

3-7-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 1, 2000

*Not w/ this
trip**copied
Berger
NSC West
Mingos
Padesta*INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: Expert Views on Your Trip to South Asia

Earlier this month I gathered a number of South Asia experts, scholars and former policy makers to discuss your upcoming trip to the Indian subcontinent. Following is a brief summary of what they said. More interesting are the follow-up papers they sent (Tabs A-E). I'd like to set up a similar session for you if you want.

All agreed that the primary purpose of your visit should be to elevate U.S.-India relations to a level commensurate with India's standing as the world's largest democracy and one of its great civilizations. A related goal is educating Americans about India's rich history and vast potential, and strengthening our cultural ties by emphasizing our shared commitment to democracy. Showing our respect for India's role in the world and illuminating our ties, as one expert observed, will allow us to accumulate diplomatic "ballast" which will help stabilize U.S.-India relations and institutionalize our bilateral dialogue.

Accomplishing the first goal, as Marshall Bouton of The Asia Society suggested, requires that you focus international attention on the economic sources of India's global influence. Specifically, India's success in creating a world-class information technology sector deserves to be highlighted. Doing so will not only boost India's standing, it will implicitly discredit the belief that "the bomb" is the source of India's international prestige.

How should you address issues such as mass poverty and HIV/AIDS, which threaten political stability and economic progress in India? George Perkovich of the Alton Jones Foundation recommended framing these as global challenges that we have a shared stake in meeting, while highlighting successful programs

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

designed to meet them in India itself. This would reinforce our belief that India deserves to be treated as an equal on the world stage and cast our efforts to support them as a partner rather than as "imperialists", as many Indians fear.

On the critical question of whether you should visit Pakistan, opinion was divided. Richard Haass, formerly of President Bush's NSC staff, strongly urged you to make the stop. Moreover, he advocated that you deliver a televised speech to the people of Pakistan, praising them for their past contributions to keeping peace during the Cold War, voicing your disapproval for the recent regime change, but reaffirming Pakistan's interests in peace with India.

Michael Krepon, President of the Stimson Center, argued against a Presidential visit to Pakistan on the grounds that it would validate the Musharraf regime and empower militant groups within Pakistan bent on destabilizing India. He believes mid-level military-to-military contacts are a more appropriate and effective means of engaging the new regime. Bouton added that not going to Pakistan would send a message of "tough love" to Pakistan and the Punjabi generals.

Despite the poor prospects for either India or Pakistan signing the CTBT, all agreed that you cannot -- and should not -- avoid the issue of nonproliferation during your trip. Most advocated addressing this issue primarily in private with Indian officials, pressing them to meet certain markers for progress, including: reengagement with Pakistan; cessation of nuclear and missile technology exports; moratorium on nuclear testing and CTBT; and a positive overture on Kashmir. One expert urged you to stress to the Indians that "containment without engagement" with Pakistan is a recipe for increased tensions, which risks a nuclear conflict given each sides' failure to understand the other's nuclear capabilities, doctrines, or strategies.

Attached are some follow-on papers from them.

Attachments

- Tab A Stephen Cohen: "Nine Most Likely Mistakes"
- Tab B Francine Frankel: "Can the US and India Find Common Ground?"
- Tab C Dennis Kux: "Further Thoughts"
- Tab D Frank Wisner: "Your Meeting with the Indian PM"
- Tab E Howard and Teresita Schaffer: "Setting a New Agenda"
- Tab F Shirin Tahir-Kheli: "An Opportunity to Make a Difference"

To: SRB | PRESS

The Nine Most Likely Mistakes

(Stephen P. Cohen, The Brookings Institution
Sunday, February 20, 2000)

Mistake Number One: Apologizing overmuch for the failure to visit India (and Pakistan) earlier.

Solutions: Explain that this president was eager to come earlier, even though others had failed to do so, but events in the region made this difficult (Indian elections, etc.) and then 1) shift to a positive message for the future, and 2) publicly indicate that the President's advice to his successor is to hold regular summit meetings with the Indian PM, and consult regularly but informally on critical global (not just regional) issues.

Mistake Number Two: Failing to deal realistically with Indian problems, especially poverty.

Solution: Note that India is undergoing a number of vitally important transitions— even revolutions—and that these are moving in the right direction. These include the movement to a new economic policy, a more balanced center-state relationship, the entry of underprivileged castes, tribes, and minorities into politics, and a painful but necessary adjustment to new international political and economic orders. Assert that it is a major accomplishment of India's leaders that Indian democracy has remained so vibrant in the face of these multiple revolutions. Point out that Americans understand the stresses and strains these revolutions produce, as we have ourselves been down this path, (this comparison is important to give substance to the "two democracies" mantra). America and India have similar problems because of their multi-ethnic, federal systems, and their need to adjust to a fast changing international order—we can learn from each other. (See #7 for an elaboration)

Mistake Number Three: Passing up an opportunity to demonstrate the broad-gauged nature of American interests in South.

Solution: bring a small but balanced group of private Americans both to India and Pakistan. The "money men" (their description) in the Indian-American community have told me they are angry at the apparent decision to exclude representatives of the community; I can't believe that two dozen carefully selected Americans, including several from South Asia, cannot be added to the trip as private guests. Even this group can be mollified if several prominent Indian-American or Pakistan-American executives, physicians, scholars, writers, etc. are included in the group.

Mistake Number Four: Crossing the line on Kashmir.

Solution: Publicly, stick to the message: the U.S. will mediate only if both sides agree. Privately, indicate that US relations with both India and Pakistan cannot help but be shaped by this conflict; be prepared to offer American technical assistance as well as expertise on resolving such disputes; the Pakistanis will be delighted, the Indians alarmed: point out to the latter that India cannot become a great state as long as it is

Nine Likely Mistakes, p-2

shaped by this conflict; be prepared to offer American technical assistance as well as expertise on resolving such disputes; the Pakistanis will be delighted, the Indians alarmed; point out to the latter that India cannot become a great state as long as it is bogged down in Kashmir, and that the rest of the world awaits Indian progress on the issue.

Mistake Number Five: Letting the Indians believe that we would support them, or look the other way, if they took the advice in # 4 too seriously. (A scary NIE is on its way. The risks of an India-Pakistan conflict are higher than any time since 1971)

Solutions: 1) The President should note that he does believe that Pakistan is irredeemable, 2) that diplomacy must be given a chance, and 3) that the United States is willing to use its relationship with Pakistan and even Saudi Arabia and China to get Islamabad to lower its excessive expectations on Kashmir. 4) Do not convey the impression that the US would do nothing in case of another war, since such a war could now go nuclear, and could lead to an unimaginable human catastrophe. Above all, 5) note that an Indian probe across the LOC could get out of hand.

Mistake Number Six: The downside of a town meeting: a billion people could see and hear a Presidential gaffe.

Solution: Be aware of both the audience and the inevitable questions. On the audience: India is the home of at least four major networks with coverage of all of South Asia (including Pakistan), parts of China, and South East Asia (have USIS check the satellite footprint). Make sure there are answers to the following questions that will be helpful in relations with Pakistan and China:

Why does the U.S. support Pakistan, when they only use your weapons to attack India?

Why do you (the President) coddle a Chinese dictatorship when you have not visited the world's largest democracy until now?

Why does America do nothing about terrorism directed against India, when it acts unilaterally, without regard to national sovereignty, to combat terrorists that attack you?

Why does America want to strip us of our nuclear weapons, produced entirely without outside help, when you will not eliminate your own (or even restate that someday you will eliminate them), and tolerate Chinese nuclear assistance to Pakistan?

Why is India only the 1xx (check the number) country you have visited?

Why is America attacking smaller and weaker countries; who gave it the right to bully states that disagree with you? Is this a case of "might makes right?"

Nine Likely Mistakes, p-3

Why do American companies come here and steal our traditional medications and biological resources, and turn around and charge us outrageous prices for the latest medicines for our people?

Mistake Number 7: Not listening. There are few enough high level dialogues between the US and India, and when they do take place they often take the form both sides lecturing each other. Much of the problem of our relationship with New Delhi has been their belief that we simply do not care what they think on important issues.

Solution: The President seems to be a good listener, and should use private and public meetings to demonstrate that we care about Indian views on important issues—not only in South Asia but on a larger scale. If an interlocutor go on to excessive length take the opportunity to declare a new American desire to improve dialogue and communication, and ask for specific, concrete ideas on how to do this. (See next Mistake for a few) He should also go to India with a few suggestions that would improve contacts between American and Indian “influentials,” —officials, opinion-makers, legislators, and academics.

Mistake Number 8: Ignoring the Rest of South Asia

Solution: At least one speech, perhaps in Dhaka, should discuss regional developments at length. The situation in Sri Lanka is especially tragic. It is the third South Asian country facing a sharp decline in its integrity. South Asia may still be the largest area of people living under democratic rule, but the trend-lines in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Sri Lanka are all negative.

Mistake Number 9: Making this a hit and run trip, with no follow-through

Solutions:

- 1) The President should provide a public “report” on the journey. This will be helpful in broadening American perspectives on a sensitive part of the world.
- 2) The trip should improve the official institutional relationship in important areas. Have the Ex-Im Bank develop a modest “exchange” program of mid-level officials with its Indian counterpart (say, three month visits); do the same for other commercial and economic official entities, such as the USTR; encourage State to include India on the list of countries with which it has routine policy planning talks; expand the “Working group” concept beyond terrorism to new areas. Very private discussions about developments in Pakistan are also important: both the U.S. and India face grave risks if Pakistan continues to deteriorate.
- 3) The President should encourage foundations to develop more programs that would strengthen key economic, social and political institutions in South Asia, especially in crumbling Pakistan.

UNIVERSITY of PENNSYLVANIA

Center for the Advanced Study of India

School of Arts and Sciences
3833 Chestnut Street, Suite 130
Philadelphia, PA 19104-3106
(215) 898-6247
FAX: (215) 573-2595

Francine R. Frankel
Director

February 16, 2000

Background Paper for President Clinton's Visit to India Can the US and India find Common Ground?

Francine R. Frankel

The effort to find common ground between the US and India requires that both sides directly face areas of disagreement and focus on the relationship as a whole in ways that build mutual trust. When differences are deep-rooted and go to the core of vital national security interests, as is the case with India and the United States, compartmentalization of issue areas can create a false sense of moving the relationship forward. If security issues are set aside, for example, to concentrate on forging an economic or scientific partnership, unresolved feelings of distrust will tend to take on a diffused form and undermine mutual confidence in these other areas of cooperation.

The potential of the President's forthcoming trip depends a great deal on what can be rescued by both sides from the prolonged Strobe Talbot-Jaswant Singh talks, not just in atmospherics but in substance. On the one hand, the United States has informally recognized the security threats in India's environment, but so far has not fully used the Presidential waiver to lift all sanctions imposed after the nuclear tests, to pare down technology denials to those items directly used to manufacture nuclear weapons and missile systems, to similarly prune/eliminate the entities list, and to support loans to India by IFI's. On the other hand, India has expressed its resentment at these sanctions/denials, which inflict more symbolic/political damage than material harm, by using the Senate defeat of the CTBT as a reason not to sign the treaty.

It would be a mistake to allow this stalemate to continue. What are now expressions of frustration by both sides over unresolved security issues, can be transformed into a broader bargain. This can precede the visit or be announced during or shortly after the visit, or pursued through complementary but not overtly linked actions. So long as the United States does not deal with the issues of sanctions, technology denials, the entities list, etc., India will remain content to say it has acted in the spirit of the CTBT by announcing a moratorium on tests and that it will not stand in the way of the treaty coming into force. But India can certainly help to enhance that prospect at no risk to its own security by signing the CTBT.

Indeed, there has been a good deal of discussion off the record of how India could sign the CTBT, but send it to Parliament for approval at the time when the U.S. Senate



formally ratifies the Treaty. Under India's Constitution, signature of a Treaty does not require ratification; signature by the Government of India is tantamount to ratification. Nevertheless, the Chemical Weapons Convention was submitted to Parliament some two years after signature. India has good reasons to follow this precedent with the CTBT because of the fractured nature of the governing coalition. The United States should press India to do so in return for US action on the whole range of sanctions/denials issues. Other nuclear issues, such as the FMCT, or a strong export control regime currently do not pose significant problems. On Kashmir, the US should stand by its Kargil policy recognizing the "sanctity of the Line of Control."

Movement by both sides on security issues will make more credible the central purpose of the visit, that is, to build the foundations of closer US-India partnership and institutionalize cooperation over a broad range of global issues. It will defuse resentment about technology denials, allowing fruitful discussion about specific collaborative programs in science and technology, at least one of which will hopefully be announced at the Clinton-Vajpayee meeting.

Based on my discussions with MEA, the United Service Institution of India and others, I believe that Penn's Center for the Advanced Study of India, with our counterpart Institute in New Delhi, is in a position to organize multi-year Joint Study Groups of academic experts, business executives and government officials on issues offering promise for fruitful dialogue that can feed into the policy-making process. These issues include energy security and stability in West Asia; trade and investment problems, including the whole gamut of WTO matters; and problems of managing a nuclear world. Such ongoing discussions could loosen the straitjacket that confines cooperation in almost all areas of defense relations, extending potentially to defense research and production. Not least important, a growing atmosphere of trust in discussions of global issues of mutual concern, will make it easier for India's government to deal with continuing attacks on external liberalization. These paint the US as narrowly interested in an economic partnership to reinforce the dominance of American multinationals perceived to reap the greatest benefits from reduction of national barriers to the flow of capital and imports.

There are other powerful reasons not to load the future of the relationship too heavily on an economic partnership. India urgently requires massive investments for infrastructure development, including \$15 billion over the next ten years in the power sector and \$160 billion of equipment in the information technology sector by 2008. At least \$40 billion of the \$160 billion will have to be imported. Yet, India's policymakers and intellectuals have a gut dislike when they hear their country described as a "market"; they consider this demeaning to their ancient cultural identity and major power status. Comments by Congressional supporters of a closer partnership between the US and India which speak of "exploiting India's growing market for American trade and investment" accentuate fears of Hindu nationalists and the old business houses that globalization, supported by the United States, is the contemporary form of western imperialism. As the Seattle round of the WTO talks demonstrated, there are great divergences between the US and India on the pace of external liberalization, environmental and social/labor issues.

Despite the rhetoric of the present government that it is launching the second generation of economic reforms, and the apparent flurry of activity in the first "100 days", there should be a realistic appreciation of the difficulties ahead. They will inevitably slow down implementation.

The October 1999 elections, which saw the return to power of a BJP-led National Democratic Alliance of 24 parties confirmed a pattern of political fragmentation along state, religious and caste lines over all regions of the country. This is a reflection of underlying trends over a thirty year period. Disadvantaged lower castes have been defecting from the majority Congress party to form their own parties and splinter groups; and regional parties have gained ground. This is due in part to resistance to the Congress party's abuse of constitutional powers by imposing President's rule (or rule by the Center) on states governed by opposition parties in order to help restore Congress control. The rise of state-based linguistic and caste parties seems to have made it impossible for any party, including the BJP, to replace the Congress as a national umbrella party and to recreate the basis for consensual politics.

