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001a. memo	Helen Castleman to POTUS re: Selected Casework (3 pages)	03/17/2000	b(6)
001b. letter	Steven Kirby to POTUS (3 pages)	10/21/1999	b(6)

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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
THE WHITE HOUSE 3-18-00
WASHINGTON

ROUTING SLIP

TO: **THE PRESIDENT**

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: FOR YOUR INFORMATION

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Taylor Branch
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M. Moore

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-18-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

"THE THIRD WAY REALIGNMENT:
NEW CONSENSUS, OLD MYTHS"

SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

THE WOODROW WILSON CENTER FOR
INTERNATIONAL SCHOLARS
DIRECTOR'S FORUM

March 8, 2000

More than a decade ago we were engaged in the long twilight struggle of the Cold War. Now the nature of the Free World project itself has changed from containment of Communism to global integration. Even the rubric, the Free World, sounds like an anachronism on the day when the President is speaking on integrating China economically and even politically into a new world.

Before Vietnam the project of the center-left in the Western advanced industrialized nations did not go by the name Third Way, though it might have. It was the project of promoting more opportunity and equality through a mixed economy, an active government and the creation of a welfare state that did not exist in many nations before World War II. The center-left of two generations ago was an international political community with extensive networks and shared values and beliefs. Out of this community sprang the basic institutional arrangements of internationalism, those Dean Acheson referred to when he was "present at the creation." That project was an updating of the New Deal for the Cold War. It even had a manifesto – Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.'s *The Vital Center*.

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The New Deal is really what made the United States a preponderant power in the Cold War, not only militarily and economically, but also socially and politically. Internationalism in that period rested on the society made by the New Deal. Before the New Deal there was no middle class in this country as we have come to know it and take for granted. During the New Deal half the American people doubled their incomes, and they were located in the bottom half of the income scale. From 1950 to 1978, real family incomes grew by one hundred percent; it was a fairly even spread of income. Without the New Deal programs and the Great Society, which, among other things, virtually wiped out poverty among senior citizens in the United States through Medicare and other programs, it wouldn't have been possible to wage the Cold War in the successful way that we did. The United States would not have been an exemplary society. To be sure, we had polarizations. But can one imagine what would have happened had there not been the civil rights movement, for example? Or had we not passed civil rights laws what the US image would have been in that global contest?

Today, we're engaged in a revitalization of the center-left from the Cold War era. Some people use the label "Third Way"; here at home we also refer to "New Democrats." But it's something deeper. It's the latest manifestation of the progressive impulse in American life. The Third Way today is not so much a zero-sum game, a game of containment, as it is about integration and inclusion. It involves blending competition and cooperation in various spheres. It involves understanding that economic prosperity and social justice are one in the same. It involves maintaining and advancing a new economy that requires social investment in education and infrastructure. It involves reforming and modernizing the welfare state created two generations ago. It involves working through social resentments without letting them fester, fostering tolerance and human rights, balancing liberty and responsibility, and demanding

accountability and transparency in government. It also means creating new pluralistic civil societies. Nations are internalizing the globally complex patterns of ethnicity and creating increasingly diverse multicultural societies. In order to become coherent communities, they must be civil societies as well. And that relates to the economic as well as to the political tasks ahead.

The principles of the Third Way begin with opportunity for all, the first principle of Andrew Jackson, an old, enduring principle, but applied now within the new economy. Second, a belief in the affirmative workings of government, particularly after a long conservative era in which government was demonized. Government must not only be reformed; it must be adapted to new tasks. At the same time, the original ideal of self-government must be reanimated. Citizens themselves must be self-governing, bear responsibility for themselves and their society. Asserting that belief recreates credibility for government as well. Third, a belief that there is such a thing as society and the common good. Margaret Thatcher famously remarked, "There is no such thing as society." Americans can say after Tocqueville that we believe in "individualism rightly understood," because "rightly understood" means within community. It means the whole associational life that is at the heart of American society. It means, in the phrase of Vaclav Havel, "civil society." Those are the basic principles of the Third Way. It is not only the Americans and the British who share them. This is a discussion that goes far beyond the Anglo-American dialogue.

The Third Way is now a global phenomenon. There have been a number of meetings of leaders who embrace these general approaches, a new consensus emerging internationally as well as within various nations. Almost all of Western Europe takes this approach. In Latin America, virtually the entire southern cone consists of countries that are experimenting with Third Way approaches: Brazil, Argentina, and Chile.

Here, the Clinton presidency has resumed in new ways the historic task of expanding democracy, creating more equality and opportunity, and reinventing the Third Way after the Cold War. Just as the New Deal remade society, we are remaking society today. Just last month, the *Economic Report of the President* issued by the Council of Economic Advisors chronicled the changes that have taken place over the decades. "The two decades after 1973," the report states, "were a rude awakening. It appeared as if the early post-war vision of continuously rising incomes for all had indeed been just a dream." There was, the report goes on, "a marked increase in inequality. Not only were real income gains meager, but they were also unevenly shared." However, since 1993, the report chronicles, the trend of inequality has not only been halted but even reversed. Family incomes have risen for the first time in decades, and those on the bottom have even risen higher than those on the top. Furthermore, real income for median African-Americans has risen 15 percent. The goal of full employment, a long-held dream of the center-left, enshrined in the Humphrey-Hawkins Employment Act, seems to be reached at last through a policy of fiscal responsibility and social investment. Meanwhile, the new economy has flourished, and opportunity and equality, as the Council of Economic Advisors has noted, have been advanced.

The overwhelming fact of American politics today is the new consensus. It is a consensus forged by President Clinton. And it is forged around issues of economic policy, health care, education, Social Security, Medicare, and gun control. The American people support that consensus by two-to-one margins, on issue after issue. The Clinton consensus is the central reality in our politics. The sweeping primary victories of Vice President Gore, the Sisyphean effort of John McCain to push his party in a different direction and George W. Bush's early atmospherics about "compassionate conservatism" are all responses to this new consensus.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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Even when Governor Bush calls for an end to the Clinton-Gore era, he carefully does not employ the word "change." This consensus is not the shifting of the sands awaiting the next wind to blow it into a new landscape. It is something deeply rooted in our history, though its intent is modernization. It may well be the dominant form of politics in the early 21st Century. So this may be a good moment to reflect on how far we've come in just the last generation.

When both the leading Republican candidates campaigned as "Reagan Republicans," repeatedly invoking the name of Ronald Reagan, it's telling to look at the rise of what we call conservatism or what some have personalized and called Reaganism, which arose in the context of the 1970s and early 1980s. Its influence grew amid foreign policy crisis, a seemingly aggressive Soviet Union, failure of the regulatory and welfare states, rises in crime and social polarization, and stagflation, which seemed incurable. The Democratic Party appeared to be a fragmented party without a coherent center. The vital center of the Truman days seemed to be a thing of the past. Instead, the Democrats were seen as the party of racial discord, confusion on foreign policy, disagreements about internationalism after Vietnam, and failed economic management. It was in that context that Reagan came to power and conservatism gained momentum. That movement also had a cultural component. As Reagan's famous ad of 1984 put it, it was "morning again in America." "Morning" referred to a homogenous, small town America, a nostalgic vision of a country that was bucolic, agrarian and harmonious. Even in 1988 when George Bush, Sr. ran for President, the conservative issues still maintained their hold, enough to carry him into the presidency. When Bush campaigned on the issues of Willie Horton, the Pledge of Allegiance and the slogan, "Read my lips, no new taxes," he was running on the themes of Reaganism. And Reaganism, for him, worked politically. But after the fall of the Berlin Wall, more than Communism crumbled. All of the old politics around the world

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disintegrated because they had, in one way or another, been organized around the Cold War. The question in the United States was whether there would be a new American progressivism. And that was the question that faced President Clinton when he became president.

Today, it's curious to look at the various forms of dismissal of President Clinton because they all fail to acknowledge the changes he has wrought: the changes chronicled in the *Economic Report* of the Council of Economic Advisors, an America transformed over the last decade. The latest dismissal of the new progressivism trivializes, personalizes and appeals to certain pejorative attitudes that are not based in fact. It is a theory called "Clinton fatigue." It assumes that the country is very tired of President Clinton and that he is an unpopular president. In fact, any examination of polls shows something quite different.

There have been two presidents since Franklin Roosevelt who have filled out two terms before Bill Clinton, Dwight Eisenhower and Ronald Reagan. As it happens, according to the Gallup Poll, President Clinton has been more popular and more popular longer than either of them, and in his last year he enters on an upswing. He seems on his way to defying the records established by Ike and Reagan, who never regained their highest stature in their last year. President Clinton, by contrast, seems to be nearing new peaks. "Clinton fatigue," after all, is a myth.

The basic condition that allows the media still to float such theories is traceable partly to the vacuum of the post-Cold War period in which the new is unsecured and therefore insecure. When President Clinton came into office at the end of the Cold War all the familiar guideposts had fallen, and he had to recreate the world. It was another "creation," as it were. What we're now witnessing in the last year of the Clinton presidency is not simply the concluding year of a

president, but a year in which we may be experiencing an early point in a new progressivism that may extend into further presidencies. The new realities are breaking through old myths.

We have seen the new consensus expressed in the President's State of the Union Address. We've seen the spread of the international Third Way. The United States may well have been the first major country in which it took root, but now around the world this general approach is being taken up. The reasons may appear diffuse in each country, yet there's a pattern. Broad historical forces are at work. And they are at work not only on the center-left, but also on the center-right.

On the center-right, the center isn't holding. We see fragmented parties. The French right, for example, now has five parties. On the center-right, the parties are split between isolationists and internationalists. They are asserting old economic policies while brandishing the symbols of right wing populism. It may sound as though I'm talking about the Tories in Britain, but I'm also talking about what we just witnessed in the Republican primaries. What we've experienced is the latest example of the center-right in crisis. We may think this is only happening in our nation, but it's reflected around the world. After the Cold War, conservatism lost its project. No longer a bulwark against Communism, conservatism lacks a central rationale. Now there is no common principle holding the conservative parties together, not even the motive of conserving.

In America, the question is: After John McCain, can any Republican end the Republican Party as we know it? The problem of the center-right is not attributable to a lack of articulation, intellectual shortcomings, malapropisms, or even political incompetence. It's a problem of deep fissures embedded within these parties. Attempting to create a viable center-right, as John McCain has shown, fosters an uncontrollable centrifugal force that pulls these parties apart and causes the center to buckle under strain so that the tilt is to the right. McCain's central problem

was that he simply did not appeal to core Republicans. He was rejected by his own party. The party did not want to be rescued by its would-be hero; the party rejected the hero. George W. Bush embraced his party to win the nomination, and his party embraced him. He embraced central aspects of Reaganism, making him a truer heir of Reaganism than McCain. But there are positive and negative consequences for him.

Understanding Bush's current predicament requires thinking about what Reagan did when conservatism came together in the late 1970s. Reagan assembled a coalition of Southern conservatives, Northern Catholics, regular Republicans, and Californians – Reagan, after all, was a Californian. The challenge for him was to break into the Midwest and the Northeast. In 1976, when he ran against Gerald Ford, he picked his running mate before he got to the convention, Richard Schweiker of Pennsylvania, a moderate Republican. Reagan announced his candidacy in 1979 in New York City. In 1980, he picked as his running mate a Connecticut Yankee, George Bush, whose Texas roots were thin.

It would be unfair now to say that Governor Bush has not campaigned earnestly on the tenets of Reaganism. He has. He has advanced a huge tax cut in the spirit of Ronald Reagan.

Reagan was the one who brought the religious right into the Republican Party, and George W.

Bush has defended it. After losing New Hampshire, Bush won his party base by brandishing the symbols of cultural conservatism. He went to Bob Jones University, wrapped himself in the

Confederate flag and called for the repeal of *Roe v. Wade*. Bush's campaign inspired James Pinkerton, an acute observer from the Republican side, a former Bush domestic policy advisor, to write in the *Los Angeles Times*, "Bush has cloaked himself in new right, neo-Reaganism and it's simply the wrong message for the times." Under the pressure of the Republican campaign, the constituencies split, Catholics split from Southern conservatives. Thematically, there was

also a split. What Reagan put together, God and country, McCain tore asunder. In the Republican Party primaries, God, in Bush's campaign, was posed against country, in McCain's.

Curiously, what has emerged, is a version of Reaganism without California. It's an anomaly. The fact is that the Republican Party has not nominated a ticket for President and Vice President without a Californian on it since the days of Herbert Hoover, except once. That was in 1988, when Ronald Reagan was the sitting president. So, in effect, Reagan served as the Californian. But today California is transformed. It is now one of the most Democratic states in the country; it is without a major Republican office holder. How can one recreate Reaganism without California? What kind of national coalition is the Republican Party without California? How can the Republican Party think, or even develop its ideology, without California? California has always been central to the Republican Party in the 20th Century and to conservatism. But conservatism today under Bush exists without California. Having won on Reaganism, Bush now must campaign without the cornerstone of the Reagan coalition, without California. Indeed, campaigning on Reaganism guarantees the loss of California.

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Now Calif

The center-right is not the same thing as the center-left. It is a different project. What Bill Clinton has relatively succeeded in doing, reinventing the center-left, the conservatives are perhaps just at the beginning of attempting. As we have seen during the primaries, their coalition is fragmenting rather than coming together. No one should mistake Governor Bush's repositionings, even as he tries desperately to move to the center, for a reinvention of the Republican Party. That requires something much deeper. Every time, so far, that an effort at internal reform has been tried the party has closed its ranks and rejected the reformer. That is the message and meaning of John McCain.

It will take much more than the heroism of John McCain to transform the Republican Party. The rejection is more than a rejection of one candidate. McCain rightly invoked the traditions of Theodore Roosevelt and of Lincoln, the great traditions of his party. And he was not wrong in trying to evoke these traditions. But those traditions migrated a long time ago into the Democratic Party under Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman. The rejection of McCain involves a further rejection of these traditions. Just as the Republican Party has rejected McCain, it reveals the profound hold that the conservative right has on the Republican Party. Having secured this base, Governor Bush exposed through the primaries exactly what the base was.

The saga of the Bush family itself is a story of the fading of the Republican tradition that McCain sought to evoke. Each generation of the Bush family marks a step in the disintegration of the tradition, beginning with that stalwart Eastern Republican, Senator Prescott Bush of Connecticut, who was a close friend of Thomas Dewey. From Vice President Bush to Governor Bush, the tradition has diminished. McCain's rival, the latest Bush, stands as testimony to the quixotic fate of McCain's self-appointed task of party change. McCain's identity as Barry Goldwater's successor in Arizona is merely an irony. At the beginning of a new century, the issue for the Republican Party is whether it is stuck in the 20th Century.

The election we face will not be an ordinary election. It will be the kind of election that secures an era and not simply a candidate as president. Having established a new consensus in America – a consensus that has now expressed itself internationally in country after country – President Clinton has laid the groundwork at the beginning of the new century, not only for a successor, but also for a new era. The old progressive era in the United States was stalled by the American entry into World War I; the second stage of progressivism, begun with the New Deal, was stalled by Vietnam. The work of renewal, as we've seen, has been picked up by President

Clinton in a wholly new way in response to new realities: political, economic and social. Over the last seven years, the country has undergone enormous transformation. Without this change, there would have been no McCain candidacy against the Republican right. That is also why the country reacted as it did to Governor Bush's visit to Bob Jones University. Recall that Bob Dole paid a visit there in 1996, and George Bush, Sr. visited there, and Ronald Reagan visited there, and there was no outcry.

As a historical footnote, I recall that in 1980, Ronald Reagan began his presidential campaign as the Republican presidential nominee in a place called Neshoba County, in a town called Philadelphia, in Mississippi. It was where three civil rights workers were martyred and where Ronald Reagan affirmed his belief in states' rights. It was an appeal to Southern conservatives and to the then burgeoning religious right. Just three days ago, President Clinton marched across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama, linked arm-in-arm with the widow of Martin Luther King, Jr., to commemorate the 35th anniversary of the bloody event that led to the passage of the Voting Rights Act. So the country has changed – and for the better.

better numbers than "Meet the Press." (Though in Tim Russert's defense, he does not have a band.)

Thus it may be less important for candidates to show that they have the best plan for protecting Social Security than to show Americans they're fun guys — people we won't mind having in our living rooms for four years.

David Letterman's deadpan to George W. Bush, "The road to Washington runs through me," isn't a joke to campaign managers looking to make their man the one Americans most want to have dinner with. Remember, a candidate willing to laugh at himself or herself is a candidate America thinks is real.

Some may feel that this is bad for politics and even democracy itself.

The Letterman- Leno gantlet for candidates.

And it is true that voters should be more concerned about a candidate's health care plan than his ability to make bunion jokes. But in terms of engaging a new political audience, I find the trend promising.

A recent Pew Research Center study found that nearly half of Americans under 30 say they get political information from late-night shows. Though it's tempting to translate that number into another indictment of "kids today," it really is a sign of the times. The youth vote has been consistently disappointing over the last three decades, and there's a chance that getting politicians onto Jay Leno's couch might just draw many alienated voters into the process.

It remains to be seen whether solid punch lines can earn a politician new votes, but an ability to laugh at himself or herself might turn out to be what cures the disaffected voter.

I'm more intrigued by the implications for those of us in the comedy business. Now that politicians are laying ball with us in order to appeal to Everyman, the comedians have a new challenge: Coming up with a way to make politics funny, and not pulling your punches, while knowing that next week the butt of all our jokes will be sitting right next to you, his or her staff having prepared some cutting comebacks. □

Harry Divney is the chief executive officer of Comedy Central.

Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Don't Punish Africa

There is a travesty brewing in Congress that, if allowed to continue, will be a source of shame for all Americans. It will certainly be an ugly stain on the U.S. labor movement, particularly the apparel union and the A.F.L.-C.I.O. — a stain that will highlight all the unions' phony-baloney assertions in Seattle that they just want to improve worker rights around the world and help the poor.

This controversy has to do with a stalled trade bill called "The African Growth and Opportunity Act." And the bottom line is this: At a time when Africa is ravaged by AIDS, at a time when 290 million Africans — more than the entire population of the U.S. — are living on a dollar a day, the main U.S. textile union, UNITE!; the main textile manufacturers' lobby, ATMI; and the lawmakers who bow to both of them are blocking a bill that would allow Africans to export clothing to America duty free — instead of with the current 17 percent import tax.

Why the opposition? Because Africa might increase its share of U.S. textile and apparel imports from its current level of 0.8 percent! Shame on the people blocking this bill. Shame on them.

Some 85 percent of the garments sold in the U.S. today are already sewn abroad. Honduras, little Honduras, already exports seven times more textiles and apparel to the U.S. than all 48 nations of sub-Saharan Africa combined. With our minimum wages, we can't produce jeans that retail for \$16 and we don't want to. North Carolina's textile industry has already become highly automated and has moved away from low-value goods to high-value, high-tech fabrics. Much of the unionized labor force sewing clothes in the U.S. is in large cities and comprises new immigrants, many not citizens, since most Americans don't want these jobs.

If Africa were given duty-free access to our market, sophisticated textile plants in North Carolina wouldn't move to Madagascar. China would be the big loser, because Africans have the same skills to knit cashmere sweaters cheaply as people in China, and if Africa were given a 17 percent import tax advantage in shipping to the U.S., manufacturers would move their production from low-wage China to low-wage Africa. Which is why a study by the U.S. International Trade Commission concluded that "the impact of quota removal [for African imports] on

U.S. producers and U.S. workers would be negligible."

So why do the unions still oppose it? Sheer knee-jerk protectionism — even though the bill has tough measures to protect against any surge in imports from Africa, and restricts free-trade status to African countries moving toward democracy, economic reform and real worker protection.

No matter. Right now the only version of the bill the textile makers would permit is one that says Africa can only import duty-free into the U.S. if it first buys all the fabric, thread and yarn from U.S. factories, then ships it to Africa to be sewn, and then ships it back to the U.S. to be sold — a costly obstacle course that would prevent any new investment in African factories. The real motto of U.S. trade unions is: We're for more worker

Shame on the unions.

standards in Africa, not more work.

This is really bad. This bill isn't a panacea for Africa, but it's important. Throughout the history of industrialization, poor countries have started down the road of development by sewing clothes. It's the one thing that poor people can do right away. It's critical that this bill go through now because by 2005 all the quotas on textile imports into the U.S. will expire. It will be a free-for-all. Right now investors are deciding where to locate plants for 2005 — whether to stick with China or branch out to Africa, Vietnam or Mexico. If Africa is shut out from these investment decisions, it will fall even further behind.

The Clintonites talk the talk of Africa and AIDS, but, sadly, they have been afraid to get tough with the unions on this textile issue. Why is AIDS spreading so quickly among young women in Africa? One reason is that women have so few jobs they have to sell themselves to men with AIDS. Apparel jobs largely employ women. They make a difference.

But this is of no interest to the A.F.L.-C.I.O. crowd. All they care about is that Africa not sell more than 0.8 percent of garments here. Shame on them for what they are doing, and shame on us if we let them. □

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A Likely Story!

Jeffrey Toobin's history of the Clinton impeachment unfolds the whole affair so it makes a kind of sense.

A VAST CONSPIRACY

The Real Story of the Sex Scandal That Nearly Brought Down a President.
By Jeffrey Toobin.
422 pp. New York:
Random House. \$25.95.

By Thomas Powers

ANYONE who did not spend the penultimate year of the 20th century in a persistent vegetative state will know roughly what is to be found in Jeffrey Toobin's narrative history of the investigation and impeachment of William Jefferson Clinton for the high crime or misdemeanor, take your pick, of ... what? Even now there is little general agreement on just what, at its deepest core, the battle was really about.

The independent counsel, Kenneth Starr, who almost managed to drive Clinton from office, once declared of the president's transgression (to reporters, while carrying out his trash), "You cannot defile the temple of justice," by which he narrowly meant lying in a legal proceeding, namely a civil suit brought by one Paula Jones, and more broadly meant lying, period. The House Judiciary Committee formally accused the president of lying in the aforementioned legal proceeding (about which more, much more, below); and further accused him of lying to a grand jury about the initial lie; and finally accused him of lying in his answers to questions put by the House concerning his previous lies. But the president's fellow Arkansan, the former senator Dale Bumpers, who vigorously defended Clinton during the Senate trial, said the whole thing made no sense until you remembered what the president was accused of lying about. He quoted H. L. Mencken as saying, "When you hear somebody say, 'This is not about money' — it's about money." And "When you hear somebody say, 'This is not about sex' — it's about sex."

There may have been a time, following his appointment in 1994, when Starr thought the moral struggle in which he was engaged was about Clinton's role, possibly aided and abetted by his wife, in the failure of a small Arkansas bank that had lent him and his partners money for the stupid real estate venture known as Whitewater. And there was almost certainly a moment among the unfolding excitements of early 1998 when Starr believed he was this close to proving Clinton had obstructed justice by tampering with witnesses during the aforementioned Paula Jones legal proceeding. But by the time he reported to the House that fall, Whitewater, the additional scandals known as Travelgate and Filegate and obstruction of justice charges had all faded away to nothing,

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and the only charge remaining was that of defiling the temple of justice by lying about ... well, who doesn't remember the moment on Jan. 26, 1998, when a stern-faced Clinton leaned into the microphone and lied not only to the American people, but even, if Toobin has got this right, to his wife and daughter and his lawyer when he said, "I did not have sexual relations with that woman." Weird pause. "Miss Lewinsky." (It appears he had forgotten her name.)

What Clinton said was roughly what he had claimed in a deposition in the Jones case a week earlier. To prove that Clinton had lied, Starr needed to prove that in fact he did have sex with Lewinsky. Procopius recounts how the Empress Theodora got her start and Suetonius tells us what Tiberius did in

view, by which the legal system is subverting and supplanting the political system. By this he means that legal activists, first of the left but more recently of the right, are finding ways through the courts to impose changes on American society they could never have achieved through electoral politics.

But what mostly engages Toobin is the story itself in all its gorgeous improbability, beginning with the wonderfully brief and unexpected line, "This is Danny." Answering the phone in Little Rock, Ark., in January 1994 was Daniel M. Traylor, a lawyer of modest reputation, and calling him was a friend of Paula Jones, who was upset about a story in *The American Spectator* that falsely, in her view, described a past encounter with then-Governor Clinton of

Maugham. What we see above all is the sheer number of people waiting for Clinton to stumble, and the tenacity of their efforts to ensure he went down for the count. The fact is that presidents, like kings, emperors, dictators and movie stars, exude a fatal attraction, and one zealot with a writ may have the same goal as another with a gun.

Lawyers have a way, once they have slipped the pick through a chink, of working it ever more deeply in. First Clinton refused to settle, then Jones refused to settle, finally the moment arrived for lawyers to depose — that is, to question — witnesses for the opposing side. What is extraordinary is the broad power granted to deposing lawyers who may, under normal circumstances, ask ... anything. And in this world depositions remain secret to about the same degree that life remains fair. The president was asked about named women with whom he was rumored to have had sexual relations. In the case of Jennifer Flowers, a girlfriend from the Arkansas years, he admitted a single lapse, but when asked if he had been having a sexual affair with Monica Lewinsky, he said no, an answer he claims is somehow narrowly and technically true.

Like most other people I find his argument on this point to be tortured, transparent, self-serving, devious and irritating. But splitting hairs on definitions of "sexual relations" seems far less important to me than the larger question of what social purpose, if any, could possibly be served by allowing Paula Jones, through her lawyers, to invade the president's private life before she had even claimed, much less proved, that his alleged crude proposal had caused her any specific injury. When the president's lawyers in due course asked for summary dismissal on the grounds that no injury had been demonstrated, Judge Susan Webber Wright agreed and tossed the case out. In Toobin's view this act of discretion makes Judge Wright one of the few heroes of the story.

And yet the law had already permitted Jones to ask, and required Clinton to answer under oath, the sort of aggressively intrusive questions any man would do what he could to evade, the law be damned. When he prevaricated in ignorance of the mountain of evidence to the contrary (the semen-stained dress, the interminable hours of taped telephone conversations), the independent counsel, holding in trust a position whose mandate is supposed to include discretion, undertook what amounted to a personal crusade to force an impeachment and Senate trial upon the country if that's what it took to make the hapless president confess his lies about a series of acts that, examined by Starr from what we might call surgical distance ...

But enough. If we haven't grasped what Dale Bumpers was talking about by this time we haven't been paying attention. My only serious quarrel with Toobin's admirably clear, vigorously written, plain-spoken and common-sense

Continued on next page



his swimming pool on Capri in narratives no longer than this review. Starr's report to the House Judiciary Committee, totalling 452 pages, was placed on the Internet. There all might read his truly exhaustive time and motion studies (if not his 18 boxes containing thousands upon thousands of pages of supporting material) of the president's dozen moments alone with Lewinsky over a 16-month period. Give Starr credit. He proved Clinton a liar. His relations with Lewinsky were sexual.

How some unanswered questions about a land deal led to the mad extreme of the Starr report is the story related in "A Vast Conspiracy." A Harvard law graduate who served an apprenticeship in chasing presidents with Lawrence Walsh, the independent counsel in the Iran-contra scandal, Toobin subsequently turned himself into a writer — quite a good writer. His strength lies in his ability to chart a clear narrative line through tangled cases, as he did in "The Run of His Life" for the O. J. Simpson murder trial. There is an argument in his new book, identifying its larger significance in a trend, disturbing in his

Arkansas. In due course Jones sued Clinton, by then president, for sexual harassment. Through the barn door opened by this suit troops the starring and supporting cast of "A Vast Conspiracy" — the president and his combative wife; Starr and his fellow prosecutors; Monica Lewinsky, the White House intern who told the president at their first meeting that she had "a really big crush" on him; Linda Tripp, her friend in exile at the Pentagon with the tape recorder; and many more, including, throughout, never far from center stage, the army of attacking and defending lawyers.

Along the way Toobin occasionally adds a new fact or quotes a previously unpublished document, but the main and considerable pleasure of his book comes from watching the astonishing story unfold so it makes sense. The first time around it emerged in fragments like a modernist text, a cross between Joyce's "Ulysses" and Céline's "Journey to the End of Night," a confusing tangle of unknown names, sensational charges, pregnant silences, offstage cries. As related by Toobin, the story is as seamless as a novel by John O'Hara or Somerset

A Likely Story!

Continued from preceding page

sical book it is that he cannot resist the temptation to join the multitude in condemning "the damning fact" of the president's infidelity and holding up to ridicule "the squalid details" of what went on with Lewinsky, revealing Clinton as "guilt-ridden, selfish, compulsive." Infidelity is a charge only the president's wife can make, and the rest strikes me as mainly nervous posturing. In the line of duty I read the copious details of the president's moments with Lewinsky, and I failed to find anything there that would have brought a blush to the cheek of anybody who had read "Fanny Hill" or "Portnoy's Complaint," both cheerful and enthusiastic about the possibilities of sex. Once you abandon the safety of the posture of horror you begin to see how strange and arbitrary was Starr's decision to pursue the history of the affair to the bitter end.

Of the four great questions asked of American presidencies in the second half of the 20th century — did John F. Kennedy know of the C.I.A. plots to kill Fidel Castro? did Richard M. Nixon know of the Watergate cover-up? did Ronald Reagan know of the Iran-contra deal? did William Jefferson Clinton have "sexual relations" with Monica Lewinsky? — only the last leaves you wondering what kind of man could have taken it seriously. Toobin makes a persuasive case that Starr was an incompetent who abused the power of a federal grand jury, mishandled witnesses, delayed when he should have moved quickly and vice versa. But Toobin doesn't really know what drove him. Perhaps someday Starr himself will tell us, but in the meantime he has returned to private life, leaving to a successor the task of explaining why the long ordeal of investigation, impeachment, trial and acquittal was vitally necessary.

There are few heroes in this bizarre story, which will bewilder our posterity. But there are some. In addition to Judge Wright, Toobin admires Jones's first lawyer, Danny Traylor, for failing to earn so much as a dime from the case. He thinks Dale Bumpers delivered a great speech. Finally and unexpectedly, there is Clinton himself — "the good guy in this struggle." Toobin, it must be said, kind of backs into this bow of respect. Whatever the president's sins, Toobin says, they did not include anything like the greed, hatred and vindictiveness of those who tried to destroy him.

Beyond that Toobin does not go, but he might have without getting any argument from me. Looking back, what strikes me most is the sheer grit it must have taken simply to live through that time, and the fact that the only really clear and pointed defense of Clinton's human right to privacy came from the president himself — in August 1998, at the end of a speech confessing he had not told the full truth. "Now this matter is between me, the two people I love most, my wife and our daughter, and our God," he said. "It's nobody's business but ours." The president caught hell for that speech. It was said he wasn't sorry enough and he didn't apologize enough. Maybe so. But his claim that "even presidents have private lives" seems the one obvious lesson from the whole mess. □



Gone to See

This first novel features marijuana farmers, scam artists

REAP

By Eric Rickstad.
264 pp. New York:
Viking. \$23.95.

By Jennifer Schuessler

ERIC RICKSTAD'S first novel is set in Vermont's ruggedly beautiful Northeast Kingdom, but his characters inhabit a landscape that leaf-peeping tourists rarely see. If there's a picturesque, weathered barn in sight, it's usually being chopped down for firewood. Weedy locals more likely to have escaped from state prison than from the idyllic photos in a hardware-store calendar fire their guns near places like Broken Leg Lake and Unknown Pond. And instead of sugar maples there are marijuana plants — taller than a man and overpoweringly fragrant, grown in remote mountain passes or indoors under lights that leak an eerie blue glow through shaded windows.

Against this unsettling backdrop, Rickstad tells the story of a few days in the life of Jessup Burke, a lonely 16-year-old with a dreamy inner life and a set of remarkably snaggle teeth that he compulsively brushes to a gleaming white. When he's not fishing for trout, Jessup is haunting a once-grand abandoned house in the woods or looking for a familiar face in photographs of the great flood that took his father's life before he was born.

