



**Embassy of the
United States of America**

Office of the Ambassador

Belize City, Belize

May 15, 2000

The President
The White House

Dear Mr. President,

My sides have finally stopped aching after watching your performance at the White House Correspondents' Dinner. You were sublime and outrageous. I loved it.

I have faith that your more serious pursuits will also win the desired reaction – in particular, the China trade bill. We've been up to some serious business down here, too. Our Belizean friends signed not one, but two, agreements with the United States in one month. One was the Extradition Treaty, the second the Protocols to the Maritime Agreement, which allows us to give air chase to drug traffickers. Both accords had been stalled for years. I'm working on two more treaties as our clock winds down – maybe we'll have a signing at the buzzer.

We also completed a New Horizons humanitarian and training mission, building seven schools in an economically depressed district. And Navy reconnaissance planes, using Belize as a base, have intercepted about \$1 billion in illegal drugs headed for the United States. Those are the headlines.

I want you to know that my team and I could not have done any of this without the support you have demonstrated for our mission here in Belize.

Thanks also to Bruce Lindsey, John Podesta and Bob Nash, who all offered assistance and support at critical junctures. Betty Currie, too, has always been an angel.

Mack McLarty was also a friend to us here, and now I'm enjoying working with Buddy MacKay. Buddy has asked me to deliver remarks at a forum on Hemispheric issues at the White House on May 23. If you're in and can squeeze a minute, I'll stop by to say hello.

All the best to you and the First Lady,

Carolyn Currie

To Burkhardt
coordinate w/ NSC,
scheduling
BC sig

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-9-00

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Eugénie Bisulco *EB*
Through: Nancy Hernreich
Re: Article Summary -- "Cyberselfish" by Paula Borsook
Date: 6 June 2000

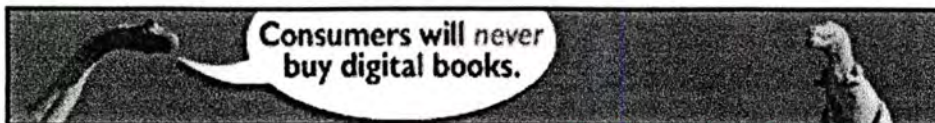
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My husband Ben thought you might be interested in this article because it provides a good synopsis of Borsook's book, of the same title, released last month. The book has caused a bit of a stir because of its demonification of what Borsook has labeled "technolibertarianism" and the "technocrats" or "technolibertarians," who perpetuate it.

Technolibertarians, in her view, are young professionals of Silicon Valley who've capitalized on the Internet/high-tech revolution yet won't acknowledge the government's influence on its inception or the positive value of government regulation.

Essentially, the article is a comparison between the technologists of her father's generation and those of twenty years later. The contrast appears quite stark in this article -- virtually like that between good and evil.



Advertisement

MOTHER JONES
~~WIRE~~
magazine
1996/
June/July



Cyberselfish

by Paulina Borsook

July/August
1996

Silicon valley, one of the country's biggest recipients of government largesse, would like to bite the hand that feeds it. **Paulina Borsook**, a *Wired* magazine contributing writer, reports on the growth of cyberlibertarianism.

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I grew up in Pasadena, California, attending school with the sons and daughters of fathers (yup, in those days it was only dads) who worked at Caltech and the Jet Propulsion Laboratory. These parents of my classmates were my first encounter with technologists, and they were, to a man, good liberals. These were the kind of folks who would have Pete Seeger do a benefit concert for our school. They voted New Deal Democratic; they were the grateful recipients of all the money the U.S. government had poured into science, post-Sputnik; they had a sense that the government could do and had done good things, from building Boulder Dam to pulling off the Manhattan Project to putting a man on the moon. And, as beneficiaries of government largesse in ways they were well aware of -- from the GI Bill to interest deductions for home mortgages to the vast expansion of government funding for R&D -- they felt society in general, as manifested in the actions of the government, had an obligation to help everyone in it.

They were also fully aware of the positive value of government regulation, from the reliability of the FDA-mandated purity of pharmaceutical-grade chemicals they used in their research to the enforcement of voting rights for African-Americans in the South. And what with the very visible air quality problems in the Los Angeles basin (their government-funded studies had recorded the smog death of trees in the encircling San Gabriel Mountains by the 1960s), they were able to see the benefits of regulation in the local ban on trash incineration, the regulation of refinery effluents in the L.A. area, and the implementation of federally stipulated smog devices on automobiles.

So it came as a shock, when, 20 years later, I stumbled into the culture of Silicon Valley (my first job at a software company, 1981; first job at a computer magazine, 1983; attendance at the first commercial conference devoted to the Internet, 1987; token feminist/humanist/skeptic on the masthead of *Wired* magazine, 1993). Although the technologists I encountered there were the liberals on social issues I would have expected (pro-choice, as far as abortion; pro-diversity, as far as domestic partner benefits; inclined to sanction the occasional use of recreational drugs), they were violently lacking in compassion, ravingly anti-government, and tremendously opposed to regulation.

These are the inheritors of the greatest government subsidy of technology and expansion in technical education the planet has ever seen; and, like the ungrateful adolescent offspring of immigrants who have made it in the new country, they take for granted the richness of the environment in which they have flourished, and resent the hell out of the constraints that bind them. And, like privileged, spoiled teenagers everywhere, they haven't a clue what their existence would be like without the bounty showered on them. These high-tech libertarians believe the private sector can do everything -- but, of course, R&D is something that cannot by any short-term measurement meet the test of the marketplace, the libertarians' measure of all things. They decry regulation--except without it, there would be no mechanism to ensure profit from intellectual property, without which entrepreneurs would not get their payoffs, nor would there be equitable marketplaces in which to make their sales.

(Continued)

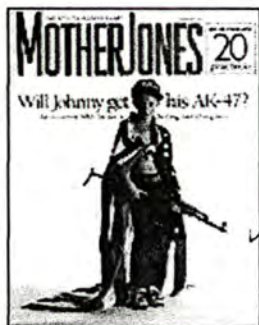
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Cyberselfish (cont'd)



..... "flaming" libertarians

When I was asked to participate in a survey on the politics of the Net, the questions *presumed* respondents were libertarian, but charitably gave space for outdated contrarian views. When *Byte* magazine's former West Coast bureau chief wrote an editorial mildly advocating government subsidy for basic Net access for elementary schools and public libraries, the only response he got was outraged flames from libertarians.

And when *Self* magazine started an online gun control conference on The Well, an electronic bulletin board and Internet gateway smack in the middle of tree-hugging, bleeding-heart-liberal, secular-humanist Northern California, opinions ranged from mildly to rabidly anti-gun control. This passionate hatred of regulation, so out of whack with the opinions of the man and woman on the street in my own bioregion/demographic, showed me how different a place the online, high-tech world is from the terrestrial community to which it is nominally tethered -- even an online world with countercultural roots as strong as those of The Well.

Mike Godwin, staff counsel for the online watchdog group Electronic Frontier Foundation, has written in *Wired* magazine, "Libertarianism (pro, con, and internal faction fights) is the primordial net.news discussion topic. Anytime the debate shifts somewhere else, it must eventually return to this fuel source." In a decentralized community where tolerance and diversity are the norm (no one questions online special-interest chat rooms devoted to consensual S&M or Wiccan nature mysticism or...), it is damned peculiar that there seems to be no place for political points of view other than the libertarian.

..... true stories

I think this all very strange, because, of course, I know that without the government, there would be no Internet (majorly funded by the government until recently).

Further, there would be no microprocessor industry, the fount of Silicon Valley's prosperity (early computers sprang out of government-funded electronics research). There would also be no major research universities cranking out qualified tech workers: Stanford, Berkeley, MIT,

and Carnegie Mellon get access to incredibly cheap state-of-the-art equipment plus R&D, courtesy of tax-reduced academic-industrial consortia and taxpayer-funded grants and fellowships.

But libertarianism thrives in high-tech, nonetheless. I spent a week at the plushy Lake Tahoe getaway of a Silicon Valley guy who's made it. We argued and butted heads with great civility -- but perhaps the most Found moment came when he complained about how the local Tahoe building code wouldn't let him alter the silhouette of his megachalet. I nodded sympathetically, yet pointed out that in Los Angeles, where there were no such planning guidelines until recently, plutocrats often tore down existing structures and rebuilt monstrosities that take up the entire lot, blocking their neighbors' views. He looked at me, puzzled; he hadn't considered that possibility. Obviously, he had never heard of the tragedy of the commons, where one sheep too many consuming more than its share of common resources destroys the whole; nor had he thought much about what participating in a community means.

Of course, I was also thinking about the fine system of interstate highways that made his trip from Silicon Valley to the Sierra a breeze; the sewage and water-treatment facilities that allowed his toddlers to drink safely out of the tap in his kitchen; the fabric contents-and-care labels on the sheets and towels freshly laundered for each new houseguest; and the environmental regulations that keep Tahoe the uniquely blue, gorgeous, and safe refuge it is -- precisely the lateral, invisible, benign effects of the government he constantly railed against.

..... i got mine

The nexus of libertarianism and high-tech in the Silicon Valley will come to matter more and more, because it involves lots and lots of money (companies with valuations rivaling General Motors'). And it's a wealth of tremendous self-insulation: I routinely attend parties peopled by digerati in their 20s and early 30s who, in addition to their desirable arrogance of youth, have a frightening invulnerability (their skills in demand, the likelihood of cashing out high).

One of these, a friend newly venture-funded to capitalize on Net advertising, commented that the economy was basically in good shape (after all, no one she knew was struggling) -- and then wondered why, when she ran a help wanted ad for an office manager in the San Francisco Chronicle, she got so many applicants, so many of whom had advanced degrees and employment histories of authority and responsibility.

Never mind people like my sister, who, with her biology degree from Stanford and master's in public health, has rarely found a steady job with benefits in the last 10 years, and has at times resorted to desperation moves such as selling flowers at subway stations to prevent foreclosure on her house (wrong gender; wrong skill set: teaching, public health, environmental concerns -- just the kind of "middle manager/government bureaucrat" so

despised by technolibertarians).

Or my ex-boyfriend, the English professor (B.A. honors, University of Chicago; Ph.D., Cornell), who was *lucky* to find a job where he earned about what I made at my first technical writing gig 15 years ago (wrong skill set: all that subjective liberal-arts-flake crap no one cares about. After all, *anyone* can publish on the Web, and, as MIT Media Lab's Archduke Nicholas Negroponte points out, what's the future of books anyway?).

And what would the technolibertarians make of the New York Times front-page series on the chronic, structural unemployment of masses of skilled middle-class workers, folks theoretically immune to being rendered redundant in the '90s? Or the heartbreaking stories I read about blue-collar workers (haven't they had the good taste to become extinct by now?) in the house organ of the United Auto Workers (the National Writers Union is part of the UAW). I imagine the technolibertarians thinking, "Well, the blue-collar miscreants, it's their own damned-inertial Second Wave thinking that's got them unemployed." But what would they say about the white-collar jobless, who, no doubt, *were* working with computers?

..... the true revenge of the nerds

As surely as power follows wealth, those who make money decide that society, having rewarded their random combination of brains and luck in one sphere, should pay attention to them in another. And so, high-technocrats are beginning to try to influence the world beyond VDTs.

But what will result if the people who want to shape public policy know nothing about history or political science or, most importantly, how to interact with other humans? Programmers, and those who know how to make money off them, mostly find it easier to interact in e-mail than IRL (in real life), and are often not good at picking up the cues, commonplaces, and patterns of being that civilians use to communicate, connect, and operate in groups.

The convergence between libertarianism and high-tech has created the *true* revenge of the nerds: Those whose greatest strengths have not been the comprehension of social systems, appreciation of the humanities, or acquaintance with history, politics, and economics have started shaping public policy. Armed with new money and new celebrity -- juice -- they can wreak vengeance on those by whom they have felt diminished.

Implicit is their assumption that those who excel by working with the tangible and not the virtual (e.g., manufacturing and servicing actual stuff) are to be considered societally superfluous. Technolibertarians *applaud* the massive industrial dislocations taking place in affluent North America, comparable to the miseries of the Scottish enclosures or the Industrial Revolution.

Compare my father's generation: My father succeeded through his era's version of the arriviste drive so celebrated by technolibertarian theorists such as George Gilder, Silicon Valley's John Knox. One of eight children in an immigrant family, second in his class in medical school when there were still quotas on Jews (the usual story), my father, like the majority of his age-cohorts, never had contempt for those who couldn't find a way to work the system as he had. He believed in social safety nets and as much government regulation (for consumer health and safety, for example) as possible to aid ordinary people. It would have made no sense to him to adopt the stance of today's technolibertarian nouveau riche (or even more scarily, wannabe nouveau riche). And in this he was not exceptional.

..... the ultimate escape

It's not clear how all this evolved: a combination, no doubt, of the money to be made by developing technology in the private sector, the general worldwide resurgence of libertarianism, maybe some previously undocumented deleterious effect of the toxic byproducts of semiconductor manufacturing that have leached into the aquifers below Sunnyvale. But there are some worrisome consequences to consider as technology touches more and more people's lives -- and those who rule are increasingly the ones who understand it, own it, create it, and profit by it.

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Protecting privacy. Technolibertarians rightfully worry about Big Bad Government, yet think commerce unfettered can create all things bright and beautiful -- and so they disregard the real invader of privacy: Corporate America seeking ever-better ways to exploit the Net, to sell databases of consumer purchases and preferences, to track potential customers however it can.
- 
Skimping on philanthropy. In Silicon Valley and its regional outposts (Seattle, Austin), it's not even a joke, not even an embarrassment, that there's so little corporate philanthropy, except where enlightened self-interest can come to bear (donating computers to schools, contributing to a local computer museum). High-tech employees rank among the lowest of any industry sector for giving to charity -- especially dismaying given their education, job security, lifetime earnings potential, and annual income.

It's an issue of culture: Unlike other educated professionals, who see good works and support of the arts as symbols of having arrived or as payback to the society that has treated them well, the average geek espouses a world where the only art would be that which has withstood the test of the marketplace (Dong Kingman museums? Leroy Nieman traveling exhibitions?), and where there is no value to be derived in experiencing a painting in person (that is, in a museum) as opposed to on CD-ROM.

And since these guys honestly can't perceive the difference between a Lichtenstein and

some *soi-disant* computer art exercise in primary-colored fractals, courtesy of Kai's Power Tools -- they don't see anything out there worth subsidizing. A total sweetheart of my acquaintance, the smart and aesthetically sensitive creative director of a hot hot hot Web design studio, not only hadn't read *The Magic Mountain*, he hadn't heard of it. Nor of its author, Thomas Mann, a Nobel laureate and one of the great novelists of the century, an early multivoiced postmodernist if ever there were one. And perish the thought that anyone should need the services of an AIDS hospice, without the benefit of a few thousand shares of founders' stock in Intel or Cisco to cash in.

- **Gutting the environment.** High-tech also has tremendously negative environmental impacts: Manufacturing its plastics and semiconductors is a remarkably toxic and resource-depleting affair. No surprise, then, that high-tech companies increasingly manufacture them in countries without environmental and worker safety regulations, or in U.S. locales where these regulations are more lax. This way, the guys in area codes 415 and 408 who like to go telemarketing in the Shasta Trinity Alps or bouldering in the Desolation Wilderness don't have to confront the opportunity cost of their wealth: the poisoning of the world due to the ever-expanding reach of industrialization. And they never consider that one of the reasons the whole world (including the immigrant engineers working in Silicon Valley) wants to be here is that environmental regulation and a culture of government-mandated conservation (however imperfectly executed) have made the United States probably the safest, healthiest, and, in some ways, most pristine place on earth.
- **Ignoring cities.** The anti-communitarian outlook is an outcropping of how *suburban* an industry high-tech is. The quintessential edge-city business, high-tech celebrates people operating as monads, free agents who work in industrial parks and aspire, when they cash out in an initial public offering, to telecommute from horse country, puma country, or even from within the spare-bedroom-cum-home-office located in a half-million-dollar Eichler ranch house on a street close to El Camino Real. Never mind that most start-up/self-employed/telecommuting Internet entrepreneurs are concentrated in New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, thriving on the grit/density/frisson/charge of urban areas.

..... new robber barons

All this matters desperately: With the libertarian agenda at work, the very things that fed the boom economy in intellectual property -- the last great thing the United States has done -- will disappear without more investment in infrastructure and health and safety and education and every other good legacy of the New Deal and the Great Society. In 20 or 30 years, the United States may well cease creating the one commodity that produces a trade surplus and new jobs.

