the CEA representatives.

2/10/00

Congressional Unity Event
Capitol Hill, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Chuck Brain

This will be an opportunity to officially present a unified Legislative agenda with both the House and Senate Democratic Caucuses.

2/10/00 Economic Roundtable Interview (T)
White House
Staff Contact: Joe Lockhart

Joe Lockhart and Gene Sperling are determining which reporters will participate in this roundtable.

2/11/00 African-American White House Staff Photo-Op
White House
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

This is your annual photo with the African-American members of the White House staff for Black History Month.

2/11/00 Arab American Outreach Meeting (T)
White House
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

2/14/00 Receive the 2000 League of the United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) Legislative Award & Address LULAC's Gala
East Room, White House
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

You will announce the FY2001 Hispanic agenda and receive LULAC's Legislative Award to honor the progress your Administration has made for Latinos in this country. You will also announce the National Census in the Schools Program.

2/14/00 Congressional Meeting (T)
White House
Staff Contact: Chuck Brain

You will meet with House Members to discuss China.

2/14/00 Drop-by Meeting on Hispanic Judicial Appointments
White House
Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste

2/15/00

Medical Errors Event (T)
Site TBD, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed

You will release a report responding to your request to review the recommendations of the Institute of Medicine proposing new federal action to prevent medical errors.

2/15/00

Congressional Meeting (T)
White House
Staff Contact: Chuck Brain

You will meet with House Members to discuss China.

2/16/00

Hold for Possible Press Conference
East Room, White House
Staff Contact: Joe Lockhart

2/17/00

Address Opening Summit of the Africa Summit
Convention Center, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Sandy Berger, Mary Beth Cahill

2/17/00

Photo-Op w/ Michael Camdessus, Outgoing Director of the IMF
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

Michael Camdessus would like to come in for a photo-op upon his retirement as Director of the International Monetary Fund.

2/17/00

Congressional Meeting (T)
White House
Staff Contact: Chuck Brain

You will meet with House Members to discuss China.

2/17/00

Hold for Movie Night
Family Theater, White House
Staff Contact: Capricia Marshall

The movie will be "Down in the Delta" by Lyn Clinton, daughter of Sissy & Bo Clinton. The guest list will be mostly Arkansas friends who live in DC.

2/18/00 Prescription Drug Event (T)
Site TBD, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed

2/18/00 Photo Op with the Y2K Council Staff
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: John Koskinen

John Koskinen and his staff would like to come in for a brief photo.

2/22/00 Live TeleConference on Burundi with Nelson Mandela
White House
Staff Contact: Sandy Berger

2/22/00 Youth Violence Event (T)
Site TBD, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed

You will announce the members of the Board of the National Campaign Against Youth Violence, which was created to address the issue of youth violence in America following the Columbine shootings. In addition to releasing a new report on the issue of youth violence, this event can be used to play in Hill activities on guns or other issues.

2/22/00 Minner \$ Reception
Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore

2/23/00 Congressional Meeting (T)
White House
Staff Contact: Chuck Brain

You will discuss Lands Legacy legislation with a group of Senators.

2/24/00 Address the Business Council
Site TBD, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Gene Sperling

This will be a good venue to give a speech on China.

2-4-00

2/24/00

Deliver the Granoff Inaugural Lecture at UPENN
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA
Staff Contact: Gene Sperling

2/24/00

DNC \$ Dinner
Site TBD, New York, NY
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore

2/25/00

Native American Departure Statement (T)
White House
Staff Contact: Lynn Cutler

You will announce the targeted initiatives to help Native American communities across the nation accompanied by members of the Pine Ridge community, members of the National Congress of American Indians, and Members of Congress who support this agenda.

2/25/00

Present the Malcolm Baldrige Quality Awards
Site TBD, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

2/25/00

Hold for Movie Night
Family Theatre, White House
Staff Contact: Capricia Marshall

2/27/00

National Governor's Association Annual Dinner
State Dining Room, White House
Staff Contact: Mickey Ibarra

This is your traditional NGA dinner at the White House during their meeting in Washington, DC.

2/28/00

National Governor's Association White House Roundtable
East Room, White House
Staff Contact: Mickey Ibarra

You will host the traditional NGA White House Roundtable and do a receiving line with the Governors.

2/28/00

Announce the FY2001 Funding for Amtrak
White House
Staff Contact: Karen Tramontano, Mickey Ibarra

You will be accompanied by Bipartisan Governors to announce the new funding for Amtrak in the FY2001 budget: Amtrak will be funded at its fully authorized level - \$989 million.

2/28/00 Congressional Meeting (T)
White House
Staff Contact: Chuck Brain

You will meet with House Members to discuss China.

2/28/00 Drop-by Delta Regional Authority Meeting
White House
Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste, Lynn Cutler

Senator Lott and the Governors of the seven-state Delta region will be at the White House for a briefing on the Delta Regional Initiative in the 2001 budget.

2/28/00 Democratic Governor's Association Annual Dinner
Union Station, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore

2/29/00 Departure Statement TBD
White House
Staff Contact: TBD

2/29/00 DNC \$ Lunch
Palm Beach, FL
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore

2/29/00 Official Meeting (Library)
Palm Beach, FL
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore

2/29/00 DNC \$ Dinner (T)
Miami, FL
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore

2/29/00 Bloom \$ Reception (T)
Miami, FL
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore

3/1/00

Meeting & Attend Ottoman Art Exhibit with Turkish President Demirel

Meeting in Oval, Exhibit at Corcoran Gallery, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Sandy Berger

President Demirel would like to meet with you privately and then attend the Ottoman Art Exhibit at the Corcoran Gallery of Art with you.

3/2/00

White House Meeting on Vaccine Research & Development for the Third World

Cabinet Room, White House

Staff Contact: N. Lane, S. Berger, M.B. Cahill, G. Sperling

This is the White House meeting you promised to hold in your September, 1999 UNGA speech.

3/2/00

Florida State NCAA Championship Event

East Room, White House

Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

You will host an event to congratulate the Florida State Seminoles on becoming the 1999 NCAA Football Champions.

3/10/00

DNC Labor Lunch

Site TBD, Washington, DC

Staff Contact: Minyon Moore

This lunch had to be rescheduled due to the snowstorm in February.

3/10/00

Photo-Op w/ Members of the National Labor Relations Board

Site TBD, Washington, DC

Staff Contact: Karen Tramontano

You will take a photo with the Members of the National Labor Relations Board after the DNC Labor lunch.

3/16/00

Address the American Ireland Fund National Gala

National Building Museum, Washington, DC

Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

The American Ireland Fund will present you with a Humanitarian Award at this Dinner.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-4-00

PENDING:

Date of Event

Description of Event

March TBD

Present the Ron Brown Award for Corporate Leadership
White House
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

March 9

Drop-by Briefing for the National Association of Evangelicals
Presidential Hall, White House
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

This is the most conservative religious group we have relations with and they have been helpful to us on religious freedom abroad and other issues. Would you like the option to drop-by on your schedule?

Option ☒ Regret ☐

March 13

Attend HUD's Center for Community & Interfaith Partnerships' Regional Conference
Site TBD, Chicago, IL
Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

You will be traveling to Cleveland, OH and Chicago, IL for political events on this day. We are determining whether or not you will have time to do this event in Chicago, IL.

REGRET:

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

February 7

Visit Wintley Phipps' U.S. Dream Academy Demonstration Site
Ferebee Hope Community Services Ctr., SE Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed

The opening of this demonstration site is on February 7th and you are already scheduled to release the FY2001 budget and address the 2000 House Democratic Caucus Issues Conference in The Homestead, VA. The recommendation is to consider visiting this site at a later date.

*(with us)
considering
is out of the
we are not
we are not
we are not*

2-4-00

Copy
Book
for

February 8

Address SBA's First Annual Memorandum of Understanding
Partner Meeting
Presidential Hall, White House
Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

**This event is scheduled at the same time as the Medal of Honor
presentation we have already scheduled on this day.
Administrator Alvarez is attending this event.**

February 8, 9

Address the White House Community Empowerment Board
Contracting & Procurement Fair
Ronald Reagan Building, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Alvin Brown

Should send him
a nice letter

cc: Dan B

**You already have a full schedule on February 8th with the
Genetic Discrimination event, annual photo-op with the Boy
Scouts, Medal of Honor presentation, DNC Reception and
DNC Dinner. You will be traveling to McAllen, TX and Dallas,
TX on February 9th.**

February 17

Still good
this is a nice
letter

Attend American Film Institute Dinner Honoring Harrison Ford
Los Angeles, CA
Staff Contact: Betty Currie

**You already have a full schedule in Washington, DC this day
with the speech to the Africa Summit, photo-op with outgoing
IMF Director, Congressional meeting and movie night.**

February 19

OK

Attend La Roche College's "A Tribute to Peace" Dinner
Double Tree Hotel, Pittsburgh, PA
Staff Contact: Stephanie Streett

**Per your request, you will tape a video to be shown at this
Dinner. You are scheduled to be in New York with the First
Lady on this day.**

February 22

John/Maria
Do we
want to
skip this?

Accept the "Rock the Nation Award" from Rock the Vote
Los Angeles, CA
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

**You are already scheduled to attend the receptions mentioned
above in Washington, DC on this date. You will tape a video to
be shown at this event.**

John / Maria

Do we want to
skip this?

2-4-00

February 22

Present the Charles Stark Draper Prize
State Dept. Diplomatic Reception Rooms, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Neal Lane

You have a full schedule this day with the live TeleConference with Nelson Mandela, the Youth Violence Event, strategy meeting, Minner \$ Reception and Waters \$ Reception.

February 22

Attend the Wizards vs. Bucks Game w/ Senator Kohl
MCI Center, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Minyon Moore

*if I finish
see for game
see could
drop by -*

You are already scheduled to attend fundraisers for Representatives Minner and Waters on this evening and you have the option to drop-by the Bucks' White House tour on the evening of February 21st.

February 24-26

Address the National Congress of American Indians' Executive Council Winter Session
Grand Hyatt, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Lynn Cutler

You are already scheduled to deliver the Granoff Lecture at UPENN and attend a DNC Dinner in NY on February 24th, and present the Malcolm Baldrige Awards on February 25th. You will do a departure statement on February 25th on the Native American agenda accompanied by Native American leaders and Members of Congress.

March 1

Address the International Volunteer Awards Dinner
National Building Museum, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

Cabinet Affairs is working on an appropriate surrogate to attend this Dinner.

March 2

Address FEMA/BellSouth's Project Impact Corporate Summit
The Carter Center, Atlanta, GA
Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

You are already scheduled to participate in the White House Meeting on Vaccine Research & Development for the Third World, and host the Florida State NCAA Football Championship Event on this day. We offered to tape a video

2-4-00

but FEMA declined.

March 14

Lands Legacy Conservation Tour Event in Florida
Pelican Island, FL
Staff Contact: George Frampton

You are already scheduled to present the 1999 Medals of Science and Technology at the White House on this date.

March 16

Good

Address the 3rd Annual Greater Washington Business Philanthropy Summit
Site TBD, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

We are already holding this day for a possible press conference. Mary Beth indicated that these Summits are held periodically and we can attend one at a later date.

March 17-18

Need to discuss - Jan 20 2000

Address the American Federation of Teachers' 23rd Annual PSRP Conference
Hyatt Regency, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Karen Tramontano

You are already scheduled to participate in several St. Patrick's day events and host a White House Reception on March 17th, and you depart for foreign travel on March 18th.

March 19-21

Need to discuss - Jan 20 2000

Address the United Jewish Communities National Young Leadership Conference
Washington Hilton, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

You are scheduled to be on foreign travel during this Conference. Public Liaison is working with Cabinet Affairs on an appropriate surrogate.

PERSONAL:

Date of Event:

2/8/00

Description of Event:

Meeting with Ministers
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Nancy Hernreich

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-4-00

We are holding 9AM to 10AM for your meeting with the Ministers.

2/15/00

Meeting with Ministers
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Nancy Herrnreich

We are holding 9AM to 10AM for your meeting with the Ministers.

2/15/00

Photo-Op with the CEO of Waterford Crystal
Oval Office, White House
Staff Contact: Capricia Marshall

Chris McGillvary, CEO of Waterford Crystal, donated all the crystal goblets to the White House for the New Year's Eve Gala.

2/15/00

James Carville's Book Party
Location TBD
Staff Contact: Stephanie Streett

James Carville is having a party to celebrate the publication of his new book. Would you like the option to attend on your schedule?

Option ☒ Regret ☐ Discuss ☐

We are continuing to work in the following meetings when your schedule permits:

-Lawrence Smalls
-Brad Koplinski
✓ -Bob Sillerman & Alan Patricof
-John McCaffrey

✓ -Marcel Marceau
-Bill Ivey
-Jim Baker

Must be
closed by
Counselor's
office -
Ask Meredith
Cabe

*The Ambassador of
The Dominican Republic*

00 FEB 4 PM 5:34

February 3rd, 2000

Washington, D.C.

*The President
William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America
The White House*

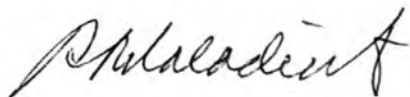
Dear Mr. President:

I would like to express my profound satisfaction to hear your support to the African Growth and Opportunity Act during your seventh State of the Union address, legislation which will provide trade benefits for subSaharan Africa and the Caribbean (HR 434). Your urging to the Congress to complete the referred legislation, once more confirmed the strong intention of your Administration to assist the economies and prosperity of our developing countries. We are convinced that with such a statement the House and Senate will convene a conference and work on the differences of each Chamber's version.

As you well do, we believe in the power of open trade. The Government of President Leonel Fernández Reyna has played a leading role to open the Dominican Republic not only to our neighboring countries, but to remote regions of the world, while creating a legal structure that will guarantee an increase in the living standards of every Dominican.

Thank you again for your tremendous support.

Respectfully yours,



*Roberto B. Saladín Selín
Ambassador*

2-4-00

To NSC for reply?
Yes ☒ No ☐

(if needed) B.

'00 FEB 4 PM6:34

Ciudad de la Habana, 7 de Noviembre de 1999

Sr. Willian Clinton.
Presidente de los Estados
Unidos de Norte América

Ruego al Dios Altísimo Padre de nuestro Señor Jesucristo, Padre de misericordia y Dios de toda consolación y reconciliación; que al recibo de este mensaje se encuentre bien de salud y lleno de gozo en unión de su familia.

En el nombre de nuestro Señor Jesucristo. "Estando firme en la libertad con que Cristo nos hizo libre, y no estando sujeto al yugo de esclavitud" (Ga.5:1), ruego al Señor, haga llegar este mensaje de reconciliación y amor a su gobierno y a todo el pueblo norteamericano, deseándole a esa nación sean multiplicadas sus bendiciones por el Señor, haciéndole fluir leche y miel como la tierra ancha y buena.

Mi amor en Cristo Jesús a esa nación que supo siempre recibir a hombres y mujeres de todas las naciones, siendo la sangre, que corre por las venas de ese pueblo, compartida con la sangre de toda la humanidad.

2-4-00

To NSC for translation
and reply if appropriate?

Yes ✓ No —
6.

Bendiciones


Antonio de Jesús Falcón Pérez
Siervo de Dios y del
Señor Jesucristo

Ciudad de la Habana, 7 de Noviembre de 1999

Sr. Kofi Annan
Secretario General de la Organización
de las Naciones Unidas

Rev. Carlos Hans
Presidente del Consejo
Caribeño de Iglesias

Sr. Willian Clinton
Presidente de los Estados Unidos
de Norte América

Dra. Joan Campbell
Secretaria General del Concilio
Nacional de Iglesias de Cristo

Dr. Fidel Castro Ruz
Presidente de los Consejos
de Estado y de Ministros
República de Cuba

Rev. Ordem Marichal
Presidente del Consejo
de Iglesias de Cuba

Rev. Dr Konrad Raiser
Secretario General del Consejo
Mundial de Iglesias.

Sr. Ted Turner
Presidente de la Agencia de
Prensa C.N.N.

Rev. Dr. Walter Altmann
Presidente del Consejo Latino
Americano de Iglesias.

Sr. Frank Agüero Gómez
Director Periódico Granma.
Cuba.

Al: Pueblo Norteamericano y a todos los cubanos
en cualquier lugar que se encuentren dentro o
fuera de Cuba.

Por la reconciliación, la paz, el amor y la gracia, de Dios nuestro Padre de
gloria y del Señor Jesucristo.

Como siervo del Dios Altísimo; por la voluntad de Dios para hacer el bien y
para callar la ignorancia de los hombres insensatos. Como hombre libre, no tomando
la libertad como pretexto para hacer lo malo (1P.2: 15-17); y como embajador en
nombre de Cristo, me presento ante el mundo en la defensa del ministerio de la
reconciliación (2Co.5:17-20).

Recientemente en el 54 período de sesiones de la Asamblea General de la Organización de Naciones Unidas, la delegación cubana allí presente, presidida por el canciller Felipe Pérez Roque e integrada por una delegación numerosa, abordaron nuevamente las dificultades entre los gobiernos de los Estados Unidos y Cuba, donde pudieron exponer libremente en esa Asamblea como en algunos lugares de la ciudad de Nueva York y dentro del mismo territorio de su adversario, las demandas del gobierno de Cuba contra el gobierno de los Estados Unidos, por los daños que nos han ocasionado durante cuarenta años al pueblo cubano.

Quiero exponer yo también libremente con todo mi derecho como cubano y como cristiano, ante la ONU, ante los gobiernos de los Estados Unidos y de Cuba, ante la Iglesia de Jesucristo, ante la prensa nacional, como internacional y ante los dos pueblos, que renuncio por la parte que me corresponde, a toda demanda o reclamación presentada en contra del gobierno norteamericano, incluyendo todo beneficio material o de carácter monetario que pudiera originar esta demanda por los daños y sufrimientos que nos ocasionaron.

En el nombre de nuestro Señor Jesucristo le pido perdón al pueblo cubano dentro y fuera de Cuba, por el daño que nos causamos mutuamente debido a nuestras disputas, por nuestras ofensas hacia ustedes, por haber tomado y disfrutado de sus recursos y bienes propios que no nos correspondían y que a partir de esto provocó mucho odio entre nosotros y la salida hacia el exterior a más de un millón y medio de cubanos, quedando nuestras familias y amigos separados y divididos.

En el nombre de nuestro Señor Jesucristo y de todos los cristianos cubanos sin excepción de uno, le pido perdón al pueblo y al gobierno norteamericanos; como también le pido perdón a todos aquellos ciudadanos de otras nacionalidades que residieron en nuestro país y a sus respectivos gobiernos, por nuestras ofensas y por el daño que le pudimos haber ocasionado por los recursos que le tomamos y que no nos correspondían, haciéndolo en el nombre de nuestra soberanía, en el nombre de nuestra libertad, en el nombre de nuestra pobreza y miseria.

Cuando hablo en el nombre de todos los cristianos cubanos no lo hago con el fin de dar una imagen, idea o apariencia de unidad, lo hacemos porque somos un cuerpo en Cristo (Ro.12: 5), porque somos una sola iglesia, porque Cristo no está dividido como los hombres (1Co.1:13), porque pertenecemos a una nación santa, estando nuestra ciudadanía en los cielos (Fil.3: 20), encontrándonos todos en plena comunión con Dios, porque su Hijo primogénito, nuestro hermano celestial, somos con ÉL coherederos de la herencia de nuestro Dios Padre; siempre lo hacemos en su nombre, es decir:

En el nombre del padre, del Hijo y del Espíritu Santo, unido a un Amén, y sin faltar para alabarle a ÉL, un ¡Gloria a Dios!

Si no lo hago también en nombre de todo nuestro pueblo, es porque respeto el libre albedrío que Dios le dio al hombre, para decidir por sí mismo su salvación, y no por la voluntad de otros hombres, quedando siempre bajo su propia responsabilidad.

Cristo lo demostró; con el joven rico cuando este se le acercó buscando la vida eterna, sin obligarlo a nada, ni le quitó lo que tenía para repartirlo a los pobres (Mt.19:16-30).

Cristo siendo rico se hizo pobre por amor a nosotros y por su pobreza somos enriquecidos (2Co.8:9). ÉL nos demostró todo lo contrario de lo que divulga el hombre, de que la prosperidad de sus naciones y de sus habitantes, consiste en quitarle al rico lo que tiene para repartirlo por igual a todos los hombres o despojar al que tiene algo para dárselo al que no tiene nada. Esto es una mentira del diablo, y los desposeídos se han dejado arrastrar por ella, honrando y dando culto a los hombres antes que al Creador (Ro.1:25).

La prosperidad viene dada al hombre por la obediencia a Dios, y cuando actuamos así, sus promesas se cumplen; el hombre promete y no puede dar nada porque nada tiene para dar si no se lo quita a otros; nada ha traído al mundo el hombre y sin dudas nada podremos sacar en provecho; el hombre no es más que un árbol plantado en la naturaleza creada por Dios y cuando este árbol no da buen fruto será cortado (Mt.7:15-20).

La palabra de Dios nos dice: "Si alguno enseña otra cosa, y no se conforma a las sanas palabras de nuestro Señor Jesucristo, y a la doctrina que es conforme a la piedad, está envanecido, nada sabe, y delira acerca de cuestiones y contiendas de las palabras, de las cuales nace envidia, pleitos, blasfemias, malas sospechas, disputas necias de hombres corruptos de entendimientos y privados de la verdad, que toman la piedad como fuente de ganancia; apártate de los tales" (1Ti.6:3-5).

