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TO MAR 13 4:31 PM
Hoff
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Fax Transmission Sheet

Vikings fax numbers: (612) 995-9402 Football Dept.
(612) 828-6540 Public Relations Dept.

This fax transmission is CONFIDENTIAL and
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TO: Mary Harrison

COMPANY: White House

FAX #: (202) 456-6703

FROM: Dennis Green

DATE: 3/16/00

3-16-00

1 Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒ No ☐

message? no, what
do you think?

(W)

3-17-00

THIS COVER SHEET IS PAGE #1 OF: _____

Notes:

Dear Mary,
Please pass this note on to
President Clinton for me. I hope
everything is going great for you
so far this year. Thanks
Dennis Green

Any questions, please contact Kirsten @ (612) 828-6500.
Thank you.



MINNESOTA VIKINGS

9520 VIKING DRIVE • EDEN PRAIRIE, MN 55344 • (612) 828-6500

To: President Bill Clinton

From: Dennis Green & Rev. Keith Johnson

Date: March 16, 2000

Dear President Clinton,

We have been thinking about you and praying for you as our leader and friend. Since last year's tragedy at Columbine High School, there has been momentum building for our "Just A Minute" movement among our nation's kids in schools. These school-aged children have taken the "Just A Minute" pledge to both reflect on their lives and pray for safety in their schools. As we approach the one year remembrance of this tragedy, Christian Athletes United for Spiritual Empowerment (CAUSE) wants to take back that day and that moment.

We are asking you to be the voice that calls our country to join kids praying for safety in our schools. We believe that the "Just A Minute" movement is one key ingredient to do this. This will be an opportunity for children, parents, teachers and all of society to come together on behalf of our school-aged children.

Mr. President, please pronounce Thursday, April 20, 2000, "NATIONAL CARE FOR KIDS DAY." Mr. President, throughout the Bible, God used great men to remind people what is important. In this case, and in support of our kids, as the Messenger, we believe God wants you to take this message to our nation: www.justamminute.org

Sincerely,
Your friends and partners in struggle,

Dennis Green

&

Rev. Keith Johnson

3-16-00

Plus
This is interesting
gives a related possibility
let's discuss ~~the~~

copied
J. Steinberg
NSC W. Wing
Desk
Padesta

The Cullinane Group, Inc.

Investors in High Technology Ventures

John J. Cullinane
President

MEMORANDUM

ATTN: Nancy Hernreich

TO: The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House

CC: Richard Norland
Director for European Affairs
National Security Council

FROM: John J. Cullinane

DATE: March 3, 2000

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland

*cc. 2/6 Steinberg
Jim
Please advise
N.B.*

*Mr. Pres
FIVE
I sent 10
Jim when
it came in.
I document to K.
Norland at five.*

During the past few weeks, I have been trying to devise an imaginative way to solve the decommissioning dilemma. The basic problem is that the Unionists have arbitrarily created a hurdle which the IRA, in turn, refuses to jump over. The IRA is simply not going to hand over weapons to Unionists no matter how much pressure it gets, and from whom. It would be viewed as a sign of surrender. So the problem is how to decommission in such a way that it can be viewed as decommissioning by Unionists and non-decommissioning by the IRA?

The concept that may provide a solution to this problem, if placed in the hands of skilled negotiators, is the concept of "real" versus "virtual" that is part of the Internet. For example, a virtual bank on the Internet is a bank where a depositor can deposit or withdraw funds from his or her account anywhere in the world while these deposits may be resident in some virtual bank on a computer somewhere on the Internet. A real bank is a traditional bank that includes a building, vaults, etc., and a depositor visits the bank to make deposits or withdrawals.

Thus, what I am suggesting is that negotiators evaluate the concept of creating a Virtual Arms Bank or VAB. Under this concept, the IRA would agree to "deposit" ten percent of its weapons each year for ten years assuming that the Unionists continue to live up to their commitment to share power in Northern Ireland according to the Good Friday Agreement. If the Unionists and/or Loyalists were to threaten Catholic neighborhoods, as in the past, then the IRA would have the right to withdraw its weapons for defensive purposes. Any site where weapons are currently cached would be a part of the VAB and, therefore, easily accessible in such situations by the IRA. However, these sites, and/or specific weapons would be sealed by a mutually acceptable third party. The "seals" would include chip technology capable of being interrogated, activated, or deactivated from a single computer under the control of the third party. I know a company that has the technology to do this now, and in real time. Thus, under a VAB, decommissioning is accomplished in a way that good politicians on both sides can claim victory. Most importantly, members of the IRA will feel that they are really not giving up their weapons under this scheme until there are ten years of peace and power sharing. As such, they may see that they have nothing to lose with a VAB, and a lot to gain.

JJC/mb

EUROPE

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-16-00

Sandy
Futurity-Bz

Copied
Bergen
NSC W. Wing Desk
Podesta



Rebuilding the Balkans—theory and practice

PODGORICA

If Balkan countries traded more, they might fight less. That is the idea. But what if most of the trade is illegal?

HALF-CLOSE your eyes on a sunny day in the southern Adriatic and you can imagine the place prosperous as well as beautiful. Trucks from Europe's rich heartland would be speeding eastwards, while oil and gas flowed in the opposite direction. Instead of flocking to join the underclass, or the underworld, of Berlin or Milan, people from Montenegro, Albania and Macedonia would grow rich from their own countries' tourism and trade.

Such fantasies may yet turn into reality. The recent emergence in those three places of younger, post-communist politicians, who work well with each other and their western mentors, has improved the chances. But, in the short term, the region still looks more likely to generate conflict and lawlessness than sustainable growth. Yugoslavia's President Slobodan Milosevic is threatening new mischief on several fronts—including Montenegro and northern Kosovo, where a two-hour gun-battle raged on February 13th, involving Serbs, Albanians and French NATO troops. Faced with so many Balkan difficulties, some western policymakers worry more about avoiding disaster than about

making economic dreams come true.

In practice, however, those two aims ought to go together. Nearly a year after NATO began bombing Serbia, the southern Balkans are still full of vivid reminders of how years of conflict have distorted commerce. Stronger economic ties could prove crucial to averting more bloodshed.

Take Montenegro, widely seen as south-eastern Europe's next potential hot-spot. A decade of sanctions against the rump Yugoslav federation—consisting of Serbia and its queasy Montenegrin partner—has boosted the influence of smugglers, black-marketeers and fraudsters in both republics, while economic conditions for ordinary people have worsened. Ten years ago, Montenegrins had a living standard comparable to that of the Portuguese. Now hourly wages are a tenth of the Portuguese level, according to Nebojsa Medojevic, an independent economist. The re-registration of stolen cars, as well as the cigarette-smuggling trade with Italy, are now the mainstays of Montenegro's income.

Until recently, the Yugoslav economy had a weird logic of its own, based on a mixture of communist-era state control and

close ties among political and criminal elites. But as international sanctions (which the European Union vowed this week to redirect slightly) bite a bit harder, the pro-western government of Montenegro finds it ever less tolerable to be yoked to Serbia. Meanwhile, Belgrade's bosses—some of whom come from Montenegro—are keener than ever to keep the smaller republic locked in.

The recent "monetary divorce" between the two republics highlights the deterioration in their relations. For Montenegrins, the decision late last year to replace the Yugoslav dinar with the D-mark as the main medium of exchange was an act of self-defence against rapid inflation. But for the Belgrade elite, losing Montenegro from the dinar zone was a blow: they can no longer procure goods from Montenegro at artificially low prices, or print extra dinars in the knowledge that hapless Montenegrins will pay for them with precious hard currency.

Serbia has retaliated by closing its markets to Montenegrin exporters and denying Montenegro the subsidised food that keeps ordinary Serbs from starving. A side-effect of Serbia's price controls on food has been the increased smuggling of flour to Montenegro, and thence to Shkodra in Albania, across a lake that has long been used for more sinister trade, in drugs, guns and migrants.

In a gap between theory and practice that is typical of the region, the border between Montenegro and Albania is supposed to be closed; the Yugoslav army patrols it, and the Montenegrin police keep an eye out for smuggling. But neither of these forces—which may yet come to fight each other over

Sid B-fgt
cc: Gums
Bz

Wim Kok, the Netherlands' modest achiever

IF YOU stumbled into it, you might think that you had entered an academic's study. The furnishings are sensible, rather than grand: no gilt or frills to hint at ostentation, no lavish works of art to suggest pretension. Three strides across it and you would bump into the opposite wall. Outside, locals cycle along the cobbled street; North Sea herring gulls mewl. Yet this is the office of Wim Kok, prime minister since 1994 of the Netherlands, a country with a proud imperial and industrial past—and a fairly royal future.

Had the successes over which the Dutch prime minister presides been achieved in any of Europe's more self-important countries, the name Wim Kok would be well-known abroad. But this is the Netherlands, and the Dutch are a practical, businesslike sort of people who prefer to get on with things rather than trumpet their accomplishments. Nobody more so, it seems, than Mr Kok, whose modesty is both refreshing and disarming. It is said that he suffers the odd fit of pique when other European politicians of the left gather to make lofty declarations about a "Third Way" and fail to mention the Dutch experience. But he is generally happy to sit back, let the media stars of the new middle, such as Britain's Tony Blair, monopolise the debate about how to reform Europe's social model, and hope that others will discover for themselves what the Netherlands has achieved. "I've learned over the years that it's better not to exaggerate how far you can tell other Europeans how to do things," says Mr Kok with a smile.

At a time when Europe's politicians are agonising about how to reform their sclerotic social systems in order to inject needed flexibility without losing prized security, Mr Kok ought to be a compulsory point of reference. In the past four years, while Europe's economies have been generally torpid, the Dutch economy has surged ahead by an average of 3.4% a year. Unemployment has been crushed to a tiny 2.7%. Inflation, though above the euro-zone's average, is only 2.2%. In short, under their Labour prime minister, the Dutch have won themselves the American-style mix of growth, jobs and stable prices that has eluded almost all other European countries.

Mr Kok himself, however, is quick to argue that the reasons behind this achievement are quite peculiar to the Dutch. A relatively small trading nation with a centuries-old tradition of openness, they have long been buffeted about by the ups and downs of the world economy. As a result, globalisation, the spectre that haunts so many Europeans, does not seem to frighten them. "It's all about not being defensive about change," as Mr Kok puts it.

It was as far back as 1983, for instance, when he was leader of the 1m-strong Dutch trade-union confederation, that Mr Kok persuaded his colleagues to accept an end to automatic wage indexation in return for a pledge by the employers to create jobs. Today, the Dutch labour market combines flexibility with protection: many people work part-time, or on short-term contracts, accepting some uncertainty in return for the reassurance of a generous welfare system if all goes wrong. "Strong and social", in the words

of the slogan Mr Kok used for his 1998 election campaign.

The Dutch yearning for compromise, which helped bring about that early deal and has underpinned many others since, is also part of an unusual political culture. Since first entering government after the second world war, the Dutch Labour Party has embraced the idea of gradualism, accepting that policy should not zig-zag with changes of administration. In any event, because of proportional representation, Dutch politicians are obliged to govern in coalitions, which they seem to shuffle in and out of with abandon. The current "purple" one, led by Mr Kok, contains Labour, Liberals and Democrats, each of which has served in various earlier governments alongside the Christian Democrats, who are now in opposition. The upshot is an uncanny ability to get along with anybody, and to resolve disputes, usually, through consultation. "Talk, talk, talk" is how one official characterises the Dutch model. It is a tribute to Dutchmen's faith in their politicians' ability to mediate that, when Mr Kok resigned last year, bringing his government down with him—after the Democrats had failed to push through parliament a bill to make more use of referendums—the voters hardly blinked. A month later, the same coalition had made up its differences and was back in business.

Mr Kok has his detractors. As a union leader in the 1980s, he had a rough time keeping his more militant rank-and-file behind him. As finance minister in the early 1990s, he was rebuked by many in his own party for pushing through austerity budgets. Today, he faces restless union members, increasingly angry at the soaring pay of company bosses while theirs is curbed. Nor does everybody appreciate his sterner talk about "making people responsible for their own lives". Parliament, for example, rejected his government's recent effort to compel single mothers on welfare to work. Taxes remain high, even though spending is being cut. And some say the Dutch success is partly a statistical fiddle: the jobless total excludes an im-

probably huge number of disabled people.

Yet Mr Kok remains the country's most popular politician—and well placed for re-election in 2002, now that he has said he will stand again. In many ways, his popularity can be put down to the style of a man who symbolises what the Dutch value. High office has not inflated the plain habits Mr Kok grew up with: his father was a carpenter and his working-class family suffered greatly during the "hunger winter" of 1944. From his taste in food (carbonade, a casserole, with potatoes and beans) to dress (he hates black tie), sport (football and motor-racing) to holidays (camping and walking), he keeps to simple things, an inclination that goes down well with the voters. His austerity is legend: he has put an end to the traditional alcohol break during cabinet meetings. Even while prime minister, he once turned up to a party meeting at a posh Amsterdam hotel on his bicycle. Affectation? Few believe so. Which may help explain why, even if Europe were to start copying the Dutch reforms, it is unlikely that Mr Kok would be credited.



Blair's plan for Europe

Sandy
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copied
Bergan
NSC W. Wing Desk
Podesta

In an interview with *The Economist* this week, Britain's prime minister explained why he thinks that Europe is moving his way

TONY BLAIR is clearly deeply irritated by the way Britain's debate on Europe is going. He laments that pro-European journalists are "supine" in the face of the "rambunctious propaganda" of Eurosceptics in the press. He says that the Conservative opposition want to renegotiate Britain's terms of entry to the European Union, and that this would lead Britain either to "national humiliation or exit from Europe." He worries that economic reforms in Europe are ignored by the British press and that every dispute between Britain and its European partners is painted in the darkest terms. "We've got to get away from this idea that Europe is just something that is done to us over which we have no power," he insists.

Mr Blair sees the Lisbon summit of the European Union next month as a chance to highlight and push forward economic reform in Europe. It is an opportunity to move away from "heavy-handed intervention and regulation" and instead stress a new agenda of "jobs, competitiveness, economic change and dynamism."

Britain has come up with a list of ideas it wants to see pushed in Lisbon, many of them to do with the new electronic economy. Objective one is "to remove all remaining barriers to e-commerce in the Union by 2002". Internet access should be made faster, capital markets must be integrated, "life-long learning"—a Blairite mantra at home—should be preached throughout Europe. Social protection systems should be "modernised". The point, says Mr Blair, is to concentrate less on saving people's existing jobs, and more on equipping them for the next job they might hold.

But Mr Blair is clearly aware that too much British preachiness can go down badly in Europe. He is at pains to insist that "we shouldn't lecture" and to acknowledge that "there are lots of things we can learn from Europe". As an example he cites his decision to give the Bank of England indepen-

dence, based in part on a realisation that continental Europe had been "a darn sight better at macroeconomic management than we've been."

Mr Blair is also anxious to point out that economic reform is already taking place in France and Germany. However, he clearly believes that Britain is on the leading edge of



The prudent persuader

labour market and welfare reform in Europe, and he is unapologetic about insisting that Europe must learn from the United States: "We can't have what's been going on with the US economy for the last eight years or so and say well we're not paying any attention to that; that's just not intelligent."

He is proud that he has managed to get French Socialists and American Democrats into the same room, so that they learn "that the other side didn't have a tail and two horns but are actually trying to cope with the same types of problems." As for the notion that Europeans might be less receptive to the social disruption that Americans are prepared to accept as the price of economic dynamism, Mr Blair is dismissive: "If people understand that change is necessary, they've

got an appetite for it."

One change that the British people seem not to have an appetite for at the moment is to ditch the pound sterling and join the single European currency, the euro. Mr Blair is extremely cautious about making the case for the euro. He says that he wants to join the euro in principle, but insists that the single currency must be judged on the basis of whether it will be good for the British economy. The Blair government has laid out five economic tests, and he is sticking to them. When the time comes, he believes he can win the argument.

No matter how you try, you cannot budge the prime minister from this ground. Ask him if he thinks it likely that Britain will be in the euro in ten years time, and he just laughs—"There is no question on the euro that you can ask me that I haven't been asked before." No comment. How about the economic tests, are we any closer to meeting them than when he first laid them out, over two years ago? No comment.

It is this reluctance to push the case for the euro that has led Mr Blair to be criticised by pro-European allies like Lord Jenkins. They argue that he is letting the Eurosceptics make the running. This week the Conservatives launched a "Save the Pound" campaign. But the prime minister's strategy seems to be to position himself as the voice of reason, between "pro-Europeans" who want to join "without proper regard to economic conditions" and the anti-Europeans who want to stay out, come what may.

Unlike the Eurosceptics, he is not spooked by visions of a European super-state. No one in Europe, he insists, wants their armies controlled from Brussels, or their taxes set there.

As for that awkward phrase in the Treaty of Rome about "ever closer union", Mr Blair is not too fussed. As far as he is concerned, it simply means that "we seek ways of co-operating ever more closely because that's what's going to happen in the world, as we move to a single market, and a single currency in Europe." Closer defence and foreign policy co-operation is all done because individual nations see an interest in co-operation. No problem.

This is a stance that Mr Blair will stick with for the rest of a busy European year. If he sees Lisbon as a chance to promote issues

The full text of Tony Blair's interview with *The Economist* can be read on our website at www.economist.com

Deer

Mr. Pres. *3-16-00*
Will be at the
radio address
Friday
Will get a reply
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3-16-00

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

Dear President Clinton:

I will be leaving my job as an Associate Counsel to the President within the next few weeks and wanted to thank you for the opportunities provided to me over the past eight years.

As a law school student
On the night that you won the
awaiting law firm interviews
would win, I spent hours wondering
what tomorrow would be like
thought of my deceased Irish
who had kept a shrine of sorts
told me as a young child about
and to work to help each other
path and in shaping my values,

3-16-00

*To Burkhardt for reply
after you have seen.
Yes ☒ No ☐*

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and had often
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After graduating from law school
attorney for the Civil Rights Division
civil rights issues in public schools
House to work on judicial nominations
President. The responsibilities which I have been entrusted over the past years have
been the highest honor that I could ever imagine. I am proud of, but also deeply humbled
by, the experience.

cc: Clerk
**RED DOT
DC SIG**

Yes ☒ No ☒

as a trial
worked on
the White

I am only thirty-two years old and have a long career in front of me. I know that I have been blessed with the opportunity to have seen so much at such a young age and to have developed my skills while at the highest level of government. Moreover, my White House experience has only strengthened my conviction that solipsism and cynicism are luxuries that our country can ill afford, at least while there is still so much work to be done.

