

Jerome Green & Associates

Attorneys at Law

111 Center Street, Suite 1840

Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Telephone (501) 375-4100 • Telefax (501) 375-2712

EB 5/14/00

Staff Sec

May 5, 2000

'00 MAY 16 PM 6:17

via Airborne Express

Mr. William J. Clinton, President
United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D. C. 20500

Re: ATRIP Grant to Hermitage Tomato Cooperative

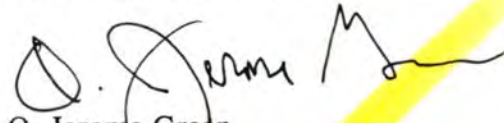
Dear President Clinton:

This letter is to request your personal attention and support for the grant application submitted by the Hermitage (Arkansas) Tomato Cooperative for \$750,000 in ATRIP funds to replicate the Arkansas tomato project in the Republic of Uganda.

This project was recognized as a model during your New Markets tour. Uganda officials have reviewed the project and have asked the Hermitage Tomato Cooperative to come to Uganda. Enclosed is a copy of the proposal currently under consideration.

Sincerely,

JEROME GREEN & ASSOCIATES


O. Jerome Green

OJG:sjf

Enc.

cc: Mr. Bob Nash

5-16-00

To Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒ *No* ☐

coordinate w/ NSC, counsel

Coordinate with

NSC? Yes ☒ *No* ☐
NEC? Yes ☒ *No* ☐

B.



Hermitage Tomato Cooperative Association

P. O. BOX 239
HERMITAGE, ARKANSAS 71647

COPY

February 22, 2000

Mr. Arthur Westneat
Office of Sustainable Development
Bureau of Africa
U.S. Agency for International Development
Ronald Reagan Bldg. Room 4.6-114
14th and Pennsylvania Ave. N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20523-4600

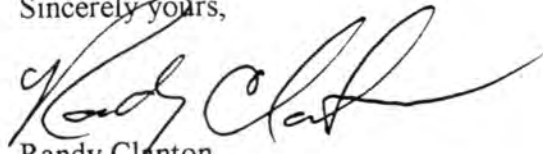
Re: Application for Business Linkage Grant

Dear Mr. Westneat:

Attached is our application for a Business Linkage Grant with attachments.
Thank you for your consideration.

Please contact me or Larry Yancey at 501-372-2121 (lvancey@catlaw.com) for
Questions or comments about our application.

Sincerely yours,



Randy Clanton
President

COPY

Hermitage Tomato Cooperative Association -Ugandan Project

This Application for a business linkage grant is submitted to the US Agency for International Development ("USAID") by Hermitage Tomato Cooperative Association ("HTCA") of Hermitage, Arkansas. The amount of the request is \$765,000 as detailed in the attached Budget Summary.

Scope.

This application for a USAID grant is for a feasibility study and initial implementation of a US/Ugandan Joint Venture project for the planting, harvesting, packaging, promotion and marketing of Ugandan grown fruits and vegetables. The initial and primary fruit will be tomatoes and the project will include both sizing, packaging and marketing of whole tomatoes as well as processing of tomatoes into derivative products, e.g. ketchup, sausa, juice, etc. The marketing emphasis for these products will be in international trade including US markets. The project will be capable of handling other fruits and vegetables but the initial emphasis will be on Ugandan grown tomatoes. Inherent in the project will be the development of Ugandan agricultural organizations, primarily the development of a farmer's cooperative system, and technology transfers of proven American agriculture technology and equipment.

Proposer.

The Proposer is HTCA, which is an agricultural cooperative, founded and operating in South Arkansas since 1997. The Proposer is a nonprofit tax-exempt organization and qualifies as an agricultural cooperative association under Arkansas law and all jurisdictions of the United States in which it conducts business.

HTCA is the outgrowth of a very loose knit organization of over twenty years of tomato farmers in Bradley County Arkansas. The initial number of members of the cooperative was fifteen (15) and it has now grown to twenty-four (24). After twenty years of an informal and loose organization, these tomato growers decided to formally organize an agriculture cooperative in 1997. The purpose of the formal organization was to enhance the marketability of the home grown tomato product and expand the markets, assure market value pricing for the products, eliminate duplication of activities among growers, share and reduce expenses, and provide for an organized board of directors of five (5) elected directors to provide management for the project. HTCA has been successful and today a national market for Bradley County tomatoes truly exists. For FYE 8/31/99, the gross revenue of HTCA was \$5.3 million.

The Board of Directors of HTCA has researched the issue and believes that the development of an agriculture cooperative system in Uganda for tomatoes is both promising and needed. The board of directors of HTCA wants to pursue the project. An initial approach has been made to the Ugandan Ambassador to the United States and will be discussed in greater detail below.

HTCA has been recognized by President Clinton when he visited Hermitage, Arkansas, last November and dedicated an expansion of the HTCA facilities as part of his New Markets Initiative. A copy of Rural Cooperative magazine featuring HTCA and President Clinton is enclosed. Also enclosed are copies of the resumes of Randy Clanton, President of HTCA, Brian Ferrell, Purchasing Agent and Assistant Sales Manager of HTCA, and HTCA references.

Policy Challenge/Development Problems.

If successful, this project will provide increased markets for US products in Africa and Ugandan products in the international marketplace. The developmental problems that will be addressed begin with the basic organization of agricultural growers. All farmers who get their hands dirty on a daily basis and are at the risk of the elements of nature are not prone to formal organization, regardless of whether it is in Bradley County Arkansas or Uganda. The benefits of organizing an agricultural cooperative are plentiful but will require education and training for the comprehension of the benefits. The primary benefit is for the grower to be assured of a fair market value price for its produce. To accomplish this, it is necessary to cut production cost, eliminate duplication, streamline operations and allow for an organized marketing and promotional approach to develop long distance markets.

It will be necessary to introduce and upgrade technology beginning with fertilizer, supplies and proven agricultural techniques to enhance the fruit. A total survey must be made of existing procedures for growing and harvesting the fruit in Uganda. After harvesting, the next primary function is cleaning and packaging tomatoes for access to the

marketplace. Often the packaging of tomatoes for the market (both in the US and Uganda) consists of washing the tomatoes and placing them in open crates in a public market area. There is existing technology and equipment in the United States that provides incredible upgrades to the washing, sizing and packaging of tomatoes. It is not feasible to use the latest technology nor the equipment on small quantities of tomatoes. When the number of tomatoes to be processed grows significantly because of the organization and dedication of the growers into one unit, the benefits of streamlining of activities and the elimination of duplication become apparent.

The final problem to be addresses is a feasible methodology of access to international markets, delivery and collection of revenues. An agricultural cooperative can provide a central clearinghouse for these activities and provide a final accounting to each grower. The single most convenient benefit for the grower is to look only to cooperative for payment and eliminate the worries and troubles of collecting on bills, which are owed by companies outside the local area.

Implementation/Approach.

The approach proposed by HTCA is to access and understand the current situation in Uganda with "hand-on" experience and personal visits with growers and buyers. Education and training of the growers is a critical step in this project. The feasibility of pursuing such a development must be carefully studied and credibility with the growers must be earned. HTCA proposes to develop a model, or prototype, to demonstrate the value of the cooperative system to local growers. It is anticipated that the access to expanded international markets and the ability to assure an even market

value sales price for the products will be a significant tool for the implementation of this project. Technology and equipment (to scale) will be used to establish the model/prototype for the cooperative system and processing facilities.

African Partners.

The President of HTCA, Randy Clanton, has recently met with Edith Ssempala, the Ugandan Ambassador to the US. The purpose of the meeting was for Mr. Clanton to disclose and explain the intended project and measure the reception of the Ugandan Government. Mr. Clanton was warmly received and attached to this application is a letter from the Ambassador outlining the level of cooperation and receptiveness to be expected from the Ugandan government. Upon award of this grant, a trip to Uganda is anticipated by all necessary parties for several purposes but primarily to enter the necessary protocols and other instruments ensuring the Proposer of Ugandan government cooperation.

Ugandan soil, climate and growing seasons are especially conducive for the growth of high quality tomatoes. It is expected that the project will be located in close proximity to Kampala or Entebbe.

On-Going US Activities.

The Proposer will survey all United States agencies, e.g. USDA, DOT, TDA and other USAID projects to determine current activities in Uganda and neighboring countries for the purpose of coordination of activities. It is anticipated that the ultimate project to be developed will be a combination of government/private ownership in this vital industry.

Eventual Results.

The eventual results of this project will be to have one or more well organized or functioning agricultural cooperatives in Uganda for tomatoes and other fruits and vegetables that are produced in this area. Total private ownership is a future target for this agricultural cooperatives but it is anticipated that an interim period for development will require some form of Ugandan government sponsorship/ownership until the education and training necessary for growers is completed. The logical outgrowth of such a result is to open US markets for agricultural supplies, agricultural equipment and harvesting technology while also allowing Ugandan products to be more accessible to world markets, including the US.

We appreciate the opportunity to submit this application. During your review process, please feel free to call Randy Clanton at 1-800-531-3363 or Larry Yancey at 501-372-2121 (lyancey@catlaw.com).

HTCA-Ugandan Project

Budget Summary

Real Estate Acquisition	\$200,000
Demonstration/Prototype Project	\$250,000
Training	\$150,000
Economic Feasibility Consultants	\$50,000
Infa-Structure Consultants	\$100,000
Permits & Licenses	<u>\$15,000</u>
	\$765,000

HTCA-Ugandan Project

Budget Narrative

Real Estate Acquisition (\$200,000) – necessary funds for the acquisition of sites for prototype processing plant which will probably be a lease; also, these funds will be used to acquire options for future sites for expansion and easements for private roads to be developed to allow access for growers to the processing facility.

Demonstration/Prototype Project (\$250,000) – necessary funds for the acquisition of agricultural equipment (including shipping and installation) and speciality fertilizers, materials and supplies for the prototype.

Training (\$150,000) – necessary funds for personnel costs (including travel and lodging) to provide adequate training for Ugandan farmers to be educated on the benefits of an agricultural cooperative system and provide training for improved planting and harvesting systems along with usage of the processing facility.

Economic Feasibility Consultants (\$50,000) – anticipated fees and associated travel costs for a qualified economic consultant to assist in the feasibility assessment of a permanent facility specifically including access to markets and marketability of the product.

Infra-Structure Consultants (\$100,000) – anticipated fees and associated travel costs for qualified consultants for governmental, cooperative and legal issues regarding an agricultural cooperative system in Uganda, plus administration of the grant.

Permits & Licenses (\$15,000) – anticipated fees for governmental permits and licenses for project.

Randy H. Clanton

Education

- 1969 – 1974 University of Arkansas at Monticello Monticello, AR
Bachelor of Science in Business Administration
- Cum Laude, GPA 3.34
 - Minor in Accounting

Professional experience

- 1970 - 2000 Randy Clanton Farms, Inc. Hermitage, AR
President, CEO

- Founded company to raise and market tomatoes for market sale.
- Generated broad customer base throughout Mid-western United States.

- 1988-1997 Hermitage Farms Inc. Hermitage, AR

President

- Co-owner/founder of farming operation, producing approx. 100 acres of vine-ripe tomatoes annually.
- Vast experience in all areas of tomato production and processing.

- 1997-2000 Hermitage Tomato Cooperative Association Hermitage, AR

President / General Manager / Sales Manager

- Arranged for financing of cooperative organization.
- Ongoing management of the upgrade and expansion of processing equipment and facilities.
- Organized sales of all cooperative's production, 1998 to present.
- Handled public relations for cooperative activities.

References

Dan Wingard, President
Farmer's Bank
PO Box 350
Hamburg, AR 71646
(870) 853-5222

Jim Searcy, CPA
Searcy Sanderlin, Saffold, LTD
PO Box 418
Monticello, AR 71655
(870) 367-3580

Rev. Bobby Meggs
PO Box 247
Hermitage, AR 71647
(870) 226-5301

2714 Hwy 8 S.
PO Box 300
Hermitage, AR 71647

Phone (870) 463-2244
Fax (870) 463-2770

Bryan A. Ferrell

1980 - 1982

University of Arkansas, Fayetteville

Majoring in Marketing

Completed 82 hours in marketing curriculum coursework

1984 - 2000

Bryan Ferrell Farms, Inc.

Hermitage, AR

President, CEO

- Began corporation to raise and market tomatoes for market sale.
- Established large customer base throughout Mid-western United States.
- Manages farming operation which produces approx. 60 acres of vine-ripe tomatoes annually.
- Knowledgeable in all areas of tomato production and processing.

1997-2000 Hermitage Tomato Cooperative Association Hermitage, AR

Secretary / Purchasing Agent / Assistant Sales Manager

- Assisted in arranging financing of cooperative organization.
- Purchased and accounted supplies for approx. 400+ acres of vine-ripened tomatoes.
- Assisted in management of facilities and operations of the cooperative including public relations.
- Assisted in sales of the production generated by the cooperative, 1998 to present.

Den Wingard, President
Farmers Bank
PO Box 350
Hamburg, AR 71646
(870) 853-5222

Charles Searcy, CPA
Searcy, Sanderlin, Saffold, LTD
PO Box 418
Monticello, AR 71655
(870) 367-3580

Rev. Vernon Colvin
PO Box 111
Warren, AR 71671
(870) 226-7174

Customers

The Kroger Co.
Don Poole
800 Ridge Lake Blvd.
Memphis, TN. 38119
(901)547-6431 Phone
(901)547-6443 Fax

Tom Lange Co. Inc.
Jim Griswold
800 E 1st Street
Suite 300
Wichita, KS. 67202
(316)263-1040 Phone
(316)263-0271 Fax

So Fresh Produce Sales
John Wieschan
200 S. 10th Neuhaus Tower
Room 1004
McAllen, TX. 78501
(956)682-2485 Phone
(956)682-1179 Fax

Arkansas Tomato Shippers LLC
Brooks Lisenby
557 E Frontage Rd #21
Nogales, AZ. 85621
(520)377-2877 Phone
(520)377-2874 Fax

OffShore Produce Inc.
Charles Porter
18520 S W 244th St.
Homestead, FL. 33031
(305)242-1202 Phone
(305)242-3020 Fax

Fleming Companies, Inc.
Bruce Bolton
18383 Preston Road
Suite 500
Dallas, TX. 75252
(972)906-8202 Phone
(972)906-1425 Fax

Supervalu Inc.
Craig Underhill
3003 S. Florida Ave.
Suite 202
Lakeland, FL. 33803-4050
(941)687-3641 Phone
(941)687-4623 Fax

Banker

**Farmers Bank
Dan Wingard
P. O. Box 350
Hamburg, AR. 71646
(870)853-5222 Phone
(870)853-2333 Fax**

Suppliers

**Reddick Fumigants
P. O. Drawer 391
Williamston, NC 27892
(252)792-1613 Phone
(252)792-4615 Fax**

**International Paper
3000 South Arkansas Street
Springhill, LA 71075
(318)994-6261 Phone
(318)994-6275 Fax**

**Bradley Co. Farmers Assn.
200 North Bradley
Warren, AR 71671
(870)226-7587 Phone
(870)226-5019 Fax**

**Irrigation Mart, Inc.
3303 McDonald Ave East
Ruston, LA 71270-7412
(318)255-1832 Phone
(318)255-7572 Fax**



EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

5911 16TH ST., N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20011-2896

TELEPHONE: (202) 726-7100 • 726-0416
FAX: (202) 726-1727
TELEX: 440338 UGDA, UI.
E-MAIL: UGEMBA55Y@AOL.COM

OUR REFERENCE

February 22, 2000

Mr. Randy Clanton
Hermitage Tomato Cooperative Association
P.O. Box 248
Hermitage, Arkansas 71647

Dear Mr. Clanton:

It was a pleasure to meet you on your recent visit to Washington, D.C. and discuss your anticipated project. The Government of Uganda will openly welcome the development of your project. You can expect support from our Government in the following areas:-

1. Assistance in the facilitation of any applications for permits or licenses to conduct business in Uganda.
2. In-kind services to assist your project in logistical matters or general administrative support.
3. Assistance and support of the Ugandan Investment Authority, especially to identify and introduce you to potential joint venture partners for the full development of your project.
4. Promotion of your project, and the products so produced, in national and international markets.