The BJP is perceived to be in a stronger position after the 1999 elections because the seat total of the BJP/Alliance crossed the majority mark in the Parliament (Lok Sabha). However, the Alliance partners account for more than one-third of seats won. The BJP itself gained hardly any ground. It won 182 seats (of 543) in 1999 compared to 179 in 1998, contested in only 339 constituencies, (60 percent of the total) and won 23.7 percent of the vote, compared to 25 percent in 1998. The Congress party, represented as suffering a debacle, actually demonstrated wider spread and more momentum than the BJP. Congress won only 114 seats compared to 142 a year earlier, as it fought alone against a united opposition in most constituencies. But it contested in 453 constituencies (80 percent), and polled 28.3 percent of votes, up from 25 percent in 1998.

Prime Minister Vajpayee and the pro-reform members of his Cabinet will continue to have difficulties in insulating the economic policy-making process from the RSS. Prominent members of this militant Hindu nationalist association are inside the Cabinet and control front organizations which supply the foot soldiers on which the BJP depends during elections. (The BJP is the only major political party which is a part of the larger "Sangh Parivar" or Sangh family of organizations. The Rashtriya Swamsevak Sangh founded in 1925, still considers the party its political arm). Important differences between the party and the government on Swa deshi ("own country") versus globalization, surfaced during the long debate on opening the insurance sector to foreign private investment. Passage of the Insurance Regulatory and Development Authority Act (IRDA), in December 1999, finally opened the sector to foreign investment. But it does not, as claimed, send out a "powerful message" to foreign investors that India is firmly on the path of second generation reforms. Concessions to the RSS (which opposed the opening), were responsible for reducing foreign equity in joint insurance ventures permitted by the Act from 40 percent to 26 percent; and the need for the BJP-led government to win a majority in the upper house (Rajya Sabha) allowed the Congress party to wrest more amendments requiring private insurance companies to provide health insurance, write policies in rural areas and invest in the "social sectors".

Weak government not only requires concessions to critics inside the coalition, and to the opposition, but also makes it more difficult to throw off the power of the bureaucracy. This is nowhere more apparent than in the December 1999 creation of the new Ministry of Information Technology (an expanded version of the old Department of Electronics, DoE) which is engaged in detailing an eight year plan for making India an information technology superpower, including targets for specific industries set by government.

The second stage of reforms requires consensus across political parties on privatization of loss-making public sector units, substantial cuts in "non-merit" subsidies and reforms of the banking sector to liquidate non-performing assets. It also needs new labor laws to retrench redundant workers and a host of other contentious decisions too long to mention here. All this would be daunting for even the strongest government to implement. A weak government constantly concerned about carrying its Alliance partners is necessarily cautious, even though the present fiscal course, if not corrected, could lead to an internal debt trap.

There are other issues that will make effective governance problematical. They include rivalries between the BJP and its allies over the allocation of seats in state elections; the ideological confrontation between the BJP and its alliance partners over the RSS view, followed in two BJP ruled states, that Government personnel should be allowed to participate in RSS activities; the growing gap between prosperous and poor states; the mounting evidence that poverty is increasing among the landless in rural areas; and the political fragility of the democratic process in the backward northern states. Just this month, (February 2000) Naxalite groups in south and central Bihar announced a boycott of elections to the State Assembly, and the State government deployed 480 companies of para-military forces, and issued shoot at sight orders, to conduct a "peaceful poll". The strains on the democratic process are evident in the BJP's stated preference for a form of presidential government without Constitutional checks and balances, and its appointment of a Constitutional Review Commission. The Commission's terms of reference have been narrowed in response to alarmed protests by other political parties. For the time being, it is considering changes consistent with parliamentary government.

This very brief overview-- by academic standards-- provides some flavor of the bewildering complexities of contemporary India that President Clinton will encounter on his trip. But the temptation to compartmentalize the issues must be avoided.

The United States has a vital stake in a multi-dimensional partnership with India that buttresses India's ability to anchor the stability of a volatile region. This requires ensuring that India herself remains democratic, stable, secular, steady on the path of economic reforms, and capable of achieving the 7-8 percent per annum growth rates essential to make progress toward the elimination of absolute poverty within a foreseeable future. These mutual interests provide the broadest possible common ground between the two great democracies on which to build cooperative policies that institutionalize a new partnership, and become emblematic of President Clinton's enduring legacy.

February 16, 2000

To: Sandy Berger

From: Dennis Kux 

Subj: Further Thoughts on the India-Pakistan Trip

On reflecting over the Monday afternoon meeting, I have some further thoughts, especially in light of your comment that turning the page with India is the main purpose of the trip. I think the advice/comments that you received on what the president should do in India, and what minefields he should try to avoid, were sound and realistic. One potential minefield that was not mentioned was the idea of some sort of "strategic partnership" with India. Hopefully this thought will stay buried since it would unhinge the Pakistanis, upset the Chinese, and it is not at all clear that India is ready for or wants a strategic lash-up with us (or vice versa).

But the most dangerous minefield for a successful India trip remains Pakistan. For reasons that you know well, the Indians are simply not rational on the subject. Recent events--Kargil, the stepped-up insurgency in Kashmir, the coup, and the Indian Airlines hijacking--make New Delhi even more emotional than usual. In light of this, I reluctantly conclude that the president should not stop in Pakistan.

If so, how can you lessen the blow in Islamabad? A possible answer would be to offer the Pakistanis alternative ways of engagement. The first carrot would be an invitation for Musharraf to come to the White House in the fall (assuming that he continues to make at least some progress on the things we are interested in). The prospect of an invitation might, indeed, give us leverage since my impression from last week's stay in Islamabad is that the Pakistanis desperately want "approval" from Uncle Sam.

The second carrot would be to resume the Strobe Talbott dialogue. Since the coup, Strobe has had two sessions with the Indians and none with the Pakistanis. One stumbling block in earlier talks, Pakistani Foreign Secretary Shamshad Ahmed, has recently retired. Abdul Sattar, the new Foreign Minister, is a highly respected retired diplomat and thoroughly conversant with the nuclear issue (he worked on this at USIP a few years back). He is also leading the public debate in favor of signing the CTBT.

Although the Pakistanis would be very disappointed, the carrots should make clear that we are not dumping them. Moreover, we can point out that the approach avoids the unflattering contrast of a five-day presidential visit to India full of well-publicized events with a several hour stop in Pakistan. To emphasize our intentions, a special envoy from Washington, or perhaps General Zinni, might travel to Islamabad to inform Musharraf (and also to deliver the "tough love" message the president would have conveyed in private).

Admittedly this suggestion does not square the circle, but I think it is preferable to a short stop in Pakistan which risks messing up the India visit

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: Your meeting with the Indian Prime Minister: Tension in South Asia

DATE: February 14, 2000

Recent months have witnessed a sharp deterioration in the Indo-Pakistani relationship. The combination of nuclear weapons, terrorism, the insurgency in Kashmir, the rise of radical forces in Pakistan and a weakening of the Pakistani state have created a real danger to peace in the region. There is no way to begin and sustain a peace track in South Asia in the face of continued violence from Pakistan. Any attempt to bring the parties together will crash on new incidents of violence. Moreover, our efforts to seek a diplomatic settlement will founder, if India is not persuaded that we are working seriously for Pakistani restraint.

The issue of tension in South Asia must be addressed during your March visit to South Asia. The situation there and opinion here and worldwide demand it. At the same time, no issue could compromise your visit to India and undermine your objective of opening a new page in the relationship as would the wrong sort of spotlight in India on the question of India's dispute with Pakistan. Deeply suspicious of America's relationship with Pakistan, India is bitterly opposed to the prospect of American involvement in the Indo-Pakistan wrangle. Anything you say will be watched closely and Vajpayee's party, parliament and intellectual community will have his posture under the closest scrutiny. It goes without saying there is no early nor easy solution to Indo-Pakistan hostility. Your objective in India must be to contribute to a lessening of tensions, the beginning of a U.S.-Indian dialogue over the region's security, and a delicate exploration of a settlement process which can only be pursued later and at senior political levels. Your public remarks should do no more than point to the danger of the situation and the fact that you and the Prime Minister have discussed it and plan to stay in touch. Anything more said will complicate deeply our ability to engage the Indian government.

In Pakistan, our diplomacy must be more robust, warning the government there that a continuation of violence and cross border terrorism and insurgency will endanger Pakistan's stability and fundamentally harm its relations with the United States and our ability to cooperate on issues of vital importance to Pakistan. Your ability to engage the Indians and continue our diplomacy over the issue of regional tension will be strongly, probably decisively effected by our success in encouraging Pakistani restraint. Efforts to persuade Pakistan must begin before your visit to South Asia.

TALKING TO VAJPAYEE:

In India, I recommend that you reserve your discussion of the Indo-Pakistani problem for a private session with Vajpayee and that you take to the meeting only your National Security Advisor or Strobe Talbott. You should tell Vajpayee that you are aware of the sensitivity of your discussion of Indo-Pakistan differences. At the same time, tension between India and Pakistan is a matter of the deepest concern to the United States and the international community. Your discussions will remain confidential. You could say you recognize India has tried hard to involve Pakistan in negotiations and that the results have been bitterly disappointing. But, the current tension threatens everyone; it must be addressed. Violence, especially without an accompanying "peace track", risks further escalation and a disaster.

Your objective should be to convince Vajpayee that we are serious about obtaining Pakistan restraint. You follow your opening remarks with an outline of the steps you are taking with Pakistan. If you succeed in convincing Vajpayee of our seriousness, you can ask the Prime Minister for military restraint and a willingness to open a peace track. You

could add that it is vital that you and Vajpayee stay in touch and you intend in the months ahead to write and speak to him. You will send Mrs. Albright or Strobe Talbott to see him and consider what further we can do together; you will advise your successor to stay involved. You must assure the Prime Minister the United States has no intention to mediate but we may have ideas and suggestions borne of our experience in peacemaking. Only the United States has leverage with Pakistan and that is limited.

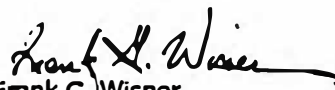
Finally, you should assure the Prime Minister that the United States will take no actions in its relationship with China which will threaten India, anymore than we will take steps with India which will threaten Pakistan. You could say for emphasis that the United States will not question India's claim to Kashmir. You should ask Vajpayee how he plans to proceed. If he gives you an opening to explore other ideas, you might suggest that the Prime Minister:

- Take the step of inviting Indians with a background in Pakistani affairs to meet him; he could also consult Indian political leaders about how to pursue peace. The Prime Minister's willingness to begin consultations would send a powerful signal of India's intention to pursue peace.
- Encourage Indian individuals or groups outside government to involve themselves with Pakistanis and explore negotiating possibilities. Those Indians should be free to associate themselves with non-governmental institutions, which are outside South Asia, and which have a record of organizing dialogue between Indian and Pakistani representatives.
- Permit you to inform Musharraf that India wishes to reduce tensions and enter into a dialogue - - all subject, including Kashmir - - will be on the table. If Vajpayee is ready to begin consultations with the Indian political establishment, you would suggest Musharraf take a similar step.

LOOKING AHEAD

I have avoided spelling out the details of an Indo-Pakistani negotiation. I advise against your trying to take your talks with Vajpayee this far. You would put at risk the essential objective of building a relationship of greater trust with India on which our longer term peace-making efforts will rest. Over time we need to nudge the parties to define the subjects they intend to discuss and advance those agendas quietly. Pakistan and India need to talk about all issues, which divide them - - Kashmir, nuclear arms and missiles, Slachen, border disputes, trade and movement of people, allowing each subject to advance to a conclusion, unlinked to other issues. Early de-escalation along the Line of Control is part of the process as would be a lightening of India's troop presence in Kashmir. At the end of the day, I believe a settlement in Kashmir must be based on the acceptance of the Line of Control as the international border and a substantial overhaul of India's handling of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Finally, I recommend that the outline of your talks with Vajpayee be discussed with Musharraf. A failure to maintain communications with Pakistan will surely lead to an increase in tension between the two states. Unless Pakistan can be convinced of the need for restraint and India of reciprocal steps, prospects for launching and sustaining a settlement process will be dim.


Frank G. Wisner

/dg

The President's Trip to India: Setting a New Agenda

Howard B. and Teresita C. Schaffer

As the President heads for South Asia, India-Pakistan relations are at a thirty-year low, with sober observers talking seriously about the two countries heading toward at least a conventional war. The challenge for the President will be to focus the Indian government on the new and more productive agenda that beckons India and the United States, one centered on economic growth and India's increasing importance in cutting edge science and business. The new agenda will never take off, however, unless India and Pakistan are able to make their relationship more crisis-proof.

The Indian government and "chattering classes" were surprised last summer when the United States forced Pakistan to withdraw from its reckless adventure in the Kargil area of Kashmir, "taking India's side" against Pakistan. Many hoped that this meant the U.S. would de-emphasize the Pakistan problem in its future dealings with India. Since Kargil, however, violence has risen sharply across the Line of Control and within the Indian-held Kashmir valley, and the Indian Airlines hijacking has raised tempers. India's visceral reaction to the military coup in Pakistan has probably intensified the bombast coming out of Islamabad's new leaders. Both Indians and Pakistanis are accustomed to looking at their ties with the U.S. as a zero-sum game.

India has had some success in persuading the international community and its own people that the Kashmir problem is primarily due to Pakistani-sponsored terrorism. It prefers to overlook the uncomfortable fact that the deep-seated alienation of Kashmir's Muslim majority from Indian rule triggered the state's decade-long insurgency and provides fertile ground for cross-border activities. Until India deals more effectively with the governance of Kashmir, there can be no serious prospect for stability in the state. Kashmiri Muslims will remain receptive to calls for separation from India, either from local leaders demanding independence (the choice of most) or from Pakistan-based organizations, terrorist or otherwise, favoring union with Pakistan.

The President's message needs to set Indian minds on the hopes for a future of greater prosperity and cooperation – but at the same time to make clear that reorienting our relationship depends heavily on India's and Pakistan's ability to manage their problems peacefully. The message has four basic components:

- The vision: The President should articulate his concept of the U.S. and India linked by a quantum increase in trade and investment, especially in the cutting edge industries – information technology, biotechnology, clean energy development, and others. This linkage is reinforced by intensifying personal ties, with the Indian-American community in leadership roles through out the United States. Part of this message is that there is a whole world of high tech interaction that has nothing to do with the thorny question of licensing for nuclear and dual-use commerce.
- Looking at the world: The two countries have historically had different views of the Cold War, China, Asian security, international trade policy, and other aspects of the

global geopolitical scene. India has long sought a “seat at the high table” as these issues are discussed and decided among the major world players. A candid exchange on the full range of global issues will help us to identify those areas where our views are compatible and we can make common cause. It will also lay the groundwork for a more constructive exchange where we still disagree. Even with a new relationship, there will be disagreements, and we need to handle them cordially and candidly.