After a freak August snow, Jessup

Jennifer Schuessler is on the staff of The New York Review of Books.

falls in with the Cumbers, a ragged crew of dope farmers, scammers and accomplices still silently reeling from the death of their own father nearly two decades earlier. There's Reg, a paranoid loner who tends his illegal garden up near Smuggler's Gap and dreams of becoming a Nascar driver. There's Hal in a wheelchair since a farcical porch-side shooting accident, who now makes his living "doing what he loves," ripping people off at a carnival booth. Most fatefully, there's Marigold, a fading 23-year-old who lives in a derelict trailer at the edge of her family's shrinking property, towing cars for a living and avoiding her brutal husband, Hess, a limping former logger who lost his job — and a testicle — in a chain-saw accident.

Rickstad takes his time setting his story in motion, but once he does it's powerfully bloody mess. The body count is high, and the violence persuasive. But most remarkable is the evocation of the territory, the gothic tangle of native forest and exotic cash crop that mirrors the claustrophobic inner landscapes. Just as the monstrous mother plants (only the females produce the drug) are always in danger of going uselessly to seed, the fatherless characters are withering in the worn-out soil. "Reap" is not so much coming-of-age story as a description of adulthood as a miserable terminal disease; everyone is over the hill before reaching the age of 30.

More arresting than the generally formulaic plot are the grimly poetic images scattered throughout, like flashes of submerged lives that are never quite reeled in. Before the violent climax, Jessup recalls the time he cut the wings of a dead snowy owl he'd found in the

Pen fu

3-18-00
THE WHITE HOUSE

3/18/00

Dear Mr. President,

9 STRAIGHT VERY SPECIFIC ST.
PATRICK DAYS. THANK YOU VERY
MUCH, they have meant more to me
than you can imagine.

you AM Chelsea have A safe
AND REWARDING TRIP to the SUB-
CONTINENT. they have A need for
PEACE AND CO EXISTANCE much like
that small island we all love so
well.

This eye is pretty much swollen
shut, so I am going to take
an early flight back to America.

God Bless,

Kevin

3/18/00

copied
Records -

Original to
POCUS for
personal file
Podesta

03-18-00

Send to Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒

No ☐

- S.C.

Atty gen

CORPORATION
FOR NATIONAL
★ SERVICE

03-18-00

03-18-00

March 13, 2000

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you, heart-felt, for the trip to Selma. Being there with you meant a great deal to me. Your words, and the sight of those state troopers lining the way, saluting you and Coretta, John Lewis and the Governor of Alabama – and the marchers 35 years after the troopers awaited with clubs ready – beautifully closes the loop on the Selma story. Someday soon I hope to begin putting my adventures in the 20th century in a memoir, and this will be part of it.

Continuing my new role as your volunteer historian, I enclose a talk I did in 1955 at the Hampton Institute on *Gandhi, the Civil Rights Lawyer*. It's probably the most significant talk I ever gave. A copy was given to Martin Luther King a few weeks before the Montgomery Bus Boycott and started my connection with him. It led to his joke that I was the only lawyer in his camp who would help him go to jail instead of using all the tricks of the trade to keep him out.

You may find this background on Gandhi useful homework in preparation for India where Gandhi still haunts the land and shimmers the path, however far the powers that be there have strayed from that path. A wise philosopher said: Man has thought twice in our century, once with Einstein, once with Gandhi. Einstein feared that the atomic bomb would be his tragic legacy, and hailed Gandhi as the one who pointed another way.

Supplementing the 1955 talk are long excerpts from the sections on Gandhi in the book *India Afire* that Clare and I wrote in 1949, after our half a year in India and Pakistan. You or your writers may find some fragments of use.

Have a good trip to the subcontinent! I'll be battling (or sailing) through two Congressional hearings on our appropriations, and then on to the reauthorization campaign.

Warmly,

Harris

Harris Wofford

Jai Hind!
The slogan for Life to India!

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03-18-00



GERRY ADAMS MP
SINN FÉIN
PRESIDENT

March 17th

William Jefferson Clinton
President United States

Sandy [Thins
good letter
P/s surry
Pr

Copied
Berger
Steinberg
NECWW desk
Podesta

St Patrick's Day
2000

A chava Mr President,

I am a supporter of the Jubilee 2000 campaign
which aims to secure the cancellation of all
3 world debt during this year.

I want to commend you for your leadership
and efforts to alleviate the poorest nations
of the crippling burden of debt

I would urge you to continue with your
endeavors. Providing the vision and dynamic
necessary to effectively tackle this grave crisis
for humanity.

That means moving ahead with your proposals
to cancel debt, persuade others to follow
your example, and include countries, like
Haiti, Nigeria & Bangladesh within these proposals.



GERRY ADAMS MP
SINN FÉIN
PRESIDENT

Specifically, the World Bank and the IMF also have a pivotal role to play in cancelling debt, particularly in urgently cancelling debt owed by disaster struck Mozambique.

Jubilee 2000 and others have called for a special meeting of G7 in Africa to discuss the issue of debt and reach a Comprehensive Agreement on this matter.

This would be a major step forward if it could be achieved and I appeal to you to use your unique leadership position to facilitate this.

I appreciate very much the difficult and courageous decisions you have taken.

Go raibh maith agat.

Gerry Adams

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-17-00

Deborah Kent
10105 Walker Woods Drive
Great Falls, Virginia 22066
(703) 757-4671

Sandy / Deborah
can we do / say
anything about this
to

03-18-00

Berger copy + extra
copy given to Sean
to take on trip.
— S.C.

February 22, 2000

Copied
Berger
NSC W. Wing
Desk
Verneer
Podesta

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC

Dear President Clinton:

At the suggestion of Dr. James French, I am writing to call your attention to a truly horrifying situation that currently exists in Bangladesh. Every year hundreds of young girls become the victims of sulfuric acid burns inflicted upon them as acts of revenge by men whose advances they have spurned or who are involved in dowry or property disputes. Many of these girls die due to their injuries; those that survive are left blind, deaf, or horribly and permanently disfigured. Shame and embarrassment force them to spend the rest of their lives in hiding. Many are rejected even by their families and have no choice but to become street beggars.

The medical facilities in Bangladesh to care for these girls are woefully inadequate. There are only eight beds for female burn patients in the only public hospital in the country. The cost of treatment is prohibitively expensive for all but a few of the victims.

Recently I approached Dr. French with this story and he and Fairfax Inova Hospital very generously agreed to perform the reconstructive surgery required to give one of these girls a chance at a normal life. While I am enormously grateful to them and very excited about the difference they will make in at least one girl's life, I know that bringing these girls abroad for medical treatment is not the answer to the problem. The answer, of course, is to stop the attacks from occurring in the first place.

In spite of international outrage, the incidence of these crimes increases every year. Yet very few of the attackers are punished. In a society that places little importance on women's lives, destroying a young girl's face has become almost socially acceptable.

President Clinton, some of these girls are as young as 11 years old. At one time they all not only had beautiful faces, but dreams and ambitions and hopes for their future. Many of them speak about the plans they had to go to college, start their own business, or even become Olympic athletes. Through no fault of their own, those dreams have been taken away from them and their lives have been destroyed.

Knowing that you will be traveling to Bangladesh in March, I felt compelled to write to you and ask you to do anything you can to bring more attention to this situation, as well as to encourage the authorities in that country to put an end to these barbaric acts.

I am not an expert on this subject and I am not directly involved with any of the organizations that have been established to help these burn victims. But the pictures of these girls have continued to haunt me since I first became aware of the situation several months ago and I would like to do whatever I can to help.

The enclosed information tells this story much more convincingly than I can. I hope you'll take just a few minutes to read it.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Deborah Kent

In Bangladesh, Acid Ruins Women's Faces And Their Dreams

By Uli Schmetzer

DHAKA, Bangladesh – In a burn ward crowded with rusty cots and blood-stained linen, the acid-ravaged faces of women who dared to say no to men are hidden behind a swath of bandages. Bangladesh, an impoverished nation heavily sustained by international funding, has done little to stop jilted males from hurling sulfuric acid into the faces of women who offended their sense of machismo and their credo that men have rights over women.

The wave of acid-throwing began about seven years ago and coincided with a new thrust by women in Bangladesh to assert their rights. The women had help from micro-credits that offered them economic independence and a chance to reject marriage proposals in a society where women were traditionally passed from father to husband as serfs.

"There are no official statistics, but over 200 acid mutilations are recorded by the media in Bangladesh every year," said plastic surgeon Dr. Samanta Lal Sen. "Many cases are not made public because the girls are afraid to go to the authorities or the case is settled between families and the police."

The case of Ambia Khatun is typical. She recalls it was shortly before midnight when she was awakened by the noise of men cutting through the walls of her bamboo hut outside the town of Mymensingh. An instant later came the scorching pain as acid splashed into her face, hurled by an elderly man whose marriage proposal she had turned down. Khatun's face was burned and she was blinded for life. Some of the acid splashed on to her two small sons who are now with her in a hospital, scarred for life. The boys, ages 4 and 6, had clung to their mother, a 30-year-old widow, crying as the assailant burst through the wall.

John Morrison, a consultant for UNICEF said the problem is so serious it merits international attention.

"It's something that is kept quiet in Bangladesh. Some people are arrested, others are not. We want the government to take this seriously. It has become so bad one of the latest victims was a 12-year-old girl."

On a Muslim holiday this month, Dr. Sen was moving through the burn ward of the Dhaka Medical College Hospital, pointing out that the gauze bandages on his patients' faces were old and should have been changed long ago. But gauze is in short supply, he explained. Worse, he said, he does not have the equipment to perform skin grafts, and that means an increase in infections.

His patients lie very still and very much alone. All of them once had dreams, ambitions, small business ventures and even scholarships. Now, unless their rural families have mercy on them, their destiny is to become street beggars.

"I'm better off dead. What use am I now to anyone?" said Khatun. "If I testify against this man, his family may kill me or kill my children. But I will testify. He must be punished."

She speaks with great effort through a mouth grotesquely twisted by the acid. Tears trickle from one empty eye socket; the other eye catches only a gray shimmer of light.

Bangladeshis refer to the barbarities as "these unfortunate incidents." Officials belittle the scope of the problem and attribute the cases to "ignorant men in backward parts of the country."

The stories behind the barbarities are similar. The voice of Sufia Akther comes through gauze bandages covering a face that was once beautiful, with its large lively eyes that will never see again. Sufia is 20 and had just been accepted at college, a major achievement for a poor village girl from Lakshipur, 200 miles north of Dhaka. Her great ambition was to become an agronomist.

"Now she'll probably end up as a beggar," Sen whispered.

Sufia was an accidental victim. The youth who tossed a pitcher of sulfuric acid through her bedroom window at 3 in the morning wanted to punish her sister Helen, 21, who had turned down his marriage proposal.

"Helen and I sleep in the same bed. I heard the noise and sat up. The acid hit me," said the voice below the bandages.

The youth who allegedly committed the crime has been detained, but is free on bail.

"Many cases are pending but there are few convictions. Usually the police try to convince or intimidate the woman to withdraw her case," said Salma Ali, a human-rights lawyer with the Association of Women Lawyers. She provides legal aid to eight of the victims.

"The police know who the attackers are but often won't arrest them. Even if the case goes to court, it takes years for a conviction," Ali said.

Bangladeshi law gives judges the right to impose sentences from 8 years to life imprisonment for acid throwers. Only one man has been sentenced to life, in 1995.

There is not much left of Payara Begum's face. She still moans with pain. The wounds refuse to heal. The acid thrower was the tutor of Begum's two children. A married woman, she indignantly rejected the tutor's advances and last month, in broad daylight, he tossed a can filled with acid over her.

"My husband is a good man. He comes to visit me. I hope he won't leave me now," Begum whispered.

In a country where men have the right to as many as four wives, the husband often marries a second wife if the first becomes old, ill or incapacitated.

Both lawyers and doctors agree the acid-throwing fad is a tragic byproduct of a gender revolution. In years past, men doused disobedient wives with kerosene and set them afire.

"Then, suddenly, these barbarians graduated to acid-throwing which, from a medical point of view, is far more destructive than kerosene burns," said Dr. Sen.

The phenomenon has taken on bizarre proportions. UNICEF's Morrison found out that the 12-year-old girl who had acid tossed into her face was mutilated over a land deal.

"The acid throwers figured the medical costs of caring for the girl would eliminate the rival family as competitors for the purchase of a piece of land," he said.

Some of the disfigured women, like Jamara Khatun, have been fortunate. She was one of a dozen women treated by a team of Italian plastic surgeons from the Italian branch of INTERPLASTIC, a worldwide group of Good Samaritans who came to Dhaka for two weeks last year with all their equipment and operated on some of Sen's patients. They produced amazing results in restructuring some of the devastated faces. Another six girls were taken to Spain for treatment by Spanish plastic surgeons.

But what Bangladesh really needs is equipment that allows surgeons like Sen to apply at home the skills he acquired in Germany, Austria and Britain.

Said the irate doctor, who has seen more pain than he cares to remember, "If we really want to stop the acid throwers, the law must impose exemplary punishment. The men who do this should be hung in a public square, and I personally would like to throw some acid in their faces so they'll know what it feels like."

Even a doctor's oath to respect human life has its limits. (Chicago Tribune Foreign Correspondent January 31, 1999)



Teen Launches Crusade to Stop Acid Attacks Against Women in Bangladesh

Doctors gave Bina Akhter three years to live after being attacked. That was three years ago. Today, after eight operations, her face has evolved into patchwork of skin grafts and scars. She still suffers from headaches so severe she can hardly stand. (ABCNEWS)



Before the Attack

A photograph taken of Bina Akhter before a man threw acid on her face and instantly shattered many of her dreams. (ABCNEWS)



Namita



Namita's attack took place in 1985. Her father and his brothers had enmity with this family in their home village. The enmity was so great that there had been numerous incidences of violence with grievous injuries.

Her uncles moved to Calcutta to escape this violence and feud. Only her father remained in Bangladesh but he moved to the city to teach at a school there.

One man from that family also came to live in that city. He befriended Namita's father and Namita's innocent father thought that the past was forgotten. But actually this man was secretly plotting revenge. He planned to throw acid at Namita's father. While he waited for Namita's father to come back from school he saw Namita coming. Quickly he changed his strategy. He thought it would be better to hurt the daughter, as it would effect the father more. For what could be more painful for the father than to see his daughter in such a state and be powerless to do anything about it.

He poured the acid over Namita's head. "I thought that it had started to rain. My books fell on the ground. My watch also fell and it started to melt. Even the place where the acid fell on the street started to melt. I put my hands on my face and my hands started melting too. I remember my father rushing to me and people around me shouting, "The girl won't live." I don't remember anything else. I woke up in the hospital."

Her eyes gradually deteriorated and six months later the doctors had to take them out.

But Namita's story is also a story of success, of fighting with life and emerging victorious.

"An Italian missionary helped me immensely. He practically dragged me to a blind school and forced me to start living again. I later got my S.S.C. from a normal school and got my H.S.C. from Lalmatia College and also received my BA from there."

Namita is now teaching at The Blind School for Girls in Mirpur and is also staying in the school premises.

"Do you know President Ershad came to see me on three occasions and asked what he could do for me? I said, "Nothing, because, can anybody give me back my former life?"



3-18-00
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL ON ENVIRONMENTAL QUALITY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

00 MAR 17 14:35

March 17, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: GEORGE T. FRAMPTON, JR. *GTFJ.*
SUBJECT: TIME MAGAZINE EARTH DAY ESSAY

Time magazine has requested a guest essay from you for a special issue to be published the week of Earth Day. I believe this is an excellent opportunity to express your concerns over issues such as climate change and biodiversity loss, and to make the case that America must lead international efforts to meet these challenges. A draft essay is attached.

This special issue will be Time's first "global" issue – distributed in the United States as well as overseas. It will be pegged to, and to some degree organized around, a new Millennial Assessment report being prepared by the World Bank, the U.N. Environment Program, the U.N. Development Program, and the World Resources Institute. This report is a first-cut assessment of the state of (and state of knowledge on) the world's ecosystems – in particular, their ability to provide the environmental "goods and services" needed to sustain the levels of growth projected through this century. It appears to be a very ambitious, credible and valuable undertaking.

The lead article in the special Time issue will focus on the report and its findings. Other pieces will examine "what can be done." There will be guest articles by experts such as Harvard biologist E.O. Wilson and Richard Leakey.

As drafted by our Communications Director, Elliot Diringer, your essay draws on your travels to China and Africa, including your meetings with environmentalists, to reflect on the challenges of better integrating environmental protection and economic growth on a global scale. It also highlights America's environmental successes as a model for other nations. The draft is slightly longer than the 800-word limit, so any additions would require cuts.

The only thing that's wrong w/ this is it's too weak on climate change our responsibility as world's biggest emitter, challenge to our country that it's a great even opportunity with given technology, with even more just over the horizon in attention needed in cooperation fully participation contribution manufacturing.
Beef that up —
otherwise it's good
copied
Frampton
Diringer
Podesta

Draft 3/17/00 1pm
Diringer

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
GUEST ESSAY FOR EARTH DAY ISSUE OF TIME MAGAZINE

From the time I was a boy, I had dreamed of seeing elephants, giraffes and lions in the wild. But as I gazed across the lush African plain, what amazed me even more were all the creatures I'd never known existed -- the lechwe, the kudu, the lilac-breasted roller. I watched them in wonder.

That morning two years ago in Botswana's stunning Chobe reserve, I wished every child in the world could share these magnificent sights. And I worried that in a few generations' time, they could be lost even to the children of Africa.

As we enter the 21st century, a new global economy draws nations ever closer. But our growing interdependence hinges on much more than technology and trade. For we are linked intrinsically by the physical and biological webs that sustain life on our planet -- and, increasingly, by the threat of their unraveling.

Indeed, unless we reach across borders and face this threat together, the next century may dawn on an Earth in ecological crisis, with half of all species gone, and our grandchildren enduring deadly floods, drought and disease brought on by global warming.

When millions across America celebrated the first Earth Day 30 years ago, our focus understandably was our own backyard. Our rivers were catching on fire, and our skylines disappearing behind a veil of smog. Our cherished national symbol -- the bald eagle -- seemed destined for extinction.

America's remarkable environmental progress in the years since is powerful testament to our national will, our technological prowess, and our faith in a better future. Differences remain: how much of our surviving wild lands to preserve, how best to attack the pollution threats that persist. But today protecting the environment is a bedrock American value, as important to us as safe neighborhoods and good schools.

What's more, three decades of experience have proven the naysayers wrong. Tending to the environment has not weakened our economy. In fact, our air and water are the cleanest they have been in a generation, even as we enjoy the longest economic expansion in our nation's history.

America's responsibility now, as we mark the first Earth Day of a new millennium, is to bring these lessons to bear against new, more profound environmental challenges. We must look well beyond our own cities and countryside, make environment a core foreign policy objective, and provide the leadership needed to put all nations on a cleaner, more sustainable path to prosperity.

In Africa, the environmental leaders I met with described how desperate shortages of human and financial capital impoverish both their peoples and their land. They told, too, of the dear costs to us all. The rosy periwinkle, a plant native only to Madagascar, has proven potent against childhood leukemia. Yet other rare species on this small island nation, most found nowhere else on Earth, are disappearing faster than scientists can catalogue them.

The United States is working to help developing nations build their economies by preserving, rather than destroying, their natural endowments. My new Greening the Globe initiative, now before Congress, would strengthen these efforts by providing record funding to preserve the most endangered tropical forests. But we and other nations must do more.

And without question, we must do more to counter a threat that shows more clearly than any other how closely our nations' fates are linked -- the threat of global warming.

Earth's temperature is rising, and the heat-trapping gases responsible pose the same risk whether they come from the United States or from China. An agreement forged two years ago in Kyoto, Japan, with critical leadership from Vice President Gore commits industrialized nations to strong action against climate change. But developing countries must join us, for this global threat will be averted only with a global solution.

The key, I believe, is to help these nations leapfrog into the 21st century by eschewing the outmoded Industrial Era logic that more pollution means more progress. New energy technologies promise both prosperity and a clean environment, and we must encourage developing countries to adopt them. Just last month, on my visit to India, the government there took a major step in that direction: By 2012, it declared, at least one of every 10 new kilowatts of power will come from renewable energy.

Ultimately, our best hope may be that even where governments lag, their people understand both the stakes and the urgent need for action.

Last year in China, I met with environmentalists in the scenic city of Guilin. One woman, who spoke passionately of growing environmental awareness at the grassroots, asked me to carry a message to the American people: This fledgling movement can take hold only with your help. "If Americans don't want to give up this good opportunity," she said, "you have to take action now."

She is right. In the struggle against history's most profound environmental challenges, America must lead. For the sake of our children, and our planet. ~~[We shun this responsibility at our own peril.]~~

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-18-00



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
A Residential Resort Community

David Kaplan, President

March 14, 2000

President Bill Clinton
White House
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

I hope this letter finds you well and happy. We finally finished the tape on eliminating youth violence, and think you will enjoy it. As you will see on the tape "End School Violence Now" there is a solution that actually works, and, it is working in a variety of schools right now.

Mr. President, Linda and I just had a baby girl on Valentines Day, Alivia Valentine Kaplan. We are hoping we can come with our little girl for a visit, and, to plan out the appropriate next steps.

I really look forward to working with you on this. Now that I have a daughter, this issue is even more important.

Thank you for considering this. I really appreciate your own concern on this matter, and I look forward to helping.

Sincerely Yours,

David Kaplan

capital
Reed
P. de la
Berkhardt
(for copy)

Send letters

2: Stuff for baby letter

Reed

- he's a friend
- we want forward letter (tape to Jeff Blum)
- need reply

3-18-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 3, 2000

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton:

Thank you for asking me yesterday about the status of my appointment. First of all, I am honored and touched that you both consider me worthy of appointment to Assistant to the President. John Podesta assured me this afternoon that he will proceed immediately with granting me the title of "Physician to the President" (a title equivalent to Assistant to the President). Furthermore, Jake Simmons informed me that the President has the authority to promote me to the rank of Rear Admiral. I believe Mr. Simmons' solution is a "win-win" for the White House and the military.

My primary concern is your confidentiality and the Medical Unit's autonomy. Promotion to Rear Admiral affords autonomy and respect in my interactions with the White House Military Office and the military community at large. With the President's blessing, promotion to Rear Admiral would make me the first officer (male or female) of Philippine heritage and only the third woman in the U. S. Navy Medical Corps to rise to flag officer. Having come from a long line of Navy stewards, this promotion honors those who have served before and with me.

Your loyal support now and in the past has been unwavering. Now, as always, I remain yours in service,

Connie

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Podesta

JP
where are you on this?
Be

The Next President's First Obligation

The Clinton administration is approaching the congressionally mandated deadline for a decision on whether to deploy a national missile defense with all the ambivalence of a dreaded visit to a dentist, mitigated by the fantasy that some fortuitous event might yet make it unnecessary. It is engaged in discussions with Russia about modifying the 1972 ABM treaty, which precludes a national missile deployment. And it does so even though it has not yet made a decision as to whether to deploy, or exactly how.

In my view, no administration serious about national security will be able to evade the need for missile defense. But an election year may not be the opportune time to choose the most effective option. And in the absence of such a decision, talks with Moscow make little sense.

In the light of recent ambiguous test results and imminent electoral preoccupations, it would be desirable to delay a final technical judgment until a new administration is in place. And we should suspend further talks with Moscow until we have decided on the kind of missile defense most in the national interest. That decision should define the parameters of the dialogue. But since the strategic importance of missile defense is independent of its technical characteristics, the interim should be used for educating the American public and for dialogue with our allies in Europe and Asia.

A president's first obligation is to provide for the safety of the American people by deterring attacks on the homeland and our allies, and by reducing their impact should they take place. The danger is real and growing. In 1998 the bipartisan Rumsfeld Commission unanimously concluded the threat posed by a number of hostile emerging states "is broader, more mature and evolving more rapidly than has been reported in estimates and reports by the intelligence community."

Furthermore, "the U.S. might well have little or no warning before operational deployment" of missiles capable of reaching U.S. territory with biological, chemical or nuclear warheads. In other words, we are not dealing with an academic inside-the-Beltway arms-control debate but with a challenge to the very heart of American security.

Nevertheless, national missile defense has become one of those symbolic issues around which elite opinion has been divided for decades, regardless of intervening political and technological changes. Four arguments are generally put forward in opposition to a national missile defense—and seem to me to be accepted by many in the administration, especially on the foreign policy side of it:

(1) that a workable system cannot be designed;

(2) that if it was, it would undermine the long-established American strategic doctrine called Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD);

(3) that it violates the 1972 ABM Treaty and would jeopardize the entire gamut of Russo-American relations;

(4) that our European allies will interpret an anti-missile program as decoupling the defense of Europe from America, because the United States might be perceived as withdrawing into a Fortress America. (Interestingly, this argument is never heard from our Asian allies.)

I am not a technical expert, but I have been exposed to enough briefings to be convinced that the technical problems can be solved, provided Congress and the administration are united in their commitment to the concept. This is obviously the view of countries possessing missile programs of their own, as is shown by the virulence of their opposition to American missile defenses.

As for the argument that national missile defense runs counter to the longstanding strategic concept of Mutual Assured Destruction, a reassessment of that essentially nihilist doctrine is long overdue.

Advocates of the doctrine converge on the proposition that nuclear war is best prevented by guaranteeing the most cataclysmic outcome. Hence, they oppose any strategy based on discriminating targeting, and passionately resist any attempt to construct defensive systems. Security is sought in the unprecedented attempt to leave one's own civilian population totally vulnerable to nuclear attack while targeting the civilian population of the other side. In these terms, defense policy turns on itself. It becomes anti-defense, to guarantee the total vulnerability of the population.

This theory is better suited to an academic seminar than to a national leader required to make fateful decisions in the real world. It is one thing to theorize about mutual deterrence based on the threat of mutual suicide, quite another to implement such a concept in an actual crisis. Who is to assume the moral responsibility for recommending resort to a strategy that guarantees tens of millions dead on both sides?

In any event, whatever tenuous plausibility the MAD theory had in a two-power world disappears when eight nations have tested nuclear weapons and many rogue regimes are working feverishly on the development of nuclear, chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction and the ballistic missiles to deliver them. If one of these destroyed an American city by accident or design, how would an American president explain his refusal to protect our country against even limited attacks?

Since I have held and published these views for four decades, one is entitled to ask why an ABM Treaty was signed by President Richard Nixon in 1972, when I served as national security adviser. The blunt answer is that the Nixon administration started its term in office determined to move away



BY DEAN RUSK

"No administration serious about national security will be able to evade the need for missile defense."

from the MAD concept but was partially forced back into its framework by congressional and bureaucratic pressures. Early in his first term, Nixon ordered the Pentagon to develop a strategy concentrating on military rather than civilian targets. In 1969 he also submitted to Congress a missile-defense program. Twelve sites were to protect missile silos and the population against limited attacks from the Soviet Union, against attacks from emerging nuclear powers and against accidental and unauthorized launch from any source.

Nixon's ABM program was assailed by exactly the same arguments one hears today: that it would not work; that it was destabilizing; that it would weaken the Atlantic Alliance.

Amid the passions of the Vietnam protest and in a Congress dominated by liberal Democrats, these criticisms merged with the prevailing assault on the defense budget as a whole. Nixon's ABM authorization passed the Senate by one vote. But in subsequent years, Congress used the appropriations process to destroy what it had narrowly failed to defeat in the original authorization. Each year, the number of ABM sites was reduced by Congress until, by late 1971, only two remained. And the Soviets, aware of these pressures, were stonewalling discussions on limiting their offensive buildup, then proceeding at the rate of more than 200 long-range missile launchers a year.

In this atmosphere, the Defense Department, in the person of Deputy Secretary of Defense David Packard, wrote President Nixon in late spring of 1970 that a new arms-control agreement was needed as soon as possible lest the Soviets outstrip us in their building program of strategic forces.

Nixon was far from converted to the MAD theory, but, faced with a Congress that was gutting the ABM program, decided to freeze—and thereby preserve—a nucleus ABM deployment in return for equivalent limits on the Soviets' own ABM deploy-

ment, and to use that decision to put a ceiling on the Soviet offensive buildup. At the Moscow summit of 1972, the Soviets accepted the American insistence that offensive weapons be limited simultaneously with defensive weapons.

This history is relevant because many who treat the ABM Treaty as the cornerstone of arms control misunderstand the original impetus for it. And the contrast between the situation of 1972 and today's is stark. The Rumsfeld Commission has unanimously described the new security environment. One signatory, the Soviet Union, has disappeared as a legal entity. Missile technologies have evolved in sophistication and proliferated into nations (North Korea, Iran, Iraq) not even remotely considered candidates when the agreement was concluded. In short, in the existing strategic environment the ABM Treaty constrains the nation's defense to an intolerable degree.

As for European reactions, it must be kept in mind that our NATO allies have made comparable arguments about every major new American weapons program for the past 30 years—from "flexible response" in the 1960s, to the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI) and intermediate-range missiles in the 1980s. Opposing new offensive weapons placed in Europe in the 1980s and new defensive weapons based in America in the '90s, these critics have charged on each occasion that the new programs would decouple America from Europe and torpedo important negotiations with Moscow. In each case the critics have been proved wrong.

In the Nixon administration, the ABM program broke the deadlock in East-West negotiations. In the Reagan administration, SDI and intermediate-range missiles in Europe brought the Soviets back to the conference table. And with 20,000 nuclear weapons in the Russian arsenal, it will be many decades if ever before an American missile-defense program shuts down all Russian nuclear options, even as it constrains many of them. This should give time for an East-West diplomacy designed to move a nuclear conflict between the two largest nuclear countries to an ever-lower level of probability.

Finally, once Europe disentangles itself from outdated slogans, it will come to understand that a system that protects America against limited nuclear attacks, and even more against rogue nuclear blackmail, will enhance rather than diminish our willingness to defend our allies. An America totally vulnerable to any kind of nuclear threat is much more likely to shrink from fulfilling alliance obligations. And sooner or later Europe will recognize these arguments apply as well to the defense of European territory against missile attack.

China, which is not a signatory of the ABM Treaty, has been vocal in its criticism of an American missile defense. No doubt China is more seriously affected by a missile-defense system than Russia, because its arsenal is so much smaller and will remain so for several decades. Beijing's concern that a U.S. missile defense would to some extent blunt the impact of the ballistic missile arsenal it has been building at a rapid rate is understandable. I have demonstrated a long commitment to cooperative relations with China, and I strongly oppose the tendencies toward confrontation emerging in both countries. But we cannot leave our people defenseless in the face of foreseeable nuclear threats from so many quarters to placate even a country so important as China.

For all these reasons, a nationwide missile-defense system should be deployed as soon as is technologically feasible. An impressive array of technical options—land, sea or space—cannot be adequately explored until we overcome ABM Treaty restrictions. At this writing, our national priorities with respect to missile defense are the reverse of what is needed. We are talking to Russia about modifying the existing system without having as yet decided what program best serves our security and that of our allies.

Until we have chosen the appropriate national missile defense, negotiations with Moscow about modifying the ABM treaty take place in a vacuum. A quick-fix solution is foolhardy and dangerous, for it risks putting our leaders 10 years from now, when technology has moved on, into the same straitjacket they find themselves in today. Only when we have defined our necessities can we conduct a meaningful dialogue on whether to amend or, if necessary, revoke the treaty.

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The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 2000

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-18-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 18, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL *SB*
SUBJECT: The Last Years of the Presidents

Between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Bill Clinton there have been two presidents who filled out two terms. Their last years in office provide the only relevant reference point for today. Presidential popularity, charted by the Gallup Poll, reveals that President Clinton is a far more popular president—and more popular over a far longer period—than Ronald Reagan was. Furthermore, President Clinton has enjoyed more consistent and sustained popularity than Dwight Eisenhower, who presided at a time when the presidency received a natural approval from the American people, in an era before the assassinations, race riots and the Vietnam War. The Princeton historian Sean Wilentz, in the enclosed article published in *The New Republic*, writes, "From 1945 to 1992, each American president saw his job approval ratings drop during his final years in office." He adds, "Clinton is the great exception."

The point here is not to play a game of king of the hill, or to exalt one president over another. Nor is it to measure presidencies merely by popularity. Rather, the historical structure of the presidents' final years strongly suggests the salience of certain issues and themes. Both Eisenhower's and Reagan's vice presidents sought to succeed them, and in both cases these elements were major factors in determining the outcome. The pattern of the past may be something of a guide to the coming months. In the enclosed chart, the spikes and dips represent the jagged outlines of the politics of late-term presidents.