We are very happy about your interest in Uganda. We believe you will be satisfied with the cooperation that will be offered to you by our government. I understand that you will file an application for a grant with USAID to assist in this project, and you are authorised to submit a copy of this letter with your application to demonstrate the interest and support of our government.

Please contact our office if we can assist your project.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Edith G. Ssempala'.

Edith G. Ssempala
AMBASSADOR

Caggiana

5-16-00

Copied
Marshall
Podesta
Herrnreich
Streetl

I'd love to see them
As they try to group - Be

Mr. President

Personal

4442 Hawthorne Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20016

5-16-00
Rhoda Joyce Glickman

May 6, 2000

Dear Mr. President -

Only a mother can do this -
He would love for you to see
our son Jon's next movie -
SHANGHAI NOON starring Jackie
Chan. (Darry thanks it's a good
luck omen for passing PNTK.)
The movie is Disney's major

Memorial Day Week-end release -
The first will be available from
that time on -

Please let me know how
I can help. (After seeing your
fantastic video at last week's
dinner, we know this is one
good way to fill up your
free time! -

My best - Rhoda

Iranian Rights Activist's Backers Assail Bid to Deport Her

By LORRAINE ADAMS
Washington Post Staff Writer

The federal government is seeking to send back to Iran a women's rights activist who was tortured for four years by the Khomeini government and received political asylum in the United States in 1995, a deportation that her supporters contend is part of the Clinton administration's recent overtures to Tehran.

Mahnaz Samadi, 35, is being held in a rural Alabama jail under the authority of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. If INS efforts to deport her are successful, there is a high likelihood the Iranian government will execute her, her attorneys and some members of Congress say.

"Sending messages to foreign governments should not involve the taking of people's lives," said Sen. Robert G. Torricelli (D-N.J.). "She faces certain death. This is outrageous. It cannot be permitted to happen."

A State Department official said Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright's conciliatory March 17 speech on Iran was in no way related to the case. "We are not taking any steps, public or not public, to push this thing forward," a department official said yesterday. "The suggestion that

State is behind this attempt at deportation in order to curry favor with the Iranians is wrong."

The INS declined to comment and said it stood by an April 27 letter sent to Samadi's attorney by INS Assistant District Director Juan A. Campos. In it Campos said the INS is seeking Samadi's deportation because she was—for a seven-month period in 1993 and 1994—a member of a terrorist organization. That group, the National Liberation Army (NLA), is the armed wing of the Mujahedin e-Khalq (MEK) Organization. The State Department designated the NLA a terrorist organization in 1997.

The terrorist designation has been a source of controversy, with more than 100 members of Congress signing a statement last fall criticizing the Clinton administration for labeling as terrorist a group that they see as made up of freedom fighters. They say the State Department has also designated Iran as a state sponsor of terrorism and that the policy on Iran is confused.

The administration has argued that Iranian government abuses do not excuse alleged NLA attacks on civilians.

The INS, however, has not offered evidence of Samadi's role in incidents involving civilian attacks. Nor has the INS

charged that she was involved in the NLA since she came to the United States in 1994—three years before the State Department designated the NLA a terrorist organization. Instead, the INS argues that when she applied for asylum in 1995, she "failed to disclose her terrorist activities on behalf of the NLA," according to Campos's letter.

In her 1995 asylum application, Samadi was not asked about the NLA. A copy of the application shows that she was asked about membership in "any organizations or groups in your home country." She freely admitted her opposition to the regime—it was the basis for her seeking asylum. The NLA was an Iraq-based armed group and did not qualify as a home country organization.

Samadi was born in Iran in 1965. She became active as a high school student in protesting the treatment of women under the Khomeini regime in 1981. The government imprisoned her over a four-year period that ended in 1986. During that time, she was sexually assaulted and tortured, and she witnessed the torture of her younger brother, who was ultimately executed.

She fled to Iraq in 1993, where she lived for seven months in NLA camps active along the Iran-Iraq border. She arrived in the United States in 1994 and was granted

political asylum in 1995 based on her torture and resistance to the Iranian regime. Samadi has lived in the Washington area working as a speaker on Iranian human rights and women's issues.

"Why after five years is she suddenly a security risk?" asked Jay Fredman, one of Samadi's attorneys, who noted that her arrest—in Ottawa on Dec. 23—came in the midst of charges that Canadian intelligence had been lax on terrorism. That criticism followed the Dec. 14 arrest of an Algerian man crossing the border from Canada into the United States with a carload of explosives. He had been living in Montreal for four years.

"You had a situation where everyone in the U.S. said to Canada—Congress held hearings—you are [a] sieve for terrorists. We have more terrorists entering the U.S. from Canada than any other border," Fredman said. "So, Canadian intelligence service said, 'Aha, someone who is identified with a terrorist organization is here. We arrested a terrorist!'"

Canadian Security Intelligence Service spokesman Dan Lambert called Fredman's statements "irresponsible" and said that Samadi was arrested because "she is an MEK leader." The last time Canada arrested and deported an MEK leader was in 1993, he said. He would not comment on

why other Iranian MEK members are living in Canada and have been granted political asylum.

Canada deported Samadi and escorted her under armed guard to the U.S. border at the One Thousand Island Bridge in New York state on April 3. She was immediately arrested by U.S. authorities at the border and has since been in custody in jails in Buffalo, Syracuse, N.Y., South Fulton, Ga., and in Alabama. In addition to having been restrained with leg irons and chains, she has been subjected to strip searches.

The strip search "happened at a local county facility that does not contract with INS; and that is a local facility policy. It is not an INS policy. That's not something we have a say in," said an INS spokesman.

An Ottawa friend of Samadi, Zahra Mirzakhani, 39, said she saw Samadi last month at a hearing in Atlanta, where the INS has filed the deportation case.

Because of Samadi's torture in Iran, Mirzakhani said she is concerned about the conditions under which her friend is being held. "Her arms were injured because they had handcuffed her for the 3½-hour drive. There were cuffs on her feet, and she was chained. There were bruises on her arms and wrist, and she had lost a lot of weight."

copied
Podesta



5-16-00

Brew / Butt /
Sis / Ricchetti / Wala
Gross summary of
Sup. Ct decisions
on guns
for

May 8, 2000

Ms. Nancy Herrreich
The White House
West Wing
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Nancy:

The President wanted this material. I talked to him about it last time we were together. It concerns research on the legalities of gun control. He wanted the details for his own information and pressed me on it. Would you please pass this material on to him?

Sincerely,

TONY CAMPOLO

copied
Reed
Nolan
Blumenthal
Ricchetti
Echaveste
Podesta

Bill Ayres, 10:42 AM 02/26/20, Information from a Fellow Chri

Return-Path: <tonycam@tonycampolo.com>
 Resent-Message-Id: <200002271703.MAA13199@beacon.eastern.edu>
 Subject: Information from a Fellow Christian Academic
 Date: Sat, 26 Feb 2000 10:42:02 -0800
 Resent-Date: Sun, 27 Feb 2000 09:13:33 -0800
 x-sender: tonycam@tonycampolo.com
 From: Bill Ayres <bayres@uindy.edu> (by way of Chris Redner, <credner@tonycampolo.com>)
 Resent-From: "Chris Redner" <credner@tonycampolo.com>
 To: "EAPE" <eaape@eastern.edu>

Dear Dr. Campolo,

I am writing in response to a small bit of your writings which I came across recently. I should say up front that I have enjoyed your writings and words over the years. As an undergraduate I was privileged to hear you speak at Williams College (in a speech I will likely never forget, titled "It's Friday, Sunday's A-Comin'!"). As I have pursued my own career in academia (as a political scientist), I have continued to be impressed with your ability to mix first-class scholarship with a strong and consistent faith. For this, you have my thanks.

The particular piece to which I wish to respond is one of the essays in your work, Is Jesus a Republican or a Democrat?, which I have been listening to in audio format recently. One of the essays is titled "Should Christians Support Gun Control?" (or words to that effect; the disadvantage of audio books is that you can't check the text). Early in this piece, you make a common assertion: that the Constitution of the United States guarantees individual citizens' rights to possess firearms. From this, you conclude that the NRA is therefore, at least in part, simply supporting existing American law on this issue (although you go on to take issue with their tactics and with different types of military hardware).

The problem I wish to bring to your attention is that core assertion, that individual citizens have a Constitutionally-guaranteed right to possess firearms. Although this is widely believed to be the case (most surveys will indicate that 75-80% of Americans believe this to be true, regardless of their feelings about guns), and it is certainly at the heart of the NRA argument, as a matter of law it is false. Briefly explained, the Supreme Court has consistently ruled that the second amendment applies not to the relationship between government and the individual, but between the federal and state levels of government (as embodied in the "well-regulated militia" clause). I will outline the relevant Supreme Court cases briefly (there are very few 2nd Amendment cases in the history of the republic; indeed, the record is remarkable for the consistency of opinion shown over 150 years, in contrast to the varying interpretations of other Bill of Rights amendments). I would note for emphasis that in 1991, retired Chief Justice Warren Burger directly criticized the NRA's position, saying that the Second Amendment "has been the subject of one of the greatest pieces of fraud, I repeat the word 'fraud', on the American public."

* 1876, *United States v. Cruikshank*: The Supreme Court ruled that gun ownership by individuals "is not a right guaranteed by the Constitution. Neither is it in any manner dependent upon that instrument for its existence. The Second Amendment declares that it shall not be infringed; but this, as has been seen, means no more than that it shall not be infringed by Congress." The implication - upheld in subsequent court decisions - was that the states are free to restrict or regulate gun ownership.

* 1886, *Presser v. Illinois*: The Supreme Court ruled unanimously that states can ban "private armies" and otherwise regulate militias. The Court held that states, not individuals, have the right under the Second Amendment to form well-regulate militias, saying "We think it clear that

Bill Ayres, 10:42 AM 02/26/20, Information from a Fellow Chri

the sections [of law] under consideration, which only forbid bodies of men to associate together as military organizations, or to drill or parade with arms in cities and towns unless authorized by law, do not infringe on the right of the people to keep and bear arms." This ruling clearly repudiated the claim that individuals have a right to form their own militias.

* 1939, United States v. Miller: This was the first major test of a federal firearms law; Miller had been charged with violating the National Firearms Act of 1934 by carrying a sawed-off shotgun across state lines. In ruling against Miller's challenge to the law, the Court argued that the "obvious purpose" of the Second Amendment is to provide for effective state militia forces. Because of this, the Court argued, "In the absence of any evidence tending to show that possession or use of a 'shotgun having a barrel of less than eighteen inches in length' at this time has some reasonable relationship to the preservation or efficiency of a well-regulated militia, we cannot say that the Second Amendment guarantees the right to keep and bear such an instrument."

* 1982, Quilici v. Village of Morton Grove: This case involved a challenge to a Morton Grove, IL local ordinance which banned all handguns within the city limits. In its ruling on the case, the lower court stated, "We conclude that the right to keep and bear handguns is not guaranteed by the Second Amendment" - an explicit rejection of the individual interpretation of the Amendment. The Supreme Court let the ruling stand without comment, dissent or hearing - in legal terms, a message that not only did the Court agree with the ruling, but that there was not even enough difference of opinion or Constitutional concern among the Justices on the issue to warrant their hearing the case.

[Note: These cases, and arguments surrounding them, are summarized in Peverill Squire, et. al., *Dynamics of Democracy*, 2nd Edition (Brown & Benchmark Publishers, 1997), pp. 112-116; this is a commonly-used Introduction to American Politics textbook, which I use as a convenient resource as well as for my American Government classes. Its footnotes are excellent if you wish to pursue information in this area further.]

The record of the law, therefore, seems clear, even if it is not well-known: government, whether at the federal, state or local levels, is free to regulate the possession of firearms, or even outlaw the possession of firearms, so long as there is no infringement on the efficiency of "well-regulated militias" - which the court has generally held to be the function of the National Guard system, which took over for individual state militias in 1903. What astonishes me, as a social scientist, is not the substance of this argument - its legal outlines are both clear and logical - but the ability of the NRA and affiliated groups to "hush up" this basic and public truth from the rest of society. This truly is a "fraud", as Chief Justice Burger argued; moreover, it is one which is killing Americans in both body and soul - an obvious source of concern for any Christian.

I will say that my own position, as a Christian, mirrors yours, but given this closer look at the law, I am not afraid to advocate as a Christian for extremely stringent limits on firearm possession by individuals; indeed, I applaud Morton Grove's courage in banning the damned things (I use that word advisedly) entirely. Although I understand the necessity, in our broken world, of force under some circumstances (in the context of just war, for example), I cannot believe that the current state of affairs in the United States with respect to firearm possession is in accordance with God's will for us. Moreover, given the record of law, there is no legal impediment to changing the situation (although the political obstacles - the "principalities and powers" that surround this issue - are formidable).

I would note in closing a recent local incident in Indianapolis which throws doubt even on the secular self-defense arguments of the NRA and

Ayres, 10:42 AM 02/26/20, Information from a Fellow Chri

other similar groups. Some few nights ago, a man had stopped at a red light when another man in the passenger seat of the car next to his began shouting and making strange gestures. The latter man was drunk at the time, and apparently upset over various personal issues. The first man attempted to ignore the second by turning his head and hoping for the light to turn green quickly, as most of us would do. After some few seconds of this, the second (drunk) man pulled out a handgun and shot the first man in the face, blinding him (probably permanently) in the left eye. I cannot help but wonder what good it would have done for the first man to possess a gun for "self-defense" under those circumstances; clearly, his own possession of a firearm would not have prevented his being shot.

I wish you God's blessings and peace as you continue your work. I hope that I have been able to assist you in some small way in this area.

Grace and Peace to you in God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ,
-Bill Ayres

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"Reason explains the darkness, but it is not a light."
Noah benShea, _Jacob the Baker_

THE INCIDENT WAS SEEN

5-16-00

J. ROSS BAUGHMAN
203 PAYNE STREET SOUTH
ALEXANDRIA, VA 22314
(703) 549-3888

Copied
Morrison
Podesta
Herrnreich
Burkhardt
for Reply

Dear Mr. President,

I have a story that I think you'd like to know.

My ancestors arrived in the Ozarks and settled part of the White River well before Arkansas' statehood. They were hardshell Baptists, and Lyndon Johnson's grandpa was their preacher. They had always been mountain people, tracing back many hundreds of years through Tennessee, Virginia and into the heart of Switzerland and Germany; but we have Cherokee blood in our veins, too. Our old folks brewed their own White Lightnin' and so no one was much surprised that my grandpa turned out to be an alcoholic and died at a relatively young age in a traffic accident.

My father was ashamed to be from the Ozarks and overnight changed the way he pronounced his last name. He didn't want people thinking he was from around there, and many times he avoided his dad's family when they tried to stay in touch. Today he lives in Jacksonville, Florida, but my mom has decided to stay in Rogers. Her family descends partly from the Roosevelts of New York.

When I was growing up for a while in Branson, Missouri, well before most folks there knew about music, I played the bass drum in the Plum Nelly Days marching band. My brother Tom played the sax.

In high school, I was the vice-president of our student council and organized an assembly to help my classmates form their own opinions on the war in Vietnam. The loud jeering I got while introducing a local member of the Students for a Democratic Society kept me from finishing what I wanted to say. As editor of the official school newspaper, I put out a front-page story on student drug use that got the paper confiscated and burned by the principal. Even though I had tied academically for the rank of senior class valedictorian, I was denied the right to speak at graduation.