- Nonproliferation: The lead issue here should be formalizing India’s commitment (and Pakistan’s) not to export sensitive nuclear materials or technology. More robust Indo-Pakistan risk reduction is also important to U.S. nonproliferation goals: if the “rogue states” conclude that nuclear blackmail is working in South Asia – or worse, that a nuclear exchange has “succeeded” – it will surely spur their nuclear efforts. CTBT signature is desirable, but preventing exports will have a much more important impact on future proliferation. If India has not signed the CTBT before the trip, a candid discussion of its prospects for actually going into effect will be important to our credibility.
- India-Pakistan: Their bilateral dialogue has hardened into a sterile game, each move all too familiar to the other side. To break out of this rut, they must engage at the political level. We should stress the great benefit to India in its international relationships if it does so. The key elements are:
 - Reducing the risk of unintended conflict. Past confidence building regimes have broken down when Indo-Pakistan relations sour – just when it is most needed. U.S. willingness to help them with nuclear accident prevention would give our message far greater credibility.
 - “Choreographing” other bilateral issues. India and Pakistan have a major political job to do before they can seriously address Kashmir. They need to temporize with a largely symbolic dialogue on Kashmir, and to start attacking their other bilateral issues.

The President’s private discussions with Vajpayee give him a chance for a more detailed discussion on Kashmir. India holds the territory that generates the emotion, so it can deal directly with some of the most important aspects of the problem. His focus should be on two issues:

- Short term reduction in tensions: The President should encourage India to take the initiative to restore normal civil life in Indian-held Kashmir, and begin to undercut the alienation that feeds the insurgency. The Indians should also work to reverse the present dangerous situation along the Line of Control. They will insist that Pakistan first end infiltration. The President should urge that India reciprocate if that happens, perhaps by reducing and repositioning Indian forces in Kashmir.
- Governance: India’s governance of Kashmir has contributed to the problem, and the President needs to speak candidly but very privately on this. Indian initiatives in this area will be most effective if they appear to be spontaneous rather than the result of foreign pressure. The pro-Indian Kashmir state government and some other influential Indians have recently called for changes in the system of governance. Probing the Indian reaction to these proposals would be a good way to start a discussion on this sensitive subject. The President might also ask if the Indians plan to try to develop a dialogue with dissident Kashmiri political leaders, to bring them

into the electoral process. This line of questioning may annoy some Indians, but the more discerning will recognize that it assumes that the portions of Kashmir now held by India will remain with India, under a governing arrangement more acceptable to the Kashmiris. Although the President obviously cannot say so, any final Kashmir settlement will almost certainly be on that basis.

The vision of a new relationship centered on economic ties should be the centerpiece of the President's public and private discussions. The other themes -- sharing world views, non-proliferation, India-Pakistan relations, and Kashmir -- could be mentioned briefly in public statements but elaborated on more fully and more candidly in private. It will be important to draw the Indians out and to avoid preaching (this last is likely to evoke a preachy response, which usually goes over very badly). In both public and private discussions, the President should stress that he sees his visit both as a symbol of a newly strengthened U.S.-Indian relationship based on a realistic appreciation of shared values and interests, and as an important step in advancing it.

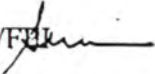
February 13, 2000

SATS

The Paul H. Nitze School
of Advanced International Studies
The Foreign Policy Institute

1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW
Washington DC 20036-2213
(202) 663-5773 / FAX (202) 663-5769

Memorandum

From: Shirin Tahir-Kheli, Director South Asia Program/FTI 
Date: February 10, 2000
Subject: The President's Visit to South Asia: An Opportunity to Make A Difference

Rationale

The visit by the President to South Asia comes amidst the latest and perhaps the most critical downturn in relations between India and Pakistan. Pakistani actions in Kargil last summer and current Indian unwillingness to engage in any dialogue with Pakistan have together created an impasse which is not going to go away without U.S. help. The record of relations between these two newest nuclear powers clearly demonstrates that India has never had any incentive to engage in serious confidence building with its neighbor absent New Delhi's perception of U.S. commitment to relations Pakistan and U.S. urging of forward movement on confidence building.

The last serious period for Indo-Pakistan confidence building agreements came as the U.S. relationship with Pakistan strengthened as it aimed at expelling the former Soviet Union from Afghanistan in the 1980s. That policy was augmented by the decision of then President Reagan to substantially upgrade the relationship with India. Toward that end, the President authorized the policy to improve relations with India while at the same time U.S.-Pakistan ties were strengthened. The third part of this effort was to use the U.S. relationship with each country respectively to offer serious and concrete improvement in India-Pakistan ties. Toward that end, the U.S. proposed a set of confidence building measures between India and Pakistan and made a discussion of these part of the President's agenda in focused discussions with the leaders of the two countries. These proposals were subsequently taken out to the region during the visit of the then Vice President George Bush to Delhi and Islamabad in May 1984. They were also on the agenda of subsequent meetings by senior U.S. officials, including the Secretaries of State, Defense, and at least two Presidential missions which included the Deputy National Security Advisor during the 1985-87 period. **It is worth noting that most of the existing agreements between India and Pakistan including: non-attack on nuclear facilities; chemical weapons prohibition; notification of military exercises; the Indo-Pakistan Joint Commission; were all areas broached first by the U.S. and subsequently adopted by the two countries after a lapse of time.**

Throughout the 1982-90 period, even though the relationship between India and Pakistan remained less than perfect, with active U.S. encouragement, the two countries moved forward on a variety of CBMs. Their positive interaction buffered the serious deterioration in relations that came in the midst of the Brass Tacks military exercises by India in 1987. It helped that the two leaders were in touch with each other and that each had access to the President of the United States who directly urged them toward CBMs.

Background

The visit of then Vice President Bush to India and Pakistan in May 1984 (the last senior most visit to the subcontinent!) offered a direct and comprehensive opportunity to engage Mrs. Gandhi and General Zia on the benefits of cooperation between India and Pakistan. I accompanied the Vice President with the specific mandate to work on the CBMs and had the opportunity to be part of the effort just as I was leaving the Department of State and coming on to the staff of the National Security Council.

The critical meeting was the private dinner that the Vice president had in Delhi at the residence of Mrs. Gandhi. She invited only her two sons to the dinner and it was there that the need for a concrete and productive future between India and Pakistan was broached. Since the real key for forward movement remains with India, it was important to engage the Indian Prime Minister. It was a productive effort given that it was easier to engage the political leadership than it has traditionally been to bring the bureaucracy on board in any endeavor toward a better relationship between India and Pakistan.

In Pakistan, the Vice President made the case for responsiveness in policy toward India. Given the war in Afghanistan, the Pakistani leader was keen to avoid a two-front situation and looked to an improved relationship with India. In the many visits of Pakistanis to the U.S., including that of President Zia and Prime Minister Junejo, that point was reinforced.

Possible Confidence Building Measures

Although the Kargil war of 1999 wiped out the political gains of the Lahore Summit when Prime Minister Vajpayee visited Pakistan earlier that year, a number of potential CBMs can be placed before the leadership in Delhi (and Islamabad). Although the Indian Prime Minister and the Foreign Minister feel a deep sense of betrayal because of Pakistani actions in Kargil, they have said that they will re-engage at some stage because, as Mr. Vajpayee said: "You cannot change geography". **A reaffirmation by General Musharraf of the Lahore Declaration might help unlock some frozen positions against dialogue in Delhi.**

The list of potential CBMs is selected from the myriad others which could also be pursued recognizing the fact that re-starting the process will take time and those offered here are the most urgent. The following list limits itself to two areas that are the likely underpinning for any change in the India-Pakistan relationship.

- I. **Management of the India-Pakistan Border:** The most likely scenario for another India-Pakistan war is the breakdown over border violations in Kashmir along the Line of Control (LOC); the working border between Sialkot on the Pakistani side and Jammu on the Indian; the international border; the marshy area in the Rann of Kutch. Technologies already exist for Indo-Pakistan cooperation in jointly monitoring agreements between the two countries. The use of some these technologies to cooperatively monitor the 740 mile long LOC or other parts of the border can help in building confidence and reducing tensions. There is another advantage in that the Indians can be satisfied about Pakistani behavior across the border and the Pakistanis can verifiably demonstrate that they are indeed doing as they say. The applicable technologies include: ground based sensors; instrumented fences; ground-based radars with watch stations; tethered balloons; joint aerial overflights; joint scientific studies (such as the Siachin Glacier or in the Rann of Kutch both of which are unique environments for study); cooperative search and rescue efforts; the establishment of an effective joint inspection regime.
- II. **Military-to-Military Relations:** It is clear that very little progress can be made in relations between India and Pakistan without forward movement in the development of contacts between the two military establishments. That fact remains that regardless of whomever holds power in Islamabad, India's military bureaucracy (which is civilian) finds direct links between the two militaries unacceptable given the civilian oversight of the military in India. However, the Indian military has contacts with a large number of countries and there is no reason why some rules of engagement cannot be worked out for Pakistan. Such contacts have become even more critical in the aftermath of the May 1998 nuclear tests. The list of various measures to propose include: bi-annual meetings between the Indian Vice-Chief of Army Staff and the Pakistani Chief of Army Staff; exchange visits of National Defense College teams; meetings of relevant officers to discuss procedures for non-escalation along the LOC; a joint working group to discuss measures against unauthorized or accidental use of nuclear weapons; Defense Attaché's attendance at each other's military exercises (India is planning a major military exercise shortly after the President's visit); upgrading the hotline; etc.

The planting of the seeds for future CBM agreements by India and Pakistan is important especially if it is done at the highest level of the U.S. government, by the President himself. These will not be adopted immediately but can be an important component of a future thaw in Indo-Pak relations. The security component of that relationship remains the key for uninterrupted development of South Asia. Some of the measures mentioned above can also help create confidence in reviving the Kashmir dialogue between the two countries. None of this will occur without U.S. encouragement and coaxing. As the Carter 1978 visit to the region that by-passed Pakistan demonstrated, lack of U.S. interest in Pakistan eventually led to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the expenditure of more than \$30 billion by the U.S. in undoing that event.

1. Co: John Pitz
Stephanie
2. Pres.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-7-00

principal for a day

will he in reg them?

BR

March 3, 2000

3-7-00

To Burkhardt for reply?
Yes — No ✓

President Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20502

cc: Scheduling? Yes ✓ No —
Podesta

Dear Mr. President,

Mark Penn is on board for your participation in Principal for a Day on Thursday, April 13. His reticence was based on the incorrect assumption that both/either The First Lady and the Mayor would be participating in the program.

I continue to be convinced that your presence on this day would be a great inspiration for New York City and our students. In addition to your spending some time in a school -- perhaps teaching a history class -- we ask that you participate in our Town Meeting at 4:00 p.m., an event that has become a galvanizing forum on public education in New York City.

Perhaps we could do something at our house that evening; I like the idea of your seeing my world....

I enjoyed seeing you last week and look forward to seeing you again.

Sincerely,


Lisa Belzberg

I was moved by
Mary Taper
Thank you for this
JPS

Jed / cc Begala / Carville / From / J Podesta —
He wrote 1st column on all info 1978. Be

A living metaphor for the GOP

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-7-00



■ BOB LANCASTER

■ The old boy they call Deacon, or Deke, showed up at the New House of Dominoes the other morning for the first time in five years. Nobody was particularly glad to see him — none of us ever had much use for Deacon in the first place — and about the only thing he got in the way of a welcome back was somebody said, "Well, look what the cat's drug up."

"Yeah, it's me," Deacon said. "I know y'all are disappointed."

Like the other domino players, I had a vague notion of what had befallen Deacon, in the literal sense of the word. Back in the summer of '95, he fell off his house. Fell two stories, from the peak of the gable. He was up there trying to put another extension on his flagpole. His flagpole was already taller than anybody else's in that part of town — he had the biggest flag, too, one of those giant kind that you normally see at car dealerships — but he was wanting it even taller, half as tall as the town water tank, to show on the Fourth of July that he had no parochial rival (not even Mr. O., our last doughboy) as the most demonstrably patriotic patriot around.

Well, a wind came up and Deacon got all wrapped up in his big flapping flag and fell off the house. Pole fell on top of him, and it broke his neck or his back or something vital and he might near died. He didn't die, though. Instead, he went into a strange kind of a coma, where he was halfway conscious of what was going on in the room around him but had no awareness of what was happening on the outside. It was like he just forgot that there were things out there like oceans and mountains and foreign people and wildlife and outer space and the passing of time.

His loved ones tried to remind him of all that by having him watch TV, but TV was just a bunch of flickering shadows that made no sense to him. They played the radio for him and the sounds mystified him. Rush Limbaugh ranting was no different in his hearing of it than Bob Dylan singing "You Got to Serve Somebody." He also couldn't read: the letters (even those in the funny papers) were like Chinese marks or chicken footprints to him.

There were those who said that in his travail Deke had become a kind of semi-living metaphor for the Republican Party. I don't know about that, but in any case the outside world was lost to Deke and Deke was more or less lost in time for five long years. Then one day recently he snapped out of it. It was a medical miracle. He was his old self again 100 percent and only had trouble reorienting, accommodating to the 21st century realities.

"It's like I'm still living in 19 and 95," he told me. "One minute I'm up there with my flag and the next I'm sitting here chewing the rag with you. What happened in all that time I was out?"

"Not much," I told him. "Nothing to speak of."

"They had a impeachment, I hear."

"Yeah, they did. But about 30 minutes after it was over, everybody had completely forgot about it. We don't any of us remember any more about it than you do."

"Here's what I'm the most curious about,"

he said. "Last I remember, everybody in 1995 was in a real hateful mood, me included. Mad as hell and not gunna take it anymore, whatever 'it' was. Mad about O.J. getting off and the greedy ballplayers ruining baseball. About Waco and the crime rate and the national debt and welfare chiselers and the freelove hippie marijuana smokers taking over the White House. Seems like every blessed thing that was going on, we was just royally p.o.'ed about it."

I remembered it very well, and reminisced with him about it. It was a time when those of Deacon's persuasion were ready to see some bigtime suffering. They went around quoting Jesse Ventura in "Predator" saying "It's payback time!" They were so hateful and sour that even goodhearted people got hateful and sour just trying to keep up with them, or keep on the same page. The president proclaimed a national funk. Even somebody as easygoing as I am, I remember thinking one time back then, "Damn it all, I guess we're going to have to pass a law to keep Michael Jackson from whittling any more of his nose off." Now what business was that of mine?

Deacon said, "My man Pat was calling for a holy war a'gin all this riffraff that'd taken over. And other 'ns of our thinking wanted to Contract America the living snot out of 'em, and Whitewater Investigation 'em, and drum 'em out of the Baptist Church like God done Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden. Then we meant to sick the dogs of the news media on 'em. Blood would run in the streets. Sounded like a good plan to me but I went and fell off'n that roof. What happened?"