"Pero gran ganancia es la piedad acompañada de contentamiento; porque nada hemos traído a este mundo, y sin duda nada podremos sacar. Así que, teniendo sustento y abrigo, estemos contentos con esto. Porque los que quieren enriquecerse caen en tentación y lazo, y en muchas codicias necias y dañosas, que hunden a los hombres en destrucción y perdición; porque la raíz de todos los males es el amor al dinero, el cual codiciando algunos, se extraviaron de la fe, y fueron traspasados de muchos dolores" (1Ti.6:6-10).

Amado Padre de gloria. Venga tu reino. Hágase tu voluntad, como en el cielo, así también en la tierra. Y perdónanos nuestras deudas, como también nosotros perdonamos a nuestros deudores (Mt.6:10,12).

Lamentablemente, durante estas cuatro décadas mucha leña se le ha echado a esta contienda entre los dos gobiernos, unos lo han hecho por sus pérdidas; otros, según estime en defensa a cada lado, lo hacen por creer defender una causa justa sin haber perdido nada.

Se hace necesario apagar este fuego, porque en alguna ocasión, por muchas razones a alguien se le pudiera ocurrir demandar también al gobierno Español por los daños ocasionados por la colonización a nuestro país, por la masacre de nuestros indios, dando lugar a que perdiéramos nuestra verdadera historia, idioma e idiosincrasia y cultura; nunca la conocimos realmente, la que hoy tenemos fue impuesta por otros hombres y no la que Dios nos quiso dar, el indio Hatuey la rechazó por ellos y por nosotros; por las pérdidas de vidas y daños materiales, que le costó al pueblo por la guerra de Independencia, por el saqueo de nuestras riquezas. Es una pérdida irreparable e impagable.

Es necesario sofocar este fuego urgentemente; porque otras naciones, están en su pleno derecho a presentar una demanda parecida a la nuestra ante las Naciones Unidas contra otra nación o gobierno que lo haya agredido por cualquier medio; esta demanda pone en peligro la seguridad de la humanidad, porque muchos pudieran seguir este ejemplo y las deudas serían mucho mayor que las actuales deudas externas que tienen actualmente las naciones, que nadie y ninguna generación podrá cobrarla; además, de cobrarse, repercutiría con gran dolor sobre las capas más necesitadas de la sociedad de esas naciones a las que se demandarían, de tenerla que pagar preferirían esos pueblos que surja la 3ra guerra mundial para que los pobres y los ricos se quedaran sin nada, y sin Cristo, para los que no creyeron en él y para los que no lo aceptaron como su único Rey y Salvador. ¡Aleluya!

Si de verdad amamos al pueblo norteamericano, se debe hacer un referéndum o consulta nuevamente a nuestro pueblo, para analizar la retirada de esta demanda, porque el pago de esa indemnización exigida por los daños ocasionados, recaería sobre el pueblo norteamericano, sobre los más necesitados de esa sociedad, recaería ese peso de \$181 100 millones de dólares sobre los trabajadores que son los contribuyentes, caería ese pago sobre los que han deseado y pedido con sus oraciones el restablecimiento de las relaciones diplomáticas y normales entre los dos Estados, el pueblo norteamericano es nuestro amigo y no tiene por qué sufrir las consecuencias de esta guerra injusta.

La Palabra nos enseña; "Todo me es lícito, pero no todo conviene, todo me es lícito, pero no todo edifica. Ninguno busque su propio bien sino el del otro (1Co.6:12; 10:23-24). Seamos imitadores de Cristo.

¿No se han cansado los pueblos de seguir soportando estas guerras y contiendas? ¿Desea alguien entrar al siglo XXI arrastrando esta enfermedad del siglo XX; como muchos quieren terminarla?

Se hace necesario el PERDÓN y la RECONCILIACION. El PERDON: "Porque si perdonáis a los hombres sus ofensas, os perdonará a vosotros vuestro Padre celestial; más si no perdonáis a los hombres sus ofensas, tampoco vuestro Padre os perdonará vuestras ofensas" (Mt.6:14-15). Por la RECONCILIACION; porque dijo Moisés a Aarón: "Acércate al altar, y haz tu expiación y tu holocausto, y haz la reconciliación por ti y por el pueblo; haz también la ofrenda del pueblo, y haz la reconciliación por ellos como ha mandado Jehová" (Lv.9:7)

Señores presidentes de los Estados Unidos y Cuba, preséntense ante el altar por ustedes y por nosotros con el perdón en sus corazones y estréchense las manos delante de Dios; Señores presidentes, presenten ofrendas de amor y reconciliación con un abrazo entre sus personas, delante de Dios y de nuestros dos pueblos. Eso es lo que queremos todos, cuando hay amor en nuestros corazones.

Que no se hable más de bloqueo, ni de demandas de un lado ni de otro, esta no es la solución.

Que se hable de relaciones diplomáticas normales y serias con sus respectivos representantes diplomáticos, con acuerdos de colaboración y asistencia mutua en todas las esferas de la vida y económicas, respetándose los dos gobiernos como están establecidos con sus distintos sistemas políticos y económicos; teniendo como intermediario solamente a nuestro Señor Jesucristo; por esto oramos y porque tenemos los cristianos un DIOS BUENO y SUFICIENTE en el que creemos. ¡Gloria a Dios!

Se hace necesario la reconciliación entre los dos Estados y entre todos los cubanos.

Acaso el pueblo cubano ha padecido en toda su historia más de lo que padecieron las naciones que sufrieron la 1ra y 2da guerras mundiales; acaso Cuba ha padecido más que el pueblo de Japón que aún siente las consecuencias de las bombas atómicas arrojadas sobre ellos, y ¿no hubo reconciliación?; Sí la hubo; acaso nuestro pueblo padece más que el pueblo de Viet Nam por las consecuencias de la guerra contra los Estados Unidos, y ¿no hubo reconciliación?; es este pueblo más sufrido que el pueblo de Iraq. Es este pueblo más sufrido que el pueblo de Israel; acaso nuestro pueblo sufre más que el pueblo Palestino; y ¿no hay reconciliación?; Sí la hay.

También nos reconciliamos con nuestro primer agresor, España.

Nosotros los cubanos no estamos por encima de la humanidad, ni la podemos sacrificar por nuestro orgullo, tampoco estamos por encima de la gracia de Dios. Le pido a Dios que nos perdone y tenga misericordia de nosotros.

El mundo no está necesitado de Cuba, ni Cuba está necesitada del mundo; Cuba y el mundo y todos nosotros, estamos necesitados de Jehová de los ejércitos que es nuestro único redentor, y por su gracia somos Salvo. (Is.41:10-11; Is.43:11-13), Cristo es el Camino y la Verdad y la Vida (Jn.14:6)

Mucho odio hay sobre la tierra y poco amor. ¿Sufre el pueblo cubano más de lo que padeció Jesucristo en la cruz, derramando su preciosa sangre por todos, para nuestra salvación (Jn.19:1-37); aún ÉL está padeciendo por nosotros, por nuestros pecados, por nuestra negativa al arrepentimiento. Es la angustia del cubano más grande que la de nuestro Señor Jesucristo; en ninguna manera.

En la Iglesia Metodista Episcopal Africana en Staten Island se expresó: "para la iglesia cubana el amor a Dios pasa por el amor a nuestro pueblo". Esto no es así, dice el Señor.

Doy gracias a Dios por este mensaje que llegará a todos los rincones del mundo; porque todo el que ame por medio de nuestro Señor Jesucristo, ese amor sí llega a Dios: "Porque de tal manera amó Dios al mundo, que ha dado a su hijo unigénito, para que todo aquel que en él cree, no se pierda, más tenga vida eterna. Porque no envió Dios a su Hijo al mundo para condenar al mundo, sino para que el mundo sea salvo por él (Jn.3:17-18)).

El amor de Dios vino a nosotros mediante su Hijo, y por su Hijo llega nuestro amor a Dios, siempre que lo expresemos y lo demos a los demás también en el nombre de Jesucristo. El amor a Dios no es un amor a secas, falta incluir en esa frase; en el nombre de nuestro Señor Jesucristo, además, no miremos a quien se le da ese amor, como se exhorta en esa frase; que para que llegue a Dios ese amor, debe pasar por Cuba. El amor de Dios no es un amor para "particulares", el amor de Dios no es un amor para "egoístas"; el amor de Dios es un amor recibido por su gracia inmerecidamente para todos por igual. Más bienaventurado es dar, que recibir (Hch.20:28-35).

Si le somos fieles a Dios no nos queda otra cosa que cumplir su Palabra en (Gá.5:13-15) "Servíos por amor los unos a otros", no olvidemos nunca esto.

Amar a nuestros enemigos es una regla de oro, es un mandamiento de Dios, y quien no lo cumpla está en rebeldía ante Él, ya bien sea un recién nacido en Cristo o un pastor con madurez, o cualquier hombre.

Se hace necesario leer muchas veces el Santo Evangelio según San Lucas (Lc.6:27-36) para no ser un oidor olvidadizo, de lo que Dios nos habla por su Palabra. Dice el Señor; "Pero a vosotros los que oís, os digo: Amad a vuestros enemigos, haced el bien a los que os aborrecen; (Lc.6:27;Mt.5:38-48), Esto hay que cumplirlo para estar bien con el Señor. ¡Aleluya!

Hay sobre la tierra alguien que pueda asegurar que el pueblo cubano sufre más que los niños enfermos, hambrientos y sin escuelas de Africa, Asia, América Latina y del Caribe. Acaso nuestros hijos padecen más que los niños esclavos, o esos niños que son comercializados. ¿Tiene Cuba la miseria que diariamente se refleja en la prensa y en la televisión de todo el mundo?. ¿Depende nuestra nación para seguir adelante de que quiten o no el bloqueo; depende Cuba para seguir adelante presentar una demanda como ésta, por un valor de indemnización de \$181 100 millones de dólares estadounidenses como pago por los daños causados a nuestra nación?

No, Cuba para seguir adelante no lo necesita, Estados Unidos tampoco necesita mantener este bloqueo, porque este bloqueo le ha traído mucha adversidad, mucho daño se ha hecho también esta nación, porque su pueblo y productores han dejado de obtener muchos beneficios al no poder vendernos sus productos, al no poder intercambiar nuestros conocimientos a favor de la ciencia, la educación, a favor de ambos pueblos.

No nos engañemos a nosotros mismos y no engañemos a los demás al hacernos creer ser algo no siendo nada (Gá.6:1-10).

¿Es el pueblo cubano más sufrido, de lo que sufrieron los apóstoles y los discípulos de Cristo?, no lo somos. Ellos supieron padecer calladamente por seguir a Jesucristo, llevando el evangelio a todo el mundo, lo hicieron con gozo defendiendo el ministerio de la misericordia, la piedad y la reconciliación. Soportaron todas las pruebas.

¿Los cubanos sufrimos más que los hombres y mujeres que padecieron la santa inquisición?. Seguro estoy que no.

¿Podemos compararnos con el genocidio sobre Kosovo por un lado y el de Yugoslavia por otro?. Claro que no.

Entonces, ¿para qué vamos a seguir hablando de genocidio?, contribuyendo a elevar la temperatura de este fuego, si los gobiernos de los Estados Unidos y Cuba no se han dado todavía una bofetada. Cambiemos de nuestros labios la palabra genocidio, por la palabra AMOR y PERDON.

Si los hombres se respetan a sí mismos como se aman es importante reflexionar en todo esto, esta responsabilidad nos toca tanto a los cubanos de adentro como los que están rediciendo en otras naciones, es importante que los Jefes de Estados de los E.U. y Cuba reflexionen sobre estos acontecimientos.

Señores presidentes si no se sienten capaces de llevar en su agenda de trabajo permanentemente y como primer punto el amor y la reconciliación en Cristo para con todos sin excepción; si se sienten impotentes para enfrentar y dar solución a este conflicto, es preferible que abandonen sus cargos antes de comprometer a sus naciones en una guerra cruel y desigual de mayores proporciones; si de verdad aman a sus pueblos como se aman a sí mismo (Stg 2:8-13), no se levanten de sus butacas en las Naciones Unidas o de sus puestos de trabajo cuando estén frente a frente con buena voluntad; hasta lograr un entendimiento o acuerdo.

La ONU se creó para el buen entendimiento entre las naciones, para demostrar que hay grandes posibilidades de cooperación y ayuda entre todos. La ONU no fue creada para convertirla en el primer campo de batalla o teatro de guerra, de ser así más vale que no exista, para evitar hacernos más daño.

No son los pueblos los que llevan y traen las guerras; queremos vivir junto a nuestras familias para educarlas para el bien, para trabajar tranquilos, para hacer la voluntad de Dios; para servirle a los demás; se dice que los gobernantes de poca visión son los que meten a sus naciones en estos conflictos, que involucran a sus pueblos en estas guerras espantosas, haciéndolo en nombre de la moral, la dignidad, la heroicidad, la solidaridad y en defensa de un sistema político o económico determinado.

Dios nos dice en este mensaje que no es por falta de visión, todo está visible; que por medio de la culpabilidad del hombre todo lo que sufren los pueblos es por la impiedad e injusticia de los propios hombres, que detienen con injusticia la verdad (Ro.1:18-32); no es por falta de visión en los gobernantes que estas cosas sucedan, es por falta de misericordia.

Señores presidentes de los Estados Unidos y Cuba, este mensaje no va dirigido solamente a ustedes, sino teniendo en cuenta también aquellos que en su tiempo vendrán a ocupar esos cargos que hoy ustedes desempeñan, porque la virtud más grande que debe poseer un hombre, y más para ocupar tan alta responsabilidad en la conducción de una nación, es la de tener compasión de los males ajenos y poseer la virtud que nos impulsan a perdonar, nuestro Señor le llama a esto anteriormente dicho, misericordia.

¿Quién tiene misericordia por aquellos que se lanzan al mar y se han quedado entre las costas de E.U. y Cuba, incluyendo niños?

¿Estas muertes son producto de salir huyendo de un país esclavista y totalitario?, no es así ¿Estas muertes son producto de querer encontrar el paraíso?, tampoco.

Estas muertes han ocurrido porque las familias se quieren unir, porque hay añoranza. Este mensaje con mucho dolor lo ha expresado de esta manera el pueblo cubano y no lo han querido ver, ni escuchar, quedando al margen de todas las consideraciones de toda demanda, independientemente de aquellos que lo hacen por correr una aventura o por ir en busca de fortuna, en todos los tiempos hay buscadores de oro; mientras algunos quedan presos, por violar las leyes; otros, los menos afortunados quedaron en el mar.

Dios le ha dado un don especial a los pueblos, y es un misterio; los pueblos son muy nobles y saben perdonar. Dios le ha entregado otro don a los pueblos y es que saben querer y respetarse; durante 40 años se ha dicho que los cubanos y norteamericanos se aman, entonces porqué los Jefes de Estados son incapaces de lograrlo entre sí.

La solidaridad ha cambiado su significado en estos tiempos, abusando el hombre en el uso excesivo de esta palabra, enviándose soldados a cualquier parte del mundo a participar en guerras ajenas, hay muchos ejemplos reiterados donde muchas naciones se han visto involucradas, incluyendo la ONU.

Estos soldados no van a participar en la construcción de ciudades, carreteras, hospitales, escuelas, etc; van a convertirse en maquinarias humanas demoledoras de carne, de pueblos y ciudades, se convierten en constructores de muertos, y de viudas, de huérfanos, no porque solo esos soldados maten a sus esposos, o porque maten a los padres de algún niño, sino porque muchos que van a esas guerras no regresan, dejando a sus propias esposas e hijos esperando por alguien amado que jamás regresó. Se convierten en constructores de epidemias, hambre, miseria, desolación, mutilados de guerra que le dejan una carga irreparable a sus pueblos y a sus familias.

Esto es lo que nos dejan las voluntades guerreristas y rebeldes; esto es lo que nos dejan las voluntades por la violencia y la resistencia.

Después de todas estas adversidades, aparece la otra solidaridad hermana de la primera, con cara de piedad y misericordia, enviemos alimentos, ropa, medicinas y todo tipo de ayuda que necesiten, ¡que mentiroso es el diablo!, ¿por qué no se evitó la guerra, con la verdadera solidaridad?

La humanidad va a cumplir XX siglos en estas condiciones, XX siglos no de existencia, sino de desgaste y exterminación, el hombre muere y nunca logra lo que

ha perseguido, los pueblos mueren y no logran conquistar lo que desean. Por esto es, lo que ha estado luchando el hombre, ofreciendo prosperidad y amor con guerra. La paz se ofrece con amor y reconciliación, y esa paz sólo la da Jehová de los ejércitos, porque suya es la batalla, el no salva con lanza ni espada como lo hacen los hombres.(1S.17:47). Esa paz se logra al lado de nuestro Señor Jesucristo, el Hijo amado de Dios, en el cual tiene complacencia (Lv.26:6; Jn.14:26-27; 2P.1:16-17).

El hombre por falta de conocimientos de la Palabra de Dios se destruye (Is.5:13; Os.4:6), y por su desobediencia a ÉL y atendiendo a falsas doctrinas y a vanas palabrerías de los hombres (1 Ti.1:4-11), tienen la mirada puesta sobre los gobernantes esperando encontrar al Mesías o tienen puesta su esperanza en caudillos vivos o muertos. Los muertos no alaban a Dios, nosotros tenemos un Dios de vivos y no de muertos, por eso oramos por los vivos que son los que están necesitados de su amor, de su misericordia, de su gracia, de la prosperidad que sólo la podemos encontrar en ÉL.

Ese Mesías que tanto se busca, hace alrededor de 2000 años que nació; vino desde su gloria en carne, murió y resucitó para la honra y gloria de su nombre (Jn.4:21-26). Vino para entregar la paz y la reconciliación que el hombre ofrece y no la puede dar, vino para que lo conociéramos enseñándonos el Camino de Santidad (Is.35:8), pero el hombre no lo quiere mirar. "Nadie puede poner otro fundamento que el que está puesto, el cual es Jesucristo...Así que, ninguno se gloríe en los hombres; porque todo es vuestro... y vosotros de Cristo, y Cristo de Dios" (1 Co.3:11-23).

Yo encontré ese Mesías que tanto busca el hombre y no me avergüenzo de decirlo ni de su evangelio (Ro.1:16-17); cada día corren sobre mi rostro, ríos de lágrimas vivas, llenas de gozo y de victoria en el Espíritu del Dios viviente que no es tentado por el mal (Stg.1:13). Hoy no vivo por la carne ni por el pecado sino por el Espíritu de Dios, siendo mi cuerpo su templo en el cual me glorío en ÉL por estar en Cristo Jesús (1Co.3:16). Yo encontré en ese Mesías que tanto buscan, que: "Lo insensato de Dios es más sabio que los hombres, y lo débil de Dios es más fuerte que los hombres (1Co.1:25-31)

Doy testimonio que siendo pobre y conforme con lo que tengo, puedo vivir en cualquier nación, y dentro de cualquier pueblo, sea rico o pobre, aún sin conocer su idioma, idiosincrasia e historia; tenga un sistema político – económico y social, como el más democrático del mundo; o tenga un sistema político – económico y social acusado como el menos democrático y el más esclavista y totalitario del mundo. Lo puedo hacer porque la paz, la seguridad y el amor que el hombre me ofreció durante 51 años y no me dio, lo encontré hace 4 años cuando conocí a Jesucristo en la iglesia. Hoy puedo vivir sin interesarme el sistema político que quiera implantar el hombre para bien o para mal de su nación, lo he logrado porque Cristo vive en mí y yo vivo

para el evangelio, hoy ya no creo en el hombre, hoy amo al hombre, y creo en Jesucristo.

Hoy soy un discípulo de ESE que es más que un carpintero, porque me gusta su oficio, por eso predico su evangelio, hasta llegar a ser un ebanista de su Palabra. El oficio de amar es el más noble de todos los oficios, de todas las carreras y cargos que el hombre pueda desempeñar.

Parecía que Dios se había olvidado de los cubanos al desechar el hombre la principal piedra del ángulo, siendo para Dios escogida y preciosa, hoy por medio de Jesucristo como piedras vivas, somos edificados como casa espiritual y real sacerdocio.

En el nombre de nuestro Señor Jesucristo, anuncio al mundo que Cuba es de Cristo, y vino a edificar a este pueblo que tanto clamó por su presencia. Las iglesias cristianas se están llenando como nunca antes se conoció, los perdidos en el camino se están salvando, los enfermos se están sanando, las células familiares donde se estudia la Biblia se están desarrollando a un ritmo sorprendente, este pueblo y esta nación se está preparando por nuestro Señor como una nación Cristocéntrica.

No sólo saldrán obreros, técnicos profesionales de nuestro país en ayuda de otros pueblos, sino que en muchos de ellos encontrarán un misionero para llevar la Palabra de Dios; ya el mundo puede contar con nuestras iglesias cristianas para llevar el mensaje de amor de Jesucristo por medio de nuestros misioneros, contándose por cientos, por miles de ellos y de todas las edades, porque en Cuba hay una gran sed de Dios. ¡Gloria a Dios!. ¡Gloria a su nombre!.

De nada sirve para nuestro bien ante Dios, enviarle a otros pueblos una ayuda temporal de constructores, maestros, médicos, etc; cuando por la falta de nuestro verdadero amor en Cristo, por la no reconciliación y enfrascado en una guerra inútil, nos permitimos recibir alimentos, ropa y otras donaciones que pudieran recibirlas los pueblos que están peores que nosotros, es más fácil y provechoso recibir todo lo que necesitamos mediante el entendimiento, el respeto mutuo y el intercambio, para no tener que afectar a otros. Estamos muy conscientes que precisamente estas donaciones vienen de esos mismos pueblos, donde sus niños y ancianos padecen unidos a sus enfermos sin o con pocos recursos y sus calles se llenan cada día más de desempleados; ¿Cuántos de ellos donaron o se quitaron un dólar para hacémoslos llegar?, ¿cuántos de esos que contribuyeron con algo, hoy no tienen empleo y no saben como van a alimentar a sus familias?. Estos demostraron ser más generosos que nosotros. ¿Quiénes piensan ahora en ellos?