*Original back
to Nancy*

See file

240:
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*Mr. Pres. 3-16-00
Will be at the
radio address
Friday
Will get a reply
done N/A*

3-16-00

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

Dear President Clinton:

I will be leaving my job as an Associate Counsel to the President within the next few weeks and wanted to thank you for the opportunities provided to me over the past eight years.

As a law school student in 1992, I volunteered in your first presidential campaign. On the night that you won the general election, I was in a hotel room at the Hay-Adams, awaiting law firm interviews and watching the returns. After NBC projected that you would win, I spent hours walking around the totally deserted streets of D.C. thinking of what tomorrow would be like, of how our country's future would be different. I also thought of my deceased Irish grandmother – my family's previously lone Democrat – who had kept a shrine of sorts in her dining room to the Kennedy brothers and had often told me as a young child about how the Kennedys taught people to care about each other and to work to help each other. That night in D.C. was pivotal in choosing my career path and in shaping my values, and its memory has sustained me.

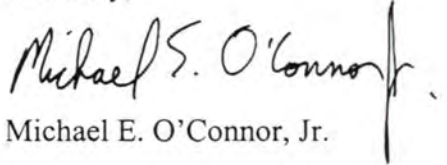
After graduating from law school in 1994, I entered public service as a trial attorney for the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice, where I worked on civil rights issues in public schools throughout the country. In 1997, I came to the White House to work on judicial nominations, and I leave as an Associate Counsel to the President. The responsibilities with which I have been entrusted over the past years have been the highest honor that I could ever imagine. I am proud of, but also deeply humbled by, the experience.

I am only thirty-two years old and have a long career in front of me. I know that I have been blessed with the opportunity to have seen so much at such a young age and to have developed my skills while at the highest level of government. Moreover, my White House experience has only strengthened my conviction that solipsism and cynicism are luxuries that our country can ill afford, at least while there is still so much work to be done.

I promise that I will treat the opportunities that you have given me as a gift that must be returned to others who are less fortunate than I am, who speak but who have not yet been heard. You suggested such an obligation the first time I saw you, at a campaign stop at a Maine airport hanger in 1992. I leave the White House with a much more clearly developed sense of the implications of such an obligation; I also leave with confidence that I am up to the task.

Thank you so much.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Michael E. O'Connor, Jr." with a stylized flourish at the end.

Michael E. O'Connor, Jr.

'00 MAR 16 AM 10:25

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 16, 2000

Memorandum for Sean Maloney

From: Ann F. Lewis

Re: Correspondence from Meyer Berman

Meyer has requested that the attached letter and article be given to the President. Thank you.

3/16/00
SEND TO DAN B
FOR RED DOT
BC SIG REPLY
ES



The Mount Sinai Medical Center

The Mount Sinai Hospital
Mount Sinai School of Medicine

One Gustave L. Levy Place
New York, NY 10029-6574

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Professor of Surgery, Emeritus

630 West 246th Street, #824
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Fax (718) 796-2281

2/25/00

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington D.C.

The New York Times has written in their editorial column repeatedly that an estimated eighty-six thousand Americans died last year due to flagrant medical errors.

Dear Mr. President,

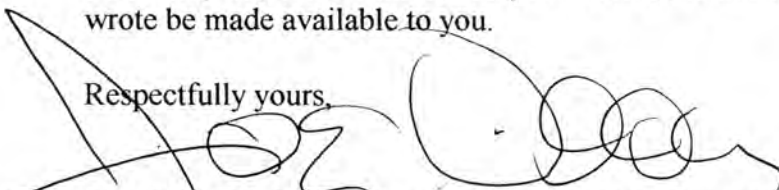
I have enclosed for your perusal an article which I wrote and which appeared in the op-ed section of the Times entitled **"Give Doctors Tougher Rules."** This is the only article I know of which details how this medical holocaust, killing almost a million people could be prevented at no cost to any individual or organization should this nation including all legislators and all medical organizations do something about this horrifying disaster.

The New York Times reported on their major editorial column that eighty-six thousand Americans died last year as a result of major errors by my profession; namely the medical profession. One of the great leadership actions by you has been providing realistic healthcare for the American public I consider your position one of the great actions by an American President in the history of this nation.

Should your awesome responsibilities and should your staff make this editorial which I wrote available to you I believe it would be important for you to see.

I fervently hope that whoever on your staff reads this letter with the enclosed editorial I wrote be made available to you.

Respectfully yours,


Joseph R. Wilder, Professor of Surgery, Emeritus, Mt. Sinai School of Medicine

800 Fifth Avenue #30E New York, NY 10021 (212) 755-2608 (Fax) 755-2609



The New York Times

Founded in 1851

THE NEW YORK TIMES **OP-ED** FRIDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1999

Give Doctors Tougher Rules

By Joseph R. Wilder

I wish I could say that I was as shocked as most Americans when the Institute of Medicine reported that 44,000 to 98,000 Americans die each year because of medical errors. But in 50 years as a doctor, I have seen too much: the wrong breast operated on, the emergency situation botched by the physician who tried to handle it over the telephone, the wrong medicines administered. And I have seen indifference, duplicity and cover-ups shield incompetence and carelessness.

As a surgical chief of staff at a hospital for 20 years, I used the power of my position to insist on sound practice that gave mistakes no chance to happen. And I am convinced that if medical governing bodies did the same for all hospitals, H.M.O.'s and clinics — laying down the strictest of policies and regulations to eliminate known unsound practices and failed treatments — the medical errors that kill, maim and otherwise harm Americans would be largely averted.

To take an egregious example, consider a question that must puzzle the public. How could a surgeon possibly operate on the wrong part of the body? With the current trend toward assembly-line surgery, all too easily.

It is common practice in many institutions for a surgeon to start an operation and then leave at some point, letting an assistant finish it. The doctor may rush off to a second operating room, where another assistant has prepared another patient for surgery. All the busy surgeon sees is an operative site — a section of abdomen, for example, where a hernia is to be repaired. The rest of the patient's body is covered by a drape. Suppose the assistant, mis-

reading a chart or working from an inaccurate record, has draped the wrong side of the abdomen. All the surgeon's skill will be for nothing if he does not make a check of his own before he begins to cut.

My surgical department had a rule that every surgeon was required to start, carry out and complete every case, down to placing a dressing and seeing that the patient was taken off the operating table properly.

Before the operation, every patient

Most medical mistakes could be averted.

had his or her medical history taken and a physical performed by three different people: an intern or medical student, a resident and the attending physician. Each doctor had to draw an outline of the body and carefully define the area of difficulty, recording, for example, a lump in a lower part of the right breast. All of this information was reviewed in the operating room. As a final precaution, patients were not anesthetized until the attending surgeon had visited them and asked them to point out, themselves, the area to be operated on.

Most of these fail-safe practices fall under a more basic rule: Trust no one. A good surgeon cannot, for example, conduct any aspect of a case on the word of an assistant alone. And reports from radiology, pathology and the laboratory must be checked by the doctors' own inspection of the records in those departments of the hospital. It is too easy for the test results from one Jones to make their way onto the record of another, leading, for example, to a doctor opening a patient to remove gallstones that do not exist.

Another basic rule is to treat (and know) the whole patient. The way is opened to mistakes when, instead of

spending a half-hour taking a good medical history in the initial office visit, the doctor has a secretary hand the patient a sheet of paper to fill out, producing a record that is by its nature incomplete and vague. The doctor may then create even more room for error by skimping on the exam instead of devoting the half-hour or so that a thorough physical takes. I once had a vascular expert examine my feet with my socks on, even though it is physically impossible to feel pulses in the feet through socks; I knew, though most patients would not, that this was at best an incomplete examination, if not an incompetent one.

In the hospital, too many doctors make hurried rounds, flying in and out of patient's rooms in the morning. They fail even to take a pulse, one of the most sensitive indicators of impending difficulties. They fail to make postoperative checks three times a day, or to offer the personal encouragement to patients that does so much to aid healing.

But the fault for medical errors does not belong to doctors alone. When was the last time a hospital's board member made it a practice to visit patients regularly to see what life was like for them? Frequently, too, medical departments fail to establish accountability firmly in their monthly morbidity and mortality conferences. Complications and deaths should be frankly reviewed, and doctors should be asked to explain mistakes in an open conference — a powerful antidote to error.

I can speak best for my own specialty. But rules to ensure careful work, accurate record-keeping and accountability can do just as much to stop the wrong drugs from being prescribed or given, infections from spreading rampantly through hospitals, or emergency cases from being mishandled. If some of the current political interest in medical issues can be translated into day-to-day rigor in the routine practice of medicine by hospitals and doctors, many lives can be saved. □

Joseph R. Wilder, an emeritus professor of surgery at Mount Sinai School of Medicine, has worked in many military and civilian hospitals and was director of surgery at the Hospital for Joint Diseases from 1959 to 1979.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

Wayne Linke Rogers

cc Julie Brady

March 15, 2000

Dear Mr. President:

Sorry to have missed you tonight but I had to leave for the airport to fly to India. I will be meeting with the people in Synergies' office in Delhi this weekend and I look forward to the opportunity to see you there next week.

Personal regards, Wayne

copied
Hennrich
Streett
Podesta

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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Blumenthal
Podesta

March 15 2000

Mr. President,

These are ~~the~~ interesting -

① Harry Evans' lecture on
journalism, especially pages
14-19.

② Fred Siegel and Joe Chapin's analysis
of the primaries.

③ Joe Gorman's piece on Filagate.

I have a number
of ideas we might discuss.

Ord

Let's talk
before (go to
Podesta)

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-16-00

Harold Evans,
Author of *The American Century*
Lecture at London School of Economics, February 22, 2000

EXCALIBUR IN THE ROCK

It was suggested that I might reflect on American media over the last 100 years. I'm not quite that old - and I have still heard nothing official about my application for immortality - but I can just about manage personal observations over 50 years off and on. Hope fifty years won't be too exhausting.

Anyone who speaks at LSE, I hear, had better come clean, so I will sketch those historical biases and prejudices. The most relevant is that looking at the American press I have always had in my mind the question posed by the editor of the New York Herald in the 1840s. "What is to stop a newspaper," James Gordon Bennett asked, "from being the greatest organ of social reform?" Bennett ran the richest and most sensational paper, full of sexy murders and Wall Street panics, which might explain why he was so cross-eyed. Still, Bennett's question is valid.

I have now gathered ink stains in the U.S. for a continuous 15 years but I did not come with clean hands in 1984. I first caught America midway in *The American Century*. I crossed the Atlantic by steamship in 1956, refighting World War II in steerage class in daily chess games with a German philosopher. I was a reporter on the Manchester Evening News, bound for the universities of Chicago and Stanford because I had been cunning enough to have confused the judges of the Harkness Fellowship program for two years of ravel and study.

I tasted life in all the regions – Britain. I was often reminded by those diffident folks in Texas, would fit eight times in their state. Outside the big cities, every visitor from Britain those days was treated as being distantly related to the Royal Family, then an asset that could be squandered by any murmur that might be construed as saying the slightest good thing about socialised medicine. The Red Scare was rampant, thanks to Sputnik and Joe McCarthy. Tolerance for dissent was about the only thing in short supply, especially in the South which was reacting murderously to the 1954 Supreme Court desegregation the schools - note, de facto. they are still pretty well segregated today.

I came home in 1958 in awe of what I saw in the regional, local and city newspapers I worked on and visited. They seemed to be answering Bennett's question very well. They were certainly not hindered much by officialdom, as British newspapers were when they exerted themselves, nor by a shortage of resources. Indeed, they were spoiled by abundance. The prairies of newsprint on which reporters were allowed to graze were too vast to encourage concise writing; and readers soon got lost anyway. Still do. The New York Times continues to jump stories to three different ill-marked turns in three different sections of the paper, creating many a breakfast table squabble and a swelling of the city's notorious incidence of divorce.

What impressed me most was the relative freedom from external restraint; the access; the status of the journalist; the genuine commitment on most papers to a community's well being - except on the question of minority rights of which more in a moment; and management's appetite for technical innovation. I kept telling them all they owed a lot to the madness of King George III; in their subjugation and rebellion, Americans came to appreciate the critical importance of a free press. If the torch was lit in the First Amendment to the Constitution, the freedom was justified down the years by many public-spirited editors and writers - and by the American bar. It

is a curious fact that the lawyers have been the best allies of the journalists in the struggle for openness, which, by and large, has not been true of Britain. We owe a debt to individual lawyers like James Evans, Anthony Lester, Anthony Whittaker, but here the legal profession has held itself aloof from the Grub Street rabble - except when excited by Mr. Micawber's "pecuniary considerations." I have a complicated theory why this is so, but I will spare you it tonight.

The Americans were not content with a First Amendment. The freedom from prior restraint - which the half-free British press still does not enjoy - had to be established against jealously guarded states' rights. It was not won until 1931 in *Near v. Minnesota* when Jay Near and Howard Guilford persuaded the Supreme Court that the state of Minnesota acted unconstitutionally in closing their newspaper because they had been vituperative in attacking "Jewish gangsters." The priority for free speech, even when foully uttered, was neatly summed up by Chief Justice Hughes who wrote that "the rights of the best of men are secured only as the rights of the vilest and most abhorrent are protected."

But there was something else about that case which I commend to you tonight. Jay and Guilford could never have afforded the action. Guilford it was, before he was shot to death, who gave us the classic definition "A journalist is a reporter out of a job." The appeal against the ban was financed by Colonel Robert McCormick, the owner of the Chicago Tribune. There was then, and remains, a much greater sense of community among ownership and journalists in the United States, so that competitive jealousies less frequently inhibit common action for press freedom. Recently, the Daily News in New York took the initiative in persuading the Mayor to stop police harassment of photographers and reporters; that did not prevent the New York Times and television from adding their voices to a successful protest. My British experiences have been different. In 1981, when I was editing *The Times*, Parliament was considering legislation to

reform the laws of contempt, a reform enforced on the British Government by the Sunday Times thalidomide victory at Strasbourg. The Times was the only daily to give the Bill sustained coverage and comment. When I upbraided a serious and high minded national editor about this neglect, he remarked, "Well, we've left it alone because it's your story." But the bill was to affect the entire press and the common interest in not letting any future scandals remain unventilated because of archaic laws of contempt of court. Another national daily came up with a savage appraisal of the Bill at the precise moment when it was too late to change a thing. Hugo Young, in a recent very fine lecture to the British Institute of Human Affairs, reported that the same thing has been happening in the debate over the Government's Freedom of Information Bill, with only The Guardian - among the nationals - and UK Press Gazette persisting in scrutiny and comment. National editors have a duty to do more. It is a measure that will affect every one of their readers. What are they afraid of? A charge of collusion in the public interest?

The easy access to official information I saw in fifties, incidentally, was even before the Freedom of Information Acts of 1966 and 1974 where journalists - and lawyers - were allied to great effect in reinforcing the investigative tradition of the muckrakers.

So far, so historically good. But I brooded long then, and still do, over this question: freedom is a good in itself, but does freedom of the press lose its moral justification when it is not used to defend the freedom of others in whose name it is exercised? When it does not defend the oppressed or at the very least bring oppression to light? It was no surprise that the Southern press did not report the denial of black rights or expose the brutalities. For local television, in its infancy, blacks might as well have been on Mars. The most liberal Southern newspapers only preached such revolutionary ideas as according Negroes the prefix Mr. or Mrs. or capitalizing the word Negro. None of the editors believed in desegregation. All right. That was, if you like, "the

Southern way", but it was not supposed to be the Northern way, the Christian way, the American way.

Who would wield Excalibur?

No one. It was stuck firmly in the rock because nationally, with the exception of a few diligent correspondents, the most respected, relatively liberal organs like the NY Times, Time, Newsweek, the New York Herald Tribune, and the Washington Post for years lackadaisically portrayed the deadly struggle for the rights guaranteed by the Constitution as one more mildly amusing political game, with regular winners, losers, leaders and trailers.

I was in Mississippi just after the 1955 murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till. The grinning acquittal of his pair of killers did get noticed, but two months later a white Mississippi cotton-gin manager, Elmer Kimbell, shot to death a black gas attendant, Clinton Melton without cause, and David Halberstam was almost alone in giving his acquittal any attention after a sham of a trial. "There's open season on the Negroes now," said a local. "Any peckerwood who wants can go Editorials in the major national newspapers warned constantly against "extremism" on both sides, equating non violent activists and the white mob. There came to be a schizophrenia that would be repeated in Vietnam: the editors and publishers at base steadfastly refused to believe what their reporters in the field were telling them. Time magazine rewrote critical dispatches from Saigon to follow the official line.

In the civil rights struggle, the leading powers of America's vaunted free press seemed in a constant state of fret that their fellow citizens were demanding rights they had always taken for as granted as the air they breathed. Hence the New York Times warned against extending the Freedom Rides in the summer of 1961: "They are challenging not only long held customs but

passionately held feelings. Nonviolence that deliberately provokes violence is a logical contradiction" - putting on a level of moral equivalency the wielder of the lead pipe and the recipient of the blow. As Martin Luther King said, it was like condemning a robbed man because his possession of money had precipitated the evil act of robbery. The Times gave the Freedom Riders no more than token coverage for quite a time. Time magazine called the movement "a confused crusade" and sought out every black leader willing to criticise the involvement of the more militant SNCC. When Martin Luther King's movement was stalemated in Georgia by the segregationists adopting more subtle tactics, the NY Herald Tribune called it "a devastating loss of face for King" - as opposed, say, to a loss for every American professing to love freedom.

It's a curious comment on the state of things that one of the greatest press victories of the century, *Sullivan v. New York Times* in 1960, concerned a protest over black oppression - but was not from anything that the New York Times reported or wrote in an editorial. It is to The Times' everlasting credit that it expensively fought and won the case, establishing a right to defame public officials, but L.B. Sullivan, Montgomery's police commissioner, sued the Times over an ADVERTISEMENT - one signed by Eleanor Roosevelt, Nat King Cole and Jackie Robinson, accusing Alabama of violating the Constitution.

I have often wondered how much faster things might have moved if the news and opinion pages had changed earlier. I don't mean change in men's souls - that takes a little longer - but in what oppressors might legally do. Certainly, reform began in earnest only after the press concentrated on the bomb outrage that killed children in church in Birmingham, Alabama, followed by the March on Washington, and when national network cameras brought into the living rooms Bull Connor's brutal hosing of women and children.