I couldn't rightly remember what had happened. I told Deke, "I guess we chased off the wrong bunch. We looked around and said, Maybe things aren't as bad as Bro. Jerry and Bill Bennett there are making them out. In fact, times seem like *they might be pretty good!* And getting better just about any category you looked in! It got harder and harder to remember why we were supposed to be so pissed."

"So you more or less lost track of the agenda the same way I did," he said.

Not exactly the same way, but more or less, yes, I conceded.

I told him the historians were calling this time of good feelings here in the benign Clinton twilight the Era of Compassionate Conservatism. He heaved a resigned sigh, said that sounded typically Clintonian pretentious, but said he guessed he could live with it, long as he didn't have to like it, and nobody tried to mess with him concerning his cigarettes or his guns. ☺

Copied
Blumenthal
Begala
Carville
From
Podesta

3-7-00



March 2, 2000

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America
The White House
Office of the President
Washington, D.C. 20500

Stylin
Can I do this?
I'd like to — unless
there's another big
AmeriCorps gathering
it's my last chance

Dear President Clinton:

We are writing to invite you to participate in City Year's national convention of idealism, **cyzygy 2000**, which will be held May 31st through June 3rd, 2000 at San Jose State University in California. We appreciate your attendance at our national convention for the last two years, as your keynote addresses are always the highlight of the event. We would be delighted if you could make a third appearance in the most innovative and idealistic region in the country — Silicon Valley.

the
copied
Street
Podesta

The theme of **cyzygy** this year is "Social Entrepreneurship for the 21st Century." We will be exploring the many ways in which entrepreneurs from the business, educational, and public sectors can share their most successful practices and ideas with more than 1000 AmeriCorps members, helping them to become leading social entrepreneurs for our country. Your presence with our corps members, community, political, and corporate leaders would be a great honor for all of us.

Mr. President, we hope you can join Chairman of the event, **Susan Hammer, Mayor Ron Gonzales, State Senator Byron Sher, Assembly Member Mike Honda, San Jose City Council Members Cindy Chavez and George Shirakawa, Chairman & Publisher of San Jose Mercury News Jay Harris, and President & CEO of the Silicon Valley Manufacturing Group Carl Guardino** to impress upon the country the need for all of us to work together to find new ideas, new institutional frameworks, and new resources to solve pressing social needs. We feel that you are the ideal person to present this message to our organization and to Silicon Valley.

We would be deeply honored if you could join us any time during these four days. Thank you very much for considering this request. We will follow up with your office.

Sincerely,

Bernadette Limosnero

Pam Gerber
Co-Director, **cyzygy 2000**

Bernadette Limosnero
Co-Director, **cyzygy 2000**

**NATIONAL
ADQUARTERS**

5 Columbus Avenue
Boston, MA 02116

617.927.2500
617.927.2510

cityyear.org

BOSTON

CHICAGO

CLEVELAND

COLUMBIA

COLUMBUS

DETROIT

PHILADELPHIA

RHODE ISLAND

SAN ANTONIO

SAN JOSE/SILICON VALLEY

SEATTLE/KING COUNTY

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP
SPONSORS

COMPAQ

Timberland

NATIONAL SPONSOR



PUTTING IDEALISM TO WORK

3-7-00



March 2, 2000

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States of America
The White House
Office of the President
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

We are writing to invite you to participate in City Year's national convention of idealism, *cyzygy 2000*, which will be held May 31st through June 3rd, 2000 at San Jose State University in California. We appreciate your attendance at our national convention for the last two years, as your keynote addresses are always the highlight of the event. We would be delighted if you could make a third appearance in the most innovative and idealistic region in the country - Silicon Valley.

The theme of *cyzygy* this year is "Social Entrepreneurship for the 21st Century." We will be exploring the many ways in which entrepreneurs from the business, educational, and public sectors can share their most successful practices and ideas with more than 1000 AmeriCorps members, helping them to become leading social entrepreneurs for our country. Your presence with our corps members, community, political, and corporate leaders would be a great honor for all of us.

Mr. President, we hope you can join Chairman of the event, **Susan Hammer**, **Mayor Ron Gonzales**, **State Senator Byron Sher**, **Assembly Member Mike Honda**, **San Jose City Council Members Cindy Chavez and George Shirakawa**, **Chairman & Publisher of San Jose Mercury News Jay Harris**, and **President & CEO of the Silicon Valley Manufacturing Group Carl Guardino** to impress upon the country the need for all of us to work together to find new ideas, new institutional frameworks, and new resources to solve pressing social needs. We feel that you are the ideal person to present this message to our organization and to Silicon Valley.

We would be deeply honored if you could join us any time during these four days. Thank you very much for considering this request. We will follow up with your office.

Sincerely,

Bernadette Limosnero

Pam Gerber
Co-Director, *cyzygy 2000*

Bernadette Limosnero
Co-Director, *cyzygy 2000*

*Styler
Can I do this?
I'd like to - unless
there's another big
Americorps gathering
it's my last chance*

*the
copied
Street
Podesta*

**NATIONAL
ADQUARTERS**

5 Columbus Avenue
Boston, MA 02116

617.927.2500
617.927.2510

cityyear.org

BOSTON

CHICAGO

CLEVELAND

COLUMBIA

COLUMBUS

DETROIT

PHILADELPHIA

RHODE ISLAND

SAN ANTONIO

SAN JOSE/SILICON VALLEY

SEATTLE/KING COUNTY

NATIONAL LEADERSHIP
SPONSORS

COMPAQ

Timberland

NATIONAL SPONSOR



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

CORPORATION
FOR NATIONAL
★ SERVICE

00 MAR 2 AM 9:28

DOTY

March 1, 2000

Dear Mr. ~~President~~,

I recall back in 1992 you told me how you were an ardent reader of my reflections on the 1960s, *Of Kennedys & Kings*. As you prepare for your trip to Selma this Sunday, I've meant to send you a fresh copy of my first-hand account of the March. It may be a useful and quick read while you are en route.

I returned to Selma myself this past fall for the end of a Habitat/AmeriCorps blitz-build and joined a team of people with disabilities who were building a house for other disabled people. It stirred many of the same feelings you may have this Sunday.

3-7-00

After you have seen,
we will send to Burkhardt
for reply -

With warm regards,

Harris

Iarris Wofford

Carol

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-7-00

Miss M
Woman -
Amazing - showed
so much courage
Let's go here

3-7-00

To Burkhardt for letter
after you have seen.

B.

NEWS STAFF PHOTO/NICK NUNNALLY

Mary L. Ruffin, 65, graduated Sunday from Miles Law School. Mrs. Ruffin, mother of 12, grandmother of 40 and great-grandmother of two, is pictured here with some members of her family.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-7-00

Great-grandmother realizes dream with Miles law degree

By CHANDA TEMPLE
News staff writer

For four years, students at Miles Law School often mistook Mary L. Ruffin for one of the professors.

Perhaps it was Mrs. Ruffin's gray hair or that she seemed more wise than the average 26-year-old law student.

The 65-year-old woman took the double takes and surprised looks in stride. She was determined not to let a number deter her from reaching her goal.

On Sunday, graduation day for Miles Law School and Miles College, Mrs. Ruffin became one of the oldest people to graduate from the 25-year-old law school.

Mrs. Ruffin — mother of 12, grandmother of 40 and great-grandmother of two — said she will take the state bar ex-

amination in February and hopes to become a practicing corporate attorney.

"God blessed me just to be able to keep it up," said Mrs. Ruffin, of Brighton. "I owe it all to the master."

Mrs. Ruffin was one of 27 law students to graduate from the school Sunday. She took law classes at night while still working as a bookkeeper for two area contracting companies and a tax preparer. She said she never missed a day of school.

She said she wanted to be a lawyer because she likes counseling people. When she and her husband divorced in 1976 after 25 years of marriage, the attorneys did not counsel them in the case, she said. She promised herself that if she ever became a lawyer she would do things differently.

"My greatest aim is to help humanity," she said. "When you're helping God's people you can't do anything but help yourself."

Getting her law degree is part of Mrs. Ruffin's continued drive to broaden her knowledge. She has two degrees from Lawson State Community College, and a 1994 degree in business administration from Miles College.

She said her 11 living children have either gone to college or graduated from college. Several have advanced degrees, and one is a lawyer.

One of Mrs. Ruffin's sons, Air Force Capt. Leernest "Ruff" Ruffin, said the minimum requirement in their household was getting a high school graduation.

See Degree, Page 2B

Degree From Page 1B

The rest was up to you.

Ruffin, who is also a presidential communications officer in Washington D.C., is pursuing a doctorate in public administration and public policy in Virginia. "I feel I'm out of place if I'm not in school," he said.

Joining Mrs. Ruffin in the graduation were classmates Dev Jeet Kaur Moss, 60, and Sarah C. Moore, 59.

Mrs. Moore, a substitute teacher and elementary school tutor, went to law school because she said she was unfairly treated as a senior food service supervisor for the old courthouse cafeteria. She said she sued one of the former commissioners about the treatment, but a judge dismissed the case.

Now that she's familiar with the legal system, she's considering a law career in arbitration or real estate.

PATTON BOGGS LLP

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

LANNY J. DAVIS

2550 M Street, NW

Washington, DC 20037-1350

(202) 457-6000

2/28



Dear Mr. President -

If you haven't seen this
already - you will enjoy
it greatly. Directly on
point re our conversation at
Betty Doherty's home

Best,

Lanny

(I'm going to circulate it
far + wide!)

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-7-00

3-7-00

We will send to
Burkhardt after you
have seen.

Carol

TRB

FROM WASHINGTON

Yawn

ACCORDING TO MANY of our top editorialists, the nation is gripped by something called "Clinton fatigue." After seven long years, voters are fed up with our "truth-twisting" president (the phrase is John McCain's), and they can't wait for him to clear out of Washington. It is this lingering distaste, the pundits argue, that explains the dynamics of the 2000 presidential race. As an antidote to Bill Clinton, voters want character; they want straight talk; they are sick of politics as usual. This accounted for Bill Bradley's surge last fall, and it now accounts for McCain's even more remarkable rise over the past two weeks.

The model has an elegant simplicity. But it rests on a fictional premise. By every meaningful standard, statistical and historical, Clinton fatigue is an utter hoax. It is the latest sign of the growing gap between what the public actually thinks and what the pundits claim the public thinks. In fact, over time, Clinton has become more popular, not less. That so many intelligent writers assume the opposite tells us exactly nothing about Clinton. It tells us a great deal, however, about the dogma-cursed state of American political commentary.

From 1945 to 1992, each American president saw his job-approval ratings drop during his final years in office. The Korean War so undermined Harry Truman's popularity that he decided not to run for reelection in 1952. Vietnam did the same for Lyndon Johnson in 1968. Wretched disapproval (and almost-certain impeachment) led Richard Nixon to resign in 1974. Stagflation, the Iran hostage crisis, and "malaise" sent Jimmy Carter's numbers tumbling before Ronald Reagan clobbered him in 1980. Reagan's popular support went into free fall during the Iran-Contra scandal and never really

recovered. George Bush, prior to his defeat in 1992, saw his approval ratings plunge from their peak just after the Gulf war. Even the likable Dwight Eisenhower saw his ratings slip sharply during his sluggish second term.

Clinton is the great exception. After hovering in the mid-50s during the months after his reelection, his approval ratings have averaged in the low to mid-60s ever since—reaching 69 percent at the height of the impeachment crisis and never dipping below 56 percent. By contrast, Ronald Reagan's numbers plummeted from 63 percent in October 1986 to 40 percent in February 1987 and then were barely nudged above the halfway mark until after the 1988 elections.

Commentators are quick to note that Clinton's approval ratings drop abruptly when the question turns from job performance to character. But poll data only matter insofar as they predict elections, and, when it comes to elections, Clinton's high job-approval numbers are far more

fatigue was killing Al Gore. But last fall, if you'll remember, Gore was frantically distancing himself from the president—telling every interviewer who would listen how much he disapproved of Clinton's behavior and engaging in elaborate rhetorical contortions to avoid mentioning the president's name on the stump. Since December, he has started forthrightly claiming credit for the Clinton administration's accomplishments, and he has soared, winning in both Iowa and New Hampshire. To be sure, part of Gore's success stems from his campaign shake-up and from Bradley's early timidity. And, to be sure, Democratic primary voters are the least Clinton-fatigued people around. But the fact remains that, at the ballot box as in the job-approval ratings, evidence for Clinton fatigue is scarce. Even McCain, whose recent rise pundits credit to his anti-Slick-Willie persona, beat George W. Bush in New Hampshire with a tax plan that his opponents ridiculed (and that he at one point acknowledged) as Clintonian.

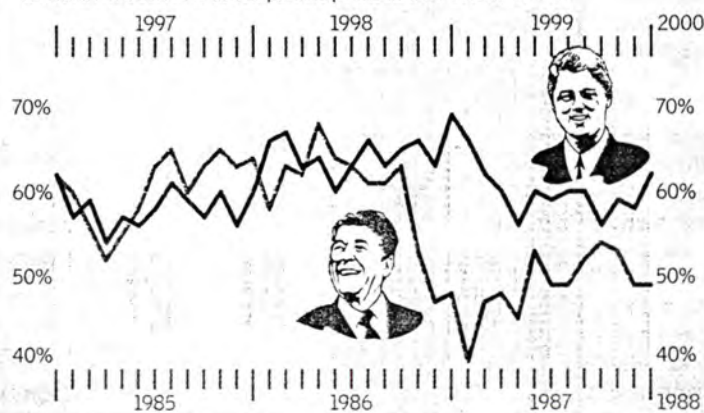
Why, then, does Clinton fatigue get so much press? Because today's commentators are afflicted with two types of denial. On the right, there is negative denial, a stubborn refusal to concede Clinton's success in bringing about the GOP's current disarray. On the left, there is positive denial, characterized by absolutist assertions of outmoded doctrine coupled with distortions of Clinton's record. Negative denial helps explain conservative pundits' sudden enthusiasm for McCain as the "un-Clinton." Positive denial helps explain leftist pundits' enthusiasm for the inert Bradley.

Though distinct, these two types of anti-Clinton denial have much in common. In both instances, political frustration breeds political self-delusion. In both instances, normally shrewd analysts ridicule a president who has proven their nostrums wrong. In both instances, the experts, having persuaded themselves that Clinton fatigue truly exists, attempt to pass the fraud off on a resistant public. And, most remarkably, in both instances, the fraud gets perpetrated not merely by the usual gang of talk-radio demagogues and cable-TV blowhards but by some of the ablest intellectuals and editors in the land. Who these intellectuals are, how they operate, and what the Clinton-fatigue fraud portends for the future will be the subjects of next week's TRB.