No anuncia Cuba diariamente que los niños aquí, tienen garantizada la leche hasta los 7 años de edad y que no hay uno sólo de estos niños que duerman en las calles, no se argumenta también que el sistema de salud y educación llega a todos por igual. ¿Cuántas veces se han declarado estas cosas en las Naciones Unidas?.

No se ha demostrado cada año los miles de maestros, técnicos, ingenieros y profesionales de todo tipo que se forman.

Entonces que necesidad hay para seguir sembrando odio, rencor, llenando nuestros corazones de ira y de confusión en vez de llenarlo de amor, predicando la piedad y la misericordia.

Dice la Palabra en (2Ti. 3:1-5) sobre el carácter de los hombres en los postreros días, que evitemos aquellos que tienen apariencia de piedad y que niegan la eficacia de ella. ¡Gloria a Dios!, por este mensaje.

Debemos seguir Aquel que tiene la virtud de la piedad y la misericordia y no aquellos que aparentan tenerla con sus palabras, que para hacerlas valer acuden a la violencia y a las armas; señalando al prójimo con sus dedos para acusarle, bañando con sangre la palabra democracia y que los pueblos no llegan a conocerlas de verdad por las limitaciones que esas democracias impuestas traen consigo, escondiendo sus errores y sus fracasos. Cristo demostró en la cruz "Como todas las cosas que pertenecen a la vida y a la piedad nos han sido dadas por su divino poder, mediante el conocimiento de Aquel que nos llamó por su gloria y excelencia", "añadid a nuestra fe virtud, a la virtud, conocimiento; al conocimiento, dominio propio; al dominio propio, paciencia; a la paciencia, piedad; a la piedad, afecto fraternal; y al afecto fraternal amor". (2P.1:3-8).

Esta virtud la encontramos en Jesucristo porque él es amor, Él nos gobierna con amor para que el hombre no tenga que poner su sangre en sacrificio vanamente, porque Él la derramó en la cruz por todos nosotros. Amén. ¡Gloria a su nombre!

Hay 3 palabras que por su significado y por el hecho de sus acciones son abominables ante Dios y que han arrastrado a muchos hombres a rendirle culto arrastrándolos también a padecer muchas tribulaciones, sufrimientos y muerte prematura etc; siendo engañados por las trampas de Satanás, engendrando en sus corazones ira, rencor, contiendas, y pecado; olvidándose del perdón y del amor.

Dentro de estas palabras; revolución, revolucionario y rebelde, no encontramos como sinónimos de ellas: Amor, piedad, mansedumbre, gozo, paz, paciencia, benignidad, bondad, fe, reconciliación; etc. Entre estas palabras y las 3 anteriores hay un enfrentamiento de la carne contra el Espíritu, y del Espíritu contra la carne; oponiéndose entre sí, para que no hagáis lo que realmente queréis. (Gá.5:16-26).

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Sinónimos de:

<u>Revolución</u>	<u>Revolucionario</u>	<u>Rebelde</u>
1. Agitación	Rebelde	Sublevado
2. Conmoción	Sedicioso	Amotinado
3. Perturbación	Insurrecto	Sedicioso
4. Algarada	Turbulento	Faccioso
5. Alboroto	Amotinado	Contumaz
6. Revuelta	Alborotador	Revolucionario
7. Asonada	Revoltoso	Trabucaire
8. Levantamiento	Acrata (Terrorista)	Conspirador
9. Rebelión	Anarquista	Insurrecto
10. Sublevación		Insumiso
11. Motín	Nihilista,	Mambís
12. Rebeldía	.	Soliviantado
13. Sedición		
14. Insurrección	Innovador	
15. Golpe de Estado	Inventor	Inobediente
16. Alteración	Agitador	Desobediente
17. Rotación	Provocador	Insubordinado
18. Giro		Indócil
		Reacio
		Refractario
		Indisciplinado
		Recalcitrante
		Descontento
		Protervo

Tomado de la concordancia Breve de la Biblia Reina – Valera

Revisión de 1960

Rebelde v. Contumaz, Desobediente.

Rebelión v. Pecado, Prevaricación.

Contumáz v. Obstinado, Rebelde.

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Pecado: Desviación moral del ser humano que lo lleva a una conducta ofensiva a los ojos de Dios. En el AT hay una serie de palabras que expresan el significado de la palabra pecado: acción deliberada y engañosa, contraria a la voluntad de Dios expresada en la ley. El pecado se encuentra en individuos tribus y naciones. Su origen está en la desobediencia de Adán y Eva (Gn,3); los profetas lo denunciaron y condenaron. (Jer. 9.3; Ez. 4.6,17)

Antónimo de Revolución.

Paz.....descanso, reposo, sacrificio.

Disciplina..... castigo, corrección

Orden..... edicto, estatuto, juicio, ley, mandamientos, mandato, ordenanza.

“Dios no es Dios de confusión, sino de paz” (1 Co. 14:33); “Porque el reino de Dios no es comida ni bebida, sino de justicia, paz y gozo en el Espíritu Santo. Porque el que en esto sirve a Cristo, agrada a Dios, y es aprobado por los hombres. Así que, sigamos a lo que contribuye a la paz y a la mutua edificación. (Ro:14:17-19)

Todos hemos sido sin excepción alguna vez rebeldes ante Dios, manifestándolo pública o privadamente en nuestras vidas, dentro de nuestras familias, instituciones, partidos políticos o por medio de nuestra conducta ante la sociedad.

En los deberes cristianos encontramos: “El amor sea sin fingimiento. Aborreced lo malo seguid lo bueno. Amaos unos a los otros con amor fraternal, en cuanto a honra prefiriéndoos los unos a los otros (Ro.12: 9-21), cuántas cosas hermosas nos ofrece Dios para nuestras vidas y cuanto trabajo hemos pasado por no escuchar su Palabra, entenderlo y obedecerle, el pecado manifiesto en la carne ha sido piedra de tropiezo para estar cerca de Dios.

Este mensaje no es para entristecer, ni criticar o acusar a nadie en específico, este mensaje es para edificación, el que quiera escoger en su vida el camino de la rebeldía y la desobediencia ante Dios, está en todo su derecho de hacerlo, pero aunque haga buenas obras o se considere a si mismo una persona buena no tiene salvación ante Dios. “Ninguno hay bueno, sino sólo Dios”, le dijo Jesús al joven rico (Lc.18:19)

Nosotros los cristianos tenemos un ¡Dios bueno! Que se escribe con mayúscula. Jesús nos dice: “El que a Mí viene no le echo fuera.”

Al no poder hacerme presente ante todos los que han de recibir este mensaje en sus manos, invito a todos aquellos que aún no se han reconciliado con Dios, que lo haga por medio de esta oración de fe, abriendo su corazón a Jesucristo.

Padre eterno, al leer este mensaje me doy cuenta que necesito de Cristo para que llene de amor mi corazón. Estoy arrepentido de mis pecados y de vivir de espaldas a Ti, te pido me perdones. En este momento, quiero que Él entre en mi y en mi casa y lo acepto por fe como mi Salvador y Señor. Te doy el control de mi vida para que hagas Tu perfecta voluntad en mi y suplico me bendigas ungiéndome con la sangre poderosa de Jesucristo. Gracias por amarme y darme vida eterna. Amén.

Ningún hombre, ningún cristiano podrá invocar el nombre de nuestro Señor Jesucristo en vano defendiendo o aplicando a nuestras vidas el significado de esas tres palabras y sus sinónimos porque Jehová Dios no lo tendrá por inocente (Dt, 5:11). Cristo su hijo amado es:

Santo, santo, santo es el Señor Dios Todopoderoso, el que era, el que es, y el que ha de venir (Is. 6:3; Ap. 4:8).

Un amigo siempre es mejor que un enemigo, por qué humillarlo y públicamente.

No tomemos el ejemplo de aquellos gobernantes, ni de aquellos hombres que persiguieron a Cristo, que vituperado por sus enemigos públicamente fue llevado a la cruz.

La cruz vino a demostrar la virtud de la Sangre de Cristo y lo infinito de su gloria; por eso fue colocado a esa altura quedando por encima de todos los hombres, de sus pensamientos, de su sabiduría, y de sus doctrinas. Todos debemos tener presente la cruz del calvario pero no para perseguir ni tratar de destruir a nadie.

La cruz aun está ahí, todos lo debemos tener presente, desde el ciudadano más humilde y empobrecido, hasta el ciudadano más acaudalado y orgulloso; desde el gobernante más sencillo y modesto, hasta el gobernante más poderoso y arrogante que pise la tierra.

Los gobernantes de estos tiempos, mientras persigan y acusen y vituperen a sus ciudadanos, a sus vecinos o a otros gobernantes; o que los ciudadanos lo hagan contra sus gobernantes, o que simplemente se manifieste esa acción entre los mismos ciudadanos unos contra otros; lo están haciendo en la misma forma que lo hicieron los hombres de aquellos tiempos contra Cristo, llevan en sus carnes el mismo odio y

desprecio que tuvieron o sintieron contra ÉL, esto se llama pecado para todos los cristianos, así está considerado en la Palabra de Dios; siendo estas acciones una forma de persecución contra Jesucristo. (Hch.9:4).

Jesucristo supo amar a sus enemigos, “no levantó una ofensa contra nadie, ni siquiera señaló con sus dedos, no profirió maldición alguna contra ningún hombre, no levantó una acusación ni demandó a nadie, sufrió calladamente todo castigo impuesto, no le exigió nada a nadie, entregando todo lo que llevaba encima, tuvo todo el derecho de acudir a las leyes establecidas para defenderse como cualquier ciudadano y no lo hizo”.

Jesús aún soportó el dolor de ver como el hombre estaba ignorando la justicia de Dios, para establecer la suya propia, y que por su falta de fe y por negarlo desconocía que el fin de la ley es Cristo, para justicia a todo aquel que cree en ÉL (Ro.10:3-4). Cristo lo soportó todo por sus enemigos. ¡Que grande es este Rey de reyes!. Cristo es la regla de Oro. ¡Aleluya!

Mientras el hombre abre las puertas de los tribunales para acusar, condenar y encarcelar, Cristo abre las puertas de las Iglesias y de su corazón para perdonar, amar y dar libertad, llamándonos a la reconciliación con Dios y entre los hombres. Esta es la verdadera solidaridad que deben aplicársela todos los cubanos entre sí, para demostrarle a otros pueblos que sabemos amar, perdonar y ser solidarios entre nosotros mismos, para que ellos puedan esperar lo mejor de nosotros; de lo contrario nos verían como unos hipócritas al ofrecer amor a otros pueblos mientras entre los cubanos corre la sangre, el odio y el desprecio. ¿Cómo el hombre puede convencer al mundo de qué sabe amar al prójimo, cuando es capaz de maltratar y matar si cree necesario a otros en las calles o en el campo de batalla y dentro de su propio pueblo? ¿Cómo puede demostrar el hombre ante la ONU, ante las Organizaciones de Derechos Humanos o en Instituciones Fraternales, que sabe amar al prójimo haciendo acepción de personas o de Jefes de Estados, que es un hombre tan común y tan normal como ser viviente, que independiente de su gran responsabilidad ante una nación, necesita ser amado como todos los demás?

No podemos convertir al prójimo en nuestra víctima; Jesucristo puso más énfasis en el prójimo que sintió amor y se prestó para ayudar a la víctima, que en él necesitado (Lc.10:36/37).

Somos el prójimo de aquel que tenemos frente a nosotros; recuerden al buen samaritano, nos dice el Señor. Vé, y haz tú lo mismo le dijo Jesús al abogado escéptico cuando preguntó. ¿Quién es mi prójimo? (Lc. 10:25-37). Sólo al lado de Jesucristo se puede lograr ser ese prójimo que todos deseamos tener ante nosotros.

Siempre que el hombre exprese que ama y no lo lleva a la práctica; se destruye así mismo, destruye la familia, su nación y a la humanidad, mientras acuse, será acusado; mientras agrede será agredido; mientras no perdone, y pida perdón no será perdonado, pero mientras amemos en nombre de nuestro Señor Jesucristo; seremos amados, nadie puede esperar otra cosa. El padre que vista, calce y alimente a sus hijos sin preocuparse por entregarle amor a su familia, no completó sus deberes; vestir, calzar y alimentar a un pueblo no es suficiente, hay que amarle también, amando a sus enemigos.

“Y si tuviese profecía, y entendiese todos los misterios y toda ciencia, y si tuviese toda la fe, de tal manera que trasladase los montes, y no tengo amor, nada soy. Y si repartiese todos mis bienes para dar de comer a los pobres, y si entregase mi cuerpo para ser quemado, y no tengo amor, de nada me sirve. El amor es sufrido, es benigno; el amor no tiene envidia, el amor no es jactancioso, no se envanece; no hace nada indebido, no busca lo suyo, no se irrita, no guarda rencor; no se goza de la injusticia, más se goza de la verdad. Todo lo sufre, todo lo cree, todo lo espera, todo lo soporta. El amor nunca deja de ser” (1 Co.13:3-8; 13); el amor todo lo vence.

Esta contienda no cuenta ya a estas alturas y nunca debió permitirse por aquellos que durante todos estos años, pudieron haberlo solucionado por las responsabilidades que han tenido frente a estas dos naciones. Esta contienda se ha convertido en una enfermedad crónica que el hombre no logró sanar, pero hoy contamos por nuestras oraciones con UNO poderoso que sana todas las enfermedades, y en ÉL creemos, ese es Jehová Dios.

Me ha llegado Palabra de Jehová diciéndome: “Clama a mí, y yo te responderé, y te enseñaré cosas grandes y ocultas que tu no conoces (Jer.33:3).

Clamé a Jehová: Señor, sana a nuestros pueblos y a nuestros gobiernos de este conflicto, de esta enfermedad que nos está matando; tu puedes Señor, que eres Dios de los que están cerca y Dios de los que están lejos (Is.57:19-21; Jer.33:6-9). He aquí su mensaje dándome respuesta y anunciándolo al mundo. ¡Alabado eres Señor!

Cuando un siervo del Dios viviente se tira de rodillas humillado ante ÉL en oración y ayuno, con lágrimas de gozo en el Espíritu Santo, es más poderoso que cualquier ejército humano y celestial juntos, y más cuando se pide bien y por razones justas, porque todo lo que esté atado en la tierra, quedará atado en el cielo; y todo lo que se desatare en la tierra será desatado en los cielos (Mt.16:19; 18:18).

La oración tiene mucho poder ante Dios cuando ese siervo avanza en santidad ante ÉL y le teme, estableciéndose una comunión íntima con Jehová (Sal. 25:14), la oración eficaz del justo puede mucho (Stg 5:16). Por ÉL somos sanados.

Todo nuestro pueblo cristiano hace varios años que está orando, pidiendo de rodillas ante Dios por la solución de estos problemas, por la no rebeldía de sus gobiernos, por la prosperidad y salud de sus Jefes de Estados y de nuestros pueblos, Dios lo puede todo y nos está escuchando, ÉL no avergüenza a sus hijos fieles. ¡Aleluya!.

Cuando Dios coloca a uno de sus siervos cerca de un gobernante es con un propósito, y es para que le sirva como maestro y consejero espiritual, es para llevarle la Palabra de Dios; es porque ese hombre está necesitado de recibir el mensaje de la poderosa doctrina del amor en Cristo Jesús, es porque necesita conocer la doctrina del poder del Espíritu Santo en su corazón, es porque Jesucristo le ama y hay que decírselo; es para que conduzca su nación por buenos caminos y con prosperidad. Cuando un siervo de Dios tiene la posibilidad de estar al lado de un Jefe de Estado es para hacer la obra de Dios y no para convertirse en un político más.

Los pastores estamos para enseñar y llamar a los pecadores al arrepentimiento, es para invitarle si desean voluntariamente aceptar a Jesucristo como su único Rey y Salvador; esto es amar al prójimo, y completar la obra de Dios, para eso fuimos llamados, no por gusto nos llamó el Señor pescadores de hombres (Mt.4:19), los reyes, gobernantes y Jefes de Estados no están excluidos de los propósitos de Dios. ÉL tiene promesas para todos.

Los pastores después de haber conocido al Señor, no es para que se conviertan al mundo, su misión ante Dios, es para convertir al mundo a Cristo. Esta misión es dada a todos los cristianos.

Para los falsos profetas y falsos maestros en (2P.2:1-22) nos dice en los últimos tres versículos la Palabra:

“Ciertamente, si habiéndose ellos escapado de las contaminaciones del mundo, por el conocimiento del Señor y Salvador Jesucristo, enredándose otra vez en ellas son vencidos, su postrer estado viene a ser peor que el primero. Porque mejor les hubiera sido no haber conocido el camino de la justicia, que después de haberlo conocido, volverse atrás del santo mandamiento que le fue dado. Pero les ha acontecido lo del verdadero proverbio: ÉL perro vuelve a su vómito, y la puerca lavada a revolcarse en el cieno.” (2P.2:20-22)

El hombre y mucho menos un pastor o ministro de Dios no podrá jamás politizar a Jehová de los ejércitos, el hombre jamás podrá utilizar a Jesucristo ni tomar su nombre en vano, para mezclarlo en cuestiones políticas; el hombre no puede manipular ni politizar al Espíritu Santo. Tenemos que ser muy cuidadosos en esto, “porque nos puede traer malas consecuencias o adversidad; “porque nuestro Dios es fuego consumidor, Dios celoso”.(Dt.4:24,He,12:28-29)

No tenemos un Dios de confusión, sino de paz (1 Co.14:33); No tomemos el nombre de Jehová en vano; porque Jehová no dará por inocente al que tome su nombre en vano. (Dt.5:11)

Hay un requisito sólido en la Palabra de Dios para los pastores en (1 Ti.3:1-7), tomando de aquí en (1 Ti.3:5), textualmente:("Pues el que no sabe gobernar su propia casa, ¿cómo cuidará de la iglesia de Dios?"). Aunque seamos pastores, los cristianos nos identificamos por los frutos del Espíritu Santo, y no porque lo anunciemos.

Cuando un pastor tiene frente a él un púlpito, debajo de sus pies lo que está pisando es tierra santa, entonces debemos reverenciar la Palabra de Dios por encontrarnos ante su presencia. El púlpito no lo podemos tomar para acusar ni proferir ofensas contra nadie, ni siquiera lo debemos insinuar. Un pastor no puede convertir ese lugar en una tribuna política, no puede convertir el púlpito en una plataforma carnavalesca, no lo puede tomar como un punto de guerra entre los hombres, ni tampoco es para defender o estar en contra de un partido u organización política o gobierno alguno, nuestra misión es predicar el evangelio a toda criatura, para salvación.

Nosotros no somos políticos, nosotros somos creyentes, porque creemos en Cristo y en Su Palabra. Cristo no es político, su mensaje no contiene ningún aspecto sobre política, exhortándonos muy claro para no caer en errores: "Pues dad a Cesar lo que es de Cesar, y a Dios lo que es Dios" (Lc.20:25)

Cristo en este mensaje nos enseña que debemos como ciudadanos, como cristianos, cumplir con nuestras obligaciones y deberes bajo cualquier régimen, dando el ejemplo como buenos ciudadanos, respetando las leyes, los símbolos patrios, así como a los gobernantes en cualquier nación donde nos encontremos, esto es lo que nos corresponde darle al Cesar. Como seguidores del Señor, lo que nos corresponde es ganar almas para Cristo, para que no se pierdan la salvación, y hacer llegar el evangelio a todos los rincones de la tierra: "Así también ordenó el Señor a los que anuncian el evangelio, que vivan del evangelio" (1 Co.9:14).

Como obreros de Dios vivimos del evangelio, no podemos servir a dos señores, o vivimos de la política o vivimos del evangelio. "Ninguno puede servir a dos señores; porque o aborrecerá a uno y amará al otro, o estimará al uno y menospreciará al otro." No podéis servir a Dios y a las riquezas" (Mt.6:24).

Cuando le servimos a la política, hoy es una cosa, mañana es otra, sus leyes y decretos cambian, los gobiernos y los gobernantes cambian, sus sistemas políticos y económicos también cambian. Cuando le servimos a Cristo, todo permanece; cuando

le servimos a nuestro Rey, su Palabra permanece, no cambia; Cristo es hoy, mañana y siempre, y por los siglos de los siglos.

Así es nuestro Rey y gobierno, que existe desde antes de la creación del mismo hombre:

“Señor, tu nos has sido refugio De generación en generación. Antes que naciesen los montes y formases la tierra y el mundo, Desde el siglo y hasta el siglo, tú eres Dios”, (Sal.90:1-2). Mas del hijo dice: Tu trono, oh Dios, por el siglo del siglo (He.1:8). Jesucristo es el mismo ayer y hoy, y por los siglos (He.13:8). Este gobierno no cambia, este gobernante no cambia.

La iglesia de Cristo no pertenece ni es parte de ninguna organización política o militar, no es parte de ninguna estructura de gobierno formada por los hombres.

La iglesia de Jesucristo es autónoma, ella tiene un Rey que es su gobernante, tiene también un gobierno formado por; los siervos de Dios que le sirven en todo momento, por líderes, diáconos, ministros, pastores, obispos, embajadores, etc. Este gobierno dirige una nación santa, todos sus ciudadanos son santos, que hoy estamos en la presencia de Dios; es la nación más grande y poderosa de todas las naciones; porque Dios y nosotros los cristianos juntos somos la mayoría, aunque la ONU no la ha reconocido ni la tiene entre ellos.