Eisenhower's Decline

On the eve of his second inauguration, Eisenhower reached a peak of his popularity (79 percent). His fall began almost immediately. Throughout 1957, with the spread of a recession, he slipped downward. Then, with the Soviet Union's launch of Sputnik in October, he fell precipitously. By April 1958, he found himself at his lowest point, below 50 percent for the first time.

Eisenhower's last year was marked by economic stagnation, foreign policy humiliation at the hands of the Soviets, and strained relations with his vice president, Richard Nixon,

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To Taylor Branch
Felt
Worth a read
PB

who damaged Ike's ratings and ultimately his own political prospects by his effort to separate himself.

Eisenhower entered 1960 partly restored in popularity at 66 percent. In May, the Soviets shot down a U-2 spy plane and captured its pilot, Francis Gary Powers. Ike, at first, denied that the US was engaged in such spy missions. But the Soviets paraded Powers before television cameras. In mid-May, the Paris summit with the Soviet Union collapsed. In July, the Soviets shot down another US patrol plane over the Soviet Union. Ike was below 50 percent again. The Democratic candidate for president, John F. Kennedy, charged that Eisenhower's neglect had created a dangerous "missile gap" (a bogus charge, it later turned out).

Criticism of Ike for weakening defense and being too attentive to a balanced budget was not restricted to Democrats. New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller also made the same sharp claims. Rockefeller was Nixon's chief rival within the GOP for the presidential nomination. In the end, Rockefeller decided not to challenge him. But he extracted a price. He got Nixon to agree to his broad program in what became known as the "Pact of Fifth Avenue," after a meeting at Rockefeller's apartment. For Nixon, the "pact" involved more than an entente with Rockefeller. It was a way for him to distinguish himself as more than "Ike's boy" and to position himself against Kennedy. Eisenhower was so angry that he threatened not to endorse his vice president. And the splits within the GOP contributed to Ike's fall in the polls that July.

In August, asked by a reporter to give an example of Nixon's contribution to government, Eisenhower replied, "If you give me a week I might think of one." He failed to endorse Nixon until the GOP convention. Throughout the year, in fact, he had tried to convince members of his cabinet to run for the presidency against Nixon. He also was furious with Rockefeller. Ike had lost control of his party and was unable to set its direction.

In September 1960, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev arrived at the opening of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, where he banged his shoe on the desk. Eisenhower's rating briefly shot up to 65 percent, a rally-round-the-flag syndrome. In late October, he began campaigning for Nixon. It seemed that the old adoration for Ike was back. He had been senescent for so long that his dramatic campaign appearances, flashing the famous smile and waving his arms, made it seem that he had come alive again. But Nixon asked him to stop his campaigning, upon receiving a private request from Eisenhower's wife and doctor, worried that he might have another heart attack. Eisenhower refused to help Nixon further. Ike's spike upward in early October swiftly depressed, even during his brief flurry of campaigning, and his polls went flat. Nixon lost by a razor-thin margin.

Eisenhower, the military hero of World War II, who was elected president on the promise of peace, was seen as a foreign policy bumbler. Confusion on the question of peace only made his economic management more suspect. Had there been a calm international environment, Nixon could have projected the issues of peace and prosperity with clarity,

presented himself forthrightly as Ike's successor, and would almost certainly have won the election.

The last year of Ronald Reagan's presidency, which included many similar problems of succession, offers a sharp contrast.

Reagan's Rescue

With the economy roaring, Reagan shot up, in May 1986, to his highest point—68 percent. But when the Iran-contra scandal was exposed in November, he suffered the single biggest drop of a president on record, falling to 47 percent. He hovered mostly below 50 percent for a year and a half. It seemed that there was nothing he could do to save himself. His rescue required the intervention of an outside force, a *deus ex machina*.

Since Mikhail Gorbachev's accession to power as the new Soviet leader in March 1984, Reagan had not known how to handle him. But in June 1988 Reagan went on location to Moscow, where he announced that "of course" the Cold War was over and that the "evil empire," Reagan's most memorable phrase, was from "another time." (Reagan reflected: "In the movie business actors often get what we call typecast... Well, politics is a little like that too. So I've had a lot of time and reason to think about my role.") His numbers suddenly went up to 54 percent.

Reagan's ratings stayed in the low fifties through the election. His convention speech was instrumental in defining the winning theme that George Bush seemed incapable of articulating. Reagan began inauspiciously, blurting inadvertently, "Facts are stupid things." (He meant to say "stubborn things.") But he went on to say, "Now, we hear talk that it's time for a change... We are the change." He referred to "Mr. Gorbachev," and concluded, "The work must continue." With this flourish, he captured the theme of continuity and change for the Republicans. It proved enough to help lift Bush into the presidency.

It is important to note that Reagan's recovery was relatively marginal. He never politically returned to the only period in which he enjoyed widespread popularity, from the spring of 1983 until November 1986. Yet the modesty of his comeback was still enough to build a plausible case of continuity for Bush. And after the election of his vice president Reagan rose for a moment to 63 percent, lending him a triumphant aura, as if he had always been beloved.

Reagan, the old conservative cold warrior, who had won two elections campaigning against the evil empire, transformed the peace issue by linking himself to Gorbachev and declaring the Cold War over. Reagan made peace and prosperity available to Bush, doing a superior job to Bush himself in basing his candidacy on those twin themes. What Eisenhower failed to do for Nixon, Reagan provided for Bush.

Lessons for 2000

Despite the propagandists of "Clinton fatigue," President Clinton is indisputably more popular than Eisenhower and Reagan, the only points of comparison. He has reversed the historic trend of second-term decline; and he is the only president to have done so. It may be that this singular feat augurs a deeper reversal, the restoration of confidence in positive government and an active executive. But that depends largely on the outcome of the election.

The key political elements for 2000 are already in place.

First, after Al Gore's impending defeat of Bill Bradley, party coherence will be greater than in any previous cycle when the nomination was open. Bradley's challenge, moreover, has not been on any fundamental ideological ground. It is more attitudinal than political. There is not a polarizing issue to widen an already existing schism within the party, like Vietnam. Bradley's effort to draw support from a rejection of the President has itself been rejected.

Second, there is no foreign policy crisis. Without the Cold War, there is no major adversary.

Third, the economy continues its unprecedented expansion.

Fourth, Gore is promoting the achievements of the administration as the basis for future progress. Unlike Nixon in 1960, he has no need to separate himself from the president's policies. Ike named Nixon as his vice presidential candidate as a sop to the Republican right, to have a Californian and a younger man on the ticket. Eisenhower never respected or trusted Nixon. Bush became Reagan's running mate as an act of political convenience, not shared perspective. This put Bush in the awkward position of having to embrace Reagan while trying to distance himself (as in his call for a "kinder, gentler" country). Gore, unlike Nixon in 1960 and Bush in 1988, is his president's close partner, who authentically carries the banner of the Clinton administration's achievements. And, unlike Bush, Gore is articulate and direct in explaining why he is the new man to carry the work forward. The stronger the theme of continuity and change, the greater the victory and the mandate.

At the same time, the Republicans present a reverse image. First, their party is split politically. The congressional wing has been repudiated by the McCain candidacy. Second, the GOP is split on foreign policy. Third, the GOP is split on economics, particularly on the question of tax cuts. In short, the Republicans carry the burdens that have led to presidential defeats in the past.

The confluence of these factors is now beginning to become apparent, as the CBS/*New York Times* poll of February 17 shows—an even race with underlying trends moving in the Democrat's favor. But these factors cannot left be to their own devices, as though

there will be an inevitable unfolding of events. The public will perceive complacency as smugness, then as arrogance.

The Democratic Party is emerging from the primaries relatively unscathed. The congressional and presidential wings are in harmony. There has not been a time since arguably 1975, or even 1965, when the country and the Democratic agenda were in convergence.

The Republicans, by contrast, will leave the primaries badly battered. The McCain insurgency has split their party and greatly discredited its congressional and regular wings. Bush, representing the governors and the regulars, kept a distance from the congressional leadership. But McCain, running as a maverick, took on all of them, leaving them in pieces. The Republicans have no program or strategy for retaining the House, except a dependent reliance on Bush's pulling power.

The Republicans and Bush in particular have declared that the election will be a referendum on the Clinton presidency. If they win, they will claim their victory was a reaction against it. The issue, according to the Republicans, is this: Do the American people vindicate and extend the Clinton era or do they bring it to an end? The overriding question for the President and the Vice President—seen in the light of the Eisenhower and Reagan examples—is how they will affect that referendum.

Eisenhower, compounding his difficulties, tarnished his luster. Reagan, through the Cold War endgame and his rhetorical skill, magically enhanced his stature. Because of Nixon's defeat in 1960, there is no historical reference to an Eisenhower era. Reagan, however, currently enjoys a greater historical reputation than he deserves because he was vindicated through the ambiguous medium of George Bush.

The President's prospect is better at the beginning of his last year than it was for either Eisenhower or Reagan. He has entered what may be a virtuous cycle, if it can be kept in perpetual motion. Inescapably, Gore is viewed as a proxy and an extension. The better Gore performs, the better the President looks. Gore's rise, documented in polls, reflects favorably on the President, giving him more room to lift up Gore. And the better the President does, the better Gore looks.

For 2000, simplicity, clarity and consistency of message are paramount. Proliferating issues may have an effect other than highlighting an active executive, who, after all, is not running. If the issues are not tightly framed, they can create a diffuse impression. In setting the agenda, the President must insure that every issue is subsidiary to the grand themes of advancing peace, deepening prosperity and building another decade of progress. Beyond that, on a political level, the balance must be struck between continuity and change.

Obviously, the President should brandish foreign policy to enhance his prestige and stature. The Eisenhower and Reagan experiences could not be more telling on that point. And, obviously, the schisms within the Republican Party must be exacerbated, especially

on tax cuts and (after China WTO) internationalism. But there are also other potential pitfalls, including the danger of being drawn into legislative wear-and-tear and the overly drawn complexity of the administration's stance on trade.

The Republican Congress the President faces has been in great part discredited, even within its own party. It is the opposite of the dynamic force he encountered in 1995-96, during his reelection campaign, when Republicans still envisioned the Congress as their vanguard. The Republican presidential candidate will want the President to be mired in protracted unresolved conflict with the Congress as a distraction and to drag down his job performance numbers. In effect, the Republican nominee must triangulate to have a chance. So the President must use the Congress to highlight the Democratic agenda, pass certain signal pieces of legislation, and split the opposition to illustrate their lack of direction, program and cohesion. Above all, he must avoid the tar pit.

Barring unforeseen crises, the one issue that has the most potential of confusing the public and splitting the Democrats is trade. It is the weakest point. Since the disaster in Seattle, the administration's position has been defensive, argumentative and abstract. Pushing trade apart from concrete proposals has invariably led to setbacks—fast-track being the notable example. Trade cannot persuasively be promoted only as a process. And just talking about trade as a general proposition fosters an increasingly murky political atmosphere. Trade clouds up the administration's foreign policy, sometimes even appearing to substitute for it, rather than being understood as one of its instruments. And talking about trade in the abstract casts a shadow over the economic success story. Administration pleas for a hearing on trade suggest that it is ineffective, implicitly reinforcing the notion that it has had little to do with the economy. The rhetoric surrounding trade, stressing "global integration" and "rules of the road," is arcane and impenetrable to most people.

The case for trade should not be made in the abstract, but only in relation to China WTO. While all the usual arguments should be made about our interests, the issue should be framed above all as a foreign policy one. That enables the moral component to be brought to bear. It is about whether we will have a lasting peace with China, the largest nation in the world and an emerging power in the 21st century. Trade is an instrument of our policy of peace. It combines our interests and our values. Our ultimate goal is not merely trade; it is peace, which promotes not only prosperity but democracy. Indeed, the focus of our entire foreign policy is peace. The ending of the Cold War has not meant that the American people think of foreign policy apart from questions of war and peace. The President's most favorable image remains that of peacemaker. Other arguments, of course, must be made for trade, including that trade means continued economic growth and opportunity. But if peace is not the first argument then the President will have dispensed with one of the most powerful themes that serve all presidents, especially in their last year.



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TRB FROM WASHINGTON Yawn

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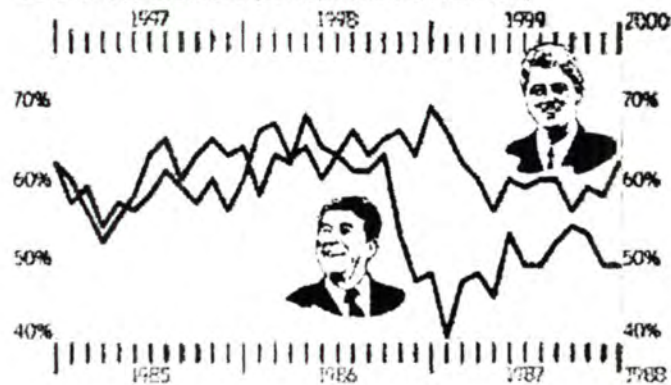
According to many of our top editorialists, the nation is gripped by something called "Clinton fatigue." After seven long years, voters are fed up with our "truth-twisting" president (the phrase is John McCain's), and they can't wait for him to clear out of Washington. It is this lingering distaste,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

TRB

The model has an elegant simplicity. But it rests on a fictional premise. By every meaningful standard, statistical and historical, Clinton fatigue is an utter hoax. It is the latest sign of the growing gap between what the public actually thinks and what the pundits claim the public thinks. In fact, over time, Clinton has become more popular, not less. That so many intelligent writers assume

the opposite tells us exactly nothing about Clinton. It tells us a great deal, however, about the dogma-cursed state of American political commentary.

From 1945 to 1992, each American president saw his job-approval ratings drop during his final years in office. The Korean War so undermined Harry Truman's popularity that he decided not to run for reelection in 1952. Vietnam did the same for Lyndon Johnson in 1968. Wretched disapproval (and almostcertain impeachment) led Richard Nixon to resign in 1974. Stagflation, the Iran hostage crisis, and "malaise" sent Jimmy Carter's numbers tumbling before Ronald Reagan clobbered him in 1980. Reagan's popular support went into free fall during the Iran-Contra scandal and never really recovered. George Bush, prior to his defeat in 1992, saw his approval ratings plunge from their peak just after the Gulf war. Even the likable Dwight Eisenhower saw his ratings slip sharply during his sluggish second term.

PUBLIC-APPROVAL RATINGS**REAGAN v. CLINTON** at comparable points in their second terms

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

Commentators are quick to note that Clinton's approval ratings drop abruptly when the question turns from job performance to character. But poll data only matter insofar as they predict elections, and, when it comes to elections, Clinton's high job-approval numbers are far more predictive than his low personal-approval ones. And, like the job-approval numbers, the trend at the polls has generally been up.

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

Now consider 2000. Last fall, the press was filled with suggestions that Clinton fatigue was killing Al Gore. But last fall, if you'll remember, Gore was frantically distancing himself from the president--telling every interviewer who would listen how much he disapproved of Clinton's behavior and engaging in elaborate rhetorical contortions to avoid mentioning the president's name on the stump. Since December, he has started forthrightly claiming credit for the Clinton administration's accomplishments, and he has soared, winning in both Iowa and New Hampshire. To be sure, part of Gore's success stems from his campaign shake-up and from Bradley's early timidity. And,

to be sure, Democratic primary voters are the least Clinton-fatigued people around. But the fact remains that, at the ballot box as in the job-approval ratings, evidence for Clinton fatigue is scarce. Even McCain, whose recent rise pundits credit to his anti-Slick-Willie persona, beat George W. Bush in New Hampshire with a tax plan that his opponents ridiculed (and that he at one point acknowledged) as Clintonian.

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

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

Chart sources: Gallup Poll; Washington Post-ABC; NBC-WSJ; ABC; WSJ; NY Times-CBS; Newsweek. Chart by Nigel Holmes.

Recently:

Elsewhere in this week's issue, Franklin Foer examines a phenomenon closely tied to Clinton fatigue: McCain chic. In TRB last week, Fouad Ajami spun tales of the new economy. Sean Wilentz's last article in TNR presented the historical case for why the Reform Party is doomed.

Currently (02.28.00 issue):

Favorite Son? John B. Judis reports from Arizona, where the character issue makes people vote *against* McCain.
 Improbable Cause: Jonathan Chait on the crumbling Michigan firewall.

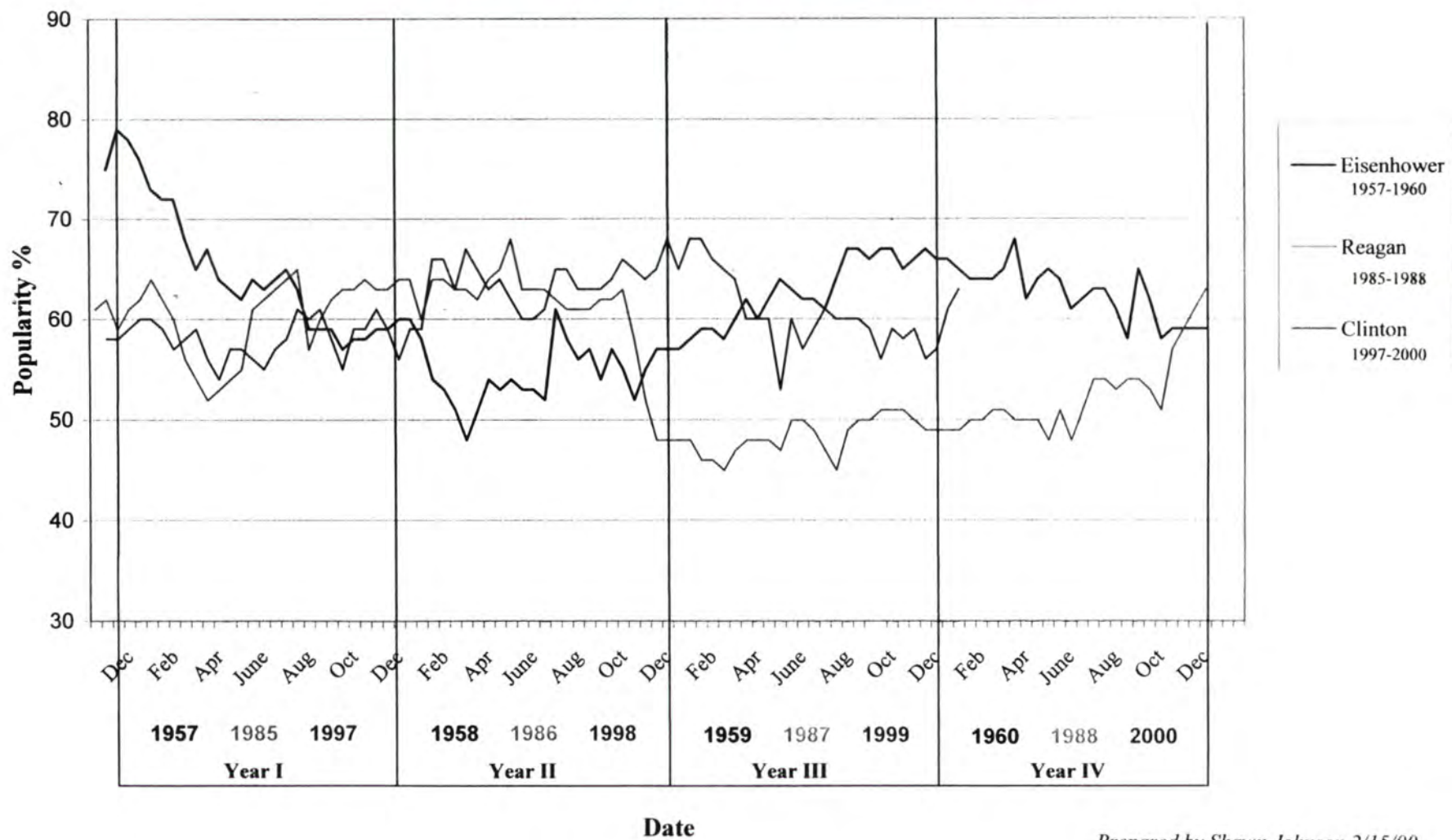
The Editors: Cloning is almost here. Does Washington care?

Dear Village: A letter to my people.

Nashville Dispatch: Ryan Lizza proves that the Reform Party can, in fact, get crazier.

2nd Term Presidential Popularity

Source: Gallup Poll Data on Presidential Popularity



Prepared by Shawn Johnson 2/15/00

3-18-00

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Merlin
[scribbles]

February 28, 2000

Dear President Bill:

I very much hoping you are planning a Farewell Address, and --

The more I think about it, the more I think you should focus therein on race, and how far we still fall from egalitarianism, and what can and must be done in the 21st Century.

I think this is an area where your record is superlative, it really does encompass so much of what you did accomplish and tried to accomplish, and presumably it is an area where you will continue to offer leadership in the future.

Love,




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RM
Podesta
original to
Personal File

Penfin

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-18-00

27 Jan 2000

MYRON M. CHERRY

Dear Mr. President —

Thanks

- for a great decade
- for an historic economy
- for more opportunity for more people
- for putting hope back in politics
- for fighting for those who are in need
- for bringing respect for America throughout the world
- for making our planet safer
- for caring down to the marrow of your bones
- for setting the example for leadership
- for all these things you've yet to do
- for being a good friend

Great Speech

Pat & Mike

Copied
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Podesta
original to
Personal File

U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-3510

copied
Key Apes
Reed
Jennings
Podesta

DOCUMENT

BUSINESS

Dennis J. Kucinich

President Clinton

Alfred
Stearns

in hospital
unable to reply

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-18-00

|||||

DENNIS J. KUCINICH

10TH DISTRICT, OHIO

1730 LONGWORTH OFFICE BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225 - 5871

14400 DETROIT AVENUE
LAKEWOOD, OHIO 44107
(216) 228-8850
(216) 228-6465 FAX

5983 W.54TH
PARMA, OHIO 44129
(440) 845-2707



Committees:
Government Oversight
Education and Labor

Congress of the United States House of Representatives

March 14, 2000

COPIES OF THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN
3 - 1 8 - 000

Dear President Clinton,

Bill -

You have always been for those who are powerless to fight for themselves. An old working class neighborhood in Cleveland is threatened with the loss of the heart and soul of its community, a 116 year old hospital, St. Michael's. The community hospital is caught up in legal action, including bankruptcy proceedings, designed to force its closure.

Unfortunately, the world-renown Cleveland Clinic is behind the effort to force St. Michael's and another community hospital, Mt. Sinai East, both of which are making a profit, to close. A third neighborhood hospital, Deaconess, is under threat of immediate closure. A fourth, serving the African-American community, Mt. Sinai, was closed last month.

Hundreds of dedicated employees, including doctors and nurses, are being thrown out of work and tens of thousands of Clevelanders are being denied accessible health care. With the exception of the status of Deaconess Hospital, the Cleveland Clinic stands to benefit directly from the closings of the other hospitals. In fact, they are purchasing both St. Michael's and Mt. Sinai East in order to shut them down.

There is no reason the Cleveland Clinic is spending good money to buy St. Michael's and Mt. Sinai East, two hospitals it does not want to use, except to make sure that no one else can use them. It is forcing more and more people to become patients in the Clinic's own broad network. It wants to eliminate existing competitive facilities by purchasing them and taking them out of operation, so they cannot be utilized by competitors.

Hundreds of community hospitals are being closed nationally. The poor, the disadvantaged, and the elderly are finding it more and more difficult to have access to health care. You are the only one who can raise this to a level of national concern. We need your help in Cleveland. We need your help across America. Please help.

Sincerely,

Dennis

Dennis J. Kucinich



~~Strongly~~
~~unhappy~~

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-18-00

copied
Berger
NSC and DeL
Podesta

All Parties Hurriyet (Freedom) Conference

Raj Bagh, Srinagar Kashmir.

16 February 2000

Hon'ble President Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500.

Hon'ble President Clinton:

On the historic occasion of your visit to the sub-continent, it would have been a great honor for the people of Kashmir to welcome you to their land. They would have greeted and paid spontaneous tribute to you for your personal championship of human freedom and your sensitive interest in the observance of human rights.

Tragically, however, they are physically disabled from doing so. They are placed under an unwanted and abhorrent military occupation. A place famed for its celebrated scenic beauty has been turned into a theatre of suffering unparalleled in this part of the world and unprecedented in Kashmir's own history. Most of the leaders of their representative organization, the All Parties Hurriyet Conference (APHC), have been detained in India for two years without trial since 8th September 1999, the reason is that they exercised the democratic right asking the people to peacefully boycott the recent Indian parliamentary elections in the state of Jammu and Kashmir. The boycott proved a complete success. Needless to mention that hundreds of its senior workers and activists are incarcerated and tortured in Kashmir itself. With the help of systematic murder, rape and arson -- a pattern, which preceded and has outlasted the horrors of Bosnia and Kosovo -- the Indian authority is trying to brutalize the people into subjugation. In spite of all this the All Parties Hurriyet Conference with humility solicit your excellency to visit Kashmir. This will be a great solace to a distressed and forgotten people who have great expectations from your ensuing tour of the sub-continent.

The untold miseries and sufferings of our people are due to what is called the Line of Control in Kashmir. This line is actually the Line of conflict in Kashmir. As long as it will remain clamped down on the State of Jammu and Kashmir, it will not only continue to impose a heavy toll of death on the people of the land, but will continue to make the people prisoners of physical as well as psychological uncertainty. The people have had no hand in creating this line. They are not resigned to its becoming some kind of a border. It has cut through their homes, separated families and served as a protecting wall for massive violations of human rights.

This line of terror and iniquity deserves to be wiped out. It can be erased peacefully by the free ascertainment of the will of the people of the territory of the state

of Jammu and Kashmir, as existed on or before 15th of August 1947. In the alternative, it stands as a provocation to violence which, even if curbed for a limited period, will always reappear in one form or other with greater force and destructive potentialities

As much as the cruelty to which they have been subjugated, the virtually permissive inaction, of the great powers regarding their situation has been a cause of the greatest sorrow to the people of Kashmir. What makes this indifference impossible to understand is that the Kashmir problem is not politically an uncharted terrain about which no road map exists. The United Nations has at its inception devoted immense labor and thought to its solution. The fact cannot be gainsaid or dismissed that the terms of settlement it recommended did elicit the agreement of both India and Pakistan. They may need to be revised now but their basis, the consent of the people of Kashmir, remains inviolable. Neither pragmatism nor morality sanctions the setting aside of this basis.

The APHC can work out with all concerned parties the lines of a negotiated settlement based objectively on justice, provided it is put in a position to do so. We do not envision a final outcome, which will be complete victory or defeat for either India or Pakistan. However, we do not foreclose any settlement, which will be seen to be desired by the people of Kashmir. By the expression "the people of Kashmir", we mean the people of every zone which formed the part of erstwhile state of Jammu and Kashmir on or before 15th of August 1947. We have neither the desire nor the need to make any zone foist its preference over another.

The APHC is mindful of the urgings by the United States that India and Pakistan keep "talking to each other." It would be perverse on the part of anyone to oppose that course of action. But to expect a breakthrough in talks is to ask for miracles. We do not believe that all that the United States desires is to lend a veneer of peace and normalcy to a situation which in reality destroys the roots of peace and is strikingly abnormal.

The APHC reposes the hope in you that you will persuade the two governments to engage in focussed negotiations, in consultation with the Hurriyet Conference, about the procedures to be set in motion to bring about a settlement of the dispute. Despite our grief and suffering, we are prepared not only to make constructive contributions to that end, but can prove our capacity to becoming a bridge between India and Pakistan.

The APHC would earnestly request your honorable self to appoint a special envoy for the sub-continent who could recommend the ways and means to settle this old dispute, which has in due course of time attained the manifestations of a dangerous, volatile, "pool of gas" looking for a match in South Asian region, having fullest regard to the genuine wishes and aspirations of the people and realizing a just and lasting resolution of the Kashmir dispute.

Lastly the APHC, though conscious of your preoccupation and tight scheduled, with humility solicit the meeting of a Hurriyet delegation with your honorable self. This request, no doubt is a tall order from a representative organization of a small people, but its firm belief that yourself being the great president of the great country, the champion of

basic freedoms, world peace and human rights, will definitely care for and gratify the wishes of a people who have unfortunately been reduced to a state of depression, helplessness and sullenness, impels me and my colleagues to come up with the request.

With highest regards

Mohammad Umar Farooq
Acting Chairman
All Parties Hurriyet Conference
New Delhi.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-15-00

Sheila and Larry Fisher
2323 Old Glenview Road
Wilmette, Illinois 60091
(847)256-1824

March 13, 2000


Copied
Jennings
Beckhardt
Podesta

President Bill Clinton
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

We are sorry to take of your most valuable time to read our letter but as of last week the Illinois Department of Services for Crippled Children (DSCC) suggested that they could not help us and said "try writing to the President of the United States and Governor of Illinois."

Our letter is being sent as a plea for help to draw your attention to the burden put on American families including ours in wanting to keep the family unit together in raising a severely handicapped and medically fragile child in the home and not in an institution. Part of the American dream is to be able to educate and raise ones children together and participate in family outings and religious activities as a unit. Such is not the case in any American family similar to ours.

We are most fortunate to be parents of five wonderful children aged ten to twenty-three. Our third child, Devora, who is fourteen years old, was born with agenesis of the corpus callosum (missing the bridge between the halves of her brain) and has central sleep apnea as well as five years ago developed a severe seizure disorder. Five years ago, Devora was sitting by herself, chewing thumb size pieces of food, holding objects, in a gait trainer, rolling over until she had a seizure and was taken via paramedics to our local hospital where upon admittance was post-dictal but had a doctor who gave her Phenobarbital and "lost our daughter for us." Devora was revived and in a coma and on a ventilator for three days followed by a five week hospital stay at Children's Memorial Hospital in Chicago wherein she lost everything that it took eight years to teach her to do. Devora, as of today, no longer can sit, chew, roll or at times even hold her head up and does not breathe when sleeping in turn using Bi-Pap, a portable ventilator system, to pump twelve breathes per minute into her while hooked to a monitoring system to

measure her oxygen saturation and heart rate. She also even though medicated for seizures, seizes anywhere from twenty to thirty times in two hours leaving her hypotonic and in need of continual nursing care. Due to being low tone, her spine is now 48 degrees from normal thus causing more difficulties in breathing and we are investigating at this time if this is the cause for her sudden drops in heartrate.

We are lucky to be on the Katy Beckett Federally Funded Model Waiver Title XIX Program that is handled in Illinois through the Department of Public Aid and administered through DSCC. Through this program, Devora is currently getting eighty-four hours of registered nursing care per week unless she is out of school wherein she gets ninety-eight hours of nursing care. The way it is run in Illinois forces a family to go through a nursing agency only and not directly hire our own nurses so in turn since June, 1999, when Devora's main nurse retired, we have not had Devora's care covered putting the total responsible on mom (Sheila) who also manages and is totally responsible for my husbands business office. Larry works six days a week and sometimes six and a half and cannot help care for Devora.

You, Mr. President, are probably thinking by now what do they want from me? We are in need of your help- #1-- in retrieving all our nursing hours which the State of Illinois does not deem as cumulative but once the week goes by whether or not if used, they disappear (as of today from June, 1999 to date a total of 982.25 hours) #2-- being able to hire our own nurses to staff Devora's case (since not one of the agencies approved by the State of Illinois can staff the case completely) Our situation as of today still with the shortage of nurses, finds Sheila up round the clock for sixty-five hours at a time to care for Devora since Devora needs one on one intervention at all times On May 1, 1997, the Illinois Department Bureau of Comprehensive Health Services (BCHS) in Springfield, issued a statement from their doctors stating "that Devora actually needs skilled nursing care 24 hours per day but the mother certainly can exercise those skills." The State also found that if Devora's nursing hours were increased to 112 hours per week there would be a savings of \$15,061.60 a month over the cost of institutionalizing her or a savings of \$180,739.20 a year but again the State ruled against an increase putting the burden on breaking apart the family. #3-Devora's nursing hours increased so that our family unit can stay intact and Devora can receive the love and nurturing only available in the family setting and not be at risk for institutionalization.