Not long after graduating from Kent State University, I relocated to London, England, and it was a life-changing experience. In 1978, at the age of 23, I became the youngest professional yet to receive a Pulitzer Prize in Journalism. I am enclosing one of the pictures from that portfolio as a gift to you. It shows a white soldier from the minority-rule army of Rhodesia interrogating prisoners at gunpoint. When the story appeared, it proved what Ian Smith's government had long been trying to deny, and drastically hastened the fall of his government.

Your election to the White House marked the only time I've ever gotten to vote for the winner, and it was a strange and wonderful feeling. My son Henry is only nine, but he already knows how important it is to participate in a democracy. When I see how well you understand compromise and the art of the possible — yet still take risks for principle and peace — it moves me to tears, especially because of the way so many of your opponents still treat you. Growing up, I feared that the game of life was hopelessly stacked against everyone who saw things the way I do. You have restored my faith in that way, and as well, my pride in where my family and I have come from. We share even more similarities that I cannot bear to write.

Perhaps all this explains why you are so profoundly and so personally my president. I hope that one day — maybe next year when things have quieted down — I'll have the honor of shaking your hand.

With heartfelt respect and appreciation,



Ross Baughman

- See him reply - tell him
I loved this photo
- Show him to him
Don't let radio address

cc: Herrnreich

BC

5-16-00

Seeking Its First Visit, Nebraska Hails the Chief

By MARC LACEY

WASHINGTON, May 7 — It will be eight stories tall, a huge contraption of steel and rocks and timber that will span a major highway in central Nebraska. The ribbon cutting for this unusual monument will be in July, and organizers are planning a grand affair with hordes of people, a mock buffalo stampede and, just possibly, but probably not, a speech by the president of the United States.

In the seven-plus years of his presidency, President Clinton has been to Colorado and Wyoming. He has visited South Dakota and Iowa. Kansas and Missouri together have been hosts to the president a combined 20 times. But poor Nebraska is the lone state in the union that Mr. Clinton has snubbed.

"The official reaction we've gotten from the White House is that the president's schedule has not been finalized and they'll get back to us," said Jeff Smith, an advertising executive from Omaha who is leading the uphill effort to lure Mr. Clinton to the dedication ceremony.

"But we've got to be realistic," Mr. Smith added. "Nebraska is not a heavily populated state, and it's not known as a Democratic swing vote in presidential elections. We'll probably have to book the governor."

There is less than 6,000 hours left in the Clinton presidency, a dwindling block of time that many people — the organizers of the Great Platte River Road Archway Monument among them — want to share. The monument commemorates a transcontinental route used after the Louisiana Purchase to open up the West.

Putting together Mr. Clinton's schedule in these final months is a delicate balancing act that involves squeezing together fund-raising dinners, presidential speeches and photo opportunities with golf games, foreign trips and overnight stays in Chappaqua, N.Y.

There are also weddings. Stephanie Streett, the woman who controls Mr. Clinton's day as assistant to the president and director of presidential scheduling, was married on Saturday in Fayetteville, Ark., and was able to pencil in her wedding on Mr. Clinton's schedule. It conveniently coincided with a fund-raiser in Little Rock, Ark., today for Hillary Rodham Clinton's campaign in New York for a Senate seat.

Virtually every minute of the president's days is booked, from his first meeting of the morning (usually around 9 a.m.) until what the official schedule calls "good night."

Of course, much of what occurs in the White House revolves around politics. Last week's education tour to Iowa, Ohio, Minnesota and Kentucky included, in his political role, Mr. Clinton's five Democratic National Committee fund-raisers on his schedule through June and several benefits for congressional candidates. Other appearances will be added around these five occasions, whether they are "message events" on a topic or, if a fund-raiser is in California, a side trip to visit his daughter Chelsea, in Palo Alto.

Some days can be a mishmash of disconnected events — like last Tuesday's speech to insurance agents, which was followed by a conference on raising teenagers and a talk to a roomful of experts on Latin America.

Five minutes of every day is set aside to brief Mr. Clinton on the schedule. Time is also reserved daily for briefings by John D. Podesta, the chief of staff, and Samuel R. Berger, the national security adviser. There is also a bit of wiggle room to respond to the day's news.

In White House lingo, aides refer to "toppers" as brief asides that the president makes at the top of a speech on an important news development. But reacting to breaking news can be risky.

On Feb. 29, when Mr. Clinton heard about one 6-year-old shooting another in Michigan, he mentioned it at a fund-raiser in West Palm Beach, Fla., but flubbed the facts about how the youngster got the gun.

Then there are "departure statements," remarks Mr. Clinton makes as he is heading to somewhere else.

"I am on my way to North Carolina for another leg of our New Markets tour to close the digital divide," Mr. Clinton said at one event. "But before I leave I want to say a few words about an important study that Senator Daschle, Congressman Gephardt and I have just been briefed on regarding the growing cost of prescription drugs and the burden these costs are placing on seniors and on disabled Americans." He was referring to Senator Tom Daschle of South Dakota and Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri.

Mr. Clinton's influence may be diminishing, but his aides say invitations from childhood friends, political allies and others continue to flow into the White House at a rate of about 250 a week.

"I said, 'I know how busy you are so please try to come,'" said George Frazier, an insurance agent from Hope, Ark., who made his pitch on Mr. Clinton's private fax line. "I said, 'We've invited you each year for seven years, and this is your last chance.'"

Mr. Frazier, who has known Mr. Clinton since the president was a teenager, invited him to a meeting of insurance agents in Washington last week. But the chances looked grim at first because Mr. Clinton had been scheduled to visit France while the insurance agents were convening at the Grand Hyatt.

When the trip to Europe fell through, the insurance group received a tip from a White House official, prompting the association to renew its lobbying effort. Eventually, the trade group received the good news from a presidential aide, days before its opening session. "You got

him," the aide said. "You got him for half an hour."

But the timing was not ideal. The aide asked if the group would switch its meeting to the evening because the president dislikes early morning events. That was impossible, so Mr. Clinton showed up about 8:30 a.m. His scheduled half-hour appearance stretched on almost two hours.

There are other idiosyncrasies that come with scheduling Mr. Clinton. He likes one day off a week. He routinely runs late. And he insists upon regular "O.T.R.'s," which is off-the-record time during trips. These visits, which could be a golf game or a stop at a local restaurant, are not announced ahead of time but are far from spontaneous. Secret Service agents inspect the fairways, or the restaurant kitchen, well before his motorcade pulls up.

"We set up the schedule to match his personality," said an official who has helped arrange the president's days. "He hates superficial, two-second conversations. He doesn't like late nights or early mornings. He likes events with real people who are doing things that are relevant."

Democrats in Nebraska consider themselves in that category, and Mr. Clinton has hinted that, along with trips to the Middle East, Vietnam, Northern Ireland and Africa, he would like to accept Nebraska's invitation before Jan. 20, 2001, arrives.

"It's a standing invitation," said Anne Boyle, chairwoman of the Nebraska Democratic Party. "It's been delivered by letter, more than one letter, and by Nebraskans who have visited the White House."

Mrs. Boyle is not upset that Nebraska has yet to appear on Mr. Clinton's schedule. "Sometimes when a president visits a state it's because of a natural disaster," she said. "If you look at it that way, we're lucky."

The New York Times

MONDAY, MAY 8, 2000

33 Ricchetti

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REL. PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-16-00

Federal Regulators Expected to Delay Financial-Privacy Rules Until Next Year

By GLENN R. SIMPSON

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Federal regulators are expected to delay enforcement of new financial-privacy rules until July 2001—even as the White House calls for a more extensive privacy law.

The rules, currently scheduled to go into effect in November, require firms to notify customers of their privacy policies and give them an opportunity to restrict how firms distribute personal data. But the Financial Services Coordinating Council, a new industry umbrella group, has launched a lobbying campaign, arguing that many companies won't be ready to comply with the complicated rules so quickly.

The development sparked immediate opposition in Congress, where Rep. Edward Markey (D., Mass.), a co-chairman of the Congressional Privacy Caucus, began collecting signatures from other privacy advocates for a letter urging Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan and other regulators not to delay the rules. "We are unalterably opposed to this proposal," the letter states, contending that "the financial-services industry has had ample notice and time to prepare for these new regulations." The privacy rules were part of the financial-services overhaul legislation that was enacted in November 1999.

The delay, which hasn't yet been announced, was reported by American Banker on Friday. Several industry officials said they have been told by regulators to expect the move, and administration officials didn't deny the report.

Banking, trade and securities regulatory agencies are expected to issue final regulations on the new privacy rules this week. Issuance of the rules won't be delayed, people familiar with the matter said, but firms won't be required to begin complying until July 2001.

Financial-services trade groups say Congress underestimated what it will take to comply with the new rules. "This is really a complex regulation," said Edward Yingling of the American Bankers Association. "The common wisdom in Washington, particularly among some of the politicians, is incredibly naive. It is really complicated," he said.

Mr. Yingling and others said companies will be required to examine their operations and determine exactly how they are using personal information, as well as to define the customers affected by the new rules. "You have to go into literally every nook and cranny of your organization and find out exactly what your people are doing," he said. Others said that new software must be written to carry out the process.

Markey letter urges regulators

to view claims about compliance difficulties "with great skepticism. It is not difficult for a financial institution to develop a privacy policy and provide consumers with a privacy notice."

The expected delays prompted skepticism about the seriousness of President Clinton's latest financial-privacy proposal, which was introduced in Congress last week and would require even greater efforts by companies to obtain customer permission for information-sharing. That legislation, if passed this year, could supersede the current rules before they ever actually go into effect.

Given the delay in carrying out last year's privacy law, the timing of President Clinton's speech a week ago calling on Congress for a new set of rules was "suspect," said Kenneth Guenther of the Independent Community Bankers Association.

"I think it's fair to say the president wants a political issue," he said. "The president knew and the Treasury knew that unless it gets to be such a hot political issue that [GOP congressional leaders] change their mind, it's not going anywhere. You don't change the rules of the game when you're already starting down a new path."

Administration officials insist they want to see the new legislation passed this year. They declined to comment on the record on Friday about the delay in enforcing last year's rules, a decision that will be made jointly by a group of independent agencies.

Makers of Processed Meats Will Test for Fatal Listeria

Dow Jones Newswires

WASHINGTON—The government will require the makers of hot dogs, bologna and other processed meats to test their plants for the deadly listeria bacterium, in an effort to reduce listeria-caused illnesses by half over five years.

Announcing the decision Saturday, President Clinton also said regulators would consider requiring new labeling for packaged meats to warn consumers about listeria, which kills about 500 Americans a year and sickens 2,000 more, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention in Atlanta. A third of the cases involve pregnant women, experts say.

The plan is one of a series of food-safety initiatives the Clinton administration has promoted recently, from eggs to genetically altered foods. The proposals might not take effect until after Mr. Clinton leaves office in January and could be blocked by Congress.

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5-16-00
Why the delay?
TSC

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Podesta

5-16-00

Lisbeth Gronlund and Kurt Gottfried

Missile Defense in a Vacuum

President Clinton's impending decision on whether to begin building a national missile defense system has produced a heated debate: How much will this system cost? What effect will deployment have on U.S.-Russian nuclear reductions? Few are asking the basic question: Will this system work? The answer is no.

The mission of national missile defense is to protect the United States from attacks by emerging missile states such as North Korea, which could in the future acquire long-range missiles armed with nuclear, biological or chemical weapons.

The United States is the world's strongest military power with the most advanced technology base, whereas North Korea is one of the world's poorest countries. Surely, you will say, missiles launched by such countries could not penetrate sophisticated American defenses.

They could. For even if the planned U.S. missile defense technology worked perfectly (a big if), the system could be defeated by relatively simple steps, called countermeasures, that would foil or overwhelm the defense. And such countermeasures are easier and cheaper to develop and deploy than long-range missiles.

This conclusion is based on a recent study we co-authored with nine other physicists and engineers, half of whom have served as senior consultants to the Defense Department. We described three specific and readily available countermeasures in detail. Then we asked whether an attacker could defeat not just the first phase of the defense that the United States would deploy by 2005 but also the complete system slated for 2015, with all of its planned radars, satellite-based sensors and ground-based interceptors. Using publicly available information about national missile defense, and assuming the defense is constrained only by the laws of physics, we found that an attacker using any one of the countermeasures we examined would defeat the fully deployed missile-defense system.

For example, the attacker could hide its nuclear warheads inside aluminum-coated Mylar balloons and release them along with dozens of empty balloons. Because

none of the missile-defense sensors could tell which balloons contained warheads, the defense would have to shoot at all the balloons. Even a small attack could have more than enough balloons to exhaust the supply of interceptors.

An attacker using biological weapons could also defeat the defense. To be effective, biological agents have to be distributed over large areas. We showed that an attacker could readily do so by separating each missile payload into a hundred or more small "bomblets." As a bonus to the attacker, such bomblets would overwhelm the defense.

These problems are systemic because the planned missile defense relies on interceptors that must hit targets directly in the vacuum of outer space. This design cannot be modified to make it effective against such countermeasures.

Some supporters of the missile-defense system argue that countermeasures are too difficult for a country like North Korea. They ignore the 1999 National Intelligence Estimate by the U.S. intelligence community, which warned that emerging missile states would be able to use "readily available technology" to develop countermeasures and could do so by the time they deployed any missiles.

Others say that while the first phase of the system will not be able to cope with countermeasures, the full system will—that the defense is "learning to walk before it learns to run." But the tests that will be done prior to the president's decision will not include realistic countermeasures, and no such tests are planned until at least 2005. So the Pentagon has no way of knowing whether its toddler will be able to survive its first run through a mine field.

The president should not make a deployment decision based on unsupported assertions by the Pentagon that the national missile defense system can deal with countermeasures. If the Pentagon disagrees with our analysis, it should explain what is wrong with it. And then the Pentagon should demonstrate, in intercept tests, that the system could defeat realistic countermeasures. The president should only move forward with deployment of a system that has been successfully and repeatedly tested against a credible threat.

Lisbeth Gronlund is a physicist at the Union of Concerned Scientists (UCS) and MIT Security Studies Program. Kurt Gottfried is professor of physics at Cornell University and chair of the board of UCS.

THE PROTEST
5-16-80

~~Summary~~
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Political Static May Block Low-Power FM

FCC, Congress Battle Over Broadcast Plan

By FRANK AHRENS
Washington Post Staff Writer

AI

There's a scene in the 1973 movie "American Graffiti" where deejay Wolfman Jack spins records in the window of a storefront radio station while kids push up to the glass, transistor radios pressed to their ears.

That's Amanda Huron's dream for Mount Pleasant.

Maybe it would be one of her radio students from nearby Cesar Chavez Charter High School in the window, spinning salsa CDs. Or maybe it would be a union advocate discussing labor issues in Spanish. Or maybe it would be a novice reporter who had interviewed Latinos aboard the No.

42 Metro bus that runs on 16th Street. Or it just might be Huron herself, playing a CD by her band, Scaramouche. (Hey—station manager's prerogative.)

Huron, 27, with short dyed blond hair and a scab on her chin from a bicycle crash during last month's World Bank demonstration, is the face of low-power FM—the hottest issue in radio right now. Two years ago the Federal Communications Commission proposed a new kind of radio station—a tiny noncommercial FM broadcaster with a range of about three miles. Huron and her mates at the Mount Pleasant Broadcasting

Club want to build a low-power station to serve the Spanish-speakers in her neighborhood. It would work, she said, because it would broadcast the type of programs that most of Washington's radio stations ignore.

"People will listen if they know their kids will be on the radio," Huron said. "If they know a tenants' rights guy is on the radio, they'll listen."