But that had been a lost decade in the freest environment in the world.

What is to stop a newspaper being the greatest organ of social reform?

Not external restraint in this case. I suggest the news editors of the day did not feel any moral imperative. They were prisoners of history, captive to the notion that news was something that happened and you objectively reported it and never got "involved". They were certainly then well inoculated by tradition and training to the idea of church and state - news run by one editor, opinion by another - a diffusion that can mitigate against campaigning. Black rights were not on anyone's agenda.

Not only is freedom of the press a mere platitude if it is not exercised: it is a betrayal of a public trust.

So not all the impediments are external. There are the limitations imposed by our own imaginations and skill and we have to deal with them. Come back across the Atlantic for a moment in the same sixties, and think of Northern Ireland. Nobody bothered to pay any attention to the discrimination practised against Catholics. At the Sunday Times, we did in 1967 run a biggish feature headlined JOHN BULL'S POLITICAL SLUM. But having exposed the sore, we did nothing further and I count it as one of my failures. If we had put it insistently on the agenda, modest reforms in Ulster at that stage might have followed and they would probably have averted the descent into violence. What it did break out, the Insight team and others did fine job of reconstruction; John Whale's reporting ended the abuses of internment. But it was all too late to avoid the long nightmare that continues to this day.

So if the press is to fulfill Bennett's role, it needs freedom, yes, but it needs vision, a ready embrace of its moral purpose - and a recognition that it may be of little use to print the truth once and move on.

Even when the immediate cause seems forlorn, there is virtue in the effort even if made only by the few. Many press commentators, for instance, have suggested that the failure of the American press in the early years of the civil right struggle was exactly what happened also in the McCarthy era. Not quite. It is true most of the press, the wire services and the networks, acquiesced in the witch hunts and indeed fed the flames. They felt constrained by a false notion of objectivity from pointing out his lies. (There was serious subversion by the Communist Party and many Soviet agents, we now know, but Joe never found a one).

But in the late fifties, in my travels, I saw Excalibur raised with effect for the future. The New York Times, the Washington Post, the Milwaukee Journal, the Reporter magazine, the Progressive, the New Yorker, Ed Murrow at CBS, I.F. Stone, put their hands to the hilt. They were part of a spontaneous movement of resistance to the new despotism. Thousands of disparate individuals facing loyalty oaths decided to make a stand, drawing strength from the Constitution. So did a few score liberal anti-Communist bodies such as Americans for Democratic Action; the American Veterans Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, the NAACP; the American Civil Liberties Union. And the judiciary played an essential role. Judges ruled for the persecuted 90 per cent of the time. Judge Learned Hand gave eloquent expression to the sickness of a society "where each man begins to eye his neighbour as a possible enemy." In the Supreme Court, Justice John Marshall Harlan restored full freedom of speech for Communists and dissenters by restricting unprotected speech to actual incitement to lawless action. The stand made by the few in the press, the accused individuals, and the groups, was not an organized resistance or even a tacit coalition. It was not pro Communist. It was pro-America. Of course, the effort did not save many individuals who suffered assaults on their careers and their sanity. A number took their lives. Discourse was stultified. The colleges were demoralized. But because there was resistance

America did not, in the end, pay for the Cold War by sacrificing its civil liberties, as George Kennan feared it might. David Lilienthal, the liberal New Dealer who had become chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, concluded that McCarthyism actually invigorated the counterforces of decency and fairness, like antibodies in the blood stream.

He was right. When the Vietnam war divided America, the dissenters could stand on the barricades built by McCarthy's opponents.

The press is often accused of "tearing the country apart" over Vietnam. Nixon said the war "was the first in our history during which our media were more friendly to our enemies than our allies." General Westmoreland said: "television is an instrument that can paralyse this country." You will often hear it said that the press lost the war. The truth is that, once again, the mainstream press was very late indeed to raise any questions about the war or the perception of a Communist conspiracy on which it was based. Until 1967-8, the war was reported from the point of view of the government, as a clean war with little shooting, little killing or little death. Throughout the fifties and most of the sixties, there was broad consensus in support of the domino theory. Walter Cronkite's famous disaffection did not come until 1968 when public opinion had turned. The print heroes David Halberstam and Neil Sheehan exposed the corruptions of Saigon, but until 1967 even these fine reporters backed the war's objectives and argued against withdrawal. Like everyone else, including the press corps in Vietnam, they wanted the U.S. to stay and win. The editorials in the Washington Post were so supportive until 1968 that LBJ said they were worth 50 divisions.

TV reporting, too, was critical of Diem, but not of the U.S. It was the policy of the networks not to show American casualties or civilian suffering and this shielded the public from the true horrors. Even after '68 there was a nearly total absence on the nightly news broadcasts of

any explicit reality of the war - certainly of any of the blood and gore or even pain of combat. What little was presented of the anti war case was presented in pejorative tones. The My Lai massacre story took two years to break – not because of censorship but because when it first emerged it did not fit the story line that the war was winnable and was being won. For television, incidentally, fear of losing sponsors and affiliates was more real than any pressure from the Pentagon. Excalibur stayed in the rock.

Since those days, American journalism has enlarged its freedoms while the British press has marked time, or if it has marched forward at all it has been reminiscent of the Berlioz funeral march - solemn brass, much shuffling of feet and very little ground covered.

In America, out of the civil rights struggles, there emerged Sullivan. Out of Watergate, a second Freedom of Information Act. Out of Vietnam, the Pentagon Papers reinforcement against censorship. These are victories, won by stalwart newsmen and women and their managers and their lawyers; they are victories for us all, a beacon for the world, though Sullivan has been abused as if it sanctioned intrusion in private lives which it plainly did not. This corruption of Sullivan mainly for the manufacture of sleaze has created anxiety even among its proponents. At a big dinner in New York the other evening to celebrate Sullivan, attended by several hundred defense lawyers, all the leading speakers expressed reservations about the effects of the law on a licentious press, the most notable reservation being sounded by the leading First Amendment lawyer, Floyd Abrams.

The question remains what use the American press has made in public affairs of the superior freedom, and the answer is Not Much These Days. A thousand flowers have hardly bloomed. Nationally, the common thread on issues that count seems to be a tendency to

consensus, to conformity, to a flattening of the landscape, a homogeneity of opinion and approach as uninspiring as the identical malls that ring the cities. If I draw attention to this, it by no means implies that the consensus is wrong or always undesirable or that it is not enlivened by individual brilliance, particularly in columns of the Times and Washington Post and the opinion weeklies. But it is a trend that has to be acknowledged. The view on the left is that it is all a consequence of big business, monopoly, and the mega mergers. It is true most cities have only one main newspaper, and true that short-term bottom line managers have squeezed the life out of a number of celebrated newspapers, viz the expulsion of Bill Kovach from the Atlanta Constitution. But there is evidence of big corporations digging deep to fight the malefactors of great wealth, viz Steve Shephard and McGraw Hill at Business Week, and USA Today would not have flourished without the deep pockets of Gannett and the courage of Al Neuharth.

But a lack of dissonance there certainly is. It was my happy imagining, arriving in Washington at U.S. News & World Report in 1986, that I had landed, prematurely, in some journalistic Valhalla. There were no external restraints worth worrying about. The streets were paved with information. Nexus/Lexis - how long ago that seems - was tapping libraries worldwide. The internal ambitions were high. There were hundreds of examples of the efficacy of the Freedom of Information Acts. The Pulitzer and other contests regularly manifested journalism of the highest order in the public interest. And yet my prophetic ear caught a distant rumble, a pounding that has grown in intensity: the herd, the stampede of journalists following the same angle on the same story. A parallel sickness that has festered is the way mainstream newspapers have succumbed to the temptation to print sleaze and vicious gossip by quoting a supermarket rag or gossip sheet as source. All the rumors unfit to print. It's a practice that would have been unthinkable twenty years ago and it is indefensible when it is a recycling of lie and

smear. I criticised the Southern press, but it was notable that even the most hardline Southern newspapers refused to print smears on King when they were offered by J. Edgar Hoover. The New York Times, in one notable instance concerning a former football star, acted with that same sense of honor, but that was an exception.

This was happening long before the Clinton-Lewinsky affair, one of the most lamentable episodes in the history of a free press and I will come to it shortly. But it is worth noting that in the Reagan era the lassitude in the press was very much to the benefit of the administration.

Instance:

* As the editorial director of U.S. News & World Report in Washington in 1985, I had a grandstand seat on the metamorphosis of lion into mouse. That July, Gorbachev - then a semi villain in U.S. eyes - announced a unilateral cessation of nuclear testing would begin on August 6, the fortieth anniversary of Hiroshima. I expected the cessation would be reported and examined as an interesting way to stop the still escalating arms race, as President Kennedy had indeed seen it when he announced his own moratorium on testing that already produced hundreds of thousands of cancer cases. What happened? All the leading reporters regurgitated the line of the administration, which was embarrassed by the initiative. Not once but four times on the CBS evening news my good friend Lesley Stahl described the ban as "propaganda." The New York Times, the Washington Post, and the L.A. Times, all carelessly described Gorbachev's moratorium not as a deed, which it was by then, but as a proposal. For months then the press ignored the test ban, exactly as the White House wanted because it was set on continuing nuclear tests whatever the Russians did. Peace activists collected more than a million signatures in favor of the test ban and were portrayed on the networks and in the press as unpatriotic. Bill Moyers - the darling of liberal America - called Jesse Jackson a Communist dupe because he carried the

petition to Geneva. Astonishing. Not one of the networks mentioned that the Soviets HAD HALTED TESTING. Gorbachev kept trying. He ended years of Soviet stalling and offered to allow inspectors on Soviet soil. Dan Rather began that important story - "Well, a little pre-Christmas propaganda in the air." Not a single newspaper examined the history of the test ban negotiations- not one, over an 18 month period when the evil empire conducted not a single test explosion and the U.S. announced 20. We now know, of course, that this fellow Gorbachev was telling the truth, making a real initiative to end the arms race and the cold war.

* Instance. The U.S. Navy mistakenly shot down an Iranian airliner. Every paper and tv station went into patriotic mode, presenting the story as some kind of Iranian aggression. It was nothing of the kind, a tragic accident. Jesse Jackson was the only politician who suggested it was a case for regret and compensation, which is what eventually happened - but not before the herd had once again dutifully pounded truth into the ground.

The press in every country feels a strain when issues of apparent patriotism arise. National unity is a prize. But it is precisely at times of peril that questions should be asked, voices raised. "I wish you had printed that," President Kennedy famously said after the New York Times had downplayed the CIA-sponsored invasion of Cuba at the Bay of Pigs. The Times, he said, could have saved him from a terrible mistake.

A routine consensus is all the more discomfiting in the United States where there is so much individual freedom but in the mainstream press such a limited range of independent voices. Columnists may dissent but national news desks see the world through the same prism. In the eighties everyone was anxious to celebrate success even when skepticism would serve the country better. The Challenger and S&L banking disasters are to the point. Every space shuttle since the first launch in April 1981 had been subject to delays and abortions. They were noted by

the newspapers and TV, but they were not followed up, questioned or investigated by even the most powerful organs. Everyone was so caught up in the hype so that a disaster that might have been averted by an alert press came to everyone as a profound shock. The same unquestioning attitude was manifest in the S&L debacle, as much a product of the booster habits of the press as of the ideology of the White House.

What is the root of the conformity, the copy-cat mentality? The size of the country has weighed against the national distribution of newspapers - but that does not explain the standardisation of television journalism. Perhaps it is the American manufacturing genius for standardisation that has been carried to areas where it does not belong. Perhaps it is the desire for unifying forces in a nation of such ethnic heterogeneity. Perhaps it is a lack of confidence. In any event, there is nothing like the variety of the British press - thank God, many say - where so many dailies and regionals compete. For all its lurid excrescences, that variety seems to this exile to be worth cherishing.

The herd was in full stampede in the nineties in the Clinton crisis. The press - and I emphasise that emphatically includes network, cable and local television TV - performed abysmally. The full history of the impeachment saga has yet to be written, but it is already clear that in a frenzy without precedent in recent American history the press lost all capacity for self-discipline and abandoned time-honored standards - for which it has suffered calamitously in public esteem. The causes for the hysteria, and with it a welter of misinformation and malice, may be briefly suggested. It was, of course, a sexy story and an important one. But structural changes were inflammable. William Paley once said it would be a bad day for television if the news division ever became judged as an independent profit center. Well it has, and he was right. And network news has been challenged by cable. All-day cable news and talk channels have to

keep the furnace going even if there is nothing but garbage to burn. So they did, with endless speculation and pumped up rumor. The story broke on a website so "old media" was even more terrified of being left behind. It was a time of panic publishing. Great newspapers allowed themselves to be manipulated by people consumed with a passion to bring down Clinton, and by others hungry to get the headlines that would lead to a million dollar book deal. Reporters who saw themselves as the next Woodward-Bernstein failed to do the elementary legwork the Watergate pair did, and mostly their editors were, frankly, lax. Even the New York Times kept quoting as "sources" other news media - who had no credible sources at all - until the editor Joe Lelyveld stopped it. The NY Times style book frowns on pejorative quotes from unnamed sources, but they still creep into the paper, making the leading paper of the land subject to the manipulations of schemers. A blight that exists here too. And, of course, there were no restraints by way of defamation and contempt of court.

Just one insight into the mayhem of a story that got headlined

CAUGHT IN THE ACT

Victoria Toensig, a Washington lawyer and former prosecutor, took a phone call at home from someone who knew a former White House employee who in turn had been told by another that this person had seen Lewinsky and Clinton in a compromising position. Third hand gossip. Victoria tells Starr's office. Someone in Starr's office leaks to Jackie Judd at ABC Television. Victoria's husband, Joseph di Genova, hears his wife's tale, and at lunch mentions it to a reporter from the Dallas Morning News, saying that he has heard something similar on ABC. The

reporter dutifully calls Toensig but she now tells him that in the meantime the story has evaporated. The "witness" has vanished or recanted. There is, she says, no story. But the Dallas man decides to check out Starr's office about Judd and they tell him they have heard the story, too. Same non-source. He rushes a story on to the paper's website. The Associated Press picks it up. CNN's Larry King picks up on the A.P., Geraldo picks up on that. Fleas on lesser fleas. The next day every paper has its CAUGHT IN THE ACT headline, quoting ABC as the source - one news organisation quoting another. Months later, when no such witness has come forward Judd is quoted as saying "I still think there might be a potential witness."

This circus, well documented in Content magazine, was repeated time and again. Carelessness was compounded by a pathetic readiness to take stories and angles straight from the prosecutors and from Clinton's enemies who were not quoted as the source so that the reader had no idea of the basic prejudice at work. Many lies were headlined and never set aright. I recall being assured by someone close to the Starr Office that Hillary Clinton would be indicted that week on the Case Grande deal. The offence was spelled out in detail; I thought it lacked the essential proof and I did not run with it. Others did. It turned out there was no case. The story was a plant to put pressure on her and her husband, a familiar prosecutors' device in the United States for which newspapers fall time and again.

The New York Times, Wall Street Journal, and Washington Post all played up the original Whitewater story, the supposed land scandal involving the Clintons. None of them gave any prominence to the sequel that there was no scandal after all; the NY Times, which had given top page one prominence to the first story, buried the sequel on an inside page, yet the finding of no case was impeccably by a prominent Republican lawyer heading up an investigation by the S&L's cleanup successor, the Resolution Trust Corporation. Mort Zuckerman, the editor in chief

of U. S. News & World Report, has been about the only commentator to criticise this dereliction. The independent counsel Ken Starr also found there was no case, though he kept that fact secret while he kept the kettle boiling on Sex in the White House. The other big scandals - the so-called Travelgate and Filegate - proved also to be smears that the press, having propagated, failed to clear up.

The best analysis is in Jeffrey Toobin's just published book A Vast Conspiracy. Toobin is a non-partisan journalist and lawyer to boot and he demonstrates how the right wing tried to achieve through legal machinations law what they had lost at the election. He points out that the left had first exploited the law for political ends, but this is what he writes on the Lewinsky affair: "The most astonishing fact in this story may be this one: in spite of his consistently reprehensible behaviour, Clinton was, by comparison, the good guy in this struggle. The president's adversaries appeared literally consumed with hatred for him; the bigger the stakes the smaller they acted. They were willing to trample all standards of fairness - not to mention the Constitution - in their effort to drive him from office."

And the press was complicit in this. Is it partisanship? Toobin's examples suggest it was naiveté rather than political warfare, but it does remind one of the treatment "That man" FDR received in the thirties. It amounts to a willingness to believe the worst that leads to the suspension of routine check and counter check.

A prime example: Some seventy big time political donors or friends of the Clintons, have been improperly granted the honor of burial at Arlington National Cemetery in return for cash on the casket. Yes? True or false? Within 48 hours this story that did not include a single credible source went into the talk radio circuit, and from there to the mainstream news outlets - the NY Times, the Post, the LA Times, USA Today and CNN, creating a tremendous hullabaloo.

G. Gordon Liddy, Oliver North, and the editor of a Moonie magazine peddled the scandal hard. The Republican National committee issued a statement from its president: "This has to represent one of the most despicable schemes in recent history...selling graves in Arlington Cemetery is shameless even by Clintonian standards". Senators like the presidential aspirant John McCain, currently being canonised by the press, shouted outrage, someone asked for impeachment and the Speaker called for a Congressional inquiry to get the names of the donors. Rush Limbaugh, the radio hate merchant, began opening his show with the song "Honors you can buy."

It was all baloney.

No one sold a grave in Arlington.

There were no political deals.

No cash on the casket.

Of the 69 names on the list, only four were approved by Clinton. The Republicans cried out for the names. Another false scent. The Republican Congressman had spent five months going through the files and had the names. What he didn't have, what didn't exist was any evidence of payoffs. That came from the imaginations of those who would have liked it to be true.

Three of the four Clinton names were dead heroes - Justice Thurgood Marshall was one. The Clinton nomination of a still living American aroused the deepest suspicions. It turned out to be C. Everett Koop, the Surgeon General for eight years with Reagan. And he later withdrew his request.

That very funny NYT columnist Maureen Dowd, who ached for the story to be true, gave us a new standard. It was right to run it, she said, because it was the kind of thing she expected of Clinton. It was "plausible." Cokie Roberts on ABC News made much the same excuse.

Verdict First. Facts Later.

What next?