Hace algunos años que se está debatiendo en la ONU el criterio sobre la urgente necesidad de hacer reformas en la misma y se hace con estos fines un llamado a los países del Tercer Mundo para que tengan una activa participación en este asunto, estando entre estas reformas la posibilidad de redactar una nueva Carta de la ONU, por ser ésta un documento viejo que no vela por igual los intereses de las naciones.

El hombre ha llegado a estos tiempos a los límites de sus conocimientos para resolver los problemas de la humanidad, su sabiduría es limitada porque no descende de lo alto, sino que es terrenal, animal y diabólica, porque donde hay celos y contención, allí hay perturbación y toda obra perversa (Stg 3:13-18)

La contienda no da buen fruto, del pecado no saldrá nunca árbol que pueda dar buen fruto, este será cortado y echado en el fuego (Mt. 7:15-19; “Porque cada árbol se conoce por su fruto; pues no se cosechan higos de los espinos, ni de las zarzas se vendimian uvas.(Lc.6:43-45).

Si existe algún criterio de que la Carta actual de la ONU es inadecuada y obsoleta, esta carta ya era obsoleta desde el mismo momento en que se pensó redactarla; como obsoleta está en el pensamiento de los que hoy tienen el propósito

de que se redacte una nueva, aunque lo hagan con buenas intenciones. La palabra del hombre no permanece porque la mata el propio hombre que viene atrás y la de este por mucho que luche para lograr de mantenerla, tampoco permanecerá, la obra del hombre por muy buena que esta sea es imperfecta por sus errores y sus fracasos.

Es necesario que la humanidad desprenda el velo que tapa sus ojos; han de terminar próximamente XX Siglos, y la Palabra de Dios permanece por encima de todo lo que el hombre ha luchado por ignorarla; la Palabra de Dios permanece desde el Siglo y hasta el siglo.

Hace cuatro años el Señor me mostró esa Carta que la ONU necesita, y que algunos quieren redactar nuevamente, pretendiendo matar con sus palabras la que hoy aún está vigente; esta Carta que tengo en mis manos y por la cual gobierna Dios nuestras vidas como cristianos y las de nuestras familias y nuestra nación santa, nunca muere.

Si hay sobre la tierra un hombre sabio, teólogo o Jefe de Estado con suficiente sabiduría y poder para redactar una Carta como la más democrática y si con ella cree que puede salvar la humanidad, que la presente ante el mundo para que puedan comparar su eficacia con la que el Señor me entregó.

Nuestra Carta Magna contiene 66 libros, 1199 capítulos, 31354 versículos, 773746 palabras, 3566480 letras, 3573 promesas que se cumplen por lo fiel y lo Soberano Señor, que tu eres, respetando tu Palabra al no variar nada de ella. Aparecen, 141 veces la palabra amar, más 100 veces la palabra perdonar o perdón (tomados estos datos de la concordancia breve, no está completo), además contiene una regla de oro para amar a nuestros enemigos (Lc.6:27-36; Mt.5:38-48; 7:12) ¿Alguien puede superarla?

Esta Carta Magna es la Palabra de Dios (Santa Biblia), que desde su gloria y desde la misma creación la escribió con sus dedos y a través de más de 40 autores de diferentes clases sociales, atendiendo los intereses de todos y de cada uno por igual sin olvidar a nadie y a la manera de Dios Todopoderoso y no a la manera de los hombres; fue escrita por reyes, médicos, sacerdotes, pescadores, oficiales, militares, cobrador de impuestos, maestros, etc; fue escrita a lo largo de 60 generaciones, en un período de 1600 años para todos los siglos; se escribió en tiempos de guerra por el rey David y en tiempo de paz por el rey Salomón fue escrita desde la cárcel y en diferentes estados de ánimos. Algunos autores escribieron desde la cumbre del gozo y otros desde las profundidades de la desesperación. ¿Alguien puede superarla?

Esta Carta, ha soportado todo tipo de ataques y persecuciones desde los días de los emperadores romanos hasta nuestros tiempos; muchos la han querido quemar, prohibirla y ponerla fuera de la ley, muchos la han querido matar con sus palabras y

escritos, pero la Biblia sigue ahí, sirviéndole al hombre y amándole nuestro Señor Jesucristo, mientras el hombre sigue cometiendo el mismo error de quererla desaparecer.

“Y cuanto más sabio fue el Predicador, tanto más enseñó sabiduría al pueblo; e hizo escuchar, e hizo escudriñar, y compuso muchos proverbios. Procuró el Predicador hallar palabras agradables, y escribir rectamente palabras de verdad. Las palabras de los sabios son como agujones; y como clavos hincados son las de los maestros de la congregación, dadas por un Pastor. Ahora hijo mío, a más de esto, sé amonestado. No hay fin de hacer muchos libros; y el mucho estudio es fatiga de la carne. El fin de todo el discurso oído es este: Teme a Dios, y guarda sus mandamientos; porque esto es el todo del hombre. Porque Dios traerá toda obra a juicio, juntamente con toda cosa encubierta, sea buena o sea mala” (Ec.12:9-14)

Con Dios está la sabiduría y el poder; Suyo es el consejo y la inteligencia” (Job.12:13). Señor tuyo es el reino, y la gloria, por todos los siglos Amén.

“Jehová tú eres excelso sobre la tierra; Eres exaltado sobre todos los dioses. Excelso sobre todas las naciones es Jehová. Sobre los cielos su gloria. Porque Jehová es excelso, y levanta a los pobres y atiende al humilde.”

Este mensaje pastoral no es de hombre alguno. Es Palabra de Dios. ¡Alabado eres Señor!

Bendiciones



Antonio de Jesús Falcón Pérez
Miembro de la Iglesia Metodista
En Cuba
Embajador de la Iglesia de Jesucristo

Domicilio: Calle 232 Edificio 20
Apto. 11 e/ 35 y 37 Rpto. San Agustín
La Lisa Ciudad de la Habana, Cuba.
CP. 13600
Teléfono: 21-3074

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 3, 2000

MR. PRESIDENT:

We understand that John/Karen
will be discussing this with
you soon.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-4-00

Sean Maloney *SM*

COPIED
Karen T.
Podesta

Sperling
Berger
NSC W Desk

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-4-00
DUPLICATE

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 20, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LISEL LOY/R

SUBJECT: Steel Wire Rod Update

Sandy and Gene have sent you a memo with additional information on the state of the wire rod industry, the potential impact of your decision on your broader trade agenda post-Seattle, and another upcoming Section 201 case. In response to your question about exempting Caribbean countries, including Trinidad and Tobago, your advisers find no specific exception under WTO rules; as an alternative, they outline a substantial supplier allocation approach within the proposed TRQ that would allocate shares for substantial suppliers (Europe, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey) and safeguard their historical positions; however, this option would leave a disproportionately small residual share for other, smaller countries and none of your advisers recommends this option (see attachment at pp. 9-10).

Background. Like 1998 data that showed significant operating losses, 1999 data that Gene and Sandy provide shows continued weakness in the industry, though views differ on the cause and whether the industry has turned a corner. For 1999, total imports/import penetration (41%) reached record levels in the 3rd quarter, though some claim imports have declined since peaking in July and that stockpiling in advance of your decision explains the surge. For the year through November, imports are up 17.7% over 1998; 20.8% over 1997; prices bottomed out in May and are climbing but weak. Losses increased in the 3rd quarter and layoffs continue (350 workers since June). (You may consider 1999 data only for purposes of shaping a remedy). Since Seattle, some are concerned that granting relief will fuel charges of protectionism and weaken U.S. leadership on trade; others fear that failure to grant relief will undercut our promise to vigorously support trade laws and to provide relief from surges through the safeguard mechanism secured in the China WTO agreement, and may damage domestic consensus-building for our trade liberalization priorities. A recent ITC 5-1 vote in favor of relief in a steel pipe line case will require your decision on relief by February 20th; interagency review has just begun. Some believe providing relief on steel line pipe would be enough to affirm your commitment to trade law enforcement, though affirmative decisions in both cases will signal growing U.S. protectionism; others fear a split decision would appear contrived. All believe there should be no linkage between the two cases.

Action/Views. Your advisers remain split over whether to provide relief; Barshefsky has shifted and now supports no relief, provided Section 201 can be shown to provide effective relief where warranted. They present these options: **Option 1 – Tariff Rate Quota/Rollback.** This option was your original choice; it would rollback imports with a quota at 2% above 1997 levels, 8% below 1998 levels, with 2%/year growth adjustment and a 15% surcharge on imports above this level (dropping to 9% by year 3). Daley and Herman support this option. They think

the threat of injury has been satisfied, the industry is suffering, it will build domestic support for free trade and your major initiatives, including PNTR for China, and maintain your credibility on enforcement, including the product specific safeguard in the China agreement. **Option 2 – TRQ/Rollback with allocations for substantial suppliers.** This is the same as Option 1 but would protect traditional suppliers (*e.g.*, Europe, Trinidad and Tobago, Turkey) with guaranteed allocations, though it would disproportionately favor larger suppliers over smaller developing countries whose access to U.S. markets would be proportionately reduced. None of you advisers recommend this option. **Option 3 – Protect Against Import Surge.** This option would provide 3-year surge protection, setting quota at 2.6% above 1998 levels, but not rollback imports to lower 1997 levels. While preferring no remedy at all, *Secretary Summers, Barshefsky, Sperling, Baily and Brainard* would recommend Option 3 over Option 1 if you decide to grant relief. **Option 4 – Grant No Relief.** *Barshefsky, Summers, Albright, Berger, Sperling, Baily, and Brainard* recommend against relief. They believe the case is weak, that no President has granted relief in the 4 prior cases where the ITC was divided, relatively few jobs are involved, the recent decline may be due to stockpiling, and that granting relief here would be seen as a retreat on fair trade and make launching a new round more difficult.

Option 1 (TRQ/Rollback) ____

Option 2 (TRQ/Rollback plus allocations) ____

Option 3 (TRQ/Surge Protection) ____

Option 4 (No Relief) ____

Sensitive but Unclassified

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

January 19, 1999

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GENE SPERLING *GS*
SANDY BERGER *B*

SUBJECT: Section 201 Steel Wire Rod Decision

You indicated your preference for providing relief to the steel wire rod industry through a tariff rate quota (TRQ) that would roll back imports from covered countries to slightly above 1997 levels with modest annual growth thereafter. You also asked whether there is a way to exempt Caribbean countries, including Trinidad and Tobago. We delayed a final decision pending receipt of additional information on the condition of the wire rod industry and due to concerns that announcing relief would have made more difficult our negotiations and preparations for the Seattle WTO Ministerial. There has been some shift in the line up of your advisors since October: Ambassador Barshefsky now recommends against trade relief as long as we can demonstrate that Section 201 provides effective relief in cases warranting relief. While still divided, your advisors agree that the time is right to make a final decision, but also feel it is also important to consider several new developments. These include the impact of your decision upon our broader trade agenda post-Seattle, the other 201 decision you now will face before February 20 on a 5-1 affirmative ITC recommendation for relief to U.S. producers of steel line pipe, and new information on the wire rod industry.

Trinidad and Tobago

Prime Minister Panday wrote to you in late September requesting an exemption for Trinidad and Tobago. Unfortunately, an outright exemption would be difficult to defend in the WTO, and the WTO-permissible alternative of safeguarding Trinidad and Tobago's historical share (and those of other major suppliers such as the EU and Turkey) within the TRQ would leave a disproportionately small residual share for other developing countries such as South Africa, Ukraine, Moldova, India and Egypt. Our detailed analysis is attached. If you decide to impose trade relief in the form of a TRQ rollback, we recommend that you impose a TRQ *without* country specific allocations so as to avoid discrimination against new and fledgling developing country suppliers to the U.S. market and unnecessary distortions that would impose further economic costs on wire rod consuming industries and workers. But several of your advisors still believe you should revisit your original decision, especially in light of developments since then.

UPDATE ON CONSIDERATIONS

A. Condition of Wire Rod Industry

As you will recall, the facts in this case are very close and the ITC was evenly divided on whether there was injury or threat of injury, with three Commissioners finding affirmative, and three negative. Petitioners argued that a sharp increase in imports from low-cost suppliers in 1998 (e.g., Ukraine, Moldova and Indonesia) suppressed prices in the U.S. market, producing significant 1998 operating losses in 9 of 14 firms, earnings declines in 12 of these firms, and a loss of up to 400 employees from 4,300 from the first half of 1998 to the first half of 1999. Operating losses totaled \$102.2 million in 1998, falling from 1997 profits of \$48 million. Overall import volume increased 6.3 % in 1998. Import market share rose from 27.4 % in 1994 to 28.6 % in 1997 to 30.8% in 1998. The volume of domestic shipments fell by 3.5% in 1998. Prices declined 5.5% in 1998, and import prices declined even further as new supplies (e.g., Ukraine, Moldova and Indonesia) exported large volumes of cheap wire rod to the United States for the first time. The downstream wire industry opposing relief - the consumers of wire rod that manufacture such products as nails, fences, hangers, tire chord and airplane fasteners - claimed that the weakness of 1998 was aberrational, and largely attributable to excessive increases in domestic wire rod capacity in 1997 and 1998. They point out that the wire rod industry remained profitable in three of the five years of the investigation and that employment remained relatively steady. Some layoffs, they claim, are attributable to productivity gains. Trade relief, they argue, would adversely affect the competitiveness of their own much larger downstream wire industry, which employs some 20,000 workers in 106 plants scattered across the country. Petitioners respond that the wire industry has ample profits in recent years and can afford to pay higher input prices for wire rod, that the injury suffered in 1998 was not aberrational but the result of the trend of losing market share to imports over the five years of the investigation (1994-1998), which have reached their highest levels in 1999.

1999 data does show continued weakness in the wire rod industry, but views differ about its causes and whether the industry has already turned the corner. Total imports and import penetration (41%) reached record levels in the third quarter. Petitioners view this as further cause for strong relief, while respondents claim that imports have declined significantly since peaking in July, and that the surge can be explained by stockpiling in advance of your decision on Section 201 relief. Petitioners respond that the reason imports have dropped in recent months is because there is no longer warehouse or dock space for the record level surge. For the year through November, imports are up 17.7% over 1998 and 20.8% over 1997. Domestic shipments are off 2% January to September compared to 1998, and off 6% compared to 1997. Prices appear to have bottomed out in May, are climbing but remain weak. The Producer Price Index for wire rod fell from 98.8 in January 1998 to 79.0 in May 1999, but rose to 82.7 in October. Consuming industries claim that wire rod producers plan to raise prices early this year, but will make no public announcements until your decision is announced, a charge petitioners deny. Losses increased in the third quarter for leading wire rod producers, and layoffs continue. Since June of this year, approximately 350 additional wire rod workers have been laid off, including some 250 in late December at Birmingham Steel in Memphis, Tennessee. You may consider the 1999 data, which was not part of the record before the ITC, for purposes of shaping a remedy, but not for purposes of deciding affirmative or negative on injury.

B. Impact on Your Broader Trade Agenda

The Section 201 statute is silent on what factors you can consider in determining whether a split ITC decision is affirmative or negative. In the past, no President has found affirmative on injury when the ITC was evenly split. There have been 4 such instances in 70 cases over the past 25 years. If you decide affirmative, you are required to consider broader national economic and security interests in fashioning a remedy. All your advisors agree that you should consider several recent developments, though they hold different views on which way these point. Below are arguments for and against relief as they relate to our broader trade agenda.

- *Broader Trade Agenda - Case for Opposing Relief:* Many observers viewed the Seattle WTO Ministerial as leaving the impression of a flagging Administration commitment to open markets. In this view, our positions on dumping, worker rights and textiles were a major factor preventing the launch of a new round. A first ever Presidential decision to provide trade relief in a case where ITC Commissioners were evenly divided will fuel charges of American protectionism and weaken U.S. leadership in trade -- a perception which will be reconfirmed by an affirmative decision on steel lined pipe in February. Critics believe this is a weak and, from a WTO perspective, legally suspect case. Finally, some believe that having demonstrated our resolve in Seattle on behalf of U.S. workers and in favor of putting a human face on trade, we now have more room for a negative finding. Some 62 members of Congress have written against relief, 38 citing adverse effects on particular users (all but Senator Feinstein's, Boxer's and one of two of Rep. Royball's specific concerns have been addressed by exempting products not produced in the United States), 26 members, led by the Congressional Black Caucus, seeking an exemption for Trinidad and Tobago, and 8 (including Senators Roth, Mikulski and Kyl) opposing relief citing general adverse impact on consumers or wire rod processors and support for free trade.
- *Broader Trade Agenda - Case In Favor of Trade Relief:* Those supporting trade relief believe that the Seattle Ministerial will strengthen those prepared to battle against key trade priorities such as permanent Normal Trade Relations for China and the Africa/Caribbean trade bill. You made clear as part of your Steel Action Plan that you would vigorously enforce the trade laws, and before Seattle that we would not support any weakening of the trade laws. Both are essential to build the domestic consensus to advance our negotiating and congressional trade liberalization priorities. Failure to grant effective relief will cost us needed votes and fuel charges that our commitment to enforce our trade laws (and agreements) is hollow. Some commentators (Greg Mastel of the New America Foundation) have alleged that failure to provide timely and effective relief in this safeguard case, or to any major manufacturing sector in the past 15 years, is proof that U.S. producers cannot rely on the President to provide effective relief from surges through the product specific safeguard mechanism we secured in the China WTO agreement. Led by the Congressional Steel Caucus and supported by Minority Leader Gephardt, 79 members of the House of Representatives and 21 Senators have written you urging effective relief. Failure to grant relief will also strengthen those still pressing for legislation to lower our Section 201 injury standard, narrow the President's discretion in Section 201 cases, and change our dumping laws in WTO-inconsistent ways.

C. Affirmative ITC Recommendation for Relief in Steel Line Pipe Case

You should be aware that the ITC has voted 5-1 in favor of relief in another Section 201 case involving line pipe, a product used for pipelines by the oil and gas industry. The three Commissioners who found serious injury recommended a 4-year tariff rate quota based on 1997 levels -- a 45% cutback from 1998 levels) -- with imports above the quota to be assessed a 30% surcharge. These Commissioners also recommend negotiations with Korea, the largest supplier and contributor to the import surge, to "address underlying cause" of import surge and injury. NAFTA countries were excluded from the recommended remedy. The other two commissioners, finding threat of serious injury, recommended a straight tariff over four years, starting at 12.5% and ending at 8 %. Korea leads all exports to the United States with 104,000 kilograms in 1999 year to date, followed by Mexico (31,000), South Africa (7,700), China (7,300), Japan (7,150), and Canada (4,000). You will have to decide whether to provide relief by February 20.

The line pipe industry employs about 1,000 production workers in fifteen plants located in several states including California, Texas, Utah, Pennsylvania, Alabama, Iowa, Ohio, Montana, Kentucky, Oregon, Washington and Louisiana. Nine of the fifteen plants are organized by the United Steelworkers, one by the Teamsters, and two by other unions. Employment grew from 1,250 in 1994-95 to 1,500 in 1998, falling to 1,000 in the first half of 1999. Three members of Congress, including Rep. Sandlin of Texas, Rep. Berry of Arkansas, and Rep. Cannon of Utah testified before the ITC urging relief.

Interagency review of this case just started. Ambassador Barshefsky will present to you a recommendation following a full inter-agency review. It is possible, but not certain, your advisors will recommend trade relief from line pipe imports in some form. Despite the 5-1 affirmative finding, more recent post-ITC investigation data suggests that the injury may have been short-lived, and that recovery may be underway. Much more thorough analysis is needed, but some agencies could well argue that that no trade relief is warranted. Others will likely argue for relief, and more broadly that Korea has been the least responsive of all major steel exporter to reducing overall steel exports to the United States. Imports of all steel products from Korea have fallen only slightly since the 1998 surge (by 12%), while overall steel imports from Japan and Russia, the other two countries most responsible for the steel import surge, have fallen fairly dramatically (by 50% and 75% respectively in 1999 over 1998).

Some of your advisors believe that providing relief in the line pipe case will affirm your commitment to vigorous trade law enforcement, without the need to provide relief in the wire rod case. They believe that affirmative decisions in both cases, coming shortly on the heels of Seattle, will dramatically signal growing U.S. protectionism. The wire rod and line pipe decisions might be spaced closely together in late January or early February. Other advisors fear a split decision -- if that was the outcome -- would appear contrived. It would increase injury to wire rod producers, deepen their anger, fail to address harm to key regions such as South Carolina, Tennessee and Missouri for the delayed decision, and further undermine the Administration's credibility on strong trade law enforcement. Regardless of the outcome of these two cases, your advisors feel strongly there should be no linkage between these cases, and no prejudgment of the outcome of the line pipe case.

OPTIONS

Option 1: Affirmative Determination: Stay with your original decision: TRQ rollback to slightly above 1997 levels, with above quota tariff surcharge of 15% in year one falling to 9% in year three. No country specific allocations.

Pros

- Imports in 1999 have surged to record levels, the condition of wire rod industry remains weak, some 750 workers have been laid off of a work force of 4,000 since the first half of 1998 (including 350 in the last six months), prices remain weak, and losses increased in third quarter for leading producers
- By setting TRQ at 1.42 million short tons (2% above 1997 levels and 8% below 1998 levels) and imposing prohibitive above quota tariff, this remedy would raise import prices and cut back import levels for three years to allow industry profits to recover
- Would provide for 2% annual growth in imports and mid-term review to allow necessary adjustments
- Level of relief, while below the 30% straight tariff sought by wire rod industry, should forestall vocal criticism from them
- Would exempt from relief roughly 40% of imports (Canada and Mexico under NAFTA plus specialty wire products, many from Japan, not produced in commercial quantities in the United States)
- Would help dampen calls for changes to our Section 201 law
- Might lessen opposition to China PNTR and Africa/Caribbean trade bill
- Will reaffirm commitment post-Seattle to strong enforcement of trade laws

Cons

- Weak case for relief, with only two Commissioners finding serious injury and only one finding threat of injury
- 1999 import surge, and any resultant weakness, may have been driven by stockpiling in advance of Section 201 decision
- No President has ever granted trade relief in any of the four prior evenly split ITC decisions. Doing so here would stimulate more Section 201 cases and higher expectations in evenly split ITC decisions.
- May make larger downstream producers less competitive
- May not withstand WTO challenge
- Will be criticized as protectionist decision post-Seattle, undermining U.S. economic leadership and angering some thirty foreign country suppliers, including nine major and eight modest suppliers including many developing countries (e.g.,) Trinidad and Tobago, Indonesia, Ukraine, Turkey, Moldova, India, Brazil, Egypt, South Africa, Venezuela, Russia as well as friends and allies U.K., Germany, France, Spain and Japan.