But she may never get her chance.

There are mighty forces arrayed against Huron and her ilk across the country—members of Congress, lobbyists and sprawling radio corporations, including National Public Radio. Opponents say that the low-power stations would cause static-filled interference—that Huron's station might bleed onto Howard Stern's morning show, for example, or WTOP's broadcast of Orioles games.

The FCC said that won't happen, but a sizable majority of Congress no longer trusts the FCC on this issue. Which means that this story, looking at first blush like a David vs. Goliath tale, turns out to be something else—a classic Washington power struggle of political Olympians clashing miles above Huron's head.

The FCC is forging ahead with what it believes is a do-right project. Congress feels steamrolled by an "arrogant" FCC and fights back with legislation that would put the brakes on the process. Rock-and-rollers plan benefit concerts on the Capitol steps. Lobbyists lobby. The fight now rages in the Senate and includes the likes of former presi-

dential candidate John McCain (R-Ariz.). The White House has weighed in with an administration policy statement backing the low-power proposal.

And way down below, Huron walks the gritty streets of Mount Pleasant and asks the neighbors what they'd like to hear on her would-be station. And waits for its fate to be decided.

An Idea That Grew

How did a speck-on-the-wind-shield idea escalate into a such a conflagration?

It got personal.

More than two years ago, FCC Chairman William Kennard issued a little-noticed proposal to study the feasibility of low-power FM stations with a broadcast range of a few blocks to about four miles away from a transmitting tower. By contrast, a big station, such as DC101 (WWDC-FM), can be heard 70 miles from its point of origin.

The FCC's little idea got big in a hurry. By early this year the agency had received 3,000 mailed and e-mailed comments about low-power FM radio service and 100,000 visits by users on the attendant World Wide Web site. Community groups, such as Huron's, as well as churches, schools, colleges, health organizations and independent musicians nationwide wanted their own stations.

Kennard, 43, was overwhelmed by the response. Kennard, a radio junkie, held a black students' public affairs show on the college radio station while an undergraduate at Stanford University. In an era of increasing radio consolidation, he believes low-power service is a way to return some power to the people. To illustrate, he need only look to Washington, the nation's ninth-largest radio market, where two companies—CBS/Infinity and the merging Clear Channel and AMFM Inc.—own 13 of the most profitable stations. Nationwide, the number of station owners has dropped to 4,000 from 5,000 since the 1996 Telecommunications Act opened the way for consolidation. In trips around the country, Kennard championed the low-power stations, which could not sell advertising or be owned by existing radio companies.

When it became apparent that the usually plodding FCC was on a fast track to license low-power stations, radio stations already on the air became nervous. A big station such as WJFK-FM can bill more than \$20 million in advertising in a year, so the stakes are high.

Under their lobbying group—the National Association of Broadcasters, one of the most powerful and wealthiest lobbies in Washington—existing broadcasters have fought the low-power proposal with everything they've got. The association's president, Eddie Fritts, calls it a front-burner issue for his organization.

Last November the NAB lobbied

its many friends in Congress hard enough that Rep. Michael G. Oxley (R-Ohio) introduced a bill that would have killed the low-power stations. The House passed a compromise bill last month that would allow a small percentage of the stations to be licensed after a testing period. But even the watered-down legislation was meant to send Kennard a strong message.

"It was clear that the FCC thought all along that they could run roughshod through this without much opposition," Oxley said. "We're hoping that the vote will bring them up short until Congress can sort this out."

This fight has chafed Kennard on two fronts: big broadcasters "have nice franchises in their communities and don't want anyone else getting a piece of the pie," and that his agency—the FCC, which is entrusted with maintaining the integrity of the radio spectrum—is having its engineering expertise questioned by members of Congress.

"Are we going to take this out of the hands of an impartial, expert agency," Kennard said, "and put it in the hands of people who are not technicians and are not competent to make these calls?"

This is likely the sort of "arrogance" to which Oxley and his colleagues are referring. In fact, Fritts, who once employed Kennard as an NAB lawyer, said "some have said that if [former FCC chairman] Reed Hunt was politically tone deaf, Kennard has exceeded that."

Strained Relationship

The relationship between Kennard and some House Republicans has been strained for some time. But things hit their nadir in February at a hearing before the House telecommunications subcommittee.

The previous month the FCC had given its go-ahead to low-power service. House lawmakers called a hearing to air the pros and cons of the issue. Several FCC engineers and policymakers testified.

Kennard did not attend.

For subcommittee members, this was a slap in the face. Kennard says he was unable to attend the

See RADIO, A11, Col. 1

The Washington Post

MONDAY, MAY 15, 2000

hearings because of a "long-standing" commitment to meet with broadcasters in Florida. But the damage was done. As the House moved toward an April vote on the compromise bill, the FCC faxed members information on low-power radio, attempting to refute the NAB's interference arguments. The effort made little impact and even irritated some members, who thought the FCC's "information" went too far. After getting such a fax, one member's office called another and said, "My God—I think I've just been lobbied by the FCC," a violation of federal law.

Commerce Committee member Billy Tauzin (R-La.) escalated matters, sending Kennard a letter, threatening to sic the Justice Department on him for lobbying.

But there was more than political gamesmanship afoot. Interviews with several members of the radio industry reveal concern that the FCC has not performed sufficient engineering studies to determine if the low-power stations would, in fact, cause interference.

Kennard calls the low-power fight a "battle of dueling engineers." The FCC's engineers claim one thing, the NAB's engineers refute it, and vice versa. The FCC tested several radios at its lab in Columbia, but was criticized for not doing field testing: Driving a low-power transmitter while broadcasting to see if it interferes with existing radio stations. The FCC counters that its lab tests are adequate. Some within the agency bemoan a tight budget that pinches exhaustive engineering studies.

The bottom line is that the engineers on both sides have found essentially the same test data, but interpret it differently. The FCC said the low-power stations may cause

"acceptable" interference—that is to say, almost impossible to hear. The NAB counters that any additional interference is unacceptable.

"The FCC is trying to break the laws of physics," Fritts said, by squeezing low-power stations onto an already crowded FM dial. And there is anxiety within the FCC that, even if its science is good, the agency did a poor job of presenting it to Congress.

There is dissent on the other side as well. Alfredo Alonso, president of Mega Communications, a growing Spanish-language radio chain in Silver Spring, sides with the NAB's fight against low-power stations. Not because of their potential interference, but because he fears stations like Huron's in Mount Pleasant would siphon off his listeners.

"Interference?" Alonso said, making a dismissive sound. "Those little [low-power] stations won't interfere with big stations."

Perhaps the most unlikely opponent of low-power radio, however, is National Public Radio. Founded as a noncommercial community radio service, NPR stands for everything low-power radio is about. And NPR President Kevin Klose said his organization does support low-power—in theory—but fears that the new stations would interfere with a public radio service that reads to the blind. Klose and Kennard said their two groups tried to resolve their differences,

but several frosty meetings between staffs failed to reach a settlement. NPR eventually backed the House legislation, "stunning" and "disappointing" Kennard.

On April 13, as the NAB held a convention in Las Vegas, the House voted 274 to 110 for the bill restricting low-power radio. The vote, which Oxley claims is veto proof, was cheered by NAB con-

ventioners, even as vendors hawked low-power broadcast equipment on the convention floor.

Now the fight moves to the Senate. In February, Sens. Judd Gregg (R-N.H.) and Rod Grams (R-Minn.) introduced a bill similar to Oxley's that would kill the FCC's low-power proposal. On May 8 McCain introduced a compromise bill that would allow the FCC to license low-power stations with some caveats. The NAB opposes McCain's bill.

Low-power backers, such as Huron, have fought their battle at the grass-roots level, inundating lawmakers with e-mails and holding demonstrations. Advocacy groups, such as Washington's Low Power

Radio Coalition, now are lining up political clout of their own to offset the NAB's heavy hitters, such as Sen. Trent Lott (R-Miss.), who is college pals with the NAB's Fritts. Sen. Bob Kerry (D-Neb.) has come out for low-power radio and has sent his Senate colleagues a letter urging them to do likewise.

"I consider myself a friend of broadcasters but we have to ask ourselves, 'Can we count on local broadcasters to give a damn about local communities and are they going to tell you the kinds of things you need to know?'" Kerry said, adding that the Senate may vote on a low-power bill by the Memorial Day recess. "The answer is likely to be 'occasionally' but not all of the time."

Raw Voices

Huron folds herself into a used sofa in an elegantly decaying mansion overlooking Malcom X/Meridian Hill Park on a recent Sunday. It is the headquarters of the Council of Latino Agencies, an advocacy group. She is hashing over the low-power issue with Natalie Avery, 33; Jessica Alvarez, 23; and Frederick Kenner, 30, all of whom badly want a low-power radio station in the area that includes Mount Pleasant, Adams Morgan and Columbia Heights.

Alvarez, who works for the council, said that many area residents

are recent immigrants, unfamiliar with elements of American life, such as the role of a child's school counselor. A local radio station could educate these folks, she said.

"Here, you fight ethnic isolation," Alvarez said. "But everyone uses the radio."

Avery, a deejay who runs the Mount Pleasant Broadcasting Club's Web site, believes a low-power station could help unify the community. And like everyone else in the room, she is sick to death of what they call sticky produced, homogenized pop radio peddled by big corporations.

"Low power would be a self-expression of raw voices," she said.

A year and a half ago, Huron marched on the FCC's former M Street NW headquarters with hundreds of low-power advocates. They carried a huge puppet of Kennard, which was operated by strings controlled by an even larger puppet representing the NAB. You get the point. Now, the FCC chairman and his former adversaries find themselves aligned in limbo: Congress may simultaneously kill Kennard's legacy and Huron's dream.

Late this month the FCC is expected to open the window for low-power FM radio applications. Huron will apply—if Congress doesn't halt the process—and has a good shot at getting a station. But that doesn't mean she'll keep it. Low-power opponents aren't likely to give up the fight.

"I could get my license in June," Huron said, "and get it taken away in October."

2/2

5-16-00

Copied
Podesta

JP
What's the deal here?
if Feniger, can we
provide? For

Capitalism's Clay Feet

WE CALL this the information age, and no corner of the economy is as information-saturated as the financial markets. But the uncomfortable truth of Wall Street is that the information on which it runs is suspect. Market analysts work for banks that do business with the firms whose stock they analyze; as a result, they seldom recommend that investors dump stock. Auditors work for financial conglomerates that seek consulting contracts with the companies they oversee; this creates an incentive to keep the clients sweet by winking at dubious financial practices.

In both cases, investors lose: They get unreliable analysts' reports based on questionable accounting. In both cases, the broader economy loses too: If investors lack confidence in shares, companies will have a harder time using the stock market to raise capital. Of the two, biased auditors are more dangerous. Big investment-management firms can bypass outside analysts by hiring in-house experts. But if firms' accounts have been audited unreliably, no alternative numbers are available.

This is why the effort by the Securities and Exchange Commission to improve auditing standards is welcome. In a recent speech Arthur Levitt, the SEC chairman, noted that the big five auditing firms now derive only 30 percent of revenues from their traditional business, with

the rest coming from a variety of consulting services. In 1977, by contrast, auditing accounted for 70 percent of the top firms' revenue. As Mr. Levitt argued, the more the firms rely on consulting revenue, the greater their incentive to compromise audit quality.

This might not matter if the accounting firms were strengthening their rules of conduct. Some are taking the right steps, but the profession as a whole is reluctant. Just recently, for example, it cut off funding to the Public Oversight Board, which is supposed to ensure reputable audit standards. To make matters worse, this affront came at a time when the oversight board, prompted partly by Mr. Levitt, was showing new vigor.

In his recent speech, Mr. Levitt called for the board's funding to be restored. The SEC also will conduct hearings on auditors' consulting work, to determine which types most compromise their independence. And Mr. Levitt is asking audit firms to investigate, under protection of amnesty, conflicts of interest such as individual auditors or their companies owning shares in their clients. The SEC wants the firms to report such abuses and find ways to prevent them; in return, it will not prosecute offenders. Some may object that white-collar offenders are being treated too softly. But the amnesty is a reasonable price to pay for reform of the audit culture.

Frozen Assets

THE SENATE soon will take up a bill to allow victims of terrorism and their families to seize the frozen assets in this country of the governments that sponsored the harmful attacks. The legislation by Sens. Frank Lautenberg and Connie Mack is a response to administration efforts to block the tapping of Cuban and Iranian assets in two such cases. It appears to have overwhelming support. Who wants to be seen as siding with terrorist states against the families of victims who have sued successfully in federal courts? But the bill is misguided.

Congress instead should repeal the 1996 law that allows people to sue terrorist states in the first place. The law creates an exception to the normal immunity that foreign states have in U.S. courts. It has resulted in giant judgments against Iran and Cuba. The frozen assets would be one way to pay them. But the as-

sets are also bargaining chips in American relations with the two countries—and some of the assets are consular properties that the government is bound by treaties to protect.

When the plaintiffs in these two cases first prevailed in court but could not collect, Congress passed a law allowing the frozen assets of foreign governments to be tapped—though it also gave the president an ambiguous authority to protect assets. President Clinton exercised this waiver power, so the new bill would allow the president to protect only embassies and their immediate operating funds.

But U.S. treaty obligations extend beyond those diplomatic properties. So this bill could jeopardize U.S. consular properties abroad. The bill's sponsors have said they would support an amendment to let the president shield all properties protected by treaty. At the very least, such an amendment should be adopted.

5-16-00

Sandy
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5-16-00

President William Jefferson Clinton

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GLENN R. GOLONKA

May 15, 2000

5-16-00

Dear Mr. President,

In February, I had the pleasure of hand delivering a note to you, at a reception in Dr. Jim D'Orta's Georgetown home, regarding Mrs. Yeni Wong's desire to further support your presidency. Her interest is to serve you as an U.S. Delegate to the United Nations.

Within a week, I received an encouraging telephone call from Bob Nash regarding my note. Mrs. Wong later met with Maria Haley, and both Senator Sarbanes and Senator Mikulski have sent you reference letters regarding Yeni Wong.

We now understand that Mrs. Wong will soon be included on a memo to you for final selection. We hope you will support her desire to serve as an U.S. Delegate to the United Nations. Likewise, Yeni Wong continues to unconditionally support your leadership.

As always, it is a pleasure to see you and we thank you in advance for your consideration. Perhaps you would like to call her personally at (202) 393-2280 ext. 15 and let her know your decision.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Glenn R. Golonka", written over the word "Sincerely,". The signature is stylized with a large initial "G" and a long horizontal stroke at the end.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY
A private university in the public service

School of Law

40 WASHINGTON SQUARE SOUTH, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10012-1099
TELEPHONE: (212) 998-6000
FACSIMILE: (212) 995-3156

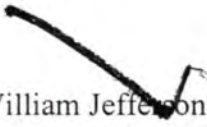
John Sexton
Dean

5-26-00

Do it

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Burkhardt
for Reply
after you
have seen
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May 9, 2000


William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am happy to tell you that, no doubt thanks in large part to your endorsement, the Admissions Committee has decided to offer a seat in our incoming class to Josh Gottheimer. Josh should receive formal notification in about a week; in the meantime, if you wish to do so, you can tell him the good news.

Love to all, and I hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,


John Sexton

He really looks terrific!

M. A. BERMAN CO.

May 15, 2000

Do ty
to book, advice

5-16-00

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for Reply
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Deh

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20502

Dear Mr. President:

Since you and Danny do good things every day, you will both go to heaven. I will not speak for myself. I do worry about one thing — a Republican Victory this Fall. If that happens, neither of you will go to heaven.