We are appreciative of any help and suggestions as to whom we may turn to in an effort to keep our daughter Devora medically stable and at home with us where she belongs, since a child like her thrives on family love and interactions with her siblings since her world knows of nothing else.

Thanking you in advance for your help and awaiting to here from you, we are,

Respectfully yours,

Sheila and Larry Fisher

Sheila and Larry Fisher

HILLM

DEVORA



2323 Old Kennew
Wilmette IL 6091

✓ Casanova
& C. J. J. J.
can we help?
Asky [P]

President Bill Clinton

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-18-00

March 17, 2000

Dear Mr. President,

Thinking about our conversation last week, here is some

- The French are not going to help us get Karadzic. That, but only if you instruct them to do it, since the who do not want to. The same forces that undermined your goals of apprehending Karadzic, If you instruct the Pentagon to pick up Karadzic, if immediately. My information is that he is still live support and protection are low. Our troops can move country than previously. There might be some benefit what? It would be mended.
- The French are internally divided re. the war crime Chirac would be pleased to get some credit for this operation. He is opposed by the French defense establishment, who consider apprehending war criminals penny ante and not worth the effort or risk. As you know, that thinking is ironically defeating. Without a sense of justice, the state remains in turmoil, and the troops must remain.
- Please forgive my directness, but I believe you owe it to Wes to let him to pick up Karadzic before he's relieved of his duty next month. There are very few other things you can do to ameliorate the disgrace of his being relieved early. Frankly, giving him an award doesn't go very far, although it's better than nothing. Letting him do the job you sent him to do would mean much more.
- I would hate to think of these war criminals outlasting your two terms. That would be a travesty. Apprehending Karadzic would send a direct message to Milosovic, turning up the heat, and making it more likely that he will leave, or that someone will take up the offer about which and I spoke. Please finish the job in the Balkans to which you have devoted so much time and effort – and devoted so much of your self. Your team can do this, if you tell them to.

I will help any way I can.


Swanee

03-18-00

Fyi- There is an outgoing letter from POTUS in Lisel's top box to this woman. -S.C.

Send to Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒

No ☐

coord w/ NSC
BC SIG.

3/17/00

Swanee Hunt says this is a follow up to an earlier conversation w/ Potus.



March 17, 2000

Dear Mr. President,

Thinking about our conversation last week, here is some follow-up:

- The French are not going to help us get Karadzic. The US military can overcome that, but only if you instruct them to do it, since there are strong forces in our military who do not want to. The same forces that undermined Wes Clark have for years undermined your goals of apprehending Karadzic, Mladic, and, ultimately, Milosevic. If you instruct the Pentagon to pick up Karadzic, it could be done almost immediately. My information is that he is still living 18 miles from Sarajevo. His support and protection are low. Our troops can move much more freely in the country than previously. There might be some broken china with the French. So what? It would be mended.
- The French are internally divided re. the war criminals. There is some indication that Chirac would be pleased to get some credit for this operation. As in our country, he is opposed by the French defense establishment, who consider apprehending war criminals penny ante and not worth the effort or risk. As you know, that thinking is ironically defeating. Without a sense of justice, the state remains in turmoil, and the troops must remain.
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I will help any way I can.


Suwantee

3/17/00

03-18-00

Fyi- There is an outgoing letter from Potus in Lisel's top box to this woman. -S.C.

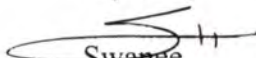
Suwantee Hunt says this is a follow up to an earlier conversation w/ Potus.

S

An additional two thoughts:

- I expect you'll be in New York for the UN Millenium meeting in September. I hope you'll come to the State of the World Forum (founded by Gorbachev), which will be going on a few blocks away, to take credit for Women Waging Peace and the other women's initiatives you have supported over the years. (Interagency Council on Beijing Follow Up; Vital Voices: Women in Democracy; Bosnian Women's Initiative and other iterations in East Timor, Rwanda, etc.) I will talk with your scheduler, but as you know, it makes a big difference if you indicate to him/her some interest. (By the way, Marion Wright Edelman was the chair of the Forum a couple of years ago. You can think of it as a Davos that isn't focused on economics as much as overall world well-being. There are usually a string of Nobel Laureates speaking, and there will be several heads of state during the course of the week. They will schedule around your availability.)
- Harvard's Memorial Church (Peter Gomes) would like you to deliver their Peabody Address in April. I hope you can come. That would also be a fine occasion for you to mention Women Waging Peace, which is a Kennedy School initiative (although primarily funded by my private foundation).

My best,


Swanee

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

President M. Scott 2000

RM/for

3-18-00

... Today I have the happiness to know it is a rising sun." Every generation of Americans has kept the fire of freedom burning, lighting new frontiers of possibility. Now that obligation has passed to us. We will be judged by our deeds and by the dreams we pass on to our children. Because our chance to do good is so great, future generations [posterity] will measure us by a high standard. After 224 years, the American Revolution continues. We remain a new nation. As long as our dreams surpass our memories, America will shine, as the great writer F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote "with all the incandescence of the beginning of the world." This is our destiny. This is our responsibility. This is our intention.

checked
RM

Original to
Personal file

cc Melissa

P/s son of course help them

COURTNEY C. CROUCH, JR.

Any land legacy

available

I'd want to help

BC

March 7, 2000

ARC has a copy
Send signed SOU to CCR
to establish name in Ark

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20502-0001

3-13-00

Dear Mr. President:

Hot Springs
Forbye

As I watched your final State of the Union Address on January 27, I was reminded of the many conversations I have had with my close friends, Ark Monroe, Ray Smith, Tom Wynne, and Stevie Stevens relating to the unprecedented achievements that you have accomplished during your Presidency. No President in our lifetime has left such a legacy of prosperity and vision for what America can and should be.

LID

Forest
City

I am personally interested and involved in historical restoration in Hot Springs. My dream is to see the Hot Springs historic downtown restored to its original grandeur. However, we need your help in completing the restoration and leasing of our Hot Springs National Park Historic Bathhouses.

copied
Verwer
Podesta

Today, as you are aware, there has been renewed interest across the county in health spas, but unfortunately, we have been unable to revive this important part of our state's history. I am confident that with the proper resources, we could capitalize on this renewed interest and bring these magnificent structures back to life.

Beckhardt
(for reply)

The First Lady's "Save America's Treasures" initiative has been tremendously successful in preserving and promoting the value of our nation's historic landmarks. As Hot Springs National Park was the first ever land set aside for protection by the federal government, I believe it would be very fitting to include the historic Bath House Row in this great program. The Bathhouses are exactly the type of landmark that this initiative is helping to protect, and this project - to help restore an important part of Arkansas' cultural history and a valuable asset to our state's economy - would provide a special capstone to both of your outstanding legacies.

Under the leadership of David French, Hot Springs, is making good progress revitalizing the old high school as the Clinton Cultural Campus, and through the efforts of Hot Springs' Fifty for the Future, the city is in the process of constructing a downtown parking facility to complement the National Park.

The President
March 7, 2000

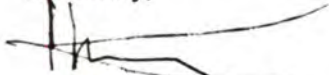
Page 2

In 1990, my company was fortunate to acquire the former United States Post Office building from the City of Hot Springs and have restored this magnificent building as our Home Office. It would be an honor to show you our offices on one of your visits to Hot Springs.

X ((I want to extend my deep appreciation to you and your staff for allowing my son, Courtney, to serve you as Director of Congressional Correspondence in the White House Office of Legislative Affairs.

My best to both you and Hillary, and I hope you will make the restoration of Hot Springs National Park as one of your goals this year before leaving office. With your leadership and support in this endeavor, together, we can bring back the grandeur of historic Bath House Row.

Sincerely,



Courtney C. Crouch, Jr.
P.O. Box 6040
Hot Springs, AR 71902-6040

CCCjr/lal

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-18-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3/17/00

copied
Echaveste

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MARIA ECHAVESTE 

RE: Letter from Dan Blackburn

As you will recall Dan Blackburn handed you a letter and news clips regarding an aircraft manufactured by the Montreal-based Canadair. Mr. Blackburn contended that Los Angeles County was the only fire prone county in California not to suffer serious fire losses, because they used the Canadair CL-415 *SuperScooper* fire fighting aircraft. Mr. Blackburn suggests that the Air National Guard in states with high fire danger be equipped with the CL-415.

In preparing a response to Mr. Blackburn, we obtained the following information. The Air National Guard (ANG) and the Air Force Reserve Command (AFRC) have fire fighting capability using a modular roll-on roll-off system called the Modular Airborne Fire Fighting System (MAFFS) which is carried by C-130s. The US Forest Service owns and stores the MAFFS equipment. The ANG and/or the AFRC can partner with the US Forest Service to use the MAFFS equipment, only after all commercial tankers have been committed. Currently there are four units equipped and trained to support fire emergencies in North Carolina, California, Wyoming and Colorado. Additionally, California and North Carolina have memoranda of agreement with the US Forest Service to utilize MAFFS equipment for state fires. Congress has appropriated \$6M in FY 99 and \$3.5M in FY00 to upgrade MAFFS equipment.

The CL-415 costs approximately \$23 million per aircraft. Four states, Florida, California, Alaska, and Texas, have indicated an interest in the CL-415, but the cost is prohibitive. DOD estimates that it would cost \$184M to

buy or \$20m a year to lease eight aircraft but DOD contends that there is no military requirement for the CL-415.

While the CL-415 gets high marks in certain types of terrain, in rugged terrain they are ineffective because they are unable to fly low enough to make accurate drops. The CL-415 is also limited under windy conditions. Reportedly the best tool for urban interface fires is the Sikorsky helicopter.

There is agreement that in high risk areas there is a need for a number of different fire fighting tools because of varying types of terrain as well as weather conditions. While the CL-415 works very well in some areas, it is of limited use in others. There is no military budget for fire fighting and thus, because the *Air Force does not see a military requirement for CL-415*, they do not plan to acquire this aircraft.

While the US Forest Service has leased some CL-415, plans currently are to use the Sikorsky helicopter which can carry an equal or greater amount of water for fire fighting.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 17, 2000

Mr. Dan Blackburn
3611 Lowry Road
Los Angeles, California 90027-1435

Dear Dan:

It was great to see you during my trip to California. Thanks for the information about the CL-415 *SuperScooper* fire fighting aircraft. I shared your letter with Maria Echaveste, my Deputy Chief of Staff, so that she could evaluate your proposal.

I understand your case for the *SuperScooper* aircraft based upon what you have observed in Southern California. Based upon her review, however, Maria tells me that the CL-415 is recognized as highly effective in handling certain types of terrain, but that it is considered ineffective in other areas because it is unable to fly low enough to make accurate drops. The best tool for urban interference fires, in fact, appears to be the Sikorsky helicopter, and the U.S. Forest Service plans to use the Sikorsky for fire fighting. As you may know, the Forest Service also is upgrading its Modular Airborne Fire Fighting System equipment, which is carried by Air National Guard and Air Force Reserve C-130s. The Air Force does not see a military requirement for the CL-415 and does not plan to acquire the aircraft.

I assure you that we are doing all we can to find ways to mitigate the often tragic and destructive effects of wildland fires, and I was glad to get your input. It's always wonderful to hear from you.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

dan blackburn

3611 lowry road
los angeles, california 90027

(323) 665-2924

January 21, 2000

Hon. Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I have enclosed excerpts from the front pages of three Southern California newspapers because they address a public safety issue that I believe is appropriate for you to address in this final year of your presidency. It is the growing threat of urban/wildland interface fires and the tools with which to fight them.

The issue is clear. The urban/wildland interface area of the United States has grown and continues to grow rapidly. No where is this more true than in the West. With that growth has come an expansion in the threat of wildland fire. You heard something about this during the Lake Tahoe environmental conference two years ago. This past year saw California suffer its second worst fire year in history-- six deaths, more than 600 homes and other structures lost, almost a million acres charred and nearly a billion dollars in losses and suppression costs.

The only major fire prone county in California not to suffer a serious loss was Los Angeles County. Why? Because Los Angeles County uses the modern CL-415 *SuperScooper* fire fighting aircraft, as reflected in the enclosed materials. They provide the initial attack capabilities which save homes and lives. Yet, when the Arcadia fire broke out in December and Los Angeles County offered the use of their *SuperScoopers* to the U.S. Forest Service, the USFS rejected the offer. The Arcadia fire burned for four unnecessary days, forcing scores of evacuations, and only the grace of God in the form of a change in wind and a brief rain shower prevented loss of homes and possibly lives. The USFS avoids using modern technology because of their quiet, sweetheart deals with private air tanker operators using World War II aircraft with serious safety issues and poor effectiveness in an urban interface situation.

Now, as a possible solution, it has been proposed that the Air National Guard be equipped with these modern aircraft in high fire danger states such as California, Texas, Nevada, Colorado, Florida, Virginia, etc. This would allow them to co-ordinate with local Emergency Services agencies such as California OES to be positioned for rapid response. This not only would be a means of preparing to avert disaster but also would fall within

Dr. Maria
Have this checked out
This guy's a good friend - need reply
BC

your "reinventing government" program by making the Air National Guard more responsive to the emerging needs of the nation's changing demographics in this new century. This concept initially was embraced by the Vice President's office and the Congressional Fire Caucus nearly two years ago but there has been little follow through. Mona Pasquil, who worked for you in the White House and now is working on the Democratic Convention, also is aware of a very supportive of this concept.

Politically, it is a win-win proposition. The use of the *SuperScoopers* by Los Angeles County has been enthusiastically received by the public, especially by homeowner organizations and others. As you can see, the aircraft are very photogenic and the media loves them. Local officials rush to have their pictures taken in front of them. There is no downside. At the same time, they meet a very real public safety need which is certain to increase.

The new NASA/JPL climate analysis issued this past Wednesday forecasts a change in the weather patterns that will result in warmer, drier weather and increased fire danger throughout California, the southwest and the south over the next decade or more. Thus, the need for a modern approach to this issue in this new century is crucial. Many nations around the world already use these modern aircraft. Only the United States among major nations with wildland fire risks lags behind.

I would be happy to discuss this further with you and your staff. Direct line is 323, 665-6571.

As always, it is a pleasure seeing you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Dan Blackburn", with a stylized, flowing script.

Dan Blackburn

Los Angeles Times

OM
87 SUNDAY

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1999
COPYRIGHT 1999 / THE TIMES MIRROR COMPANY / CC / 156 PAGES



LUIS SINCO • Los Angeles Times

A Super Scooper airplane drops its load of water near a ground crew fighting the wildfire along a ridge in Glendale on Wednesday.

2 Southland Fires Char Thousands of Acres

■ **Brush:** Glendale-La Canada flames are held back with air attack. Firefighters' efforts shift to larger Ojai blaze.

Daily News

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 23, 1999

HOT, DRY, WINDY AND **DANGEROUS!**



A SuperScooper firefighting plane makes a daybreak drop over a conflagration raging along the Glendale Freeway on Wednesday. Gene Blevins/Special to the Daily News

Crews mobilize as fire season flares anew

PASADENA STAR-NEWS

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Wildfire claims 750 acres

Air support vital in containment

By Donna Huffaker
STAFF WRITER

GLENDALE — Nearly 600 firefighters battled on the ground and in the air Wednesday to contain a fast-moving wildfire and save homes perched on steep terrain in Glendale and La Canada Flintridge.

After consuming about 750 acres, the fire was 90 percent contained by Wednesday afternoon, and no one was injured by the blaze that broke out about 9:40 p.m. Tuesday, said Los Angeles County Fire Capt. Steve Valenzuela.

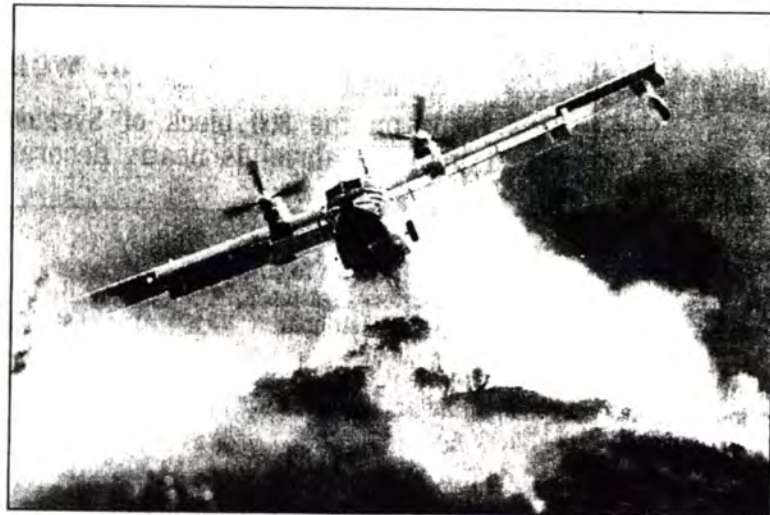
While winds gusting to 50 mph acceler-

ated the flames, an exceptionally bright full moon helped water-dropping helicopters and ground crews battle the fire, which ultimately jumped the Glendale (2) Freeway and threatened homes less than a mile away.

At sunrise, two water-laden Super Scooper planes joined the air assault with six helicopters flying through thick smoke in an area choked with obstacles, including power lines.

"The air support for this fire was essential for containment," Valenzuela said. "The operation worked like a well-orches-

Please turn to FIRE / A10



AN AIRPLANE dispenses water over a nearly extinguished hillside in La Cañada Flintridge on Wednesday. Hundreds of firefighters battled wind-driven brush fires.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

dan blackburn

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Maia

Hon. Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Image Associates

2658 Griffith Park Blvd. #218
Los Angeles, CA 90039

'What if destructive conflict were preventable – and we simply did not know it? What if the biggest obstacle to preventing strife lay in our own fatalistic beliefs?'

Interview / William Ury

Challenging the 'necessity' of conflict

By Jane Lampman

Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

The words above aren't the words of an ivory-tower academic or a naive optimist. They come from someone who's spent years at the heart of conflict – from family struggles to bitter labor strikes to such intractable wars as that in Chechnya.

William Ury, an anthropologist-turned-negotiator, has distilled the lessons learned from two decades at the center of many storms, and 10 years of in-depth research, into a provocative and surprisingly heartening message about where the human race stands in "Getting to Peace" (Viking, 1999). His latest book follows two international bestsellers on negotiation: "Getting to Yes" and "Getting Past No."

The new book is a challenge to the prevailing "myth of human nature," to the idea that violence and wars are inevitable, and to each of us who thinks we aren't in a position to do anything about it. He sets about to show us why we can do something – and how.

The "why" has to do both with the truth about us and about our times. "With all the changes taking place in the world today," Dr. Ury says in an interview, "some enormous opportunities have opened for us to begin to take our collective fate back as a matter of choice."

We have the choice, he says, because our history is not what we have believed. "This myth that human beings have been killing each other most of the time for as long as they have existed – that it's our 'basic nature and if you scratch the veneer of civilization you get a Bosnia or Rwanda – is fundamentally mistaken. It is not borne out by what we know scientifically," he adds. Ury devoted years to studying archaeological records and visiting with tribes that most closely resemble our ancestors.

He presents the case that for the first 99 percent of human history, the norm was not organized violence, but coexistence; only in the last 1 percent did violence become the way of resolving differences. He describes how the change from hunter-gatherer societies to farming led from horizontal to vertical power structures, to tension over fixed resources, and thence to organized violence.

"We have been maligning our ancestors," he says. It's not that they weren't capable of violence, but they worked hard at preventing and resolving conflict – and found ways to do so. The time he has spent with the Bushmen of the Kalahari, the Semai tribe in Malaysia, and even tribes in New Guinea, have convinced Ury that "if anything, we (as a species) are 'Homo negotiator.'"

The tribes employ a conflict management system – what Ury calls "the third side" – that is wholly pertinent to contemporary life, he says. That's because our global society is in many ways becoming more like earlier periods in human history. With the "Knowledge Revolution," we are shifting from fixed resources, such as land – long fought over – to an expandable resource. Pyra-



WILLIAM URY

midal structures of authority are breaking down, and self-organizing, cooperative networks of horizontal relationships are emerging.

While helping to train the worldwide managers of the Ford Motor Co. in negotiation, as part of the company's shift to a new decisionmaking network, Ury was struck by "how often I was reminded of the Bushmen and other simple societies. Here were the most modern management ideas being put into practice, yet they were reinventions of common practices I had seen among hunter-gatherers."

Ury splits his time between teaching negotiation, working in conflict situations, and trying to capture the lessons learned in the books he writes. He discussed his passion for peacemaking recently after leading a Harvard University negotiation-program workshop on "Dealing with Difficult People and Difficult Situations."

It's clear from his high-energy-yet-relaxed presentation style that he hasn't lost any enthusiasm for the challenge. And how many people would relish the idea of getting involved again in negotiations over the Chechen conflict?

Ury – who led the first face-to-face sessions of Russian and Chechen leaders after a cease-fire in 1997 – would be eager to explore a "third side" approach to the situation, he says.

The "third side" is the alternative to

coercion that has been missing in Western approaches to conflict resolution. Ury says. It involves people from "the community" using peer power to foster a process of dialogue and nonviolence to bring about a win-win-win situation (both sides and the community benefit). He offers many examples of its effectiveness, from Boston's reduction of teen homicides to South Africa's peaceful transition to majority rule.

On Chechnya, he would draw on the tradition of councils of elders and weave the situation into a larger context. "Instead of just condemning what's going on, we ought to be making a proactive effort to try to stimulate creation of a council of elders in the Caucasus – with support from Europe, the OSCE [Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe], the US, and Russia – to look at the problems of the region and begin a slow process of peacemaking."

Because of intractable conflicts such as Chechnya, "some very hard lessons are being learned today," he says. One lesson is that much more needs to be done to prevent them. "The war in Yugoslavia was the most widely predicted conflict – 'if [President Josip Broz] Tito goes, the place collapses.'" Another lesson is that, after the bloodiest century in history, we are beginning to learn that we can't win through war anymore – both sides lose, he says. "And the realization is dawning that maybe there are ways both sides can benefit" instead.

In fact, in our increasingly interdependent world, he sees "the most promising opportunity in 10,000 years to create a co-culture of coexistence, co-operation, and constructive conflict."

Conflict won't go away – in fact there will be more of it because of our interdependence, he says. And we're more vulnerable to it. But that vulnerability means greater motivation for pursuing nonviolent solutions – and mobilization of the third side.

It's beginning to happen. When he was in graduate school in the mid-70s, negotiation wasn't a defined subject. Now it's being taught everywhere – universities, the corporate world, government. "In 10,000 schools in this country, kids as young as 6 or 7 are learning peer mediation," Ury says. Many children didn't know there were alternatives to violence to help them stand up for themselves or get respect. Now in the cities, "gang leaders often become the best mediators, and

they command respect for the transformation they've gone through," he says.

Ury urges all of us to get involved. His book describes 10 roles we can adopt at various times in our daily lives to contribute to a new culture of coexistence: As a provider, teacher, or bridge-builder, one can help prevent conflict; as a mediator, arbiter, equalizer, or healer, one can help resolve conflict; and as a witness, referee, or peacekeeper, help contain conflict.

Each role holds out the opportunity to do something other than take sides or do nothing. "What did we learn from Columbine?" Ury asks. "That so many people in the community knew something, but did nothing."

"Human beings have a host of emotional needs," Ury says. "If all these needs had to be subsumed in one word, it might be 'respect.'... Most of the wars in the world today revolve around identity and respect. By addressing young people's needs for meaning and respect, we parents, teachers and community members can help avert violence."

Ury is optimistic because we are beginning to grasp the potential of the third side – "that we can apply our innovative genius not only to devising new computers and jet planes, but to better ways of dealing with differences."

Given who we are, we have that choice. The critical question, he says, is whether we will make that choice to get involved. "The third side is us."

Based on The Christian Science Monitor column...

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TO: President Bill Clinton

FROM: Kathy Kemp

Disabled
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-18-00

March 3, 2000

3-18-00

TO: President Bill Clinton

FROM: Kathy Kemp, President, Assimilate, Inc., Cleveland, Ohio

Dear Bill,

Hi! I've had a great deal of difficulty contacting and visiting with you since Andrew Friendly left. Since I have not heard from you, I'm not sure which of my letters you have received.

My *ingenuity* as a librarian/information specialist assisted me in seeing you today! While Andrew and I exchange e-mail, I did not have his phone number until yesterday. The White House staff with whom I've been in touch were gone by the time I heard that you were coming to Cleveland.

I wish to keep in touch with you when you leave Office. Perhaps you'll have more time to e-mail call, write to me then.

Fibromyalgia is a very painful, debilitating, exhausting connective tissue disorder. I've read that up to 50% of people with the disorder must work either part time or not at all. In chronic fibromyalgia, traditional pain medication, therapy, etc., do not help.

I had the disorder for 12 years. I could not even stand to be touched due to excruciating, unrelenting pain. I had tried both traditional and alternative therapies with little relief. I was considering suicide. I heard about a doctor, Sam Chachoua in Mexico that made vaccines for AIDS, cancer, and autoimmune disorders. Fibromyalgia was one of his success stories. I was desperate so I contacted Sam. Although I could not pay him, he agreed to send vaccine to me. It was a MIRACLE! My fibromyalgia vanished and has not returned in almost four years. My Primary Care Physician, Kenneth Klak, D.O., (216-587-6800) is able to see the change in my pain.

Sam needs money to perfect his vaccines. I know that you gave Christopher Reeve money for spinal cord research. I wish to introduce you to Sam at The White House. We will bring documents that provide insight into his work. When may we have an appointment?

I hope to hear from you soon!

3-18-00

Sincerely,


Kathy Kemp
3665 W. 48
Cleveland, Ohio 44102
216-961-3060

After you have seen,
we will send to
Berkhardt for reply.

BC SIG

Call

E-MAIL

AC/CM

Kemp
10-48
110-4411
116) 20000000
kemp@col.com

March 13, 2000

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

Dear President Clinton:

My book is *Bitch on Wheels: Memoirs & Smiles from a Woman with Cerebral Palsy*. I am a woman whose "birth-day" gift was a severe physical disability—cerebral palsy. Despite this, I have two master's degrees, own my own business and home, was awarded a government grant, share a nineteen-year relationship with my lover, travel by myself, and have had more adventures than most people.

Bitch on Wheels describes how I sensitize people (whether they want me to or not) to disability. It illustrates my experiences with sexuality, education, the medical profession, and politics. I live my life in spite of my disability and have the chutpah to speak my mind.

I crashed into the White House, am actively involved in politics, and was honored as a special guest at the President Bill Clinton's Second Inauguration. My memoirs describe my metamorphosis from a shy, compliant child into an assertive college student, my painful first sexual experience, my recuperation from a double diskectomy at the home of a gay osteopath friend whom I met only four months previously, and my constant battle with do-gooders who know what's best for me.

Broken three-wheel scooters, three lost battery chargers in one business trip, and a friendship with President Clinton are routine for this "bitch on wheels." The book I am proposing is written to inspire both nondisabled and disabled people to look at a disability as a challenge rather than an obstacle. Christy Brown's insightful autobiography and Oscar-winning film, *My Left Foot* explores life for a man with cerebral palsy in 1930's Ireland; Anne Finger's *Past Due: A Story of Disability, Pregnancy and Birth* discusses post-polio syndrome and freedom of choice in the late 1980's; and Jean-Dominique Bauby's *The Diving Bell and the Butterfly* explores an intelligent mind trapped in a motionless body in 1990's France. *Bitch on Wheels* details how my perseverance and sense of humor, albeit facing new physical challenges and intractable pain that accompany cerebral palsy in middle age, have created an achievement-oriented woman who rarely accepts "no" for an answer.

May I send detailed book proposal or synopsis to you?

Sincerely,


Kathy Kemp

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001a. memo	Helen Castleman to POTUS re: Selected Casework (3 pages)	03/17/2000	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Chron Files
OA/Box Number: 21412

FOLDER TITLE:

Saturday, March 18, 2000 [1]

2019-0990-S

rs3444

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 17, 2000

Mrs. Amy Bess
Post Office Box 93
Adona, Arkansas 72001

Dear Amy:

Thank you for getting in touch with me. I was so pleased to learn that your surgery went well and that you are feeling better.

Hillary and I send our very best wishes to you and your family. God bless you.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Clinton". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned below the typed name "Sincerely,".

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 17, 2000

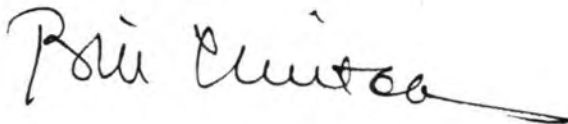
Mr. Steven Kirby
468 Bill Miller Road
Spring City, Tennessee 37381-5700

Dear Steven:

Thank you for writing to me about your efforts to obtain Social Security benefits. I am glad my staff was able to assist you in getting the benefits to which you are entitled.

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

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Bill Clinton", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001b. letter	Steven Kirby to POTUS (3 pages)	10/21/1999	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Chron Files
OA/Box Number: 21412

FOLDER TITLE:

Saturday, March 18, 2000 [1]

2019-0990-S

rs3444

RESTRICTION CODES

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NOT - HAS SEEN
3-18-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

copied
Nolan
Marshall
Podesta

March 13, 2000

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BETH NOLAN^{BN}
COUNSEL
BILL MARSHALL^{BN}
DEPUTY COUNSEL

CC: JOHN PODESTA
CHIEF OF STAFF
MARIA ECHAVESTE
DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF

SUBJECT: CARHART V. STENBERG

JP
- won't file through
filing deadline to file a brief
No! (last to look like
arise changing our
position - maybe unnecessary
question -
unproven and to file
JP

This is a follow-up to our previous memorandum to you regarding whether you should instruct the Solicitor General to file an amicus curiae brief in *Carhart v. Stenberg*, the case addressing the constitutionality of the Nebraska law proscribing dilation and extraction (D & X) abortions commonly known as "partial-birth" abortions. Our original memorandum to you recommended that we not file because the grounds of the lower court decision invalidating the Nebraska law were not the same as the grounds of our opposition to proposed parallel federal legislation. Recent developments, however, suggest that there may be some need to reassess our initial recommendation.

As our earlier memorandum indicated, the Eighth Circuit invalidated the Nebraska statute on the grounds that it imposed an undue burden on a woman's right to choose by prohibiting a procedure used in second trimester abortions. Our legislative position, on the other hand, has been that we would support a bill if it contained an exception for a serious threat to a woman's health. The implication of our legislative stance is that we would support restrictions on partial-birth (D & X) abortions even if performed in the second trimester.¹ We were, therefore, concerned that if we filed a brief supporting the Eighth Circuit's holding, we would undercut our legislative position. Conversely, if we filed a brief consistent with our legislative position, we would undercut the decision of the Eighth Circuit and the legal arguments of the groups opposing the statute.

¹ Because the D & X procedure is used in both second and third trimester operations, our legislative position, as currently maintained, is not properly described as an objection to only so-called "late-term" abortions.

Since the time of our original communication to you, HHS has submitted a memorandum to the Solicitor General recommending that a brief be filed, and we have been informed that Secretary Shalala is strongly committed to this action. At the same time, the groups have actively lobbied the White House, including the Offices of the Chief of Staff, Vice President, First Lady, Public Liaison, and Counsel, to become involved in the case. The groups have made clear that they would consider our not filing a serious breach of our commitment to freedom of choice. In this respect they note that the Reagan and Bush Justice Departments participated on the other side in every abortion case heard by the Supreme Court during their tenure.

HHS and the groups have also argued that participation in this case is important because of vagueness/overbreadth problems in the statutory language describing the partial-birth (D & X) restriction. Recent cases striking down partial-birth (D & X) restrictions (including *Carhart*) have found, in part, that the statutory language used to describe the procedure is vague and overbroad. Specifically, the cases hold that language aimed at prohibiting the D & X procedure may also cover certain dilation and evacuation (D & E) procedures— the procedures most widely used in second trimester abortions. On this basis, the groups argue that if the Court were to uphold the Nebraska statute, it would result in limiting the availability of a broad range of abortion services for pregnant women and would not merely prohibit one arguably objectionable procedure.²

In light of these developments, there has been a growing consensus among key staff that we should revisit the question of whether or not to file a brief in this case. We do not believe it advisable to file a brief that tracks our legislative position and argues only that the Nebraska statute is unconstitutional solely because it does not have a health exception. Submitting a brief along these lines would clearly weaken the legal case against the Nebraska statute and would not serve any other interest. Three other options, however, are available.