As Yogi Berra said, it is tough to make predictions, especially about the future. But there is some ground for hope. The misuse of freedom, the transition from investigation to inquisition, the descent into nastiness and silliness, has been so lamentable that there is now a host of distinguished journalists who do not lack conviction and are full of passionate intensity to see standards raised. To name a few: David Broder, Mike Wallace, Robert MacNeil, Ben Bagdikian, Steve Brill, Jim Squires, Abe Rosenthal, Bill Kovach, Adam Gopnick, James Fallows, Osborn Elliott, Ray Cave. The Freedom Forum, the Pew Foundation, Mollie Parnis, George Polk, Annenberg, and other bodies are giving millions away to raise sights. I like to think we are coming to the tipping point, an accumulation of concern, among the public as much as among the professionals, that will stimulate America's infinite capacity to remake itself.

And then there is the galvanizing effect of technology. Yes, the web has produced some terrible pseudo journalism, scared the mainstream into absurdities, but cyberspace has also stimulated new voices - Slate and Salon to name a couple. The consensus and pack journalism I have described may be relieved in this way. .

In 1976, after seeing the first computerised newspaper in Detroit, I thought I was prescient, back in London, in arguing with the NUJ chapel and the NGA that the computer - we

called it a visual display unit – was essential to the journalist not so much for typesetting as for electronic research among the libraries of the world. I had no idea that millions would have access to millions through the world wide web, and real time access through hypertext to unimaginable sources of information.

The good news is that the press - the Dead Tree Daily as the cybernauts say - is just about recovering its nerve from the electronic shock of the new. Enterprise comes naturally to America as manifest in the range of choices on television, the invention of CNN, USA Today, and now the amazingly rapid growth of websites and e-commerce. The people who run the fixed time telecasts and newspapers and magazines are recognizing that it is not enough to build a comparable website, for simply delivering "old media" in new form.

In the last year or two every industry convention had its panel "will newspapers survive?" Not anymore. As the dust settles, the newspaper is seen to remain an extraordinary bargain for news, information and entertainment. People drowning in information overload are grateful, on line and off, for the traditional press skill in refining and filtering. A New Gallup polls shows that the nightly network TV news and the local TV news and the newspapers, in that order, are the preferred source of news - between 61% for newspapers and up to 75% for the network news, against 11% from the computer.

That may change, but now the real question is being addressed: how the digital revolution can be exploited not for quicker but for better journalism BOTH IN PRINT AND ONLINE, how the new interactive technologies can be embraced to make the journalism more effective - more comprehensive, more in touch relevant, creative and attractive.

The best national sites offer original material designed for the Web. The CyberTimes section of the NYT covers new media, and publishes photojournalism not seen in the paper. The

Washington Post, an excellent site, does original reporting and data retrieval. When the paper carried a long report on the crisis in the school system, the website supplemented it with a deeper examination of the bloated bureaucracy, and added a comparison of examination scores between DC and suburban schools and invited online reader discussions. CNN Interactive goes into much more detail than the minute or two on TV. The San Jose Mercury News has been posting court transcripts and even sounds, including a section on the wiretap of a drug dealer. The potential is intriguing. NBC's television magazine Dateline had a feature about dangerous roads in America, based on three nasties. The program invited viewers to log onto the MSNBC site to learn about roads in their community. When they did they could enter their zip codes and within seconds, based on federal data, find out many fatal accidents had occurred and where in their community between 1992 and 1995. Some 68,000 people logged in. Money magazine followed up Steve Forbes' tax proposals with an interactive site where people on line could key in their own earnings and see how they would be affected.

Next down the road is the voice activated with a robot to monitor chat rooms and rove the web to get answers to specific questions.

This is only the smallest glimpse of how vigorously the American press is responding.

Freedom and Technology: Will Excalibur be released with a double click?

Can the American press escape the deadening uniformity, resist the herd instinct, check power with truth, reject the blind source manipulation, and altogether respect the spirit of liberty Justice Learned Hand defined as the spirit that is not too sure it is right; the spirit of liberty that seeks to understand the minds of other men and other women, that weighs their interests alongside its own, without bias?

Can it be the greatest organ of social reform? The answer to the question is important to the whole world outside America that argues for more freedom, more access.

A hundred years ago, Henry Adams was so dazzled by the velocity of change in America at the turn of the century that he made a prediction. Writing in that curious conditional tense of his biography, he said: "At the rate of progress since 1800, every American who lived to the year 2000 would know how to control unlimited power. He would think in complexities unimaginable to an earlier mind. He would deal with problems altogether beyond the range of earlier society. To him the nineteenth century would stand on the same plane with the fourth - equally childlike - and he would only wonder how both of them, knowing so little, and so weak in force, should have done so much".

It could just happen. Ask me back in 2050.



FredFein@aol.com

03/12/2000 12:00:51 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Sidney Blumenthal/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Siegel & Chapin on the McCain ideology and the end of the 68 system

Sid, FYI - FS

Newsday

SUNDAY FOCUS II / THE BIG DECISIONS / McCain's Message: It's the Ideology, StudidBY: Fred Siegel and Jim Chapin. Fred Siegel teaches history at the Cooper Union for Science and Art and is the author of "The Future Once Happened Here." Jim Chapin is a senior policy adviser to the New York City Public Advocate. These opinions are his own. DATE: 03-12-2000 WHEN COKIE ROBERTS told the viewers of her Sunday morning political talk show that "people don't vote on issues for president," she captured the conventional wisdom of this year's presidential campaign. But this conventional wisdom is largely wrong. The John McCain campaign was highly ideological, but the ideology involved was unrecognizable to the media elites. What the pundit class fails to recognize is that our national politics is on the verge of one of its cyclical periods of renewal: We are at the end of the ideological era that emerged out the struggles of the late 1960s, and on the verge of entering another. Normally, when the press calls candidates "non-ideological" or "pragmatic," these are synonyms for "agrees with us," while other campaigns are called "ideological" or "extremist" - synonyms for "doesn't agree with us." It seems that the reporters themselves only barely understood their own positive feelings toward McCain, and were forced to attribute them to some sort of collective infatuation based solely on his character, biography and accessibility. And when McCain faltered and withdrew after Super Tuesday, that, too, was written off to his headstrong character and strategic miscalls. Likewise, Sen. Bill Bradley's withdrawal from the race after Al Gore's punishing Super Tuesday sweep provoked most commentators to conclude that Bradley's personal failings and poor tactical maneuvers doomed his presidential bid. In fact, Bradley's absolute failure and McCain's relative success grew directly out of the present state of ideological flux in the two parties. Bradley's campaign was based on the mistaken assumption that it was possible to rekindle the flames of left activism in the Democratic Party. Chastened, in different ways, by the defeats of 1984, 1988 and 1994, Democratic activists know that they are a minority. And despite the grumbles of left-wing intellectuals, most of their sometime constituents are happy with their lives, in a full-employment, relatively low crime and peace-based economy. The real incomes of blacks and the poor are rising, the low-inflation, low-unemployment conditions of the Humphrey-Hawkins Act have been fulfilled, and even labor union membership is beginning to rise

again. The real combustible tinder, however, is in the Republican party and its penumbra of like-minded independents. Together, they are a political majority, but a sharply divided one. They represent two groups that are unhappy, in different ways, with present-day American politics and society. But the effect of this campaign has been to pit these groups against each other, in much the same way that the George McGovern campaign in 1972 tried to argue that the George Wallace insurgents were unhappy with American life in the same fundamental ways. In reality, of course, much of the discontents of the Wallace people were precisely with McGovern's supporters. The religious right, however it is measured, is the largest single political bloc in the country, and also the only large segment that is actively dissatisfied with America as it is. Historically, it has been torn between competing versions of America as Jerusalem or as Sodom. In the heady days of the 1980s leaders of the religious right thought it was possible to build a new Jerusalem in America. But the right's moral crusade to impeach President Bill Clinton convinced many of its most serious thinkers that modern America was, after all, Sodom. The other group of dissatisfied people is the unattached and ever-growing force of the new middle classes. These malcontents are anti-statist, anti-partisan and anti-big business in some of their deepest impulses. They famously helped power Ross Perot to 19 percent of the vote in 1992. The Reform party, like all major third parties, had a profound impact on the nation (most notably in the return of the long-lost concept of the balanced federal budget). But while its voters were happy enough with Clintonian policies, they retain a profound distaste for both partisan elites, a distaste profoundly deepened by Clinton's personal weaknesses. These are people who (now) are happy enough with American society as it is, but still not happy with the political parties as they are. John McCain did not create this constituency; rather he stumbled upon it. As other Republicans fell by the wayside, he became the only candidate to marry biography and issues into a coherent package. To argue that he is in most respects a standard-brand Republican conservative and therefore that his supporters somehow "didn't know his record" means no more than it does to point out that internationalist Wendell Wilkie collected the entire isolationist vote against FDR in the election of 1940. Often, the most important thing about candidacies is not where the candidate has been but where he's going; and the identity of a candidate doesn't count for as much as that of his supporters. McCain's appeal is not just in his biography but in an at times inchoate ideology that places patriotism and not religion at the center of American identity. His attacks on the campaign system tapped into an allied strain of patriotic sentiment in American politics: the populist tradition, which fears the disproportionate power of "the big boys" in American life in business and government alike. Like most Americans who aren't narrowly partisan, McCain wanted to control big business without creating even bigger government. McCain failed in South Carolina, because his attempt to win that state turned out to be a losing bet that the Civil War was finally over. In what in effect turned into a "whites-only" election in that state, the forces of southern identity politics won. Meanwhile, in the camp of the likely GOP nominee, Texas Gov. George W. Bush, the terms of victory seem Pyrrhic, viewed from the standpoint of the general election. By winning nomination as the candidate of the white South and the Republican core voters, Bush has vitiated the initial premise of his campaign. Bush had hoped that his low-key rhetoric of "compassionate conservatism" could conceal that he was the candidate of the same Republican establishment that picked his father in 1988 and Bob Dole in 1996. Now he is in roughly the same position as the hapless Dole, because his

campaign suffers from various warring assumptions. Bush had intended to convince voters that he was more a small "c" conservative than Al Gore, less likely than the vice president to disturb the policies that have made America a nation happy, prosperous and at peace. Now Bush, by virtue of his primary strategy, has become the candidate of the only group in the United States that actively wants to overthrow the Clintonian consensus. Finally, Bush counted, successfully, on winning his party's nomination by appealing to its members against the "outsiders" who were "entering" it to vote for McCain. Unfortunately for him, the people he was attacking are precisely those who will decide the election in the fall. After spending a very active month repudiating voters in the independent center, Bush will find that it's now too late to win them back: The Super Tuesday exit polls showed that 35 percent of McCain's voters plan to vote for Gore in the fall. By comparing Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell to Louis Farrakhan and Al Sharpton, and linking the Christian Right to Bush, McCain ensured that a Bush victory would be seen by voters on both sides of the Republican Party as a victory for Falwell and Robertson. This factor alone pretty much dooms any serious Republican hopes for a Bush presidency; it leaves Republicans in the large non-southern states in a terrible position for the fall elections. Republican victories in the big northern states require a united Republican Party facing a splintered Democratic party - now, in every northern state, exactly the opposite is true. Even in losing, McCain ensured that the system of 1968 will collapse in a dying fall, with Gore and Bush treading the boards in an entirely predictable rerun of the 1996 campaign. And the Democrats will become the first party in American history to win the presidency three straight times without getting a majority of the popular vote. If so, we may well predict that what historian Arthur Schlesinger Jr. has dubbed the "36-year rule" of American political history will reassert itself in 2004. New issues and new debates will finally overtake the now-decrepit world views of 1968, which still occupy the core of both political parties. In that event, John McCain's insurgent campaign may be seen as the precursor of a new age. And his defeat in the primaries will be regarded as the last hurrah for the ideological consensus of a generation past.

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OPINIONS

File This '-Gate' Under 'Dead'

by Joe Conason

If news reports are to be believed, we are now close to the conclusion of that long-running political hoax known as "Filegate." According to a story in *The New York Times* on March 13—which ran on an inside page, of course—the Office of Independent Counsel is about to release its final report on the 900 F.B.I. personnel files mistakenly obtained by security officials in the Clinton White House.

There will be no criminal prosecutions of anyone involved in this unfortunate fiasco, including Craig Livingstone and Anthony Marceca, the two former White House employees directly responsible. Obviously, there will be no indictments of any of the wholly innocent persons supposedly implicated in this matter, such as Hillary Rodham Clinton.

Considering the level of hysteria generated by enemies of the Administration when the F.B.I. files issue first arose four years ago, this impending exoneration ought to prompt some retractions and apologies. But instead we now see the old phony story replaced by the new phony story. Kenneth Starr is gone and Filegate is dead, but we hear whispers that Mr. Starr's replacement, Robert Ray, may still indict Bill Clinton after he leaves office.

To expect a sense of honor and decency from the Office of Independent Counsel and its epigones in the media is, of course, to be disappointed. Dozens of conscientious lawyers and investigators have worked for the O.I.C., but there has always been an excess of partisan zeal at the top. The so-called Filegate case provides an example of that misplaced zeal from beginning to end.

The ultimate outcome of this case was predicted here long ago, a forecast that required neither special brilliance nor inside information, but only a cursory examination of the evidence. The list of 900 names showed that the White House's embarrassed explanation of the matter—in updating clearances, they had wrongly obtained an outdated list of White House staff—was not just plausible but probable: It included scarcely anyone of political notoriety and many obscure



JOE CONASON

The smearing was done to the Clintons, not by them, made possible in large measure by the Office of Independent Counsel.

employees, such as gardeners and secretarial aides. That their privacy had been breached was truly awful, as the President said when he apologized publicly for the errors committed by his aides. Yet their stupid, careless behavior in no way resembled the felonious conspiracy of which they were so swiftly accused.

The accusers were the usual right-wing suspects, from William Safire of *The New York Times* all the way down to the tabloid gumshoes of the *New York Post*. Even Nat Hentoff of *The Village Voice* was willingly duped by this fraud. They told us that Filegate was equal to Watergate or worse, and that the perpetrators would be traced all the way into the Oval Office and the White House residence. It was all a nefarious plot cooked up by the First Lady, who allegedly had hired Mr. Livingstone for the express purpose of smearing and intimidating the Administration's opponents.

But the smearing was done to the Clintons, not by them. And that smearing was made possible in large measure by the Office of Independent Counsel, which delayed as long as possible in confirming the obvious.

As early as the fall of 1997, Byron York reported in *The American Spectator*—a publication with excellent sources in the O.I.C.—that prosecutors had found no crimes whatsoever in Filegate. But the O.I.C. did nothing to confirm that finding until a year later, when Mr. Starr testified before the House Judiciary Committee and rather reluctantly admitted there would be no indictments in that case, the White House Travel Office affair, or the Whitewater matter that first provoked all of his useless and expensive activity.

Why has the O.I.C. permitted this closed case to drag on for an additional two years? Justice delayed is justice denied for the innocent as well as for the guilty, and all the more so when political motives pervert the process. It will be interesting to read how the new proprietors of the O.I.C. try to excuse the misconduct of their predecessors. They can only hope that the Republicans retain control of Congress in November, because Representative Jerrold Nadler, the ranking Democrat on the relevant Judiciary subcommittee, has vowed to hold hearings on this disgrace if his party regains the majority.

Does Mr. Ray plan to assist his Republican allies by issuing additional reports that suggest guilt where none can be proved? So he seemed to imply in his recent interview with Mr. Safire. When he vowed to "explain our judgments so the country can evaluate them." According to the *Times* columnist, although Mr. Ray "expressed his determination not to issue condemnations of wrongdoing he does not bring to trial," he also intends to "lay out the sometimes ugly facts" to the judicial panel that oversees his office. Just how Mr. Ray will reconcile those contradictory goals remains to be seen.

Meanwhile, here are two more predictions. Few if any of the pundits who got Filegate wrong will acknowledge their gross error—and there will be no prosecution of Mr. Clinton, as President or private citizen.

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This column ran on page 5 in the 3/20/2000 edition of The New York Observer.

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Ed <edepstein@worldnet.att.net>

03/15/2000 06:15:09 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Sidney Blumenthal/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: re[6]: Crime Data

Edward Jay Epstein, 430 e. 86 street, NY, NY 10028

Ed Epstein
edepstein@worldnet.att.net

3-16-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 13, 2000

copied
Blumenthal
Edmonds
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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: TERRY EDMONDS

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL *MS*

SUBJECT: Commencement Addresses *Be*

*Need an intellectual
level - could work
traditional theme with
them but looking to future
is good*

The President's commencement addresses this year should be variations on a theme—the theme of the future. It would be easy for pundits to dismiss these speeches by a departing President as valedictories. But they should be commencements in every sense of the word. They should open up subjects at the beginning of the new century. Their framing should be lofty, but they should have a cutting edge. Each speech should define a large question about the American future, slice into the immediate political/policy debates with precise programs and establish the President's continuing ability to move events. The speeches cannot seem to be reiterative, tired replays on issues the President has spoken on numerous times. To the extent that the speeches seem to repeat his past performances, he will appear to be losing intellectual energy. He must strike a tone that it is at once fresh and sweeping, reflective and direct.

I suggest two possible new subjects:

1. The Future of Violence in American Life

Our understanding of violence in American history is warped by myths. The Wild West, in fact, was not so wild. Guns were not widespread. New research by historians proves that the NRA's version of history is self-justifying fiction. Violence has many sources, from guns to exploitative "entertainment" to hatred of people who are different or thought to be weaker. This is not a state of nature. We can uproot the culture of violence and advance a new American civilization. But violence is still being directed at individuals and groups on the basis of race, ethnicity and gender. Specific policies can be promoted on guns, hate crimes, domestic violence, public safety, and prisons.

2. The Future of American Generations

If the country is to progress, the contract among generations must be secured. In a new century that social contract involves three basic generations: the generation that experienced the Depression and World War II, the generation that came of age during the tumult of the 1960s and

the younger generation that faces new challenges of identity. The speech could explore the different psychology of these generations and why the future of the American journey depends upon our obligations of each to the other. Social Security and Medicare must be protected; education enriched; and health care expanded. If we understand our needs and responsibilities, there will be no generation gaps. Rather, there will be affection for those older or younger and a growing sense of our mutual bonds.

I would also give speeches on science, on technology and education.

The first on science might focus on how our world will be radically transformed, requiring a new American mastery of change; a heightened yet more subtle sense of ethics; an understanding that public investment is a catalyst to general prosperity (the Internet, NASA, vaccines, etc.); new national security policies; and that the global is not a foreign intruder but the way in which we are pioneering the territory ahead. As we move forward, we bring the world closer. American success means exploring new frontiers.