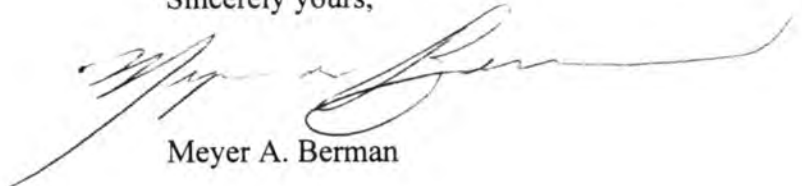
I truly believe that the easiest way to a Democratic Victory is through debate. Gore should be nudging Bush daily, asking him, "What are you afraid of? "Why won't you debate me?" Debates should be right down the line: Gore vs. Bush; Daschle vs. Lott; Gephardt vs. Hastert; all the ranking members vs. chairs of all the various committees. Larry King could moderate the debates. It would be fun and mean heaven for all of us.

I have enclosed two things. One is a copy of Bob Barr's latest fund raising letter. I apologize for its quality; it is the best I could get. The other is The Genesis of Justice by Alan Dershowitz. Both are worthwhile reading.

I have always liked Alan but I do wonder why he defends certain people. I have never been in awe of him, although he is bright and aggressive and reminiscent of great minds I have known in my life - Nobel Prize winners and great Rabbis. You fit the category of a Great Mind. Anyway, read the book, then invite him to discuss it with you.

Give Danny and Ewa a kiss for me.

Sincerely yours,



Meyer A. Berman

P.S. I worry about the Vice President's lack of aggression. Aggressive people are able to hate. I think Gore may have gotten along too well with his father to develop a killer instinct. Two of the greatest chess players of all time, Kasparov and Fisher, were four years old when their fathers disappeared. Stalin hated his father. Lenin's father and Alexander the Great's father were away all the time, too. I believe you did not have a good relationship with your father. I hate to put you in the same category as Hitler but he, too, had a tough childhood. You will notice that Dershowitz speaks of his mother but never of his father.

STEEL
Ricchetti
Please
call
Richard F. Guay
Vice President
Government Relations
Hurry



BNFL

Inc.

BNFL Inc.

1900 M Street, NW, Suite 500
Washington, DC 20036
Tel: (202) 785-2635
Dir: (202) 785-4027
Fax: (202) 785-4037
Email: rguay@bnflinc.com

He said we
call you -

5-16-00

copied
Podesta
Ricchetti

5-16-00



Rehman Jinnah
Advisor to the Chairman G-77 CCI of Developing Countries
10 Universal City Plaza, Suite 2000
Universal City, CA 91608
Ph. (818) 655-3010 and (818) 655-3011
Fax (818) 754-3790

May 1, 2000

Mr. Bill Clinton
President of The United States
Whitehouse, Washington D.C.

SUBJECT: MILLENNIUM PEACE AWARD G-77 C

Dear Mr. President:

It has always been a pleasure meeting you, but our last
was exceptionally meaningful as the First Lady Hillary
mentioned to you in our meeting that I have been appoi
of G-77 Chamber of Commerce and Industry. This Cha
member countries from the developing world and today
countries. I am extremely proud and deeply honored to
passed the following resolution recognizing your valuea contribution and peace making
efforts in the world on March 22, 2000. This resolution was proposed by Tariq Sayeed
Chairman Trade Fair Authority of G-77 Group and the former Chairman of G-77 and was
unanimously adopted by all member countries.

RESOLVED THAT THE OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION
MADE AND REMARKABLE SERVICES RENDERED BY
MR. BILL CLINTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA (USA), AS HARBINGER OF PEACE,
ESPECIALLY IN KOSOVO, BOSNIA, PALESTINE, ETC., BE
AND ARE HEREBY APPRECIATED AND ADMIRERD AND
BE PLACED ON RECORD.

FURTHER RESOLVED THAT MR. BILL CLINTON BE
AWARDED A MOMENTO ON BEHALF OF GROUP - 77 AS
A TOKEN OF RECOGNITION OF HIS OUTSTANDING
CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS PEACE-MAKING EFFORTS
IN THE WORLD AT A BEFITTING FUNCTION TO HELD
IN THE USA.

Bill -
FYI

from Rashid

fr. end

ee: Sandy
What about Bill - should
also be there?

Copied
Podesta
Berger
wwdsk

5-16-00



Rehman Jinnah

Advisor to the Chairman G-77 CCI of Developing Countries

10 Universal City Plaza, Suite 2000

Universal City, CA 91608

Ph. (818) 655-3010 and (818) 655-3011

Fax (818) 754-3790

May 1, 2000

Mr. Bill Clinton
President of The United States
Whitehouse, Washington D.C.

SUBJECT: MILLENNIUM PEACE AWARD G-77 CCI

Dear Mr. President:

It has always been a pleasure meeting you, but our last meeting on Friday April 28, 2000 was exceptionally meaningful as the First Lady Hillary R. Clinton was also present. As I mentioned to you in our meeting that I have been appointed as Advisor to the Chairman of G-77 Chamber of Commerce and Industry. This Chamber had initially started with 77 member countries from the developing world and today it has a strength of 133 member countries. I am extremely proud and deeply honored to inform you that this group has passed the following resolution recognizing your valued contribution and peace making efforts in the world on March 22, 2000. This resolution was proposed by Tariq Sayeed Chairman Trade Fair Authority of G-77 Group and the former Chairman of G-77 and was unanimously adopted by all member countries.

RESOLVED THAT THE OUTSTANDING CONTRIBUTION
MADE AND REMARKABLE SERVICES RENDERED BY
MR. BILL CLINTON, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA (USA), AS HARBINGER OF PEACE,
ESPECIALLY IN KOSOVO, BOSNIA, PALESTINE, ETC., BE
AND ARE HEREBY APPRECIATED AND ADMIRERD AND
BE PLACED ON RECORD.

FURTHER RESOLVED THAT MR. BILL CLINTON BE
AWARDED A MOMENTO ON BEHALF OF GROUP - 77 AS
A TOKEN OF RECOGNITION OF HIS OUTSTANDING
CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS PEACE-MAKING EFFORTS
IN THE WORLD AT A BEFITTING FUNCTION TO HELD
IN THE USA.



Mr. President, the Group 77 countries' want this award ceremony to take place in a very historical and beneficial manner. It is proposed that it should take place at the Universal Amphitheater in Universal Studios or the Coliseum in Los Angeles where the Presidents of 133 countries' Chamber of Commerce and Industry will be in attendance. This ceremony will also have a multicultural entertainment program with dances performed by natives of at least seven different countries. Let me assure you that this program will be an extravaganza that hopefully you will cherish every day of your life.

Please let me know your views, suggestions and input regarding this ceremony. Thank you.

Sincerely,

Rehman A. Jinnah
Advisor to the Chairman G-77 CCI
Of Developing Countries

cc: Terry R. McAuliffe



Rehman Jinnah

Advisor to the Chairman G-77 CCI of Developing Countries

10 Universal City Plaza, Suite 2000

Universal City, CA 91608

Ph. (818) 655-3010 and (818) 655-3011

Fax (818) 754-3790

May 2, 2000

Terry McAuliffe
Washington, DC

VIA FACSIMILE 202.261.0773

My Dear Terry,

With your blessings I met President Clinton and the First Lady Hillary R. Clinton at Rashid's residence on Friday evening April 28, 2000. At that time I had an opportunity to speak to him personally in which I informed him of my appointment as Advisor to Chairman of G-77 Group Chamber of Commerce and Industry as well as the resolution passed by this group to honor him. President Clinton was pleased to learn about it and wanted to follow up with the resolution copy. I'm attaching the resolution past unanimously as well as our request for a historical ceremony which is attached for the President's referral and advice. As I informed you earlier that I have met President Clinton at Brad Sherman's fundraiser in Beverly Hills, but I would like to tell you that this meeting was very unique as the First Lady Hillary R. Clinton was also present and your kind words about me to the First Lady will always be remembered by me.

Lastly, please inform us once again of the development for the request of G-77 CCI historic event.

Thanking you.

Sincerely,

Rehman Jinnah

Advisor to the Chairman G-77 CCI
Of Developing Countries



Rehman Jinnah

Advisor to the Chairman G-77 CCI of Developing Countries

10 Universal City Plaza, Suite 2000

Universal City, CA 91608

Ph. (818) 655-3010 and (818) 655-3011

Fax (818) 754-3790

May 1, 2000

Laura Efurd
Deputy Protocol Chief
Whitehouse, Washington, DC

VIA FACSIMILE 202.456.6218

Dear Laura Efurd,

It was a pleasure meeting you at the briefing of President Clinton's visit to Pakistan on April 6, 2000 at the Roosevelt Room in the Whitehouse. On Friday evening April 28, 2000, I met President Bill Clinton and the First Lady Hillary R. Clinton at Mr. Rashid's residence and I had an opportunity to speak to him personally in which I informed him of my appointment as advisor to Chairman of the G-77 Group Chamber of Commerce and Industry as well as the resolution passed by this group to honor him. President Clinton was pleased to learn of it and wanted to follow up with the resolution copy. I am attaching the resolution past unanimously as well as our request for the ceremony which is attached for the President's referral and advise.

Please inform us of the development as we need at least three months to prepare this historical event.

Thanking you,

Rehman Jinnah

Advisor to the Chairman G-77 CCI
Of Developing Countries

7

CHARLOTTE ROSE KERR

R.N. D.S.N. MPH. MA. (UK)

See note on back of copy - Dr

THE CENTRE FOR TRADITIONAL ACUPUNCTURE

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(410) 997-5770

5-16-00

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Podesta

will send to
Burkhardt
for Reply
after you
have seen.

Dch

5-16-33

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Don Smith

- Indian Steel Co.
SBS - got permit to be 3000 ft
(Steel structure, the. 55 ways)
- got Indian permit
mining, but to find appeal
- got to Full Size Appeal 136
fuller with many old ways -

5-16-00

Richetti

See Mr. T. H.

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5-16-00

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~~A Borderline Difference~~

We ignore millions who are refugees in their own countries.

Imagine that you and your family are forced at gunpoint to flee your home; or that your house is burned to the ground and you have to go elsewhere for food, water and shelter. You wouldn't care much where you ended up, as long as it was safe and you got assistance.

But there's a catch. If, in your flight, you crossed an international border, then you became an official refugee, eligible for assistance from the U.N.'s High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). However, if you stayed within your own country the UNHCR would not take care of you. You might get limited international aid, but not much of it. Your fate would be left in the hands of your government—even if that government's oppression was the very reason you fled in the first place, or if the government was unwilling or unable to allow access. You would be classified by the international community as an "internally displaced person"—an IDP—and pretty much ignored.

Of course, there is no real difference between an "official refugee" and an internally displaced person—especially to the victim. The sterile and bureaucratic initials IDP have been enshrined in U.N. and international legal documents, but they are a euphemism that allows the world to ignore an enormous problem.

We are talking about a huge number of nearly forgotten people. The number of refugees, on the other hand, has declined steadily since 1992 and now numbers about 10 million.

While both figures are disturbing, the trends clearly have reversed. In Sudan, for example, nearly 4 million people have been internally displaced; in Sri Lanka, more than 600,000; in Azerbaijan more than a half-million, many of whom live in railroad cars. According to recent estimates the Congo has more than a million internal refugees.

As Julia Taft, assistant secretary of state for population, refugees and migration, repeatedly has noted, the number of internal refugees has more than doubled during the past two decades. The rise in these numbers represents a subtle but noticeable shift in geopolitics: During the Cold War, refugees crossed borders to escape governmental threats. But conflicts in the 21st century (Chechnya, the Congo, Angola) are more fractured. Internal refugees in the Congo, for example, are fleeing a multiplicity of armies from five countries, as well as an even larger number of rebel movements.

The support the international community provides to such people is woefully, horribly inadequate. While Sadako Ogata, the dynamic head of the UNHCR, recently issued a more forward-leaning paper on internal refugees

that acknowledged the "uneven and in many cases inadequate" response to this issue, humanitarian aid donors continue to make far fewer resources available to internal refugees than to others. Nongovernmental organizations and the Red Cross do get some assistance to such refugees, but they cannot handle the situation alone. Moreover, the U.N. system's reliance on what is called "coordinated" response all too often turns out to be another euphemism—for ineffectiveness, in this case. In bureaucracies, "co-heads" usually means "no-heads." Victims fall through the cracks.

The primary mandate for internal refugees should be given to a single agency, presumably the UNHCR. This suggestion has been criticized by some in the international community as unfair to other agencies, but no one should be defensive when it comes to taking action. Criticism ought to be welcomed if it stimulates reform.

The international community should consider proposals to meet the following objectives:

- Designate a lead agency for each internal refugee situation that arises and clearly define that agency's responsibilities. In most cases, it will be UNHCR.

- Have all U.N. humanitarian agencies designate a single point of contact on internal refugees.

- Keep better track of these emergencies. For example, the secretary general should issue regular, comprehensive country-by-country reports on the state of the world's displaced people and what the U.N. is doing about them.

- Make it clear that protecting and speaking up for internal refugees is just as important as making such efforts for "official" refugees. Unfortunately, some humanitarian and development agencies still don't seem to see that as part of their mandate.

- Do more to support the efforts of Francis Deng, the secretary general's special representative on internal refugees, who has played a seminal and visionary advocacy role. Deng is a part-time, voluntary employee who receives budgetary support for only a few trips a year and is dependent upon other U.N. agencies for staff support.

If we can draw the world's attention to the plight of these people; if we can pressure governments to protect these innocent victims and secure access for aid groups; and if we can design assistance programs around the principles of predictability, accountability and universality—then we will have taken a major step toward alleviating this serious problem. We can ignore it no longer.

The writer is U.S. ambassador to the United Nations.

5-16-00

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widesk
Podesta

Summary
Can we do
this on this?
Yes



May 16, 2000

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

'00 MAY 16 PM 2:33

Dear President Clinton:

My firm represents The Privacy Council, a company offering privacy seal protection in data transactions between businesses and consumers internationally. The Privacy Council's technology and approach includes a guaranteed insurance payout for any consumer or employee who experiences a privacy violation by a company with the seal. This program has been of special interest to members concerned about enforcement in the United States. David Aar discussed it informally with negotiations in Brussels.

On May 25, The Privacy Council met with the European Liberal Democracy Union Parliament in 2001. To discuss privacy protection, the International Privacy groups concerned with governance.

On May 25th, Mr. Cox would move the transatlantic dialog on privacy legislation, I believe you would find a workable international privacy framework for international e-commerce.

5-16-00
NSC
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Union Parliament
negotiated by the
President, and
February

Cox, leader of
the European
open approach
progress and other

Some ways to
discuss and proposed
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growth of

Your commitment to using every day of this Administration to institutionalize policies consistent with economic growth is commendable. I hope you will see this meeting as another way to support that objective. I will follow up with your staff.

Sincerely,

Jill F. Hultin
Vice President

Enclosure

cc: Peter Swire, Chief Counselor for Privacy
David Beier, Chief Domestic Policy Advisor to the Vice President

Jefferson Consulting Group, LLC

1401 K Street, N.W., Suite 900, Washington D.C. 20005
(202) 626-8550 Fax: (202) 626-8578 www.jeffersonconsulting.com



May 16, 2000

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

'00 MAY 16 PM2:33

Dear President Clinton:

My firm represents The Privacy Council, a company offering privacy seal protection in data transactions between businesses and consumers internationally. The Privacy Council's technology and approach includes a guaranteed insurance payout for any consumer or employee who experiences a privacy violation by a company with the seal. This program has been of special interest to members of the European Union Parliament concerned about enforcement of the Safe Harbor agreement recently negotiated by the United States. David Aaron, the U.S. negotiator, commended the approach, and discussed it informally with several Members of Parliament during the February negotiations in Brussels.