First, we could submit a brief that raises both the woman's health claim and the vagueness/overbreadth claim. This position has the advantage of allowing us to file without moving us from our legislative position (other than suggesting that, in light of intervening cases, we now believe that the language to which we initially ascribed is unconstitutionally overbroad).³ The advantage of not abandoning our legislative stance, however, is also potentially its weakness. If we suggest (either implicitly or explicitly) that a narrowly tailored restriction would be permissible, we risk weakening the broader legal case against the Nebraska statute by not adopting the obvious position that the law is unconstitutional simply because it intrudes into the second trimester. Raising the vagueness/overbreadth argument, however, may allow us to finesse this issue in a way that raising the health claim alone would not. A well-constructed argument that the law is unconstitutional because it would prohibit D & E procedures in the second trimester may not show our hand that we would find a second trimester restriction on a pure D & X procedure permissible. Whether a brief can be successfully crafted along these lines, however, is not clear. We may need to review a completed draft to determine whether threading the needle in this manner is possible.

² Some of the groups contend that drafting language distinguishing D & X from D & E procedures may not be possible. Under this theory, any ban on the D & X procedure would also limit the availability of the D & E method.

³ The language of the Nebraska statute was patterned after the federal bill.

Second, we could follow the Eighth Circuit and argue that the law is unconstitutional because any intrusion into the second trimester (including even a narrowly tailored restriction on the D & X procedure) would be impermissible.⁴ This is the strongest and probably soundest legal argument. Moreover, if D & X cannot be statutorily distinguished from D & E procedures,⁵ this approach may be the most necessary to protect the woman's right to choose. The problem is that this approach differs from the implicit position in our legislative stance. Again, however, there may be some room to maneuver. None of our veto messages actually stated that we would sign a law that restricted second trimester abortions. The statements stated only that we would not sign a law that did not have the woman's health exception.

Third, we could stay the course and not file a brief.

The viability of any of these options depends upon the interrelationship between a number of legal, policy and political factors. The option of submitting a brief that raises both health and vagueness/overbreadth arguments could provide some of the political benefits of participation and, if properly crafted, could also provide helpful legal guidance to the Court. It also, however, could be risky both legally and politically if not artfully crafted and the full evaluation of this option may not be possible until a draft is completed. The option of filing a brief arguing that the law is unconstitutional because it restricts second trimester abortions is, from a purely legal standpoint, clearly the best course because it advances the strongest and cleanest legal argument. This approach, however, suggests some movement from our legislative stance. The option of not filing a brief allows us to remain the most consistent with our previous position. It may, however, expose us to considerable criticism from our allies and would, of course, preclude our ability to influence what may become an important precedent.

DECISION:

_____ **Ask the Solicitor General to draft a brief raising only the health and vagueness arguments and postpone final decision until the draft is reviewed.**

_____ **File a brief, which argues the law is unconstitutional because it intrudes into the second trimester.**

_____ **Do not file a brief.**

_____ **Meet to discuss.**

⁴ This option, of course, does not preclude also raising the vagueness and woman's health claims.

⁵ There is conflicting medical opinion on this point.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 17, 2000

MR. PRESIDENT:

Your advisers have met again on this issue and ask that you not make a decision at this time. You should regard this memo as informational. You will get a new memo soon.

Sean Maloney

3-18-00

TE HOUSE
INGTON

13, 2000

AFF

RG

copied
Nolan
Marshall
Podesta

1 sent memo
other copy - no
decision the matter
to file something
Re

This is a follow-up to our previous memorandum to you regarding whether you should instruct the Solicitor General to file an amicus curiae brief in *Carhart v. Stenberg*, the case addressing the constitutionality of the Nebraska law proscribing dilation and extraction (D & X) abortions commonly known as "partial-birth" abortions. Our original memorandum to you recommended that we not file because the grounds of the lower court decision invalidating the Nebraska law were not the same as the grounds of our opposition to proposed parallel federal legislation. Recent developments, however, suggest that there may be some need to reassess our initial recommendation.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 13, 2000

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BETH NOLAN^{or}
COUNSEL
BILL MARSHALLⁱⁿ
DEPUTY COUNSEL

CC: JOHN PODESTA
CHIEF OF STAFF
MARIA ECHAVESTE
DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF

SUBJECT: CARHART V. STENBERG

*1 sent memos
other copy - no
decision the memos
to file something
Re*

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As our earlier memorandum indicated, the Eighth Circuit invalidated the Nebraska statute on the grounds that it imposed an undue burden on a woman's right to choose by prohibiting a procedure used in second trimester abortions. Our legislative position, on the other hand, has been that we would support a bill if it contained an exception for a serious threat to a woman's health. The implication of our legislative stance is that we would support restrictions on partial-birth (D & X) abortions even if performed in the second trimester.¹ We were, therefore, concerned that if we filed a brief supporting the Eighth Circuit's holding, we would undercut our legislative position. Conversely, if we filed a brief consistent with our legislative position, we would undercut the decision of the Eighth Circuit and the legal arguments of the groups opposing the statute.

¹ Because the D & X procedure is used in both second and third trimester operations, our legislative position, as currently maintained, is not properly described as an objection to only so-called "late-term" abortions.

Since the time of our original communication to you, HHS has submitted a memorandum to the Solicitor General recommending that a brief be filed, and we have been informed that Secretary Shalala is strongly committed to this action. At the same time, the groups have actively lobbied the White House, including the Offices of the Chief of Staff, Vice President, First Lady, Public Liaison, and Counsel, to become involved in the case. The groups have made clear that they would consider our not filing a serious breach of our commitment to freedom of choice. In this respect they note that the Reagan and Bush Justice Departments participated on the other side in every abortion case heard by the Supreme Court during their tenure.

HHS and the groups have also argued that participation in this case is important because of vagueness/overbreadth problems in the statutory language describing the partial-birth (D & X) restriction. Recent cases striking down partial-birth (D & X) restrictions (including *Carhart*) have found, in part, that the statutory language used to describe the procedure is vague and overbroad. Specifically, the cases hold that language aimed at prohibiting the D & X procedure may also cover certain dilation and evacuation (D & E) procedures— the procedures most widely used in second trimester abortions. On this basis, the groups argue that if the Court were to uphold the Nebraska statute, it would result in limiting the availability of a broad range of abortion services for pregnant women and would not merely prohibit one arguably objectionable procedure.²

In light of these developments, there has been a growing consensus among key staff that we should revisit the question of whether or not to file a brief in this case. We do not believe it advisable to file a brief that tracks our legislative position and argues only that the Nebraska statute is unconstitutional solely because it does not have a health exception. Submitting a brief along these lines would clearly weaken the legal case against the Nebraska statute and would not serve any other interest. Three other options, however, are available.

First, we could submit a brief that raises both the woman's health claim and the vagueness/overbreadth claim. This position has the advantage of allowing us to file without moving us from our legislative position (other than suggesting that, in light of intervening cases, we now believe that the language to which we initially ascribed is unconstitutionally overbroad).³ The advantage of not abandoning our legislative stance, however, is also potentially its weakness. If we suggest (either implicitly or explicitly) that a narrowly tailored restriction would be permissible, we risk weakening the broader legal case against the Nebraska statute by not adopting the obvious position that the law is unconstitutional simply because it intrudes into the second trimester. Raising the vagueness/overbreadth argument, however, may allow us to finesse this issue in a way that raising the health claim alone would not. A well-constructed argument that the law is unconstitutional because it would prohibit D & E procedures in the second trimester may not show our hand that we would find a second trimester restriction on a pure D & X procedure permissible. Whether a brief can be successfully crafted along these lines, however, is not clear. We may need to review a completed draft to determine whether threading the needle in this manner is possible.

² Some of the groups contend that drafting language distinguishing D & X from D & E procedures may not be possible. Under this theory, any ban on the D & X procedure would also limit the availability of the D & E method.

³ The language of the Nebraska statute was patterned after the federal bill.

Second, we could follow the Eighth Circuit and argue that the law is unconstitutional because any intrusion into the second trimester (including even a narrowly tailored restriction on the D & X procedure) would be impermissible.⁴ This is the strongest and probably soundest legal argument. Moreover, if D & X cannot be statutorily distinguished from D & E procedures,⁵ this approach may be the most necessary to protect the woman's right to choose. The problem is that this approach differs from the implicit position in our legislative stance. Again, however, there may be some room to maneuver. None of our veto messages actually stated that we would sign a law that restricted second trimester abortions. The statements stated only that we would not sign a law that did not have the woman's health exception.

Third, we could stay the course and not file a brief.

The viability of any of these options depends upon the interrelationship between a number of legal, policy and political factors. The option of submitting a brief that raises both health and vagueness/overbreadth arguments could provide some of the political benefits of participation and, if properly crafted, could also provide helpful legal guidance to the Court. It also, however, could be risky both legally and politically if not artfully crafted and the full evaluation of this option may not be possible until a draft is completed. The option of filing a brief arguing that the law is unconstitutional because it restricts second trimester abortions is, from a purely legal standpoint, clearly the best course because it advances the strongest and cleanest legal argument. This approach, however, suggests some movement from our legislative stance. The option of not filing a brief allows us to remain the most consistent with our previous position. It may, however, expose us to considerable criticism from our allies and would, of course, preclude our ability to influence what may become an important precedent.

DECISION:

_____ **Ask the Solicitor General to draft a brief raising only the health and vagueness arguments and postpone final decision until the draft is reviewed.**

_____ **File a brief, which argues the law is unconstitutional because it intrudes into the second trimester.**

_____ **Do not file a brief.**

_____ **Meet to discuss.**

⁴ This option, of course, does not preclude also raising the vagueness and woman's health claims.

⁵ There is conflicting medical opinion on this point.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-18-00

Walt

Do let her

to Anna Bell

*I think she lives in
Stone City and since*

Mr. President,

Message received in the Social Office by Shereen Soghier at 10:00 pm this evening.

Marge Mitchell from Hot Springs called to inform you that Anna Bell Smith's (old campaign manager) daughter, Glenda Feeney was found dead in her bed this morning.

Marge felt it was urgent for you to received this information as you may want to call. The service is tomorrow morning.

Phone (501) 525 - 3625.

Gary Walters
Gary Walters

3-18-00
Send to Nancy
Yes ☒
No

Send cc to Eugene
to prepare reply?
Yes ☒
No
Carol

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Lack of Air Support Hindering Drug War

U.S. Officials Cite Trend in Colombia

By ROBERTO SURO
Washington Post Staff Writer

A key element of the drug war in Colombia is faltering because U.S. surveillance flights over major cocaine-producing regions have declined by two-thirds over the past year, according to administration officials.

The near disappearance of U.S. radar planes from Andean skies severely erodes the ability of U.S. forces to spot smugglers flying low over the jungle and direct intercept missions by South American warplanes.

In Peru those intercepts proved highly successful, helping drive down Peruvian coca production by two-thirds between 1995 and 1999, according to Barry R. McCaffrey, director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy.

For want of such simple equipment as fire trucks and navigational beacons, the interdiction effort has barely gotten underway over an area of southwestern Colombia, which took up the slack from Peru. Colombia doubled its coca production during the same 1995-99 period to an estimated 520 tons last year (twice U.S. annual consumption). That burgeoning cocaine trade finances an anti-government insurgency.

Moreover, in Peru drug traffickers are resurgent because of the decline in surveillance and interdiction, U.S. and Latin American officials said.

That decline is the result of diplomatic setbacks, friction between Congress and the Clinton administration, Pentagon infighting and the competing demands of other military operations, the officials said.

Restoring aerial surveillance is "absolutely critical" to U.S. anti-drug initiatives in South America, Marine Gen. Charles E. Wilhelm, commander-in-chief of the U.S. Southern Command (SouthCom), recently told Congress. "I am in urgent need of help on the intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance side," Wilhelm said.

Wilhelm said he had reduced SouthCom to the lowest readiness status for those functions, meaning that it could not be expected to carry out its assigned missions.

The \$1.6 billion package of counter-narcotics aid for Colombia working its way through Congress includes only minor provisions to boost surveillance flights and does nothing to deliver what Wilhelm says he needs most: E-3 AWACS, the Air Force's largest and most sophisticated radar plane. "Those are the long-reach, long-look airplanes that we need to do the job in the deep source zone," Wilhelm said.

The nation's 30 AWACS are in such heavy demand elsewhere that none are permanently assigned to SouthCom and temporary tours have become increasingly rare since the air campaign in Kosovo last spring.

"We are just way too stretched out between the Balkans, Iraq and North Korea to commit these assets to drug interdiction in South America," said a senior Air Force official.

Concerned that the Pentagon underestimates the importance of the drug war, McCaffrey wrote Defense Secretary William S. Cohen last month warning that weakened capabilities in Latin America could jeopardize the Colombia effort. The retired army general asked for a commitment to rebuild surveillance capacities, according to senior officials.

While declining to discuss the letter, McCaffrey said in an interview that "our ability to get into the Andean ridge has dwindled to about zero." The White House drug official said he had made it known throughout the administration that "I think we have to get going on this, and if we don't, we face a potential disaster within three or four years."

Surveillance flights are essential "because we can't go in there and fight this ourselves. The best thing we can give these countries is good intelligence about the source zones so they can get in there and do it themselves, but since last May, that has not been possible," a senior administration official said.

Last May, U.S. military forces and law enforcement agencies abandoned Howard Air Base in Panama and lost the use of the long runways and first-class maintenance and supply facilities that for decades had supported U.S. air operations throughout Latin America and the Caribbean. Recognizing its importance to counter-narcotic efforts, the Panamanian government initially indicated a willingness to let Howard continue operating after other U.S. installations were closed when the United States ceded control of the Panama Canal. But early last year, the Panamanians unexpectedly insisted that U.S. forces leave Howard.

More than 2,000 flights a year had been taking off from Howard on drug-related missions, including surveillance flights that allowed Peruvian authorities to target coca fields for eradication and to intercept airplanes carrying cocaine from production labs to embarkation points for shipment to the United States.

Just as the United States planned to shift the surveillance

strategy from Peru to Colombia, it found itself obliged to seek a replacement for Howard. Concluding that no single facility could do the job, Southern Command and the State Department tried to fill the gap by borrowing space at several airfields.

In recent months, Customs Service radar planes and Air National Guard F-16s have flown out of airports on Curacao and Aruba, two islands in the southern Antilles, to track smugglers crossing the Caribbean in boats or airplanes.

Surveillance of the cocaine-producing regions in Colombia, Peru and Bolivia was to be based out of a military airfield in Manta, Ecuador—a Pacific port roughly midway between the coca-growing regions in Colombia and Peru.

"From Manta and only from Manta can we reach down and cover the deep southern portion of the source zone," said Wilhelm, promoting the Colombia aid package on Capitol Hill.

But the airfield, which had been a training base for Ecuadorian military helicopter pilots, lacked even basic maintenance, storage, safety and navigational facilities and the runway was in disrepair and too short for big jets such as AWACS.

Republican leaders in Congress last year refused to authorize funding for initial improvements at Manta, arguing that the Clinton administration had mishandled the negotiations for Howard and failed to secure a long-term agreement with Ecuador for use of Manta.

SouthCom found funds to make patchwork repairs on the Manta runway after a short-term pact was reached last April and it opened last summer. But only one airplane at a time has been able to use Manta because it lacked a fire truck and other safety equipment. The surveillance aircraft, all small, short-range models, operate only in daylight because Manta lacks basic navigational aids.

"The narcos are smart enough to fly at night and so we have not been able to accomplish much on that front," said an administration official.

A long-term agreement was reached with Ecuador at the end of last year, and the Air Force is due to have the safety and navigation equipment in place by the middle of next month, nearly a year after they were first requested.

Addressing the reluctance to make even a minor investment in Manta, a senior Air Force official said, "Look, we get asked to do everything, and when this one came through the door and we had to do it with our own money, there was a feeling of 'Hey, why shouldn't the Navy or somebody else take care of it?'"

The Colombian counter-narcotics package before Congress includes a request to spend \$38 million in fiscal 2001 on reinforcing and lengthening the runways at Manta so they can handle AWACS and the tankers that allow them to fly long missions. Even if the work is completed, the aircraft may not be available.

"At this point the entire fleet of AWACS is committed to missions where Americans are in harm's way or where there is a high threat of conflict, and so if any planes go to Manta on a regular basis, someone is going to have to decide whether it is Iraq or Korea or someplace else that has to give them up," the senior Air Force official said.

In the meantime, McCaffrey, Wilhelm and others are worried about new threats in Colombia and the erosion of gains in Peru. For more than a year, the Peruvian government has been complaining that the lack of U.S. surveillance has crippled its air interdiction program, according to senior officials. As a result, the Peruvians say, the powerful deterrent effect of the "you fly, you die" campaign has worn off and cocaine traffickers are back in the air.

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My Internet Dream

By MICHAEL J. SAYLOR

When I graduated from high school, I didn't have enough money to go to college. My family had about \$10,000 in life savings, and college cost \$10,000 a year. I was lucky. I grew up on an Air Force base, I knew about ROTC scholarships, and I was able to finance an education at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Many others aren't so lucky; they can't afford to attend college. That's bad not only for those denied an education but also for the rest of us, denied the fruits of their education. Yet technology makes it relatively inexpensive to finance a college education for everyone who wants one. I'm so committed to this goal that I am putting my money where my mouth is: Today, I am announcing that I will donate \$100 million to launch an online university.

In just the past two years the Internet has evolved to the point where large portions of a college education can be automated, uploaded, and made available through streaming video, high bandwidth lines, and ever-faster computers. It is possible today to provide a decent college education in certain disciplines for nothing more than the cost of computer hardware.

So why not capture an entire college curriculum via video? Take, say, a college calculus course, which might consist of 30 hours of lectures by a professor; 20 hours of recitations by students; 1,000 questions asked by students, 95% of which are the same year after year; followed by exams. At MIT this course and a few others like it would cost \$25,000 a year, but using a computer, it would run about \$200 a year per course.

It's time to create a universal knowledge database on video—a cyber-library made available to everybody. It could feature not just calculus courses taught by leading mathematicians, but Warren Buffett on investing, Scott Turow on writing, Steven Spielberg on how to direct, John Williams on how to compose, Isaac Stern on how to play the violin, and Michael Jordan on how to play basketball. All Nobel laureate on the subject that won them recognition; all Pulitzer Prize winners on

their books.

This online library could be a resource not only for those living in the U.S. but in Calcutta and Beijing. For some it might replace a traditional university; for others, it would be a supplement, allowing them to take a course or two in a subject that interests them. There would still be plenty of reason to attend traditional colleges, but this would fill nooks and crannies not served by existing institutions.

This online university can stimulate interest in education. As a kid, I read books from the library, and if they

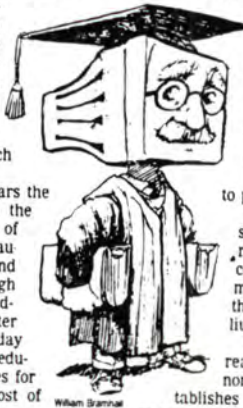
hadn't been available free, I probably never have would become interested in attending college. Making available videotaped courses from Michael Jordan and Steven Spielberg and Bill Gates might encourage 12-year-olds in the inner city and beyond to pursue education.

This cyber-library can also stand as a lasting historical record. It's as though you could get all the famous Romans to describe what they thought on the day when Julius Caesar was killed.

To help make this dream a reality, I'm going to fund a nonprofit organization that establishes video recording studios to capture the coursework, sets up servers to make it available for download and hires an administration to make sure the curriculum is properly designed and that students are tested and certified if they want to be. Students who enroll in this online university will be able to get a college equivalency degree or a certificate saying they passed a certain course, which they can then take to an employer and say, "I didn't go to college, but I've taken this recognized course of study."

I've got a business to run, so why am I spending my time and money on this effort? Because I think the most important issue facing the country today is the people left behind by our prosperity. The Web can't eliminate the underclass, but it can help improve the lives of the disadvantaged.

Mr. Saylor is founder and CEO of MicroStrategy, a software and Internet company in Vienna, Va.



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Hungary Under Fire for Impinging on Media Freedoms

By PETER FINN
Washington Post Foreign Service

WARSAW, March 14—On the eve of a national holiday to celebrate Hungarian freedom, about 2,000 supporters of the country's two main opposition parties and civil rights groups tonight protested the government's media policies, which have been criticized in recent days by the United States, the European Union and press freedom organizations.

"Freedom of the press is endangered," said Budapest Mayor Gabor Demszky, a leading figure in the opposition Federation of Free Democrats, whose annual address marking the 1848 revolution will not be broadcast Wednesday on national television for the first time in nine years. "It's a very serious situation."

The most recent catalyst for the protests was the government's decision to appoint only governing party members to the boards overseeing state television and radio, which have been accused of tilting news coverage to favor the two-party center-right governing coalition and excluding opposition figures from the airwaves.

But the government also has been criticized for awarding radio broadcast frequencies to right-wing supporters, for excluding more established but independent broad-

casters, and for police searches of the homes and offices of journalists who wrote reports the government objected to. Governing coalition members also have suggested that journalists be examined for ties to the Communist era secret service and that the media be forced to publish replies to any article someone objects to no matter if it is factual or an opinion piece.

The Vienna-based International Press Institute, in a report released Monday, said "the principles of transparency and accountability were often discarded [by the Hungarian government] in the face of critical or inconvenient news reports."

The state's media law requires that three eight-member boards for two public television stations and national radio have equal representation from the government and the opposition. But it requires the opposition parties, which range from the extreme-right Hungarian Justice and Life Party to the Socialist Party, to agree on candidate slates. The Justice and Life Party is insisting on two of the four opposition seats on each of the boards despite having only 14 seats in parliament compared with the Socialists' 134.

When the law was written in 1996 under the previous government, it required the opposition to field joint delegates if there were fewer than four opposition parties, ef-

fectively awarding a veto to the Justice and Life Party after the 1998 parliamentary elections.

Szilard Saszari, a Fidesz member of parliament and head of the legislature's cultural committee, said tonight he plans to hold all party talks on the media law Thursday to try and reach an agreement, but he said that if the effort fails he will seek to amend the law to allow each party to be represented.

Until now Fidesz, the government's main coalition partner, said a divided opposition is responsible for the failure to create full eight-member boards. And government figures noted that the media law was a creation of the parties that now find it offensive.

With the opposition parties hopelessly divided, the government, as it did last year, appointed four-member boards with their own supporters on March 1.

The Hungarian chief prosecutor Kallan Gyorgyi resigned this month after he questioned the legality of one-sided boards and then saw government officials dismiss his opinion as irrelevant.

"This is a problem of Hungarian political culture in general and a very bad media law in particular," said Andra Szekfu, an independent media analyst. According to Szekfu, Hungarian governments, including the previous Socialist-liberal alliance, have repeatedly viewed pub-

lic broadcasting as one of the spoils of electoral victory, and all three Hungarian governments since communism fell in 1989 have installed their own supporters in key management and editorial positions. Moreover successive governments have harassed the press, which can be less than rigorous or fair in what it publishes.

Earlier this month Michael Lake, the European Union ambassador to Hungary, warned the government that its policies damaged Hungary's efforts to join the alliance. And in a speech last week, U.S. Ambassador Peter Tufo warned that "Hungary must maintain its reputation as a multi-party democracy. . . . When it comes to government-financed media, I believe it's particularly important to keep them open and accessible to all points of view—even those contrary to the government's."

Demszky, who will speak about press freedom in his annual address Wednesday, linked his exclusion from the airwaves to editorial bias at state television—a charge rejected by a spokeswoman for Hungarian State Television.

"It was not a political decision," said communications director Gyorgyi Bende of the lack of coverage of Demsky's speech. "It turned out that all the major countryside events will coincide with that time, and since we cover Budapest events all day, we have to cover the countryside too."

China Jails Woman for Mailing News Clips Sending Articles to U.S. Brings Eight-Year Term

By JOHN POWRETT
Washington Post Foreign Service

BEIJING, March 14—A prominent businesswoman from China's restive Xinjiang region was jailed Friday for eight years for "revealing state information to foreigners." A big part of her crime, it was learned today, was sending clippings from the official Chinese press to her husband in Oklahoma.

The *Urumqi Evening News*, an official regional publication, said Rebiya Kadeer, 53, was twice implicated in making the newspaper and magazine clippings to the United States last year. In an article that was dated Sunday and appeared in Beijing today, the paper said Kadeer also was found with a list of political prisoners from Xinjiang that she was carrying to a meeting with a U.S. congressional delegation when she was arrested nearly seven months ago.

The report focused on the newspaper articles sent abroad, indicating that officials considered that the more serious offense. It mentioned the list of "people who have been dealt with by judicial organs" as an aside.

Kadeer's sentence was announced last weekend by international human rights organizations, but the Xinjiang report provided the first details of her crime. The newspaper said the case has "prompted great interest in society"—an indication that many people in Xinjiang followed the case closely.

News of Kadeer's jail term prompted a wave of criticism from human rights organizations in the West, as well as the State Department and Congress, where some senators said the sentence could hurt President Clinton's push to gain permanent normal trade relations for China.

Sending official Chinese press reports abroad is not a crime, but China's security services have used it as a justification for jailing political dissidents or others they view as troublemakers. The newspaper said prosecutors showed that Kadeer "folded, clipped out and underlined" the reports, most of them concerning officials' speeches about social stability or crackdowns against members of separatist organizations of Uighur people who inhabit the province and are fighting for independence from China.

In recent years, small groups of Uighur separatists have attacked Chinese police and military installations and bombed a bus in Beijing as part of a poorly organized but violent campaign for an independent state called East Turkestan, bordering three former central Asian republics, Russia and Mongolia.

Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International said Kadeer's jailing was punishment for the activities of her husband, Siddik Rouzi, who fled China in 1996 and was granted political asylum in the United States in October of that year. Since then, Rouzi has criticized China's treatment of its Uighur minority on broadcasts of Radio Free Asia, although neither he nor his wife has advocated violent overthrow of the government in Beijing.

The Washington Post

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Fall presidential campaign promises to be intense, nearly nonstop fight, focusing on key Midwest states

**By Michael Tackett
Chicago Tribune**

WASHINGTON As Vice President Al Gore and Texas Gov. George W. Bush completed victory laps Tuesday by sweeping once-important southern primaries, they turned attention to a fall campaign that promises to be an intense, nearly nonstop fight and focuses on key Midwest states.

Both Gore and Bush won essentially uncontested primaries in Florida, Texas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Tennessee and Mississippi providing each with enough delegates, or nearly so, to lay mathematical claim to their party's nomination.

Gore, in particular, has vowed only to increase the pace of his campaign following his resounding defeat of former Sen. Bill Bradley in the race for the Democratic nomination.

Mindful of how President Clinton set the terms of the 1996 campaign by waging an early and successful effort to define both himself and opponent Bob Dole, Gore has immediately turned his guns on Bush, questioning whether the governor has the experience to be president.

"I think it's probably a good move," said Edward Carmines, a professor of political science at Indiana University. "Clinton was able to frame the election until the spring, up until the conventions. For all intents and purposes, he won it during that period. Gore has learned that lesson."

Though Bush said recently that he thought voters wanted a period of "hibernation" from the presidential race, he is being forced to follow Gore's approach.

"He is going to never stop campaigning, but I think the voters' attention will be much more focused on the two candidates later rather than sooner," said Ari Fleischer, a spokesman for the Bush campaign. "But that won't stop him from vigorously promoting his candidacy in a visible and aggressive fashion."

Most analysts believe that the race could be very close given the Electoral College map, the relative strengths of the two major political parties and the absence so far of an overriding issue. In 1960, 1968 and 1988, a sitting vice president sought the White House but only George Bush prevailed, in 1988.

The election in 1968, notwithstanding the issue of the Vietnam War, is somewhat similar in that both candidates have strong organizational support with the prospect of an electorate somewhat splintered by a third party. Indeed, the role the Reform Party nominee plays in this year's race remains one of the few unknowns.

Both candidates start with states that are reliably either Republican or Democrat. Bush can count on much of the Rocky Mountain West and the South, while Gore's campaign is running well ahead in the Northeast and the Pacific Northwest.

Gore also seems strong in New York and California, while Bush seems secure in Texas and probably Florida, where his brother, Jeb, is governor.

That means both candidates will focus on the states that have provided the Electoral College margins in the last 40 years, such as Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Missouri. Only a handful of other states, like Georgia, Louisiana, Kentucky and possibly Tennessee, are seen by analysts as truly competitive.

"There will be states that see no candidate activity whatsoever," said Ross Baker, a presidential scholar at Rutgers University. "What you are seeing is a kind of market segmentation in political campaigning that is completely ruthless and sees nothing but electoral votes."

Though the issue of campaign-finance reform was discussed prominently during the primaries, both Gore and Bush seem destined to rely on the kind of multimillion dollar "soft money" (essentially unlimited contributions to a party) so frequently decried by the man whose supporters they are trying to woo, Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz.

After all, the two candidates who staked their runs on the issue of reform, namely McCain and Bradley, were defeated.

In recent interviews, Gore has tried to suggest that having been singed by campaign-finance controversies, he now clearly sees the need for change. It is the politics of inoculation in which he tries to expose all of his own misdeeds and pronounce himself chastened in hopes of depriving Bush of an issue.

Gore's breakneck schedule holds a modest risk of boring

voters who are not engaged in the campaign.

"It's always a problem getting people to focus on an election that is so distant in time," said Baker. "The conventional wisdom is that it doesn't start until after Labor Day and this isn't even St. Patrick's Day. It is sort of a triumph of hope over experience to suggest that except among the inner core of insiders that there is going to be much interest in this barring a big scandal."

At the same time, Gore undeniably ascended in his race with Bradley when he began to campaign vigorously and attack aggressively. "I think Gore learned from hard experience," said Chicago-based Democratic consultant David Axelrod. "He does best when he's driving the message, when he's driving the campaign. And when he does, the vacuum fills in a way that isn't positive."

"When he is drawn out there, aggressive, on the attack and drawing distinctions, he does well," Axelrod said. "And it is very, very important because Bush is going to try to buy his mortgage back from Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell and move back to the middle. If Gore lets him do that, he significantly jeopardizes his chances of winning. He has to keep him pinned in the right corner."

Though vice presidents rarely are elected directly to the presidency, Gore has the most valuable of fundamentals in his favor so far: a remarkably strong economy, with low inflation and unemployment in a time of relative peace.

Bush clearly will try to exploit the taint of President Clinton's impeachment and other controversies, but to date voters have rejected those tactics, particularly in the 1998 congressional elections.

Gore trailed Bush badly in national opinion polls before the primary season and now is essentially in a statistical tie with him, suggesting that he was enhanced during the early voting while Bush was damaged.

But nearly eight months before the election, there are few certainties. Gasoline prices could soar. War could break out in Kosovo, Colombia or somewhere else.

"Anybody who thinks this is a pushover for either candidate is nuts," Axelrod said. "The worst lesson we could derive from the primaries is hubris."

Media deals forcing FCC to rethink cross-ownership rule

**By James Warren
Chicago Tribune**

WASHINGTON In 1975, Chicago native Richard Wiley, then chairman of the Federal Communications Commission, confronted a firestorm over the increasing clout of American newspapers in what now seems a vaguely ancient past. It was a world without the Internet and one barely familiar with cable television.

In particular, there was anxiety over newspapers' push into broadcasting, their buying television and radio outlets and, thus, questions were raised about the dominance of one media company in local markets.

"Back then you just had three or four stations in most markets and the passions were very strong," Wiley recalled Tuesday. "I felt we had to bring the matter to a conclusion."

The FCC did just that, passing a rule barring a company from owning a newspaper and broadcast outlet in the same immediate market. However, Wiley and his colleagues did permit most then-existing combinations, such as the Chicago Tribune, WGN-Radio and WGN-Ch. 9, to remain under the same umbrella.