SEAN WILENTZ

PUBLIC-APPROVAL RATINGS

REAGAN v. CLINTON at comparable points in their second terms



Sources: Gallup Poll, Yash Post-ABC, NBC-WJSJ, ABC, WSJ, NY Times-CBS, Newsweek. CHART BY NIGEL HOLMES

predictive than his low personal-approval ones. And, like the job-approval numbers, the trend at the polls has generally been up.

Clinton has now been the dominant figure in four national elections. In 1992, he won the presidency, in a three-way race, with 43 percent of the popular vote. In 1994, of course, the Gingrich Republicans routed the president and his party, turning a large Democratic congressional majority into a GOP majority. But two years later Clinton not only rebounded from 1994 but surpassed his showing in 1992, winning 49 percent of the popular vote in another three-way race. In 1998, against media predictions, he did even better, and the Democrats gained five seats in the House. The last time a second-term president's party did so well in an off-year election was 1822.

Now consider 2000. Last fall, the press was filled with suggestions that Clinton

RANKED
#5
by
historians
today!

3-7-00

GERALD R. FORD

*Sandy
Bergen
followup
RM*

March 1, 2000

Dear Bill:

I was pleased to receive your letter of February 18, 2000, with your strong endorsement of Normal Trade Relations (NTR) status for China.

I wholeheartedly concur with your recommendation. I am very anxious to cooperate with you in achieving NTR status for China. Will look forward to Sandy Bergen contacting me so that I can find out the program for achieving success.

In my judgment it will be difficult to get the Congress to act affirmatively. I believe a majority of Republicans in the Senate will be favorable. In the House among Republicans it will be close but doable. The problem in Congress is the attitude of the Democrats; particularly in the House.

Also, I'm concerned with the several positions recently taken by Vice President Gore. According to press reports the Vice President told organized labor leaders he was opposed to NTR unless there were strong limitations on the environment and labor wages and working conditions.

Subsequently, I read that Vice President Gore wrote a business group that he favored NTR but made no mention of any limitations. Unless the Vice President is supportive of your position it will be extremely difficult to get Congressional approval.

I repeat my firm support of NTR status for China and my desire to be helpful in accomplishing that objective.

Warmest best wishes,

Gerald R. Ford
The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

*copied
Bergen
Podesta*

ce SSB

THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
3-7-00

BUDDY MACKAY

March 6, 2000



Dear Mr. President:

I have been having conversations with Al From and the DLC about holding a policy-level Third Way Conference in Latin America. There seems to be a lot of interest in this. The focus of this initial effort will be the Southern Cone. It looks like the first meeting will be held in Chile most likely in June.

The idea of the conference is to give impetus to the third-way movement at a critical time in the hemisphere's history, and it can help build momentum for other critical 2001 meetings, like the Summit of the Americas.

I think it is a good idea, and I will continue to update you on our progress, especially as soon as we get a fixed place and date for the conference.

Buddy Mackay

copied
Blumenthal
Podesta

3-7-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 6, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GENE B. SPERLING

SUBJECT: CHINA WTO

*To speak
written working
on this*

I have attached a speech I recently gave at the Economic Strategy Institute on economic freedom in China in case it is helpful as you prepare for your upcoming speech on Wednesday.


Copied
Edmonds
Shesol
Sperling
Podesta

WTO ACCESSION AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM IN CHINA

Revised Text of Delivered Remarks

Gene B. Sperling, Director
National Economic Council

Delivered at the Economic Strategy Institute, Washington, DC
February 23, 2000

Thank you. Thank you. And thank you Peter Morici, Director of Trade Studies at ESI, for that very generous introduction.

And let me take this opportunity to extend a warm thanks to Clyde Prestowitz, President of the Economic Strategy Institute, who is on the road today and could not be with us, and the whole staff at ESI for performing a real public service in organizing this series on the China PNTR vote. We in the Administration welcome a vigorous discussion because we're confident that the more the American people know about the China-WTO agreement we negotiated in November, the more that they will support it.

I'd like to talk today about some of what we think are some of the misconceptions concerning the WTO Accession and why we feel that this agreement, in addition to being beneficial for the U.S. economy, will also be beneficial in pushing economic freedom within China itself.

Misconception 1: The Agreement Is Something Different Than One Way Market Access

The first thing all of us who are seeking to communicate the benefits of the China-WTO Accession agreement need to do is to make sure that people understand the nature of China's accession. Many have erroneously come to perceive this deal as a free trade agreement along the lines of NAFTA or any other supported by this Administration. With a free trade agreement, one has to make the case that the benefits of opening up another country's markets are worth whatever possible dislocations can take place by also opening up your own market. The China WTO agreement, however, is an accession agreement. The pros and cons of arguments on free trade agreements do not pertain to this debate over this China-WTO agreement.

As Charlene Barshefsky and I stated when we came to the final agreement in Beijing, this deal is a win-win for both countries. At the same time, though, it must be emphasized that when it comes to the process of tariff reduction and market opening, this is a one-way process. This is not an discussion where one has to weigh the differences and debate the potential ups and downs of openings on both sides. This deals represents one way market access. All those who want to accurately communicate the benefits of this deal, and encourage the passage of Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR) with China, need to be very clear in communicating to the public and to Congress that this deal is simply about China opening its markets to us. It does not lower tariffs by one bit.

If the one-way nature of this deal is clearly communicated, it will increase support for China's accession, particularly when it is understood that the rejection of Permanent Normal Trade Relations (PNTR) will mean that we will deny ourselves many of the benefits of the more open markets to China, at the same time as our foreign competitors will enjoy these benefits.

Misconception 2: There Are No Protections for American Workers

A second popular misconception is that when this agreement was negotiated, the focus was simply on reducing tariffs, quotas, increasing distribution rights for our industries -- with no focus on protecting American workers. Nothing could be farther from the truth. When Charlene Barshefsky and I went to Beijing for the final negotiation, at the very top of our agenda was ensuring that adequate protections for American workers against illegal dumping or unexpected surges were part of the deal. And indeed the gains that were won in those areas were exceptional -- 15 years assurance of being able to use non-market economy methodology when making dumping determinations, and a product surge protection for 12 years that is stronger than our existing section 201 law because it allows us to target import surges from China alone, rather than requiring that we make a global assessment of imports under the existing 201 law.

Misconception 3: Passage of PNTR is Not Necessary To Get Full Benefits of Deal

The third misconception that is being promoted is the assertion that while the economic benefits from this deal are clear, we do not need to pass permanent normal trade relations to gain these benefits -- instead we could simply pass annual PNTR. Those who make this case suggest that Article I of the GATT requires unconditional most favored nation status. That we all agree on. Unfortunately that is where the agreement ends. The annual NTR advocates then claim that Article I is completely silent on whether such unconditional MFN must be provided for any specific duration of time. Therefore, they conclude, if the one and only condition -- emigration policies under Jackson-Vanik -- is removed, annual NTR perfectly satisfies the GATT requirement for unconditional normal trade relations.

This argument, which may deserve points for effort, does not deserve much credit on the basis of logic or legal interpretation.

First of all, the lie is intrinsic in the entire rationale for the argument. Removing Jackson-Vanik's condition on emigration hardly makes NTR or MFN status condition-free. Ask this question: why would anyone want to make normal trade relations subject to annual review? So they can flip a coin to see if it should pass? So they should decide depending on the weather that day whether or not you should grant annual review again? Of course not. The sole reason that those opposing this agreement want annual review is to condition it on issues from labor to environment to human rights. We all know that. It would be far more genuine of the annual NTR advocates to simply make this case rather than to try to suggest that if they simply got rid of Jackson-Vanik that somehow there would be no conditions inherent in an annual review. We all know that the only reason that advocates call for annual review is so that they can condition NTR on a variety of factors on a year-by-year basis. If opponents want to make that argument, they should. They should not, however, try to claim that that would somehow satisfy the legal requirements of the GATT.

Second, the very notion that subjecting one country and one country only to annual review is consistent with GATT Article I does not hold water. Article I is written in broad and sweeping language and states that all WTO members grant each other “any advantage, favor, privilege, or immunity” provided to other countries “immediately and unconditionally.”

The United States grants normal trade relations treatment to *all* countries with whom we share the benefits of the WTO *without* the condition of an annual review. Subjecting one member to an annual review of its NTR -- whether tied to Jackson-Vanik’s specific emigration-related conditions or not -- is a clear and discriminatory *condition* that without question *disadvantages* imports from that country. Why? MFN guarantees the right to non-discriminatory treatment of products both at the U.S. border and after the products enter into commerce within the United States. A mandatory or periodic review of whether products from China will be treated the same or differently from the products of all other WTO members will inject uncertainty and unpredictability into business decisions that will disadvantage imports from China.

Put yourself in the position of any importer. You can buy a product from Indonesia, or buy the same product at 2% cheaper from China. All things being equal, you would rather buy the product from China. Except that you know that every year, there is a risk that that product will be subject to a higher tariff or denied. What person who understands exporting or importing would think that the difference between having an unconditional NTR and having an conditional NTR that subjects a country and a tariff to an annual review would not create a business uncertainty that would obviously disadvantage that product? No-one who understands the business of exporting and importing would maintain that this provides any “advantage, favor, privilege or immunity” immediately and unconditionally to each and every country.

The bottom line is that if we want the full benefits of this agreement, we have to grant China Permanent Normal Trade Relations. It’s not only a WTO requirement to do so, it is in our overwhelming national interest to do so.

Misconception 4: PNTR Supporters Are Giving America’s Economic Benefits A Higher Priority Than Human Rights, Labor Rights, Or Economic Freedom in China

The most serious misconception, however, that I’d like to discuss today is the notion that supporters of PNTR either have a rosier view of the human rights and labor rights situation in China or have made a conscious decision to emphasize economic benefits over human rights. Nothing could be further from the truth.

Those of us who support Permanent Normal Trade Relations must be absolutely candid and clear-eyed about the nature of the regime in Beijing. It is a one-party state that does not tolerate opposition. It denies basic freedoms to its citizens, including freedoms of association and religion. Chinese authorities engage in extrajudicial arrest and the detention of political and religious activists and restrict religious practices. While we may disagree with union leaders like John Sweeney over how we should move forward, we absolutely agree with John Sweeney’s summarization of labor rights in China. As he has said, “China suppresses independent worker

organizing and crushes the protests that result. It assumes incorrectly that stability can be based upon repression and exploitation rather than on representation and expression.”

Supporters and opponents of PNTR do not disagree over the perception or importance of human rights or labor rights. Our disagreement is simply over what will best move the ball forward.

The fundamental question is not whether this trade agreement by itself will create a pristine democracy overnight in China. It will not. The question is whether or not this policy will move the ball forward or backward -- whether it will make the situation better or worse. Change in China won't be automatic -- we cannot expect it to happen in matter of months. But I do believe that in the long haul, membership in the WTO will encourage China's incipient movement toward economic freedom. And I'd like to explain some of the reasons why.

Why This Agreement Will Help Increase Economic Freedom In China

First, the China-WTO agreement locks in reforms that will have the clear effect of reducing the command-and-control elements of government authority in China and adding momentum towards increased economic liberalization. In signing this agreement, President Jiang and Premier Zhu have clearly made a choice to increase their already dramatic commitment towards reducing the role of government in the economy and moving forward with market-based reforms.

The challenge facing them is daunting. The state-owned manufacturing sector, numbering some 300,000 enterprises, at the beginning of 1999 employed 70% of the urban labor force, generating 30% of industrial output. Nearly 60% of fixed-asset investment and 80% of all business lending was directed toward these industrial dinosaurs. Not surprisingly, these government-controlled enterprises and the state-owned banks that keep feeding them credit are sinking under bad debt.

Meanwhile, China's working age population is increasing by more than 12 million people -- equal to the population of New England -- every year. Tens of millions of peasants are migrating from the country to the city in search of jobs and a better life. While this has occurring, China's economic growth has slowed just at the time when it needs to increase.

Premier Zhu and President Jiang realize that this course, and the greater openness to the outside world it entails, risks generating more domestic pressure for political change. By signing our WTO agreement in November, China's leadership has chosen the path of economic reform despite that risk. Indeed, most knowledgeable observers of China believe that the push for an agreement is very much designed to lock in and make irreversible the forces that would lead to market reform. That's because foreign competition will surely force change upon China's inefficient state-owned enterprises, creating more pressure for their privatization. As the one-party state loosens its grip on the economy, its role in the daily lives of the Chinese people will also change. Writes Nicholas Lardy of the Brookings Institution, "The authoritarian basis of the Chinese regime is gradually eroding, and if successfully implemented, this WTO agreement will contribute to that."

Despite this, some of the same politicians in the United States who have spent much of their entire careers denouncing Communism are now turning their back on an agreement that promises to foster market reform and economic liberalization in what for decades has been the most heavily-populated command-and-control economy in the world.

If Congress rejects Permanent NTR, it will undercut the forward-looking thinkers in China on economic liberalization and play right into the hands of those who would hamstring reform. Indeed, whether one looks at commercial rules, distribution, capital or communications, this WTO agreement promises to weaken the state's hold on commerce in China and move that nation in the direction of increased economic freedom.

Example 1: Greater Transparency

Currently, economic activity in China remains controlled by a government that often bases its decisions upon rules that are not published, and when published, are often vague and unclear. Appeals are made all the more difficult with no public basis for the initial decision.

The WTO requirements of transparency will help reign in this ability of the Chinese state to make arbitrary decisions over economic life.

By requiring the clear publication of quotas and tariff rates – by making them more transparent and public – the arbitrary discretion of local officials to determine whether and at what price a local enterprise can import a foreign product that might be an essential input to a good or service will be taken away. In doing so, this agreement not only promotes economic efficiency for American exporters, it also undercuts arbitrary control and builds up the ability of local entrepreneurs to freely contract with foreign importers based not on party connections but on what makes economic sense. Economic freedom and economic efficiency gain together.

Example 2: Less Restricted Distribution/Freer Movement Of Goods

The same can be said for the free movement of goods. Currently, anybody who does business in China will refer to distribution as, at best, an enormous headache. The Chinese state controls virtually every aspect of the movement of goods: whether a good can be imported at all, the terms under which it enters, who can bring it in, and who can distribute, sell and service it. Importing and exporting, and distribution rights are privileges granted by the Chinese government to only a few.

China's WTO commitments in these areas are quite significant. The agreement turns these scarcely-allotted privileges into rights which will be widely available to both Chinese and foreign businesses. China has agreed that in 3 years, all individuals and entities in China will be able to import most products into any part of China, and that foreign firms will be able to establish, own and operate their own distribution and related services.

Again, however, the benefits go beyond economic efficiency. Every time the multiple areas in which people must seek permission from the government for distribution or trading are

reduced, the potential for a greater number of business transactions between Chinese entrepreneurs and American entrepreneurs is increased. As the weight of the state on everyday transactions becomes lighter, layers of middlemen are eliminated, and more and more Chinese salesmen, repairmen, and consumers will come into direct and daily contact with each other and with foreign firms.