And the sorrow for the bottom 90 percent of society -- what Apple Computer once

disingenuously called "the rest of us" -- will be that once again we may deceive ourselves. We make goo-goo eyes over the megabucks high-tech generates, but we ignore the price. Just as 19th-century timber and cattle and mining robber barons made their fortunes from public resources, so are technolibertarians creaming the profits from public resources -- from the orderly society that has resulted from the wise use of regulation and public spending. And they have neither the wisdom nor the manners nor the mindset to give anything that's not electronic back.

San Francisco writer Paulina Borsook has published essays in Suck, MIT Press' Leonardo and the Seal Press anthology Wired Women.

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6-9-00

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 25, 2000

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MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

CC: JOHN PODESTA, SANDY BERGER, JAMES STEINBERG, TONY
BLINKEN, BRUCE REED, GENE SPURLING

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL *SB*

SUBJECT: Berlin Conference Communique

This is the latest draft of the communique. I have informed the Germans that we will make further revisions.

Show Al From too

**BERLIN COMMUNIQUE:
PROGRESSIVE GOVERNANCE FOR THE 21ST CENTURY**

**Draft in accordance with the results of the meeting of
Senior Political Advisors held 2nd May 2000 in Berlin**

May 23, 2000

We have come together in Berlin in order to exchange views and learn from each other about how to tackle the new challenges and opportunities that emerge in the 21st century. In November 1999 six of us met in Florence. We promised there to expand our discussions. Today, 17 Heads of State and Government have found common ground that we believe defines a progressive political project fit for the new century.

We are bound together first and foremost by our values. We are committed to solidarity and social fairness. We believe in the equal worth of all and ^{personal and} ~~in~~ mutual responsibility. These values are not new – but we know they obtain fresh relevance in a world that is changing at rapid speed. We are liberated from old enmities; but we are humbled by the responsibility to make up for lost years. The only way to do this is to forge a new progressive path.

We are leaders who are aware of the opportunities of globalisation, without denying the dangers. We fully recognize globalisation as an economic, social, and cultural reality, but it should not just be allowed to happen; the key task of progressive governance in the new century is to help people make the most of change, by providing the tools for them to fulfill their talents in the new world that is being created.

We believe market economies must be combined with social responsibility in order to create longterm growth, stability and full employment, promote social justice, and protect the environment. But the digital revolution, the growing integration of the global economy, as well as demographic and social changes mean that we can only fulfill our values if we work in new ways. We know that the benefits of globalisation are not being realised for all our people, especially in the developing world, where income distribution has become more unequal.

All these challenges require progressive action. We commit ourselves to the core values of opportunity for all, responsibility from all, and community of all. We practice

new methods of progressive governance. In this, we can only be helped by wider dialogue, and invite other leaders to join us in a commitment to meet the challenges and opportunities we describe below.

People want to live in a community, not merely work in a market; therefore they expect their governments to effectively fight unemployment - in cooperation with management and labour unions; they want education and lifelong learning, because they know that this is the key to more efficiency and more social cohesion at the same time; they want government to promote opportunity and security; they want to protect the environment and improve local quality of life; they seek co-operation across national borders in order to recognise the links of the international community in pursuit of these goals.

We are determined to take our countries forward and to establish safe and sound conditions that help to promote civil rights, employment and prosperity, equal opportunity for women and men. Our goal is to liberate the talent of all our people, but to do that we must share responsibility between public authorities and private individuals, between governments and international organisations, between non-governmental organisations and the public sector. This question is at the heart of progressive governance in the 21st century.

Advancing Prosperity

Our discussion at the Berlin-Conference has focussed in three areas. First, we have discussed the role of politics and government at national level in the context of global economic competition, global markets and global financial flows. For us, there are five key responsibilities for national government in advancing prosperity:

- It must maintain stability in macroeconomic policy, supporting sound public finances and a firm stance against inflation; it should also promote financial market stability, transparency and fair competition; only on this basis can companies and families invest with confidence; only on this basis we can keep our economies on a steady and sustainable growth path and envisage full employment.
- The new economy sweeping the globe is leading to unparalleled affluence. We believe that economic change and innovative technology can open up new ways of working and new markets can be empowering and democratic. Economic progress can help to lift people above social and economic barriers, but this

demands that individuals are equipped with the capabilities of meeting the new challenges.

- Education is critical to equity, development and citizenship all at the same time and is the key to social justice and economic dynamism. Therefore it is a top priority for all of us. For example, the expansion of higher education is essential for students, but also promotes a vibrant research base from which new businesses can be formed. Moreover, our aim is to promote lifelong learning and in particular to upgrade the skills of low-skilled workers.
- Social and welfare systems need to be both enhanced and adapted. In developing countries better social safety nets can prevent the transmission of poverty and inequality of both women and men. We must also ensure that the provision for the ageing, the sick and the disabled is financially secure for the future to prepare for new demographic challenges. The foundation of social policy is an effective employment policy, directed towards participation and especially preventing structural unemployment. In this field in particular we will share and learn from best practices.
- We are determined to fully exploit the chances of the new information and communication technologies for prosperity, employment and participation. The role of government is to create a climate for entrepreneurship to flourish, to help reduce costs for access to new technology, and to promote research and scientific advance. We are also committed to bridging the digital divide. All citizens need to possess the skills to participate in the technology that is rapidly changing the ways we live. We are aware that new technologies bring about new forms of labour organisation and affects worker's rights.

Strengthening Civil Society

Second, we discussed how to strengthen civil society. In an environment of changing social structures, people want to live in sound social relations: Families need our particular attention; citizens want to live in a secure neighbourhood; children have the right to live their childhood and to grow up in an environment without crime, drugs and violence; immigrants and indigenous people need to be fully integrated into economic, social and political life.

We believe that civil society needs to be renewed for the modern age: the dynamic

market needs to be matched by a strong civic society, based not on prejudice but agreed rules, and by a reformed state. Those in authority must be accountable. Reformed governments have to provide checks and balances to globalisation, making globalisation work for people, providing social security, fairness and cultural bearings, engaging people in public affairs. We consider the following issues to be key:

- We need a new balance of rights and responsibilities as the basis for stronger communities. The well off should lend society their abilities and talents, not exclude themselves from society, and those who are underprivileged should be integrated, being offered new chances. We support an enabling role for the state, providing all citizens with the tools to develop themselves to the full. Companies have responsibilities in community life too. This relationship has to be emphasised.
- Public services are critical to equal opportunity and a civilised society, because we all depend on the quality of education, health, care and childcare, criminal justice and social services. Our conviction is that these services must be driven by the needs of the citizen - for improved quality, greater convenience, more personalised service provision. That often means difficult reform, which is an essential counterpart to increased investment to meet growing needs.
- For us, communities only deserve that name when all citizens, whatever their race, religion, origin or sex, live in an atmosphere of tolerance and mutual respect. At time of huge challenges of population movement, we must have clear policies for immigration and asylum. We are committed to foster social inclusion and respect for ethnic, cultural and religious diversity, because they make our societies strong, our economies more flexible and promote exchange of ideas and knowledge. We celebrate the diversity of our nations. We encourage cultural diversity. Globalisation, which is indeed about more contacts and more exchanges, should not lead to uniformisation, but to the enrichment of people and the opening out of cultures.
- Indigenous minorities in several countries are among the most vulnerable worldwide. We recognise that protecting and promoting their rights warrants special consideration and is a legitimate concern of international community.
- We must modernise and update government to ensure that its focus is on

addressing effectively the problems our citizens face and on encouraging their development. Where partnership with the private sector delivers the public interest, we support it; where decentralisation gives citizens more control of their affairs, we support it; where technology can rationalise provision and make it more convenient, we support it.

- The digital revolution must be embraced by government in order to make it more accessible, accountable and efficient. We recognize that digital technology is a powerful tool that offers citizens a new way to connect and communicate with their government.

Further Improving International Cooperation

Third, we aspire to be an international community of shared values. We see the need for a new international social compact - the practical fulfilment at international level of our commitment to strong communities at home. The compact is a recognition of interdependence and is based on mutual effort and mutual responsibility for common goals. The developed world has duties to the developing world, and the commitment is reciprocated - aid and debt relief are used for popular need - *Defin?* not conflict, development respects the environment, the benefits of trade are shared. In order to advance social justice and economic dynamism in developing countries, we must support the rule of law, market institutions and free trade as keys to economic development. As the global economy and a shared concern for international affairs draws us closer together, we need to advance the idea of community from a national, regional and global perspective.

Just as we seek to advance social justice and economic dynamism for the whole population of our own countries, so we have a responsibility to develop a more inclusive and sustainable international division of wealth and opportunity. We have international institutions dedicated to many of the key issues: trade, financial stability, conflict prevention, public health, education, labour, environmental protection, economic development. We should particularly enhance those institutions which focus on fighting hunger, poverty, social exclusion and environmental degradation.

We recognise the demands for transparency and accountability in these institutions. We also believe that the strengthening of the international co-ordination and co-operation on issues of global concern can make a significant contribution to

reinforcing progressive governance at the domestic level, by ensuring more stable economic conditions and by fostering efforts to build a more symmetric process of globalisation.

We know that problems of poverty, debt, conflict, environmental degradation are connected. That is why we need efficient international co-operation that links together solutions to these problems. This form of linkage is being pioneered in the connection between debt relief and poverty reduction programmes. For us the following issues are key:

- We support free trade as an important instrument of economic development for the developing world, and as the route to new markets for industrialised countries. A strengthened multilateral trading system is essential for progressive governance to prosper at the international level by ensuring hard-working people in all countries a fair chance to market their product abroad. We agreed that as a crucial step for trade liberalisation developed countries and developing countries should provide the least developed nations enhanced market access.
- We are aware that a stable international financial environment is a crucial factor in promoting economic growth and in allowing all countries to reap the potential benefits of globalisation. We support the attempts at debt relief for HIPC. And we want to give more support to good governance in countries where it is the weakness of government that is undermining the rule of law and the development of economic and social life.
- We see the need to improve the institutional framework in which financial markets operate, in terms of the adoption of efficient regulation, supervising and accounting, codes of conduct, principles of sound corporate governance, and a fair sharing of responsibility between the public and the private sector. We agreed on the need for adequate regulation and supervision in order to strengthen financial stability and social justice.
- Globalisation, trade and technological advances should enable us to tackle widespread poverty better than ever before. It is our responsibility to secure that poor people and the poorest nations are included in the present historic opportunities, especially because rapid technological advances can tend to widen the inequality gap. Direct effective aid from both governments and non-governmental organisations is still needed. We will give it more priority and resist

- 2 -

*See Summary
attached*

those who would give it less.

- We must turn the digital divide into international digital opportunities by training teachers and building strong partnerships with government, businesses, foundations, and civil organisations. We need to use new technologies to its fullest advantage, to improve health, promote education, and foster cultural exchange and understanding. We believe that education is as important, if not more important, for the developing world as the developed world. We support the target to substantially increase universal primary schooling. We must ensure that the children of the world – the citizens of the future - are well taught by qualified teachers with proper materials.
- The global environment must be handed on safely to future generations. Sustainable development is an important orientation for modern governance. We support the commitments of the Kyoto protocol and want to use new mechanisms, like emissions trading, to create common interest between the developing and developed world.
- We must make a concerted effort to prevent the spread of infectious diseases that are robbing developing countries of their most precious assets - their people. We support an increased focus on resources on health infrastructure. We also commit to increasing our contributions to vaccine and immunisation efforts that assist the poorest countries and to fostering the development of new vaccines and immunisations to prevent diseases such as TB, Malaria, HIV/AIDS.

We, the leaders of progressive governments, believe that democracy in the 21st century advances the ideals and instruments of hope for all. Despite momentary obstacles and sacrifices in current politics, we believe that our principles gain their meaning through effective progress. We act now in the interest of the future generations of the 21st century.

We have all learnt from this meeting and we all want to meet again. One of the conclusions of the Florence meeting is to broaden the network of progressive governments. We want our ministers, civil servants and public administrators to meet and co-operate on a regular basis, to discuss political solutions and to learn from each other. We will promote the exchange of civil servants and public administrators and we will establish networks of thinkers and scientific institutions designed at identifying challenges and policy options. We believe our citizens should

- 2 -

gain confidence from the common experience and approach that we are taking and we look forward to taking forward our ideas to all of those who recognize themselves in our progressive political project.

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10

Seruly - a lot of trouble

worth reading for

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-9-00

EDITOR

INTERNATIONAL Herald Tribune

PUBLISHED WITH THE NEW YORK TIMES AND THE WASHINGTON POST

About Missile Defense

Have It Both Ways?

Bill Clinton is famous for championing a third way on many issues, but on nuclear matters he seems to have settled on a both-ways strategy. On his Moscow visit he explained to his hosts why the United States might decide to build a defense against nuclear missiles. He warned that missile technology was spreading and that nuclear weapons might also. "The question is not whether this threat is emerging," he told Russia's Parliament. "It is." At the same time, he committed himself "to continuing efforts to strengthen the ABM Treaty," whose purpose is to prohibit almost any effective missile defense. Not only that; he signed on to a document that calls the treaty "a cornerstone of strategic stability."

Maybe Mr. Clinton does not really believe in missile defense and is trying to narrow the next administration's options as far as possible. According to this interpretation, a Republican Congress, and the desire to protect Al Gore's electoral flank, have pushed him toward a weapons system that in his heart he still opposes. He seemed to reveal a lack of enthusiasm when he told Parliament that he will soon "be required to decide" whether to start

work on a limited defense. But if this interpretation is correct, he should have taken a clearer stand long ago. He could have argued that the risks of an arms race with China or instability with Russia outweigh the possible benefits of a defense against "rogue states" such as North Korea. But, so far at least, he won't make that case.

That leaves him in no-man's-land. We believe that his public position that a missile defense is worth considering is right. And if it is worth considering, it should be considered on its merits — political, diplomatic, technical — with no options ruled out simply because the 1972 ABM Treaty disallows them. No technology has yet proved itself, but eventually the most effective option may include sea-based components relying on space-based sensors. These are not permitted under the ABM Treaty.

The president is right to seek continuing dialogue and cooperation with Russia. But declaring the treaty a "cornerstone" before deciding which, if any, missile defense system makes sense is backward. To pretend that it is possible to have things both ways sets the stage for more tension than necessary with Russia later on.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

Consult With Europe

Washington and Moscow are the two main protagonists in the debate about missile defense, but they are not the only ones. Many Europeans fear that American plans to build a limited national shield could unravel the treaty system that restrains the Russian and American nuclear arsenals and thereby unleash a dangerous new arms race.

President Vladimir Putin moved swiftly this week to fan these European concerns. Just after President Bill Clinton left Moscow on Monday, Mr. Putin was in Rome promoting his new alternative to the American plan, a jointly operated system meant to protect Europe as well as Russia and the United States by intercepting hostile missiles shortly after launch.

The Russian proposal has yet to be fleshed out in detail and may not prove workable. For now, its main significance is political. Mr. Putin hopes that he can play to Europe's chronic uneasiness about American intentions to thwart or delay Washington's proposed missile defense system.

In some ways, he is falling back on the kind of tactics Moscow used unsuccessfully to try to block the stationing of medium-range missiles

America's European NATO partners in line. With Europe no longer threatened by Russian military force, Washington should not count on such reflexive solidarity operating today.

Any potential that the missile defense issue has for dividing Europe from America would evaporate if Washington and Moscow could agree on amending the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty to accommodate a limited American shield. But such agreement has so far proved elusive.

The Clinton administration therefore needs to consult more closely with its European allies on missile defense planning. It should also try to allay the concerns of China, which understandably worries that an American system designed to knock down a handful of North Korean missiles could negate Beijing's small missile force as well.

North Korea, Iran and Iraq may soon be able to launch nuclear armed missiles against the United States and other distant countries. That serious threat justifies the administration's efforts to develop and test effective defensive systems and to renegotiate existing arms control treaties to permit their use. But no such system should be built until it has been reliably proved and its

Mideast 1

JERUSALEM — Bill Clinton's productive visit to Moscow in the Middle East to center stage legacy quest. But his understated hope of hosting his version of a David peace conference before the office keeps smashing into the dream of turning back the clock 21st century to a moment in June.

It is a moment on June 4: The army has not yet launched the light offensive that will in just six days redraw the map of the Middle East and change the way the world looks at and interacts with the region. By June 11, 100,000 troops will be astride the Golan Heights, the West Bank, Gaza and the east of the Suez Canal in the Sinai.

Peace and justice today are possible if those six traumatic days can be made to disappear from their history, Clinton's Syrian and Palestinian interlocutors tell him. That is their hope for peace. It is, after all, what Egyptian Anwar Sadat got at Camp David: return for making peace with Israel. How can they take less?

Getting them to take less, or at something different, is the difficulty that Mr. Clinton has set for himself in his final months. He dispatched

America's In

CERNOBBIO, Italy — This year's workshop of the Council for the United States and Italy, held annually at this resort on Lake Como, provided further evidence of what has become a remarkably rapid deterioration in European-American agreement on security.