On May 25, The Privacy Council is hosting a visit by the Honorable Pat Cox, leader of the European Liberal Democrats (ELDR) and prospective President of the European Union Parliament in 2001. Cox will be in Washington to discuss the European approach to privacy protection, the Internet and e-Commerce with Members of Congress and other groups concerned with government privacy policies.

On May 25th, Mr. Cox would like to meet you, if only briefly, to discuss some ways to move the transatlantic dialogue forward. Given your recent privacy remarks and proposed legislation, I believe you would find Mr. Cox to be an excellent partner in pushing for workable international privacy protections that do not hinder the continued growth of international e-commerce.

Your commitment to using every day of this Administration to institutionalize policies consistent with economic growth is commendable. I hope you will see this meeting as another way to support that objective. I will follow up with your staff.

Sincerely,

Jill F. Hultin
Vice President

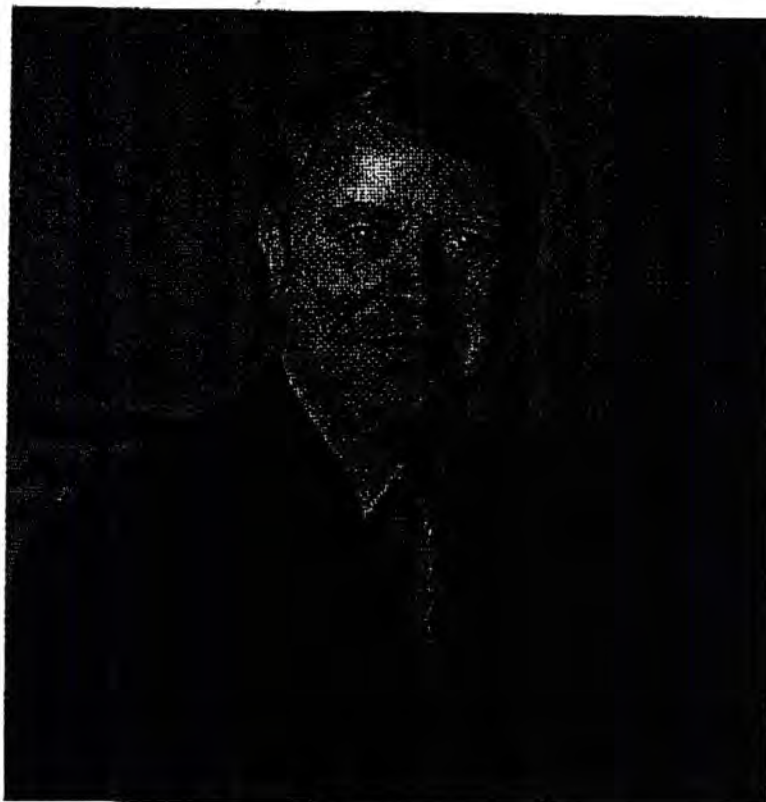
Enclosure

cc: Peter Swire, Chief Counselor for Privacy
David Beier, Chief Domestic Policy Advisor to the Vice President

Jefferson Consulting Group, LLC

1401 K Street, N.W., Suite 900, Washington D.C. 20005
(202) 626-8550 Fax: (202) 626-8578 www.jeffersonconsulting.com

PRIVACY COUNCIL



The Right Honorable Pat Cox (MEP)
President, ELDR Party

ELDR Party Leader Pat Cox

Pat Cox has represented Munster and Ireland in the European Parliament since 1989. Mr. Cox is the President of the European Liberal Democrats (ELDR) party, the third largest party in the European Parliament. The ELDR party was significantly strengthened in the last elections, held in June of 1999. He is the first Irish MEP ever to be elected to the leadership of a European political group.

Mr. Cox is "set to be elected Ireland's first President of the European Parliament" according to reports appearing on October 15, 1999 in *The Irish Times*. Mr. Cox's elevation to the Presidency at the end of 2001 is the result of a groundbreaking agreement announced last year between the ELDR party and the European People's Party (EPP), the Parliament's largest group. According to the agreement, the ELDR party backed the French EPP nomination for the Parliament's President, Ms. Nicole Fontaine, for the first half of the five-year term of the Parliament in return for support for their newly reelected leader, Cox, for the second half.

Mr. Cox has followed with great interest the continuing negotiations between the US and the EU of a Safe Harbor to the EU Data Protection Directive. In a recent speech he urged Parliament and other EU bodies to participate fully in a dialogue with US counterparts.



FACSIMILE TRANSMITTAL SHEET

TO:

Nancy Herrnreich

FROM:

Jill Hultin, Vice President

DATE:

5/16/00

FAX NUMBER:

456-1210

TOTAL NO. OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER:

3

PHONE NUMBER:

SENDER'S PHONE NUMBER:

202-626-8567

Dear Nancy --

Mr. Cox will be available for a meeting between 10:15 a.m. and 2:00 p.m. on the 25th.
Thanks for your help.

Jill Hultin

Don Argue, Ed. D.
President

May 8, 2000

00 MAY 16 PM2:33

President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

Good Morning!

I am writing this letter in regards to th
with China.

Over the past many years I have had
as a member of the three U. S. Religi
have followed the progress of China

There is an old Chinese saying, "A
steps in the direction of democracy
we all recognize that much more should be accomplished.
Relations to China will move this process along significantly. I urge you and the members of
Congress to respond accordingly.

The underground church and the house church movement in China have requested that we do not
connect Permanent Normal Trade Relations and freedom of religion. The reasons are that the
Chinese Government accuses the house churches and underground church movement of being
agents of the West. When we politicize religious freedom the Church in China claims it hurts
their efforts.

On the basis of progress and all related benefits, I strongly urge that Congress support Permanent
Normal Trade Relations with China.

Thank you for your leadership in this very important matter.

Sincerely,



Don H. Argue, Ed. D.
President, Northwest College

Former President, National Association of Evangelicals
(Representing 27 million Christians in the USA)

DHA/pme



5520 108th Ave NE / P O Box 579 Kirkland WA 98083-0579
Phone (425) 889-4202 Fax (425) 889-5200 e-mail: don.argue@ncag.edu

5-16-00
Send to Burkhardt?
Cochran/HSC
✓

ade Relations

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Normal Trade

Don Argue, Ed. D.
President

May 8, 2000

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President William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

Good Morning!

I am writing this letter in regards to the current discussion of Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China.

Over the past many years I have had a vital interest in China, including my participation in 1998 as a member of the three U. S. Religious Leaders Delegation to China, which you appointed. I have followed the progress of China over the years and I'm pleased with what I observe.

There is an old Chinese saying, "A journey of a thousand miles begins with the first step." Many steps in the direction of democracy and progress have been made in Chinese culture. However, we all recognize that much more should be accomplished. Granting Permanent Normal Trade Relations to China will move this process along significantly. I urge you and the members of Congress to respond accordingly.

The underground church and the house church movement in China have requested that we do not connect Permanent Normal Trade Relations and freedom of religion. The reasons are that the Chinese Government accuses the house churches and underground church movement of being agents of the West. When we politicize religious freedom the Church in China claims it hurts their efforts.

On the basis of progress and all related benefits, I strongly urge that Congress support Permanent Normal Trade Relations with China.

Thank you for your leadership in this very important matter.

Sincerely,



Don H. Argue, Ed. D.
President, Northwest College

Former President, National Association of Evangelicals
(Representing 27 million Christians in the USA)

DHA/pme



5520 108th Ave NE / P O Box 579 Kirkland WA 98083-0579
Phone (425) 889-4202 Fax (425) 889-5200 e-mail: don.argue@ncag.edu



BALFOUR HOUSE 741 HIGH ROAD LONDON N12 0BQ T: (020) 8446 1477 F: (020) 8446 1180 E: central@ujia.org

Mr William J. Clinton
President
The United States of America
The White House
1600, Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, C.C. 20500

00 MAY 16 AM 10:16

15th May 2000

Mr President:

5-16-00

The United Jewish Israeli
warmest good wishes to

Send to NSC?

Yes ☒

No ☐

As your term of office
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Yes ☒

No ☐

At the end of this year,
The Dinner is one of the
Business leaders, and m
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Jewish Community, extends

of saluting your remarkable
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at its Annual Gala Dinner.
Senior Government Ministers,
our include Prime Ministers
Barak, Rabin and Peres.

Coinciding with your trip to Europe this year, we wish to pay tribute to your achievements by inviting you to be Guest of Honour at our 2000 Gala Dinner, so that you may receive the UJIA's most prestigious award – the Ohev Shalom Award. The Award is presented to an international leader who has demonstrated outstanding achievement and worldwide recognition in the pursuit of peace. We would be honoured if you would grace us with your presence to accept this award.

The UJIA, as the largest Jewish organisation in Europe, has been involved in almost every aspect of state building in Israel since its establishment. It has helped rescue over one million Jews from the Former Soviet Union and ensure their safe resettlement in Israel and provided major support for welfare and humanitarian projects - translating your aspirations of a viable Peace Process into a reality. It is therefore most appropriate that you be the recipient of the UJIA's highest honour.

There are many in Britain who have enormous admiration for you and your attendance would be a fitting opportunity for us to pay our fulsome tribute to you. We hope that you are able to honour us with your presence and would of course schedule the event around your planned visit to Europe.

Yours sincerely,

The Lord Woolf
Master of the Rolls

Dr Jonathan Sacks
Chief Rabbi

David Cohen, Esq. P. Zabudowicz, Esq.

Honorary President, UJIA Honorary President, UJIA Chairman, UJIA Dinner Chairman

OUR CHILDREN. OUR FUTURE. OUR PROMISE.

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* Trustees of the Joint Jewish Charitable Trust.

The majority of work for which the UJIA is known is carried out by its associated charity the Joint Jewish Charitable Trust. Charity Reg. No. 1060078. A company limited by guarantee. Registered in England No. 3295115. Registered office as above.



BALFOUR HOUSE 741 HIGH ROAD LONDON N12 0BQ T: (020) 8446 1477 F: (020) 8446 1180 E: central@ujia.org

Mr William J. Clinton
President
The United States of America
The White House
1600, Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, C.C. 20500

'00 MAY 16 AM 10:16

15th May 2000

Mr President:

The United Jewish Israel Appeal (UJIA), on behalf of the British Jewish Community, extends warmest good wishes to you at the beginning of the new millennium.

As your term of office concludes, we wish to take the opportunity of saluting your remarkable achievements. Your passionate commitment and sense of purpose has seen unprecedented progress in the journey towards peace in the Middle East. You have brought hope to a place fraught with adversity and a new spirit of reconciliation to the region. Your Presidency will be acknowledged as representing a significant chapter in the history of our people.

At the end of this year, the UJIA will bring together over 1,000 people at its Annual Gala Dinner. The Dinner is one of the key events in the British Calendar, attracting senior Government Ministers, Business leaders, and major philanthropists. Previous Guests of Honour include Prime Ministers Blair, Major and Thatcher, President George Bush and Prime Ministers Barak, Rabin and Peres.

Coinciding with your trip to Europe this year, we wish to pay tribute to your achievements by inviting you to be Guest of Honour at our 2000 Gala Dinner, so that you may receive the UJIA's most prestigious award – the Ohev Shalom Award. The Award is presented to an international leader who has demonstrated outstanding achievement and worldwide recognition in the pursuit of peace. We would be honoured if you would grace us with your presence to accept this award.

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The Lord Woolf
Master of the Rolls

Dr Jonathan Sacks
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Honorary President, UJIA Honorary President, UJIA Chairman, UJIA Dinner Chairman

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* Trustees of the Joint Jewish Charitable Trust.

The majority of work for which the UJIA is known is carried out by its associated charity the Joint Jewish Charitable Trust. Charity Reg. No. 1060078. A company limited by guarantee. Registered in England No. 3295115 Registered office as above.

ROB REINER

5-16-00

5-16-00

May 11, 2000

Can you do it

*After you have seen,
we will send to Burkhardt.*

My

Card

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I'm writing to you to urge you to extend the Type 1 Diabetes Initiative that was part of the BBA of '97.

As you know, \$150 million was allocated over a five-year period. As that funding period is coming to a close, an expansion to \$100 million a year will go a long way toward finding a cure.

Two good friends of mine have daughters who have juvenile diabetes, and it is a daily family struggle. I hope you'll give the reallocation serious consideration. Thanks for giving this your attention.

Best,

Rob Reiner

Rob Reiner

P.S. Please give Hillary my best, and let her know whatever else I can do to help her, I'm there.

*copied
Podesta
Burkhardt
(for reply)*

00 MAY 16 PM 2:32

WAR & PEACE FOUNDATION

777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017 6th Fl. Ph: 212 557 2501 Fax: 212 557 2515
www.warpeace.org e-mail: sbrackman@warpeace.org

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Executive Director

KEVIN SANDERS
Director, Special Projects

GREG MITCHELL
Editor

COLIN ARCHER
President, International Peace Bureau

DR. HELEN CALDICOTT
Anti Nuclear Activist

NOAM CHOMSKY
Author/Professor
Massachusetts Institute of Technology

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Former U.S. Attorney General

JEFF COHEN
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Princeton University

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Pace University

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President, Committee for
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State University of New York

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Global Commission to Fund the United Nations

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Former Federal Communications Commissioner

DAVID KRIEGER
President, Nuclear Age Peace Foundation

PHILIP ISLEY
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Parliamentary Association

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President, World Citizen Assembly

DR. RASHMI MAYUR
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DR. ROBERT MULLER
Chancellor, University For Peace

DR. HAROLD ROBLES
President, Albert Schweitzer Institute

ALICE SLATER
President, Global Action for the Environment

PETER WEISS
President, Lawyers Committee
on Nuclear Policy

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To: Betty Currie
The White House
From: Selma Brackman
Re: Letter to the President

15 May 2000

Dear Betty,

Sorry about the delay - I wanted Dr Muller to see it first.

As always, thanks for your invaluable help.

Best regards,


Selma Brackman

5-16-00
Send to NSC? ☒
Yes ☒
No ☐

cal

WAR & PEACE

F O U N D A T I O N

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President, Global Action for the Environment

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President, Lawyers Committee
on Nuclear Policy

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Printed on Recycled Paper

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

15 May 2000

Dear President Clinton,

After three weeks of discussion and review by member nations and eminent speakers for the non-governmental community on the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty at the United Nations, there still is no sign that the threat of thirty-five thousand nuclear weapons will come to an end soon. Meanwhile we all continue to live under the bomb threat from the five thousand United States and Russian nuclear warheads on hair-trigger alert. Now we learn that the US is planning to maintain these weapons "forever" as part of the so-called "Stockpile Stewardship" program. Further, the US is planning a Star Wars program that threatens to initiate a more savage arms race that no society can afford.

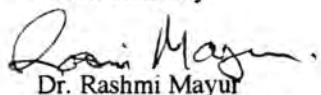
Those who came to the NPT review conference had hoped that the barbaric nuclear menace would finally come to an end. Now, only one week remains to fulfill that wish. As a leader you can still make the NPT conference a success.

Your meeting next month with President Putin also provides a unique opportunity for a joint announcement of an end to United States and Russian nuclear policies of launch-on-warning, first-strike and hair-trigger alert. Last Friday US Congressman Ed Markey told a UN meeting that the US and Russian Presidents have executive authority to make such decisions any time they wish. At the same UN meeting former UN disarmament inspector Richard Butler, Chairman of the Canberra Commission on Nuclear Disarmament, said verification of such policies "would not be a problem."

An immediate end to hair-trigger alert and first-strike, launch-on-warning policies should be followed by a commitment to swift and complete compliance by both the US and Russia with NPT disarmament agreements, and with United Nations and World Court calls for negotiations to "bring to a conclusion" the elimination of nuclear weapons.

We hope you, as leader of the nation that began the nuclear age, will take the initiative to lead the world back from the brink, and fulfill the dreams of six billion people around the world.