Twenty-five years later, Wiley finds himself entwined in a politically charged tussle reflecting dramatic change in communications worldwide. The debate's players include powerful members of Congress and senators and it is likely to climax within the next few years over a rule deemed outdated by many but not all in the media, political and regulatory spheres.

It's the so-called cross-ownership rule (actually rules), and its fate is relevant to the latest major media deal, the \$8 billion acquisition by Tribune Co. of Times Mirror Co. Tribune has now purchased papers in three markets in which it already has major TV stations: Los Angeles, New York and Hartford, Conn.

Tribune must now either receive an FCC waiver from the rule or hope the regulation is changed before the first of its stations' licenses are up for renewal, which for the stations in Hartford and New York is 2006.

Antitrust and regulatory experts in Washington said they

saw no immediate impediments for the deal. Generally, the Federal Communications Commission would not be expected to pass judgment on a cross-ownership situation until a disputed broadcast outlet's license was up for renewal.

Politically, Democrats, including Vice President Al Gore, are viewed as more sympathetic to retention of some cross-ownership rules. The most steadfast defenders of the rule on Capitol Hill are Sen. Ernest Hollings, D-S.C., and Rep. John Dingell, D-Mich., both members of their respective commerce committees, whose jurisdiction includes the FCC.

Rep. John Dingell of Michigan, the ranking Democrat on the House Commerce Committee, said Tuesday that he believes eliminating the rule would encourage more media mergers like the one negotiated by Tribune and Times Mirror. That, he said, would result in a "huge concentration of power in a small group of hands." Dingell added that he doesn't support an FCC waiver of the rule for the Tribune-Times Mirror deal.

The Republicans who control Congress, except for some from rural areas, generally want to abandon such restrictions as the FCC rule, seeing them as a needless impediment to business. Indeed, Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., the presidential candidate who chairs the Senate Commerce Committee, deems such restrictions outmoded. He has reintroduced a bill to eliminate the rules, joined by Rep. Billy Tauzin, R-La., who is the chairman of the House subcommittee on telecommunications.

Further, Texas Gov. George Bush, the apparent GOP presidential nominee, has voiced the view that newspaper publishers probably should be given far more leeway.

And several observers note that the FCC, now headed by Gore ally William Kennard, last August expanded the ownership rules to allow a company to own more than one broadcast outlet in a market.

As a Democratic congressman familiar with the rules put it, "The world changed with that decision." He believes that the need to "recalibrate" other elements of the cross-ownership rules may make moot any challenge to the Tribune's license renewals.

"The environment has changed greatly," said Wiley, a former partner in the Chicago law firm of Kirkland & Ellis who served on the commission from 1972 to 1977.

"Back then, broadcast TV was just getting its sea legs and cable was just getting started. Nobody foresaw it would become the dominant video medium. And there was no Internet and no satellite television."

In an FCC filing for the newspaper industry, Wiley argues that the FCC should take a new look at the rules. Kennard has promised that he will, but it is unclear when such a proceeding will begin.

Andrew Schwartzman, president of the nonprofit Media Access Project, demurred from the general view and cautioned that, "This is not a regulatory slam dunk."

He suggested that someone could argue that the Tribune-Times Mirror deal is "contrary to the public interest" even before a license renewal, prompting the FCC to require divestiture of a property at an earlier date.

Those close to the commission expect Tribune's deal to ultimately pass muster as the rules are altered.

"I would say that Tribune Company's deal with Times Mirror should be approved, providing essential and formidable competition to four established, huge, vertically integrated conglomerates," said James Quello, a retired former FCC chairman and member of the commission for 23 1/2 years.

Quello, who retired from the FCC in 1997, referred to the amalgams of America Online and Time Warner; Walt Disney Co., which owns ABC; Viacom Inc., which merged with CBS; and Rupert Murdoch's Fox empire. But, as others point out, there are other emerging media behemoths, underscoring that the clout of newspapers in most local markets has diminished markedly.

In calling for formal FCC reconsideration of the rules, Quello concurred that the FCC should permit cross-ownership among newspapers, television and radio in at least the top 25 markets, where, he contends, there is a "superabundance of communications outlets." If there is a valid threat of domination of an individual market, then the existing antitrust laws can take hold, he said.

Clinton genome statement drags down Nasdaq 200 points
By Gregg Fields

Knight Ridder Newspapers

The human gene is rarely a consideration for investors, but a statement by President Clinton on who will share in the spoils of genetic research sparked a massive selloff in the Nasdaq Composite Index Tuesday.

Although typically associated with technology and Internet companies, the Nasdaq is also heavy with biotechnology businesses. With biotech stocks looking vulnerable after experiencing strong gains in recent weeks, a broad wave of profit-taking swept through the Nasdaq, which fell 200.61 points, to close at 4706.63.

It was the second-largest point drop in the index's history, although, at 4 percent, it wasn't a historic decline in percentage terms. Tuesday's decline followed a dismal Monday, when the Nasdaq suffered its fourth-largest point drop.

By focusing on genetic research, the biotech industry is betting on developing a lucrative business, primarily in the battle against disease. But Tuesday, Clinton suggested that any resulting technology should be made widely available rather than exploited by individual companies.

Biotechnology companies, which are investing heavily in the notion that dollars are the best way to measure the rewards of their efforts, saw their share prices collapse.

PE Corp.'s Celera Genomics unit, for instance, fell a stunning \$59, to close at \$130. It has been developing, for market, the same kind of genetic blueprint that the United States and Britain now indicate they'll provide for free.

Another firm, Human Genome, fell more than \$29, or 19 percent.

Clinton made the remarks after the United States and Britain announced a plan under which they will share government-funded research into decoded human genetic patterns.

"It is terribly important that we continue to open the world of science to every American," Clinton said. "We must ensure that the profits of human genetic research are measured not in dollars but in the betterment of human life."

Overall, the Nasdaq Biotech Index plummeted 12 percent, although it is still up 29 percent this year.

Still, analysts noted that the Nasdaq remains something of a stellar performer. Last week it hit an all-time high, soaring past the 5000 level, and, even with this week's pullbacks, it has risen 15 percent this year.

The Dow Jones industrial average also slumped Tuesday, although it held up more strongly than the Nasdaq.

Ironically, the Dow was dragged down by two technology companies—Microsoft and Intel—that were only recently added. By contrast, the Dow's laggard performance this year has mainly been blamed on its heavy weighting toward old-line industrial stocks.

The Dow fell 135.89 points, or 1.37 points, to close at 9811.24. For the year, the Dow has dropped 14 percent.

Sand-pumping engineers face an indomitable enemy

By Gilbert M. Gaul and Anthony R. Wood
Knight Ridder Newspapers

LONG BRANCH, N.J. In its campaign for a piece of the nation's \$40 billion business-conference market, the renovated Ocean Place Conference Resort has added an impressive arsenal of amenities.

The hotel has 254 guest rooms, all with water-view balconies. It boasts a million-dollar office center, heated pools and a spa featuring full-body seaweed and mud masks.

And it offers something that was not part of the hotel's recent \$10-million renovation plan—a brand-new, manicured beach to defend its investment from coastal storms and hurricanes.

That came courtesy of taxpayers.

It was the product of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, the same Corps that built Fort McHenry on Baltimore Harbor and swept the minefields of Normandy Beach on D-Day.

Over the last 220 years, the Corps has helped defend America's shores from foreign invaders. Today, it is pumping sand to defend hotels, vacation homes, amusement piers and fudge shops from the surging ocean.

In that role it finds itself in the heat of another battle.

Taxpayer-funded beachfill has become a symbol in the debate over coastal development, even though it is only one in a matrix of federal subsidies that benefit beach towns and property

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 17, 2000

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

TO:

Rep. Jesse Jackson, Jr. (D-IL)

DATE:

As soon as possible.

RECOMMENDED BY:

Chuck Brain *OMB*
Broderick Johnson

PURPOSE:

To congratulate Rep. Jackson on the birth of his daughter.

BACKGROUND:

On Monday, March 13th, Representative Jackson and his wife, Sandi, gave birth to a five-pound baby girl, Jessica Donatella. She is the first child for the Jacksons.

As you know, Congressman Jackson is serving his 3rd term as the representative of Illinois' second Congressional district. He serves on the House Appropriations Committee.

CONTACT PERSON
AND TELEPHONE
NUMBERS(S):

Rep. Jesse Jackson, Jr. (D-IL)

202-466-3232 (DC)
773-933-7721 (IL)

DATE OF SUBMISSION:

March 17, 2000

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

*Copied
Brain
Johnson
Podesta
Burkhardt
(for reply)*

*We always
do left to
parents too.*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 18, 2000

MR. PRESIDENT:

We have prepared a letter in
case you prefer not to call.

Sean Maloney 

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-18-00

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Jessica Donatella Jackson
2034 O Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Jessica:

I am delighted to congratulate you on the wonderful occasion of your birth on March 13th. Your arrival is a cause for great celebration to all those who love you, and your life is sure to be enriched by your devoted and loving parents, Sandi and Jesse.

You are blessed to be born during this exciting time. The 21st Century will hold bright promise and opportunity for you and your generation. I wish for you a long and happy life, with days filled with lessons to learn, people to love, dreams to fulfill, and an abiding hope that will see you safely from success to success.

Welcome, and happy birthday!

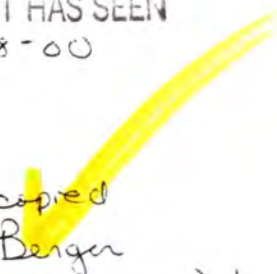
Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-18-00

Sandy
Kerry Nichols
for Moore let him
bring Mandaubals
let's return
PS



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Podesta

Guerrilla Economics

U.S. Execs to Colombian Rebels: Make Money, Not War

By KATHLEEN DAY and SHANNON HENRY
Washington Post Staff Writers

Deep in the Colombian mountains, where Marxist guerrillas have waged a civil war that has left 30,000 people dead since the 1960s, the two fabulously wealthy businessmen from Washington were trying to talk the rebels out of their revolution.

James Kimsey, co-founder and chairman emeritus of America Online Inc., and Joseph Robert, head of a real estate empire built on the wreckage of the savings-and-loan scandal, earlier this month sat in a camp cleared out of the jungle. Across the table was a man who has devoted most of his 69 years to armed conflict aimed at overthrowing the Latin American ruling class.

"It's the kind of thing that's irresistible to me," said Kimsey, 60, who has a swagger that befits an Army Ranger who served in the Vietnam War. "To talk to the oldest guerrilla in the world and to try to persuade him of the wisdom of how the world is going to change."

The Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia, known by the Spanish acronym FARC, is one of the

few remaining insurgent groups in the hemisphere. FARC and the smaller National Liberation Army control 40 percent of the Colombian countryside. The 15,000-strong FARC, which claims to represent farmers, labor organizers and other disenfranchised people, regularly mounts attacks on prisons and police stations while purportedly forging ties with drug lords trafficking in cocaine and heroin.

As it carries out its war against the rebels, the Colombian government also has launched an unusual campaign—with the help of U.S. government and business representatives—to speed the peace process by educating the guerrillas in modern ideas about investing, technology and the workplace.

The rebels' reaction has been mixed. Last summer, they welcomed Richard Grasso, chairman of the New York Stock Exchange, to their jungle camps. But in January, after the Clinton administration proposed providing Colombia with \$1.3 billion over the next two years, FARC condemned the plan, warning that increased American military involvement would escalate the violence.

GUERRILLAS, From E1

To triumphant, self-confident leaders of the booming U.S. economy such as Kimsey and Robert, guerrilla groups who still brim with the slogans of Cold War-era geopolitics are as outdated as typewriter ribbons and telephones with dials. On March 3, the two visitors sat for four hours with FARC's leader, Manuel Marulanda—described to them by U.S. and Colombian officials as humorless and rude, tough and quick-tempered. Kimsey and Robert displayed that special American impatience with historical baggage, urging the rebel to sign on to their three-point "action plan": Stop killing people. Stop trafficking in drugs. Economic prosperity can only come to Colombia with peace.

"Our naiveté led us to believe we could have some impact," said Robert, 48, a boyish-looking former Golden Gloves boxer. "It's a can-do attitude, and we're trying to infuse that in them. What's wrong with that?"

The way the two men saw it, the personal characteristics that led them to start risky but ultimately very successful businesses could also help cut through years of ill will between the rebels and the Colombian government. Both Kimsey and Robert, self-made millionaires, were told many times in their careers that there was something they couldn't do. Then they'd do it anyway.

Kimsey and Robert have been friends for years. Each attended St. John's College High School, an all-boys Catholic military school in Washington. Kimsey went on to West Point and then served two tours in Vietnam before co-founding what is now the largest Internet company in the world. Robert is founder and owner of J.E. Robert Cos., a global real estate company based in McLean.

Their latest adventure began in late January, when the two were among a dozen executives from

around the world invited by Colombian President Andres Pastrana to visit the country and advise its top leaders on how to lure foreign investment.

In a conversation during that trip, as well as one over dinner at Cafe Milano in Georgetown during Pastrana's subsequent visit to the United States, Pastrana, Robert and Kimsey decided that a personal visit to Marulanda might be productive. They would go to San Vicente del Caguan, an area declared a demilitarized zone by the government for peace talks to be held.

The two men had hit it off with Pastrana. And both clearly like adventure, Kimsey perhaps a bit more than Robert.

"For me parts of it were unsettling, but for Rambo here," said Robert, nodding toward Kimsey, some of the potential danger "made it more interesting."

The U.S. State Department says it tried to talk the men out of their plan. "We met with Kimsey before the trip took place. We discouraged him, pointing out that this is a dangerous place," one official said. "Since the FARC is responsible for a number of acts of terrorism against Americans, we feel it is risky business."

Last year FARC killed three Americans—two women and a man—who were in the country on the peaceful mission of working to preserve an indigenous tribe. A senior commander of FARC, Raul Reyes, reportedly declared war on the United States. (Kimsey said Reyes told him he had been misquoted.)

Despite any misgivings, Kimsey and Robert boarded a plane at Reagan National Airport for Bogota, where a bomb-proofed Mercedes-Benz surrounded by an armed escort accompanied them to a downtown hotel. They went to sleep about 5 a.m., only to be awakened 1½ hours later for a trip back to the airport to board a government twin-engine

1/2

prop plane for the hour-long flight, landing on an single-runway airstrip. They brought chicken salad sandwiches and bottled water in a cooler to share with the guerrillas.

"The thing that crossed my mind the most when I was in the plane was, what would keep a guerrilla from attempting to shoot down a government plane flying over guerrilla-controlled territory?" said Robert.

What Robert and Kimsey wanted to tell Marulanda was that prosperity can come to the peasantry only after the violence and drug trade is stopped. Their message of economic promise, though, must compete with the current reality: The rebels earn an \$500 million a year or more from extortion, kidnapping people for ransom and protecting the drug trade.

Though they realize their trip won't bring an end to drug trafficking, Kimsey said, Marulanda did state to a TV crew from "60 Minutes"—which accompanied them—that he was against drugs. He also said FARC would support Colombia's transition from drug-related farming to other commercial crops.

That, Kimsey hopes, will create pressure for the rebel leader to act on his words. And that could be productive by causing "divisions" among Marulanda's followers—"all of which is in our best interest," Kimsey said.

Kimsey said they also scored a victory when Marulanda declared, unprompted, that "communism is dead."

But mostly they say they steered clear of political philosophy and instead tried to run the discussion like any business meeting. They asked Marulanda to name his top three goals, which boiled down to his wanting sympathy from the American public and, even more important, money from the United States for economic development. They tried to keep the conversation focused on issues they could easily all

agree on, such as helping children.

"You see that child over there," Robert said he told Marulanda. "That's the future of Colombia, not you. In the new global economy the most important resource a country has rests in here"—Robert taps his forefinger on his temple—"in the mind of its citizens. Kids need an education and to create jobs you need capital."

By the end, Kimsey—whom the guerrillas referred to as the founder of "the American Internet"—gave Marulanda his AOL cap in exchange for Marulanda's military hat. Marulanda gave Robert a knife. Then the two Washington businessmen flew back to Bogota to spend the weekend with Pastrana.

"We are sure that with your help, we will be able to explain to the American people our work to find ways for national reconciliation and social justice," reads the translation of a note Marulanda wrote to Robert.

The note was handwritten. But it could have been sent via e-mail. The guerrillas are not so unsophisticated that they lack an Internet connection; their Web site, among other things, features pictures of guerrilla life, including the rebels dancing the rumba.

Michael Maccoby, a Washington-

based anthropologist and management consultant, says that the trip by Robert and Kimsey reflects an attitude—heightened by a robust economy and the breakneck pace of technological innovation—that's widespread in the board rooms of top entrepreneurs around the country. Such executives are "productive narcissists," Maccoby said, the kind of people who "want to solve big problems and do big things" and win the world's love and respect.

"They've always done things that others say can't be done," Maccoby said. "The fact that this country produces people like that has pros and cons. You could get into trouble or you could do great things. There's something both wonderful and incredibly naive about these people."

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The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 15, 2000

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
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The Last Years
of the Presidents
Bob Gugg
- continued -

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

February 18, 2000

JP/Kalley/Alain
Worth reading

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Podesta
Tramontano
Schevete

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL *MS*
SUBJECT: The Last Years of the Presidents

Between Franklin D. Roosevelt and Bill Clinton there have been two presidents who filled out two terms. Their last years in office provide the only relevant reference point for today. Presidential popularity, charted by the Gallup Poll, reveals that President Clinton is a far more popular president—and more popular over a far longer period—than Ronald Reagan was. Furthermore, President Clinton has enjoyed more consistent and sustained popularity than Dwight Eisenhower, who presided at a time when the presidency received a natural approval from the American people, in an era before the assassinations, race riots and the Vietnam War. The Princeton historian Sean Wilentz, in the enclosed article published in *The New Republic*, writes, "From 1945 to 1992, each American president saw his job approval ratings drop during his final years in office." He adds, "Clinton is the great exception."

The point here is not to play a game of king of the hill, or to exalt one president over another. Nor is it to measure presidencies merely by popularity. Rather, the historical structure of the presidents' final years strongly suggests the salience of certain issues and themes. Both Eisenhower's and Reagan's vice presidents sought to succeed them, and in both cases these elements were major factors in determining the outcome. The pattern of the past may be something of a guide to the coming months. In the enclosed chart, the spikes and dips represent the jagged outlines of the politics of late-term presidents.

Eisenhower's Decline

On the eve of his second inauguration, Eisenhower reached a peak of his popularity (79 percent). His fall began almost immediately. Throughout 1957, with the spread of a recession, he slipped downward. Then, with the Soviet Union's launch of Sputnik in October, he fell precipitously. By April 1958, he found himself at his lowest point, below 50 percent for the first time.

Eisenhower's last year was marked by economic stagnation, foreign policy humiliation at the hands of the Soviets, and strained relations with his vice president, Richard Nixon,

who damaged Ike's ratings and ultimately his own political prospects by his effort to separate himself.

Eisenhower entered 1960 partly restored in popularity at 66 percent. In May, the Soviets shot down a U-2 spy plane and captured its pilot, Francis Gary Powers. Ike, at first, denied that the US was engaged in such spy missions. But the Soviets paraded Powers before television cameras. In mid-May, the Paris summit with the Soviet Union collapsed. In July, the Soviets shot down another US patrol plane over the Soviet Union. Ike was below 50 percent again. The Democratic candidate for president, John F. Kennedy, charged that Eisenhower's neglect had created a dangerous "missile gap" (a bogus charge, it later turned out).

Criticism of Ike for weakening defense and being too attentive to a balanced budget was not restricted to Democrats. New York Governor Nelson Rockefeller also made the same sharp claims. Rockefeller was Nixon's chief rival within the GOP for the presidential nomination. In the end, Rockefeller decided not to challenge him. But he extracted a price. He got Nixon to agree to his broad program in what became known as the "Pact of Fifth Avenue," after a meeting at Rockefeller's apartment. For Nixon, the "pact" involved more than an entente with Rockefeller. It was a way for him to distinguish himself as more than "Ike's boy" and to position himself against Kennedy. Eisenhower was so angry that he threatened not to endorse his vice president. And the splits within the GOP contributed to Ike's fall in the polls that July.

In August, asked by a reporter to give an example of Nixon's contribution to government, Eisenhower replied, "If you give me a week I might think of one." He failed to endorse Nixon until the GOP convention. Throughout the year, in fact, he had tried to convince members of his cabinet to run for the presidency against Nixon. He also was furious with Rockefeller. Ike had lost control of his party and was unable to set its direction.

In September 1960, Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev arrived at the opening of the United Nations General Assembly in New York, where he banged his shoe on the desk. Eisenhower's rating briefly shot up to 65 percent, a rally-round-the-flag syndrome. In late October, he began campaigning for Nixon. It seemed that the old adoration for Ike was back. He had been senescent for so long that his dramatic campaign appearances, flashing the famous smile and waving his arms, made it seem that he had come alive again. But Nixon asked him to stop his campaigning, upon receiving a private request from Eisenhower's wife and doctor, worried that he might have another heart attack. Eisenhower refused to help Nixon further. Ike's spike upward in early October swiftly depressed, even during his brief flurry of campaigning, and his polls went flat. Nixon lost by a razor-thin margin.

Eisenhower, the military hero of World War II, who was elected president on the promise of peace, was seen as a foreign policy bumbler. Confusion on the question of peace only made his economic management more suspect. Had there been a calm international environment, Nixon could have projected the issues of peace and prosperity with clarity,

presented himself forthrightly as Ike's successor, and would almost certainly have won the election.

The last year of Ronald Reagan's presidency, which included many similar problems of succession, offers a sharp contrast.

Reagan's Rescue

With the economy roaring, Reagan shot up, in May 1986, to his highest point—68 percent. But when the Iran-contra scandal was exposed in November, he suffered the single biggest drop of a president on record, falling to 47 percent. He hovered mostly below 50 percent for a year and a half. It seemed that there was nothing he could do to save himself. His rescue required the intervention of an outside force, a *deus ex machina*.

Since Mikhail Gorbachev's accession to power as the new Soviet leader in March 1984, Reagan had not known how to handle him. But in June 1988 Reagan went on location to Moscow, where he announced that "of course" the Cold War was over and that the "evil empire," Reagan's most memorable phrase, was from "another time." (Reagan reflected: "In the movie business actors often get what we call typecast... Well, politics is a little like that too. So I've had a lot of time and reason to think about my role.") His numbers suddenly went up to 54 percent.

Reagan's ratings stayed in the low fifties through the election. His convention speech was instrumental in defining the winning theme that George Bush seemed incapable of articulating. Reagan began inauspiciously, blurting inadvertently, "Facts are stupid things." (He meant to say "stubborn things.") But he went on to say, "Now, we hear talk that it's time for a change... We are the change." He referred to "Mr. Gorbachev," and concluded, "The work must continue." With this flourish, he captured the theme of continuity and change for the Republicans. It proved enough to help lift Bush into the presidency.

It is important to note that Reagan's recovery was relatively marginal. He never politically returned to the only period in which he enjoyed widespread popularity, from the spring of 1983 until November 1986. Yet the modesty of his comeback was still enough to build a plausible case of continuity for Bush. And after the election of his vice president Reagan rose for a moment to 63 percent, lending him a triumphant aura, as if he had always been beloved.

Reagan, the old conservative cold warrior, who had won two elections campaigning against the evil empire, transformed the peace issue by linking himself to Gorbachev and declaring the Cold War over. Reagan made peace and prosperity available to Bush, doing a superior job to Bush himself in basing his candidacy on those twin themes. What Eisenhower failed to do for Nixon, Reagan provided for Bush.

Lessons for 2000

Despite the propagandists of "Clinton fatigue," President Clinton is indisputably more popular than Eisenhower and Reagan, the only points of comparison. He has reversed the historic trend of second-term decline; and he is the only president to have done so. It may be that this singular feat augurs a deeper reversal, the restoration of confidence in positive government and an active executive. But that depends largely on the outcome of the election.

The key political elements for 2000 are already in place.

First, after Al Gore's impending defeat of Bill Bradley, party coherence will be greater than in any previous cycle when the nomination was open. Bradley's challenge, moreover, has not been on any fundamental ideological ground. It is more attitudinal than political. There is not a polarizing issue to widen an already existing schism within the party, like Vietnam. Bradley's effort to draw support from a rejection of the President has itself been rejected.

Second, there is no foreign policy crisis. Without the Cold War, there is no major adversary.

Third, the economy continues its unprecedented expansion.

Fourth, Gore is promoting the achievements of the administration as the basis for future progress. Unlike Nixon in 1960, he has no need to separate himself from the president's policies. Ike named Nixon as his vice presidential candidate as a sop to the Republican right, to have a Californian and a younger man on the ticket. Eisenhower never respected or trusted Nixon. Bush became Reagan's running mate as an act of political convenience, not shared perspective. This put Bush in the awkward position of having to embrace Reagan while trying to distance himself (as in his call for a "kinder, gentler" country). Gore, unlike Nixon in 1960 and Bush in 1988, is his president's close partner, who authentically carries the banner of the Clinton administration's achievements. And, unlike Bush, Gore is articulate and direct in explaining why he is the new man to carry the work forward. The stronger the theme of continuity and change, the greater the victory and the mandate.

At the same time, the Republicans present a reverse image. First, their party is split politically. The congressional wing has been repudiated by the McCain candidacy. Second, the GOP is split on foreign policy. Third, the GOP is split on economics, particularly on the question of tax cuts. In short, the Republicans carry the burdens that have led to presidential defeats in the past.

The confluence of these factors is now beginning to become apparent, as the CBS/*New York Times* poll of February 17 shows—an even race with underlying trends moving in the Democrat's favor. But these factors cannot left be to their own devices, as though

there will be an inevitable unfolding of events. The public will perceive complacency as smugness, then as arrogance.

The Democratic Party is emerging from the primaries relatively unscathed. The congressional and presidential wings are in harmony. There has not been a time since arguably 1975, or even 1965, when the country and the Democratic agenda were in convergence.

The Republicans, by contrast, will leave the primaries badly battered. The McCain insurgency has split their party and greatly discredited its congressional and regular wings. Bush, representing the governors and the regulars, kept a distance from the congressional leadership. But McCain, running as a maverick, took on all of them, leaving them in pieces. The Republicans have no program or strategy for retaining the House, except a dependent reliance on Bush's pulling power.

The Republicans and Bush in particular have declared that the election will be a referendum on the Clinton presidency. If they win, they will claim their victory was a reaction against it. The issue, according to the Republicans, is this: Do the American people vindicate and extend the Clinton era or do they bring it to an end? The overriding question for the President and the Vice President—seen in the light of the Eisenhower and Reagan examples—is how they will affect that referendum.

Eisenhower, compounding his difficulties, tarnished his luster. Reagan, through the Cold War endgame and his rhetorical skill, magically enhanced his stature. Because of Nixon's defeat in 1960, there is no historical reference to an Eisenhower era. Reagan, however, currently enjoys a greater historical reputation than he deserves because he was vindicated through the ambiguous medium of George Bush.

The President's prospect is better at the beginning of his last year than it was for either Eisenhower or Reagan. He has entered what may be a virtuous cycle, if it can be kept in perpetual motion. Inescapably, Gore is viewed as a proxy and an extension. The better Gore performs, the better the President looks. Gore's rise, documented in polls, reflects favorably on the President, giving him more room to lift up Gore. And the better the President does, the better Gore looks.

For 2000, simplicity, clarity and consistency of message are paramount. Proliferating issues may have an effect other than highlighting an active executive, who, after all, is not running. If the issues are not tightly framed, they can create a diffuse impression. In setting the agenda, the President must insure that every issue is subsidiary to the grand themes of advancing peace, deepening prosperity and building another decade of progress. Beyond that, on a political level, the balance must be struck between continuity and change.

Obviously, the President should brandish foreign policy to enhance his prestige and stature. The Eisenhower and Reagan experiences could not be more telling on that point. And, obviously, the schisms within the Republican Party must be exacerbated, especially

on tax cuts and (after China WTO) internationalism. But there are also other potential pitfalls, including the danger of being drawn into legislative wear-and-tear and the overly drawn complexity of the administration's stance on trade.

The Republican Congress the President faces has been in great part discredited, even within its own party. It is the opposite of the dynamic force he encountered in 1995-96, during his reelection campaign, when Republicans still envisioned the Congress as their vanguard. The Republican presidential candidate will want the President to be mired in protracted unresolved conflict with the Congress as a distraction and to drag down his job performance numbers. In effect, the Republican nominee must triangulate to have a chance. So the President must use the Congress to highlight the Democratic agenda, pass certain signal pieces of legislation, and split the opposition to illustrate their lack of direction, program and cohesion. Above all, he must avoid the tar pit.

Barring unforeseen crises, the one issue that has the most potential of confusing the public and splitting the Democrats is trade. It is the weakest point. Since the disaster in Seattle, the administration's position has been defensive, argumentative and abstract. Pushing trade apart from concrete proposals has invariably led to setbacks—fast-track being the notable example. Trade cannot persuasively be promoted only as a process. And just talking about trade as a general proposition fosters an increasingly murky political atmosphere. Trade clouds up the administration's foreign policy, sometimes even appearing to substitute for it, rather than being understood as one of its instruments. And talking about trade in the abstract casts a shadow over the economic success story. Administration pleas for a hearing on trade suggest that it is ineffective, implicitly reinforcing the notion that it has had little to do with the economy. The rhetoric surrounding trade, stressing "global integration" and "rules of the road," is arcane and impenetrable to most people.

The case for trade should not be made in the abstract, but only in relation to China WTO. While all the usual arguments should be made about our interests, the issue should be framed above all as a foreign policy one. That enables the moral component to be brought to bear. It is about whether we will have a lasting peace with China, the largest nation in the world and an emerging power in the 21st century. Trade is an instrument of our policy of peace. It combines our interests and our values. Our ultimate goal is not merely trade; it is peace, which promotes not only prosperity but democracy. Indeed, the focus of our entire foreign policy is peace. The ending of the Cold War has not meant that the American people think of foreign policy apart from questions of war and peace. The President's most favorable image remains that of peacemaker. Other arguments, of course, must be made for trade, including that trade means continued economic growth and opportunity. But if peace is not the first argument then the President will have dispensed with one of the most powerful themes that serve all presidents, especially in their last year.


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TRB FROM WASHINGTON Yawn

By SEAN WILENTZ
 Issue date: 02.28.00
 Post date: 02.17.00

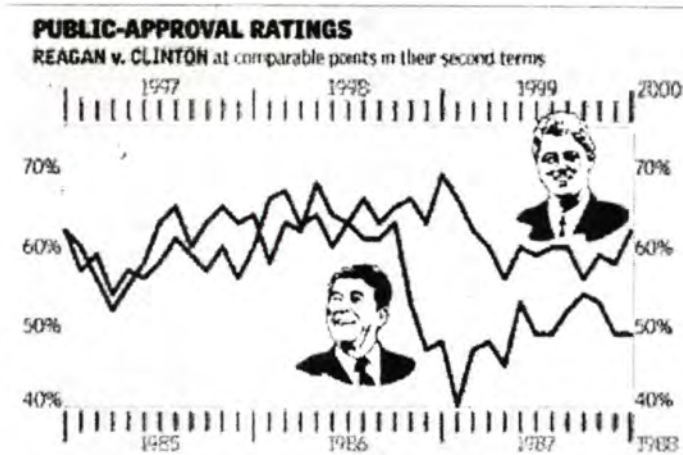
According to many of our top editorialists, the nation is gripped by something called "Clinton fatigue." After seven long years, voters are fed up with our "truth-twisting" president (the phrase is John McCain's), and they can't wait for him to clear out of Washington. It is this lingering distaste,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

TRB

The model has an elegant simplicity. But it rests on a fictional premise. By every meaningful standard, statistical and historical, Clinton fatigue is an utter hoax. It is the latest sign of the growing gap between what the public actually thinks and what the pundits claim the public thinks. In fact, over time, Clinton has become more popular, not less. That so many intelligent writers assume

the opposite tells us exactly nothing about Clinton. It tells us a great deal, however, about the dogma-cursed state of American political commentary.