Three weeks ago, at a meeting of security specialists in Paris that included senior American and European officials, the usual trans-Atlantic courtesies could not mask considerable acrimony created by the European Union's decision to create an independent international military force accountable to Brussels.

The composition of this week's meeting was different. While the U.S. delegation included eminent former government officials and members of the academic policy community, most participants were senior business and financial executives committed to close trans-Atlantic relations and Italian-American understanding and cooperation.

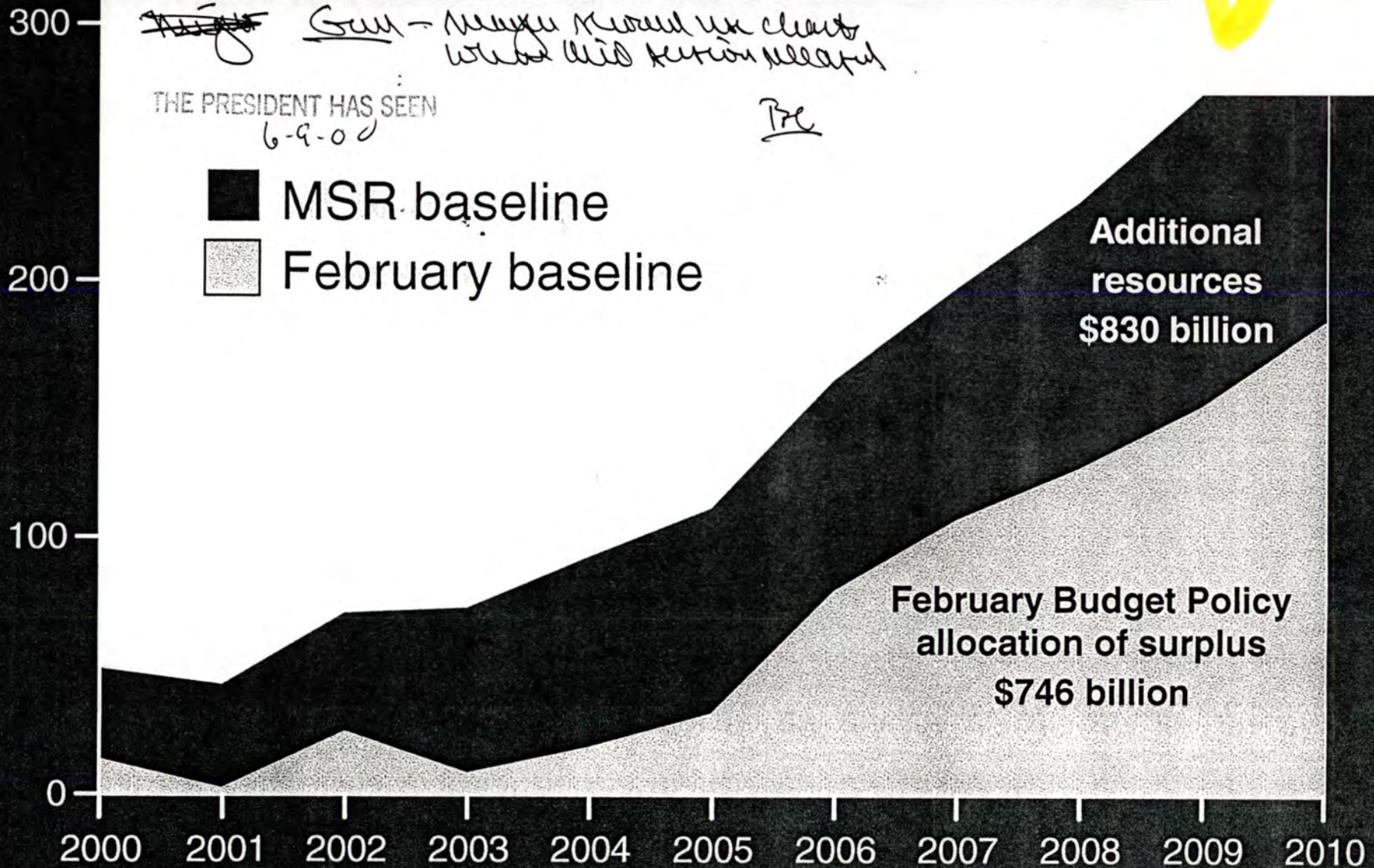
One issue divided the Italians from most of the Americans:

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On-Budget Surplus: Impact of MSR

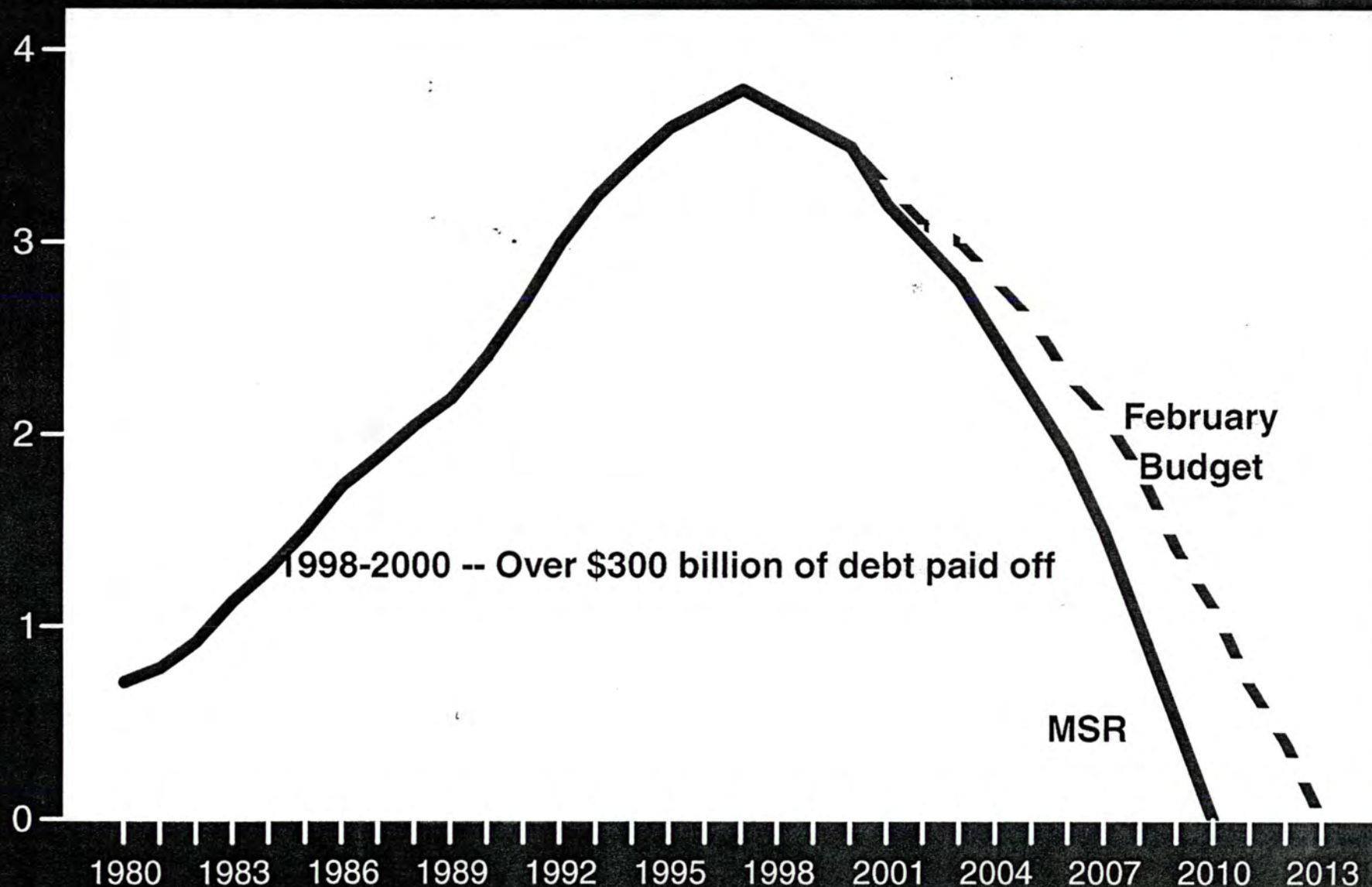
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Dollars in billions



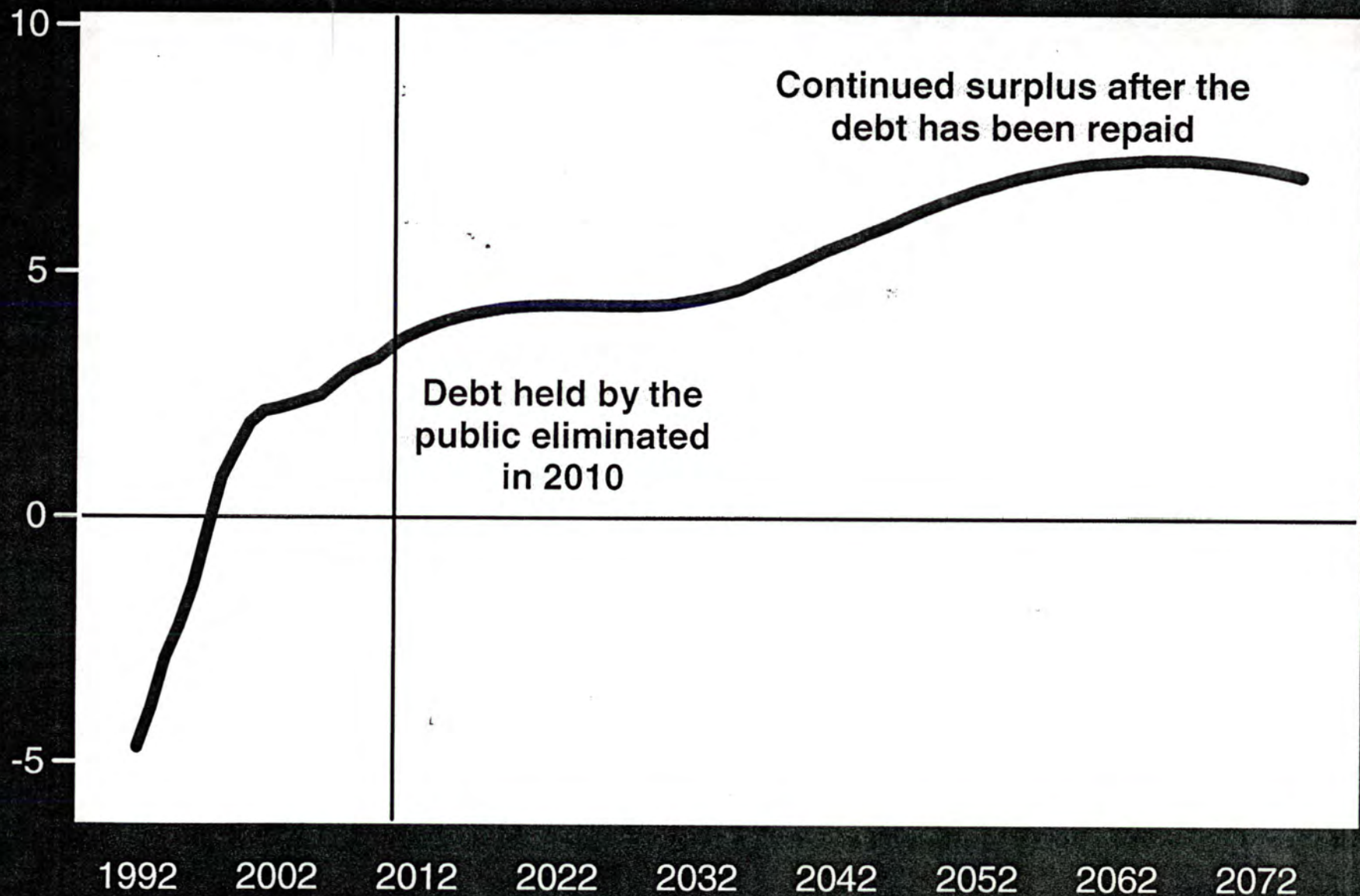
America: Debt Free in 2010

Dollars in trillions



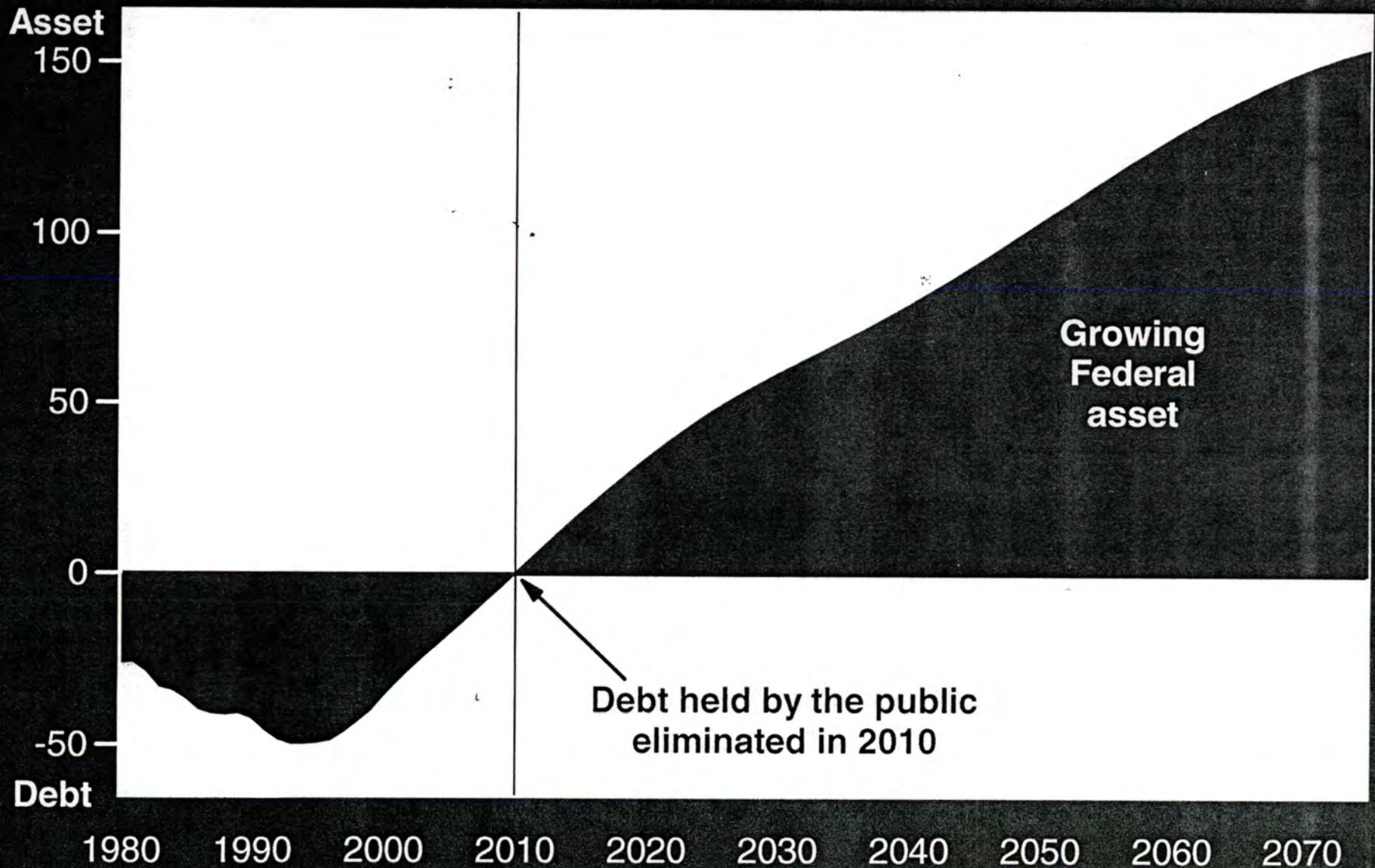
What do we do with the Surplus?