Option 2: Affirmative Determination: Same as Option 1, but with allocations for substantial suppliers (Europe, Trinidad and Tobago and Turkey)

Pros

- Same as Option 1, plus would protect traditional suppliers with guaranteed allocations

Cons

- Same as Option 1, plus, would disproportionately favor largest suppliers over new, rising LDC suppliers such as Ukraine, Moldova, India, Indonesia and South Africa
- More difficult to administer than global TRQ approach
- Less efficient, and opposed by consuming downstream wire producers

Option 3: Affirmative Determination: TRQ to protect against import surges above 1998 levels, with above quota tariff set at 9% in year one falling to 5% in year 3.

Pros

- By setting TRQ at 1.58 million short tons (2.6% above 1998 levels) , would provide three-year surge protection at slightly above 1998 levels, but not rollback imports to lower 1997 levels
- Would better accommodate any rebound in U.S. demand in years two and three because the lower tariffs and greater quantities
- Remedy arguably more suitable to address the potential threat industry is facing. Would address 1999 surge and prevent import surge significantly above 1998 levels.
- Though wire rod industry would consider this remedy insufficient, would weaken momentum for undesirable changes to our dumping and safeguard laws and help build support for China PNTR by demonstrating commitment to enforce our trade laws

Cons

- Would invite criticism from trading partners and petitioners alike, even though this option would be less offensive to trading partners compared to Option 1
- While this remedy would likely impose fewer real costs on our trading partners, that in itself may not preclude a WTO challenge directed against the injury determination rather than the remedy

Option 4: Negative Determination: Grant no trade relief.

Pros

- Follows established precedent in 4 previous evenly divided ITC decisions. No President has ever granted trade relief in an evenly split ITC decision.
- Important post-Seattle signal that the U.S. is not increasing protectionism

- —Will help preserve U.S. international economic leadership and our ability to pursue market opening negotiations at time when many in world believe we are turning inward on trade and our economic assistance to developing countries is shrinking
- Only safe option from WTO litigation perspective
- Will protect competitiveness of larger downstream wire producing industry at a time when wire product imports have increased faster than wire rod imports

Cons

- Wire rod industry remains weak
- Failure to provide effective relief will feed criticism of our trade laws and the Administration's will to enforce them, weakening support for our legislative and negotiating trade priorities among key constituencies, Democratic Members of Congress and affected regions such as South Carolina, Missouri and Oregon
- Will strengthen those pressing for undesirable changes to our trade laws

RECOMMENDATIONS

Reclama: Negative Determination - **Secretary Summers, Secretary Albright, National Security Advisor Berger, National Economic Advisor Sperling, CEA Chairman Baily, and Deputy NEA Director Brainard** recommend that you find the negative determination of the Commission to be the determination of the ITC, and choose **Option 4**. They believe that imposing a TRQ, particularly one that rolls back import levels, in this instance would have serious, negative repercussions. Section 201 cases involve fair trade, not subsidized or dumped goods. No President before has granted relief in the four previous cases where the ITC was evenly divided. They believe this case is particularly weak, with only two Commissioners finding "serious injury", one finding "threat of injury", and three finding no injury. The case involves only a few hundred jobs nationwide, and the recent decline may be attributable to a stockpiling of imports in advance of a decision and to factors other than imports, most notably a buildup of excess production capacity in 1997 and 1998. Besides Trinidad and Tobago, a large number of other countries including South Africa also would be hurt, substantially enough that Mbeki raised this with you personally in New York. They believe that in the post-Seattle environment, and with the prospect of an affirmative decision in the upcoming line pipe case, an affirmative decision here would be perceived as a powerful U.S. retreat on open and fair trade and, importantly, make more difficult our efforts to launch the new round.

Ambassador Barshefsky now also recommends against trade relief (less strongly than those above), provided we can demonstrate that Section 201 provides effective relief in cases warranting relief. Granting relief in the wire rod case could be viewed as a protectionist act post-Seattle and make more difficult our efforts to launch a new round.

Affirmative Determination: **Secretary Daley and Secretary Herman** recommend you find the determination of the ITC to be affirmative, and that you choose **Option 1**. They strongly believe that the WTO standard for threat of injury has been satisfied, that the domestic wire rod industry is suffering, and that historically high levels of imports in 1999 are inflicting even deeper losses

and layoffs. A remedy that temporarily raises prices and modestly cuts back import levels is needed to allow industry profits to recover. They believe it is important to demonstrate to Congress and U.S. workers that U.S. laws are effective in order to build domestic support for free trade and your major legislative trade initiatives, including Permanent Normal Trade Relations for China. One commentator has made a direct linkage between this case and your willingness to enforce the 12-year product specific safeguard provision of the China agreement. That provision is our strongest defense against surges from China after it gains WTO membership. Effective relief would also reduce domestic pressure for changes to our dumping and safeguard laws. Secretary Daley and Secretary Herman believe that failure to grant relief in this case will weaken your credibility on enforcement, already damaged by the delay. Representative Clyburn (S.C.), Senator Ford (Tn), and Governors Carnahan (Missouri) and Hodges (S.C.) say they have faced closures and layoffs and are under enormous pressure. All of your advisors agree there should be no linkage between the wire rod and line pipe decisions. Additionally, Secretaries Daley and Herman believe close-in-time, divergent wire rod and line pipe decisions would appear too contrived, and invite deeper criticism from organized labor, wire rod producers, and their supporters in Congress.

Secretary Summers, Ambassador Barshefsky, National Economic Advisor Sperling, CEA Chairman Baily and Deputy NEA Director Brainard all oppose trade relief and recommend **Option 4**, but if you are firmly resolved to grant trade relief, they believe **Option 3** would be preferable to Option 1. It would prevent future surges above 1998 rather than 1997 levels, and the tariff surcharge above the quota is not trade prohibitive. It could be argued this remedy would be more appropriately targeted, as 1999 has witnessed the greatest import surge and damage to the wire rod industry. Petitioners, however, are likely to deem this remedy insufficient to affect a strong recovery.

Attachment
Trinidad and Tobago

No Exemption Available for Trinidad and Tobago

There does not appear to be an exception under WTO rules available for Trinidad and Tobago. WTO rules generally require that we apply any safeguard measures in a non-discriminatory manner – arguably with exceptions for partners in free trade agreements such as NAFTA. There is no exception under the WTO Safeguards Agreement for exempting trade preference countries such as those covered by our Andean and Caribbean trade preference programs from a Section 201 safeguards TRQ. These trade preference programs do not qualify as free trade agreements under the WTO because they are one-way programs under which the United States unilaterally provides duty free access for certain products. By contrast, free trade agreements must eliminate trade restrictions on “substantially all trade” in both directions. Upon further reflection, therefore, USTR now recommends no exemption for the only Andean nation that shipped wire rod in the last three years, Colombia, whose 35 tons of 1998 exports are negligible. We also recommend against exempting Trinidad and Tobago.

Alternative “Substantial” Supplier Allocation Approach

We could, however, provide favorable treatment to Trinidad and Tobago within the proposed TRQ in a manner consistent with WTO rules by allocating country-specific shares. The WTO permits allocation of guaranteed import shares within a given TRQ for “substantial” suppliers accounting for at least 10 percent of non-exempted imports over the last three years. Prime Minister Panday has urged you to adopt this approach over a TRQ without country allocations if you do not exempt Trinidad and Tobago outright. This approach would provide specific allocations to the EU, with a 26 percent average share of non-exempted wire rod imports during 1996-8, Trinidad and Tobago with 20 percent, and Turkey with 10 percent. If we allocate individual shares only to these “substantial” suppliers, all other non-exempted countries would compete for the remainder of the TRQ on a first-come, first-served basis.

This approach would favor traditional, larger suppliers whose imports have declined in recent years over the new, smaller, developing country entrants whose lower-priced exports rose sharply from 1996 to 1998. Under this country allocation approach, 56 percent of the 1.4 million ton tariff-surge-free quota would be allocated to the EU, Trinidad and Tobago, and Turkey. This would result in a 20.6 percent increase in these three countries’ aggregate exports to the United States above 1998 levels. Europe would be the biggest winner, with a TRQ allocation 34 percent higher than their 1998 import level, followed by Trinidad and Tobago with a 12 percent increase, and Turkey with a 7 percent increase.

Access to the U.S. market for the remaining 16 or so exporting countries (including Indonesia, Ukraine, Moldova, India, Brazil, Egypt, and South Africa) would be proportionately reduced. *Rather than competing with all countries (including Europe, Trinidad and Turkey) for an overall global TRQ that is 8 percent below 1998 levels, they will compete with each other for a residual TRQ that would be 29 percent below their aggregate 1998 import levels. Furthermore, the ITC*

estimates that the EU and Trinidad and Tobago may not be able to fill quota allocations based on their historical shares. Thus, the overall level of protection – including increased prices – would likely be higher under a TRQ with specific allocations for substantial suppliers than under a global TRQ that is more likely to be completely filled.

While a country allocation approach is permissible under WTO rules, other aspects of this case continue to present WTO litigation risks. A WTO victory is by no means assured, and the EU, Indonesia and India have all recently lost hotly contested WTO disputes to us.

Complete Country Allocation Approach

WTO rules would also permit allocating specific quotas to all suppliers. This approach, however, would have additional drawbacks: it would further restrict competition and raise prices, limit user flexibility, increase the quota rent to foreign producers, and leave no room for new entrants. In addition, based on 1996-98 import averages, it would cut back imports from specific developing countries suppliers, such as South Africa by 52 percent, Moldova by 22 percent, India by 59 percent, and Ukraine by 29 percent.

Revised Final 02/04/00 12:00 pm
Heather Hurlburt

REVISED

'00 FEB 4 PM 12:11

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON

RADIO ADDRESS

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, DC

February 4, 2000

*Copied
Speechwriting*

Good morning. Today I want to talk about what we can and must do to help more women get the life-saving treatment they need to fight breast and cervical cancer. More than 180,000 American women will be diagnosed with these diseases this year. Each of us has a sister, a daughter, a friend, or in my case a mother who has struggled against them. These cancers can be treated and cured – if we catch them early and fight them aggressively.

But more than forty thousand women will die from breast and cervical cancer this year.

Many are women whose cancer was detected or treated too late – because they had no health insurance and no hope of paying for treatment. In fact, older women with breast cancer are 40 percent more likely to die from the disease if they are uninsured.

With strong leadership from my wife Hillary, we've worked hard over the past seven years to increase free and low-cost cancer screenings and help women catch these diseases in time. We've expanded the National Breast and Cervical Cancer Early Detection Program to serve hundreds of thousands of women a year in all 50 states.

And Vice President Gore has led us to make a dramatic increase in our commitment to cancer research and treatment. But it is still true that every year, thousands of women are told that they have cancer – and must cope without insurance.

This is especially troubling given the stunning progress scientists are making in the fight against cancer. Researchers can now identify genes that predict several kinds of cancers. They're experimenting with therapies that will shut down defective genes, so they can never multiply and grow. New drugs, and new combinations of drugs, will bring hope to those whose cancer has spread or who suffer from the side effects of chemotherapy.

These breakthroughs will make a big difference for some of our most prevalent cancers – like breast cancer, which strikes one in eight American women over a lifetime. But these life-saving new therapies can only help if patients have insurance or other resources that enable them to afford state-of-the-art treatment, or any treatment at all.

At a time when we know more about cancer than ever, and can fight it better than ever, we must not leave women to face cancer alone.

That is why today, I am announcing a proposal to help states eliminate the barriers low-income women face to getting treatment for breast or cervical cancer. The budget I am sending to Congress on Monday will allow states to provide full Medicaid benefits to uninsured women whose cancers are detected through Federally-funded screening programs.

Too often, uninsured women face a patchwork of care, inadequate care, or no care at all. Many are denied newer, better forms of treatment or wait months to see a doctor.

Judy Lewis was one of the lucky ones. When a screening program detected her breast cancer, she had no health insurance and no money to spare. Fortunately, she found doctors who would treat her -- and seventeen months later, she is cancer-free. But she and her husband are also \$28,000 in debt – with nothing left for their retirement.

That is wrong, and it does not have to happen.

This initiative will help women get comprehensive treatment, and get it right away. It will make state-of-the-art therapies available to women who need them – not just those who can afford them.

And it will free state and federal dollars to be spent on cancer screening and outreach to women at risk.

This proposal has strong bipartisan support in Congress – led by ^{the late Senator JOHN CHAFEE,} Senators Barbara Mikulski and Olympia Snowe, and Representatives Anna Eshoo and Rick Lazio. They have put forward legislation to meet this goal, and my budget includes the funds to make it happen.

This is an issue that transcends political boundaries and touches all of us.

Together, we can save lives and bring the medical miracles of our time within reach of every American. We can do it this year – and we ought to do it soon.

Thanks for listening.

THE SENATE
STATE OF NEW YORK
ALBANYPLEASE RESPOND TO:
00 FEB 4 PM 12:16
ROOM 315
LEGISLATIVE OFFICE BUILDING
ALBANY, NEW YORK 12247
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28-11 ASTORIA BLVD
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(718) 545-9706GEORGE ONORATO
SENATOR, 14TH DISTRICTRANKING MINORITY MEMBER
LABORACTING RANKING MINORITY MEMBER
VETERANS & MILITARY AFFAIRS
INVESTIGATIONS, TAXATION &
GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS

February 4, 2000

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500VIA FAX

Dear Mr. President,

I am writing on behalf of my constituents in the New York State Senate's 14th District, which covers Northwestern Queens. As you are well aware by now, the recent cold snap that has inundated the Northeast Corridor has caused home heating oil prices to skyrocket.

Despite an apparent current reprieve from single-digit temperatures and well-below zero wind chill factors, I received a call from an oil dealer in my district today who told me that wholesale prices had increased by **22 cents a gallon in the last two days**. On January 14, this dealer paid 75 cents per gallon wholesale for home heating oil. Today, the price is \$1.73. That's an increase of almost 133%.

I am writing to demand, on behalf of my constituents, that the Federal Government begin an immediate investigation into what appears to be price gouging by oil companies. The high prices have become a tremendous burden for many of my constituents.

Oil companies must understand, if they don't already, that they cannot increase profits on the backs of seniors on fixed incomes and other people struggling to make ends meet.

At a time when prices should begin coming down, there is evidently no end in sight to the price spikes. There simply appears to be no rhyme or reason to these price increases.

I hope you will use all of the powers at your disposal to investigate this hardship on so many families throughout New York State and the Northeast.

Sincerely,

Senator George Onorato
14th Senatorial District

cc: Senator Charles E. Schumer

To Dan B
for reply

JC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2-4-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 3, 2000

MR. PRESIDENT:

NSC prepared the attached list of CEOs who attended the reception following your remarks in Davos.

- *should have had a list of CEOs who attended the reception*
Lisel Loy

- *Should do letter to all who were sent on copy of speech (non-signed unless I mark up S) send signed over to regrets*

S	Dell, Michael	CEO Dell Computers	
	Devlin, Robert	CEO American Heritage	
	DiCamillo, Gary	CEO Polaroid	Accepts
	Diller, Barry	CEO USA	Regrets
	Dillon, John	CEO Intl. Paper	Accepts
	Dodd, Sen. Chris	LEG US Senate	Accepts
S	Donohue, Thomas	CEO USCham	Accepts
	Dreyer, Rep. David	LEG US Congress	Accepts
	Duncan, Charles	State US State Department	Accepts
	Dunn, Rep. Jennifer	LEG US Congress	Accepts
S	Edelman, Richard	CEO Edelman Worldwide	Accepts
	Enrico, Roger	CEO PepsiCo	Accepts
	Ferguson, Robert	FED Federal Reserve	Accepts
	Ford, Bill	CEO Ford Motor Company	Accepts
	Gates, Bill	CEO Microsoft	Regrets
	George, William	CEO Medtronic	
	Gilmartin, Raymond	CEO Merck	Accepts
	Gordan, Scott	CEO ChicMerc	Accepts
	Gorman, Joseph	CEO TRW	Accepts
	Grasso, Dick	CEO NYSE	
	Greenberg, Jack	CEO McDonald's	Accepts
	Harkin, Ruth	CEO UTC - Washington	Accepts

Reception

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CEO's for
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
2-4-00

Albright, Madeline	State Secretary of State	Accepts
Barshefsky, Charlene	USTR USTR Ambassador	Accepts
Bartz, Carol	CEO Autodesk	Accepts
Beach, Roger	CEO Unocal	
Benhamou, Eric	CEO 3Com	Accepts
Bereuter, Rep. Douglas	SCH US Congress	Accepts
Berkeley, Alfred	CEO NASDAQ	Accepts
Berman, Rep. Howard	LEG US Congress	Accepts
Bezos, Jeff	CEO Amazon.com	Regrets
Bijur, Peter	CEO Texaco	Accepts
Bishop, Robert	CEO Silicon Graphics	
Bloomberg, Michael	CEO Bloomberg Financial	
Bornstein, Steven	CEO ABC	Regrets
Brewer, Eric	CEO Inktomi	Accepts
Bryan, John	CEO Sara Lee	Accepts
Campbell, Lewis	CEO Textron	Accepts
Capellas, Michael	CEO Compaq	Regrets
Carpenter, Candance	CEO Ivillage	Accepts
Case, Steve	CEO AOL	Accepts
Cawty, Tim	CEO SBC Communications	
Chambers, John	CEO Cisco	Regrets
Clark, Gen. Wesley	DEF US Defense Department	Accepts
Coehlo, Paul	EOP	Accepts
Cook, Scott	CEO Intuit	
Daley, Mayor Richard	IGA Chicago	Accepts
Daley, Sec. William	DOC Secretary of Commerce	Accepts
Deavenport, Earnest	CEO Eastman Chemical	Accepts
Dell, Michael	CEO Dell Computers	
Devlin, Robert	CEO American Heritage	
DiCamillo, Gary	CEO Polaroid	Accepts
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Greenberg, Jack	CEO McDonald's	Accepts
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Harkin, Sen. Tom	LEG	US Senate	Accepts
Hassenfeld, Alan	CEO	Hasbro	
Hazelton, Richard	CEO	Dow Corning	Accepts
S Henney, Jane	FDA	Commissioner, FDA	Accepts
Hippeau, Eric	CEO	Ziff-Davis	
Jager, Durk	CEO	P&G	Accepts
S Jones, Robert Trent	CEO	RTJ	
Joslin, Roger	CEO	State Farm	
Kennard, Bill	FCC	Chair, FCC	Accepts
Keough, Donald	CEO	Blackstone Group	
Kerry, Sen. John	LEG	US Senate	Accepts
Klein, Joel	JUS	US Justice Department	Accepts
Knight, Philip	CEO	Nike	Accepts
Kolbe, Rep. Jim	LEG	US Congress	Accepts
Koogle, Tim	CEO	Yahoo	Accepts
Kravis, Henry	CEO	Kohlberg Kravis	
Lane, Raymond	COO	Oracle	
Larson, Al	State	US State Department	Accepts
S Lay, Kenneth	CEO	Enron	
Lazarus, Shelly	CEO	Ogilvy & Mather	Accepts
Leach, Rep. Jim	LEG	US Congress	Accepts
S Leavitt, Arthur	SEC	Chair, SEC	Accepts
Levin, Rep. Sandy	LEG	US Congress	Accepts
Mandl, Alex	CEO	Teligent	Regrets
Markey, Rep. Edward	LEG	US Congress	Accepts
Matsui, Rep. Bob	LEG	US Congress	Accepts
S Medavoy, Mike	CEO	Phoenix Pictures	Accepts
S Minor, Halsey	CEO	CNET	
Mondavi, Michael	CEO	Mondavi Wine	
S Ornish, Dean	EOP		Accepts
S Ornish, Molly	EOP		Accepts
Parrett, Bill	CEO	Deloitte Touche	
Paulson, Henry	CEO	Goldman Sachs	Regrets
S Pritzker, Thomas	CEO	Hyatt	Accepts
Raines, Franklin	CEO	Fannie Mae	Accepts
S Rattner, Steven	CEO	Lazard Freres	Accepts
S Redstone, Sumner	CEO	Viacom	Accepts
Richardson, Sec. Bill	DOE	Secretary of Energy	Accepts
Ridge, Governor Tom	IGA	Pennsylvania	Accepts
Riederer, Richard	CEO	Weirton Steel	
Robbins, Liz	CEO	Robbins Associates	Accepts
Ross, John	CEO	Deutsche Bank	Accepts
Rubin, Jamie	State	US State Department	Accepts
Sanger, Stephen	CEO	General Mills	Accepts
S Schmidt, Eric	CEO	Novell	Accepts
Schwarzman, Stephen	CEO	Blackstone Group	Regrets
Shapiro, Robert	CEO	Monsanto	Regrets
Shocas, Elaine	State	US State Department	Accepts
S Siebel, Thomas	CEO	Siebel Systems	

Not able to join



WASHINGTON NEWS BUREAU

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

2-4-00

910 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC 20006-2980 USA

Tel: [202] 785-4400 Fax: [202] 223-3476

Boyer

January 27, 2000

Dear Mr. President,

Thanks so much for sitting down with us when you were in Boston recently, and especially for being so generous with your time.