The second on education might focus on the future of the American Dream: how education is now at its center; that more than half our young people of college age should have at least two years of college; that those who receive the advantages of opportunity must be committed to opportunity for all; that the Jeffersonian ideal of the diffusion of knowledge means expanding democracy; that the dream must be open to everyone.

TO: The President

FROM: Nancy Hernreich
Wendi Boxx

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN
3-16-00

DATE: March 15, 2000

MEMO: Harrison Ford requests a meeting.

Harrison Ford called regarding the INEL Power Plant in Idaho and its plan to start incinerating nuclear waste. This concerns Mr. Ford greatly, and he along with attorney Jerry Spence would like to request a meeting at your convenience.

Mr. Ford can be reached at (212)-799-5220.

Geo. Frumpton
Pls advise on status
of this who we
can or can't do

copied
Frumpton
Padesta

MSA

3/16/00

Send to Scheduling?

Yes ☒No ☐Ground
5000 80

100 MAR 16 PM 4:34

Joseph J. Cirasuolo

President
1999-2000

March 16, 2000

Nancy Henreich
The White House
Washington, DC

Carol

Dear Ms. Henreich:

I am writing this letter to you at the suggestion of Benny Gooden.

I am currently the President of the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), the organization that represents superintendents of schools and other school system leaders throughout the country. We have approximately 15,000 members.

For the past seven years, AASA has consistently supported the efforts that President Clinton has made to improve public education in our country. In fact, we have found his education policies to be a welcome change from the policies of his two immediate predecessors who more often than not, appeared to favor dismantling public education in the name of improving it.

During the President's administration, we have also enjoyed an excellent working relationship with Secretary Riley and the Department of Education. Our perspective has always been valued and we have been made an integral part of the process by which the Department has formulated its policies and positions.

A few months ago, I had the privilege of joining a few of my colleagues in a discussion with the Chairperson of the President's Council of Domestic Advisers, Bruce Reed. Mr. Reed and his staff engaged us in an in-depth discussion as to what needs to be done to make our schools more effective. We were impressed at how well Mr. Reed and his staff listened to and understood what we had to say and we left the meeting convinced that our perspective would be given very serious consideration.

None of this would have happened without the dedication to our schools and to the effort to improve them that President Clinton has brought to the Presidency. While many others have done and are doing a great deal of work, his leadership is and has been what motivates, guides and makes the effort real.

Accordingly, I am requesting the honor of a brief meeting with the President to thank him personally for all that he is doing, to pledge to him AASA's continued support for his efforts and to give him a token of our appreciation for truly being *An Education President*.

I would appreciate anything you can do to give me and our Executive Director, Paul Houston, an opportunity to do this.

Superintendent of Schools • Wallingford Public Schools
142 Hope Road • Wallingford, CT 06492
(203) 949-6502 (6509) (6500) • Fax: (203) 949-6550
jcirasuolo@wallingfordmail.wallingford.k12.ct.us

Thank you for your consideration of my request.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Joseph J. Cirsuolo, Ed.D.
President
American Association of School Administrators

Cc: P. Houston
B. Gooden
T - 4/14/00

Bush Blocks McCain's Knockout Punch



U.S. News & WORLD REPORT

FEBRUARY 28, 2000

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Antarctic Meltdown

Searching for
answers to
the global
warming of

3-16-00

R. Ballentine

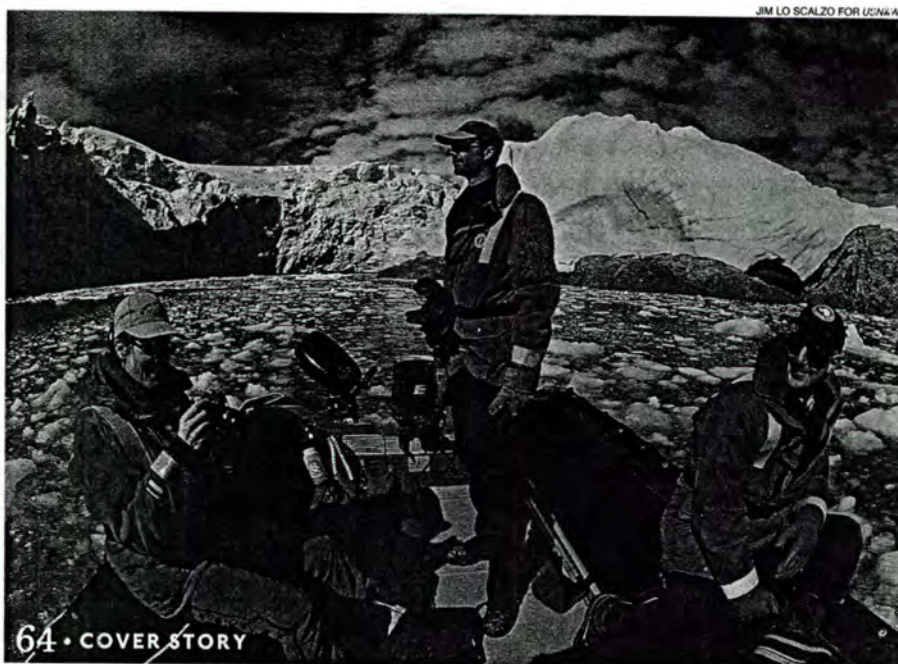
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JIM LO SCALZO FOR USN&WR

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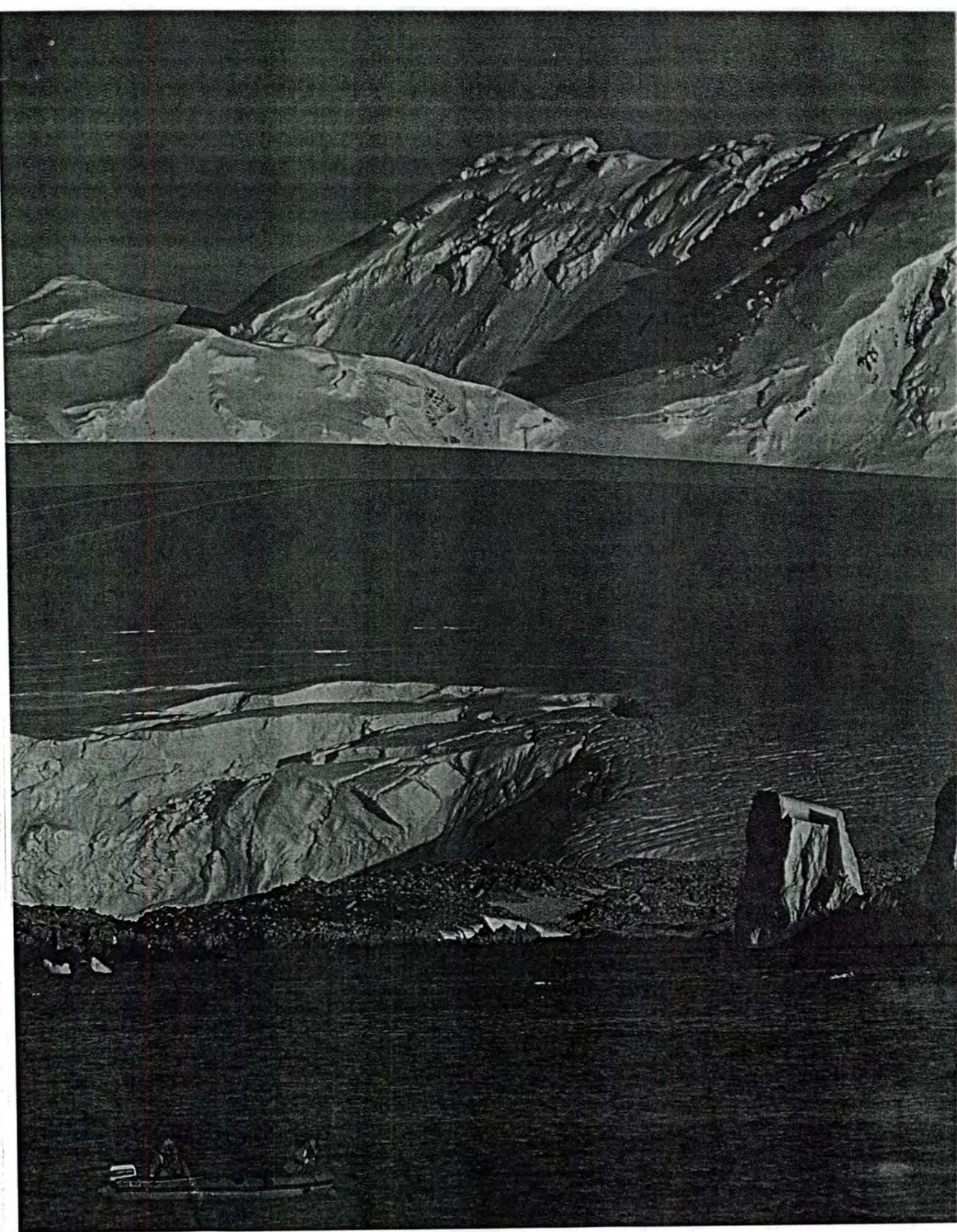
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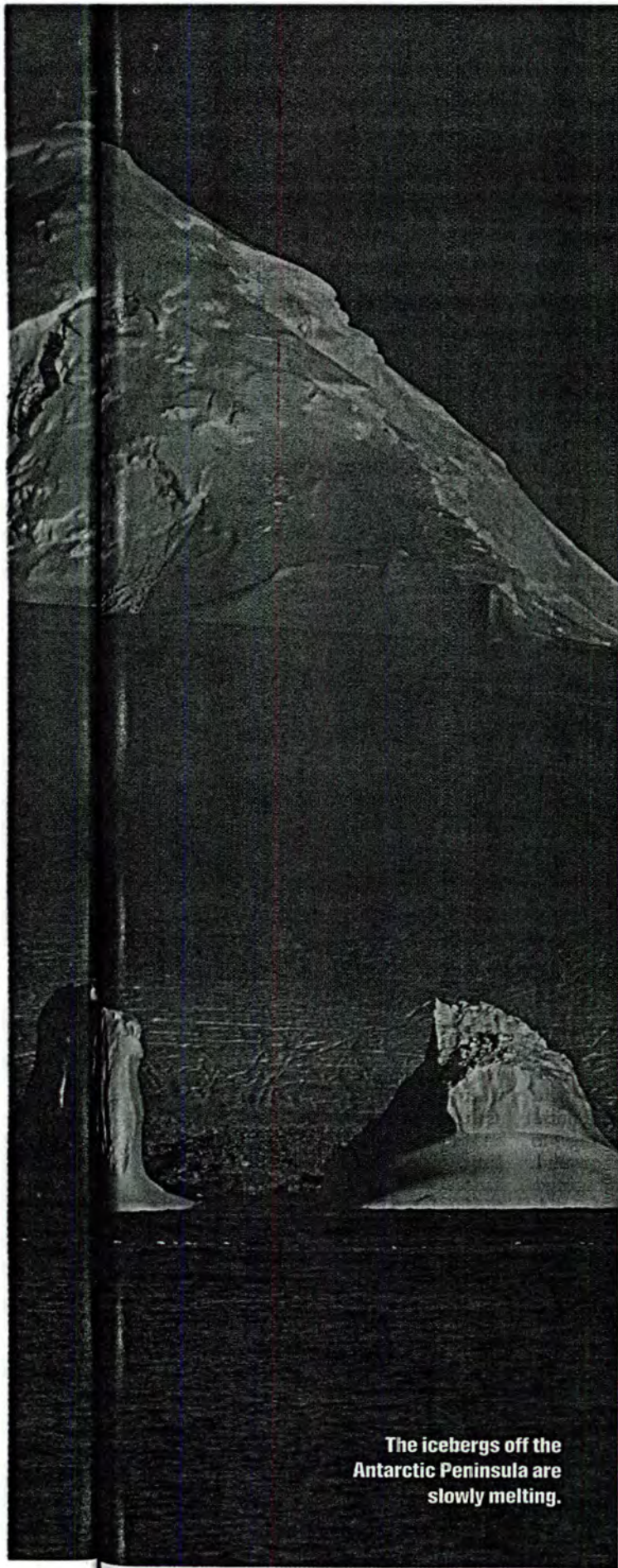
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Polar Meltdown

Is the heat wave on the Antarctic Peninsula a harbinger of global climate change?

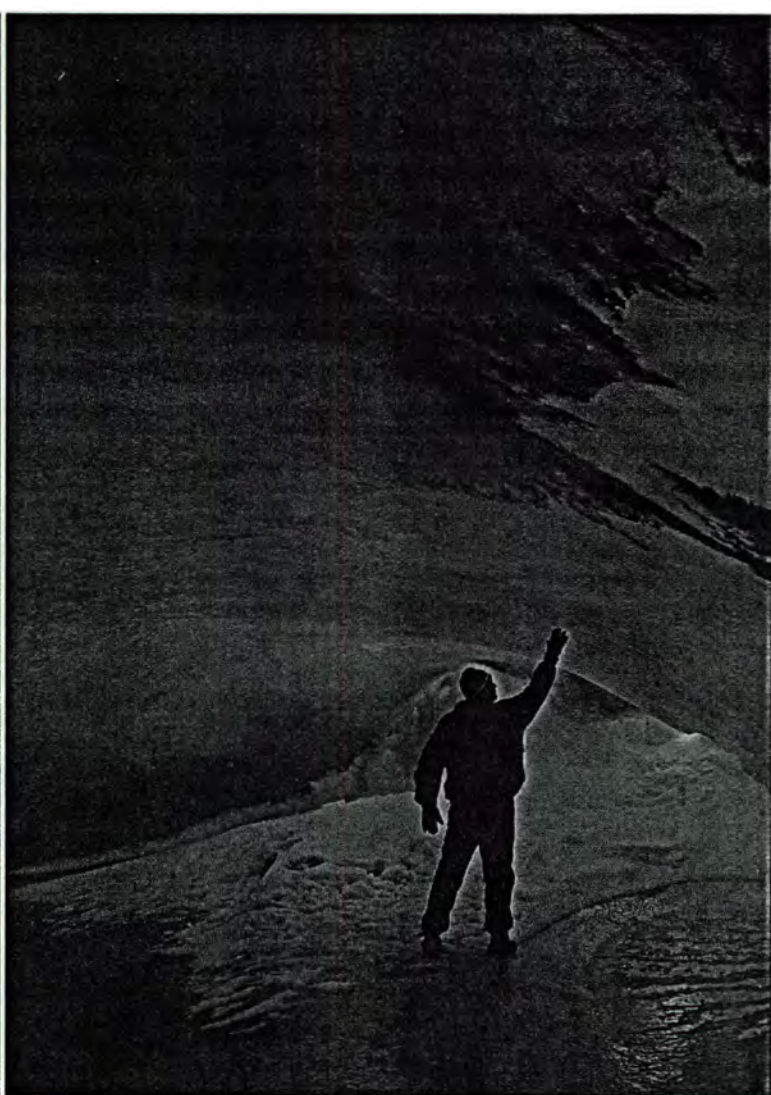
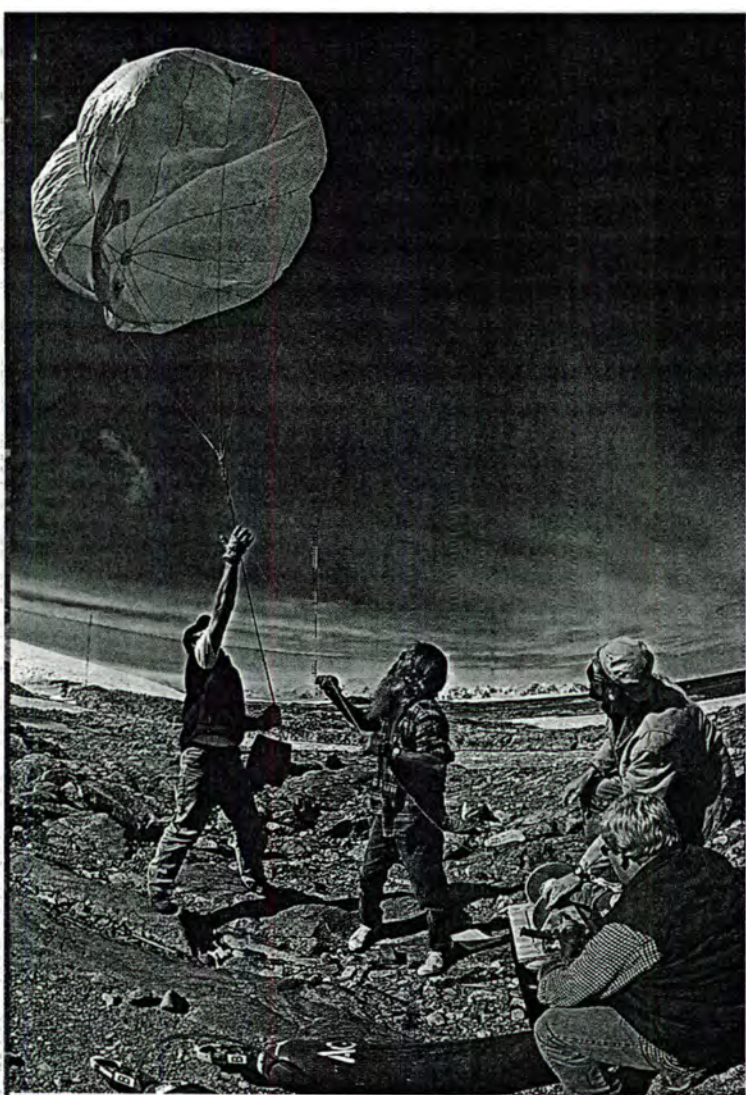
BY CHARLES W. PETIT

PALMER STATION, ANTARCTICA—One doesn't need a Ph.D. to see that things are changing fast around here. "That's Dead Seal Point up there," says Ross Hein, 27, director of boating operations at this remote American research base. On a sunny January day—midsummer in Antarctica—he points the Zodiac inflated motorboat toward a low, rocky islet a mile or so east of the base. The tough, flexible bow bumps slowly through a shoal of ice chunks—some the size of golf balls, others as big as a refrigerator—shoved near shore by the wind and current. The hard ice gives the boat a ride like an old truck on a bad road. It leads into a startlingly beautiful passage several hundred yards long and 50 yards wide. "Two years ago," Hein marvels, "this wasn't even here."