Unified surplus / deficit (-) as a percent of GDP



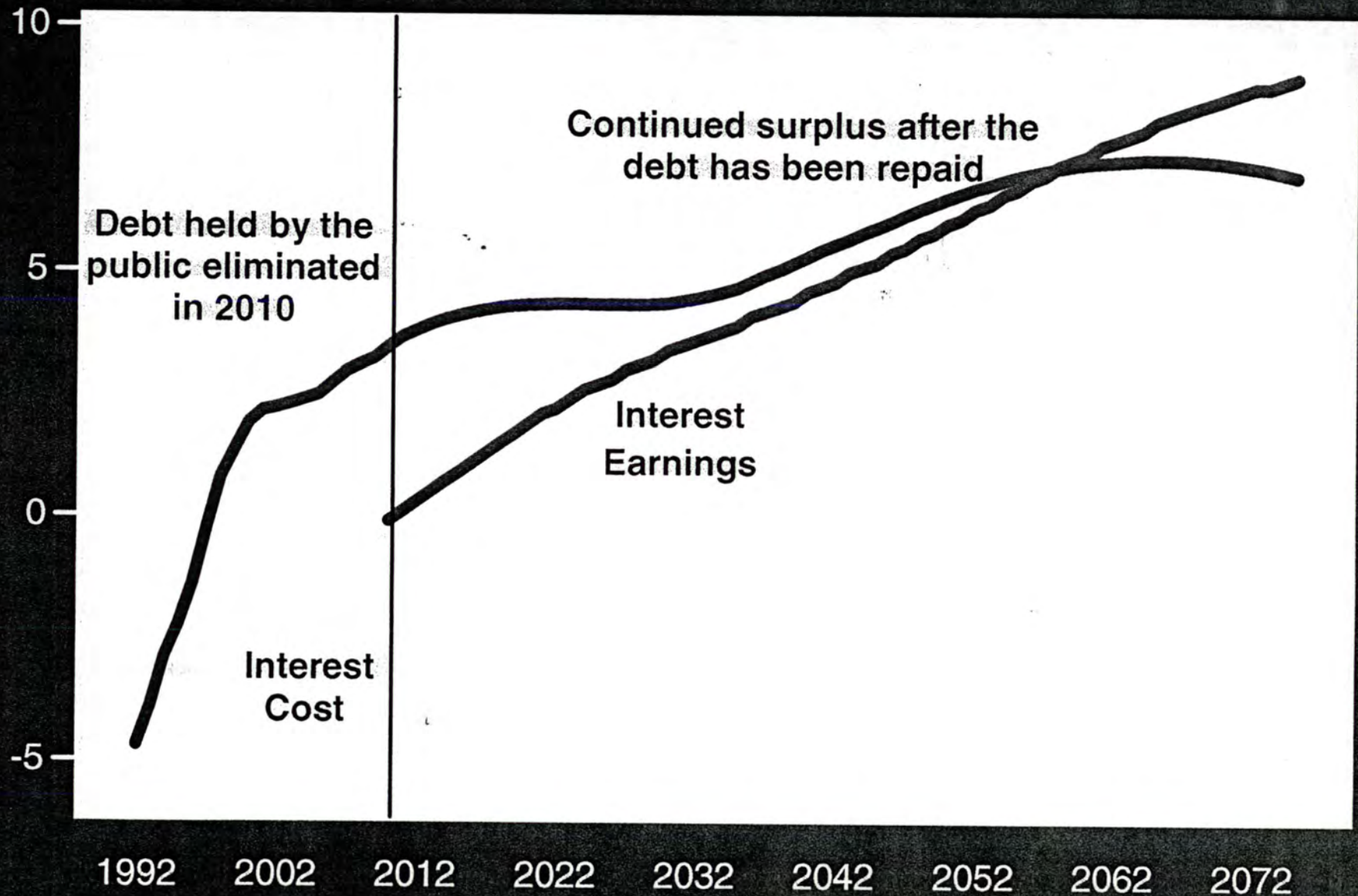
Large Federal Asset - MSR Baseline

Federal debt held by the public as a percent of GDP



Over Time Interest Earnings Drive Growth of National Asset

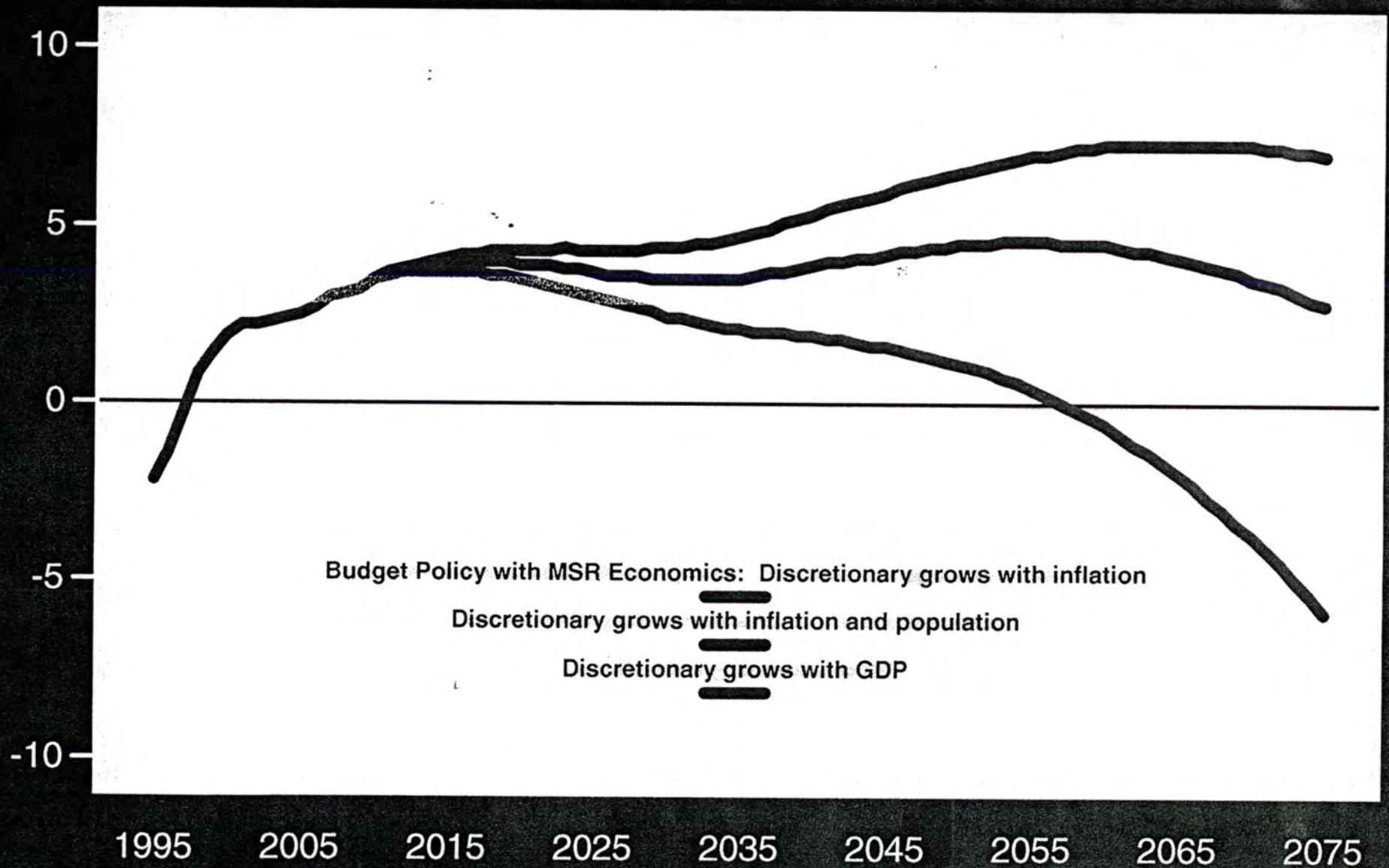
Unified surplus / deficit (-) as a percent of GDP



Different Paths for Discretionary Spending

Discretionary Alternatives After 2010

Unified surplus / deficit (-) as a percent of GDP



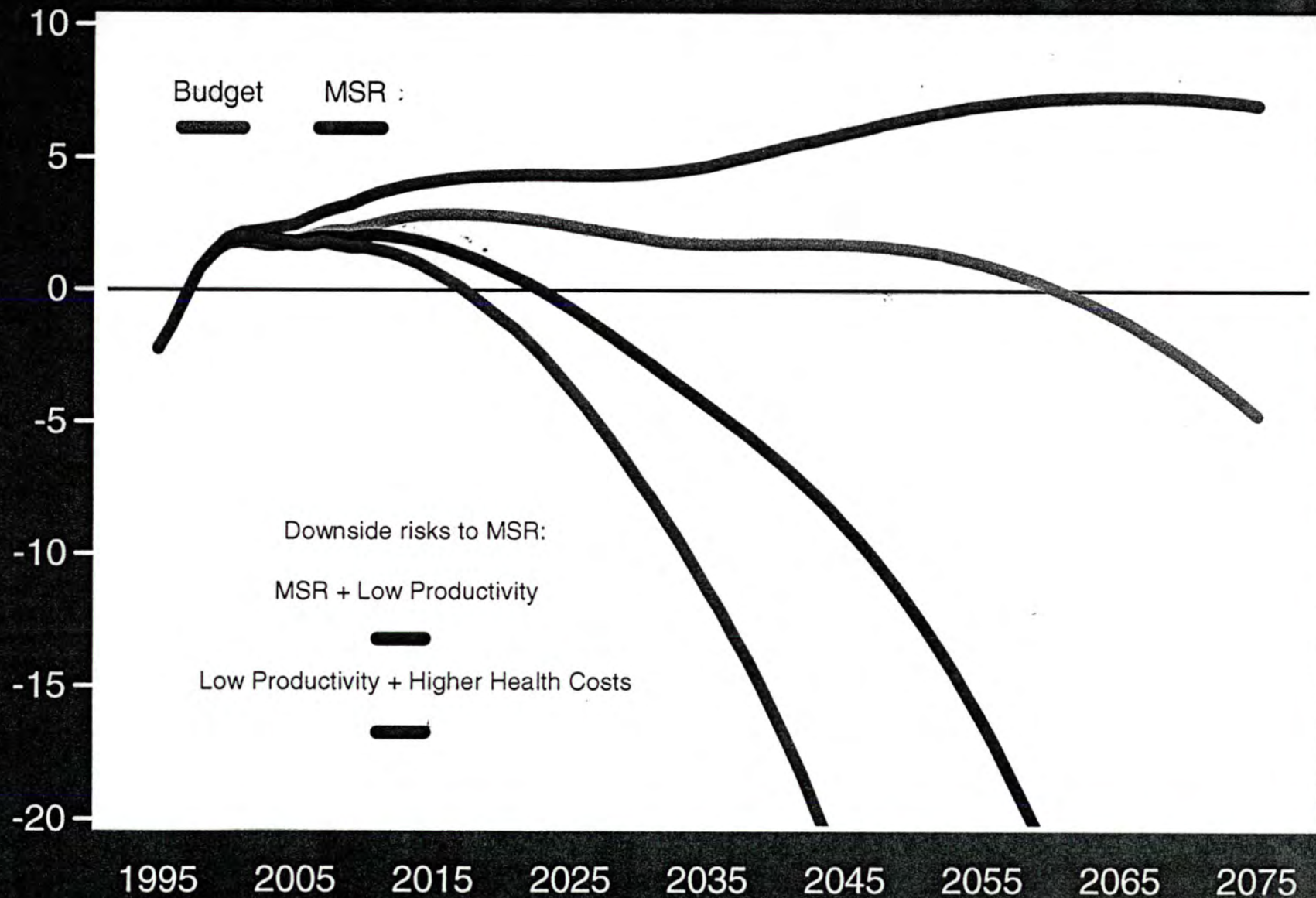
Budget Policy with MSR Economics: Discretionary grows with inflation