We've gotten good feedback from our readers, and the interview got a fine ride on the morning talk shows, the wires and Jay Leno, too.

The discussion on pardons was especially interesting -- we promise to bring you another "never-been-asked" question next time!

Thanks again,

Francine Kiefer *Skip Thurman*

Francine Kiefer and Skip Thurman

*Copied
Lockhart
Podest +*



WASHINGTON NEWS BUREAU

910 Sixteenth Street NW, Washington, DC 20006-2980 USA

Tel: [202] 785-4400 Fax: [202] 223-3476

Betty,

Could you please pass on this
thank-you to the president
for his recent interview with
us? Thanks, Frankie Kiefer
& Skip Theerman

Susi: The playgirl figure outsold Barbie in Brazil.

Brazilian girls turn to a doll more like them

By Andrew Downie
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

SAO PAULO, BRAZIL

FOR 40 years, Barbie has captivated girls around the world with her all-American blend of good looks, fancy clothes, and "I can do anything" ethos.

But here in Brazil, the blonde icon is facing an unprecedented challenge from the new girl in town. Susi, with her trim waist, small chest, wide thighs, and darker skin, is becoming every Brazilian girl's best friend.

Since she first swung her increasingly famous hips into Brazilian toy stores three years ago, annual sales have tripled to 1.5 million. At Christmas, Susi even outsold Barbie for the first time.

For some, her success is a validation of "Brazilianness." Even as South America's most multicultural nation becomes swamped by US imports and images in film, television, and advertising, Brazil is develop-

See SUSI page 10

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www.csmonitor.com

Interview / Bill Clinton

Race, pardons, and a small boy from Cuba

As he begins his final year in office, President Clinton expounds on issues confronting the nation – and his own personal growth.

By Francine Kiefer
and James N. Thurman
Staff writers of
The Christian Science Monitor

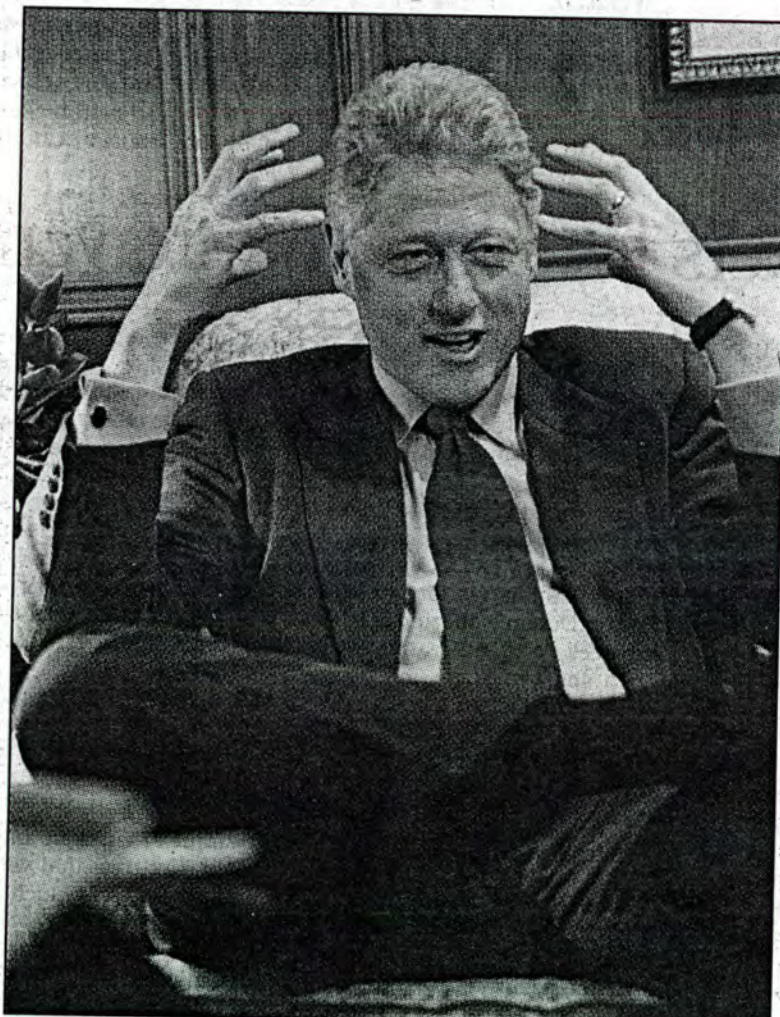
President Clinton, in his most extensive comments yet on the tangled case of Elian Gonzalez, emphasized the importance of family unity – even when it means returning children to countries where "we don't like the government."

He implicitly warned Congress not to make a special grant of American citizenship to the six-year-old to keep him in this country – a move that could set up the first showdown of 2000 between the White House and Capitol Hill.

With his remarks, he threw the full weight of his office behind the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS), which has ruled Elian should return to his father in Cuba.

The president outlined his views in an interview with the Monitor while on an anticrime visit to Boston this week. Relaxed and talkative after a breakfast of "good grits" at Mike's City Diner earlier in the day, Mr. Clinton covered an array of topics – from cyberwarfare to forgiveness.

Alternatively pensive and impassioned in the 50-



ANDY NELSON – STAFF

A PRESIDENTIAL VIEW: President Clinton gives emphasis to a point.

minute interview, sitting cross-legged one moment and stirring the air with his fingers the next, Clinton:

- Suggested that the White House will eventually issue an executive order to "get rid of" racial profiling by federal law-enforcement authorities.

- Cited learning in the past two years of the importance of forgiving others – even to "seventy times seven," as the Bible puts it – if he expects to be forgiven.

- Noted that his 2001 budget, due out Feb. 7, will move the nation toward eliminating the \$5.7 trillion national debt in 15 years.

- Intimated that he will look to grant more pardons this year, despite the controversy that erupted over the clemency he gave several Puerto Rican nationalists last fall.

- Said he was "profoundly" grateful to the press for generally leaving his daughter alone during the first family's tenure at the White House.

Until now, the president has said little on Elian's case, except that he supports the INS decision to send the boy back to Cuba.

But he made it clear he

See CLINTON page 2

On race, religion, and a small boy from Cuba

CLINTON from page 1

puts reuniting the Gonzalez family above the political question of which country would offer the most opportunity for the boy, whom he said could be only "dimly aware" of the "scars from his mother's death."

"We need to think long and hard whether we're going to take the position that any person who comes to our shores who is a minor, any minor child who loses his or her parents, should never be sent home to another parent – even if that parent is capable of doing a very good job – if we don't like the government of the country where the people lived."

If lawmakers disagree with the INS decision, he said, the place to fight it is in federal court – not with special legislation to make Elian a US citizen.

Citizenship, he said, "would irrevocably lead people to the conclusion that this was much more about politics than it was whether that little boy ought to be taken away from his father."

But Clinton also had harsh words for Cuban leader Fidel Castro. "I think the way he has attempted to politicize this is also terrible," he said, adding that, generally, Cuba has "blown every conceivable opportunity to get closer to the United States."

Diligence on race relations

Since he first took office, the president has put improving race relations high on



ANDY NELSON – STAFF

A PENSIVE PRESIDENT: President Clinton's mood alternated between pensive and impassioned during a Monitor interview. He spoke of the difficulties of crafting a fair measure to outlaw racial profiling.

his agenda. While the living standards of minorities have improved with the strong economy, he disputed the premise that attitudes about race remain largely unchanged.

One example he pointed to was the recent reaction to Atlanta Braves pitcher John Rocker, whose disparaging comments about New York City's homosexual, minority, and immigrant populations

kicked up a racial dust storm. "The unfortunate comments that the Atlanta baseball player made – that's really troubling. On the other hand, the fact that Hank Aaron and Andy Young met with him is encouraging," the president said.

Clinton called the fight against racism "the sort of work that may never be done," but said he needs to keep highlighting the issue, working to reduce the economic and

education gaps between whites and minorities. He also called for more "vigorous law enforcement."

Along those lines, Clinton later said he was "very sympathetic" with the call to get rid of racial profiling – the practice by law-enforcement authorities of targeting someone based on their race.

The issue surfaced this week at a Democratic presidential debate in Iowa, when former Sen. Bill Bradley challenged Vice President Al Gore to "walk down the hall" and ask the president to sign an executive order outlawing the practice.

Clinton suggested it isn't that easy – "there are a lot of practical questions" involved. At the US border, for instance, "is it profiling or not if we stop every third car to check for drugs when 90 percent of the people coming over ... are Hispanic? The truth is, we don't know the answer to any of that."

After his administration has collected data and released its findings, "then [we'll] craft an order to get rid of it that reflects the need for the agencies to do a certain job for the American people, and the need to avoid racial discrimination," he said.

His ingredients for spiritual growth

When asked about his own spiritual growth over the past two years, Clinton paused for a moment and grew pensive.

Continued on next page

US lawmakers lay plans to intervene in Elian's case

Continued from previous page

Hand to his head, he began with the caveat that Christ Jesus teaches one to pray in secret and not on the street corner, and that a person in public life should address such a question with "some amount of humility and reluctance."

He then said that all his life, but most recently in the last two years, "the thing I have really had to work on is trying to gain some spiritual anchor that will enable me to give up resentments and disappointments and anger - and to understand that, in seeking forgiveness, I had to learn to forgive." Asking for forgiveness, "is easy," he added, but "it can't count unless you can give it as well as ask for it."

Clinton noted that, as he's gotten older, he's learned that the key to growth is "letting things go." "I used to see life as a struggle for always learning more things, cramming more things in my head, anywhere I could do more things ... Now I see the search for wisdom and strength is also a process of letting go. A lot of things you have to let go."

Promise of a 'big' last year

Clearly sensitive to the tag of being a lame duck, Clinton said the agenda for his final year in office will be the "most ambitious" since his first 12 months. He hinted there would be a "couple of things" new in his State of the Union address next week, but wouldn't say what they were.

He did say, as part of his budget, he would deliver a plan that would avoid spending the Social Security surplus, get the country out of debt in 15 years, invest in programs that Congress approved last year, and still provide a modest tax cut.

Clinton defended his "incremental" approach to governing, saying that small steps had led to "big change" over time. He cited welfare reform and back-to-back budget surpluses. "You take it in small steps, but if you keep walking in the same direction, all of a sudden your steps constitute a giant leap forward."

Among other issues the president touched on:

- **Pardons.** Clinton touched off a firestorm last year when he granted clemency to 16 Puerto Rican FALN nationalists. The president said he believes a chief executive should rarely commute sentences, overturning the work of judge and jury. But he has no regret in the case of the FALN terrorists.

Despite the move, he has issued fewer pardons and commutations than any chief executive in modern history, a fact even he did not realize until then-White House Counsel Charles Ruff began digging into the FALN case. He did suggest, though, that he might exercise the power more frequently in his final year in office.

"The president should be more forthcoming in being willing to grant pardons," he said.

- **Cybersecurity.** In recent months, China has signaled its willingness to use the Internet as a future venue of war. The US, for its part, has issued a report outlining steps to protect critical systems in

On race relations:

"This is the sort of work that may never be done, since in all of human history, we haven't succeeded in rooting out people's fear or suspicion of those who are different."

On Internet warfare:

"We have got to be prepared to deal with the explosion of technology in ways that could threaten our security, not only on data systems...."



On his spiritual journey:

"What I have gained more than anything else is a certain humility in recognizing how important forgiveness is, but how it doesn't count unless you can give it as well."

On pardons:

"The president should be more forthcoming in being willing to grant pardons when it's not really for the purpose of pretending that it didn't happen, but of liberating people to make the most of their todays and tomorrows."



On Elian Gonzalez:

"We need to think long and hard whether we're going to take the position that any person who comes to our shores who is a minor, any minor child who loses his or her parents, should never be sent home to another parent, even if that parent is capable of doing a very good job, if we don't like the government of the country where the people lived."



PHOTOS BY ANDY NELSON - STAFF

this country from online threats.

Despite the rising concern about an emerging "cool war" in cyberspace, Clinton said a more real threat would come from "terrorists, organized criminals, and narco-traffickers than other countries."

- **Chelsea.** Early in the Clinton presidency, an unwritten understanding existed between the mainstream press and the first family to keep Chelsea out of the media spotlight. "First kids" have at times encountered difficulty with the hot-house environment the White House creates.

When asked about how the media have done, Clinton said it's impossible these days to identify "the press" and that it will be harder in the days to come to do so given the blurring of lines between communication, entertainment, and journalism. But with few exceptions, he said, "the press has been willing to let my daughter have her life and try to grow up and deal with all the challenges that entails."

■ For a complete transcript of the interview, visit our Web site at csmonitor.com.

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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The House Appropriations Committee approved language in the VA/HUD bill that will prevent the Administration from using any appropriated funds to "develop, propose or issue regulations, decrees or orders" designed to implement the Kyoto protocol. The provision in the accompanying report language would further prevent the administration from "conducting educational outreach or informational seminars on policies underlying the Kyoto Protocol." Democratic Whip Vic Fazio, who called Joe Knollenberg's (R-MI) provision "essential rule on those people who differ from him," offered an amendment to tone down the language. It failed by an 18 - 27 vote.

NSF APPROPRIATIONS PROSPECTS IMPROVING

During the full House Appropriations Committee markup, Rep. Rodney Frelinghuysen (R-NJ) and Rep. Mark Neumann (R-WI) successfully offered an amendment to add \$70 million for research and related activities. The effect of this successful amendment is that it provides NSF with a total FY99 appropriation of \$3.697 billion. This is \$26 million more than the FY98 level, and \$53 million more than the Senate's recommendation less than your request.

Reed
Have been
strongly about
this - longer
Boz

KENNEWICK MAN MEDIATION BEGINS

Mediation among all parties to the *Bonichsen v. U.S.* case began in Oregon last week, but left two important issues unresolved. Disagreement remains over the type of testing that may be undertaken on the Kennewick Man bones. The government and the tribes are proposing an incremental approach to testing (from measurement to radiocarbon dating to DNA testing) to see how much is actually necessary in order to ascertain the Kennewick Man's origin. However, the plaintiff scientists want assurances that all the tests they desire to do will be done. The plaintiff scientists also want assurances that they will be the individuals doing the tests -- claiming constitutional rights (under the First Amendment) in this regard. Disagreement also remains about the site to which the Kennewick Man remains will be moved, with plaintiff scientists objecting to the government's choice. We expect these issues to be resolved by the Court in early July.

6/25/99

OSTP STUDYING HIGH-TECH "RAIDS" ON COMPUTER SCIENCE SCHOOLS

The *New York Times* reported June 25 that the high-tech field, the fastest growing of the United States' economy, has become so voracious in its hiring that computer science departments across the country are losing graduate students and, in growing numbers, undergraduates to an industry fueled by vast sums of money. Current support for this assertion is mostly anecdotal. Most of the "dropout" apparently occurs immediately after receipt of the bachelor's degree, i.e. fewer people go on for advanced degrees. We have encountered only a few software development shops that occasionally say that they do not care what degree the new hire has, or that they think that degrees are irrelevant, etc. OSTP has been working with Computer Research Associates and your High Performance Computing and Communications (HPCC) Advisory Committee to put some facts and figures behind the whole phenomenon. The Advisory Committee will likely make some recommendations in the Interim Report they will deliver on July 3.

BC
The DNA testing is open - we need to DNA for 2-4-00
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-7-98

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HRC

KENNEWICK MAN ARBITRATION TO BEGIN IN JUNE

Last week, the Army Corp of Engineers began covering the site along the Columbia River in Washington State where the 9,300 year-old remains of the so-called Kennewick Man were uncovered in 1996. Corps action was prompted by concerns about flooding and erosion along the shoreline site. Scientists and others were alerted that they had until April 6 to go to court to obtain a restraining order if they wished to contest this action, but none did. Thus, Corps work was completed by the April 15 deadline. Meanwhile, Kennewick Man remains are being properly curated according to the recommendations of a University of California, Berkeley, conservator. All parties to the original dispute and federal court case (including Native American tribes) have agreed to mediation proposed by DOJ, which may begin in June. OSTP will continue to monitor this issue (see attached articles from *Science*).

cc HRC

Boiled / ~~Native~~ ^{Native} ~~Consensus~~ offer

I think this is wrong
The Corps should not be deciding
these cases - should be some way
of hearing the remains, then
turning them over to the tribes
to decide what to do with them
theory that if they're right
then they can dig up the
Kennewick Man and see if
it's the same as the one
found in 1996. I think it's
a good idea to have the
tribes decide what to do
with the remains. I think
the Corps should not be
deciding these cases.

Kennewick Man's Trials Continue

As the discovery site of a 9300-year-old American is buried despite scientists' protests, researchers report tantalizing new results showing unexpected diversity in the earliest Americans

This week, a helicopter working under the direction of the Army Corps of Engineers is dumping 600 tons of boulders, gravel, and dirt along the shores of the Columbia River near the town of Kennewick in Washington state. This massive reworking of the shoreline is aimed at halting erosion at a point along the river where a 9300-year-old skeleton known as Kennewick Man—which reportedly has some “Caucasoid-like” features—was discovered about 2 years ago. Anthropologists say, however, that the work will bury the site—where more bones were found just 2 weeks ago—rather than protect it. They even persuaded Congress to pass a law forbidding the work. But because the bill wasn't finalized before the congressional recess began last week, it couldn't stop the earth movers.

This sparring is the latest round in a bitter battle over a find that many archaeologists believe could provide important clues to the early peopling of the Americas. Eight prominent anthropologists have sued the Army Corps of Engineers, which has jurisdiction over the Kennewick site, for permission to study the bones of Kennewick Man. But the corps wants to turn the skeleton over to the Umatilla Tribe of northeastern Oregon for reburial, under the 1990 Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA). This clash is part of a larger struggle over who controls American prehistory, pitting Native American religious beliefs against scientists' still-evolving theories about the first Americans.

The scientists in the case say that the small amounts of research that anthropologists have managed to do on Kennewick Man and a few other early Americans suggest a surprising diversity among these people and hint at a complex, largely unknown history. In their view, the question of who first peopled the Americas is far from settled (see sidebar). They would like to complete a full

skeletal and DNA analysis of Kennewick Man, studies the corps abruptly halted when it seized the skeleton. Such research may yield “important clues about recent human evolution,” says Joseph Powell, a physical anthropologist at the University of New Mexico in Albuquerque, noting that the colonization of the Americas was the last such event of its kind. “Humans will never again move into an uninhabited land,” he says, and understanding when and how that happened is relevant to all people.

To get access to that knowledge, the scientists' suit also hopes to change the haphazard way federal agencies that handle NAGPRA-related issues have interpreted the law. Some agencies have allowed full study of skeletons before returning them to what was found to be the appropriate tribe, while in the case of Kennewick Man, the corps planned to simply hand over the skeleton to the tribe now living closest to hand, the Umatilla.

Linking paleo-Americans like Kennewick Man to any modern people is extremely difficult, the researchers say, and they

hope to win public support for their contention that ancient skeletons not clearly affiliated with any known tribe should be studied. “Kennewick Man has become a public icon,” says Robson Bonnichsen, director of the Center for the Study of the First Americans in Corvallis, Oregon, and one of the scientists in the suit. “He's pushed people's buttons; they are enormously interested in finding out who he is. He could well change our perception of who first settled America.”

NAGPRA as the law of the land

When Kennewick Man's bones were first found, the coroner's office called in an independent forensic anthropologist, James Chatters, to study them. Based on the shape of the skull, Chatters initially thought the skeleton was that of a white settler from the last century. But when radiocarbon dates

showed it to be 9300 years old, the corps seized the skeleton, halted all scientific tests, and prepared to return it to the Umatilla for reburial. The scientists' suit has kept the skeleton in limbo, locked in a vault at the Pacific Northwest National Laboratory in Richland, Washington.

Despite such security measures, Kennewick Man's most recent history includes Indians and pagans praying over his skeleton, and charges that it is both missing bones and has had extra bones added to it (*Science*, 2 January, p. 25). Alan Schneider, the attorney representing the scientists, has said that the case “is like a script for a Monty Python movie. All that's missing is someone clapping two coconuts together.” The corps has suggested that some bones were removed before the skeleton was locked up—an allegation that Chatters strongly denies—and has mounted an investigation with the Justice Department. Frustrated by what they consider lax handling, the scientists last week asked that Kennewick Man be held by another agency—perhaps the Smithsonian Institution—while the case continues.

If Kennewick Man is reburied without further scientific study, it would be the latest in a long list of losses of scientifically important ancient skeletons due to NAGPRA and similar state laws, anthropologists say. For example, the Idaho State Archeologist's office gave a well-preserved 10,675-year-old skeleton from a gravel pit near the town of Buhl to the local Shoshone-Bannock tribe for reburial 6 years ago, after only minimal study (*Science*, 1 April 1994, p. 20). “It was a tremendous loss to science and the American people,” says Douglas Owsley, a physical anthropologist at the Smithsonian Institution's National Museum of Natural History and a party in the suit. “And I don't think it's what Congress intended when it enacted NAGPRA.”

Rather, Owsley and other researchers think the law was designed to help right a grievous wrong and return to Native Americans the remains of known relatives and recent ancestors housed in museums and universities. Nearly every scientific institution in North America was affected by the law, and most have emptied or are emptying their storehouses of these skeletons. But problems remain with materials of greater antiquity—the so-called “unaffiliated” remains. The officials administering NAGPRA have yet to



Facing the past. This reconstruction of Kennewick Man was made using a cast of the skull taken before the bones were locked away.