From 1945 to 1992, each American president saw his job-approval ratings drop during his final years in office. The Korean War so undermined Harry Truman's popularity that he decided not to run for reelection in 1952. Vietnam did the same for Lyndon Johnson in 1968. Wretched disapproval (and almostcertain impeachment) led Richard Nixon to resign in 1974. Stagflation, the Iran hostage crisis, and "malaise" sent Jimmy Carter's numbers tumbling before Ronald Reagan clobbered him in 1980. Reagan's popular support went into free fall during the Iran-Contra scandal and never really recovered. George Bush, prior to his defeat in 1992, saw his approval ratings plunge from their peak just after the Gulf war. Even the likable Dwight Eisenhower saw his ratings slip sharply during his sluggish second term.



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

Commentators are quick to note that Clinton's approval ratings drop abruptly when the question turns from job performance to character. But poll data only matter insofar as they predict elections, and, when it comes to elections, Clinton's high job-approval numbers are far more predictive than his low personal-approval ones. And, like the job-approval numbers, the trend at the polls has generally been up.

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

Now consider 2000. Last fall, the press was filled with suggestions that Clinton fatigue was killing Al Gore. But last fall, if you'll remember, Gore was frantically distancing himself from the president--telling every interviewer who would listen how much he disapproved of Clinton's behavior and engaging in elaborate rhetorical contortions to avoid mentioning the president's name on the stump. Since December, he has started forthrightly claiming credit for the Clinton administration's accomplishments, and he has soared, winning in both Iowa and New Hampshire. To be sure, part of Gore's success stems from his campaign shake-up and from Bradley's early timidity. And,

to be sure, Democratic primary voters are the least Clinton-fatigued people around. But the fact remains that, at the ballot box as in the job-approval ratings, evidence for Clinton fatigue is scarce. Even McCain, whose recent rise pundits credit to his anti-Slick-Willie persona, beat George W. Bush in New Hampshire with a tax plan that his opponents ridiculed (and that he at one point acknowledged) as Clintonian.

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

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

Chart sources: Gallup Poll; Washington Post-ABC; NBC-WSJ; ABC; WSJ; NY Times-CBS; Newsweek. Chart by Nigel Holmes.

Recently:

Elsewhere in this week's issue, Franklin Foer examines a phenomenon closely tied to Clinton fatigue: McCain chic. In TRB last week, Fouad Ajami spun tales of the new economy. Sean Wilentz's last article in TNR presented the historical case for why the Reform Party is doomed.

Currently (02.28.00 issue):

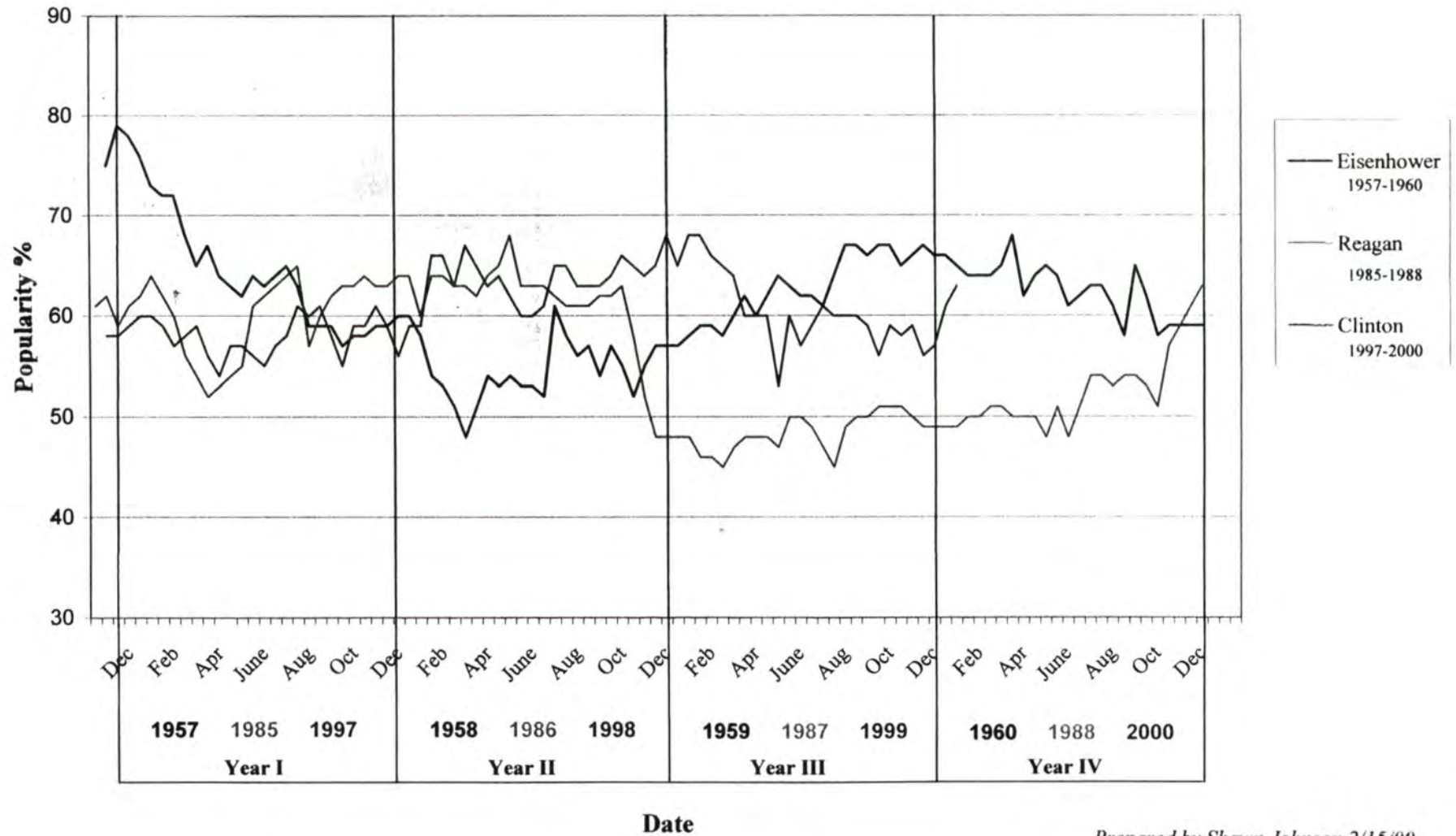
Favorite Son? John B. Judis reports from Arizona, where the character issue makes people vote *against* McCain.
 Improbable Cause: Jonathan Chait on the crumbling Michigan firewall.

The Editors: Cloning is almost here. Does Washington care?

Dear Village: A letter to my people.

Nashville Dispatch: Ryan Lizza proves that the Reform Party can, in fact, get crazier.

2nd Term Presidential Popularity
Source: Gallup Poll Data on Presidential Popularity



Prepared by Shawn Johnson 2/15/00

3-18-00

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WASHINGTON

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February 24, 2000

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Karen A. Tramontano
Thomas Freedman

Subject: Long Term Planning Follow-Up

This updated memorandum reflects the themes and issues we discussed with you during the long-term strategy meeting last week. Based on that meeting, we are working with communications, press and the policy councils to develop strategies to implement those themes and issues.

At our meeting, we agreed there are two key times during which you can maximize opportunities to shape the public legislative debate. The first runs from late March (at the conclusion of the nominating process) until late July (the Republican convention). The second occurs during the appropriations end game in September and October. Our planning will fully utilize these times. Since the most important congressional votes and legislative work will take place before each recess and immediately before the session ends, scheduling will hold May 22 – 26; June 26-30; July 24 – 28; September 25 – 30 and the relevant part of October. In addition to your formal meetings with members of Congress to discuss pending legislative business, we will also sometimes schedule informal congressional meetings on those evenings when you are working.

I. Major Themes**A. World Stewardship**

We have segmented foreign policy issues into four groupings. The first group of issues are those where the stakes are high, a significant amount of your time is required and success depends upon your personal involvement at the highest level. Because we do not know exactly when you will be needed to work on these issues, we will keep your schedule somewhat flexible. Throughout the year, these matters will continue as high priorities; we will adjust your schedule, as circumstances require.

- ◆ Middle East (March/April) (Prior to September deadline)
- ◆ Northern Ireland (Prior to May)
- ◆ Russia (Elections & Aftermath—March 26 and April 16)
- ◆ NMD, ABM, CTBT

♦ China PNTR/WTO (February-July)

We agreed that China requires special emphasis. As a result, your schedule will reflect what it will take to win that vote. A fair amount of your time will be needed to retail and publicly frame this issue. We will set time aside for the following:

- ♦ Congressional meetings (4 each month)
- ♦ Business meetings (February 24, 2000)
- ♦ Speeches (March 1 & March 8, 2000)
- ♦ Elite Press
- ♦ National Press
- ♦ Regional/District Press
- ♦ Kick-Off with Former Presidents (March 28, 2000)

The second group reflects high priority areas requiring less direct attention from you. Scheduling for these matters is much more likely to be within our control. There are other objectives in this grouping e.g. Africa Trade/CBI that may require your attention but will be primarily carried by others.

May
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- ♦ Columbia
- ♦ Greece-Turkey-Cyprus
- ♦ Kosovo/Southeast Europe — Making the case for US engagement
- ♦ International Debt-Relief
- ♦ Vaccines (March 2, 2000)
- ♦ Africa Trade/CBI

The last two groups identify planned trips and other potential travel you asked us to consider:

- ♦ Asia (India) (March 18– 26)
- ♦ Germany (April – May)
- ♦ G-7 Summit (July 21 – 23)
- ♦ APEC (November 15 – 16)

Potential Travel:

- ♦ Columbia + another Latin American Country
- ♦ Russia (After elections)
- ♦ Middle East (Depending upon events)
- ♦ Nigeria & Portugal (May-June)
- ♦ Ireland
- ♦ Additional stops in Asia trips, e.g. Korea, others
- ♦ Consider adding Alaska & Hawaii to Asian trips

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B. Economic Stewardship

We have focused this section on your economic stewardship, the benefits of the new and expanding economy, and the need to do more to ensure that all citizens have a share and a stake in our nation's economic growth. We plan to showcase throughout the year your record on fiscal discipline and show how you continue to make the hard choices to ensure a strong economy. You asked that we consider focusing on poverty as a discrete issue including a review of welfare-to-work programs and an analysis of the nature of poverty. In addition we will highlight the following:

- ◆ The Economic Summit - a one-day summit (April 5).
- ◆ New Markets' Tour/Closing the Digital Divide (April 10 – 12)
- ◆ Round table—Community Reinvestment Act (May)
- ◆ The New Economy - Major Speech at UPENN (February 24)
- ◆ The President's Record on Fiscal Discipline
- ◆ Medicare solvency
- ◆ Social Security - transferring interest savings
- ◆ Paying down the public debt
- ◆ Working Families tax package:

Long-term care
Retirement Accounts
EITC - Marriage Penalty
Medicare buy-in
Child Care
Tuition Tax Credit

C. Domestic Leadership

This section addresses issues where you are an established leader, where we want to continue your leadership, and where you are likely to achieve some of your SOTU initiatives.

1. Education

We agreed that education would get attention only if it is at the center of a battle—either in the Congress or in the states. As we develop a strategy we will look for fights that will bring education into sharp focus.

✓ You asked that we consider developing a 2-day education tour where we highlight a failing school that is improving in venues like East LA. We are tentatively holding May 11 –12 for the tour which will begin with a National Teacher of the Year event. In April we are proposing that you travel to Atlanta to speak to education writers at the Education Writers' Conference.

Here in Washington the debate will begin with the reauthorization of ESEA. The elements of the reauthorization debate are outlined below:

- ◆ ESEA Reauthorization (February through June)
 - Social Promotion
 - Education Reform including low performing schools
 - School Accountability
 - Education Standards

As in the past, the education debate will re-engage during the congressional appropriations battle. The funding battle will provide another opportunity to highlight education.

- ◆ Education funding - September through October
 - 100,000 teachers
 - School Construction
 - After-school care
 - Head Start
 - GEAR-UP

2. Environment

We agreed to plan a few major environmental events using dates when the public pays attention to the environment like Earth Day, Memorial Day and the 4th of July. Major initiatives, like Lands' Legacy, Monuments and Roadless, could be unveiled in big events on these key dates to underscore their importance and improve the chances that you will successfully drive the issue. You asked that we add the Redwoods and the Everglades issues to this list. You also asked us to consider travel to the Rio Grande and Nevada to showcase other environmental initiatives. Plans are underway to highlight your accomplishments in the run-up to Earth Day including events on new generation vehicles, monuments and the 30th Anniversary of Earth Day on the Mall.

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- ◆ Power Generation (prior to Earth Day)
- ◆ Lands' Legacy (September-October)
- ◆ *Executive Actions - Sequoia National Monument (April 15)*
- ◆ *Bacca Ranch*
- ◆ Roadless Forests - Final Rule November/December
- ◆ Redwoods
- ◆ Everglades

Three related and no less important issues are:

- ◆ Kyoto/Climate Change
 - Although progress in the Senate on the Kyoto treaty is highly unlikely, the Kyoto negotiations may bear some fruit. If progress is achieved, we will

highlight it but also make clear that progress on Kyoto is a good deal for business (November). We continue to work on a power generation proposal for release in April before Earth Day (April 22).

- ◆ **Fuel Efficiency**

If we complete a "declaration of intent" with the trucking industry to conduct research that will lead to fuel efficiency, air emissions and safety improvements, much like PNGV, you could sign the declaration (April/May). We will evaluate whether electricity deregulation could pass the Congress this year and develop a strategy to improve its chances. We will also look at showcasing bio-fuels research, energy improvements in housing and energy conversion opportunities.

- ◆ **New Generation Vehicles**

Similarly, we are working with the auto industry on an agreement to include SUVs in their new research and development effort on fuel efficiency for new generation vehicles. SUVs are the auto industry's biggest market, expanding this partnership to SUVs would be a big victory. Tentatively we are looking at a meeting between the auto industry and you in late March to highlight the successes of the Partnership for New Generation Vehicles and to showcase the new demos that get better than 70 mpg. We may also be ready to announce an Executive Order to improve fuel efficiency in the federal fleet.

3. Science & Technology

- ◆ **Research – The 21st Century Research Fund** includes a \$3 billion increase in research. Since the Republicans will top your investment, we will work with OSTP on a strategy to ensure that additional increases are not exclusively directed for NIH. We will also include the Livermore, Huntsville and Brookhaven labs as vehicles to demonstrate the government's investment in research.

- ◆ **The Human Genome Project** – The first sequence draft will be completed this year. The draft represents 90% of the human genome sequence. An announcement could be ready by May. You indicated that this is a priority and you very much want to be involved. We will also look for ways to demonstrate how the genome project will improve people's lives.

- ◆ **Genome Privacy**—As technological advancements progress, there is tremendous public concern about the release and use of personal medical data. On February 8th, you issued an Executive Order on Genetic Discrimination. In May, you and Tony Blair will sign a Joint Statement opening access to research data.

- ◆ Research Ethics – There is also growing concern about the use of gene therapies. Your Bioethics Advisory Board will recommend a government-wide office to oversee the government's involvement in gene therapy research and use. If you embrace these recommendations you could create a new office on “Human Research Subjects Protections.” The Board is also likely to issue findings regarding human subjects protections. You could announce these findings as well. (April-June)
- ◆ Research Misconduct—Work is underway to develop new guidelines regarding scientific research and misconduct. We believe these guidelines will be well received and very appropriate for you to announce. (September-November)

Technology

As Internet technology expands, questions about cyber access and personal privacy are growing. You have been ahead of the curve on these issues. Throughout the year, we will highlight your initiatives in the following areas:

- ◆ Closing the Digital Divide:
Advocates applauded the Digital Divide budget initiative you announced in DC. The New Markets' Tour in April will provide another platform for you to talk about your proposals to close the digital divide. Americorps is working locally with Steve Case and America On-line on a digital divide project that has been quite successful—we will look for ways to include Americorps in an event on this topic.
- ◆ Connecting Schools to the Internet:
The Department of Education released a report showing that we have made some progress in achieving our goal. The Vice President declined the announcement. Bruce Reed will provide the details to you. Another vehicle to get more schools connected to Internet will be your school modernization proposals. Our campaign to enact school modernization will provide additional opportunities for you to highlight this progress.
- ◆ Technology and Disabilities
There is growing interest about the use of technology to assist people with disabilities and technology's use in telemedicine. You could demonstrate these advancements and the government's investments in research by going to sites where these technologies are being made available to the disabled.
- ◆ The International Space Station
You could visit the American crew before their departure to the Space Station. Alternatively, you could call the space station sometime between August and December to talk to the crew. These events would highlight scientific advances made during your Administration.

- ◆ Privacy
There is growing public concern about invasions into personal privacy as a result of technological changes. Work is underway to develop the rules of the road for cyber-privacy
- ◆ Webisode Chats
You indicated an interest in continuing webisode chats. We will begin these chats with the five constituent groups Loretta Ucelli outlined for you.

4. Health

In addition to the Medicare Reform debate and the political debate on the Patients' Bill of Rights, we believe there will be three vital health care debates where you can promote your SOTU initiatives and in the case of medical errors, take additional executive actions.

- ◆ Health Care Expansion
- ◆ Prescription drugs
- ◆ Medical errors (February 22)

You asked that we also consider a White House Conference or a Summit that would focus the public's attention on Medicare and Aging, CHIPS-Parents and/or Prevention. In addition, the HHS and USDA are hosting a conference on nutrition; we will look for ways to involve your Council on Physical Fitness, too.

5. Crime

Successfully concluding the gun issue is less likely this year given the nature of the political debate and the current make-up of Congress. Nonetheless we are suggesting ways to focus and engage the debate. Dates that are important to note are the Million-Moms' March, the Columbine Anniversary and the anniversaries of the school shootings in Arkansas, Oregon and Kentucky. Since Colorado failed to pass a gun licensing law by one vote last week, citizens have announced that they will launch a ballot initiative in April. We have a tentative hold on your schedule for April 12 to travel to Colorado to announce the initiative.

- ◆ We will continue to work aggressively to facilitate a settlement with gun manufacturers. If a settlement appears unlikely, we will recommend becoming more directly involved in the litigation. The discussions with the gun manufacturers are ongoing and could continue through August.
- ◆ Like last year, we will engage in an appropriations battle with Congress to fund 50,000 more cops. We will schedule events to highlight your accomplishments and leadership. (September – October)

- ◆ In addition to the report you announced on February 4th, there will be other opportunities to promote your gun enforcement initiative. In March/April the Treasury will issue another report on illegal gun trafficking. To bring more attention to your initiative you could roll out the report at a responsible gun manufacturer like Smith & Wesson.
- ◆ To promote your "Smart Guns" initiative and to continue the gun debate you could also visit a manufacturing venue that uses this new technology. (March-July)
- ◆ There are 12 states that have gun-licensing statutes--the Massachusetts law is most like your proposal. To focus attention on your licensing initiative, you could visit a state with similar laws and take a gun safety class or register for a license. (February-October)
- ◆ This month the Youth Violence Initiative will announce its new board including Steve Case and perhaps Oprah Winfrey. Throughout the year, the Initiative will have additional policy announcements and accomplishments to announce with you.

6. National Service

This is one of your signature programs and we must continue to highlight this theme. Last year we developed a communications plan to give Americorps a higher profile, with your help Americorps' profile rose. This year Americorps is on the path to reach 100,000 volunteers. We plan to showcase this achievement by adding service events with Americorps volunteers to your schedule.

Americorps would like you to participate in National Service Day on April 17; we are tentatively holding a couple of hours on your schedule for service. We will also ask the Vice President whether he is interested in speaking at the CityYear event.

7. Race

As President, you have effectively used public speeches, the Race Initiative and now the "One America" office to elevate and redefine the American dialogue on race. We will continue to weave these issues into the fabric of everything we do. As you know, you will travel to Selma, Alabama on March 5 to join the walk across Pettus Bridge. We will also look for more communities like Fairfax, Virginia to highlight the multi-ethnic nature of America. We recommended establishing a process to help bring the race book to completion. Your guidance is needed on whether to proceed.

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D. Unfinished legislative business

This section outlines some of the issues that will be at the center of the political debate. Some pundits are predicting that nothing will get done legislatively—especially on these issues. We believe, however, these issues can be raised above political cynicism and, in some cases, passed into law. The issues are:

- ◆ Patients Bill of Rights
- ◆ Minimum Wage
- ◆ School Construction (tax proposal)
- ◆ Common Sense Gun Control
- ◆ Campaign Finance Reform
- ◆ Hate Crimes
- ◆ Equal Pay

E. Consumer Protection

You have been very successful in demonstrating how government can protect citizen consumers. Work is being done on the following issues to produce policy initiatives and executive actions for your review that will continue your success in these areas.

- ◆ Food Safety - including GMOs
- ◆ Airline Safety
- ◆ Medical Privacy
- ◆ Financial Privacy

II. Message Vehicles & Venues

As we discussed, it will become increasingly difficult to dominate the news. In addition to honing our message, delivery and amplification, we will need more of your time to maintain public leadership on key initiatives. You agreed to the strategic options set out below as additional means to improve the media's coverage of the issues.

◆ The Press

- ✓◆ Continue to hold one press conference each month
- ✓◆ For key issues, put time aside for one-on-one press interviews and roundtable discussions to build up to or to amplify an issue or event
- ✓◆ Write "op eds" and other articles to amplify specific initiatives or positions
- ✓◆ As your administration draws to a close, develop a strategy for print and electronic media to put your imprimatur on the "legacy" stories that will be written.

◆ Speeches

The speech format is an excellent medium for you to deliver your message and vision. The challenge is to find topics that will leave a lasting “footprint” while being sufficiently provocative to generate news.

In addition, to giving some key speeches, we also recommend that you consider using this year’s commencement addresses to outline your important accomplishments and to outline your vision for the future as you did in the SOTU. One suggestion is to mirror your three 1992 speeches on foreign policy, the economy and opportunity. Returning to this format would provide you with a “book-end” opportunity to remind your audience of your promises while discussing your accomplishments. As we develop a list of colleges and universities for your consideration, we will include community colleges and colleges where the tuition tax credit would make a big difference.

◆ Anniversaries

We will take full advantage of anniversaries to lift topics and initiatives that may be more difficult to bring to focus in this political year. You indicated an interest in being involved in the dates that are in **bold**. We are currently reviewing a proposal to dedicate a memorial to the victims of the Oklahoma City bombing.

Kick Butts Day—April 5

World Health Day—April 7

National Youth Service Day—April 17

Oklahoma City Bombing—April 19

Columbine Anniversary—April 20

Earth Day—April 22

Mother Day's/Million Mom March—May 14

Women 2000 General Assembly—June 5-9

Father's Day—June 18(Fatherhood Initiative)

Title IX Anniversary—June 23

ADA Anniversary—July 26

Balanced Budget Act—August 5

Welfare Reform Bill—August 22

Back-to-School—Sept 5 – 8

World AIDS Day—December 1

◆ Domestic Travel

Traveling to specific venues may provide unique opportunities to increase exposure for some initiatives like National Monuments, Lands Legacy, Agriculture and guns. Additionally, there is also one state you have not visited—Nebraska. We will work on planning a trip to Nebraska. You indicated you are interested in returning to Alaska and Hawaii.

You asked that we carefully review the states where we will hold message events to maximize coverage and impact. We are reviewing the following states: Pennsylvania—outside Philadelphia, Ohio, Missouri, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Connecticut, Vermont, Maine, Washington and Oregon.

◆ National Conventions

We will review the list of organizations that will be hosting national conventions in Washington, DC. Where appropriate we will use these venues as opportunities for you to speak to a specific issues or “drop-by” the event.

◆ Fundraising Venues

Throughout the year you will be speaking at a number of fundraising events. We suggest using these venues from time to time to discuss policies that you have officially announced earlier in the day. For example, on February 29 we are planning to have a state-by-state report on Medicare prescription drug coverage. Your fundraising speeches later in the day may provide a perfect venue to amplify the report.

◆ The White House

You would like to use the ceremonial power of the White House to recognize individuals who have benefited from your policies. Additionally, you indicated that you would like to invite supporters, members of your cabinet and others to Camp David or to the White House to thank them. Nancy will follow-up.

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James D. Wolfensohn

Limiting the Scope of the World Bank

During the past few days a good deal of coverage has been focused on the Meltzer Commission Report on the International Financial Institutions, and what it might mean for the World Bank. Let me take this opportunity to lay out some real concerns that we at the bank have, and also to set the record straight.

We are, of course, pleased that the issue of poverty reduction should be headline news. We share the commission's concern that more must be done by all the players in the fight against poverty, and we applaud all who broach this difficult subject. We also welcome the commission's call for debt relief, and we hope that funding support from Congress will follow it. This is crucial.

We nevertheless believe that a number of the commission's proposals are based on a fundamental misreading of the development challenges we face today. Poor people in developing countries will be the losers if these proposals are implemented.

If the World Bank were to withdraw entirely from Asia and from Latin America; if it were to stop lending to countries with a per capita income above \$4,000 a year, it would cut out the marginalized, the poorest, the excluded who live in these countries.

Private-sector investors will not fund the improvements in health, education and other essential public services that people need to pull themselves out of poverty. Moreover, if the World Bank were to stop lending for anti-corruption work, good governance, regulatory reform and institution building, it would cease to create the kind of enabling environment that can attract private funds to countries and areas

that currently receive little. No other organization is doing this work on a global scale.

A critical strength of the World Bank is its ability to learn from developing countries in all regions of the world and to reflect those lessons in its policy advice and operations and in its global research programs. Under the commission's proposal to devolve country programs to regional development banks, our clients would

Poor people in developing countries will be the losers.

be limited to countries in Africa, the Middle East, Europe and the former Soviet Union. This would undermine the World Bank's global character at the very time that the demands of globalization are pointing in the opposite direction.

The loss of the bank's cross-regional perspective and the synergies it generates would hurt everyone—especially the poor of the developing world. But the burden would fall heaviest on the 2.2 billion people living on less than \$2 per day in Asia and Latin America, since the bank would no longer be involved in country programs there. We would need to withdraw our support for maternal health in Bangladesh, AIDS programs in India, legal reform in Thailand, social security reform in Brazil, financial sector reform in Mexico and so on.

Reflecting other commission recommendations, we also would need to withdraw from im-

portant country programs in Europe, such as Poland, where we have supported the creation of market-friendly legal and regulatory frameworks and financial sector and health care reforms.

Nor do the commission's recommendations seem to be supported by sound analysis and careful use of statistics. The report states that 70 percent of the World Bank's non-concessional lending goes to 11 countries that have substantial access to capital markets, but it ignores the fact that these countries are home to more than 60 percent of the poor people in the developing world. The report's authors also fault the bank for neglecting its own insight that aid can be effective only in countries with good policies. But in 1997-99, the best-performing countries annually received almost five times more International Development Association resources per capita than poor performers.

We have changed, and we are changing. By the late 1990s, the financial sector and the social sectors—such as education and health—absorbed about a quarter each of total annual World Bank lending, up from around 5 percent each during the early 1980s. None of this is reflected in the commission's report. Nor is the fact that our operational performance has improved markedly over the past few years. Instead, the report bases much of its argument on a distorted use of statistics on bank effectiveness.

We welcome debate. But we need to test the commission's recommendations against the challenges that we face on the ground every day. Unfortunately, against this measure I believe that many of them significantly miss the mark.

The writer is president of the World Bank.

Sandy
Is it true?
By

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Army Says It Likely Will Slow Plans To Build Lighter, More Mobile Force

By GREG JAFFE

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Army, pleading poverty, says it likely will slow its ambitious modernization plans to build a lighter, more mobile force capable of operations ranging from peacekeeping missions to full-scale war.

Instead of buying new equipment to reorganize two brigades a year, it is far more likely that the Army will now re-equip only one a year, said Army Secretary Louis Caldera.

Earlier this year the Army predicted that the total cost of the modernization program was expected to run about \$70 billion over the next 12 years. The Army's budget, if continued at current levels, would cover only about half of those costs, according to Mr. Caldera.

Slowing the program will allow the Army to pay for its modernization without a large budget increase over the next few years, he said. But the decision also carries risks. Both Gen. Eric Shinseki, Army chief of staff, and Mr. Caldera have argued that by committing now to modernizing two brigades a year they would be better able to ensure the effort isn't sidetracked by bureaucratic inertia or the change of administration.

The Army is asking Congress for about \$1 billion in 2001 to jump-start the modernization program. In January, the Army said it would use that money to reorganize two brigades that will feature lighter, faster armored vehicles than the 70-ton tanks the forces are built around now.

"We still will make the case that we would like to do two brigades" a year, Mr. Caldera said. "But this is not an all-or-nothing proposition. We don't want to play into the hands of those who say if we cannot do two brigades a year we should do none at all."

Support for the idea of transforming the Army remains strong throughout the Pentagon. But there is concern within Congress that the current plan is simply the latest in a series of modernization plans proposed and then sidetracked as other priorities emerged. Doubts also remain about whether the Army will be able to find the money to execute its ambitious program in the years beyond 2001.

Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman John Warner (R., Va.) recently warned that the Army's modernization plan and its \$1 billion outlay for 2001 were "in jeopardy," because there wasn't enough money to build lighter, more mobile forces—the heart of the program—and continue to buy all of the other updated weapons the Army has requested.

In recent weeks, the Army has worked furiously to try to free up the money to convince leaders in the Senate that it could carry out the modernization program.

Specifically, the Army has seriously considered cutting back its purchase of 1,200 Comanche attack helicopters, at a cost of about \$43 billion, by as much as half, though a smaller reduction is more likely. The Comanche is made by Boeing Co. of Seattle and United Technologies Corp., Hartford, Conn.

The need to create lighter, more mobile units has taken on new urgency since the conflict in Kosovo. Commanders quickly learned their M-1 Abrams tanks were too big to roll through the region's narrow villages. The brigades the Army hopes to create will be able to better operate in places such as the Balkans. With the lighter combat vehicles, the forces will be more air mobile and able to get to the battle faster than the Cold War-era counterparts that dominate today's Army.

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The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 10, 1999

David Ignatius

A U.S. Government Hedge Fund?

What makes official Washington interesting, despite itself, is the opportunity every now and then to encounter an institution beetling away in the obscurity of the federal bureaucracy, protecting its little piece of turf and fending off its critics.

The Federal Home Loan Bank system is such an institution. Created in 1932 to pump liquidity into the newly established savings-and-loan industry, the FHLB (known on Wall Street as "Flub") lives on in the prosperous, well-capitalized 1990s like a beached whale.

And what a whale! Amazingly enough, the Federal Home Loan Bank system is the nation's largest borrower in terms of daily volume—bigger even than the U.S. Treasury. According to the newsletter *Grant's Interest Rate Observer*, the system's 12 banks borrowed a total of \$1.8 trillion during the first nine months of 1998, much of it overnight, compared with the Treasury's \$1.4 trillion.

So what do the FHLB banks do with all that money? Well, they use most of it to perform their traditional mission of lending money (in what they call "advances") to the system's roughly 6,800 members, which today include a mix of commercial banks, insurance companies, credit unions and thrifts. (The S&Ls the system was created to help have now mostly disappeared.)

But here's the kicker: It turns out that the good of Federal Home Loan Banks are using roughly a third of their borrowed money to invest in financial markets, following "arbitrage" strategies that allow them to profit from the spread between the cheap money they can borrow as government-backed institutions and the higher rates they receive in the commercial money market.

What we have here, in other words, is a kind of hedge fund embedded in the U.S. government—or at least something that operates very much like one, in that it uses borrowed money to make highly leveraged arbitrage investments. And this at a time when the nation's top financial officials are trying to

discourage speculative investments by private hedge funds!

Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, for one, is not amused. He sent a tart letter a week ago to the House Banking Committee, complaining that the Federal Home Loan Bank system has "fundamental problems." With a total of "\$350 billion in government-subsidized debt outstanding," he noted, "it uses little of this debt to further its public purpose of expanding homeownership."

Rubin sharply criticized the FHLB's investment activities. He urged "curtailing the use of subsidized funds to make overnight money-market loans and hold a \$150 billion investment-arbitrage portfolio."