Discretionary grows with inflation and population

Discretionary grows with GDP

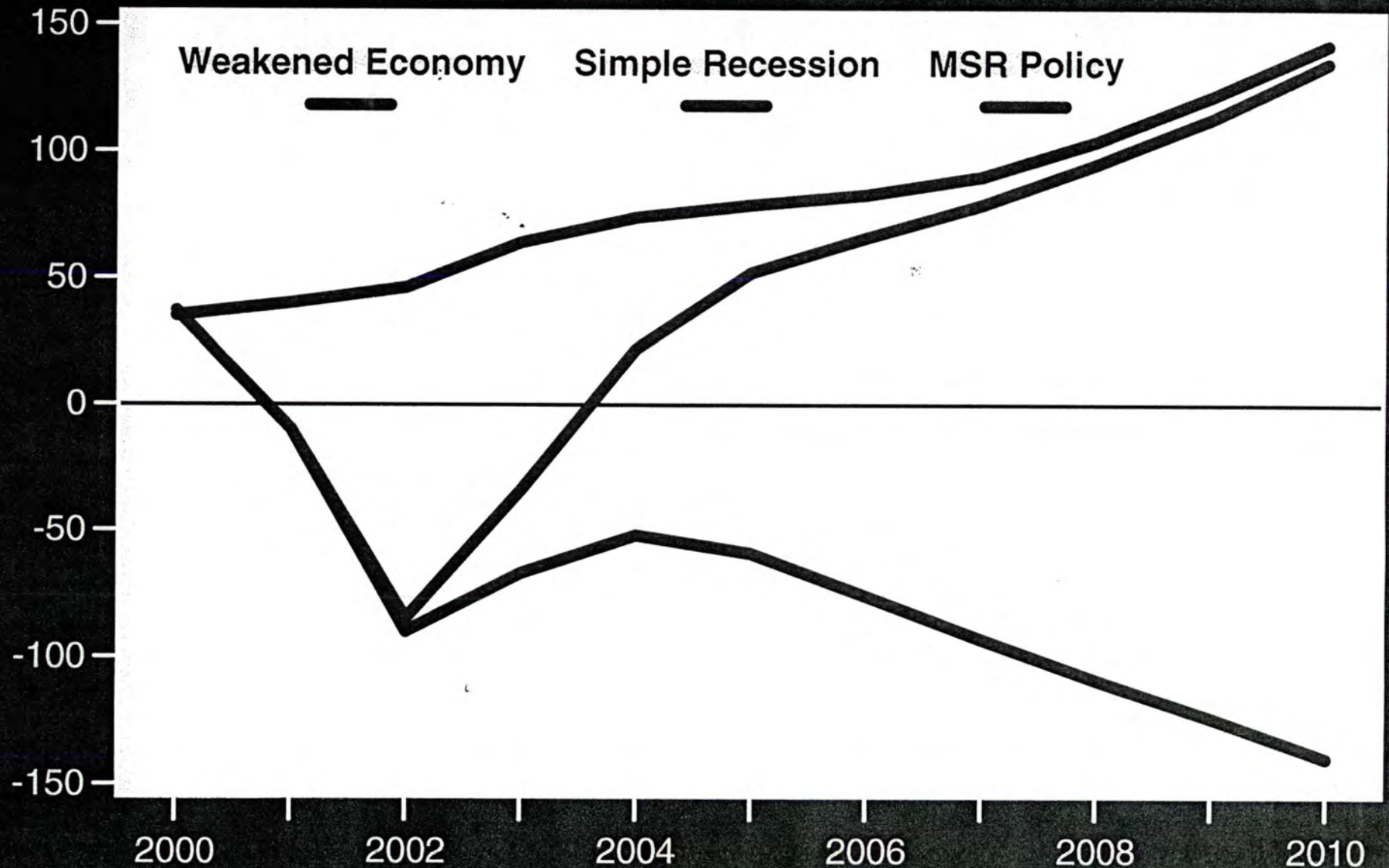
Downside Risks

Unified surplus / deficit (-) as a percent of GDP



On-Budget Surplus Impact of Recession Scenarios

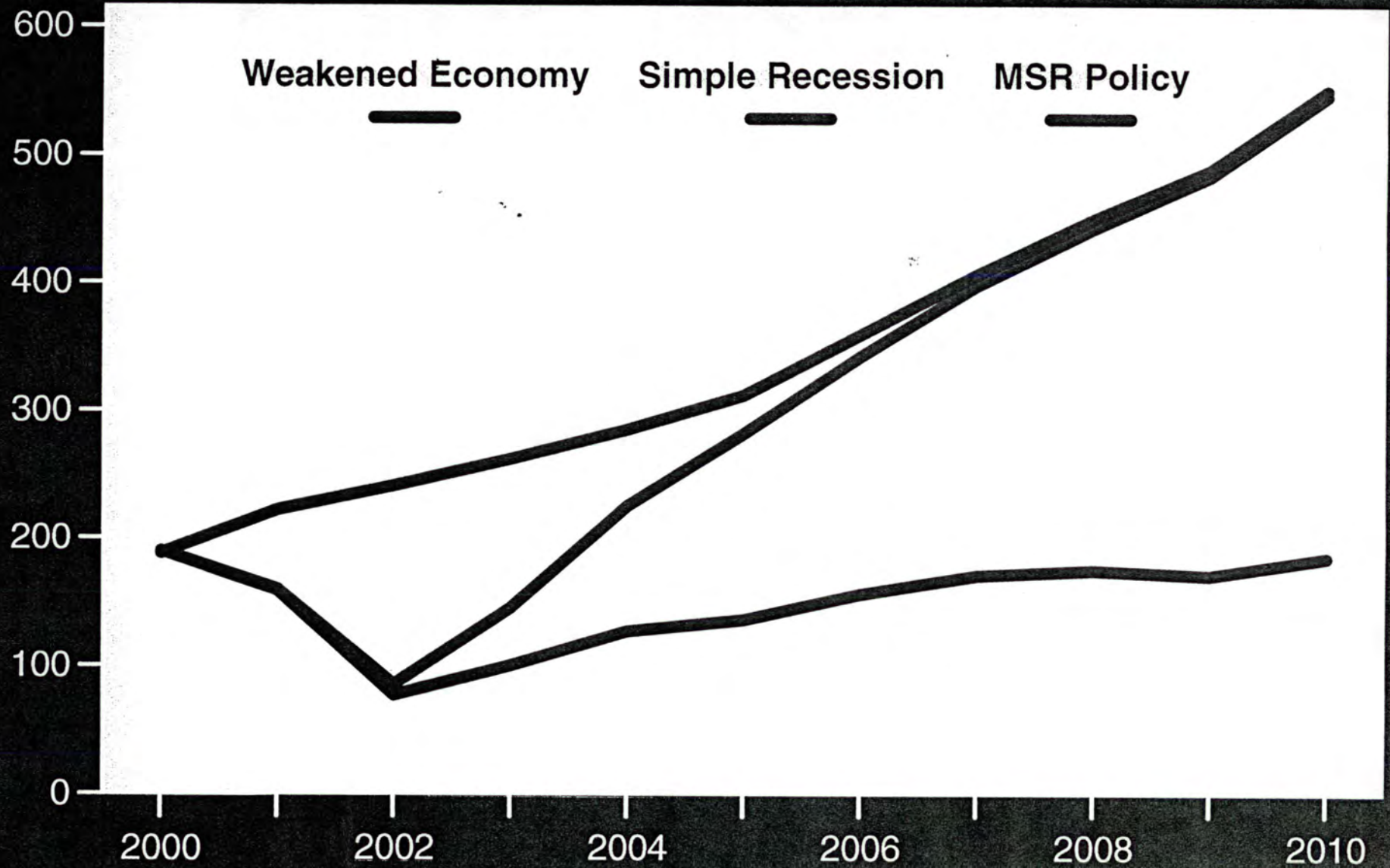
Dollars in billions



Unified Surplus

Impact of Recession Scenarios

Dollars in billions



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-9-00

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mr. Pro

cc: FSL

cc: nh

To: Nancy Hernreich

Date: 05/23/00

From: Lori A. Wiener, Photo Editing Office

Re: Photo Exhibits at the Presidential Library

Nancy –

In reference to your visit on May 1, 2000 to the Photo Editing Office, I wanted to respond to the inquiry on behalf of the President regarding the funding of Photographic exhibits at the future Clinton library. I spoke later that day with Nancy Smith from the National Archives, and conveyed the question put to me by the President. Ms. Smith was about to return a phone call to you regarding other matters, and offered to address the subject with you during that pending conversation. It came to my attention this morning that she was unable to get to that particular issue at that time.

Ms. Smith has confirmed that the funding for photographic exhibits at the Presidential Library falls within the budgetary responsibility of the Library foundation. It is also her understanding that at this point in time, photographic services for exhibits will be contracted out rather than being incorporated into the Library's capabilities.

If there are any further questions regarding the subject of photographic support for Library exhibits, please do not hesitate to contact me at x. 66709. I do apologize for the delay in getting you a response.

Thank you,

Lori A. Wiener

Lori A. Wiener
Photo Editor

*Copied
Lindsey
Podesta*

6-9-00

6-9-00



ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

NA / Betty / Cleveland
 need to start planning now
~~for speech book~~
 for speech book

- Hyde Park HS
- Chamberlaine

We should probably
 wrap up much earlier
 this year - try to do before
 Christmas -

for

copied
 Hennrich
 Currie
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 Coleman
 Speech Book File
 Podesta

6-9

C. Cleveland on top of
 speeches.

B

DoTY 6-9-00 ✓
BK

Washington DC, 5 June
/2000

Your Excellency,

I learned, after the official dinner in Ajuda last 30th May, that the Portuguese "Fado" had interested you.

I therefore take the liberty to send to you herewith two CDs with some "fados", sung by Amália Rodrigues and Teresa Tavares Carvalho.

May I also use this opportunity to express to you, Mr. President, how honoured my wife and I were for having been appointed as accompanying officials during your

6-9-00
TO NSC
FOR REPLY 3
✓

EMBAIXADA DE PORTUGAL
WASHINGTON, D. C.
EMBAIXADOR

official visit to Portugal.

With my respectful compliments,

João da Rocha Pinto.

TASK FORCE REPORT

PROMOTING SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIES

#STBASS

6-9-00

SPONSORED BY THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

STEVEN RATTNER, CHAIRMAN
MICHAEL B.G. FROMAN, PROJECT DIRECTOR

TASK FORCE REPORT

PROMOTING SUSTAINABLE ECONOMIES IN THE BALKANS

REPORT OF AN INDEPENDENT TASK FORCE
SPONSORED BY THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

STEVEN RATTNER, CHAIRMAN
MICHAEL B.G. FROMAN, PROJECT DIRECTOR

fit, nonpartisan national organization
noting understanding of international
The Council's members are dedicated
are firmly linked to that of the world.
America's understanding of other nations—
and ambitions—and thus to serve our
public.

AL POSITION ON POLICY ISSUES
U.S. GOVERNMENT. ALL STATE-
OF OPINION CONTAINED IN ALL
RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AUTHOR

Task Force when (1) an issue of current and
importance, and (2) it seems that a group diverse in
background, be able to reach a meaningful consensus
on the issue. Typically, a Task Force meets
regularly to ensure the relevance of its work.

Each report, and the Council publishes its
Task Force Reports can take three forms: (1) a
Task Force members endorsing the general
group, though not necessarily every finding
of the group, various policy positions, each as sharply and
clearly as possible, in which Task Force members who agree
with the findings, while those who disagree
with the findings, the Task Force may ask
the Task Force to associate themselves with the
findings.

All Task Force Reports "benchmark" their
findings in order to make explicit areas of agreement
and disagreement. The Council takes
responsibility for its report. The Council takes

If you or this Task Force, please write the Council
at 1000 New York, NY 10021, or call the Director of
the Council at 212-502-1000 or our website at www.cfr.org.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 7, 2000

6-9-00

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Berger
Podeste

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JACOB J. LEW
SAMUEL R. BERGER

SUBJECT: Death Benefits Legislation

The Department of Justice has been asked to testify this Thursday before a House Judiciary Subcommittee on two death benefits bills introduced as a result of the Ron Brown plane crash. This memorandum provides information on the legislation and recommends the position we take at the hearing.

We begin by recognizing the important need to be sensitive and responsive to the families who suffered this terrible loss. Any testimony needs to convey our deepest sympathy to the relatives and friends of the federal employees on their loss in this tragedy.

Summary of the Legislation

H.R. 1371 (Sponsored by Rep. Norton): The first part of this legislation would allow any individual to sue the federal government for claims arising out of negligence by a federal official if the action arises in a foreign country. Thus, an Italian citizen could sue a Justice Department official traveling abroad on business who negligently hits the Italian with his car. The bill effectively waives sovereign immunity and thus opens the federal government to suits by a breadth of plaintiffs far in excess of those situated like the Ron Brown families. The expansion may not be necessary, since some relief can be given now for property damage, personal injury or death by agencies like Defense and State at the discretion of the relevant secretary. The new bill would require U.S. courts to apply foreign law, bring foreign witnesses to the U.S. and impose other transaction costs and administrative hurdles that would be considerable.

The second part of the bill would allow federal employees to sue the federal government when the suit is based on "gross negligence of an officer or an employee of the United States." Currently, federal employees are covered under the Federal Employees Compensation Act (FECA), which provides established benefits to employees injured or killed on duty. The bill would permit suits inside or outside the U.S. This risks opening the federal government to a plethora of suits, as gross negligence is an allegation that any competent attorney could, and readily would, make. It would overturn the principle upon which federal death benefits are now granted: employees are granted

the right to receive immediate, fixed benefits, regardless of fault and without need for litigation, but in return they lose the right to sue the federal government. This is similar to states' workers compensation laws, which generally preclude private sector employees from suing their employers for work-related injuries or deaths.

This bill goes very far in overturning federal liability law – with a scope far broader than engendered by the Ron Brown crash scenario. For that reason, we recommend we express our sympathy for the Ron Brown plane crash families, but give reasons why we are constrained not to support the offered legislation.

H.R. 3295 (Sponsored by Rep. Farr): This legislation would provide \$2 million to each of the families of the fourteen federal civilian employees who were killed in the Ron Brown plane crash. Payments would be made from Air Force funds available for the payment of claims. The benefits would be provided to the civilian federal employees, not the military federal employees. In past cases, we have provided only benefits payable to all employees under current Federal law, including:

- The bombing of the Murrah Building in Oklahoma City in 1995;
- The bombing of the U.S. Embassy in Beirut in 1983 and 1984;
- The bombing of Khobar Towers, Saudi Arabia in 1996;
- The bombing of the U.S. Embassies in Tanzania and Kenya in 1998; and
- Military training and operational accidents.

In each of these cases, no victims assistance provisions were legislated or requested. (The Chinese embassy bombing victims and the Italian gondola victims are counter-examples of payments made, but these involved fairly extraordinary foreign policy considerations.) In the case of the Ron Brown plane crash, in response to the incident, Congress authorized additional death payments of \$10,000 for civilian employees killed in any incident while in the line of duty (a new benefit for all Federal employees, not just survivors of this incident).

However, in the Ron Brown case, DOD Paid roughly \$6.3 million to each of the families of the U.S. businessmen, pursuant to administrative claims brought under the Military Claims Act, which permits the Secretary of Defense, at his discretion, to make payments for property damage, injury or death. The families of federal employees involved were not able to bring such claims because federal employees are restricted to the established death benefit package. (For a civilian federal employee earning \$89,000 with a surviving spouse and children, for example, such a benefits package would total approximately \$3.9 million over the beneficiary's lifetime. For a military employee earning \$29,000 similarly situated, average lifetime benefits would be \$2.1 million.) The private sector individuals, of course, also might have received employee death benefits from their corporations. Therefore, though federal employees receive some benefits, the

6-9-00

average payment of \$6.3 million provided to the businessmen does create an apparent inequity.

~~XXXX~~ RE AL

OMB and the Commerce Department believe the Administration should support HR 3295. Though we normally oppose this type of legislation, in light of the voluntary payments by DOD to the families of non-employees, payments to the families of federal civilian employees are justified based on equitable considerations. OMB acknowledges this will engender demands by other victims' families (e.g., Oklahoma City) but believes the DOD corporate settlements in the Ron Brown case justify this step. DOD is willing to accede to this position.

NSC supports compensation to the families on the Brown plane, particularly in light of DOD's settlement with the CEOs. However, NSC staff recommends we oppose the legislation for reasons of equity. It believes the most equitable approach is to treat similarly situated families in similar fashion. It is difficult to justify more generous treatment of federal employees killed in a plane crash, even a military plane, than: a) U.S. employees killed because of willful targeting of Americans by terrorists; or b) other civilian employees killed in the line of duty. The system is broken and unfair and should be dealt with as a whole. The NSC therefore recommends the best way to address this legislation is to offer to work on a systemic approach to benefits. The approach would address survival benefits for all surviving families, military and civilian federal employees alike, by providing equal benefits to similarly situated survivors or treat just civilian employees in a comparable manner. To do otherwise, would break sharply from long established practice and expose the government to charges it values the lives of one group of government employees more than another.

NSC recommendation: Oppose HR 3295, but propose legislation to increase education benefits for surviving children/family members of both military and civilian federal employee families alike.



Fisher Scientific
International Inc.

cc: for
7/5/1

Liberty Lane
Hampton, NH 03842
Tel: 603-929-2650

June 1/28

Nancy - 6-9-00

Please call me
to discuss the
attached.

copied
Streit
Hernreich
Podesta

Thanks -

~~W~~ Paul Montone
Have him ~~come~~ come down
+ see him in Dayton -
B



THE PRESIDENT

2/2/2000

Dear Paul -

Thanks for your kind & thoughtful
letter - I'd love to discuss my 'apocalypse' with
you - I have the same concerns you do -
how about the next time you're in town - a
cocktail the night before or the morning
before I go - But,

Ben

The President -
What do you
want to do here?
Have Paul come for
meetings or
spend night or
dinner?
You don't have
free week nights in
June - he's gone
on 2 previous trips
gone a lot in Aug
for Martha's Vineyard
convention
more vacat

THE WHITE HOUSE

Nancy,
The "Boss"
might find
this interesting
Best Always,
Maurice
Sonneberg

6-9-00

Send to Burkhardt?

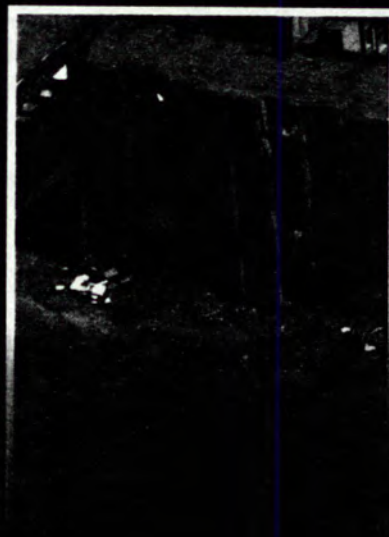
Yes ☒

No ☐

coordinate reply w/ NSC

CD

Countering The Changing Threat



Of International Terrorism

Report from the
National Commission on Terrorism

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Send to ~~Burkhardt~~
Need to reply - coordinate w/ Counsel
Yes ☒
No ☐

1050 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036-5339
(202) 857-8951

100 JUN 9 4 10 09

June 7, 2000

cc: Counsel - ^{CO} attn: in case
BL

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

We have decided to make one last urgent plea for you to commute the sentence of Amy Pofahl. We feel that you are sympathetic to Amy, and of course, we feel that her continued imprisonment is an unspeakable travesty. After you read this, we hope you will share our deep sense of responsibility toward ending her long and unjustified ordeal.

We want to share with you facts in Amy's case which have led us to feel so strongly about this gross injustice:

- Amy Pofahl has served 9½ years in a federal prison for a crime her husband, Sandy Pofahl, committed. He was convicted in 1989 of manufacturing and delivering the drug Ecstasy in West Germany. The drug, formerly known as MDMA, was legal until FDA added it to their prohibited list on October 22, 1986. Sandy was sentenced to six years by a West German court and served four years. He then received, in exchange for a guilty plea, three years probation in the U.S. He has been out of prison for six or seven years. His Co-Defendant, Dr. Morris Key, also received a four-year sentence in Germany, and subsequently served a one-year sentence in a U.S. prison.
- Amy Pofahl, Sandy's wife, was living in Dallas at the time and had little or no knowledge of Sandy's illegal activities. When Sandy was charged in West Germany, he called Amy and told her where he had stored the drug money, and asked her to get it and send it to him so he could hire counsel. She honored his request, to her everlasting regret.

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
June 7, 2000
Page 2

The U.S. Attorney in Dallas, two years after Sandy was sentenced, charged Amy as a co-conspirator because she had transferred cash to her husband in West Germany. She had also refused to wear a wire to more deeply implicate her husband. Granted, her sense of loyalty to her husband was a naive and foolish position.

- The U.S. then asked for and obtained a change of venue from Dallas to Waco because Waco had a reputation for being much more conservative and harsher on "drug offenders". After the government seized all of their assets, Amy was penniless and had to accept a court appointed attorney. She was imprisoned in Waco, a city she had never been in before, awaiting trial, and was convicted after a one-day trial. Her court appointed attorney failed to call several key witnesses to attest to Amy's lack of knowledge about her husband's illegal activities. This attorney's representation of Amy during the Waco trial has been described as "massively incompetent". Needless to say, she was convicted and given a twenty-four-year sentence!
- If Amy had been sentenced under the new U.S. sentencing guidelines, adopted one year later, she would now be free. As a matter of fact, had her attorney raised this point, that the sentencing guidelines were passed while her case was on appeal, she would have been entitled to the benefit of the new guidelines. Her counsel apparently never raised the point.
- After Sandy Pofahl's four-year incarceration, he immediately filed for divorce and remarried, while Amy has continued to rot in a 7 x 11 foot cell where she has spent one-quarter of her life, for the crime of having been married to Sandy Pofahl.
- Charles Strauss was the U.S. Attorney who prosecuted Amy in Waco. Last year, Mr. Strauss went to California and visited Amy in her prison cell. He allegedly told her he wanted to assist in helping her achieve her freedom. For his efforts, Mr. Strauss was transferred from Waco to San Antonio. The government's attorney, Mr. Jake Snyder, who assisted Mr. Strauss at Amy's Waco trial, has taken a hard line opposing Amy's commutation. In fact, Mr. Snyder has kept a picture

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
June 7, 2000
Page 3

of Amy on his office wall, displayed as a trophy. So far as we know, he is the only person in the U.S. who opposes her petition.