JAMES C. CHATTERS

devise rules for how best to deal with these.

For most Indian tribes, including the Umatilla, the question is simply one of geography. Umatilla oral history says that their tribe has been "part of this land since the beginning of time," as their religious leader, Armand Minthorn, stated in 1996. "We do not believe that our people migrated here from another continent as the scientists do." So any bones recovered from traditional Umatilla lands are necessarily their ancestors. And they consider scientific study, which usually requires measuring bones and grinding up small quantities for dating and genetic analysis, to be taboo.

"It's a fundamental problem with science," says Mervin Wright Jr., tribal chair of the Pyramid Lake Paiute in Nevada, a tribe involved in another clash with scientists over ancient skeletal remains. "Scientists feel they have the right to do anything they want to investigate [their theories], without respecting our traditions. They need to accept what we know: that we've always been here. They don't need to look at any skeletons to determine this."

But anthropologists calculate that Kennewick Man is separated from any descendants by some 450 generations and argue that few people anywhere have remained settled in one region for 10,000 years. "The chances of finding someone living in the same vicinity today who is closely related to an individual who died that long ago are very remote," says D. Gentry Steele, a physical anthropologist at Texas A&M University in College Station, and a party in the law suit. "Populations move and disperse through time; for all we know, the closest relatives of Kennewick Man may be in South America today." So Steele and others argue that more study of the skeleton is needed. "We won't know who he is most closely related to until he is studied."

Tracing the first Americans

Last June, U.S. Magistrate Judge John Jelderks, who is hearing the lawsuit between the corps and the scientists, seemed to say much the same thing. He told the corps that it could not simply use the age of the skeleton or the projectile point in its hip as "conclusive proof that these remains are related to contemporary Native Americans," and queried the agency as well about its definitions of the terms "Native American" and "indigenous" people. He charged the corps to "critically examine all of the evidence in the record as a whole" to determine if Kennewick Man is a Native American.

Last week, the corps announced that it

has asked the National Park Service (NPS) of the Department of the Interior (DOI), the agency that administers NAGPRA, to answer these questions. Francis McManamon, the chief archaeologist in charge of NAGPRA for the Park Service, says that they will consult the tribes, as required by NAGPRA, and that he expects that some examination and testing of the bones will be needed. But he notes that according to the DOI's reading of NAGPRA, Native Americans are "people who occupied the United States prior to the documented arrival of Europeans." That would include any bones older than about A.D. 1600 in the Northwest, so McManamon says he "expects" to find the skeleton is indeed a Native American, "and then we can move on to stage two, deciding its proper disposition."

But to the scientists in the case, such statements only lead to more questions. "Who is going to do these tests?" wonders Bonnichsen, noting that the top scientists in

renaissance in the study of the first Americans. To help determine which tribe should be given skeletal material in collections, scientists have sometimes dated the remains—and occasionally turned up astonishingly old dates. For example, a Nevada skeleton known as Wizards Beach Man was thought to date to about 4000 years ago and turned out to be 9200 years old.

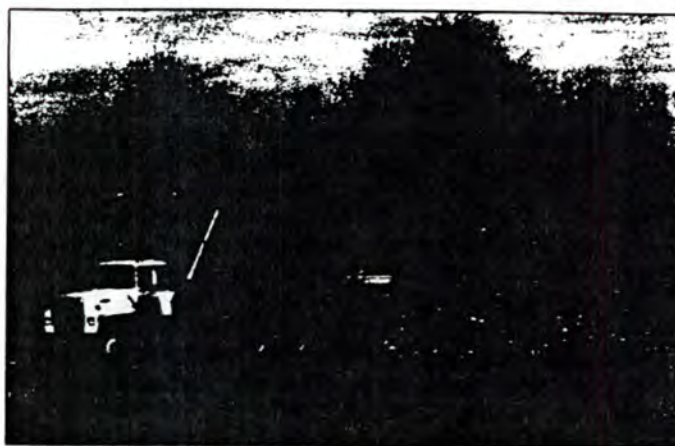
And bits of research allowed on a few of these ancient skeletons show a surprising amount of diversity in their bone structure, although so far not in their genes, anthropologists say. "There's so much variability in these early populations," says Bonnichsen. "And they don't all look like Native Americans today." That may mean, he and others say, that there was more than one population in the early Americas, populations that may or may not be related to modern American Indians.

Understanding America's prehistory will require filling out this fragmentary and conflicting evidence. "The only way to get the answers is by being free to do the research," says Bonnichsen. Some studies, however, such as a full archaeological and geological analysis of the Kennewick Man site, will likely never happen, as the corps is going ahead with its plan to halt erosion at the site.

Chatters, who found more bones when he took a last walk along the beach 2 weeks ago, contends that the corps' action will bury additional information about the site and also any additional bones. In a public relations coup, scientists won Congress over to their side on this point: Lawmakers in both the Senate and the House attached a provision to a disaster relief bill to block the corps' action without express permission from the court. But that bill wasn't finalized before congressional recess. "It's obvious that the corps couldn't care less about complying with clear-cut congressional intent," says Representative Doc Hastings (R-WA), who authored the House version of the bill to stop the corps' plans. (He also introduced a bill to amend NAGPRA so that scientists could study human remains and cultural items found on federal lands.) "It's outrageous that they are destroying a site of this importance."

Early this week, corps spokesperson Dutch Meier said that covering of the site was well under way. And all scientific research remains halted until the corps answers the court's questions. For now, says Bonnichsen, like the pagans and the Native Americans, the only thing scientists can do for Kennewick Man is to pray for him.

—Virginia Morell



Burying the past? The Army Corps of Engineers is covering the Kennewick Man site to protect it from erosion.

the field are part of the lawsuit and indeed often act as consultants for NPS on such matters. More importantly, anthropologists argue that Jelderks's questions require a more thorough investigation, and that the relationship between contemporary Native Americans and paleo-Americans like Kennewick Man may be quite complex.

Until just a few years ago, most researchers regarded the settlement of the Americas as a straightforward story: The first Americans were the Clovis people, big-game hunters from Asia, who moved across the Bering Strait in three great migrations beginning about 11,500 years before the present. But now scientists largely agree that people were apparently living in America before the time of the Clovis culture. And new genetic and linguistic studies have thrown out the three-migration model (*Science*, 19 April 1996, pp. 346 and 373, and 4 October 1996, p. 31).

Ironically, NAGPRA has helped fuel this

Kennewick Man's Contemporaries

Despite the obstacles posed by state and federal laws, in a few cases researchers have managed to study ancient American skeletons. And what they are finding makes them even more eager to examine other skeletons such as Kennewick Man.

The state of Nevada decided that skeletons collected before the 1990 North American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) must be studied to establish their proper identification. So in the past few months, top researchers have trooped to the Nevada State Museum in Carson City to examine two well-preserved skeletons, known as Wizards Beach Man and Spirit Cave Mummy, which both date to more than 9000 years ago. And anthropologist Douglas Owsley of the Smithsonian Institution and colleague David Hunt worked with artist Sharon Long to reconstruct in clay the faces of these two individuals. The reconstructions, published here for the first time, offer a glimpse of what the earliest Americans looked like.

The biggest surprise, physical anthropologists say, is that they don't all look the same. For example, Wizards Beach Man "falls within the range of modern Indians," says Owsley. "He's what I imagine a proto-Indian looked liked." But Spirit Cave man "does not look quite like what you think of when you think about a modern Indian," he says. "His cranial vault is higher, his face is narrower, and his cheekbones smaller than what you see in Native Americans and Northeast Asians," a region that has been proposed as the ancestral homeland of some Native Americans. Among living peoples, he most resembles the Ainu of Japan, the group who first colonized that archipelago, says Owsley; others have suggested that Kennewick Man also resembles the Ainu.

Not that these first Americans were actually related to the Ainu. Indeed, genetic studies show that the Ainu are not related to any living Native Americans, says Michael Hammer, a geneticist at the University of Arizona, Tucson. If ancestors of the Ainu did cross the Bering Strait, "they didn't leave any genetic heritage in the New World," he says.

Instead of indicating kinship, the resemblance to modern Ainu or Eurasians "is important for understanding their biology, the kind of climate they were adapted to, which could give clues to where they came from," explains Owsley's colleague, Richard Jantz, a physical anthropologist from the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. The point, says Owsley, is that the Nevada skeletons, as well as two other paleo-American skulls he's studied, "are different enough in their morphology that we can't assume that they belong to any modern-day group. We may be seeing what some people in these regions looked like in the late Pleistocene," before acquiring modern features.

And the physical diversity suggests a complex history. "There's considerable heterogeneity in these earliest Americans," says Jantz, who described his analyses of the Nevada skeletons at the American

Association of Physical Anthropologists meeting in Salt Lake City last week. "They appear to belong to different regional populations, which suggests that there were several waves of migrations rather than one or two." When other paleo-American skulls are added to the stew, Jantz and Owsley see between three and five distinctive populations in North America some 10,000 years ago.

Many of the ancient skeletons show signs of violence, another sign of different and competing peoples. In addition to a spear point in his pelvis, Kennewick Man suffered throughout his life from multiple fractured ribs, a heavy fall or blow to his neck, and another blow to his left frontal bone, says James Chatters, the anthropologist who recovered Kennewick Man. Spirit Cave man has a fracture below his left temple from a hard blow that may have killed him, says anthropologist Amy Dansie of the Nevada State Museum. And the fragmentary remains of another 9000-year-old boy from Nevada indicate that he died at age 18 from a knife in the ribs.

All this suggests that about 10,000 years ago, "new traditions and people were coming in," says Dennis Stanford, an archaeologist at the Smithsonian. "There was a lot of conflict; it wasn't a peaceful period as has often been portrayed. Someone was pushing on someone else, but we don't know who yet."

But not all scientists agree with this emerging picture. Early American expert Christy Turner of the University of Arizona, Tempe, for one, sees "only Indians" in the skulls that others regard as something different. And molecular anthropologists see no genetic evidence in living Native Americans for a diverse ancient population. Genetic surveys of living people suggest that "there were only a small number" of founding lineages, whose descendants spread throughout North and South

America, says David Glenn Smith, a molecular anthropologist at the University of California, Davis. However, it's possible that there was once more genetic diversity, and that only a small number of lineages survived, say Owsley and other physical anthropologists.

Still, the few ancient skeletons whose DNA has been tested, including that of Wizards Beach Man, do indeed show markers seen in modern Native Americans. "No surprises," says Smith, who is studying the DNA of paleo-Americans. "They don't look all that different from modern Indians." But the DNA of skeletons with more divergent bone structure, including Spirit Cave, has not been tested, say Owsley and Jantz.

More data might clarify this sparse and conflicting evidence. But there's no guarantee that it can be done. When studies of the Nevada skeletons are done, the bones are to be returned to the appropriate tribes. Even so, the work has drawn sharp protest from the Paiute, who claim both skeletons as ancestors. "We're not trying to offend Native Americans, although they're hostile to us now," says Dansie. "It seems they think we're trying to steal their ancestors and their history. We're not; we just think you shouldn't deny these ancient people their identity."

—V.M.



Same time; different face? Some anthropologists think that Wizards Beach Man (left) and Spirit Cave Mummy (right; both reconstructed in clay) have different skull structures.



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Mary T. Merino

The program is put
together by Hi Q Computer.
It is owned by Ech Tsai -
a woman who came to the
country 15 years ago from Taiwan.

She committed 1000 computers to
families of low-economic level.

She trains the parents and
the children. And then ~~retrain~~ ^{retrain}
them every six months.
Good Luck.

T. Merino

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Medicare Shift Hurts Nursing Home Firms

By DAVID S. HILZENRATH
Washington Post Staff Writer

Several of the nation's biggest nursing home companies, which geared up to profit handsomely from Medicare, have been laid low by the federal health insurance program's tightened purse strings.

Just yesterday, a once highly flying Maryland company became the fourth national nursing home operator in recent months to land in bankruptcy. With the meltdown of Integrated Health Services Inc., companies that run about 10 percent of the nation's nursing homes are now in Chapter 11.

Integrated Health (IHS) borrowed heavily, expanded rapidly and rewarded its CEO richly as it tailored its business to

take advantage of the ballooning elderly population and a generous Medicare system. Its finances began to collapse after the government started implementing a much stricter system of Medicare reimbursements in 1998.

IHS blames its woes on the Medicare overhaul. But some analysts and government officials say these nursing home businesses put themselves in a precarious position.

"Those companies that were more disciplined in their acquisition strategy and limited the amount of debt they assumed are still operating. I would say, in a sound manner," said Michael Kaplan, director of corporate health care ratings at Standard

and Poor's.

Sen. Charles E. Grassley (R-Iowa) said mismanagement played a role as nursing home executives counted on easy money from Medicare. "I suppose they had kind of a blank check from the federal government . . . but we just can't guarantee anyone a blank check," said Grassley, chairman of the Senate's Special Committee on Aging.

Under the old system, Medicare, which pays for nursing home stays after elderly and disabled beneficiaries have been hospitalized, gave nursing homes little reason to economize. The program reimbursed nursing homes for their costs, making Medicare beneficiaries an attractive market for companies such as IHS.

Under the new system, Medicare pays nursing homes fixed daily rates only partly influenced by the facility's overhead. The result has been a dramatic decline in the revenue that the companies can collect for treating Medicare patients, industry executives say. Last year, under criticism from the industry that it had gone too far, the government restored a portion of the money it had cut from the reimbursements.

The General Accounting Office studied the finances of two of the bankrupt nursing home giants and concluded in December that the federal payments are probably adequate overall but "may be too low for certain types of patients and too high for others."

IHS's bankruptcy filing follows similar steps by industry giants Vencor Inc., Sun Healthcare Group Inc. and Mariner Post-Acute Network Inc.—and by the smaller Lenox Health Care Inc., Frontier Group Inc. and Newcare Health Corp.

The company's financial distress contrasts with the largess it has shown chairman and chief executive Robert N. Elkins in recent years. IHS had \$37.3 million of loans outstanding to Elkins as of March 31. Further, as part of his compensation package, IHS put \$18.8 million in trust for him as of Dec. 31, 1998, according to filings with the Securities and Exchange Commission. The company said an \$11.5 million loan to Elkins last March was intended "to assist the company in retaining Dr. Elkins on a long-term basis."

The company had also agreed to pay a minimum of \$1.1 million a year to lease a plane for Elkins from a company that Elkins owned.

Marc B. Levin, IHS executive vice president and spokesman, would not comment on those matters.

Levin said IHS's lead lender, Citibank, has given it a credit line of up to \$300 million that will allow it to continue doing business "indefinitely." The bankruptcy filing in Delaware holds creditors at bay while the company attempts to reorganize its finances.

The company has about 400 nursing homes, 45,000 patients and more than 80,000 employees. Its only facility in the D.C. area is in Alexandria.

The bankruptcy filing showed the legacy of a buying binge fueled by junk bonds and bank loans. IHS listed assets of \$3.6 billion and liabilities of \$4.1 billion. As late as December 1997, after Congress passed the Balanced Budget Act, IHS bought 139 nursing homes and other holdings from HealthSouth Corp. for \$1.3 billion.

State regulators have been monitoring troubled companies' nursing homes, "and the reports that we have received to date suggest that residents remain safe," Nancy-Ann DeParle, administrator of the Health Care Financing Administration, said in a statement.

Along with major banks and mutual funds, IHS creditors include the state of Maryland and Baltimore County, which provided \$2.5 million and \$800,000, respectively, to help it establish new headquarters.

National Campaign Against Youth Violence

33 New Montgomery Street, 20th Floor

San Francisco, California 94105-9781

Telephone: (415) 512-4008 Facsimile: (415) 512-4077 THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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 Do Reply
 She's coming for a
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 to meet with the President

January 20, 2000

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 Echaveste
 Reed
 Burkhardt
 for Reply
 (Coordinate
 w/ Reed)

Jeffrey L. Bleich
 Executive Director
 (415) 512-4007

bleichjl@mta.com

VIA HAND

President William J. Clinton
 The White House
 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
 Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

I am writing to apprise you of some positive developments in the National Campaign Against Youth Violence.

First, we are now close to completing the formation of our Board of Directors. New Board members include Rupert Murdoch, Gerry Laybourne, Larry Ellison, Ron Burkle, Judith McHale, and Mel Karmazin. Minyon Moore is currently working with us to enlist Oprah Winfrey and Bill Cosby to join the Board as well. I've attached a complete list of confirmed Board members. We would like to hold the first meeting of the Board in Washington, D.C. during the week of February 21. I have asked Minyon to help schedule a date for an event with you at the White House to coincide with the meeting so that you will be able to announce the Board members and their initiatives at that time. We believe that we will also be able to announce a major national commitment by a Fortune 5 (five) corporate sponsor, as well as new public-private partnerships in at least two U.S. cities.

Second, we conducted the first session of our Academic Advisory Council last week at Harvard. The Council is composed of the 25 leading scholars in the United States, who have studied the subject of youth violence from 11 different academic disciplines. The sessions were extremely productive, with the scholars expressing genuine optimism about our approach. In

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general, the academics endorsed the Campaign's direction, and helped us refine our message and the specific best practices that we will be encouraging in each city on our City-by-City campaign. At your suggestion, I recently contacted Dr. Donald Nathanson, and have invited him to join the Council for its next session. I believe that his focus on the link between violence and boys' notions of honor and shame complements the views of other Council members. Our Council chair, John Devine, is currently preparing an executive summary of the session that I will forward to you.

Third, we have assembled an outstanding group of young people from across the nation who have personal experience with violence and are working in their communities to help reduce violence. The group will be meet for a planning and training session in San Francisco from February 17-21. I know that these young people would be honored to meet with you and share their ideas about the sources of youth violence and their strategies for getting young people to change cultural norms that allow or encourage violence. I would be happy to coordinate with your staff to arrange a time for such a meeting. We have also forwarded the list of students to Karin Kullman in the Domestic Policy Council. To the extent that you might mention the efforts of young people who are helping to address violence in your State of the Union remarks, I believe that this too would be a positive message.

Fourth, we have made substantial progress in developing our City-by-City campaign in the first two communities, Memphis and St. Louis. Ira Lipman, the CEO of Guardsmark, has agreed to host a breakfast of Memphis business leaders, the chief of police, mayor, superintendent of schools, and the local violence commission to plan an event for April 14 at which our new initiatives would be announced. The Discovery Channel has already agreed to televise the entire program, and Court TV and/or Teen People have agreed to sponsor a youth town hall forum that will precede the event. To help prepare for these events, I would be grateful if you would let us know of any particular business contacts or individuals in Memphis that you believe should be invited to the planning session, and whether you or the First Lady would be available to attend the event on April 14.

Finally, I am pleased to report that concerned individuals and organizations continue to offer unsolicited support for this effort. Mark Abbott, the Chief Operating Officer of Major League Soccer, has been working without salary as COO of this Campaign for five months, and has helped cover many of the Campaign's start-up costs out of his own pocket. The law firm of Munger Tolles & Olson has done all of our legal work to incorporate the Campaign and obtain 501(c)(3) status, and has donated an entire floor of office space and equipment. A technology company, PCG, has donated computers, a network server, software, and cellular phones to the Campaign. Deloitte Touche has agreed to provide our accounting services free of charge. The

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Gallup Organization has volunteered to perform our polling free of charge. Foot, Cone & Belding has donated its services as our advertising agency. And Lexis-Nexis has agreed to provide us free research on its network. With your permission, I would like to prepare brief letters of thank you to these individuals and organizations for your review and signature.

Thank you again for your encouragement and support in this effort.

Sincerely,


Jeff Bleich

JLB/dlw

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Harvard School of Public Health

Eli Segal, Executive Director
Welfare to Work
Founding Director, AmeriCorps

Mayor Wellington Webb
Mayor of Denver

**NATIONAL
CAMPAIGN AGAINST
YOUTH VIOLENCE****Fax**

'00 FEB 3 PM 12:31

To: Marsha Scott	From: dena Winkler Assistant to Jeff Bleich
Fax No: 202-456-5558	Pages: 6
Phone:	Date: January 20, 2000
Re: National Campaign Against Youth Violence 00035-00505	cc:
☐ Urgent ☐ For Review ☐ Please Call	
Message: Per Jeff's request.	

THIS MESSAGE IS INTENDED ONLY FOR THE USE OF THE INDIVIDUAL OR ENTITY TO WHICH IT IS ADDRESSED AND MAY CONTAIN INFORMATION THAT IS PRIVILEGED, CONFIDENTIAL AND EXEMPT FROM DISCLOSURE UNDER APPLICABLE LAW. If the reader of this message is not the intended recipient or the employee or agent responsible for delivering the message to the intended recipient, you are hereby notified that any dissemination, distribution or copying of this communication is strictly prohibited. If you have received this communication in error, please notify us immediately by telephone (collect), and return the original message to us at the above address via the U.S. Postal Services. Thank you.

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Africa Studies Raise AIDS Vaccine Hopes

Viral Load, Chances of Infection Linked

By DAVID BROWN
Washington Post Staff Writer

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan. 31—A low concentration of the AIDS virus in the bloodstream greatly decreases the chance that an infected man or woman will transmit the disease to a heterosexual partner, according to two studies from Africa presented at a scientific meeting here.

That observation raises the possibility that an imperfect AIDS vaccine may yet be useful in the region where 70 percent of the world's cases of human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) infection occur. Specifically, it suggests that a vaccine that fails to block initial infection—but does manage to lower a person's "viral load"—may reduce that person's ability to pass the virus on to someone else.

Nearly 70 percent of the 34 million people living with HIV live in sub-Saharan Africa, where heterosexual intercourse is the dominant mode of virus transmission. The two studies, presented at the Seventh Conference on Retroviruses and Opportunistic Infections, looked at the experience of African couples in which one person was infected with HIV and the other was not.