Example 3: Greater Access To Capital

Consider access to capital. Capital not only feeds economic growth, but also makes possible personal independence. As in other areas of economic life, this WTO agreement – by injecting competition into China's capital market -- promises to enhance private initiative in China at the expense of state power.

By some estimates, 80 percent of bank lending in China goes to generally inefficient state-owned enterprises, which produce just one-third of GDP. It is not surprising that the line of bad debts in China is a mile long-- 25-40 percent of GDP by most estimates.

WTO accession promises to scale back Chinese government control in banking and finance by letting foreign banks play a more significant role. Clearly, lessons from the Asian Financial crisis, from the problems of Russia to Japan and even our own earlier experiences with the savings and loan crisis, show how essential a functioning, competitive bank system is to economic stability and growth in developed as well as developing countries. Increased foreign presence will bring modern banking practices to China. Domestic banks will be forced by competitive pressure to develop a more western-style "culture of credit."

But again, more is at stake. Monopoly control of capital constitutes a key pillar of power and control of the Chinese government over the economic lives of their people. Through the state-run banks, the government can effectively dictate which companies get funds to grow their operations, and which do not. Stronger bank practices and concrete movement toward a credit culture mean more loans based on economic viability and fewer loans based on government favoritism.

The new rules required under this agreement will reduce an important prop of the one-party state: its control of capital flows. And private citizens and entrepreneurs will find themselves less dependent on the arbitrary largesse of the state when they wish to turn their entrepreneurial ideas into economic reality. Freedom to innovate and grow and create wealth will become more dependent on the power of individual ideas and less dependent on individual connections to those with power in the Chinese government.

Example 4: Freer Flow Of Information Through The Internet & Telecommunications

Perhaps the most liberating aspect of WTO accession is its potential impact on China's state-dominated telecommunications and Internet sectors.

Ideas cannot be shared without the basic tools of communication. Only 12 percent of households in China now have telephones – a number expected to grow to 22 percent by 2003. And each year over the past few years, China has installed enough phone lines to replace networks the size of Pacific Bell. The number of Chinese Internet users is also exploding. At the beginning of last year, there were approximately 2 million subscribers -- within the next year, industry analysts predict over 20 million subscribers.

This growth will be dramatically fueled by the foreign investment in China's telecommunications sector made possible for the first time ever by the WTO accession agreement. This will be a boom for the American economy and for U.S. companies who have competitive advantages in these areas and in addition, remove Chinese government rules forbidding domestic firms from forming joint ventures with American companies to provide such services.

How will the WTO Agreement enhance people's ability to communicate? It will make the tools of communication cheaper, better, more reliable, and more widely available. It will mean Chinese citizens do not have to go to a government-owned and controlled entity to get telephones or telephone service. It will mean that when a U.S. firm installs an intra-office e-mail in its office in China, a Chinese employee can be in daily touch not only with his colleagues in China, but also with potentially thousands of employees here in the United States. It will mean that American and other foreign companies will for the first time ever be able to invest in and provide telecommunications services directly to China's citizens.

Even today, Chinese citizens can increasingly communicate with each other in real time, in ways and in such volume that no amount of censorship and monitoring can control or turn back. Because of this agreement, an individual Chinese citizen, with a few clicks of a mouse, will be able to send and receive far greater amounts of information to more people than was ever dreamed of only a short time ago. No longer dependent on the state for all information, Chinese citizens will be equipped with the means and instruments to communicate, with increasing ability to share ideas with each other directly or with the world outside.

There is no question that some in China's leadership are nervous about this new-found freedom. Only a few weeks ago, new regulations seeking to restrict the flow of information on the internet were announced under the guise of encryption. While some may lament that this decision could retard China's development, in truth this action simply underscores the inherent futility of the Chinese government's efforts to stuff the genie of information back in the bottle. There is no preventing the inevitability that increased access to the tools of information will lead to the spread of uncensored and uncontrolled discussion, ideas, and information in China.

Conclusion: This Agreement Will Move Reform Forward in China

In no way should it be suggested that reforms and progress in China will come easy, be straightforward, or come without interruptions or setbacks. We should not underestimate the

difficulty for China in implementing these reforms or traversing the rocky terrain ahead. China's destiny will follow neither a straight line nor a precise timetable.

None of the provisions in the WTO agreement are a silver bullet -- all of them combined are not a massive silver bullet. None represent an easy road to progress free from setbacks and contradictions.

As the President has said, no one can be sure the path China will choose for itself. But no one also can escape the responsibility to answer the question of which way this agreement is most likely to move freedom in China. If this agreement in any way helps lock in and accelerate economic liberalization in China, if it in any way moves towards forcing government decision-making into the sunlight, if it works to allow more capital to flow more freely to more Chinese entrepreneurs, if it increases free contact between the Chinese people and foreign businesspeople, if it encourages new ideas and information through the internet, the question we must answer is: is this agreement more likely or less likely to increase economic freedom and press reform in the right direction? I believe the answer is yes.

Freedom is contagious. And the more freedom that any people experience, the more it takes root in their societies and the more momentum there is for reform.

While the increase in economic freedom has not always been an automatic recipe for promoting political freedom throughout the globe, one has to determine that it is usually moves political reform in the right direction. Certainly, our own country is based on the foundation that economic freedom and political freedom reinforce each other.

This can't be a reason, however, to simply sit back and hope China's WTO accession is a solution or the only answer. All of us need to continue to press for greater human rights and greater respect for labor rights with force and determination.

Our companies need to live up to their words and take every step, use all their initiative, to promote change in China. The American Chamber of Commerce's paper on human rights states that "[t]he American approach to doing business and to corporate responsibility can and does foster positive change in China... We empower our employees to take initiative and give them a voice on how to do things. They in turn convey these values to their families and associates. We introduce high standards of worker health and safety as well as environmental protection."

These are the commitments of our private sector doing business in China, and we should have every expectation that they will follow through. We should be strong in encouraging and expecting them to do so.

In the end, as I said before, in any policy issue one has to not simply ask, how dire is the situation -- whether you're talking about a children's health issue or the situation of labor and human rights in China. The question is about whether the policy decision to be made is likely to improve the situation, or make it worse.

In the words of Li Ke, former Chinese editor of the democratic journal Fangfa: “For so many years of China’s reform and opening, areas couldn’t be opened and remained state monopolies. But if the economic monopolies can be broken, controls in other areas can have breakthroughs as well. These breakthroughs won’t necessarily happen soon. But in the final analysis, in the minds of ordinary people, it will show that breakthroughs that were impossible in the past are indeed possible.”

Thank you. I’m happy to take questions.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date

3/7/00

To: TERRY EDMONDS

From: The Staff Secretary

SEEMS LIKE SOMETHING

BOBUS WOULD WANT TO DO.

WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE

SPEECHWRITING TAKE THE LEAD

ON THIS? IF NOT, MY FOLKS

CAN DO IT.

-SEAN

CC: B. JOHNSON, M. MOORE, M. CABE



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NEW YORK OFFICE: 39 BROADWAY, 22nd FLOOR • NEW YORK, NY 10006 • 212 344 7474

KWEISI MFUME

February 17, 2000

JULIAN BOND

President and Mrs. Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President & Mrs. Clinton:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), The James Weldon Johnson Foundation Inc., and African-American Collections at Emory University are publishing a book, *Lift Every Voice and Sing: 100 Years, 100 Voices*, to commemorate the song's centennial. Written in February 1900 with words by James Weldon Johnson and music by J. Rosamond Johnson, the song became known as "the Negro anthem" and is sung whenever people gather in pursuit of justice.

"Lift Every Voice and Sing" acknowledges both slavery's dark past as well as a race's courageous and noble struggle for freedom. As the new millennium nears, it is important to showcase a sacred song that endures as a musical tribute to an ongoing struggle-- "an everlifting song" that is central to the African-American experience.

* We are inviting approximately 100 prominent Americans to each contribute a 400-word essay describing the impact of the song on their lives and to reflect on race relations in the new century. It would be an honor if you would agree to participate in this eventful publication. The book, approximately 10" by 13" (coffee-table size), will be released in October 2000 by Random House. The volume will include a photographic narrative comprised of 100 images or photo collages, with ten from each decade beginning in 1900. This photo story will use 100 pages and include descriptive written material in each of the images. Further, a comprehensive introduction and epilogue will be a part of this work. As one of the principal editors of this momentous publication, I urge you to help celebrate this song, which speaks to the hopes, dreams, and aspirations of a people. Jacob Lawrence has done the artwork for the dust jacket.

Thank you for your kind consideration. I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Julian Bond
Chairman

JB/skw

enclosures: reply form
words to *Lift Every Voice and Sing*
committed contributors

"Lift Every Voice and Sing" Commemorative Project

N A A C P

James Weldon Johnson Foundation, Inc.

African-American Collections - Emory University

RANDOM HOUSE, INC. - Publisher

REPLY FORM

Your essay describing the impact of the song on your life and statement on race relations in the 21st century should be no more than 400 words (less than two typewritten double-spaced pages). We will also need a black and white photograph to accompany your submission which is suitable for publication. Each contributor will have a full page in the book.

We shall need the essay and photograph by **January 17, 2000**. A copy of your narrative will be returned to you for final approval before publication. All royalties from the project will be distributed to the three principal non-profit organizations sponsoring this undertaking (see above).

- o o o -

(Please complete and return this form in the self-addressed envelope provided.)

- ☐ I accept your invitation to write and supply a black and white photograph for the commemorative volume marking the 100th Anniversary of "Lift Every Voice and Sing".
- ☐ It will be possible for me to prepare my submission by the proposed deadline.
- ☐ I anticipate that I will need more time. (Specify a date: _____)
- ☐ I request further information about the project prior to making a decision. (Please specify.)

- ☐ I would like to communicate with one of the principals* to discuss my questions.

- o o o -

*You may communicate with one of the principals by mail, FAX or E-mail.

"Lift Every Voice and Sing" Commemorative Project

N A A C P

39 Broadway, 22nd Floor
New York, N. Y. 10006

FAX:

(212) 344-1212

E-Mail:

sonkathwil@aol.com

Name of Respondent Signature

Address

Zip Code

Date

Telephone

FAX

E - Mail

"Lift Every Voice and Sing" Commemorative Project

N A A C P

James Weldon Johnson Foundation, Inc.

African-American Collections - Emory University

RANDOM HOUSE, INC. - Publisher

"A group of young men in Jacksonville, Florida, arranged to celebrate Lincoln's birthday in 1900. My brother, J. Rosamond Johnson, and I decided to write a song to be sung at the exercise. I wrote the words and he wrote the music. Our New York publisher, Edward B. Marks, made mimeographed copies for us and the song was taught to and sung by a chorus of five hundred colored school children.

"Shortly afterwards my brother and I moved from Jacksonville to New York, and the song passed out of our minds. But the school children of Jacksonville kept singing it, they went off to other schools and sang it, they became teachers and taught it to other children. Within twenty years it was being sung over the South and in some other parts of the country. Today, the song popularly known as the Negro National Hymn, is quite generally used.

"The lines of this song repay me in elation, almost of exquisite anguish, whenever I hear them sung by Negro children."

- James Weldon Johnson, 1935

Lift Every Voice and Sing

Lift every voice and sing
Till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of Liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise
High as the listening skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling seas.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us,
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us,
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod,
Bitter the chastening rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat,
Have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
We have come over a way that with tears has been watered,
We have come treading our path through the blood of the slaughtered,
Out from the gloomy past,
Till now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

God of our weary years,
God of our silent tears,
Thou who hast brought us thus far on the way;
Thou who has by Thy might
Led us into the light,
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places, our God, where we met Thee,
Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine of the world, we forget Thee,
Shadowed beneath Thy hand,
May we forever stand,
True to our God
True to our native land.

Words by James Weldon Johnson
Music by J. Rosamond Johnson

carriers that do business with virtual impunity

THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

3-7-00

Sick and tired of supposed 'Clinton fatigue'

Not all the Washington political press shills for Sen. John McCain, although it's sometimes hard to tell who doesn't, but all of it from the reporters to the columnists and TV pundits agree on one idea: Americans are sick of President Clinton.

No one could have been shocked when Bill Bennett, the TV talk shows' favorite commentator on the Republican presidential race, said the

**Ernie
Dumas**

other day that voters hungered for someone who was the opposite of Bill Clinton (Bennett thought that was McCain), but even supposedly neutral pundits like the *Washington Post's* David

Broder say the same thing. Computers have been programmed to insert a sentence about Clinton fatigue at the touch of the F4 key whenever political writers need an explanation of the excitement over the candidacies of McCain, Bill Bradley or even George Bush.

Sean Wilentz devoted two TRB columns in *The New Republic* to unmasking the hoax. But it has been transparent all along. Well into the eighth year of his presidency, Clinton's approval ratings are consistently in the mid-60s, better than any postwar president at the equivalent time — far better, in fact, than the two presidents who now are in such vogue, Harry Truman and Ronald Reagan.

Truman retired rather than face voters fatigued with the Korean War. People were despondent over Reagan's fumbling claims of innocence and ignorance of his own foreign policies after Congress and a special prosecutor unraveled the Iran-contra scandals.

Even Dwight Eisenhower, the only other president since Roosevelt to maintain a solid stand-

ing with voters through his second term, was slumping as the nation slid into the third economic recession of his presidency and voters were put off by the Sherman Adams scandals and the president's lying when Russians shot down an American spy plane.

But, seven years and 10 months into his presidency, Clinton's job-approval ratings are not far below his peak.

Sure, when voters are asked about his character, they give him much lower marks. The columnists, commentators and analysts say the distinction drives the presidential race. People want someone who doesn't evidence Clinton's character flaws, by which they obviously mean his incurable womanizing and his temporizing when he's confronted with anything from his misbehavior to big decisions.

It is a trifle amazing that McCain and Bush claim the mantle of the anti-Clinton. Both have owned up generally but not specifically to aberrant and misspent young adulthoods, although they now claim that, unlike Clinton, they eventually matured and now live virtuous lives. McCain ran around on his first wife, who had lost her beauty after a disfiguring and near-fatal accident while he was a prisoner of war, divorced her and married into wealth.

True, Clinton would never be so bold as to beard major industries on their home turf, as McCain did when he opposed tax favors for Washington state defense industries during an appearance there last week. We know that Clinton would have slid around the question and left the impression that he probably would favor them — but that is a small part of McCain's secret.

Of course Clinton's high popularity is altogether a product of the extraordinary economy, for which Alan Greenspan, not Clinton, deserves

credit, the explanation goes. It is true that the economy contributes heavily to most of the indices of people's well-being: Plummeting crime and welfare rates, full employment and the improving lot of the working poor, but anyone who says Clinton's trade, tax and budget policies and his eternal confidence weren't powerful factors in the boom need only wait to see what happens if George Bush is elected president.

Wilentz's notion is that Clinton fatigue still gets heavy press because commentators, who have a universal and visceral dislike for Clinton, refuse to concede that he bamboozled the Republicans for seven years and left them in their current disarray, and liberals refuse to concede that Clinton has proved them wrong by accomplishing much of their agenda without adopting their traditional nostrums such as expanded welfare and large investments in infrastructure and social programs.