The point is that Dead Seal Point has no point, for we clearly are passing behind an island. To the right is a long wall of extravagantly fractured ice high as a 10-story building. It is the leading edge of Marr Ice Piedmont, a glacial cap that reaches a depth of 2,000 feet on 38-mile-long Anvers Island, Palmer's home 120 miles outside the Antarctic Circle. Hein, to minimize hazards from falling ice, keeps well to the left, along a miniature, melting ice cap atop Dead Seal Point.

The spot's name stems, first, from the now vanished elephant seal that died on its seaward side a few years ago. But what

The icebergs off the Antarctic Peninsula are slowly melting.



is more significant, the rock was once believed to be a peninsular point peeking from under the glacier's foot. Since the 1960s, Anvers Island's glacial mantle has pulled its skirts in by about 30 feet annually. The point turned out to be an island, one of many emerging along the shore. Thirty years ago, the then new Palmer Station was about 50 yards from the same retreating glacial front. Now it is a quarter-mile walk. An eerily beautiful ice cave nearby, today about 40 yards long and formed by a drainage channel along the glacier's base, was twice as long a decade ago.

If you think a few degrees of global warming would not mean much in your neighborhood, the word from Palmer Station is: Think again. While hardly warm here, what with icebergs like ivory cathedrals turning majestically in adjacent Arthur Harbor, it may be the most warmed-up place on the planet. It provides lessons for us all if, as many scientists believe, Earth is unstoppably entering a heat wave that could last centuries.

The Antarctic Peninsula is an S-shaped projection of mountains, geologically related to the Andes, that reaches 800 miles

north from the main continent toward South America. The computerized climate models used to forecast global warming reveal no reason for this place to be warming more rapidly than the rest of the planet. But since the mid-1940s, the average year-round temperature on the peninsula has gone up 3 to 4 degrees Fahrenheit, and in the early winter (June in the Southern Hemisphere) it is up a startling 7 to 9 degrees. While it still snows year-round, with summer temperatures averaging a few degrees above freezing and the middle of winter running in the teens, the rate of warming is 10 times the global average.

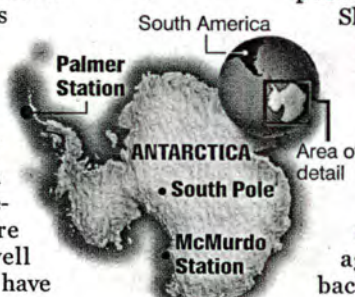
On ice. The bulk of the continent has only warmed a degree or so in the same time. Even this is enough to make some climate scientists worry that a significant part of its ice cap could someday melt, raising sea levels precariously. But there is no sign of that yet, and the South Pole itself, atop a 2-mile-thick layer of ice where temperatures stay well below zero, may actually have

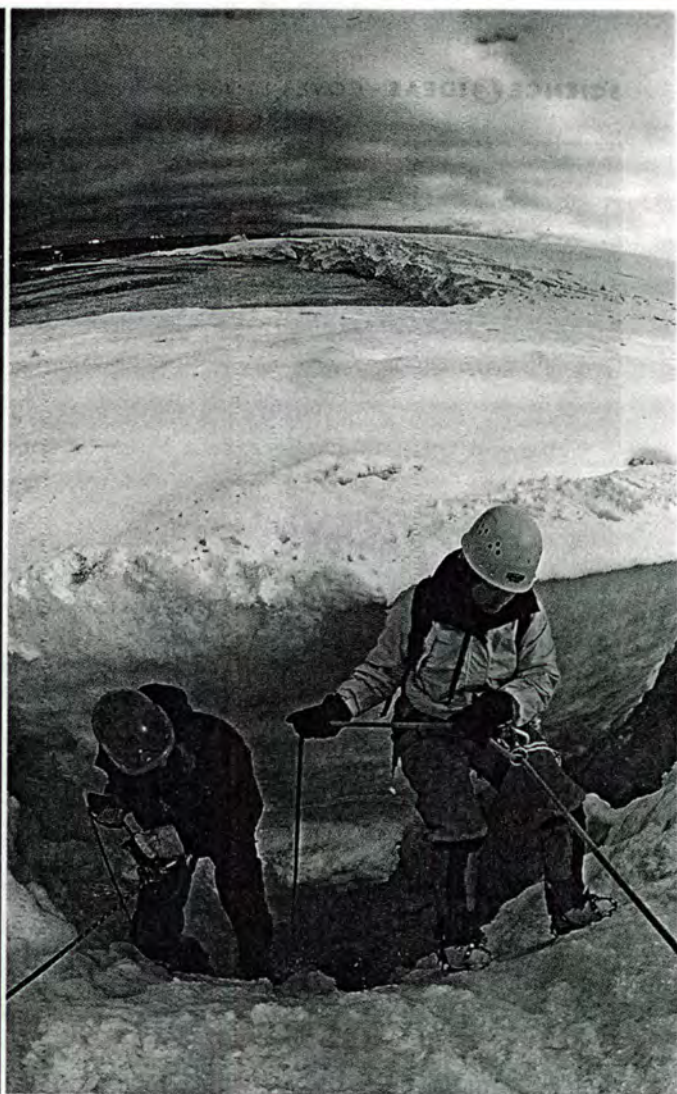
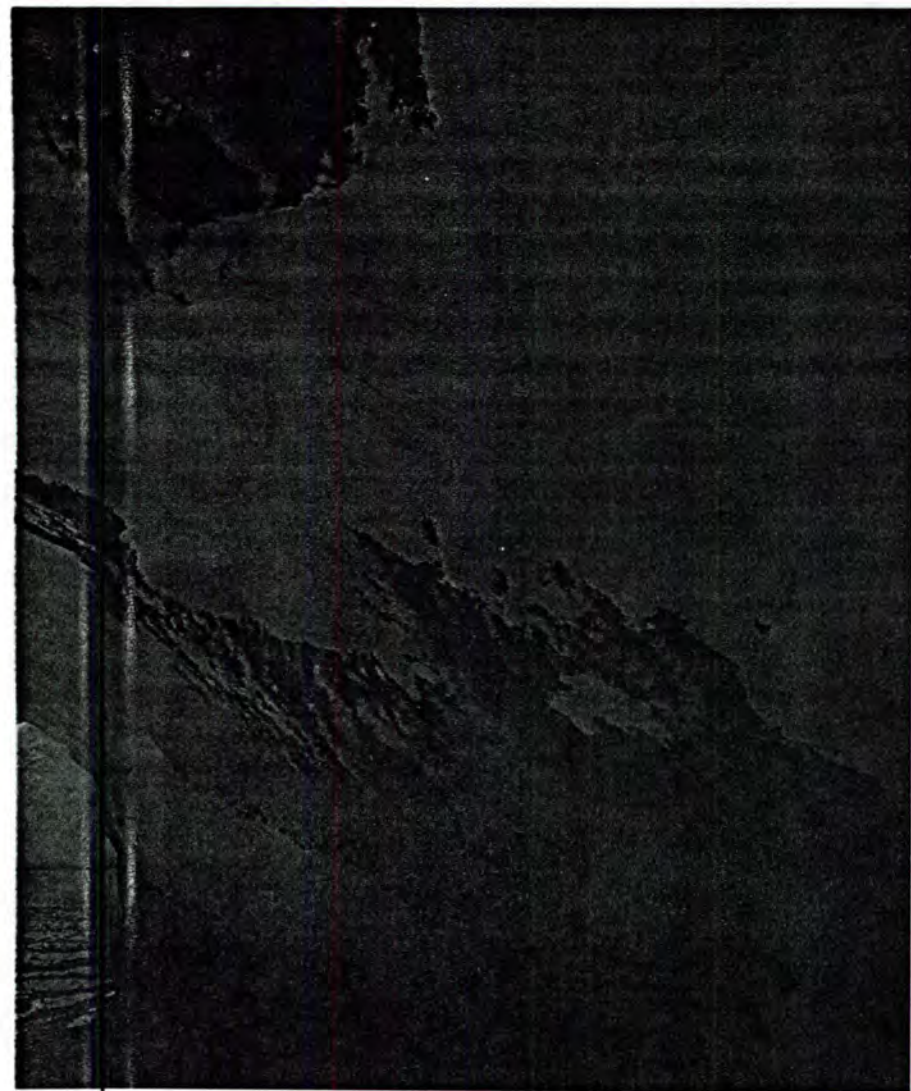
cooled a bit. Such inconsistency is among reasons skeptics assert that global warming is too uncertain to merit costly programs to contain it.

But here warming is no mere hypothesis. And one senses how high the stakes are if the skeptics are wrong. The local warm-up is already in the same ballpark as that which the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change—set up in 1988 by the United Nations and the World Meteorological Organization to advise politicians—expects for the rest of the world during the next century.

The changes aren't subtle. One hundred miles to the east, on the other side of the Antarctic Peninsula, the immense and supposedly permanent Larsen Ice

Shelf began to disintegrate in 1995. Nearly 1,000 square miles of shelf have collapsed just in the past two years, with thousands of square miles more appearing ready to go. "Climate change showed up on the radar screen 30 years ago or so, but most people back then never thought we'd





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really have to worry about it," says Bill Fraser, a tall, rangy ecologist and penguin specialist from Montana State University. He is the station's chief scientist and has been coming down here for two decades. "Now, right here, we're basically confirming what the models back then said would happen if climate changed. The species most vulnerable, those at the edges of their natural ranges, would be affected first. And that is what is happening."

In recent years, hints of wildlife migrations and local extinctions have been picked up around the world—butterflies moving to new ranges, for instance, or plants moving to higher altitudes on mountains. But the picture here is simpler and starker. Not only is warming greater but, except for the occasional scientist or carefully monitored tourist, direct human impact is scant. So one cannot blame wildlife changes on factors like toxic pollution, agriculture, or urbanization.

And wildlife shifts are unmistakable. Around Palmer and elsewhere on the western side of the peninsula there is not only less ice but a new set of residents. Southern elephant seals—the males are massive, sluglike beasts that can reach 8,800

pounds—usually raise their young farther north in more temperate climes like the Falkland Islands. But one day this summer 254 elephant seals, including many pups, were seen on just two islands near Palmer, with uncounted others presumably living up and down the coast. More hospitable weather is the only explanation scientists have for this sudden migration southward.

New colonies. Fur seals, too, were not reported here before midcentury. But five years ago, a research vessel counted 2,000 of them on just one island farther south. Similarly, gentoo penguins and chinstrap penguins, species common closer to South America but virtually absent in fossil deposits around Palmer, are establishing new colonies on the peninsula. And while nobody expects forests to appear on these icy plains, low grass, tiny shrubs, and mosses are thickening rapidly in many areas of the peninsula.

To see what such rapid heating does to a landscape and its wildlife, a *U.S. News* team visited Palmer in January, the height of austral summer. The peninsula has no airstrip, so it takes four days from Punta Arenas, Chile, across the Drake Passage

Glaciers 101: launching an aerial camera to measure glacial retreat; exploring inside an ice cave; rappelling into a fissure in search of microbacteria.

● *On the Antarctic Peninsula, warming is no mere hypothesis.*

aboard the Laurence M. Gould, an oceanographic research and resupply vessel under charter to the National Science Foundation. NSF manages the \$200 million-per-year U.S. Antarctic program, and Palmer is one of the agency's premier sites for studying long-term ecological change.

At a glance the region looks much as it did to American seal hunter Nathaniel Palmer and other explorers who saw this part of the world in the 1820s. Palmer Station's small cluster of blue, corrugated steel buildings perch upon a rocky shore. Behind them the glacier extends as far as the eye can see. Inside the friendly base are laboratories, warm bunks, a good kitchen, and the "Penguin Pub" bar. Over the pool table is an old whale's rib, and above the fridge is an orange life preserver from the Argentine ship *Bahía Paraíso*, which sank after hitting nearby rocks in 1989. Its hulk



is still visible from the station at low tide, and it still smells of the oil that wiped out a cormorant colony in the weeks after the wreck. Outside, gale-force winds can pour down the glacier without warning, sucking the warmth from anybody caught outside and not bundled up.

No passports. Palmer, with a maximum population of around 40 and an annual cost of \$12 million, is one of three U.S. Antarctic stations and the only one on the peninsula. The main U.S. headquarters is McMurdo Station, nearly 2,500 miles away on the Ross Sea, where the population can exceed 1,000 people, and the other station is at the South Pole. Like all of Antarctica, the peninsula is a utopia of international cooperation. No one needs a passport to be here. The 1959 Antarctic Treaty suspended all territorial claims and reserved the great white continent for scientific research.

Fraser, 49, came here as a grad student and soon after did a 14-month sojourn. He makes no secret of the fact that he loves Adélie penguins. Changes here are not limited to new species moving in. Indeed, the Adélies are dying off, and fast.

Adélie penguins are in decline. Chief scientist Bill Fraser checks on petrel chicks.

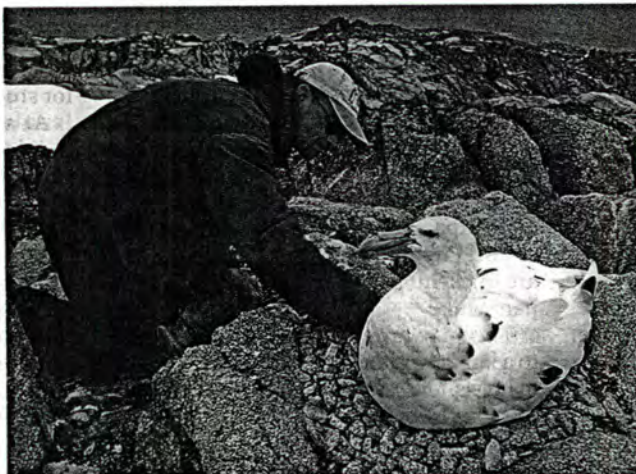
● *Being hard-wired "is a behavioral flaw in times of climate change."*

Imagine a flock of turkeys trying to bleat like sheep, amplify it a few times, and that is the sound of a colony of Adélies. They are packed into nests of small pebbles stained pink with guano, and one often smells their raucous colonies before hearing them. Analysis of debris under nest-

ing sites indicates that Adélies have dominated bird life around here for at least 600 years. And, to a first-time visitor during nesting season, Adélies seem to be waddling comically everywhere on the small offshore islands or slicing swiftly through the waves and dodging fierce leopard seals that prey upon them.

But 25 years ago more than 15,000 pairs of the penguins nested yearly within about 2 miles of the base. This year, there are about 7,700 of the handsome, formal-clad couples raising young. The population is down 10 percent in just the past two years. One soon learns to recognize the silent expanses of pebbles that mark extinct colonies.

On Torgersen Island, about half a mile west of Palmer, Fraser quietly watches and counts the birds as they come and go or tend their nests and their chicks. The chicks are about two-thirds the size of an adult and covered in gray down. But in addition to taking a census of the Adélies, Fraser wants to know what the birds are eating. "You know how the old-timers did this?" he asks. He takes aim down an imaginary rifle barrel. "Plink! I just don't think I could ever do that. No way."



Instead, he and co-researcher Donna Patterson select five of the 18-inch-high Adélies as they hop across the rocks, tumbling plump from foraging at sea. After a short chase, they drop a net over each bird, pick it up by the base of a flipper, and carefully measure its skull and beak size. While Fraser grips the bird's torso between his knees, Patterson gets behind him to hold its calloused, sharp-nailed feet. Field assistant and graduate student Erik Chapman dips a clear, flexible tube in olive oil. He passes the tube to Fraser, who with a look of apology on his face, slides it down the penguin's throat. Turning a hand crank, Chapman pumps warm salt water into the bird's stomach. In a moment, the bird regurgitates the water, along with its recent meal.

Stoics. Bird by bird, the researchers fill small plastic bags with disgorged krill, the shrimplike plankton that are the near-exclusive fare of penguins here. Except for a slight pink color from exposure to digestive enzymes and acids, the limp crustaceans look fresh. A pair of brown skuas—powerful predatory relatives of gulls that fly like eagles and often consume stray penguin chicks—alight nearby. They know they'll get some leftovers tossed to the ground by the scientists. As far as can be told, the procedure does the penguins no harm. They endure it with impressive equanimity. Upon release, each scrambles away, flippers flapping, then resumes a deliberate walk back to the colony where mate and offspring wait.

An hour or so later, Bill, Donna, and Erik are back at a lab bench on Palmer's ground floor, picking through the erstwhile penguin meals with tweezers, measuring each of the krill against a ruler. To the untrained eye they don't look ominous—fat and near the 2.5-inch maximum length that these krill reach. But Fraser sees something else. "This looks bad," he says, laying a few krill upon the lab bench's black surface. Such big krill are at least three years old. Young krill depend in their first winter on shelter under the solid ice that forms on the sea surface. The absence of young krill in these Adélies' diet reinforces Fraser's fear that this food source could collapse if winters around here remain as warm and ice free as they have become. Recently, winter ice is getting rarer. At mid-century 4 out of every 5 winters here produced extensive sea ice. Now, just 2 in 5 bring the heavy winter ice necessary to shelter the young krill.

As early as the mid-'80s, researchers at Palmer could see the local Adélie population dropping. At the same time, chinstrap penguins, almost unknown here before the late 1950s, were (and are) prospering, sometimes walking right into Adélie rookeries

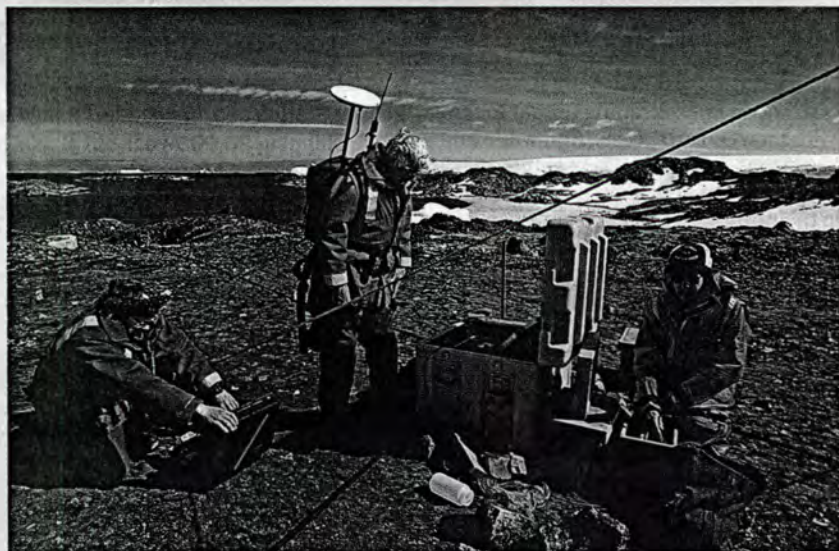
SOUTH POLE SNOOPING

Listening for sounds of illegal nukes

Antarctica is not the most obvious place to go to listen for atomic bomb explosions nor the most accessible. But that's precisely why 71-year-old Charles "Buck" Wilson is the man for the job. He has made 12 trips to the continent since 1957. A physics professor at the University of Alaska-Fairbanks, Wilson specializes in "infrasonics," or extremely low-frequency sound waves that can travel around the Earth, inaudible to all but the most specialized instruments.