In a study from the rural Rakai district of Uganda, researchers followed 415 "HIV-discordant" couples for 30 months. In slightly more than half, the man was the partner infected. In 90 of the couples (about 22 percent), the uninfected partner ultimately acquired the infection. Male-to-female transmission was as likely as female-to-male.

The big determinant of transmission was viral load. People with more than 50,000 viruses per milliliter of blood had 10 times the chance of transmitting their infection as people with fewer than 3,500 viruses per milliliter. In the 50 couples in which one partner had a viral load less than 1,500, there were no transmissions at all.

A study in Lusaka, Zambia, produced nearly the same results. There, 109 individuals in 500 discordant couples became infected. The average viral load in the transmitting partner was 38,000. For every 10-fold increase in bloodstream virus concentration, the risk of transmission more than doubled. No one with less than 1,000 viruses per milliliter passed on the infection.

"Reduction of viral load by [antiviral] therapy or by therapeutic vaccines could reduce transmission," said Thomas C. Quinn of Johns Hopkins University, who helped conduct the study in Uganda. He emphasized, however, that there's no direct evidence that a low viral load achieved by drug treatment behaves the same as a low viral load achieved "naturally" by native immune defenses.

Nevertheless, the findings injected

some hope into the generally dispiriting field of HIV vaccine development.

No experimental vaccine to date has reliably blocked infection in large-scale studies of laboratory animals. Several, however, have sufficiently stimulated immunity that virus growth is dampened after infection takes hold. This is especially true in vaccines that stimulate the production of immune-system cells directed at HIV-infected cells, as opposed to vaccines that stimulate antibodies that attack free-floating virus.

Two such studies were described here. One used vaccinia virus (the microbe that for years was used as a vaccine against smallpox) into which genes of simian immunodeficiency virus (SIV), the monkey equivalent of HIV, had been spliced. The other used fragments of "naked" SIV DNA. In both cases, monkeys that were vaccinated and then injected with SIV became infected. However, their viral loads were lower than those in unvaccinated infected animals. In the case of the DNA vaccine, the viral load in some animals dropped into the undetectable range after an initial burst of growth.

These various lines of research are a reason to test HIV vaccines that, by conventional measures, might seem less than promising, said Gary Nabel, head of the Vaccine Research Center at the National Institutes of Health.

Because laboratory studies haven't revealed what immune system response is the optimal one, only field trials of "candidate" vaccines in places where HIV prevalence is high and many people are at risk will reveal whether imperfect ones have real utility.

"We don't want to tie ourselves to some laboratory tests, whose significance is not known," said Nabel.

In other research, a scientist at the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention gave further evidence that recent advances in the treatment of HIV infection may be lulling some people into thinking they can participate in unsafe activities with relative impunity.

In a seven-state survey of equal numbers of male homosexuals, intravenous drug users, and heterosexuals, 31 percent said they were "less concerned" now about becoming infected than they were in the past, and 17 percent said they were "less safe" in their habits.

The highest proportion of people expressing less worry was among drug users, especially African American drug users. Among homosexual men, about 70 percent of those who said they were being less careful had participated in unprotected anal intercourse, compared with about 45 percent of those who said they weren't being any less careful than in the past.

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GOP Targets 61 Programs for Cuts

Threatened Items Gain Supporters On Capitol Hill

By ERIC PIANIN
Washington Post Staff Writer

Republicans yesterday launched their latest campaign to root out government "waste, fraud and abuse" by highlighting 61 programs that the General Accounting Office (GAO) contends could be eliminated or greatly scaled back to save billions of dollars annually.

The targeted programs range from federally subsidized hydroelectric plants, subsidies for promoting U.S. agricultural products overseas and U.S. cargo preference laws to mining subsidies and Medicare incentives to attract doctors to work in remote areas.

GAO officials also proposed ending Veteran Affairs hospitals' practice of treating disabilities unrelated to military service, charging user fees for food-related testing services, inviting competitive bidding on Government Printing Office work and significantly downsizing military installations.

"Projected surpluses do not absolve government of its responsibility to make good use of taxpayer dollars," Comptroller General David M. Walker said during a hearing of the Senate Budget Committee. "Addressing these issues calls for hard choices. . . . There are not a lot of examples of low-hanging



BY DENNIS DRENNER FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Comptroller General David M. Walker said even with surpluses, government must make good use of taxpayers' money.

fruit" on the GAO's hit list.

Indeed, many of the GAO's proposals have been floated before to no avail, and yesterday's hearing underscored how difficult it will be for reformists and pork-busters in Congress to overcome stiff opposition from other members and the built-in constituencies for many of these programs.

Even before Walker delivered his testimony, Sens. Ron Wyden (D) and Slade Gorton (R) of Washington state vigorously defended the federal power marketing administrations program—which includes the Bonneville hydroelectric plant in their home state.

"The fact is there's a long histo-

ry of people saying programs important to my region . . . need to be cut," Wyden complained. "The arguments that the GAO advances about power marketing agencies are fundamentally flawed" and ending the program would not produce big savings.

Sen. Christopher S. Bond (R-Mo.) argued it is essential that the Department of Agriculture continue its market access program to help U.S. farmers compete overseas. "It's not just a question of whether our private sector can do it on its own," Bond said. "The question is whether our agriculture industry can be competitive against overseas subsidized producers."

Senate Budget Committee Chairman Pete V. Domenici (R-N.M.), who had asked the GAO to submit a list of programs that should be reviewed for possible termination or cuts, acknowledged "there is a pessimism around the table" over whether Congress will make any serious cuts in programs.

"I just believe somebody has to start—has to do something," Domenici said.

Early last month, House GOP leaders disclosed plans for high-profile hearings to force agency heads to defend their budgets and explain why they haven't done more to root out waste, fraud or abuse. House Majority Whip Tom DeLay (R-Tex.) said that, if necessary, Republican leaders and committee chairmen will make on-site inspections to highlight waste in government agencies.

House Budget Committee

Chairman John R. Kasich (R-Ohio) instructed his staff to compile reports of the GAO, inspectors general and other sources documenting billions of dollars in waste and fraud to use as ammunition in the hearings. However, Kasich has complained that the GAO has not provided his committee with enough specificity in highlighting wasteful or wrongful spending practices, according to a source, and postponed a hearing he had planned to hold this week.

Kasich and Walker of the GAO planned to meet today to work out their differences.

According to an analysis being prepared by Kasich's staff, federal programs including Medicare, Supplemental Security Income, food stamps and housing subsidies are making more than \$19 billion a year of improper payments.

The cost-saving measures proposed by the GAO and unveiled yesterday also include: reassessing economic development assistance programs and agencies; consolidating or eliminating Department of Energy facilities; reassessing international broadcasting programs and reassessing the Defense Department's Tactical Aircraft and Comanche Helicopter programs.

The GAO also recommended reassessing the Coast Guard's Deepwater Project, repealing the partial exemption for alcohol fuels from excise taxes on motor fuels, eliminating flood insurance for certain repeatedly flooded properties, reducing the Export-Import Bank program and consolidating student aid programs.

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Giuliani Offers Some Views About Foreign Policy, From Austria to the West Bank

By DAVID M. HERSZENHORN

Mayor Rudolph W. Giuliani, who was criticized for sharing a dais last month with the controversial Austrian politician Jörg Haider, expressed support yesterday for the European Union's efforts to prevent Mr. Haider's anti-immigrant political party from joining the Austrian government.

The mayor, who is preparing to run for United States Senate against Hillary Rodham Clinton, also ventured into another foreign-policy thicket yesterday, condemning the Palestinian Authority for its role in a dispute over a Russian Orthodox monastery in the West Bank.

Mr. Giuliani exhorted the Clinton administration to take a more hands-on role in both situations. And the mayor's top campaign adviser, Bruce Teitelbaum, said the first lady herself should urge the State Department to put pressure on the Palestinians to settle the property dispute between the Russian Orthodox here and in Russia over the monastery in Jericho in the West Bank.

"I should not have to be having this press conference; this press conference should have occurred in Washington and it should have occurred a number of days ago," Mr. Giuliani said.

He suggested that the Clinton ad-

ministration had been ignoring the dispute over the monastery and had not done enough to protect two American nuns still living there.

A State Department official said yesterday that the secretary of state, Madeleine K. Albright, had urged Yasir Arafat, the Palestinian president, to resolve the monastery dispute peacefully.

A White House spokesman, David Leavy, said, "We have made clear to the Palestinians that this is an issue that has to be worked through the judicial process."

In siding with the European Union, the mayor also sought to deflect criticism about his attendance last

month at a Martin Luther King Jr. Day dinner, where he sat on the dais with Mr. Haider.

Mr. Giuliani admitted shaking hands with Mr. Haider but said that he did not realize who Mr. Haider was and that if he had, he might not have gone to the dinner.

"I met him," Mr. Giuliani said yesterday. "I spoke to him, but I didn't know who he was. He was introduced to me along with about 50 or 60 other people. At the time, I had no idea who he was. I go to a lot of dinners. I shook hands with him. Actually, when he was introduced to me, someone introduced him to me as someone who had participated in

the Olympics."

News accounts of the dinner, which was sponsored by the Coalition for Racial Equality, reported that the group's national chairman, Roy Innis, introduced Mr. Haider on the dais and referred specifically to his reputation of right-wing notoriety.

Mr. Haider, the leader of the anti-immigration Freedom Party in Austria, stirred controversy in the 1990's by praising Hitler's "orderly employment policy," and describing veterans of elite Nazi SS troops as "men of character." He has apologized several times for those remarks.

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Republicans Discover Appeal of Killing 'Death Tax'

Good Times Help Make It Politically Acceptable to Support Repeal

By JACKIE CALMES

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

The nondescript Woodmen of the World hall near Columbia, S.C., is no country club, and it was no country-club crowd that gathered in parkas and windbreakers one recent morning for a meager breakfast of cold coffee, ham-and-biscuit sandwiches—and a presidential stump speech.

Yet when Republican frontrunner George W. Bush gets to his standard line—"I intend to eliminate the death tax!"—there is broad applause. From somewhere in the packed hall of 650, a man bellows, "Yeah!"

Something is happening here. Republicans have long favored killing the estate tax, prodded by small-business groups and wealthy campaign contributors. Yet, as Mr. Bush and some of his rivals have found, the demand for repeal of a tax that mostly hits the richest has become an applause line for the rank and file.

"No one would have dreamed of proposing estate-tax repeal" a decade ago, says Rep. Charlie Bass, a New Hampshire Republican campaigning with Mr. Bush. That has changed, he says, as more people share in the good times. At a Bush event in South Carolina, GOP congressional candidate Henry Brown agrees with Mr. Bush, but adds: "The stock market has generated a lot of instant millionaires—even if it's a false sense of being rich."

Tax Hits Few

The truth is, the vast majority of Americans will never pay a penny in estate tax. Current law imposes a 55% tax when an estate holder dies on any assets exceeding \$675,000—and that threshold is slated to rise to \$1 million by 2006. Meanwhile, a mini-industry exists to help those affected avoid the tax. Fewer than 2% of all the estates of people who died last year paid tax; and as a result of the rising threshold, that

percentage isn't expected to increase significantly during the next five years.

Nevertheless, a confluence of factors have made more Americans more aware of the tax in recent years. Many fear—or, with classic American optimism, they hope—that they will have enough set aside to invite the tax's sting.

Consider: Amid a record economic expansion and stock-market run-up, postwar baby-boomers have reached their peak earning years. Many are banking sums they never imagined, and some 50-somethings already are estate planning. Meanwhile, their parents are at the end of their lives, and boomers who never thought of mom and dad as rich are coming into bequests that—with a little stock, say, and a comfortable house at today's inflated real-estate values—are threatening to trigger an estate-tax bill for the heirs.

The changes are reflected in the estate tax. This year, with the tax kicking in for estates valued at more than \$675,000, 51,700 taxable estates are projected, bringing \$31.1 billion into the Treasury. But even these numbers are likely to be revised upward. By 2008, 56,200 estates would be taxed, still under 2% of estates, and Treasury would receive \$42.2 billion.

Middle-Class Support

Kerry Ollen, a 42-year-old banker and single mom to a teenage daughter, is a face of America's nouveaux-riches. She hardly considers herself rich; nor does she consider her 65-year-old parents, who raised five children in what Ms. Ollen describes as comfortable middle-class style, as rich. Yet the political independent nods approvingly when Mr. Bush tells her Nashua, N.H., Chamber of Commerce recently that he will wipe out death taxes.

"A lot of people are going to have taxable estates even though they don't currently understand that," says Ms. Ollen, a

banker. "It really doesn't take much if you add in your 401(k), the equity in your home, and any insurance proceeds and outside savings."

In nearby Hillsboro, at the Osramylvania automotive-lighting plant, employee Walter Ziske, 36 and a single dad, is nowhere near having a potentially taxable estate. But, he says, his 95-year-old grandfather reflects the longevity in his family. "So who knows what I may be able to do by then," Mr. Ziske optimistically says.

If the spread of wealth in this country is changing the politics of estate taxation, which touches so few, that suggests it could more broadly alter the nation's politics on a raft of more consequential debates—on trade and globalization, for instance, or Social Security investments and welfare. "It's very difficult, for example, for Democrats and labor unions to attack Wall Street stockholders, because now they're throwing stones at themselves. We're all 401(k)ers now," says Glenn Bolger, a Republican pollster.

Economics always has affected politics. The Depression gave rise to the New Deal. The rise of corporate power in the Industrial Age heralded a pro-business attitude, followed by a progressive era in politics as Americans reacted to corporate greed. "Then the question was: What can the state do to ease the burdens or counteract some of the excesses of the march of capitalism?" says historian Eric Foner of Columbia University.

Today, Mr. Foner says, "it seems to be going the opposite direction: How can the government step out of the way, so to speak, and not interfere with the accumulation of wealth and the spread of markets?"

Mr. Bush is riding that wave. As he neared the end of another campaign day recently in New Hampshire, the Texas governor was adamant that repeal, not simply

raising the current law's threshold for estate taxes, was the way to go.

"If you're interested in the spreading of wealth, the best thing to do would be to have no tax," he says in an interview. "The current tax causes people to have all kinds of trusts and foundations binding up generations. If you really want to see wealth distributed, give people a chance to spend the money and they will. They won't have these trusts to protect them from themselves."

Death of a Tax Plan

Several years ago, Republican politicians took to calling the estate tax the "death tax," following their consultants' advice that the word "estate" connotes fabulous wealth.

"Surely, labeling it 'the death tax' helped some," says tax expert Michael Graetz of Yale Law School, as he gropes to explain the proposal's popularity. "Even if you don't have an 'estate,' you can't help but think that 'a death tax' will hit you."

Mr. Graetz says estate taxes contribute more to the income-tax code in terms of progressivity—that is, the principle that the more money you have, the more taxes you pay—than they do in actual dollars. Estate taxes account for just over 1% of total federal receipts. Still, in the first year that Mr. Bush's proposal would take effect, in 2009, that would mean \$46 billion, and much more in subsequent years.

Even some estate-tax foes are wary of repeal. In Portsmouth, N.H., Mr. Bush won over 51-year-old Joan Rice. Why? "He'd go away with death taxes." She works for a trust company, and says that some clients' cases have convinced her that "death taxes can be extreme at times."

However, she adds, "I can't see repealing it entirely. Personally, I don't see how we could afford it."

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Signs of Iraqi Arms Buildup Bedevil U.S. Administration

By STEVEN LEE MYERS

WASHINGTON, Jan. 31 — Satellite photographs and American intelligence reports have shown that Iraq has in the last year rebuilt military and industrial sites damaged by American and British air strikes in late 1998, officials say.

The recent intelligence findings have raised concerns among Defense Department and other officials in the Clinton administration that in the prolonged absence of international weapons inspectors, whose job would be to search those structures, President Saddam Hussein's government has continued its pursuit of biological and chemical weapons.

Despite those concerns, the administration's policy has been allowed to drift, leaving the United States unable to force Iraq to accept a resumption of inspections even after resolving an impasse at the United Nations Security Council.

Iraq's refusal has now left the administration in a quandary over how to respond at a time when international support for its policy and for sanctions against Mr. Hussein is waning.

"There is concern in intelligence circles that he has begun to rebuild buildings that could enable him" to produce chemical or biological weapons, a senior administration official said. "He has had a lot of time to operate without inspections."

Although the intelligence reports have not provided concrete evidence that Iraq is producing chemical or biological weapons, the officials said, the reports have raised the possibility of renewed military confrontation, because the administration has repeatedly warned that any effort by Iraq to produce the weapons would prompt new American air strikes.

The concern has given urgency to the new inspection program created last month by the Security Council. But for the administration, the latest Iraqi defiance has been met with frustration, uncertainty over how to proceed and even fatigue.

In his State of the Union address on Thursday, Mr. Clinton devoted exactly six words to Iraq. The American representative to the United Nations, Richard C. Holbrooke, a diplomat noted for his tenacity, barely involved himself in the Security Council's negotiations over inspections, leaving them to his deputy, James B. Cunningham, who arrived in New York just last month.

Despite a policy of "containment," punctuated by American-led strikes in 1993, 1996 and 1998, Mr. Hussein remains as much a thorn as he was when Mr. Clinton took office. And Iraq's defiance comes in a year when any action by the administration would have political ramifications in the presidential campaign.

Nearly a year and a half after Iraq blocked the last team of United Nations inspectors, administration officials said that getting inspectors back into the country remained the best way to determine if Baghdad's weapons programs were continuing.

Last week, after months of diplomatic wrangling, the Security Council agreed to nominate Hans Blix of Sweden to lead a new inspection

team in Iraq, having rejected a candidate supported by the United States, Rolf Ekeus, also of Sweden.

Russia and France vetoed Mr. Ekeus's nomination after consultations with Mr. Hussein's government, diplomatic officials said.

But while Iraq has been less hostile toward Mr. Blix, Iraqi officials have said they will not accept any resumption of international weapons inspections under the terms of the latest Security Council resolution.

Even if Mr. Hussein eventually relents and allows Mr. Blix's team to enter the country, it will take at least three or four months before inspectors can resume work inside Iraq. Administration officials expressed their concerns when asked to assess the state of Washington's policy toward Iraq. Some officials defended the administration's approach, but others, including Pentagon officials, criticized the policy out of concern that it has left the United States few viable options.

Thirteen months ago, the United States and Britain launched four nights of air and missile strikes to punish Mr. Hussein after he expelled

the last team of weapons inspectors. At the time, senior commanders estimated that the operation had set back Iraq's ability to produce chemical or biological weapons — and the missiles needed to launch them — by one to two years. "We're marching toward that point" now, a senior military officer said.

Pentagon and other officials declined to discuss the recent intelligence findings in detail, but they said Iraq had rebuilt many of the 100 installations damaged or destroyed in the American and British raids in December 1998.

Of those targets, 12 were missile factories or industrial sites that commanders said were involved in Iraq's efforts to produce weapons of mass destruction. The officials said significant reconstruction had been seen at those sites, including Al Taji missile complex north of Baghdad.

In the wake of the diplomatic wrangling, administration officials defended their policy toward Iraq. They said they remained determined to contain Mr. Hussein militarily while maintaining the economic sanctions first imposed when Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990 and while supporting Iraqi opposition groups.

Officials emphasized that a new American attack did not appear imminent. They said they wanted to see if the new inspection program would eventually get off the ground before taking any action that could further erode international support for the American stance toward Iraq.

But the officials said there remained three "red lines" that the

United States would not let the Iraqis cross: a threat against a neighboring country like Kuwait or Saudi Arabia, an attack on the Kurdish minority in northern Iraq or a reconstitution of nuclear, chemical or biological weapons programs.

Critics of Washington's handling of Iraq said the administration appeared to have no clear plan on how to force an end to Iraq's defiance. "There is no adult supervision of our policy," said Anthony H. Cordesman, a military analyst at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington.

And despite American efforts to unify Iraqi opposition groups, factions remain. The administration has provided only a small part of the \$97 million that Congress authorized to support those bent on overthrowing Mr. Hussein's government.

Also, international sanctions are fraying. To win Russian and French support for the new weapons inspection program, the United States and Britain agreed to offer Iraq an opportunity to end the sanctions. Under the new Security Council resolution, the United Nations will suspend sanctions if Iraq cooperates with the new inspectors.

But one reason for the continued Iraqi defiance may be that the sanctions are already leaking. Iraq is allowed to export \$10 billion a year to buy food and other essential goods, and while the proceeds are closely monitored by the United Nations, the Iraqis have been able to divert some of the money, administration officials said.

Mr. Hussein's government has also been able to earn millions of dollars in smuggling. Since August, Iraq has steadily increased illicit shipments of oil from the Shatt al Arab waterway, much of it flowing through an installation near the port of Basra that American warplanes attacked and damaged in 1998, the officials said.

Last month, Iraq's illicit trade reached the highest level since the Persian Gulf war. More than 130 ships, some of them Russian, left the port and skirted the Iranian coast, staying in Iran's territorial waters to evade American ships trying to intercept them. "The Iraqis are at least tacitly involved in this," a senior administration official said.

In the same month, Navy warships boarded only 36 ships and seized only 4. According to American intelligence estimates, Iraq was able to smuggle out a record amount of 317,000 metric tons of oil, or more than 2.3 million barrels, in December alone. At today's price of about \$27 a barrel, the shipments were worth more than \$62 million.

A recent intelligence report concluded that the smuggling was undermining the sanctions. Pentagon and other administration officials say they increasingly worry that the proceeds may be intended to finance weapons programs.

But another senior Administration official said the amounts of illicit profit were not enough to allow Mr. Hussein to produce nuclear, chemical or biological weapons. "What's inside the buildings is much more expensive to put up than any walls and roofs," the official said.