If voters were overwhelmingly weary of the Clinton presidency, Al Gore wouldn't be running more than 2-1 ahead of Bradley, who claims to be the polar opposite of Clinton.

Part of McCain's appeal to independent and Democratic voters as well as to many Republican moderates is that he embraces much of the Clinton philosophy, while pretending not to. His modest tax cuts, as Bush points out, mirror Clinton's strategy: Leave the surplus to shore up Social Security and pay down the national debt. If people are clamoring to throw the rascal out, they have a subtle way of showing it.

ERNIE DUMAS is a veteran Arkansas journalist who teaches in Central Arkansas.

© 2000 Arkansas Times

copied
Blumenthal
Podesta

3/5/2000

GO NEGATIVE, ACT POSITIVE
THE EDDIE HASKELL RESPONSE



History will record that the Eddie Haskell Response—a diabolically saccharine innovation in American politics—was first deployed by that master of umbrage-taking Vice-President Albert Gore. It was unveiled in New Hampshire, in late January, when—after months on the receiving end of Gore's attacks on the substance of his proposals—Bill Bradley, belatedly, struck back, complaining in a debate that Gore was twisting his ideas and that, indeed, the Vice-President had a history of stretching the truth a bit. Gore was just *astonished* by the personal nature of this assault, confirming a spiritual kinship noted long ago by Maureen Dowd in the *New York Times*. The Vice-President can do a fair imitation of Eddie Haskell, the teen-age conniver on "Leave It to Beaver" who turns choirboy whenever he is in the presence of adults. "Look, Bill," he said sweetly. "We can have a disagreement on the substance of the issues without making negative personal attacks. The people out there are tired of that."

Gore won New Hampshire. And the Haskell Response was soon adopted by George W. Bush in South Carolina. The Governor of Texas was terribly offended when John McCain said, in a televised advertisement, that Bush "twists the truth like Clinton." Staring directly, mournfully, into the camera in a very effective advertisement, Bush said, "Politics is tough, but when John McCain compared me to Bill Clinton and said I was untrustworthy, that's over the line. Disagree with me, fine, but do not challenge my integrity."

Bush, of course, had already launched one of the ugliest negative campaigns in memory—most of it promulgated by surrogates, particularly soulmates of the giddy Virginia tele-charlatan Pat Robertson. "I've never seen anything like it," says Michael Graham, who describes himself as a "screeching, wild-eyed conservative" radio-talk-show host on WSC in Charleston. "It was a hundred per cent negative from the start. Every last Bush ad was negative. There was organized phone-

calling to my show: McCain had collaborated with the North Vietnamese, fathered illegitimate children, his wife was a drug addict. I had admired Bush's compassionate conservative message, but I wound up voting for McCain, just to keep it close—I didn't want the people of South Carolina, who shouldn't be allowed near a ballot box without adult supervision, to decide this for the rest of the country."

McCain's response to Bush's Haskell gambit will be instructive to future candidates: he dropped his own negative ads and turned righteous; he talked about wanting to be President in the "best way," not the worst; he congratulated himself for "inspiring a new generation" of voters. His signal message became his own rectitude. And he was clobbered. In perhaps the most telling interview of the South Carolina primary, Walter Shapiro, of *USA Today*, spoke with Roy Park, an ide-

copied
Blumenthal
Podesta

George W. Bush

alistic Korean-American editorial-page editor of a high-school newspaper. Park said that he was supporting Bush. When he was asked why, he unwittingly echoed the text of a Bush negative ad: the McCain campaign "was crawling with lobbyists."

McCain's next move was also instructive: a modified Eddie Haskell. He continued to avoid negative television and radio ads—he still wanted to be President in the "best" way—but he signalled, in a fighting concession speech after the South Carolina loss, that he was not going to let Bush get away with unanswered assaults. The press—which itself is an institution of Haskellian faux rectitude—was terribly offended by the new tone. Wolf Blitzer told McCain, "A lot of the commentators are already saying that your concession speech last night was... mean-spirited." Morton Kondracke called it "bitter" and "harsh." George Will warned, "You dare not come across

as a petulant loser." McCain was undaunted. He spent the next few days in Michigan in a lather of creative distemper, lashing out at the Republican establishment and at the Bush supporters at Bob Jones University in South Carolina ("a bunch of idiots") and at the tobacco-industry lobbyists running ads against him ("C'mon down, you jerks"). Traveling on his bus between Saginaw and Ypsilanti on the day before his Michigan triumph, McCain scarfed down doughnuts and ruminated on the nature of the attacks against him: "It reminds me of the old bumper sticker—'The Christian Right Is Neither.'"

There has been and there will continue to be all sorts of ponderous huffing and puffing about the terrible negative turn the Presidential campaign has taken this year. The editorial pages crackle with indignation. Grizzled political observers shake their heads knowingly and lament, "Going negative works." But there is another not-so-horrific truth begging to be exposed: the contentious campaigning has also made this election more fun and more compelling and more informative than it had any right to be. "The truth is, it's revitalizing politics," Anne Wexler, a veteran Democratic Party strategist, says. "People are interested. They're voting in record numbers. Who needs the bland vanilla stuff?"

There are caveats, of course. The personal ugliness directed by Bush supporters against McCain's family is clearly over the line. And the Eddie Haskell gambit—indeed, bloated righteousness of any sort—gets old quickly. But the recent, nasty debate between Al Gore and Bill Bradley at the Apollo Theatre was not just fabulously entertaining; it also reignited—however briefly—interest in a flagging Democratic race. Indeed, most of the "attacks" in this campaign have not only been well within traditional bounds but they have also been *valuable* in unexpected ways. Bradley's inability to respond to Gore's attacks, for example, revealed a lugubrious, un-Presidential weakness in the candidate. McCain's successful Michigan response to Bush's attacks revealed the opposite, but also exposed one of his own weaknesses: a flashy, impractical, self-congratulatory heroism. And Al Gore? Well, it's so good to see you again, Mrs. Cleaver!

—Joe Klein

GEORGE BECKER
PRESIDENT

LEO W. GERARD
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RICHARD H. DAVIS
VICE-PRESIDENT
(ADMINISTRATION)

LEON LYNCH
VICE PRESIDENT
(HUMAN AFFAIRS)



TERRY L. BONDS
DISTRICT DIRECTOR

United

3-7-00

Send to Burkhardt >

Yes ✓

No

cc: Scheduling

Carol



870-772-0777
FAX 870-772-0877

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

Dear President Clinton:

I am writing to ask your reasoning on why we should give China a most favored nation trade status.

China uses prison and child labor and has no restrictions on the EPA. You would not condone this in our country and neither would I.

Our workers cannot compete with China's low wages or their working conditions. We have lost too many good paying jobs already due to NAFTA. We don't want to be a service nation with our workers on minimum wage jobs.

Please explain to me why you think your position on PNTR for China could possibly be good for U.S. workers who will lose their jobs when companies move their factories to China, just as they have done in Mexico due to NAFTA.

I will be staying at the Marriot Hotel (202-328-2000) in Washington D.C. April 12th - 14th, 2000 and if yours or Hillary's schedule permits would like to visit with you.

Thank you for your attention regarding this matter and hope to see you soon.

Sincerely yours,

Ronnie Walraven
United Steelworkers of America

317100

Send to Burkhardt

March 7, 2000

Yes ☒

No ☐

Bishop Kenneth C. Ulmer, Ph.D.
Senior Pastor-Teacher

00 MAR 7 PM 5:04

The Honorable Bill (President)
United States of America
Washington, D. C.
Fax No.: 202-456-22

Don - what do you think?

Cal

RE: LETTER OF BISHOP KENNETH C. ULMER

Dear Mr. President:

On Friday, March 17, 2000, Bishop Kenneth C. Ulmer, Senior Pastor-Teacher of the Faithful Central Bible Church, will be installed as Presiding Bishop of the Macedonia International Bible Fellowship (MIBF). The MIBF is a worldwide organization of churches established as a spiritual covering for those who desire it; a resource for teaching, equipping and encouraging leaders; and an international fellowship with integrity and promise. Additionally, the installation ushers in the celebration of Bishop Ulmer's 18th year as Senior Pastor of Faithful Central Bible Church. Under Bishop Ulmer's God-inspired leadership, the congregation has grown from just over 300 to more than 8,000. We hope you will agree with us that Bishop Ulmer's success as one of the leading Pastor-Teachers of both the 20th and 21st Centuries, and his recent calling to the position of Presiding Bishop of the MIBF is worthy of a letter of congratulations and commendation.

To assist you in drafting the letter, I am including a copy of Bishop Ulmer's bio, the MIBF brochure, and a letter of invitation from Bishop Ulmer to other prospective members of the Fellowship. We realize that this is short notice, but if we could receive the letter by Thursday, March 16, 2000, it would be greatly appreciated. Please advise if you need our Fed Ex services to expedite the process. If so, please call Linda Maldonado at (310) 330-8000, Ext. 207, and tell her that Kris Bailey asked you to call.

Thank you for your attention to this matter.

Sincerely,



Kristine R. Bailey, Chair
Political Action Ministry

Post-It® Fax Note	7671	Date	3-7	# of pages	6
To	From				
Co./Dept.	Co.				
Phone #	Phone #				
Fax #	Fax #				

"The way of faith, is the way of love."

FROM : FAITHFUL CENTRAL MB CHURCH

PHONE NO. : 310 330 8035

Mar. 07 2000 12:21PM P1

BISHOP KENNETH C. ULMER, D. Min., Ph.D.
Biography

Dr. Kenneth C. Ulmer, who pastors Faithful Central Missionary Baptist Church in Inglewood, California, is one of the most prolific and sought after speakers of this contemporary age. Since his arrival more than fifteen years ago, the congregation has grown from 350 to more than 8,000.

In June 1969, Dr. Ulmer received his Bachelor of Arts degree in Broadcasting/Music from the University of Illinois. After accepting his call to the ministry, Dr. Ulmer was ordained at Mount Moriah Missionary Baptist Church in Los Angeles, California in February 1977. In 1979, Dr. Ulmer founded Macedonia Bible Baptist Church in San Pedro, California.

Dr. Ulmer was called to the pastorate of Faithful Central Missionary Baptist Church in January 1982. His inexhaustible thirst for knowledge led him to continue his graduate work at Pepperdine University, Hebrew Union College, and the University of Judaism. In June 1986, he received The Doctor of Philosophy Degree from Grace Graduate School of Theology, Long Beach, California, which became the West Coast Campus of Grace Theological Seminary. In May 1999, he received his Doctor of Ministry from United Theological Seminary.

Dr. Ulmer also holds an Honorary Doctor of Divinity, which he received from Southern California School of Ministry, Los Angeles, California in June 1989. He furthered his education by participating in the study of Ecumenical Liturgy and Worship at Magdalene College at Oxford University, Oxford, England in 1994.

He has served as an instructor in Pastoral Ministry and Homiletics at Grace Theological Seminary, instructor of African-American Preaching at Fuller Theological Seminary in Pasadena, an Adjunct Professor at Biola University and Pepperdine University. Currently, he is a mentor in the Doctor of Ministry degree program at United Theological Seminary in Dayton, Ohio.

Dr. Ulmer has served as a council member of the California Attorney General's Policy Council on Violence Prevention, and a member of the Board of Directors of the Rebuild Los Angeles (RLA) Committee, designed to rebuild Los Angeles after the civil unrest. In 1994, he was consecrated Bishop of Christian Education of the Full Gospel Baptist Church Fellowship, where he also sits on the Bishops' Council. Dr. Ulmer has served on the Board of Directors of The Gospel Music Workshop of America, the Board of Trustees of Biola University, the Pastor's Advisory Council for the City of Inglewood and the Board of Trustees of Southern California School of Ministry. He is a founding member of The King's College and The King's Seminary.

Dr. Ulmer is a devoted husband and father. He and his lovely wife of 23 years, Togetta, two daughters, RoShaun (28) and Keniya (26), and son Kendan (13), are residents of Los Angeles, California.

THE VISION

"And a vision appeared to Paul in the night. A man of Macedonia stood and pleaded with him saying, 'Come over to Macedonia and help us.' Now after he had seen the vision, immediately we sought to go to Macedonia, concluding that the Lord had called us to preach the gospel to them." Acts 16:9-10

Paul's vision and subsequent trip from Troas to Neapolis (Acts 16:9-11) proved to be a major fork in the road for Western civilization. One small step for Paul became one giant leap for Christianity. As it spread west, it gained a foothold at Philippi in Macedonia, moving into Europe, and eventually pervading the entire western hemisphere.

The Spirit of God directed Paul's ministry through a man from Macedonia pleading for his help. Paul concluded that the vision was from God and responded to the call.

THE CALL

In September of 1999, Bishop Kenneth C. Ulmer was approached by a group of pastors representing the countries of Zimbabwe, Namibia, England, Republic of the Congo, and South Africa. These pastors had been praying for four years for a spiritual covering for equipping,

encouraging and fellowship. God had shown them that this person would be an African American. In the likeness of Paul's Macedonian call in Acts 16:10 they believed that Bishop Kenneth C. Ulmer was the answer to their prayers.

In addition to the call from abroad, a contingency of pastors in the states requested this same covering for equipping, encouraging and fellowship.

THE RESPONSE

Bishop Ulmer's response was one of humility and prayerfulness. As Bishop Ulmer sought the Lord and wise counsel, their request was confirmed within his spirit and he agreed to serve these leaders as a covering.

THE BIRTH OF MIBF

The birth of the Macedonia International Bible Fellowship was ordained in heaven. It is God's response to the call on Bishop Ulmer's life to minister to both senior pastors and leaders of Christian organizations. Bishop Ulmer will serve as the Presiding Bishop of the Macedonia International Bible Fellowship.

WHO WE ARE

- A spiritual covering for those who desire it.
- A resource for teaching, equipping, and encouraging leaders.
- An international fellowship with integrity and promise.

INSTALLATION

In March of 1994, Pastor Ulmer was consecrated to the office of Bishop. In March of 2000, Bishop Kenneth C. Ulmer will be installed as the Presiding Bishop of the Macedonia International Bible Fellowship. Bishop J. Delano Ellis, Presiding Bishop of the United Pentecostal Church of Christ will serve as celebrant at the Installation Service to be held:

Friday, March 17, 2000
7:00 P.M.

The Family of Faith

FAITHFUL CENTRAL BIBLE CHURCH
333 West Florence Avenue
Inglewood, CA 90301
(310) 330-8000

Ms. Tamara Spicer,
Coordinator

BISHOP KENNETH C. ULMER
Presiding Bishop

Pastor Charles E. Brooks
Executive Assistant

Ms. Tamara Spicer
Coordinator

(310) 330-8000 x218

Schedule
INSTALLATION SERVICE
(Open to the public)

Friday, March 17, 2000
7:00 p.m.