Wilson and his colleagues are here because the Vienna-based commission that oversees the Comprehen-

dreds of yards to miles long, but they can travel tens of thousands of miles. The scientists use long porous tubes attached to microphones to sample pressure changes over a wide swath of ground. It is actually an old method, used by the Air Force in the 1950s and spiffed up with modern electronics. It is back in vogue with the test-ban organization because, while the United States relies mainly on satellite surveillance and ultrasensitive seismic instruments, even the smallest countries signing the treaty can use this technology to set up an infrasonic station and monitor enforcement.



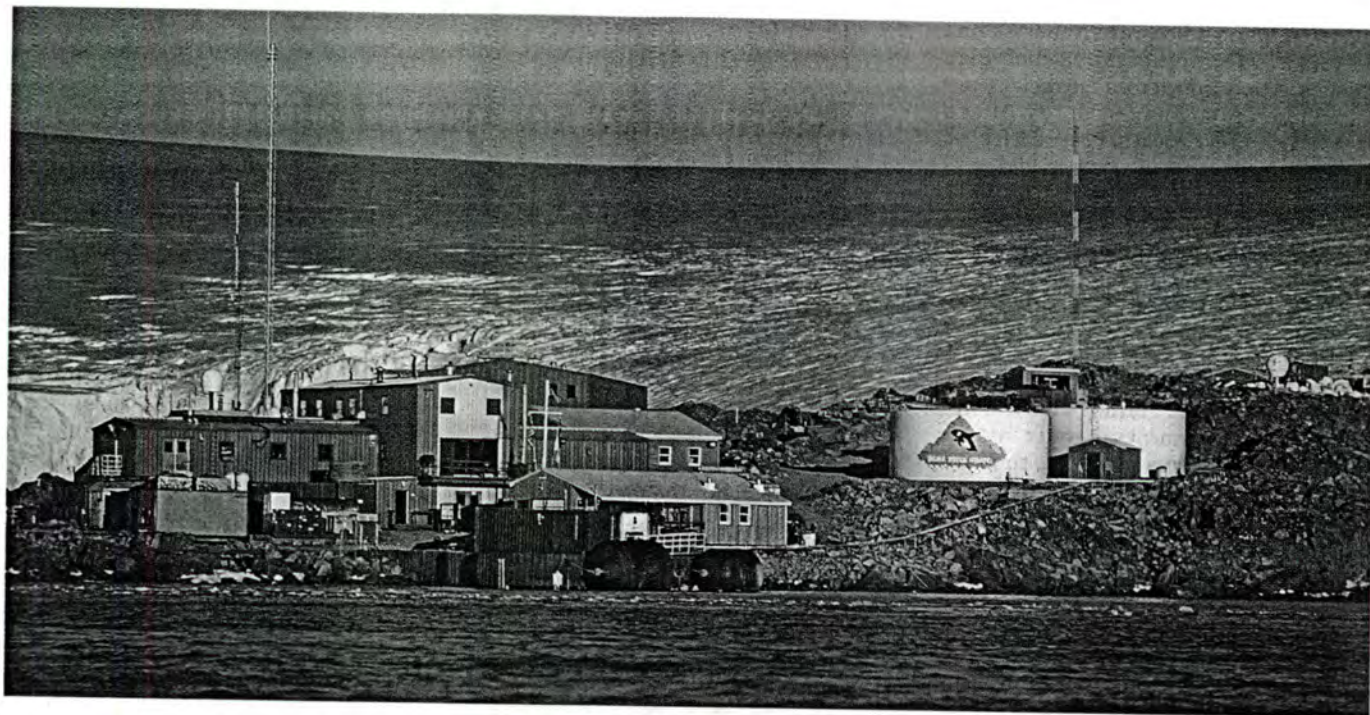
Buck Wilson and colleagues set up an eavesdropping device.

• Inaudible "infrasonic" waves can travel around the Earth.

sive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty is setting up a network of 60 listening posts around the globe. The posts are designed to detect the deep atmospheric pulsations caused by such events as volcanic eruptions, the drumming of the ocean by marine storms—and clandestine atmospheric tests of nuclear explosives.

Equalizer. Ordinary sound waves, the kind we can hear, vibrate at frequencies of several hundred to more than 10,000 times per second. Infrasonic instruments must detect sound waves ranging in frequency from one fiftieth to four times per second. The individual wavelengths may be hun-

The team set up four microphone sites around Palmer to test the equipment. While there, the scientists recorded the calving of new icebergs from nearby glaciers, confirming that the site ought to work for its purpose of detecting nuclear bombs set off in the atmosphere. Now, if the treaty's overseers approve the site, the team hopes to establish more-sensitive, permanent instruments designed to withstand years of snow and ice. While waiting for any nukes to go off, Wilson will use the instrument for the science that interests him most: listening to the deep songs, gurgles, and bellows of a planet. —C.W.P.



and setting up housekeeping flipper to flipper with their cousin species. And while krill may be down, both penguins eat them, so a food shortage seemed an unlikely way to explain their differing fates. Except for a dark line under their beaks, chinstraps look a lot like Adélies. And for a long time scientists knew of no significant behavioral differences between the species that would explain why one might do better than the other. A big clue came in the coldest, darkest months of 1988. That year the U.S.-chartered research vessel *Polar Duke* explored the Weddell Sea on the east side of the Antarctic Peninsula. The expedition, with Fraser on board, found the winter ice pack swarming with Adélie penguins. By contrast, the open sea glittered with chinstraps. Until then nobody knew that Adélies depend on sea ice to get through the winter, feeding on krill around its edges. In recent years, as sea ice has become scarcer around Palmer, it became apparent why the region's Adélies were struggling while the chinstraps flourished.

But that's not the Adélies' only problem. By nature, Adélies are hard-wired for a narrow and inflexible range of behavior, as an anecdote from several winters ago illustrates. The icebreaker encountered perhaps 2,000 Adélies marching along single file. As the ship pulled even with the marchers, the lead bird reached a gap in the ice perhaps a foot across. It

Palmer Station and, inside, the "Penguin Pub": chipping 20,000-year-old glacial ice for the happy hour's blue martinis

● *The 1959 Antarctic Treaty reserved the great white continent for research.*

hesitated, hopped over, tripped on a small bump, fell flat on its face, popped up, and kept going. "Damned if every single penguin didn't jump at exactly the same place and do a face plant exactly like the first one," Fraser recalls. "Bam, bam, bam." Not one Adélie thought to cross just 5 inches to the left or right. "That says something about the intelligence of Adélies," Fraser said.

This is more than a humorous story to Fraser. It demonstrates that, even more than many other penguins, this species has

evolved very inflexible habits. "That is a boon in a fragile and tough environment where, once one finds a good niche, it pays off to stick with it," Fraser explains. "But it is a behavioral flaw in times of climate change."

Creatures of habit. Around Palmer, he sees evidence on every visit to the rookeries of the Adélies' inability to adjust to surprises. The birds live a dozen years or longer and mate for life. Once a pair establishes a nesting site—most commonly on the same island where they were born and often in the same colony—the couple usually returns to the exact same nesting place year after year.

But warmer air holds more moisture, and in this still-cold place, that means more snow. Prevailing winds here pile snow deepest on the southwest-facing sides of the small

islands where the penguins nest. The birds there seem incapable of recognizing, in the deepening snow, that it is time to set up housekeeping somewhere else. When spring arrives in September and October, the Adélies often—and stubbornly—pile pebbles atop snow 2 feet thick or more to build their nests. Later, frigid meltwater kills eggs and newborn chicks by the score. By contrast, chinstraps seem a bit more flexible in where they nest, choosing sites based more on their immediate suitability.

During a penguin-counting survey on Cormorant Island, Patterson points to a tiny rem-



nant Adélie outpost. It has two nests, surrounded by a penumbra of smoothed pebbles where hundreds of penguins raised their young 10 years ago. And standing about insolently are half a dozen brown skuas, waiting for a chance to grab a lightly defended baby penguin. Maps of Adélie colonies consistently show that most of the failed colonies are located where snows have become deepest. The chicks born in these places are hatched later and are smaller. Chicks from colonies on northern-facing shores weigh an average of near-

ly 7 pounds; those on snowier south shores are a pound lighter. "Lightweight chicks won't survive their first winter," Fraser says.

Every failed penguin colony could be just one more local chapter in the pitiless pageant of nature. Certainly, there are no endangered species here. Adélies are flourishing at the southern end of their range in the Ross Sea. And that fits the climate-change model, too. The Ross Sea historically has been so bitterly cold that a little warming there makes it more, not less,

hospitable to the Adélies. "Their whole range," Fraser observes, "seems to be shifting south."

But in most of the world, the natural ranges of species cannot move as easily as they can in this vast, unspoiled continent. If warmer weather drives a species to the edge of a city, or to the top of a mountain, that may be the end of it. And that's why the lessons from the Adélies here should demand attention elsewhere.

Palmer is one of several sites in the Long-Term Ecological Research program,

TERRA INCOGNITA

Courage, endurance, and nonsense

Long before anyone knew for sure that it even existed, people nursed bizarre notions about Antarctica. One writer who came relatively close to the truth was England's Robert Paltock, who in 1751 penned a fantasy about a South Pole enveloped in ice. The vegetarian men and women who lived there—"glumms" and "gawreys"—had wings and flew from one frigid spot to another. On long flights, they toted dehydrated food.

Paltock's tale presaged the use of aircraft and dried meals by 20th-century visitors. He also got the weather right, unlike many of his peers who didn't know that the Earth's basement was unusually cold. The notion of a mild spot in the extreme south had persisted since the end of the flat-Earth age. At the bottom of the globe, mapmakers placed a blank continent, Terra Incognita, the "Unknown Land." For the Earth to remain balanced, scholars reasoned, there had to be such a place and it had to be big. They figured it also had a decent climate and a significant population like their own.

Fertile imagination. The biggest dreamer of all was hydrographer Alexander Dalrymple, who wrote a book in 1767 giving Terra Incognita as much land as Asia plus 50

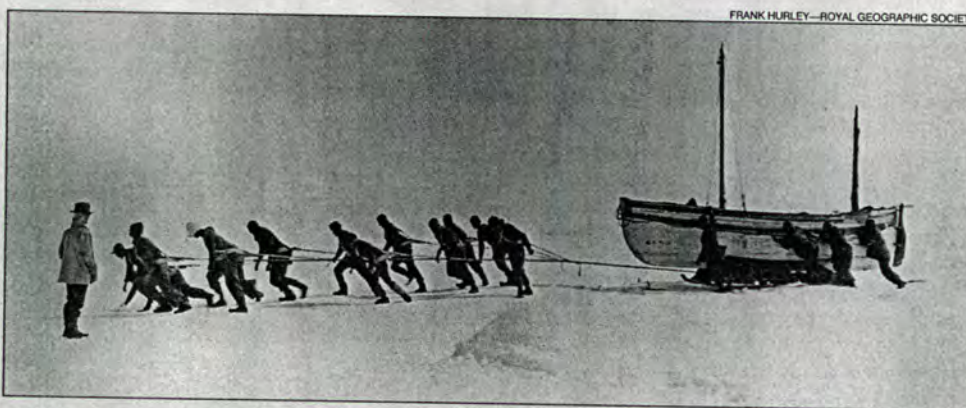
million people. Once England found and colonized this fertile region, he argued, it would have a trade partner superior to the 2 million ingrates in colonial America.

James Cook, first to cross the Antarctic Circle, ended the myth. In the 1770s, the English captain followed the

era of exploration.

A 1901 German expedition took the first recording of penguin noises. The kaiser was unimpressed, but other missions drew headlines across the world. Cheers greeted Norway's Roald Amundsen after he reached the South Pole in 1911, five

Shackleton, whose 1914 mission—to cross Antarctica on foot—went awry when his ship, the *Endurance*, was trapped and, 10 months later, crushed by ice. For five more months, he and his 27 men camped on drifting floes. Eventually, he and five crew members made an 800-mile ocean crossing in a lifeboat to South Georgia Island, where they struggled across



FRANK HURLEY—ROYAL GEOGRAPHIC SOCIETY

In 1915, after the *Endurance* was crushed, Shackleton's crew towed a lifeboat across the ice.
● "There's hardly an actor in England who doesn't want to play Shackleton."

continent's rim of ice around the globe. If any land existed beyond the ice packs, he concluded, it was "doomed by Nature to everlasting frigidness... whose horrible and savage aspect I have not words to describe." With that, the world knew enough about the unknown continent to leave it alone. Not until 1820 did anyone see any land. In 1895, scientists at an international geographical congress resolved to end the neglect and open

weeks ahead of Britain's Robert Falcon Scott. But once word broke that Scott had died in a blizzard on his return, the loser became the hero. "Had we lived," Scott wrote in his final hours, "I should have had a tale to tell of the hardihood, endurance, and courage of my companions which would have stirred the heart of every Englishman."

These days, the saga that stirs hearts the most is that of another Briton, Ernest

mountains to a whaling station. He then rescued the men he left behind.

The Shackleton exhibit that packed venues in New York and Washington opens on June 23 at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Mass. Within a year, Columbia Pictures hopes to start filming an epic movie. "There's hardly an actor in England," says producer Gail Katz, "who isn't interested in playing Shackleton." —Lewis Lord



sponsored by NSF to keep track of how wildlife in specific areas is doing. While Fraser has been there longest, other Palmer-based scientists track the richness of the bottom of the food chain, including marine algae and other plankton in the sea, the krill that feed on plankton, and microbes living in the water, ice, and thin soil.

Man with a plan. Temperature and snowfall are not the only changing environmental factors here, either. The famed ozone hole, a loss of ultraviolet-absorbing ozone molecules in the stratosphere over Antarctica, affects the Palmer area in October and November each year. Ultraviolet radiation levels soar. University of Texas graduate student Jarah Meador found so many bacteria living in the glacier fragments floating in the harbor that she E-mailed Wade Jeffrey of the University of West Florida, principal investigator on a program to monitor the effects of ultraviolet radiation on Antarctic microbes. He had a plan.

One sunny day, after some training in rappelling down ice cliffs with the base search-and-rescue team, Meador hiked up the glacier behind the base and lowered

Taking a hike across the glacier behind Palmer Station at sunset

● *At a glance, the region looks much like it did to explorers in the 1820s.*

herself on a rope down a narrow crevasse that extended 100 feet into the ice. "It's great down there," she exulted on the way back out. In the deep blue light filtering through the ice, she dug into the vertical wall of ice at intervals, carefully preventing contamination while she gathered samples. If the microbes at great depth turn out to be different from those near the surface, it could mean that evolution is already retuning the microbes to tolerate increased levels of ultraviolet radiation.

No one yet knows how or whether the ozone hole is a major threat to the region's biology. But there is little doubt about warming and penguins. After a few decades watching the same population of birds—he is now studying great-grandchicks of some of his first ones—Fraser says he is beginning to feel, in his bones, what he calls ecological time: the decades to centuries over which populations ebb, flow, and

sometimes vanish. At one of the station's evening science seminars, physicist Dan Lubin of Scripps Institution of Oceanography, at Palmer to study how ice and open sea reflect sunlight, notes that climate change does not appear or disappear quickly. The atmosphere's carbon dioxide and other solar-energy-trapping gases won't return to preindustrial levels for 200 years or more, even if humans could somehow stop their emissions right now. "Two hundred years!" Fraser says. "Even in ecological time, that is enough to really screw things up."

As this account goes to press, Fraser reports by E-mail from Palmer that this year's chicks, so fuzzy and hapless in mid-January, have already changed into juvenile plumage and are going for their first swims. In a couple of weeks, if you can imagine this, the islands will be silent, as the penguins head out to sea for winter. And next year, he and Donna Patterson will be back to greet them when they return to raise another generation—and to count how many made it to another spring. ●

For more Antarctica photos, see U.S. News Online (<http://www.usnews.com>).

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The Tragedy of Myanmar

Few governments warrant isolation more than Myanmar's military junta, one of the most brutal and repressive regimes in the world. But the cruelty of Myanmar, formerly Burma, is increasingly a regional problem that threatens to destabilize its Southeast Asian neighbors with refugees, narcotics and now AIDS. Unfortunately, Myanmar has faded from attention at a time when the need for concerted action has never been greater.

The latest disturbing news is that Myanmar's booming heroin trade is contributing to the spread of AIDS in nearby countries, notably India, China and Vietnam. Myanmar is the world's second-largest source of opium and heroin, after Afghanistan. It also has its own exploding epidemics of drug use and AIDS.

The courageous opposition leader and 1991 Nobel peace laureate, Daw Aung San Suu Kyi, an advocate of nonviolent resistance, remains under strict government control in the capital, Yangon, formerly called Rangoon. The government continues with a campaign of harassment and imprisonment of her party, the National League for Democracy, which won 80 percent of the parliamentary

seats in a 1990 election that the junta then annulled.

In recent years South Korea, the Philippines and Thailand have replaced authoritarian regimes with fledgling democracies. Now Indonesia has done the same. The changes present a fresh opening for action on Myanmar, but the world has been slow to seize it. The United Nations secretary general, Kofi Annan, has yet to appoint a new special envoy for Myanmar to coordinate international efforts to bring pressure on the junta.

The White House took the lead in isolating Myanmar, imposing sanctions on new investment there in 1997. But the problem has not been high on Washington's agenda for many months. The Association of Southeast Asian Nations, which includes Myanmar, will meet in July, and the Group of Eight leading industrial nations will gather in Japan the same month. Tokyo continues to do business with Myanmar's leaders. Washington should use the occasion of this summer's meetings to persuade its democratic friends in the region to shun Myanmar and make clear that normal trade and diplomatic relations cannot be sustained as long as the government abuses its people.