- It would be difficult to conceive of a more horrible plight than to go to bed in a cramped prison cell, night after night, knowing you faced another 14½ years, all for a crime your husband committed.
- Last year, Amy's present attorney, David Parker, filed a Petition for Commutation on Amy's behalf. For reasons unknown, no action was ever taken on this request. Hopes were again revived around Christmas, when there was some speculation that the "spirit of the season" might work in Amy's favor for a commutation from you. Nothing happened.
- Last year, *Glamour* magazine did a feature story on three women who were imprisoned because of their husbands. Amy was one of them. Subsequently, *Court T.V.* also did a feature on Amy.

Last January, we became interested and involved in Amy's plight, and we appeared March 2nd before Mr. Roger Adams and Ms. Henel Bollwerk in the Pardon Attorney's office in Washington. For two hours, we discussed every aspect of Amy's case. Since then, we have heard nothing.

In the meantime, we have talked with Bruce Lindsey on one occasion about this case - and on several occasions with Meredith Cabe. The response is always the same - "We are looking at it. It's a high priority." This letter is the only option left to us.

The two of us represent, collectively, eight years in the Arkansas Governor's office and 48 years in the U.S. House and Senate, and we both agree that we have never seen a case more deserving than this one, and of course, like you, we poured over hundreds of cases in the Governor's office and hundreds of requests for help while in Congress and since we left. We further agree that we have never seen such a terrible injustice and more badly in need of being rectified.

A number of women Members of Congress, especially California Members, and approximately 17 Members altogether, have written letters

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton

June 7, 2000

Page 4

requesting Amy's commutation. We have not sought such letters from every woman in Congress, but believe they would all sign such letters if asked. We know that you, especially, have a full appreciation for the trauma that goes with being unfairly accused.

Mr. President, it is our fervent belief that this case will remain a blight on the American Criminal Justice System until Amy is freed.

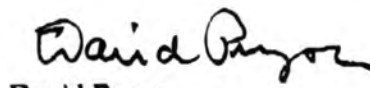
Is there any additional information we can provide?

Is there any hope for Amy, or is she going to serve out her entire twenty-four-year sentence?

Please, Mr. President, take this case and examine it. Amy has already spent over 3,400 nights in prison, for a sentence that was a terrible miscarriage of justice.

Sincerely,


Dale Bumpers


David Pryor

The Stansbur Magazine article
is enclosed.
DB

A Crime Against Women

You Be the Jury:

**Does This
Woman
Deserve to
Be Locked
Up for 24
Years?**

A harsh law punishes women unfairly



AMY POFAHL'S
DRUG-KINGPIN
HUSBAND CUT
A DEAL THAT
DUMPED HER IN
PRISON FOR
A QUARTER
CENTURY—AND
FREED HIM
AFTER FOUR
YEARS. GLAMOUR
INVESTIGATES
HOW SHE AND
THOUSANDS
OF OTHER WOMEN
GUILTY OF
RELATIVELY MINOR
CRIMES END
UP DOING MORE
TIME THAN MEN
DUE TO A
CONTROVERSIAL
FEDERAL LAW.
BY DAVID FRANCE

Hard times:
Amy Pofahl
in the prison
yard at FCI
Dublin, near
Oakland,
California,
her home
until 2015

tHERE IS AN INTENSE CALIFORNIA SUN on the morning I pass the two rows of gleaming razor wire, the metal-detector arch, the armed guards and two vault-like doors before arriving at a brick patio inside FCI Dublin, a low-security women's federal correctional institution outside of Oakland. Amy Pofahl stands on the other side of the terrace, her feet next to a patch of pansies with a sign stuck in it that reads, "No Inmates Allowed Beyond This Point." She was once an exceptional beauty and a very wealthy woman, and even in her regulation beige work shirt and slacks, she is still striking—graceful and leggy, with silken hair that drapes her shoulders in countless shades of gold. With her top two buttons undone, revealing a glimpse of her simple white T-shirt, she looks like she is ready to leave on a safari, which couldn't be further from the truth. Amy last saw freedom eight years ago, when she was a 30-year-old nightclub promoter in Los Angeles. Now, the toll of her long incarceration shows on her face, particularly on her lazy eyelids, which are as creased as crackled pottery.

As the warden's assistant and I approach Amy, he points to her neckline and commands, "Button your shirt." She complies with a slow hand. Later, she whispers to me, "Being in here is very much like that. Everything starts to focus on these little things like how to wear your shirt. And whenever you're trying to focus on something that's maybe going to get you free" Then her eyes leave mine, and she flutters the long fingers of her right hand in the air, pawing for emotional control.

Amy Pofahl broke the law, but she is not a hardened criminal. Like thousands of women in prison today, she is a once-productive member of society who made a series of bad decisions, all for a man she loved. Unbeknownst to Amy, for most of the time she was married to him, Charles "Sandy" Pofahl—a Stanford University Law School graduate and wealthy Dallas businessman with whom she exchanged rings when she was 25 and he was 44—was the mastermind of a secret and illegal international syndicate that made and distributed the drug MDMA, or Ecstasy. Sandy revealed his involvement to Amy after his arrest on February 16, 1989, three years into their marriage. But then he begged her to handle some financial matters that she felt might be shady while he awaited trial. Out of love, she agreed. "I have the kind of personality that was just right for him to rely on," she explains. "It's a flaw in my character. I'll jump off and do things and ask questions later."

It's bad enough that Amy became criminally embroiled in an operation her husband ran and had kept her in the dark about. What's worse is that Sandy Pofahl, an Ecstasy kingpin who directed nearly two dozen accomplices to smuggle millions of pills into America, served just four years in prison. Amy Pofahl, his blindly loyal wife who did nothing even remotely like that, got 24 years with no chance of parole.

Women Bear the Burden

It is a peculiar facet of the federal sentencing guidelines that women, many of them young, who are convicted in drug rings often draw much longer sentences than men. Almost always, their connection to the drug ring is as a gofer, delivery person or patsy for the men they love. As a result, there are more women in prison today than at any time in the nation's history. The latest data, from July 1998, shows that

and lets drug lords off easy.



146,507 women are serving time in federal, state and local facilities, up from 63,015 a decade earlier. Nearly half of that increase is drug-related, according to the Bureau of Justice Statistics, part of the U.S. Department of Justice. This is certainly the most unanticipated and least logical consequence of the war on drugs.

At the height of crack cocaine's terrible march through American cities in the mid-eighties, entire neighborhoods succumbed to crime of such violence and scope that it seemed as if the fabric of American civilization was in danger of unraveling. Congress responded by passing The Anti-Drug Abuse Act of 1986, which removed sentencing discretion from federal judges and established a schedule of mandatory-minimum prison sentences in drug cases, based solely on the type and quantity of drug involved. The only way defendants can earn a "downward departure," or reduced sentence, is to give "substantial assistance" in the prosecution of other drug dealers.

The Anti-Drug Abuse Act has drawn sharp criticism, largely because it penalizes low-level participants and drug users as harshly or—as in Amy Pofahl's case—more harshly than people guilty of running major drug operations. The mandatory-minimum sentences established by the Act have been slammed by the American Bar Association, the U.S. Sentencing Commission, Supreme Court Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and an astonishing 86 percent of federal judges. Barry R. McCaffrey, the four-star general who heads the Office of National Drug Control Policy, has called mandatory minimums "bad drug policy and bad law," and decried the fact that they dominate the drug-war budget. Some \$35 billion a year are spent on incarcerating drug convicts, many of whom McCaffrey considers mere foot soldiers for big-time dealers.

Even the congressional staffer who wrote the law, Eric Sterling (now president of The Criminal Justice Policy Foundation, a Washington, D.C., think tank), works tirelessly today to undo his legacy. "The statute has been profoundly misused," he says. "The price has been a tremendous injustice and a tremendous tragedy for the [less culpable] individuals, their children, their parents, their siblings and their spouses."

The Price of Loyalty

The primary reason women have been hit hard by the Anti-Drug Abuse Act is that the original statute was amended in 1988 to add "conspiracy" to the list of offenses covered. Technically, a conspirator knows about criminal activity and has agreed to participate. But federal prosecutors have been able to convict people they believe simply *should* have known about the ongoing crimes, says Marc Mauer, an authority on crime trends at The Sentencing Project, a Washington, D.C.-based nonprofit group. Frequently, that means

the wife or girlfriend of a dealer ends up behind bars, says Monica Pratt, of the national organization Families Against Mandatory Minimums. "Almost half of the women in prison today under mandatory-minimum sentences have been convicted of conspiracy. Taking messages for a drug dealer, driving him to a bank to deposit his money—that can make you just as liable as the dealer," she says.

In part because of the crackdown on "conspirators," the female prison population is growing faster on average than the male population—7 percent versus just 4.5 percent a year since 1990. Also, of the 8,207 women currently serving time in federal prison, 60 percent have been convicted of drug charges.

Casualties of the drug war include women such as Kemba Smith, 27, a former Virginia debutante (see below). She ended up facing the same stiff penalties as some of the principal dealers in her college boyfriend's drug ring, even though evidence at her sentencing showed that he beat her, and that out of fear, she sometimes participated in illegal activities for him. She was convicted not of specific crimes related to those few incidents, but for many offenses the drug ring had collectively committed. At the age of 24, she was sentenced to 24-and-a-half years without parole. By comparison, the average maximum sentences that state courts handed down for rape and robbery in 1996 were 11-and-a-half and eight-and-a-half years, respectively, while the average minimum state sentence actually served for rape was only six years, and for robbery, five.

Why are women like Pofahl and Smith receiving such long sentences? Because when wives and girlfriends are caught in the net, especially if they genuinely know little about the drug operation, they seldom have the kind of information to trade for a "downward departure." So the law that was meant to crush drug-world masterminds actually rewards them with shortened sentences, while their less culpable sweethearts are vigorously punished.

Even if women have information to trade for reduced sentences, however, they often decline to cooperate out of loyalty. In 1989, Serena Nunn, now 29, refused to inform against her boyfriend, Ralph Nunn (no relation), a member of a Minneapolis drug ring (see below). "I would not hurt someone else to save myself," Serena said. "I'm just not made like that." For her minimal role, she got a 16-year sentence. Had she informed on her boyfriend, she might have received as few as eight months. Instead, Marvin McCaleb, a senior partner in the drug ring, informed on Ralph Nunn, who received a 25-year sentence. McCaleb, who had previously been convicted and served time for manslaughter, major drug dealing and rape, got seven years—less than half Serena's sentence.

In response to such cases, Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.), a long-

Burned by Bad Men and Now Behind Bars



KEMBA SMITH, 27, of Richmond, Virginia
SENTENCE: 24.5 years with no chance for parole. Smith's boyfriend, Peter Hall, eight years her senior, whom she met after her freshman year at Virginia's Hampton College, beat her and frightened her into helping with his crack and cocaine-dealing business. She did, leasing a storage locker in her name (presumably used for drugs) and delivering money between Hall's associates—and was convicted of conspiracy. (Hall was found dead before he was ever charged.) Smith's son, now four and living with her parents, will be 24 when Smith gets out of prison in 2018. "I'm thankful for the bond we have, that he knows that I'm mommy, but I only have prison visits with him," she says.



SERENA NUNN, 29, of Minneapolis
SENTENCE: 16 years with no chance for parole. Serena fell in love at 19 with Ralph "Monte" Nunn (no relation), the son of a drug dealer. Ralph drew Serena into the business in a minor way by having her drive him to meetings with fellow dealers. Although Ralph is serving a 25-year sentence, a partner of his with prior drug, rape and manslaughter convictions received seven years because he informed on his cohorts. "My love for Monte clouded my judgment," she says. Convicted of conspiracy, Serena, now nine years into her sentence, is working toward an accounting degree via correspondence courses. "When I think of the future," says Serena, "what comes to mind is being successful in my work."



time advocate of Kemba Smith, introduced a bill in Congress last month to eliminate mandatory minimums. "If you had to define injustice at the turn of the century," says Eric Sterling, "these cases are Exhibit A: the girlfriends of kingpins who get sentences that are two and three and four times longer than the guys who head it all up."

The End of Innocence

Amy Pofahl was once a shy girl from little Charleston, Arkansas, where her mother was the newspaper editor and her father served a term as mayor. She preferred her 4-H Club activities to dating, and only begrudgingly attended her junior and senior proms. That changed when, after a year of college, she moved to Dallas, a 19-year-old with dreams of becoming a model. At a party in March 1985, she struck up a conversation with another guest, Sandy Pofahl. He was 19 years older, a balding businessman who reminded her of Gene Hackman. But he had tremendous magnetism. "I was feeling emotions I never felt before. I thought he was the greatest thing in the whole world," Amy says.

A few days later, they met for dinner at Café Pacific, one of Dallas' finest restaurants, and he handed her an Ecstasy tablet. Although it was sold legally as a diet aid at the time, Ecstasy is a psychedelic drug, like LSD, that fosters feelings of intimacy and love. Popularized in the eighties by San Francisco marriage therapists, it was sold in night clubs and herb shops until it was outlawed in October 1986. Using the drug tightened the bond between Amy and Sandy. They were engaged within eight days and married before the year was out. "She called and said, 'You're just going to love him. He's my soulmate!'" recalls Amy's mother, Nancy Ralston. "When we met him and realized he was not a big, handsome man, I thought, 'It must be love!'"

He bought Amy a blue Mercedes and made her sales vice president of one of his businesses, Commonwealth Bancorp, specializing in home-improvement loans. She earned \$4,000 a month plus commission.

Sandy Pofahl was one of the frenetic entrepreneurial high-fliers who distinguished Texas in the eighties. He had graduated from



Amy (right) and a friend in 1987, four years before Amy's arrest

"How would you like to be told to plead guilty to something you didn't do?"

Stanford before storming the business community in Dallas. By the time he met Amy, he owned or co-owned businesses including a mortgage lending company, an oil and gas business, a computer software company, a computer hardware company, a real estate brokerage and a half-dozen other concerns. He and Amy lived in a sprawling home in Highland Park, Dallas' most exclusive suburb, and traveled the world. "These were people who in Texas we call highfalutin," says an attorney familiar with the case. And though Amy says they never tried any harder drugs, the Pofahls continued taking Ecstasy at a time when it was exceedingly popular and entirely legal.

Sandy entered the Ecstasy business in early 1985, several months before he and Amy were married. Together with Morris Key, Ph.D., a Dallas chemist, Sandy established Ecstasy International Export and Import Organization (EIEIO) and sank nearly a million dollars into start-up costs. Their main plant was in Guatemala, and they employed a network of above-board distributors. In October of 1986, however, Ecstasy was added to the Drug Enforcement Agency's (DEA) list of illegal drugs. Despite this, Amy says neither she nor Sandy stopped taking it occasionally. Still, Amy has consistently said she was unaware that Sandy and Key continued with their business, and her protestations seem credible: "Sandy went from one business meeting to another, all day long. It was impossible to keep up with his affairs," she says. "It was like being Jane Fonda married to Ted Turner." EIEIO eventually established production contacts in Germany, where it was easier to get the necessary materials, smuggling millions of pills into America over the next two years, according to federal authorities. "I knew he had access to Ecstasy, and he had said he could get as much as he wanted, but I didn't think he was manufacturing it," Amy says.

Meanwhile, their marriage was crumbling. Friends say Sandy had a drinking problem, which fueled grossly inappropriate behavior. "I couldn't stand him," remembers Kathy Johnston, a friend from North Dallas. "It seemed like anytime you'd even get close to him, he'd try to touch you. I found him obnoxious. But Amy was in love with the creep."

In love or not, by January 1988 Amy had had enough of Sandy's drunken flirtations. She moved to Los (continued on page 290)

These women earned major prison time for minor offenses. By Erin E. Bried and Joshua Tager



KELLIE MANN, 28, of Alpharetta, Georgia

SENTENCE: 10 years with no chance for parole.

Mann was a college junior when she rekindled a relationship with her ex-boyfriend, Patrick, a drug dealer. When he asked if she could find him some LSD in California and mail it to him, she wanted to deliver. "I was just 21, a kid, and I made a poor choice," she says. Patrick was later

arrested in connection with the crime. Bargaining for a reduced sentence, he turned in other drug suppliers and users he knew, including Mann. He ended up serving about two years in prison. "He's gone on with his happy life, and I'm doing 10 years," says Mann, who has already served five years of her sentence. "That's not justice."



MONICA BOGUILLA, 25, of Chicago

SENTENCE: 10 years with no chance for parole.