Like many of Washington's long-running mysteries, the Federal Home Loan Bank saga is a tale of a bureaucracy that just won't quit—backed by key patrons on Capitol Hill and a network of well-connected friends around the country.

The indefatigable bureaucrat, in this case, is Bruce Morrison, chairman of the board that regulates the FHLB system. An amiable and articulate former congressman, he says he agrees with critics that the FHLB shouldn't be engaging in arbitrage investments.

"My policy is to reduce the arbitrage, as far as the structure of the Federal Home Loan Banks can go," he explains. Since taking over as chief regulator in 1994, he says, he has reduced the system's money-market investments to about 20 percent of its total from 40 percent.

"The Treasury says glibly that we should act quicker—move this ball faster," says Morrison. But that would be a mistake, he says, since it would mean smaller dividends for the system's members, who might then withdraw their capital suddenly—producing instability. The system is too big to try anything risky, in other words—an argument somewhat similar to what investment banks and hedge funds say when regulators discuss new rules on their speculative activities.

Like any good Washington story, this one has a political angle. During the early 1990s, when

FHLB's arbitrage investments began to take off, the system's best friend on Capitol Hill was Sen. Alfonse D'Amato of New York, who was the senior Republican on the Senate Banking Committee.

D'Amato, it turns out, was a longtime personal friend of the president of the Federal Home Loan Bank of New York, Alfred A. Dellibovi, who served in the New York state assembly back when D'Amato was Nassau County executive. (A spokesman for Dellibovi agrees that the two are friends and says, "That assured we were given a fair hearing" in Washington.)

The Federal Home Loan Bank system might have meandered along unnoticed by most of the world if one of its friends in Congress hadn't tried to push legislation this year that would allow the system to borrow even more money. The details of this dispute—which involves how to measure the system's capital—are complicated. The issue is now moot, since the proposal was beaten back in the House Banking Committee last week.

And who, you might wonder, has emerged recently as the sharpest critic of the Federal Home Loan Banks? None other than the Big Daddy of government-backed housing lenders, Fannie Mae, which appears to be worried about what it regards as unfair competition from its rival.

Fannie Mae contends that since the FHLB's stock is owned by its 6,800 members, most of which are federally insured, it doesn't have a normal "at-risk" capital base; Fannie Mae, in contrast, raises capital by selling shares to the public. (Morrison says he just wants equal treatment, with the FHLB and Fannie Mae "put under the same microscope and measured by the same ruler.")

Morrison offers a radical proposal. He says he agrees with some analysts that a case could be made for privatizing all three government-supported financial giants, the FHLB, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac.

But that isn't going to happen, politically, Morrison says. And he's probably right. Nothing in Washington ever dies. This is a town where the dinosaurs live on forever.

Gandy
What about this?
[Signature]

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Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Get
Real on
Kosovo

Karl Kraus, the famous Austrian journalist and playwright, once observed that European wars were caused by diplomats who lied to journalists and then believed what they read in the newspapers.

One is reminded of that aphorism today when listening to U.S. and NATO officials insist that they are still committed to building a multi-ethnic Kosovo — despite the murderous inter-ethnic violence still going on there, and the obvious desire of the Pentagon and NATO to get out of Kosovo forever.

It's time U.S. and NATO officials stopped fibbing to themselves and then believing their own quotes. It's obvious that the Kosovar Serbs and Albanians hate each other and have no intention of living together in the idealistic multi-ethnic state that the Clintonites once envisaged.

Now it might be momentarily satisfying to just walk away, telling both sides: "You people deserve each other. Why don't you just slug it out and call us when you're exhausted." But that would only lead to another bloodbath and refugee turmoil. Like it or not, the U.S. and NATO do have an interest in stability in the Balkans — if for no other reason than that it would allow them to focus on more important problems.

Since we can't walk away, our real choices are clear: Either we disarm the warriors of Kosovo or we disarm the warring politics of Kosovo. That is to say, when dealing with an unfinished civil war, in which people hate each other but are still living side by side, one option is to use overwhelming force to disarm the whole population and then stand guard on every street corner until they learn to love each other. At a time when NATO wants to reduce its troops in Kosovo, this option is not realistic.

That leaves the other option — disarming the politics of Kosovo. Right now the politics of Kosovo is always on the verge of explosion, because neither of the big parties — the Serbs nor the Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army — is content or exhausted. The K.L.A. is using the U.S. zone in Kosovo as a privileged sanctuary to infiltrate southern Serbia and aid ethnic Albanians living there, while the Serbs are infiltrating men and matériel into northern Kosovo to protect their people there.

The only way NATO can reduce its presence in Kosovo, without it blowing up, is by doing what NATO did in Bosnia: disarm the politics by tacitly partitioning the country. Bosnia is stable today because the key factions were exhausted by four years of war and got what they wanted: their own ethnic zones. Once the dividing lines were stable, all NATO had to do was patrol them. And once the parties in Bosnia were secure in their own

space, they were more willing to reach out to one another.

To disarm the politics of Kosovo, NATO needs to convene the parties and redraw the map or impose a new one. One idea would be to move the Serbian border with Kosovo near Mitrovica to the south — to encompass the biggest pocket of Serbs still living inside Kosovo. In return, the Serbs would be asked to give the Kosovo Albanians the two small counties of Serbia along Kosovo's eastern border, where a large number of Albanians still live. That would create much cleaner dividing lines. Then NATO could make Kosovo a self-ruling republic of Yugoslavia, with a promise to consider independence sometime in the future.

Finally, NATO could tell the Serbs that if they agreed to this land swap the sanctions on them would be lifted. The Serbs would get out of their deep economic hole. The Albanians would have self-rule. And NATO could patrol the fence between them.

True, this would mean the world would effectively have two Albanias — the original Albania and a new Kosovo Albania. Although the Albanians have not shown any capacity for running one state properly, let alone two, Europe will have to live with it.

A broken Kosovo is no place to be experimenting with multiculturalism or affirmative action. As Stalin would say, talking of a self-sustaining, multicultural Kosovo today is like talking about "hot ice or dry water." Our interest is that Kosovo, like Bosnia, be a place where the different ethnic communities can live apart, stably, until they choose to live together again, and where the U.S. and NATO can ensure that stability at the lowest cost. Since the Kosovo war ended before a stable dividing line could be established there, we need to draw that now. Without a stable dividing line we will always be peacekeepers in a land with no peace to keep. □

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Worries Rise Over Effect of Antibiotics in Animal Feed

*Humans Seen Vulnerable
To Drug-Resistant Germs*

By MARC KAUFMAN
Washington Post Staff Writer

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A 66-year-old woman was recovering from a heart bypass in a hospital near Detroit when she suddenly developed respiratory failure and a serious infection. Doctors quickly gave her an antibiotic that usually works. This time, however, it didn't. The bacteria causing the woman's infection were resistant to the drug.

The woman's doctors immediately turned to a newly approved antibiotic, a powerful one designed specifically to attack the kind of dangerous antibiotic-resistant microbes that had infected her. But her physicians were dismayed to find that drug didn't work either—the bacteria in her body were resistant to it as well. The woman died soon after.

Cases like this around the country have caused rising alarm among infectious disease doctors and public health experts. They are also at the center of an increasingly acrimonious dispute now before the Food and Drug Administration over how antibiotics are used in this country—specifically, how farmers use them to promote the growth of livestock.

Experts have long known that the overuse of antibiotics by doctors and their patients has reduced the ability of those drugs to cure infections. Now there is mounting evidence that the antibiotics widely used on farm animals are also diminishing the power of important antibiotics to help people.

Giving animals antibiotics in their feed can cause microbes in the livestock to become resistant to the drugs. People can then become infected with the resistant bacteria by eating or handling meat contaminated with the pathogens.

"Many of us believe there is a tremendous overuse of antibiotics for animals," said Marcus Zervos, an infectious disease specialist at William Beaumont Hospital in Royal Oak, Mich., who was involved in the Michigan case. "There is some very strong opposition to our view that animal antibiotics are under-

dermining antibiotics for people, but this whole area has to be reconsidered."

Most of the antibiotics used on the farm are not administered to treat sick animals. Instead, farmers feed livestock a low-level diet of antibiotics to attack bacteria that might require the animal's body to expend energy to kill off. This allows animals to grow more quickly and, from a producer's point of view, more efficiently.

But this practice has increasingly become the focus of concern. Researchers have already found evidence that the use of antibiotics on farms has led to an increase in antibiotic-resistant cases of food poisoning caused by campylobacter and salmonella bacteria in people.

Now, doctors and researchers point to the antibiotic the Michigan woman received—Synercid, an important drug-of-last-resort in fighting life-threatening infections—as a case study illustrating why they are so concerned.

While Synercid was approved for human use only last fall, a closely related drug called Virginiamycin has been used on livestock since 1974. Researchers have found Virginiamycin-resistant bacteria in as much as 50 percent of su-

permarket chicken, turkey and pork. That alone causes concern that the effectiveness of Synercid is already significantly reduced in humans.

"It's clear that the use of Virginiamycin to promote the growth of

food animals is a hazard to human health," said Frederick J. Angulo of the federal Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC). "It's difficult to track the chain of evidence we need to say for certain that the Virginiamycin in animals

results in resistance to Synercid in humans. But we do believe the seeds for Synercid-resistant [bacteria] were planted on the farm, and are likely to blossom in hospitals."

Defenders of animal antibiotics say the scientific evidence linking Virginiamycin resistance in animals to Synercid resistance in humans remains inconclusive, and that animal antibiotics in general pose no immediate danger to people. Studies have found Synercid resistance in 1 percent to 4 percent of humans tested, they point out, and that is far below the rate of Virginiamycin resistance found in animals.

"We're not at all convinced, based on the data, that Virginiamycin is the cause of the Synercid resistance, however minimal, in the human population," said Carl Johnson of Pfizer Inc., which developed Virginiamycin and later sold the rights to Synercid to Aventis Pharmaceuticals. "We believe it is coming from hospital use."

Others see a need for immediate action. In Europe, officials have already banned the farm use of Virginiamycin and three other growth-promoting antibiotics, following recommendations from the World Health Organization. Legislation to impose a similar ban in the United States was introduced in Congress last year by Rep. Sherrod Brown (D-Ohio). And consumer and public health groups petitioned the FDA last year to stop the use of any drugs used as animal growth promoters that are also used to treat diseases in people.

In response, the FDA is trying to fully understand and quantify the risk to humans posed by antibiotic use in animals, and will undertake a formal risk assessment of Synercid and Virginiamycin this spring.

"Experts are saying they're seeing resistance to Synercid, and that it must be coming from the animal use of Virginiamycin," said Sharon Thompson of the FDA's Center of Veterinary Medicine. "That is exactly the concern we are looking at. We're collecting information now and there will be a thorough review."

More than a year ago, the FDA proposed new guidelines to limit the spread of antibiotic resistance, and late last year claimed authority to require drug companies to prove any new animal antibiotics won't dangerously increase antibiotic resistance in humans. In the future, FDA officials said, the agency will also review some animal antibiotics already on the market, and will require new testing and new standards for those closely related to vital human antibiotics.

The FDA's actions have left drugmakers and livestock producers worried and angry. They say that animal antibiotics have been safe and very useful for decades, and that farmers need them to keep their animals healthy and growing as fast as they can. Without them, American meat and poultry would not be as safe from disease-causing organisms, and prices would rise as well, they say. And they complain that the FDA has already imposed a "de facto moratorium" on new animal antibiotics while the proposed guidelines are debated.

The FDA "is adding new requirements for resistance information never asked for in the past, and almost impossible to actually gather now," said Richard Carnevale of the Animal Health Institute, which represents pharmaceutical companies that supply farm drugs.

"In essence, we can't get products approved because we can't learn what we have to prove," he said. "One company has been working for more than a year on a protocol [to test antibiotic resistance], and the FDA is never satisfied and just tells them to keep tweaking."

Carnevale asserted that the FDA slowdown in animal antibiotic approvals has discouraged drug companies from investing in the costly development of new antibiotics for humans, too.

Livestock growers also are fight-

1/2

ing efforts to limit antibiotic use. They consider the medications essential to their business, and are rushing as well to protect the FDA from what they consider to be non-scientific influences.

"Unlike Europe, we want to make sure decisions are based on science alone here," said Gary M. Weber of the National Cattlemen's Beef Association. "At this point, we don't see any evidence of an identifiable problem regarding antibiotic resistance from animal feed. And in the absence of good science showing that, we think it would be a real blunder to ban or limit its use."

The European Union asserts that governments can take action when they believe a health danger is present, even if it cannot be scientifically proven at the time. But the U.S. Trade Representative has opposed the ban—supporting the U.S. industry position that the risks of animal antibiotics have not been scientifically assessed—and has threatened to take its case to the World Trade Organization.

Researchers agree that many aspects of antibiotic resistance remain unresolved. But they say that more precise methods of studying bacteria on the molecular level have recently allowed them to demonstrate that resistant forms of at least two common bacteria—campylobacter and salmonella—are being passed from animals to humans. These organisms have become increasingly resistant to antibiotics known as fluoroquinolones—which include the most widely used antibiotic to treat food-borne infections, Ciprofloxacin.

Researchers found that chicken treated with fluoroquinolones were being colonized by campylobacter bacteria resistant to the drug, and that those bacteria were being passed to humans. An FDA-commissioned risk assessment concluded in December that at least 5,000 Americans will suffer longer bouts of campylobacter food poisoning annually because of fluoroquinolone resistance passing from chicken to people.

The threat from Synercid-resistant bacteria is potentially greater, because the drug generally is used to control infections when a patient's immune system is already severely compromised—during organ transplants and chemotherapy, for instance. But the pathway from Virginiamycin resistance in animals to Synercid resistance in humans is more complex than with campylobacter or salmonella.

Virginiamycin in feed produces resistance in bacteria called enterococci, which inhabit the intestines of humans and animals. They generally do not cause disease, and so there is no inherent risk involved with their development of antibiotic resistance. They can, however, become very dangerous if their resistance transfers to other enterococci that inhabit human wounds, catheter infections and other hospital-acquired contagions. Synercid was approved to attack a dangerous form of enterococci resistant to the antibiotic that used to be doctors' last resort, Vancomycin.

Researchers believe that animal resistance to Virginiamycin is appearing as Synercid resistance in those now very dangerous enterococci. But the scientific debate over this is fierce, and the newest scientific methods have not conclusively traced Synercid resistance in humans from Virginiamycin resistance in animals.

"The Synercid story is just starting to play out," said J. Glenn Morris of the University of Maryland in Baltimore, a specialist in the field. "We know we have a major problem on our hands in terms of antibiotic resistance in our hospitals. The question about Synercid is whether we'll act to protect it now, or just accept the risk that it and other important antibiotics may become ineffective sooner because of this animal use."

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Julian C. Gilman
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The President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
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MICHAEL H. VAN DUSEN
DEMOCRATIC CHIEF OF STAFF

March 16, 2000

The President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Mr. President:

Once again, I am writing to you with regard to one of my constituents, Mr. Brian Pearson from Pearl River, New York.

As you are aware from my previous correspondence to you, Brian is among a number of potential Irish deportees awaiting a decision from the Administration on whether or not he will be allowed to remain in the United States. On March 27th, 1997, Hon. Phillip Williams, Federal Immigration Judge, finding that Brian did not pose a threat to the security or safety of the United States, granted him Political Asylum and Permanent Residency Status. However, the Immigration and Naturalization Service appealed the decision and, on September 9, 1997, at your direction, Attorney General Janet Reno suspended all deportation proceedings, including Brian's.

Since his arrival in the U.S. and subsequent residency in the Village of Pearl River, NY in my district, Brian, his wife Doris and their daughter enjoy an excellent reputation in their community. Moreover, since the suspension of his case over two years ago, Brian, a loyal family man and dedicated member of the community, has reaffirmed the decision of Judge Williams. However, due to the continued suspension of his case, Brian has been unable to truly enjoy the privileges and rights afforded to every American, including the right to travel to Northern Ireland to visit his ailing mother. Surely, from a humanitarian perspective this is unfair to both Brian and his family.

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton – page 2
March 16, 2000

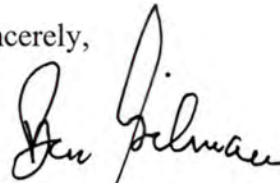
As your service to our nation draws to a close, I am concerned that the unresolved case of Brian Pearson and the other Irish deportees will unduly force both him and his community to continue to bear this burden of uncertainty and to begin their work anew. I remain confident that a complete suspension of the proceedings against Brian will be of a great benefit to both he and his family, as well as to their community. In addition, it would also facilitate his later travel to visit his ailing mother.

As the current void in progress on the Northern Ireland peace process continues, your direction to the Attorney General to withdraw the appeal would be a significant humanitarian gesture on behalf of the United States, a positive step forward towards reconciliation, and would help fill the current political vacuum in search for peace in Northern Ireland.

Accordingly, I respectfully request your assistance in resolving this unfortunate situation. Thank you for your time and consideration.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,



BENJAMIN A. GILMAN
Chairman

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

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~~Mr. President~~

Glad I had called
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 wants to talk to you
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 Argentina is here
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 you to mention something
 to him. He & the others are
 working on this project -
 at

371-6050

*Gene - very impressive
wants to help on
Digital Divide in
DC, Detroit*

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contact him BC*

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AND
CHILDREN

Lee Fisher

President & Chief Executive Officer

Western Reserve Building
1468 West Ninth Street, Suite 225
Cleveland, Ohio 44113-1220

Bob Nash - He says he can't get
a call back for
6 mos. What's the deal? BC.

216/241-6400 x201
216/241-3277 Fax
E-mail: lfisher@c4fc.org

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resolved - if not,
should do nice
letter, offer a video

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 2, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT *SS*
LAURA GRAHAM *LG*

RE: Willie Mays Commemoration Event

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Schedule Overview

You are currently scheduled to be in NY with the First Lady Wednesday March 29th - Saturday April 1st, returning to Washington with the First Lady on the afternoon of April 1st. You depart for Las Vegas on the morning of Sunday, April 2nd for afternoon DNC events and then proceed to San Francisco for DCCC events. On Monday, April 3rd you address the DLC in San Jose before returning to Washington that evening.

Invitation

Peter Magowan, President, San Francisco Giants, has invited you to participate in the Willie Mays Commemoration/Opening Ceremonies for Pacific Bell Ballpark, the new home of the Giants, on Friday, March 31st. Senator Boxer, Senator Feinstein and Representative Pelosi have also written in support of this request. This event begins at 11:00 am with the Willie Mays Statue Unveiling before an audience of more than 3000 invited and public guests. The Giants are scheduled to play the Milwaukee Brewers in an exhibition game at 7:35 pm that evening. Festivities continue on Saturday, April 1st with a game against the N.Y. Yankees at 7:35 pm.

Option

Should you wish to attend the Willie Mays Commemoration Event you could depart NY on the evening of Thursday, March 30th, remaining in San Francisco/Palo Alto through Sunday, April 2nd.

Would you like to attend the Willie Mays Commemoration Event on March 31st?

Yes _____ No _____

Attachments: Block Schedule and Invitations



PETER A. MAGOWAN
PRESIDENT AND
MANAGING GENERAL PARTNER

January 20, 2000

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

Dear President Clinton,

This Spring, the San Francisco Giants will open Pacific Bell Park in downtown San Francisco. This new ballpark is the first privately financed baseball park in this generation.

To commemorate the opening of the ballpark and one of the greatest ballplayers of all time, Willie Mays, we will be hosting a very special event on Friday, March 31, 2000 at 11:00 a.m. At that time, we will unveil a statue commemorating Willie Mays and invite the public inside the ballpark for the first time. We respectfully ask you to join us for this historic occasion.

I truly believe this is an event you would enjoy and wish to participate in for several reasons.

1. Willie Mays is our game's greatest living player – many would argue the greatest who ever played the game. The "Say Hey Kid" is universally respected for his infectious enthusiasm and passion for the game.
2. This event will be similar to the dedication of the Hank Aaron statue. Your involvement brought national attention to Hank's great achievements. Your involvement would bring similar honor to Willie and his inspirational career.
3. This will be a major event in Northern California. Our entire team will be there, plus coaches and manager. We expect thousands to attend the ceremonies. It will be very much like the groundbreaking ceremony we held back in December of 1997. We are playing the Yankees (for the first time since the 7th game of the '62 World Series, by the way) the next day, so there should be excellent representation from the New York press – even the political/business press who might be considering why the taxpayers should be asked to build a ballpark for the Yankees when the Giants have been able to do it privately. With Willie's fabulous career beginning in New York, there remains tremendous affection for Willie in New York.

4. Our ballpark is just the kind of development that you have supported. First, it is an entirely privately financed project (the first one in 35 years) – so we are demonstrating the kind of self reliance and initiative that you have encouraged us to develop. Secondly, it is the best kind of urban renewal. The ballpark construction project has produced about 1,000 jobs. The Giants directly create 800 full time and 2,100 part time jobs. Indirectly, we create another 700 jobs in hotels, restaurants, bars, taxis, etc. We estimated we bring about \$125 million annually in business to San Francisco. Further, all this urban renewal is occurring in an area of the city that used to be rundown – but now is alive with new housing, restaurants and businesses. A renewal that we believe has occurred in part because of our project. Our project is also a good example of how to encourage public transportation.

5. Our event is scheduled for Noon, Friday, March 31st. We thought you might welcome a Friday event that would allow you to spend some time with Chelsea. We would, of course, be honored if Chelsea would attend our event.

In summary, I think this will be a major event, and, very positive and enjoyable. It would be a great honor for the Giants organization, Willie Mays, and baseball fans everywhere if you could participate in this dedication. It would make the day memorable for thousands.

Thank you very much, President Clinton, for your consideration.

Sincerely,



Peter A. Magowan

Cc: Honorable Barbara Boxer
Honorable Dianne Feinstein
Honorable Nancy Pelosi

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515

January 25, 2000

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

Dear Mr. President:

On March 31, 2000, the San Francisco Giants will be hosting a special event to unveil a statue commemorating Willie Mays and to mark the opening of the new Pacific Bell Ballpark. Peter Magowan, President and Managing General Partner of the Giants, has written to invite you to join the Giants and the citizens of San Francisco for this special day. We are pleased to transmit Mr. Magowan's invitation and hope you will be able to attend this ceremony.

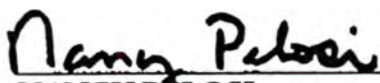
As you know, Willie Mays is one of the greatest ballplayers of all time. This statue will give appropriate public recognition to the contributions that the "Say Hey Kid" has made to baseball, the San Francisco Bay Area, and America's youth. Atlanta has honored Hank Aaron, New York has honored the heroes of the Yankees. San Francisco is proud to honor Willie Mays.

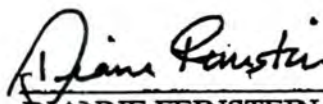
The San Francisco Giants' new ballpark is the first privately financed ballpark in 35 years and stands as a strong symbol of urban revitalization. Ballpark construction has produced about 1,000 jobs. Access to the park by public transportation was a major consideration in its development and the results can serve as a model nationwide.

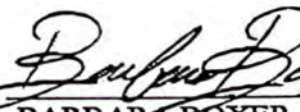
We hope you will be able to join the San Francisco Giants and their many fans in Northern California in honoring Willie Mays and celebrating the opening of Pacific Bell Park.

Thank you for your consideration of this invitation.

Sincerely,


NANCY PELOSI
Member of Congress


DIANNE FEINSTEIN
United States Senator


BARBARA BOXER
United States Senator

Enclosure



Cynthia P. Schneider
Ambassador

03-18-00

NSC

Send to Scheduling?

Yes ☒

NO

cc: Scheduling

to Coordinate with NEE?

Yes ☐No ☐

-S.C.

ited States of America
Netherlands

9, 2000

00 MAR 18 AM 9:49

The President
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President

I am writing once again to ask whether you might be able to find time for a short visit to Margraten Cemetery in the Netherlands in connection with your trip to Germany in early May. Only ten minutes from Aachen, Margraten is the largest American cemetery outside France with more than 8,000 American veterans buried there. May 4 and 5 are the official Remembrance and Commemoration days in the Netherlands because this country was liberated on May 5, 1945. This year the May 5 liberation ceremonies will have an American emphasis since I have been invited to deliver the keynote speech and Leonard Slatkin will be conducting the special open air concert on the evening of May 5 in Amsterdam. In addition, the Lockerbie trial will open on May 3 in the Netherlands, providing a reason to thank this country for its support.

To have you visit Margraten Cemetery, hopefully in the company of Prime Minister Kok (who, you will remember, has requested to meet with you in Washington since last September), would mark in an unforgettable way the strong bonds of friendship between our two countries. Your visit to Aachen in early May offers a unique opportunity to do so -- at the cost of only one-two hours.

I might add that the region around Margraten (the Province of Limburg) gives extraordinary support to American veterans, their families, and their memory. School groups adopt individual grave sites; families host veterans and their descendants on Memorial Day; veterans parade through the streets every year. In the words of one American veteran, "The Dutch are not friends to us; they are family."

Mr. President, I hesitate to bother you with yet another demand on your time. I do believe, however, that an extraordinary opportunity will be missed if you are not able to make the short trip across the border around the occasion of the liberation to the symbolic center of American-Dutch friendship. I have no doubt that such a visit, however short it might have to be, would make a lasting impression on you and would be forever remembered by the Netherlands.

NSC - I believe
this is copy of
something you
already have.
Please confirm.
(u)

Respectfully yours,

Cynthia P. Schneider

Cynthia P. Schneider

LAW OFFICES OF
WINEGARDEN, WINEGARDEN & HIMELHOCH

ATTORNEYS AT LAW
AN ASSOCIATION OF ATTORNEYS CONSISTING OF SOLE PROPRIETORSHIPS AND A PROFESSIONAL CORPORATION

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JEROME D. WINEGARDEN, SR.
(1914-1995)

EVELYN WALDMAN
(Of Counsel)

March 16, 2000

00 MAR 20 P-4119

President of the United States
The White House
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

My client (who is also signing this letter) would like to express her thanks for your compassion, understanding, and dedication to all mankind. You have our eternal, infinite gratitude for personally sharing our grief and trying to see that Kayla's senseless death made a difference to our country. Her spirit which lives on in her family, friends, and hopefully all of America, will not end in part because of your supreme efforts to love, honor, and cherish her beloved memory.

To those who took issue on your visiting with Mr. and Mrs. McQueen, shame on them.

We look forward to meeting with you along with the surviving McQueen children who are attending a new school as the McQueen family attempts to rebuild their devastated lives. Thank you for the invitation, the McQueen's look forward to seeing you again. God bless you and your entire family.

Sincerely yours,

J. Dallas Winegarden Jr.
J. Dallas Winegarden, Jr., for and on behalf
of the Veronica McQueen family.

Thank you again,

Veronica McQueen
Veronica McQueen

3-18-00

Should we put in
system? Yes X
No _____
Burkhardt
System
Send to Burkhardt
for reply? Yes X
No _____
coord. w/
Balderson;
DPC
counsel's office Carl

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 20
'00 MAR 20 PM 4:10

hisl -

This letter was sent to me
~~asking~~ from Kayla's mother
Thanking the President for
meeting with them. They
wanted me to pass them on.

Kris Balderson



3-15-00

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20502

March 16, 2000

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: NEAL LANE *neal*

CC: JOHN PODESTA

SUBJECT: OSTP WEEKLY REPORT

copied
Entire Report
here
Podesta
Pg 1
Street H

Joint-Statement on Human Genome Receives Praise

The world's scientific community was very grateful for your joint statement with Prime Minister Blair, and your speech at the Medals of Science and Technology event on the importance of making the raw human genome sequencing data publicly available. Even the financial world warmed to the statement after investors initially misunderstood the meaning and implications behind the statement, causing a large-scale sell-off of biotech stocks. Wall Street analysts soothed those concerns the next day, calling the statement "good news" for biotech, helping to stabilize the genomics companies, and leading to a rally among the broader biotech sector.

House Budget Resolution to Harm Science & Technology

After failing on a party-line vote to increase the General Science, Space and Technology budget function to your requested levels, the House Budget Committee on ~~Wednesday~~ cut \$1.2 billion from this subset of your overall R&D request. ~~This cut represents an 8% cut from your proposed budget.~~ Funding cuts of this size would decimate your initiatives in information technology and nanotechnology, and would, for example, result in 8,000 fewer researchers, educators, and students receiving NSF support.

PATH - Coming to a Mall Near You

OSTP has helped arrange for the construction of a home on the Mall to demonstrate your Partnership for Advanced Technology in Housing. The home will be similar to those being built in San Fernando, California where you announced the PATH initiative in May 1998. The 2400 sq. ft. house will be open to the public over the weekend of May 6-7, and is projected to attract 70,000 people.

So far, 45 PATH homes have been sold to low and medium income families in the San Fernando area, most of them first-time homeowners. The heating/cooling costs are guaranteed to be no more than \$38/month - making them less than one-fifth of the current national average. In addition, the amount of wood used has been reduced by 33 percent. The developer said that after your announcement he was able to get "buyin" and cooperation from his subcontractors, local government, local utilities, manufacturers and suppliers. The first people moved into their new homes in November 1999. This partnership clearly is a success, and we look forward to the wide visibility the May 6-7 event will give to the initiative.

U.S.-India S&T Dialogue

I will co-chair the inaugural meeting of the U.S.-India High Level Dialogue on Science and Technology on March 24 in Hyderabad. The purpose of this event is to define areas of promise for future cooperation and to move forward an S&T relationship that has been stalled for the past year and a half. The Dialogue will involve world renowned scientists, high technology

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Dr will

executives, and government officials. It will also serve to advance the new Science and Technology Forum (Fund) promoted by Ambassador Celeste, which you will announce in Hyderabad. The Dialogue participants will attend your speech at the High Tech City.

Good News, Bad News: U.S. Biodiversity Twice Original Estimate, But 1/3 Is Imperiled

The Nature Conservancy just released a 25-year compilation entitled "*Precious Heritage; the Status of Biodiversity in the United States*." It concludes ~~our country contains 21 of the 28 kinds~~ of ecological regions in the world – such as deserts, grasslands, different kinds of forest and tundra – and 5 more than its nearest rival, the former Soviet Union. The U.S. hosts more than 200,000 species of organisms – about 10 percent of the known species on earth, but up to a third of them are vulnerable due to environmental degradation. The Conservancy announced \$1 billion in new money to protect the wild landscape by buying up large parcels of land or securing conservation easements. They will now try to evaluate whether potential acquisitions can persist intact as climate changes, a criterion they had not considered before OSTP briefed their International Leadership Council last year.

Pigs Cloned

The U.S. base of a Scottish biotechnology company, PPL Therapeutics, announced on Tuesday (3/14) the birth of the world's first cloned pigs. PPL, which cloned Dolly the sheep three years ago, used a more advanced technology to produce the pigs. The goal is to create a line of pigs whose organs could be transplanted into people without causing an immune response leading to rejection of the organs. The newly cloned pigs do not yet have that genetic alteration, but the company seems confident that the next step is imminent.



Transplanting animal organs into people, xenotransplantation, could eliminate today's agonizing decisions on how to allocate scarce donated organs for life-saving transplants. It could significantly reduce the tens of billions of dollars now spent annually caring for patients with organ failure. Xenotransplantation is controversial, however, not only due to the ethical issues involved, but because some believe illnesses could cross from pigs to humans. Nevertheless, the company believes transplantation of genetically altered pig organs could be tested on humans in four years and that analysts believe the market for them could be worth \$6 billion. It is important to note that this project was partially funded by the DOC's Advanced Technology Program (ATP). The ATP project at PPL Therapeutics is a three-year project, begun in 1999. The projected budget is \$3.5 million of which the ATP share is \$2 million.

Iridium – The Sky is Falling

If no last minute deal is made to stave off bankruptcy, Iridium's 80 satellites will soon be decommissioned. Rather than leave them floating through space where they could interfere with operational satellites, the company announced plans to lower their orbits so they reenter the atmosphere. An interagency group plans to evaluate the potential risk to people and property associated with any Iridium deorbit plan. On average, one man-made object reenters the atmosphere every day, so the Iridium "deorbits" are not expected to add significantly to these risks. OSTP will continue to closely monitor this situation.