Death by Lynching

The walls of a room at the New-York Historical Society are now lined with small photographs of American lynchings. The victims are mainly black, mainly Southern. Some of the photographs are postcards and some are souvenirs that were printed by the dozens and hundreds by commercial photographers who had been at the scene. This exhibition, which chronicles an epidemic of lynchings in this country between 1890 and 1930, is called "Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America." It runs until July 9.

Ordinarily museums are eager to spread the images they show on their walls. They publish posters and postcards. They print T-shirts and scarves. But there will be no postcards from this exhibition, even though it is, in part, an exhibition of postcards. One kind of viewing — very different from the kind that these photos originally elicited — is being sanctioned here, as it is in the accompanying book, and it is worth thinking about the meaning of that difference.

After all, at this exhibition we are a crowd looking at a crowd looking at a lynching. And we are looking at the lynching too. Again and again, a white mob looks back at us. Its members smile or point or prod the corpse, or they merely settle for looking grim and purposeful. In one extraordinary case, a black man about to be lynched — a man named Frank Embree, naked, bound and whipped until

bleeding — looks back at us, beyond us too, challenging our moral imagination across the years.

This exhibition supplies knowledge of a fact that, though public, was still historically hidden. These lynchings took place in public and were often fomented by public men. These photographs were publicly taken, openly owned. They usually show a body hanging in a public place — in a courthouse square, from the largest tree in town, off a newly built bridge. They evince no shame and only the self-consciousness the camera causes. But as a genre, a category of images, they had largely retreated from sight until now. They can be made public again only because now we ask them to carry an utterly different meaning than they once did — an outcry against racism rather than a reinforcement of it.

It is too simple to say that in our time and on these walls these photographs embody shame, because they do not. Again and again, a viewer looks to see what is in those white faces gathered beneath the naked feet of a hanging dead man who was hideously innocent. It is mostly satisfaction. The victims of these lynchings were killed out of race hatred, out of loathing, out of blood lust. But ultimately they were killed out of false knowledge, out of what a mob thought it knew about guilt and innocence, law and justice, white and black. That is the horror of these photographs. False knowledge always seems so true at the time.

The New York Times

THURSDAY, MARCH 16, 2000

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Decoding the Patent Battle

TUESDAY'S FURIOUS DECLINE in the biotech sector following President Clinton's statement on gene-mapping was fueled by investor confusion about what genetic information can be patented, and what DNA information the government thinks should be made public.

The most critical distinction is between genes—which can be patented—and raw DNA sequence information, which can't be patented.

The government-funded Human Genome Project is merely deciphering the raw string of three billion chemical letters that form the human DNA. This raw DNA sequence by itself is of no medical value. In fact, most of it consists of so-called junk DNA, whose function is completely unknown. Only a tiny fraction contains genes, which make the proteins that perform most critical functions in the body. One can't easily tell by looking at raw DNA sequence where the genes are.

Still, government officials believe this information should be released to the public because it can serve as a roadmap for gene hunters who are try-

ing to find disease-causing genes by various methods, such as studying families afflicted with inherited diseases. For several years the policy has been that federally funded researchers release raw DNA sequence data as soon as they find it. The White House statement simply affirmed this long-standing policy. In particular, the statement doesn't compel any private company to alter its gene-data-release policies.

In contrast to raw DNA information, researchers have always been able to patent genes—as long as they know something about what a gene does. The focus of most gene-mapping biotech companies is in identifying important disease-causing genes, not decoding raw gene-sequence information. The presidential announcement doesn't affect the ability to patent genes.

The gene patenting controversy is about how much must be known about what a gene does before it warrants a patent. Many patents have been filed by gene hunters who have only a very rough idea about what a gene does. The unresolved question is whether this type of patent will be meaningful.

—Robert Langreth



Craig Venter
President
Celera Genomics Group



Francis Collins
Top U.S. Official
Human Genome Project



William Haseltine
CEO
Human Genome Sciences



Roy Whitfield
CEO
Incyte Pharmaceuticals Inc.

IN THE BIOTECH RALLY of the past few months, investors have often lumped all genomics companies together. In fact, they take vastly different approaches toward mining human DNA: database companies sell genome data to drug companies but don't develop drugs themselves; pharmaceutical-oriented companies use gene databases to develop their own drugs; and tool companies such as Affymetrix Inc. sell hardware such as DNA chips that are used to analyze genetic information. Some of the key private and public players:

■ **Celera Genomics Group** (Rockville, Md.): A unit of PE Corp., it's racing with the Human Genome Project to be the first to decipher the entire DNA sequence. It hopes to use this information to find rare but important

genes that can't be found by other methods. The company believes a giant market selling gene information to drug companies, academics, and even individuals will soon develop, and it wants to be the leader in selling genome database information. However, its strategy is controversial because it also plans to use computer algorithms to identify and patent new genes, without doing much laboratory research. Some top researchers see President Clinton's statement as a signal that the patent office may become stricter about allowing this type of patent.

■ **Human Genome Project** (Bethesda, Md., and elsewhere): This massive public project, funded mainly by the U.S. government and a British charity, Wellcome Trust, is attempting to determine the entire human DNA

sequence. Since Celera was formed in 1998, the Genome Project has vastly accelerated its efforts in order to compete with Celera. It now plans to release a rough draft of the genome in a few months, and a final version by 2003 at the latest. Recently, Genome Project officials attempted to form a collaboration with Celera to make a finished version of the genome, but negotiations have foundered over when the data would be released for public and commercial use.

■ Human Genome Sciences Inc.

(Rockville, Md.): HGS was one of the first companies to develop a big database of genes and gene fragments. In the early 1990s, HGS licensed its database to SmithKline Beecham PLC, which hoped to develop numerous new drugs based on this information. But SmithKline's drugs have been slow in coming. Today, HGS is focusing on developing its own protein-based drugs from its database, and has several drugs in human testing.

■ Incyte Pharmaceuticals Inc.

(Palo Alto, Calif.): Incyte has developed a giant database of genes, catalogued by where they are located in the body, similar to HGS's database. Twenty drug companies have paid to license the database in hopes of finding targets for new drugs. Anyone who markets a drug based on Incyte's database will have to pay a small royalty. Incyte is also at the center of the controversy over gene patents, as it holds many gene patents based mainly on computer analysis.

*Pls have cake made
try to keep - He's old friend*

E WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 16, 2000

Ben Light
441 Avenue L
Bogalusa, Louisiana 70427

Dear Ben:

I was so sorry to learn of your illness and
wanted you to know I'm pulling for you during
this difficult time.

Hang in there! Hillary and I are keeping you
in our thoughts and prayers.

Sincerely,

Bill

*copied
Burkhardt*

TO: The President
FROM: Nancy Hernreich
Helen Robinson
DATE: March 14, 2000
MEMO: Ben Light in hospital.

3/14/00
JB
already talked
to Linda
Dixon
Hr

Don Moak from Clarkville, AR called to inform us that Ben Light is in the hospital and not doing well. Ben is having trouble getting his social security started and would like the President to intervene.

If you have any questions, Don Moak can be reached in Clarkville, AR at (501) 754-8682
Or (501) 754-7337.

*Linda - do you know this person
for NH*

file - 36510

Ben's # 504-732-0335
441 Avenue L
Bogalusa, LA 70427

Don wanted POTUS to know
that they are
putting together a fundraiser for Ben because
Ben's financial situation is so dire —
ear infection → went to brain — can hardly
talk (stroke-like symptoms), uses a walker
Eugene

3-16-00

Richetti
This is good
TJ


copied
Richetti
Padesta

Gun-Friendly Governor

'95 Law Lets 200,000 Conceal Arms

By PAUL DUGGAN
Washington Post Staff Writer

AI

AUSTIN—In a makeshift classroom at a suburban gun store near here, nine men who described themselves as decent, hard-working, law-abiding Texans sat listening to a firearms instructor named Ross Bransford one recent Saturday.

Bransford, a lifetime member of the National Rifle Association, told the men that decent, hard-working, law-abiding Texans should not have to cower from dangerous criminals. Honest citizens, properly trained, should be free to bear arms publicly, to protect themselves and their loved ones.

The men nodded emphatically. "Damn right," said one. And after 10 hours of instruction in the techniques, risks and legal rules of lethal self-defense, each would get a certificate allowing him to apply for a state permit to carry a concealed firearm in public. Then let violent predators beware.

"I wouldn't pull my gun unless I was in extreme danger," said one of the men in the class, 35-year-old Tim Hutcherson, a manufacturing supervisor. "Or if I saw someone walking around a bus or a school with a gun, and they weren't clearly identified as a peace officer."

In the five years since Gov. George W. Bush took office, the concept of an armed citizenry as a deterrent to crime has gained a firm hold in Texas. In his first campaign for governor, in 1994, Bush promised gun enthusiasts that he would sign a bill ending the state's century-old ban on the carrying of sidearms by civilians—and he did. Now, to the dismay of gun control advocates, more than 200,000 Texans are licensed to carry concealed handguns, and the number continues to go up.

As he emerges as the Republican presidential nominee, Bush can expect his Democratic rival, Vice President Gore, to cast him as a slavish ally of the gun lobby, as he has begun to do with increasing heat in recent days.

Last year, amid a nationwide trend of lawsuits against gun manufacturers by communities seeking to recoup the public health costs of gun violence, Bush was among 14 governors who signed laws barring local jurisdictions from bringing such cases. And he declined to back legislation here that would have expanded background checks on buyers at gun shows in the state.

But this is Texas—Ross Bransford's Texas—an increasingly suburban state, yet one imbued with a spirit of rural self-reliance dating to its frontier days. Nearly 60 percent of households in the state have firearms in them, according to recent surveys, compared with 34 percent of homes nationwide. In turning his pro-gun sentiments into public policy, Bush has reflected not only the NRA's line, but the enduring pro-gun passion of the state that twice elected him.

"There's this whole idea that we're a bunch of gun-toting hicks, a bunch of Bubbas with gun racks going around shooting everything up, and that's wrong," said another of Bransford's students, Michael Kelley, an aide to a state senator. "People have firearms around them their whole lives. We have a healthy respect for them. I feel safer in Texas because I know Texans understand guns."

The NRA's Austin lobbyist, Gib Lewis, said public support for a Texas concealed-carry law began building in the 1980s, a reaction to rising crime. It was a "grass-roots movement"

having nothing to do with the gun lobby, said Lewis, a former Texas House speaker. But gun control activists contend that the push for a concealed-carry statute here was part of a national campaign by the NRA.

While 14 states give local police officials the discretion to issue or deny concealed-carry licenses, the bill that Bush signed made Texas a "shall issue" state, meaning every qualified applicant must be given a permit. Similar "shall issue" laws have been enacted—most since 1987—in more than two dozen other states, including Virginia, where 144,000 permits have been issued.

In his successful campaign to unseat incumbent Democrat Ann W. Richards, Bush focused on an array of issues, including public safety, accusing her of being soft on crime. The concealed-carry bill he signed after his first legislative session took effect in September 1995.

"Texas says that responsible citizens who are licensed and trained ought to be able to protect themselves," Scott McClellan, a Bush spokesman, said recently. "The nurse who works at night, the woman who travels alone in her car across Texas—these people feel safer because of this law."

Women make up a minority of the state's 204,000 concealed-carry permit holders. Men hold 80 percent of the permits. Overall, 92 percent of permit-holders are white, like the nine men in Ross Bransford's class.

No state agency, including the Department of Public Safety (DPS), which issues the permits, has tried to measure the effect of the concealed-carry law. But like other initial foes of the statute, Kenneth Yarbrough, who headed the Texas Association of Police Chiefs in the early 1990s, said there is no evidence of an increase in gun violence since the law took effect. "The things we were worried about have not happened," said Yarbrough, a suburban chief near Dallas.

To obtain a permit after completing a gun class, an applicant must attest that he or she has no felony record or certain types of pending charges, has not been diagnosed with a disqualifying mental illness, is not a drug addict or alcoholic, is not subject to a restraining

order, and has not defaulted on back taxes, child support payments or a student loan.

The DPS said it has revoked 1,005 permits since 1996, usually after being notified by local authorities that permit-holders had been convicted of crimes or become disqualified in other ways.

In a 1998 report, the anti-gun Violence Policy Center in Washington decried the statute, noting that 2,000 permit-holders (out of 180,000 at the time) had been charged with crimes in the previous three years, from 442 instances of drunk driving to five cases of murder and attempted murder. But not all of those permit-holders were convicted, and not all were accused of offenses that would disqualify them from carrying a concealed handgun, the DPS said.

As to whether the concealed-carry statute is partly responsible for Texas's overall declining crime rate, co-author and state Rep. Bill G. Carter (R) said: "I strongly believe it is. These predators have to think twice now before picking a victim." Bush, who owns a shotgun and a hunting rifle but has never been an NRA member, credits the drop in crime to the concealed-carry law and to other laws he has signed, toughening penalties for violent offenders, especially those who use guns. But criminal justice experts note that crime rates began falling here and nationally before Bush took office.

At Cook's Sure Shot Gun Range, Bransford, who packs a custom-made, 40-caliber semiautomatic on his hip whenever he leaves home, began his first self-defense lecture of the 10-hour day, focusing on the importance of practice.

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The Washington Post

THURSDAY, MARCH 16, 2000

Practice drawing your weapons at home, he told the men, who were seated around a conference table. They watched him at the front of the room as he reached for his holster. "You must build yourself a program and train yourself to get that firearm out, bring it on line, safety off, target acquisition and pull that trigger."

Firing their weapons during practice is essential, Bransford told them. He suggested rubber bullets in the back yard. "If you practice just pointing your gun without pulling that trigger, and someday somebody's drawing a gun to kill you, guess what's going to happen?" he said. "You're going to point your gun—and die!"

They sat riveted, Hutcherson, Kelley and the others: an education consultant, a computer salesman, a police dispatcher, a construction engineer, a factory supervisor and two men who said they are "project" managers. The oldest was 53, the youngest 21, the minimum age for a permit.

They listened as Bransford, one of 2,000 state-certified concealed-carry instructors, told them how to shoot, where to shoot, whom to shoot and what to say afterward when the police show up. "You have to be able to articulate why you did what you did, and why you felt absolutely driven to do it," Bransford said. "In this state, if you can do that, it's damn hard to convict you."

In the end, after firing enough accurate target shots to satisfy the state, the men passed a 50-question multiple-choice test.

In interviews, all complained of being unfairly cast as paranoid, testosterone-crazed rednecks by gun control proponents, especially those in Washington. "It's a symptom of the enormous amount of ignorance in the gun debate," said David Yeagy, 27. "The quality of information out there is so poor, I don't think people like ourselves are even willing to enter the debate, because you're so quickly labeled."

Bush, however, will not be able to avoid the issue. After the Columbine High School killings in Colorado last year and a series of other highly publicized shootings—including the recent slaying of a Michigan first-grader by a classmate—gun control is a political hot button that Gore already has pushed repeatedly. Campaigning in California in September, for example, Gore decried Texas's gun laws a few days after a deranged attacker fired on a gathering of teenagers in a Fort Worth church, killing seven victims and himself.

Gore correctly noted that Bush, in 1997, had signed an amendment to the concealed-carry statute removing "established houses of worship" from the list of places where permit-holders are forbidden to bring their weapons. Carter, the state House member, said he proposed the revision because gun-owning clergy members who reside in the buildings where they preach felt their rights had been taken away.

As Bush supporters were quick to point out after the church shooting, the gunman, who used two semiautomatic pistols, did not have a concealed-carry permit and had not applied for one.

The contentious issue of background checks at gun shows also has been politically tricky for Bush, whose state is by far the nation's leader in gun shows.

The Brady gun control bill requires federally licensed firearms dealers at gun shows to check buyers' backgrounds with a national data center before making sales, just as they would in their stores. But a non-licensed dealer at a show—someone selling firearms from a personal collection—is not obligated by federal law to make such checks.

As a result, non-licensed dealers "have no way of knowing whether they are selling to a violent felon or someone who intends to illegally traffic guns on the streets," federal law enforcement officials told Congress last year, calling gun shows "a large market where criminals can shop for firearms anonymously." Because Congress has been unwilling to close that loophole in the Brady bill, some state legislatures have done so, passing laws requiring background checks on all gun show buyers. But an effort to pass such a law in Texas last year failed in a House committee.

"I had a lot of hope for it," said state Rep. Debra Danburg (D), who wrote the legislation. "The committee at one point was a 50-50 split, with two swing votes who would have swung my way if Bush had lifted a finger to help."

She said when she asked Bush why he was opposed to her bill, "he was ducking and dodging." As for the gun lobby, its position on the issue is clear. The NRA disputes contentions that non-licensed dealers regularly sell guns to criminals and strongly opposes requiring those dealers to perform background checks, calling it an unfair, time-consuming burden.

On the day Danburg's bill died in committee, last April 20, a dozen students and a teacher were slain at Columbine. Suddenly the issue of gun violence seized the nation's attention—about a month before Bush was to officially begin his campaign for the White House. The morning after the attack, when a radio reporter asked him about Danburg's bill, Bush replied that he supported expanding background checks at gun shows, which surprised Danburg. She publicly called on him to help revive her bill in the House. But Bush said it was too late in the legislative session.

With many Americans wanting tighter gun restrictions after Columbine, and hard-line gun enthusiasts refusing to give in, Danburg said, "I think [Bush] was trying to play it both ways." But his spokesman, McClellan, said Bush "has consistently supported closing the gun show loophole for a number of years." As for why he did not back Danburg's bill—which would have angered the gun lobby here—McClellan said Bush thinks it is up to Congress to deal with the loophole.

"Federal legislation created it," McClellan said. "Federal legislation should close it."

And there is another caveat: While he supports requiring non-licensed dealers to conduct background checks, Bush has said he opposes allowing the data center up to three days to respond, as is now the case for licensed dealers. Gun groups point out that unlike full-time, licensed dealers, non-licensed sellers do not have stores where they can later complete transactions that were delayed by slow background checks at weekend gun shows.

In Washington, a month after the Columbine shootings, the Senate narrowly passed legislation to close the Brady loophole—including a waiting period of up to three days on background checks by non-licensed dealers. Gore cast the tie-breaking vote in favor of the measure. But companion legislation stalled in the House after supporters of the tougher Senate version refused to accept a provision reducing the waiting period to 24 hours, which is the time frame Bush said he favors.

So nothing has changed.

"Texas law enforcement officers have told us, 'We see the abuses, and we can't do a thing about them,'" Danburg said. "They see people they know to be criminals walking around at gun shows. They see non-licensed dealers walking around with AK-47s slung over their shoulders, saying: 'Cash only! No background checks!'"

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