The Tabernacle
333 West Florence Avenue
Inglewood, California 90301

MIBF
Macedonia International Bible Fellowship
333 W. Florence Avenue
Inglewood, California 90301

MIBF

MACEDONIA INTERNATIONAL
BIBLE FELLOWSHIP

*"Covering, Encouraging and
Equipping Leaders"*



BISHOP KENNETH C. ULMER
Presiding Bishop

333 W. Florence Avenue
Inglewood, California 90301

January 28, 2000

Dear Pastor

Greetings in the omnipotent name of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ.

I thank God for both our relationship and fellowship in the gospel. I am continually encouraged and appreciative of your prayers and support over the years as you seek to fulfill the purpose for which God ordained you before the foundation of the world.

There is an old African proverb that states, "It takes a whole village to raise a child." This principle is both true and transferable as it relates to child rearing and spiritual development. Throughout my life I have been discipled and mentored by great men in the faith such as: Bishop Paul S. Morton, Bishop Benjamin Reid, Dr. Melvin Wade, Dr. E.V. Hill, Dr. Jack Hayford, and many others. The times of informal, intimate fellowship with these leaders have affirmed and reaffirmed me as a man of God through the valleys and peaks of my ministry. These men have been God's village of preparation and affirmation in my life.

Over the past few years I have been approached by pastors and leaders to provide that same type of mentoring and fellowship for which I am deeply humbled. In September, I was approached by a group of pastors representing fourteen churches in the countries of Zimbabwe, Namibia, England, Republic of the Congo, and South Africa. These pastors had been praying for four years for a spiritual covering for mentoring, equipping and fellowship. God had shown them that this person would be an African American. In the likeness of Paul's Macedonian call in Acts 16:10 they believed that I was the answer to their prayers.

I was extremely humbled by their request, which was confirmed, within my own spirit. After much prayer and counsel with my own spiritual village, I believe God has led me to organize the Macedonia International Bible Fellowship.

Let me share a few things to ensure that you have an understanding of the MIB Fellowship. Who we are not:

- ☐ A new denomination
- ☐ A new conference
- ☐ A new convention
- ☐ A split from another denomination, conference or convention

Who we are:

- A spiritual covering for those who desire it
- A resource for teaching, equipping and mentoring pastors
- A fellowship that creates a Galatians 6:6 spiritual bond:
 - MIB Fellowship sows spiritual seed
 - In response you sow financial seed
- A personal intimate accessibility to address ministry challenges
- An international fellowship with integrity and promise

Enclosed is a Fellowship Covenant for your consideration of the MIB Fellowship as a spiritual covering. There will be an installation service and a Pastoral Luncheon that formally launches the MIB Fellowship. Bishop Delano Ellis, Presiding Bishop of the United Pentecostal Church of Christ will serve as Celebrant at the installation. The services will take place:

DAY	DATE	TIME	EVENTS
Friday	03/17/00	7:00p.m.	Bishop Delano Ellis Installation Service
Saturday	03/18/00	12:00p.m.	Pastoral Luncheon Trinity Building (Video Chapel) Please RSVP by 02/25/00

In addition to the installation, we would like to extend an invitation for you to share in our 18th Pastoral Anniversary Service, Sunday and Monday. Our guests for the services will be Bishop Eddie Long, Bishop Neil Ellis, Bishop Noel Jones and Bishop Clarence McClendon.

Thank you for your prayerful consideration of the Macedonia International Bible Fellowship. Please return the enclosed registration form by February 25, 2000 if you desire to unite with the MIB Fellowship. Should you have any questions, please contact Tamara Spicer or Shannel Roberts at (310) 330-8000 or you may email me at kulmer6058@aol.com.

May God bless you in all your endeavors to advance His kingdom.

In Christ's Care,

Bishop Kenneth C. Ulmer, D.Min., Ph.D.



SOCIAL MODEL RECOVERY SYSTEMS, INC.

March 7, 2000

250 East Rowland Street
Covina, California 91723

(626) 332-3145

fax (626) 974-4164

Ms. Jeannette Harris, Region Manager
Public Affairs
Southern California Edison Company
800 W. Cienega Ave.
San Dimas, Calif. 1773

RE: DONATION OF FIVE COMPUTERS TO SMRS

Dear Ms. Harris:

This letter is to express our sincere appreciation to you and the Southern California Edison Company (SCE) for the donation of five computers, terminals and keyboards to Social Model Recovery Systems, Inc. (SMRS). These computers will enable our River Community/Day Treatment/Welfare to Work Program to do a better job of equipping our clients to enter the workforce.

SCE's generosity to non-profit organizations is well known throughout Southern California. SMRS is grateful to be one of the beneficiaries of that generosity. The partnership forged between Corporate America and the Non-profit Sector is a win/win situation for all concerned. Working together, we can make a positive difference in the communities we serve.

Thanks again for your support and your friendship.

Sincerely,

Kristine R. Bailey
Director of Development

cc: James L. O'Connell, CEO
Social Model Recovery Systems, Inc.

March 6, 2000

00 MAR 7 PM 5:40

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We would like to take this opportunity to request you to schedule a briefing at the White House for the Pakistani American Community prior to your visit to the Indo-Pak Subcontinent.

The Pakistani American Community, as you know, has been one of the earliest and greatest supporters of yours and your administration. A briefing at the White House by your administration, as was done recently for the Indian American Community, would also acknowledge the Pakistan American Community to address their concerns and seek their input.

The Pakistani American Community is very concerned about your trip to the Indo-Pak Subcontinent...which may exclude Pakistan. As we, and our friends, have urged you in the recent past that your visit must include Pakistan. This would acknowledge the Pakistani American Community, while paying tribute to a great people and a courageous nation that has fought side by side with the United States during the cold war.

As you yourself have said, 'we should never forget Pakistan's alliance with the United States during the cold war period.' That Pakistan was instrumental in dismantling of the Soviet Union has been acknowledged even by Bruce Reidel of your administration. Mr. President, Kashmir has been the victim of the cold war and India's callous disregard and defiance for U.N. Security Council resolutions on Kashmir calling for self determination. We have always believed that your leadership will be the determining factor in resolving the Kashmir conflict between India and Pakistan.

Mr. President, the man from Hope must be a messenger of hope to the people of the Indo-Pak Subcontinent – for that must be your message and your legacy.

With best regards,

Rashid Chaudary
Rashid A. Chaudary

/pr

3-7-00

To NSC for reply?
Yes ☒ No ☐

cc: Scheduling?
Yes ☒ No ☐

cc: M.B. Caball

3-1-00

Send to Backhand?
Yes ☒

No ☐
ccard. w/om B/
LEG

BC Sig
per NH



OF ARKANSAS

Representatives

Staff
Dec.
Palmer
per

REPRESENTATIVE
Martha A. Shoffner
P. O. Box 44
Newport, AR 72112-0044

Phone:
870-523-6153 Business/Residence
870-523-8089 FAX

DISTRICT 79

Counties:
Part of Cleburne County
Part of Independence County
Part of Jackson County
Part of White County

COMMITTEES

Public Transportation
Waterways and Aeronautics
Subcommittee

Chairperson,
State Agencies and Governmental
Affairs

Joint Performance Review

Joint Budget

THE HONORABLE BILL CLINTON
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

00 MAR 9 PM 7:55

Dear President Clinton:

Please accept this letter requesting your support in an effort to have Congress reinsert into the 2001 budget the \$700,000 required by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to complete the feasibility study on widening and deepening the White River in Arkansas.

To date, \$1.7 million has already been spent on this project. To many people in Arkansas, abandoning this study in favor of an expanded one to include the entire White River Basin seems to be a waste of taxpayer's money. The Corps of Engineers has derived that there would be no negative environmental impact to the White River Refuge or to any of the two hundred and fifty-five (255) miles of river downstream from Newport. I sincerely hope that Congress can be convinced that this original study is important enough to fund to completion.

In my hometown of Newport and the surrounding area I represent in the Arkansas House of Representatives, this project has tremendous economic potential. Year round barge service will benefit the strong agricultural and commodity market in this area. In addition, with the location of railroad lines running adjacent to the river, all types of consumer goods could be shipped in and out of this area, thus relieving a great deal of pressure on our highway system. As far as maintenance is concerned, the natural scouring action of the river created by the dike construction will virtually eliminate the need for the dredging operations that are currently required to maintain an adequate depth for barge traffic.

Again, this feasibility study is too important to Arkansas to let die before completion due to lack of funding. Your strongest support in this effort to reinsert the \$700,000 back into the 2001 budget will be greatly appreciated. Please contact me if I can be of assistance in any way.

Sincerely,

Martha Shoffner

Martha Shoffner
State Representative, District 79

Cc: Congressman Marion Berry

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

To Don B-

Could you handle this?

-Justin

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Letter from Julian
Bond of NAACP re:
publishing of book
'Lift Every Voice and
Sing: 100 Years, 100
Voices'

Date

3/7/00

To:

TERRY EDMONDS

From:

The Staff Secretary

SEEMS LIKE SOMETHING

BOUS WOULD WANT TO DO.

WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE

SPECHWRITING TAKE THE LEAD

ON THIS? IF NOT, MY FOLKS

CAN DO IT.

-SEAN

CC: B. JOHNSON, M. MOORE, M. CABE

Comments
attached



NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE

NEW YORK OFFICE: 39 BROADWAY, 22nd FLOOR • NEW YORK, NY 10006 • (212) 344-7474

5100264
SPB 3/6/00

Staff Sec.

KWEISI MFUME
President & Chief Executive Officer

February 17, 2000

JULIAN BOND
Chairman, Board of Directors

President and Mrs. Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, DC 20500

00 MAR 6 PM 5:40

Dear Mr. President & Mrs. Clinton:

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), The James Weldon Johnson Foundation Inc., and African-American Collections at Emory University are publishing a book, *Lift Every Voice and Sing: 100 Years, 100 Voices*, to commemorate the song's centennial. Written in February 1900 with words by James Weldon Johnson and music by J. Rosamond Johnson, the song became known as "the Negro anthem" and is sung whenever people gather in pursuit of justice.

"Lift Every Voice and Sing" acknowledges both slavery's dark past as well as a race's courageous and noble struggle for freedom. As the new millennium nears, it is important to showcase a sacred song that endures as a musical tribute to an ongoing struggle-- "an everlifting song" that is central to the African-American experience.

* We are inviting approximately 100 prominent Americans to each contribute a 400-word essay describing the impact of the song on their lives and to reflect on race relations in the new century. It would be an honor if you would agree to participate in this eventful publication. The book, approximately 10" by 13" (coffee-table size), will be released in October 2000 by Random House. The volume will include a photographic narrative comprised of 100 images or photo collages, with ten from each decade beginning in 1900. This photo story will use 100 pages and include descriptive written material in each of the images. Further, a comprehensive introduction and epilogue will be a part of this work. As one of the principal editors of this momentous publication, I urge you to help celebrate this song, which speaks to the hopes, dreams, and aspirations of a people. Jacob Lawrence has done the artwork for the dust jacket.

Thank you for your kind consideration. I look forward to hearing from you at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely yours,

Julian Bond
Chairman

JB/skw

enclosures: reply form
words to *Lift Every Voice and Sing*
committed contributors

FEB 28 2000

"Lift Every Voice and Sing" Commemorative Project

N A A C P

James Weldon Johnson Foundation, Inc.

African-American Collections - Emory University

RANDOM HOUSE, INC. - Publisher

REPLY FORM

Your essay describing the impact of the song on your life and statement on race relations in the 21st century should be no more than 400 words (less than two typewritten double-spaced pages). We will also need a black and white photograph to accompany your submission which is suitable for publication. Each contributor will have a full page in the book.

We shall need the essay and photograph by **January 17, 2000**. A copy of your narrative will be returned to you for final approval before publication. All royalties from the project will be distributed to the three principal non-profit organizations sponsoring this undertaking (see above).

- o o o -

(Please complete and return this form in the self-addressed envelope provided.)

- ☐ I accept your invitation to write and supply a black and white photograph for the commemorative volume marking the 100th Anniversary of "Lift Every Voice and Sing".
- ☐ It will be possible for me to prepare my submission by the proposed deadline.
- ☐ I anticipate that I will need more time. (Specify a date: _____)
- ☐ I request further information about the project prior to making a decision. (Please specify.)
- _____
- _____

- ☐ I would like to communicate with one of the principals* to discuss my questions.

- o o o -

*You may communicate with one of the principals by mail, FAX or E-mail.

"Lift Every Voice and Sing" Commemorative Project

N A A C P

39 Broadway, 22nd Floor
New York, N. Y. 10006

FAX:

(212) 344-1212

E-Mail:

sonkathwil@aol.com

Name of Respondent/Signature

Address

Zip Code

Date

Telephone

FAX

E - Mail

"Lift Every Voice and Sing" Commemorative Project

N A A C P

James Weldon Johnson Foundation, Inc.

African-American Collections - Emory University

RANDOM HOUSE, INC. - Publisher

"A group of young men in Jacksonville, Florida, arranged to celebrate Lincoln's birthday in 1900. My brother, J. Rosamond Johnson, and I decided to write a song to be sung at the exercise. I wrote the words and he wrote the music. Our New York publisher, Edward B. Marks, made mimeographed copies for us and the song was taught to and sung by a chorus of five hundred colored school children.

"Shortly afterwards my brother and I moved from Jacksonville to New York, and the song passed out of our minds. But the school children of Jacksonville kept singing it, they went off to other schools and sang it, they became teachers and taught it to other children. Within twenty years it was being sung over the South and in some other parts of the country. Today, the song popularly known as the Negro National Hymn, is quite generally used.

"The lines of this song repay me in elation, almost of exquisite anguish, whenever I hear them sung by Negro children."

- James Weldon Johnson, 1935

Lift Every Voice and Sing

Lift every voice and sing
Till earth and heaven ring,
Ring with the harmonies of Liberty;
Let our rejoicing rise
High as the listening skies,
Let it resound loud as the rolling seas.
Sing a song full of the faith that the dark past has taught us,
Sing a song full of the hope that the present has brought us,
Facing the rising sun of our new day begun,
Let us march on till victory is won.

Stony the road we trod,
Bitter the chastening rod,
Felt in the days when hope unborn had died;
Yet with a steady beat,
Have not our weary feet
Come to the place for which our fathers sighed?
We have come over a way that with tears has been watered,
We have come treading our path through the blood of the slaughtered,
Out from the gloomy past,
Till now we stand at last
Where the white gleam of our bright star is cast.

God of our weary years,
God of our silent tears,
Thou who hast brought us thus far on the way;
Thou who has by Thy might
Led us into the light.
Keep us forever in the path, we pray.
Lest our feet stray from the places, our God, where we met Thee,
Lest our hearts, drunk with the wine of the world, we forget Thee,
Shadowed beneath Thy hand,
May we forever stand,
True to our God
True to our native land.

Words by James Weldon Johnson
Music by J. Rosamond Johnson