Yours Sincerely


Dr. Rashmi Mayur

Editor War & Peace Digest


Selma Brackman

Executive Director War & Peace Foundation

cc UN Secretary General Annan
Russian President Vladimir Putin
US Vice President Al Gore
UN NPT Delegates
Congressman Ed Markey
Ambassador Richard Butler
Abolition 2000 members
Dr Robert Muller
Ralph Nadar
Ted Turner



Reaching Critical Will
an initiative of the

Women's International
League for Peace and
Freedom

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New York, NY 10017

(212) 682-1265
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www.reachingcriticalwill.org

News Release -- All Media

12 May, 2000

NUKES 'FOREVER' -- US PLANS REVEALED

According to United States Department of Energy (DOE) documents just made public for the first time at the United Nations, the US has plans to keep nuclear weapons "forever." This is in spite of the thirty-year agreement signed by the US as part of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) under which the US has pledged to end the nuclear arms race and eliminate its nuclear arsenal.

As recently as last week the US renewed what it called an "unequivocal" agreement to the "ultimate" goal of complete nuclear disarmament in a joint statement with the other four major nuclear powers (Russia, Britain, France and China) released at the month-long NPT Review Conference now underway at the United Nations.

The documents revealing plans that would enable the US to keep nuclear weapons "forever" were acquired by the Los Alamos Study Group, a non-governmental organization (NGO) that monitors the US nuclear weapons laboratory at Los Alamos New Mexico. The documents were unveiled at a UN meeting between NPT delegates and NGOs on Wednesday evening by Jacqueline Cabasso, Executive Director of the California-based Western States Legal Foundation, an NGO that researches and analyzes US nuclear weapons policy and activities.

The documents reveal US plans, presented at a DOE briefing in March this year by A.E. Whiteman of the DOE's Albuquerque New Mexico Office of Technology, as part of a report on restructuring of US nuclear weapons production facilities and technologies. Whiteman outlined what will be required to ensure that US nuclear weapons "remain viable forever" under the so-called "Stockpile Stewardship" program. Requirements, he said, include "replacement and certification of every part of every weapon." A program called "SLEP" (Stockpile Life Extension Program), Whiteman said, "will be the driver for the replacement and certification." According to the documents, Stockpile Stewardship is intended to maintain US nuclear weapons "indefinitely," without underground nuclear testing.

Commenting on the revelations, Cabasso told NGOs and UN delegates that in combing through government statements, her organization has found numerous references to US reliance on nuclear weapons "for the foreseeable future" and even "indefinitely." However, she said, "this is the first official reference we have found confirming US plans for keeping nuclear weapons forever." She added: "Viewed in combination with the shocking US talking points, recently obtained by The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists declaring that both the United



News Release – All Media
12 May, 2000
Reaching Critical Will
(212) 682-1265

States and Russia will possess under the terms of any possible future arms reduction agreements, large, diversified, viable arsenals of strategic offensive weapons, it is has become undeniable that the real US intention is nukes forever.”

According to Greg Mello, Executive Director of the Los Alamos Study Group: “These documents reveal a resurgent nuclear weapons complex that is completely out of step with the requirements of the NPT. These legal requirements are seldom mentioned in DOE documents and have had no effect whatsoever on US weapons production plans. The DOE’s proposal to spend more than \$4 billion on new nuclear weapons production facilities and to produce at least 450 plutonium bomb “triggers per year is outrageous and irrational. We call on the international community to help up put the brakes on all plans for new nuclear weapons design and production facilities. If built, the facilities will be used.”

John Burroughs, Executive Director of the Lawyers, Committee on Nuclear Policy in New York stated: “US plans to modernize its nuclear arsenal and to maintain nuclear arms indefinitely flagrantly violate both provisions of the NPT disarmament obligation the requirement to end the nuclear arms race and the requirement for good faith negotiations leading to complete nuclear disarmament.”

End

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 Podesta
 Benckhardt
 (for reply)

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
 3-16-00
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 www.newschools.org

To B Reed

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 trip - sign pictures for them and
 for principal, superintendent & introduce
 & give who went with us in Davenport, after that
 leader -

To B Reed

we should do TYS to Kim & others
 Spriggs, Linares, Will who made
 trip - sign pictures for them and
 for principal, superintendent & introduce
 and girl who went with us in Davenport
 and other student leader -

New Schools Venture Fund
 440 Broadway
 Redwood City, CA 94063
 650.556.2342
 650.569.2196 fax
 ksmith@newschools.org
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Kimberly C. Smith
 President

newschools



LARRY GOLDBERG
 CHIEF DEPUTY SHERIFF

61 EAST MAIN STREET
 UNIONTOWN, PA 15401
 724-430-1295
 FAX 724-430-4030

April 11, 2000

Defying Convention, Superintendent Takes a Chance on Charter Schools

By JUNE KRONHOLZ

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SAN CARLOS, Calif. -- Hurling around central California visiting his start-ups; talking business plans and deliverables; courting venture capitalists and angels; fretting how he'll manage the corporate growth that's still illusory at best, **Don Shalvey** could be any Silicon Valley entrepreneur hustling his product.

Except Mr. Shalvey's product is schools. After 33 years as a teacher, principal and superintendent, Mr. Shalvey is launching what he plans will be a string of 100 charter schools to compete with the very same public schools he has long run.



Don Shalvey

In the white-hot economy of Silicon Valley, "we pray at the altar of competition; it's our lifeblood, our oxygen," says Reed Hastings, a software entrepreneur and one of Mr. Shalvey's backers. But in education, he adds, "competition is considered weird, it's unhealthy, it's almost bizarre."

That's what makes Mr. Shalvey's journey, from education bureaucrat to education entrepreneur, so unusual. It's why fixing the schools is proving so tough, and why education is emerging as a centerpiece issue in the presidential campaign. But for all that, it's also where public education is heading -- and faster than almost anyone ever expected.

Mr. Shalvey's idea is to cluster charter schools in some of California's more troubled school districts, with his charter elementaries feeding into his charter middle schools and charter high schools. When enrollment reaches 10% of the local student population, he calculates, the district schools will have lost so many students and so much state funding to his nonprofit University Public Schools that they will be

forced to improve their own programs or, better yet, adopt his. Ebullient and ever enthusiastic, Mr. Shalvey explains his reasoning with a story about the kids who visited his boyhood Philadelphia neighborhood and whipped the locals at basketball. "We got better when better players showed up and beat us," he says.

That's a guiding notion behind charters -- that by competing with district schools and each other, charters will improve them all -- and a popular one here in Silicon Valley. A venture-capital fund that includes John Doerr and Brook Byers, who also backed Amazon.com Inc. and Sun Microsystems Inc., has given \$1 million to Mr. Shalvey's company and put two directors on his board. Mr. Hastings, who began an Internet dot-com after selling his software company and who is on the California board of education, also gave \$1 million and sits on the UPS board. That high-octane support has smoothed, although not paved the way for UPS.

A Modest Start

There are only two schools this first year, in Stockton and Modesto. Mr. Shalvey uses vacation days from his job as superintendent in San Carlos to run his company. Philanthropy is paying for curriculum writers and school construction. Mr. Shalvey says UPS won't be "sustainable" -- that is, able to operate without gifts -- until it reaches 10 schools in perhaps two years. He talks of keeping overhead low by moving the UPS offices into a mobile home and traveling from school to school, but first, he allows, he has to find the money to buy the mobile home.

And finding a niche in a mature market -- there are schools everywhere, after all -- isn't easy. So it is that, searching for expansion, Mr. Shalvey cleared his calendar one recent afternoon when he was summoned to St. Louis Bertrand Catholic church in Oakland. The parish has closed its school because of falling enrollment and indicated it may be willing to rent it to Mr. Shalvey. The school, like the largely Hispanic neighborhood beyond, is in decline: brightly painted, but bypassed and worn. Mr. Shalvey grinned as if he had just stolen market share, which is of course what he hopes to do. "This," he said, "is exactly where we want to be."

Charter schools are publicly funded schools that operate outside the school-district bureaucracy -- an arrangement that is supposed to make them more agile and experimental. Since the first opened in Minnesota in 1992, charters have ballooned to 1,700 schools enrolling about 250,000 students. That's only a fraction of the 53 million U.S. schoolchildren, but in a few places, enrollment is large enough to begin challenging the districts: Charters account for 4% of all schoolchildren in Arizona and 9% in Washington, D.C.

With voters saying they are worried about education, moreover, charters are enjoying political clout far beyond their numbers. Both parties and presidential candidates endorse them. President Clinton,

he wants to see 3,000 charters before he leaves. Even the teachers' unions have embraced them, largely to head off voucher plans that use taxpayer money to send children to private schools.

Beyond that, the new state laws that authorized charters have, in effect, deregulated education, making possible a for-profit education industry and nationwide chains of schools. For-profit educational-management organizations, or EMOs, haven't captured investors' hearts. "There are easier ways to make money," says Gene Wade, whose for-profit LearnNow Inc. plans to open its first four charters in the fall. Still, they already account for 10% of all charter schools.

Charters are so new that there isn't much evidence they are fueling change in the district schools yet, though the U.S. Department of Education says seven in 10 have waiting lists, a sign that demand is growing faster than supply. It's also too soon to claim they're doing a better job of educating kids; most researchers say that will take at least five years to prove. "This isn't a chip shot," says Henry Levin, who heads a center on the privatization of education at Columbia University. "It's much harder to run schools and get results than these charter operators think."

Charter of Determination

But those doubts don't deter or even slow the 55-year-old Mr. Shalvey, whose wife also is a career public-school teacher and principal, and whose two children attended public schools and universities. Mr. Shalvey says he watched California's charter law work its way through the legislature in 1992 and was determined to win one of the first charters (as it turned out, few others applied). Mr. Shalvey, then an assistant superintendent in Lodi, Calif., was interviewing for the superintendent's job in the San Carlos district, and the teachers there "were asking for some new thinking," says Beth Hunkapiller, president of the San Carlos board. "They felt they needed some change."

Change isn't easy under California's 9,000-page education code, which tells schools, among other things, how to teach phonics, which textbooks to buy, how to do on-the-job teacher training -- and that they will have cafeterias with full-service kitchens. Wealthy and well-educated, San Carlos was the ideal place to experiment with charters. Mr. Shalvey says he reasoned, so he sold the idea at a town meeting. "I wanted to start somewhere they weren't needed," he explains and then expand the concept in places with poor schools.

For a superintendent to ask the state to approve a charter in his district isn't unlike Kmart offering Wal-Mart a storefront down the street. A charter draws children and money away from the district schools, and the district doesn't have any control over it. "They're inconvenient," says Mr. Shalvey, mimicking the opposition to charters. "There's risk: What happens if you fail? What happens if you succeed?"

Michael Kirst, who runs a program that offers joint master's degrees in business and education at Stanford University, says that fear of risk is what keeps many superintendents from trying new ideas, even when the old ones don't work. A superintendent's "career trajectory" takes him up through layers of administration where risk is discouraged -- because who wants to risk an eight-year-old's education? "We weren't trained that way," says Robert Stremple, who was superintendent of the U.S. Department of Defense schools and now sits on Mr. Shalvey's UPS board, "and we're perpetuating ourselves in the way we train others."

Only 55 children showed up when the San Carlos charter opened in 1993 -- the first in California -- and many of those came from other districts, seeking the San Carlos imprimatur. But the charter quickly turned into an R&D lab, pioneering technology, multiage classrooms, individual student-learning plans and teacher bonus pay, most of which have since been adopted by the district schools, too. With enrollment now at 184, and 100 on the waiting list, the charter also has set off competition for students in a district where enrollment is falling because families can't afford to move in (two-bedroom bungalows may fetch \$600,000).

"The competition is intense," says Kaaren Andrews, the 29-year-old "instructional coordinator" who heads the charter. Faced with competition from the charter, two other San Carlos elementaries converted to charters this year -- with 80% of the unionized teachers voting for the change -- and Mr. Shalvey has sent letters to all the other schools in the district, urging them to do the same.

L freed of state restrictions, says Robert Winslow, Heather School, where he is principal, chooses its textbooks and receives state funding in a lump sum, rather than in a dozen smaller pots linked to programs. But beyond that, charter status enables Heather to solicit for students in other districts -- and worried about low kindergarten enrollment next September, the third year in a row, Mr. Winslow already has started an ad campaign. "If we weren't a charter, we'd lose staff," he says simply. "If we lose staff, we lose programs" and then possibly more kids and still more staff.

Trolling for Voters

Two years ago, with a leave of absence and the unanimous approval of his school board, Mr. Shalvey took his evangelism for charters statewide by launching a voter initiative to lift the 100-school cap on charters in California. Thirty-six states permit charters, but most control their spread: Oregon limits charters to 10% of a district's enrollment; Missouri allows charters only in St. Louis and Kansas City. California's high-tech community endorsed the initiative, which, as it turned out, put so much pressure on legislators that they lifted the cap themselves. Mr. Hastings, the software entrepreneur, says that in an economy fueled by ideas, "the least we could do is spread the net of opportunity."

But traveling the state together, Mr. Hastings says he and Mr. Shalvey concluded that even if they got the charter law changed, "that wouldn't get schools built or kids served. We decided our next project should be a really big network of charter schools." Mr. Shalvey announced he would retire from San Carlos this fall (the school board has begun a search for a charter-friendly replacement), and UPS launched itself with a virtual office -- everyone in different cities, but linked by e-mail.

California gives charters about \$4,000 a year per child to operate. But like many states, it doesn't provide money to buy or renovate a building, and few charters have the collateral for a loan. The need for capital has helped fan the growth of for-profit charters, which can raise money from investors. LearnNow's Mr. Wade says he first planned a nonprofit chain of inner-city schools, but rethought it when he realized he needed at least \$22 million in the first two years. "No way could I get that from foundations," he says.

But Mr. Shalvey's goal isn't profits, he says (he will earn \$115,000 as chairman of UPS, the same as he earns in San Carlos -- "a lateral move," he calls it). It's to have his charters spread their best ideas to other schools, much as the San Carlos charter does. "There are no trade secrets" in a nonprofit, he says.

The migration of ideas already is starting in Stockton, where the UPS charter opened in a converted grocery store, its renovation paid for by Mr. Hastings. In a district so crowded that the schools run on shifts, the UPS charter offers 190 days of teaching, vs. 163 in other schools. Cleaning, food service and even gym classes are contracted out to save money. Teachers get a month of training -- nationally, three or four days is common -- and will depend for part of their pay on how well students perform on statewide tests and how many return for the next school year.

Although one-quarter of the students are poor, the message in Stockton is that everyone will go to college. Each classroom is named for a university -- there's the San Diego State class, the Pepperdine University class -- and the school puts aside 1% of its \$1.5 million budget for college scholarships. "Everyone wants in," says parent Yvonne Sousa. The school will have spots for 60 new kids in the fall; it stopped taking applications when the list hit 200.

Del Alberti, superintendent of the Lodi Unified School District that feeds into the charter, says he welcomed the nonunionized school because it gives him the chance to try out ideas that either the state education code or the teachers' union contract precludes in his schools. UPS schools, for example, combine two grades in the same classroom; the idea is that kids develop different skills at different ages. "We couldn't get a buy-off from the union on that," says Mr. Alberti. With what Lodi has learned from the UPS charter, though, Mr. Alberti says it will open its own charter in August -- and this

UPS plans another Stockton elementary *this fall*, and two charters in Oakland (St. Louis Bertrand has decided to rent its school to UPS). Oakland Mayor Jerry Brown is encouraging charters as part of his effort to turn around a woeful school district. "I don't think they can reinvent from the inside without someone like us on the outside," Mr. Shalvey says, "and I don't think we'd do as well if we weren't looking over our shoulders at them."