Nineteen and supporting her baby and disabled mother, Boguilla felt dependent on financial help from her boyfriend, a crack dealer. She claims she spent some of his money to buy food and clothes for her child, but she was convicted of conspiracy to distribute crack cocaine. Her boyfriend, found

guilty of numerous drug charges, received life in prison. In Boguilla's case, the judge, bound by federal sentencing guidelines, gave her a 10-year sentence, calling it a farce. "The people selling big drugs are still out there," says Boguilla, now nearing her fifth year behind bars, "and my daughter [now seven] is without parents. She's the one being punished."



Angeles, leaving Sandy behind. She thrived there, and was soon throwing such glamorous parties in her home that the owners of Tramp, the exclusive Hollywood supper club that Jackie Collins opened, hired her as their promoter. She earned \$80,000 a year and hosted celebrities from Jean-Claude Van Damme to Eddie Murphy. "She knew absolutely everybody," says a soap opera star who befriended her then and still keeps in touch. "I liked her independence; I loved that she was out there doing this on her own."

But Sandy's spell was not easily broken. He wrote letters with lovelorn salutations like "Dear Better Than Bestest" and visited her often. He even signed the lease on a \$42,000-a-year house in the Hollywood Hills to be close. His campaign worked. "If Sandy could get within a 20-foot radius of me, he could just completely melt my heart," she says.

Amy agreed to move into the rented home with him, but before she did, Sandy left on a mysterious business trip to Germany. A week later, on February 16, 1989, he was taken into custody by German federal agents. Two days later, his partner, the chemist Key, was arrested in New York City and extradited to Germany for trial. When word of the charges reached Amy, she was blown away—not by her husband's criminal activity, but about the danger the man she adored was now facing. "I was going to do whatever I needed to do to help him. I didn't care what he'd done," she says.

Kept in the Dark

Other members of the EIEIO drug ring were rounded up by the DEA, but many didn't even know Amy Pofahl's name. When agents from the U.S. attorney's office interviewed her husband and Key in their German prison, both said that Amy—like all wives and girlfriends—was told nothing about the Ecstasy operation. Daniel Bernard, one of Sandy's main U.S. distributors, would later write in an affidavit: "I never believed Amy to be knowledgeable as to the particulars. Quite the contrary. I personally observed numerous attempts made by Mr. Pofahl to shield Amy from his MDMA enterprise, and I aided his endeavor to hinder Amy from knowing about the operation."

But after Sandy's arrest, Amy, who had moved into the rented house alone, became very involved. Sandy anticipated (wrongly, as it turned out) that he would be offered a chance to post bail. So he sent his wife a series of coded faxes imploring her to help recover his hidden drug profits and cryptically telling her where to find them. Amy

my mind is that incarceration is worse than losing someone to death," she says, fighting back tears. "You know that they're unhappy, and you know there's nothing you can really do." Besides, she convinced herself that as his wife trying to help him ferret out cash, she would not be breaking any laws. The crime, she reasoned in her distress, remained his responsibility.

In any case, by the end of the summer of 1989, she had collected more than \$780,000 from the various places Sandy had stashed it, and had hidden the cash in attics and shoe boxes in Dallas and Los Angeles. But then she found out that Sandy would not be offered bail, and she was stuck with the dirty cash. "The money," she says, "became this enormous albatross."

Having secretly monitored Amy's actions, federal authorities descended on her one afternoon in September 1989. She arrived home to find agents rifling through her things. The list of seized items included six Ecstasy tablets found in one of Sandy's coats and \$7,000 in cash earmarked for rent on the house, which, of course, was leased in Sandy's name. She recalls an agent saying, "You're in deep, sister."

One who questioned her was Charlie Strauss, an assistant U.S. attorney from Waco, Texas. "She was told we were just interested in what knowledge she had, and we wouldn't use it against her husband," Strauss remembers. "Had she come to the table at that time—cooperated, been truthful, honest and candid—I would say there's a probability she wouldn't have been prosecuted." Amy says she didn't believe them. She says they wanted her to visit Sandy to collect incriminating information. (Strauss could not confirm this.) Out of love and respect for her marriage, she says, she refused.

Sandy, it turned out, had fewer compunctions. In exchange for a promise of leniency, he soon told German and American authorities everything he knew about the operation, from the street dealers to the smugglers. He also offered information about his wife's handling of his money. Rewarding him for the assistance, German authorities handed him a six-year sentence.

Sold Out and Set Up

In a vague note he sent to Amy, Sandy told her he'd come clean about everything, and encouraged her to cooperate, too. She was livid that she'd covered for him for no reason, but she did nothing. She did not know how much trouble she was in. "Once they had him and he had told them everything, I was sure they didn't want me anymore." On the contrary, they were building a

ties seized her car and plundered her bank accounts, asserting that the money was ill-gotten. They even confiscated her wedding ring. Agents asked Tramp regulars if they'd ever seen her dealing drugs. Nobody had, but she lost her job anyway.

For about 19 months, federal agents kept on the pressure, and Amy nearly broke down. Her bank account empty and her credit cards canceled by the bank, she started spending the money she had collected at Sandy's behest.

Early in 1990, she says, she asked her attorney to tell the authorities that she would direct them to the remaining cash if they in return would stop investigating her. Strauss says the message never got to him. "Either she's lying, or she misunderstood, or somebody's given her some misinformation," he says. "But those overtures never came to us."

Fearing that her arrest was imminent but still convinced of her own innocence, Amy fled. She recognizes in retrospect that this was a mistake, but at the time, she says, sitting around and waiting to be indicted was just too stressful. "Every time I tried to do something to make it better, I got in deeper. I never made a right decision in this whole thing." On the lam for about three months, she found her way to Florida. But the isolation from friends and family soon caused her to despair, so she headed back to Marina Del Rey resolved to fight. Agents from the DEA arrested her there on March 27, 1991, and charged her with conspiracy to import and distribute MDMA and money laundering. She was shipped to Waco, Texas, to await trial.

Her court-appointed attorney, John Hurley, urged her to plead guilty in hopes of a reduced sentence. She refused. "How would you like to be told you need to plead guilty to something you feel you're absolutely positive you didn't do?" she asks rhetorically.

At trial, there was no evidence that she ever had direct contacts with Ecstasy manufacturers or importers or personally sold the drug after it became illegal. But her efforts to retrieve her husband's money were well documented. Sandy, still in his German jail cell, was not called to testify by prosecutors. He wrote to Hurley, pleading with the lawyer to be called as a witness on Amy's behalf. For some reason, Hurley did not take him up on the offer. (Hurley refused to comment for this article.) A jury of eight women and four men found Amy guilty on all counts. According to the mandatory-minimum sentencing laws, her involvement in the "conspiracy" made her just as culpable as if (continued on page 292)



she had built the organization herself. Unable to weigh her relative conduct, a federal judge was forced to hand Amy a 24-year sentence. If she had been found guilty of money laundering alone—the only charge alleging her direct involvement—she would probably have received a sentence of just five years.

Today, even the prosecutor, Charlie Strauss, seems chagrined that Amy received such a harsh punishment. "I don't think Amy was the linchpin here," he says. "If she were not married to Sandy, she would not have done this. She got involved through her association with him."

Life Behind Bars

At FCI Dublin, Amy Pofahl shares a closet-size room with another prisoner, their beds just a foot apart opposite a sink and an open toilet. Amy has been an exemplary prisoner with only two minor reprimands, the more serious for feeding sardines to the cats that dart between the squat prison buildings.

Amy has had plenty of time to reconsider her actions. She now concedes that the government's money-laundering case against her, charging that she removed and spent money from Sandy's vaults, is valid. "From my soul, I knew that the money was illicit, and I did spend it, and if that constitutes money laundering, absolutely. Absolutely, I regret it," says Amy.

"I've thought about the whole thing a million times," she continues. "It's going to sound phony, but it's really true—I just feel now that my loyalties were displaced."

Sandy Pofahl, meanwhile, served only four years and three months in a German prison, and although the authorities there expected him to serve another 17-and-a-half years behind bars in America, the Justice Department elected not to require more time because he had cooperated with U.S. authorities. He left prison in 1993 and spent two years in the Netherlands, while his attorneys confirmed that he would not be prosecuted in America. He returned in 1995 and has since rebuilt his legitimate business empire in Dallas. The first time Amy heard anything from him after her conviction was two years ago, when she was served with divorce papers. After 12 years of marriage, Sandy cited irreconcilable differences.

In a guarded, hour-long phone interview with *Glamour*, Sandy Pofahl rejected any responsibility for Amy's incarceration. He put the onus on her, despite his well-documented pleas for Amy to retrieve his ill-gotten cash. (Sandy's faxes

need to help," he says, explaining Amy's attempts to free him from a German prison. "I went over to Germany, and I truly don't know what happened when I was over there." Asked why he chose a divorce filing as his first contact with her after his release, he said: "I was considering getting married ... so I needed to divorce her. It was important for both of us to get our lives going."

Sandy finally visited Amy a year and a half ago when he was in the San Francisco Bay area for a school reunion at Stanford. She agreed to see him because she had questions: Why had he told authorities about her role gathering up his funds? Why had he implicated her instead of protecting her, as she had protected him? They sat beneath a craggy pine tree on a terrace behind the FCI Dublin visitors center. He was nervous. She was suspicious. When he tried to kiss her on the side of the head, she pulled away. "It was heartless," Amy recalls. "I said, 'Sandy you could clarify a few things for me.' He was dead set against it and wanted to talk about surface stuff. I said, 'In case you haven't noticed, there's razor wire around this little place where I live. Stop acting like we're sitting at a sidewalk café in Los Angeles, because I would really like to talk to you about some of the things that happened.'"

Sandy showed no sign of guilt or remorse, Amy says. Regardless, she harbors no anger—at her ex-husband, the prosecutor or anybody else. But it is harder for her mother, Nancy Ralston, to let go: "I pray that I will not be bitter. But it's difficult, it's very difficult."

Endless Sentence

Only one other target of the EIEIO prosecution besides Amy is still behind bars. Amy herself has filed two appeals citing incompetent legal counsel and plans to seek other remedies, but in truth, her chances of early release are slim. If she serves the full term of her sentence as expected, she'll be 55 years old when she gets out in 2015. Even if she were set free tomorrow, Amy would have already spent twice as many years behind bars as her husband, a fact she knows will never be changed.

"I have regrets, of course I have regrets," Amy tells me on the last day of our prison visit, her voice heavy with emotion. "I'm getting to the period in my life where I just feel like I'm losing my youth and the opportunity to have children and to set up some kind of a future. I lost the prime years of my life. Nothing's worth losing that, nothing." ©



6-9-00

Do this

Make sure

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6-9-00

To Burkhardt
for Reply

CC: Mary Morrison
scheduling

Dan K. Rosenthal

05/23/2000 06:42:54 PM

Record Type: Record

To: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

cc:

Subject: My New Job

I'm happy to report that the long bi-coastal search is over...I've accepted a new job as a Senior Director of International Business Development for Netzero in Los Angeles.

Aviva and I will be making the move to LA at the end of June and I'll be starting the new job at the beginning of July. Rob Rosen will be succeeding me as Director of Advance and I know that I am leaving the office in very good hands.

Netzero is a free internet service provider that has about 4.5 million registered users so far. I'll be working with the CEO to identify potential joint venture/licensing partners and negotiate deals to expand Netzero's presence around the world. As those I've spoken with lately know, this is just the sort of job I've been looking for.

A big thank you to all those who provided advice and encouragement during my job search!

I hope Aviva and I will get to catch up with you all in person before we leave, and we hope to see you in sunny Southern California soon and often.

Dan

Message Sent To: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 1, 2000

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House

Dear Mr. President:

It has been my honor, privilege, and pleasure to serve you and our country over the last four and a half years. From my earliest work with your primary campaign in 1992, to my current position as Director of Advance at the White House, you have provided me with an extraordinary opportunity to be a part of the history you helped shape.

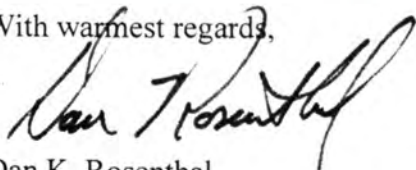
I will cherish the memories I take with me in helping you carry your message to the people of our country and the world. My job has taken me to nearly every state in the union and to over sixty countries around the globe. It has afforded me the privilege to be a small part of your visits to such places as Africa, China, South Asia, the Balkans, the Middle East and Northern Ireland, to name but a few.

As a law student, eight years ago, I sought a way to make a difference for our country and our people. Thanks to you I was given the chance to make that public service contribution, and to do so in a manner that has been singularly meaningful and rewarding. I will always consider myself blessed to have been a close observer of your untiring efforts to lead and unite our people, celebrate our achievements, and heal and console our nation in times of tragedy.

As you know, it was also during our White House tenures that my relationship with Aviva blossomed into an engagement, and now a wonderful marriage. Aviva and I now set out for California to begin the next exciting chapter of our lives together, but we hope and trust that our paths will cross often in the years to come.

It is with distinctly mixed emotions that I tender my resignation, effective June 13, 2000. If I can ever be of service to you or our country in the future, please do not hesitate to ask.

With warmest regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Dan Rosenthal", with a stylized flourish at the end.

Dan K. Rosenthal
Assistant to the President and Director of Advance

SHASHI RUIA
CHAIRMAN



30 May 2000

Dear Sean,

I had asked Mr. Rangaraj to write to you and keep you informed about the forthcoming visit to U.S. of the prestigious Indian delegation consisting of industrialists and businessmen from a wide cross section of Indian industries. I will be having the privilege of leading this prestigious delegation.

We will all be in San Francisco between June 12 and 13, 2000 to participate in the historic event namely, the **Silvery Jubilee Celebration** of the Indo-U.S. Joint Business Council (JBC) and U.S. India Business Council (USIBC). This marks a major **milestone** in the history of relations between India and U.S.

I am pleased to enclose the itinerary of this delegation. After completing our visits to San Francisco and Seattle we will be in Washington from June 15 through June 17, 2000. On behalf of the Indo-US JBC and on behalf of the people of India, we would like to present to the Hon. President a Memento and our Greetings to mark the historic 25 years of Indo-U.S. JBC. It will be a matter of honour for me and my colleagues if we could get an opportunity to be with the **President** for a few minutes for this **ceremony**. A brief profile of my business group which I head as the Chairman, and which is today **one among the leading business houses** of India, is enclosed for your information.

We hope our request will receive a favourable consideration from the White House.

Regards,

Sincerely yours,


Shashi Ruia

Encls: As above

Mr. Sean Patrick Maloney
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
WASHINGTON D.C. 20500
U.S.A.

6-9-00
Should we send to
Scheduling?

Yes 
No 

Cal

INDO-US JBC DELEGATION TO U.S.A.