What's next? San Jose, San Francisco and Los Angeles are on Mr. Shalvey's master plan. "People are going to get really mad at us" as his schools compete and expand, Mr. Shalvey predicts. The idea doesn't seem to trouble him.

Write to June Kronholz at june.kronholz@wsj.com

Published Sunday, July 25, 1999, in the San Jose Mercury News

Millions to benefit schools

- **New Schools Fund:** Group hopes to distribute \$20 million for education and to provide other support.

BY S L WYKES

Mercury News Staff Writer

Some of Silicon Valley's most savvy venture capitalists are about to test whether the same techniques that nurtured the nation's high-tech industry to success can be used to help educate the nation's children.

The New Schools Fund, with offices in Redwood City, will start relatively small, aiming to fill and then distribute an initial purse of \$20 million. Although its mission will include public education about being an educational entrepreneur, it also will organize conferences, publish materials and encourage networking on important educational issues, said executive director Kim Smith.

In its first round of funding, New Schools will be looking for a dozen or so projects, drawn from an initial pool of profit and non-profit candidates. Some have a technological focus, others offer new management ideas. The first round of funding will be focused on programs for disadvantaged youth, Smith said, but the higher mission is to find ways to improve the educational system.

Following the classic venture capital model, New Schools will offer assistance to those projects, working collaboratively with the projects to support their growth. That could mean anything from helping a project find good managers to offering business expertise, Smith said.

In another departure from standard foundation form, the fund also will work closely with its grantees to create ways of measuring results, something that has been an ongoing topic of debate in education.

What New Schools wants to capitalize on is the entrepreneurial spirit that spots windows for change, then apply that to education, Smith said.

It's another form of the venture philanthropy that has picked up speed recently, with organizations such as the Entrepreneur Foundation, Silicon Valley Community Ventures and Lenders for Community Development bringing that venture capital model to non-profit organizations and would-be businesses in low-income communities.

Education plus business

New Schools is directing its attention to education, where models of behavior standard in business have rarely been followed. But New Schools' board will feature a blend of viewpoints: Ted Mitchell, president of Occidental College and former vice president of the J. Paul Getty Trust, experienced foundation directors such as Ann Bowers of the Noyce Foundation and more business-oriented fund partners such as John Doerr of Kleiner Perkins Caufield & Byers, Netscape's Marc Andreessen and Marimba's Kim Polese.

"Our first goal is to look at projects (and ask), 'Can this substantially improve education?' and then figure out the best way to support it," Smith said. "We're not trying to reinvent the wheel. We wouldn't expect to become an advanced think tank. . . . We want to find education entrepreneurs . . . and bring to them additional energy."

Reed Hastings, a Silicon Valley CEO and former chief of Technology Network, described the New Schools group as "admittedly amateurs at philanthropy (but) we're banding together to get better faster. And we wouldn't try to create something that's done very well already. We definitely want to create a new paradigm for venture philanthropy."

New Schools will retain one quality of standard venture capital thinking, Hastings said. "If we don't have some big failures," he said, "we'll think we weren't aggressive enough. That's not a typical foundation mind-set."

How big the fund might grow is anyone's guess, although Hastings made one: "If we're successful with the first round, I think there will be a lot of donor interest and clearly a lot of investor interest."

Driving force

Matt Glickman, a thirtysomething Silicon Valley entrepreneur whose babycenter.com recently was acquired by eToy, is an example of the intersection between two passionate interests driving New Schools.

With master's degrees in business and education, Glickman spent a year doing administrative work for Teach for America, an ambitious program that puts recent college graduates to work teaching in schools with big educational challenges.

Now, as an experienced entrepreneur, Glickman sees New Schools as a way to bring together "two different worlds that don't talk to each other much, and they could both benefit from talking to each other."

New Schools already has become a part of the funding for a reading program called Success for All (SFA). A non-profit organization begun as a Johns Hopkins University research project, Success for All clearly fits in with New Schools' mission to fund ideas that can be duplicated in many school settings. "What we set out to do was build a (reading) program we call replicable," said Nancy Madden, SFA's director.

After years of operating on research grants, SFA left Johns Hopkins and acquired a business plan. New Schools will be a small part of SFA's next step -- expanding to 3,000 schools in the next five years.

"That just can't be done within a university context," Madden said.

Model charter schools

Don Shalvey is in talks with New Schools to fund University Public Schools, a group that hopes to create model charter schools. Shalvey, who also is the superintendent of the San Carlos Elementary School District, knows the traditional funding sources for such projects -- foundations or the federal government.

He sees the venture capital investment technique as adding essential elements for success. "Foundations can champion you, but not coach you," he said. "It's like walking in a whole different world . . . that can inform and enhance public education."

Just what the impact will be of New Schools' funding -- and that of other new funds with an educational bend, such as the Gates Foundation -- will depend on how well they do their homework, said Dee Dickinson, head of the two-decades-old education reform collaborative, New Horizons for Learning.

The biggest obstacle to any reform effort, however, may be the nature of the system. "Schools have always found it difficult to change," said Dickinson, who remains supportive of new efforts like New Schools. "The problems (of education) today are of such magnitude that schools alone cannot deal with it. They need the resources of the entire community."

IF YOU'RE INTERESTED

The New Schools Fund can be contacted at (650) 556-2340, e-mailed at info@newschools.org or on its Web site: www.newschools.org



What is New Schools?

Background

- Created by technology venture capitalists and entrepreneurs who want to translate what they know into improving public education
- Staffed with “hybrids” who combine education entrepreneurship and business management expertise

Experience of Our Founders

- There is a New Economy -- a Knowledge Economy

In which...

- Networks and Scale matter
- Entrepreneurs and leverage matter

Old

vs.

New Economy

a skill

labor v. mgmt.

monopolies

plant, equipment

security

wages

status quo

standardization

hierarchical

regulation

life-long learning

teams

competition

intellectual property

risk taking

options, accountability

speed, change

custom, choice

networked, chaordic

convergence of sectors

Reference Points:

- VC: Doerr backed Amazon, Netscape, AOL, Intuit, SUN, Lotus, Freemarkets, co-founded @home Networks, etc.
- Entrepreneur: Barksdale - Fed Ex transformed postal service, Netscape changed our lives w/ the internet
- Social Entrepreneur: Teach For America, AmeriCorps

Venture Approach

- Specialize by industry-- pattern recognition is key to value add
- Look for levers for change
- Build scalable ventures
- Hands-on -- value-add; BOD member, advisors, resources, team members
- Networks -- connect ventures with new economy resources

Social Entrepreneurs, like business entrepreneurs...

- Are **visionary** -- not satisfied with status quo, nor constrained by “the rules”
- Are **passionate**, driven, determined, **tenacious**
- Act with a sense of **urgency**
- Lead with integrity and **inspire** others to join the cause
- **Need investors** (“venture philanthropists”) willing to contribute substantial financial, intellectual and human capital over time.



The New Schools Venture Fund is a nonprofit venture philanthropy fund dedicated to improving public K-12 education by supporting outstanding education entrepreneurs.

We achieve this mission by creating:

- ♦ A portfolio of 10-20 of the best education ventures, both non-profit and for-profit
- ♦ A nationwide network connecting education entrepreneurs with New Economy resources.



How New Schools Operates:

- Industry focus (K-12 public educ)
- Review incoming business plans (non π and π)
- Due diligence -- extensive
- Investment Partners
 - meet quarterly to make decisions on grants, loans, or equity investments
 - include donors and education experts
- Fewer but larger investments; BOD seat
- Capacity building for the field, network development, incubations



New Schools Investment Criteria

1. **Scalable**
2. **Sustainable**
3. Passionate **Hybrid** Leadership - understand and combine education and business management
4. There is an important strategic reason for New Schools specifically to be at the table
5. **High Leverage** opportunity to improve public K-12 education, as indicated by:

Targets a vulnerability in the system, meets a real need

Measurable: progress towards outcomes can be assessed

Catalytic: designed to overcome systemic inertia

Layers of Impact:

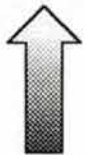
4. Mobilize *significant* capital



3. Efficient Non Profit Capital Market

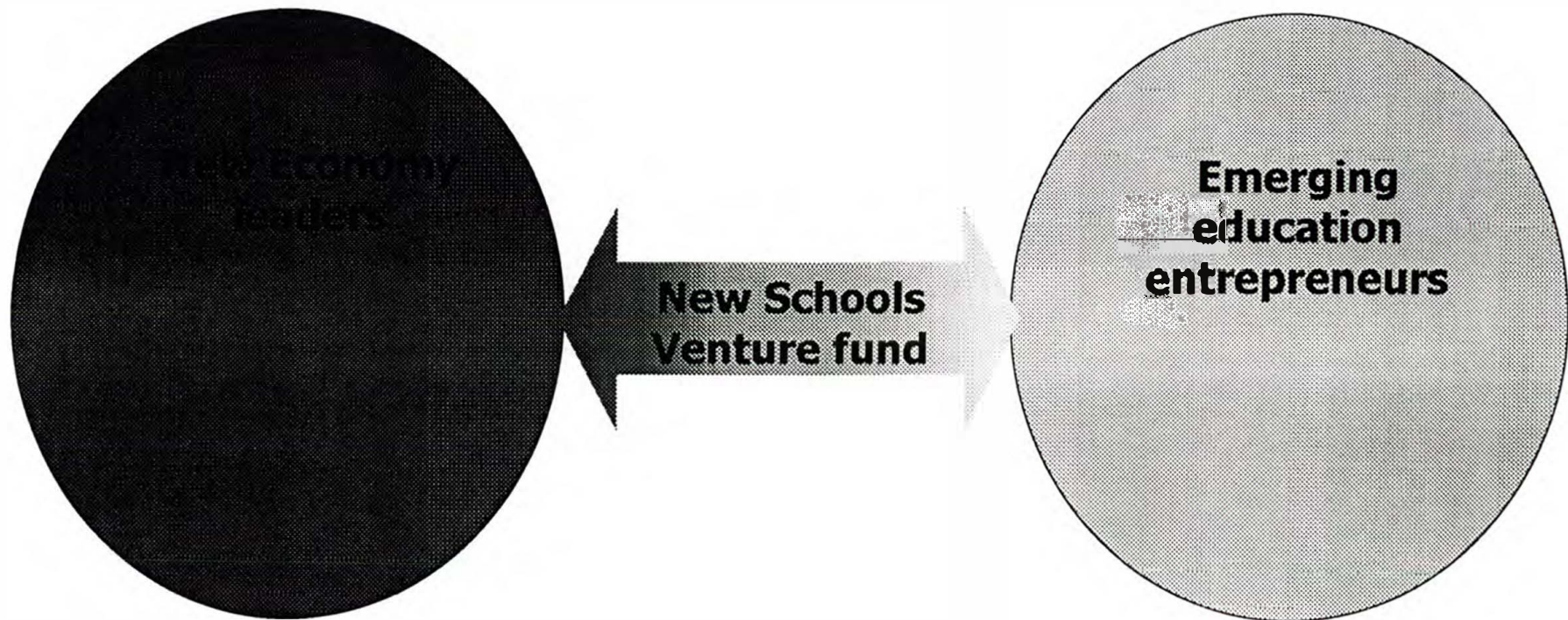


2. Catalytic Effect on Education System



1. Portfolio educational outcomes for kids

“Hybrid” Translator





New Schools' Unique Combination:

- Industry focus: public K-12 education for poor and underserved children
- Network of New Economy donors, with Investment Partners decision making process
- For profit and non profit ventures



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May 17, 2000

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500-0001

Dear Mr. President:

On Saturday, October 7, 2000, at the Beverly Hilton Hotel in Beverly Hills, we will celebrate my 59th birthday at our Third Annual Rainbow/PUSH Coalition Awards Dinner. This year the dinner will be a culmination of a two day "Wall Street - West" conference. Last year was a very special evening in which we honored your good friends Fred Stevie Wonder, John Wilhelm, F Assembly Antonio Villaraigosa. We were treated to a wonderful gave an impromptu mini-concer

Berry Gordy, Warren Beatty, D (also a past honoree), and several serve as Honorary Co-Chairs for in Silicon Valley, we would be the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition I outstanding dedication to public extraordinary talents to help m From your unwavering dedicat administration's extensive wor instilled in the American people. With your wisdom, your humility, your hope and your humor, you not only enable, but inspire people of all walks of life to reach higher, to walk taller, and to embrace the blessing of life.

I very much enjoyed accompanying you on the New Markets/Digital Opportunity Tour last month and I'm glad we were able to find a moment to discuss this in person. Your continued support of Rainbow/PUSH throughout the years means a great deal to me. It is my sincere hope that with the dinner five months away, you will be able to arrange your hectic schedule and join us in Los Angeles to receive this honor for which you are so deserving.

We are also hoping Nelson Mandela will permit us to honor him with the Legend Award. Unlike previous years with numerous honorees, we will only give out these two awards this year, given the obvious stature of the honorees.

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Berry Gordy, Warren Beatty, Don Cornelius, Dolores Robinson and Ron Burkle (also a past honoree), and several other distinguished friends have kindly agreed to serve as Honorary Co-Chairs for the evening. As per our conversation last month in Silicon Valley, we would be delighted if you would allow us to honor you with the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition Leadership Award for your indomitable spirit and outstanding dedication to public service. Your example of employing your extraordinary talents to help make a difference in our world is truly inspiring. From your unwavering dedication to children and education, to your administration's extensive work to create over 19 million new jobs, you have re-instilled in the American people the ability to hope and the inspiration to dream. With your wisdom, your humility, your hope and your humor, you not only enable, but inspire people of all walks of life to reach higher, to walk taller, and to embrace the blessing of life.

I very much enjoyed accompanying you on the New Markets/Digital Opportunity Tour last month and I'm glad we were able to find a moment to discuss this in person. Your continued support of Rainbow/PUSH throughout the years means a great deal to me. It is my sincere hope that with the dinner five months away, you will be able to arrange your hectic schedule and join us in Los Angeles to receive this honor for which you are so deserving.

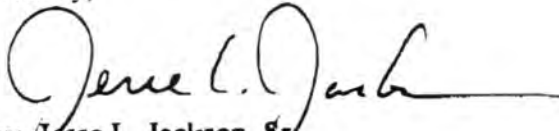
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Re: Rainbow/PUSH Celebration
May 17, 2000
Page 2

This has been an exciting year for Rainbow/PUSH Coalition and has seen us expand our multi-racial, multi-issue, international membership organization to several new cities. In addition to our Wall Street Project, National Headquarters in Chicago, and bureaus in Washington, D.C., Los Angeles, San Francisco, Detroit and Atlanta, we have now opened offices in Silicon Valley, Cleveland, Houston, and will soon be up and running in Florida. Additionally, we are very excited that we will soon announce the opening of our first office overseas in South Africa. With these various locations, all staffed with bright, talented and committed people of conscience, we are better able to serve our constituent base and continue to work towards our common goal of social, racial and economic justice for all people.

I truly hope you will be able to be with us on the evening of October 7th.

Sincerely,



Rev. Jesse L. Jackson, Sr.

DATE: 5/17/00

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TO: Ms. Betty Currie
COMPANY: The White House
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FROM: Tracy Rice, Esq.
Los Angeles Bureau Chief
TELE: (310) 889-1111

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SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS/MESSAGE:

Rev. Jackson requested that I get this letter to you to deliver to the President. I will be the contact on this so if you have any questions or concerns, or need additional information please do not hesitate to call me. My cell phone number is (310) 994-8583. Thank you very much.

C. Enay

Rev. Willie T. Barrow, Co-Chair of Board of Trustees • Dennis Rivera, Co-Chair of Board of Trustees
Janice L. Mathis, General Counsel
Rev. Jesse L. Jackson Sr., Founder & President