JUNE 11-17, 2000

TENTATIVE PROGRAM (As of June 6, 2000)

Venue:

Hotel Renaissance Parc 55
55 Cyril Magnin Street
(Corner of Market and 5th Street)
San Francisco CA 94102
Tel: 415-392-8000; Fax: 415-403-6602

<u>DAY/ DATE</u>	<u>TIME</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Sun June 11	Mid-day	Arrival – San Francisco, Renaissance Parc 55 Hotel
	4:30 p.m.	Briefing Meeting of Indian Delegates at Renaissance Parc 55 Hotel
	5:30 p.m.	Registration for USIBC 25 th Anniversary Meeting
	6:30 p.m. – 7:30 p.m.	Welcome Reception by USIBC
Mon June 12	Morning	Working Sessions of U.S.-India Commercial Dialogue • Power & Fuel Supply • Trade and Investment : General Policy • Trade Facilitation • Chemicals and Petrochemicals • Communications • Transportation
	1:00 p.m.	Informal Lunch
	Afternoon	Site visits to Silicon Valley companies
	6:30 p.m. – 7:30 p.m.	Cocktail Reception
	7:30 p.m.	USIBC 25 th Anniversary Dinner ▪ Keynote Address ▪ Greetings ▪ Entertainment by MTV

<u>DAY/ DATE</u>	<u>TIME</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Tue June 13	9:00 a.m. – 6:00 p.m.	Plenary Sessions of USIBC 25 th Annual Meeting
	7:32 p.m.	Depart for Seattle by UA 2136
	9:25 p.m.	Arrival Seattle <u>Stay at:</u> Hotel The Western Seattle 1900 5 th Avenue Seattle, WA 98101 Tel: 206 727 5882; Fax: 206 727 5871 Contact Person : Mr. Adam Werner
Wed June 14		Visits to Microsoft, Boeing
	10:15 p.m.	Depart for Washington D.C.
Thu June 15	5:45 a.m.	Arrival Washington D.C. <u>Stay at:</u> Hotel Watergate Swiffotel the Watergate 2650 Virginia Avenue N.W.* Washington DC 20037 Tel: 202 965 2300; Fax: 202 337 7915 Contact: Mr. McMohan
	Afternoon	Meetings in Washington D.C. Special Meeting for Mr. Shashi Ruia at White House
	Evening	Dinner with Members of Congress and Special Guests*
Fri June 16	Morning	Interaction with Embassy of India
	Afternoon	Courtesy Calls at US Dept. of Commerce, US Trade Representative (TBC) Meeting with Telecom Companies
	Evening	Free
Sat June 17		Visits concludes

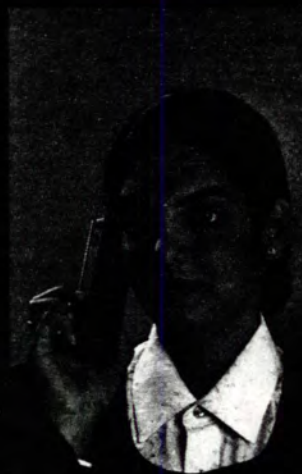
(As on June 6, 2000)

**PROPOSED PROGRAMME OF THE VISIT OF THE
HON'BLE UNION MINISTER FOR COMMUNICATIONS
TO U.S.A.*
JUNE 11-19, 2000**

<u>DAY/ DATE</u>	<u>TIME</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Sun June 11		Arrival San Francisco <u>Stay at:</u> The Renaissance Parc 55 Hotel, 55 Cyril Magnin St. (corner of Market and 5th), San Francisco CA 94102; Tel : 415-392-8000; Fax : 415-403-6602
	Evening	Welcome Reception by USIBC
Mon June 12	Forenoon	Working Sessions of U.S.-India Commercial Dialogue • Power • Trade and Investment : General Policy • Trade Facilitation • Chemicals and Petrochemicals • Communications • Transportation
	1.00 p.m.	Informal Lunch
	Afternoon	Site visits to Silicon Valley companies like Cisco, Compaq etc
	6.30 p.m. - 7.30 p.m.	Cocktail Reception
	7:30 p.m.	Silver Jubilee Dinner
		<u>U.S.-India Business Council Annual Meeting</u>
Tue June 13	9.00 a.m. - 4.30 p.m.	
	12:30 p.m.	Luncheon Program • Keynote address by the Hon'ble Minister for Communications, Government of India
Wed June 14		Travel to Chicago
Thu June 15		Meetings in Chicago
	Afternoon	Visits to Telecom companies
	Evening	Dinner

<u>DAY/ DATE</u>	<u>TIME</u>	<u>REMARKS</u>
Fri June 16		Travel to Washington DC Meetings with Telecom companies
Sat – Sun June 17-18		Weekend – Travel to New York
Monday June 19	Mid-day	Luncheon meeting with US Companies (organized through USIBC)
	Evening	Depart for London
Tue Jun 20		Arrival in London
Wed June 21		Meetings in London
Thu June 22		Departure for India

ESSAR



To the Moon Fly.

6-9-00

SCIENCE

2 interesting pieces
for

Grand Canyon's Mighty Puzzle

By Sandra Blakeslee

New York Times Service

NEW YORK This summer more than 1 million tourists will venture to the rim of the Grand Canyon and will probably feel their jaws drop as they gaze upon a vast wilderness of rocks, deep gorges and a mighty river lost below cliffs, buttes and pinnacles festooned in pastel shades of purple, orange, pink and green.

Inevitably, some of these visitors will turn to a park ranger and ask: "How did the Grand Canyon get formed? Why did this happen here and nowhere else?"

The honest answer is that nobody knows. One hundred and thirty-one years after John Wesley Powell first mapped the Colorado River by riding its 161 rapids in heavy wooden boats, no one can prove how the canyon was formed.

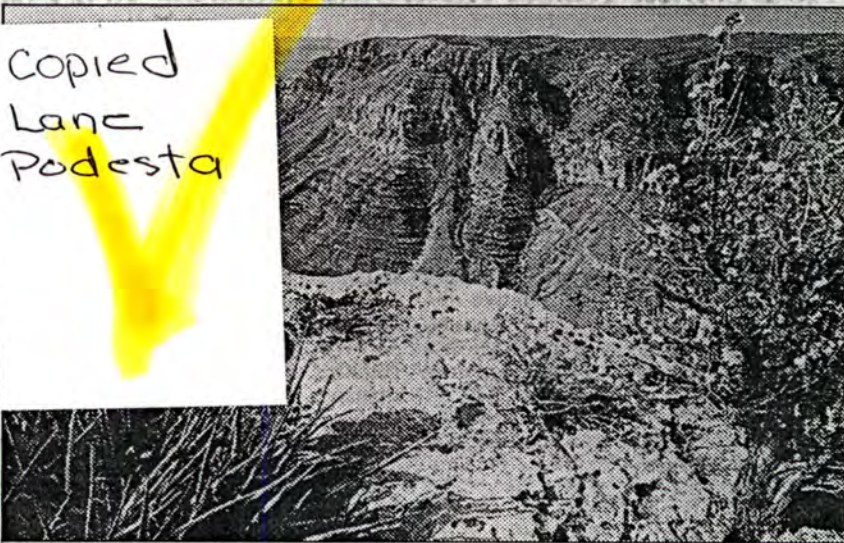
But it is not for lack of trying. Geologists are puzzle freaks who love nothing more than collecting fragmentary clues and then trying desperately to figure out how the modern topography before their eyes was produced.

This week, more than 80 earth scientists are gathering in Grand Canyon Village to compare notes and work toward a unified theory of how and when the Grand Canyon formed. The last time a similar group of experts met to discuss the evolution of the Colorado River was in August 1964. Not surprisingly, the favorite theories from the previous era are now on the table for serious revision.

"It's time to take a new look at the evidence," said Richard Young, a geologist at the State University of New York at Geneseo, who organized the conference and is an expert on gravel deposits in the canyon. In the times since the last meeting, geologists have dated more rock formations, identified new deposits and are working from a more sophisticated framework about the overall geological history of the Southwest, he said.

The meeting is bringing together geologists, paleontologists and climate experts who do not get much chance to interact, Mr. Young said. After they talk and go home to think about what they have learned, pieces of the puzzle may perhaps fit together in new ways.

The problem is that many features in the Grand Canyon do not make any sense. The modern Colorado appears to be a young river that flows out of the Rockies and hits a huge plateau, called the Kaibab Upwarp, which is 50 million to 70 million years old. Instead of being shunted away from this barrier, the river runs right through it. Moreover, when sediments from the river are examined closely, it is clear that the western end of the canyon, where it begins its final run to the Gulf of California, is many millions of years younger than the eastern part.

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Podesta

Bureau of Land Management/The New York Times

Geologists have yet to agree on how the Grand Canyon was formed.

To many experts, this difference means that the Grand Canyon could have been cobbled together from ancient river basins that were created during different geologic eras. But if so, when and how were those ancient rivers formed and where did they go?

In seeking answers, geologists are faced with a difficult problem. For critical periods of canyon formation, the geologic record is entirely missing. The rocks and fossils that researchers need in order to tell a coherent story have either washed away or been buried.

Nevertheless, experts have used the few clues they have to develop two main competing theories about the canyon. One maintains that the Colorado River is old and that it carved the Grand Canyon at least 70 million years ago. The other says that the river is young and carved the canyon within the last 5 million years.

THE first explanation, advanced by John Wesley Powell and other early geologists, holds that the river has a simple history. In the beginning of the Tertiary period, 70 million years ago, Arizona was flat and the river flowed in its present course, roughly east to west.

Then, during various periods of uplift apparently caused by collisions between gigantic slabs of the earth's crust, the Kaibab plateau began to rise at a rate that exactly matched the river's capacity to erode the landscape. According to this view, the canyon cutting took place gradually, with the river staying in place and the land around it rising upward.

This theory held sway for more than 50 years, Mr. Young said, but today it has few adherents because too many pieces of the puzzle do not fit. For ex-

ample, as mentioned, a major part of the riverbed shows strong evidence of being younger than the Kaibab uplift.

The old river theory is "a nice ad hoc explanation," Mr. Young said, but most people don't buy it. Since the 1950s, numerous expeditions to the western mouth of the Grand Canyon, in a region called the Grand Wash Cliffs, have found no evidence of an older Colorado River running through.

Local sediments stem from a younger geologic formation called the Basin and Range — an area that begins where the Colorado Plateau drops off at the western edge of the Grand Canyon and the landscape stretches out for hundreds of miles, all the way to eastern California.

Everything points to the idea that the upper reaches of the Colorado River are very old and the lower reaches are very new, Mr. Young said.

If the upper Colorado River did not always flow into its present course, where did it go? Dozens of papers have been written on this, said Steve Reynolds, a geologist at Arizona State University in Tempe. Most of these theories posit two separate river systems that somehow hooked up not far from today's visitor center on the south rim.

Figuring out the Grand Canyon is like being a police officer called to the scene of a four-car accident, Mr. Reynolds said. "But by the time you get there, three of the cars have been towed away, they repaved the road and washed away the skid marks. You are left with only one piece of the puzzle."

Larry Stevens, a river guide and expert on Grand Canyon ecology, said, "People can spend a lifetime pursuing these questions and we may never know the answers."



By Robert Hanashiro, USA TODAY

ground with his statue of mar-

home

1

inning tonight, fill idle time

a homebody kid in the candy
and love that he has created for
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celebration, he retired to his
lightspot: his car. Shaq has six

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special night, he hopped into
with the steering wheel inset
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hour-long cruise through the
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clubs, see what's going on,
ienega, go to the Jerry's Deli
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nica, take Santa Monica to
to Beverly then home."

RU-486 may face FDA limits

Abortion-pill backers fear a lack of access

By Rita Rubin
USA TODAY

The Food and Drug Admini-
stration is considering major re-
strictions on the "abortion pill"
RU-486, including establishing a
registry of doctors permitted to
use it, leaders of abortion-rights groups said Tuesday.

"The FDA appeared to be interested in being able to
track the use of the drug from the factory to the office
and to the patient," says Paul Blumenthal, medical di-
rector of Planned Parenthood's Maryland affiliate, who
attended a conference Friday at which word of the po-
tential restrictions surfaced.

In February, the FDA said it would approve the sale
of RU-486, also called mifepristone, once some final,
undisclosed issues were worked out. The drug could
be administered discreetly as part of a primary-care or
gynecology practice. Abortion-rights proponents hope
that doctors who fear inciting abortion foes by provid-
ing surgical abortions will use RU-486.

"The FDA is considering placing so many restrictions
on doctors who want to use the drug that few will be
interested in using it," says Vicki Saporta, director of
the National Abortion Federation, which is developing
educational materials on RU-486 for doctors. "The
great promise that it has to improve access to women
who are seeking early abortion services will be lost."

Blumenthal says the FDA is considering limiting the
use of RU-486 to doctors who also know how to per-
form surgical abortions and whose practices are with-
in an hour's trip of an emergency room.

Laura Echevarria, director of media relations for the
National Right to Life Committee, says such restric-
tions are necessary because RU-486 carries a risk of
excessive bleeding.

But the FDA has not limited the prescribing of drugs
that are riskier, says Gloria Feldt, Planned Parenthood's
president. More than half a million European women
have used RU-486, she says.

Neither the FDA nor the Population Council, which
holds the U.S. marketing rights, nor the Danco Group,
the Population Council's licensee, would comment on
ongoing discussions about the drug's distribution.

"FDA is not in a position to comment on a product
application," spokeswoman Susan Cruzan says. "For
any new product, FDA's job is to examine not only
whether that product is effective, but also whether it
can be used safely."

But Cruzan notes that the notion of a "credentialing
system" for prescribing mifepristone was raised four
years ago by the FDA advisory committee that recom-
mended approving the drug.

Danco spokeswoman Heather O'Neill says that the
FDA's proposed distribution plan "is more restrictive
than we envisioned and entails more controls than we
proposed."

► Politics of
modified
foods, 6D

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Echevarria
Jennings
Podesta

Privacy is Peter Swire's domain

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-9-0

Behind the scenes, he's president's go-to guy

By Elizabeth Weise
USA TODAY

WASHINGTON — Peter Swire's job is looking after your privacy. Which might explain why you've never heard of this mild-mannered law professor at Ohio State University.

Cover story

His official title: chief counselor for privacy in the Executive Office of the President at the Office of Management and Budget. He is the first person to hold the position.

Just don't call him the nation's privacy czar.

"In the Constitution, it prohibits patents of nobility," Swire, 42, says with a smile. "I wouldn't want to claim I was violating the Constitution."

Nonetheless, Swire's is perhaps the most important national voice on privacy issues. But because his role is an advisory one, it is often only a whisper, not meant to carry further than the exact person who needs to hear it.

"Here's a person who has been given a job on high-profile issues, and yet it requires him to be a masked man," says James Dempsey of the Center for Democracy and Technology, a Washington-based privacy advocacy group.

Still, Swire's fingerprints have been on policies and doc-



By H. Darr Belser, USA TODAY

Peter Swire: The chief counselor for privacy in the Executive Office of the President at the Office of Management and Budget.

uments that have made headlines in the past 14 months, from financial deregulation to medical privacy and bankruptcy reform.

And the hot-button issues on which Swire holds sway promise to become ever more crucial as the world moves to translating all its knowledge into digital form and transmitting it over online media. Examples:

► The inexorable movement of paper records at the state and local level to the Internet,

when "searches of those records can result in the unprecedented side effect of a dossier," Swire says.

As legal records of bankruptcies go online, a problem is emerging. "If we go to an all-Internet system, we'll be putting the bank account numbers of millions of Americans up on the Net, ripe for the plucking," he says.

► The potential for genetic discrimination. "The president issued an executive order in

The Swire file

► **Wife:** Anne, director for corporate and foundation giving, Goodwill International

► **Children:** Two soccer-playing sons, ages 11 and 9. While they're allowed to surf the Web, the computer is in the family room of the house, and they have been trained not to give out their names or any other identifying information until they have asked their parents.

► **Education:** Princeton University, Université Libre de Bruxelles, Yale Law School

► **Author of:** *None of Your Business: World Data Flows, Electronic Commerce, and the European Privacy Directive* with Robert E. Litan, 1999 (Brookings Institution, \$16.95)

► **Hobbies:** Basketball, every Sunday. Swire, 5-foot-7, played on a law school intramural basketball team last year. "I'm short, play point guard, shoot the three and take special satisfaction any time I can outrun my students." He's also an avid reader of science fiction.

says. "What happens when your papers and effects are being held on the network by another company?"

Swire relishes the challenge. "The issues are so great, the chance to make a difference is exciting, the pace is frenetic. We're working on Internet policy issues at Internet speed."

As an academic, Swire did some of the earliest and most independent research on the impact of privacy issues in the financial world, says Fred Cate, a professor of law at Indiana University in Bloomington who also studies privacy issues. "He was one of the first people to put his stuff up on the Net, which in the field of privacy is critical, because if you wait 18 months to publish, it's too late. He's the model of the interactive scholar."

Swire is a "very, very, very bright person, one of the quickest studies of anyone I've worked with," says Rick Fischer, a partner at the D.C. law firm of Morrison & Foerster who works on e-commerce and privacy issues.

An unassuming man with a gentle voice and patient air, Swire is not what you'd imagine a high-powered government official to be. During an interview, he gamely offers to go out on the roof outside his office to get better light for a photographer. He clambors out an awkward window, then offers a hand to those coming behind him.

At a meeting a week ago, Fischer says, he was surprised, in the image-conscious world of Washington, to see Swire walk in with his laptop in a backpack slung over his shoulder. "He's one of those people

February prohibiting the use of genetic information in (government) hiring," he says. "We've endorsed a proposition to make that illegal in the private sector. Do you really want your boss looking through your genetic file? Do you want the next job interview to include a DNA screen?"

► The ongoing battle between the information-gathering needs of law enforcement and citizens' privacy rights. Consider the Fourth Amendment, which protects our papers and effects in our homes from unreasonable search, he

Please see COVER STORY
next page ►

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Berger

2000 • USA TODAY

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

(6-9-00)

to serve as a forum for better understanding and unity help make the USA truly one nation."

an H. Neuharth, Founder, Sept. 15, 1982

esident and Publisher: Tom Curley



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STAT

JP/Sun
We want to
decide how
to respond
to report
PBC

Today's debate: Thwarting domestic terrorism

Plan to expand military's role treads dangerous course

Our view:

Panel blurs constitutional line between law enforcement, defense.

With images of the 1993 World Trade Center bombing etched in their memory, Americans heartily support efforts to protect their homeland against terrorist threats.

Etched even deeper, however, is the Founding Fathers' wisdom about keeping the overwhelmingly powerful U.S. military out of domestic affairs. As James Madison put it, federal power "will be exercised principally on external objects, as war."

Monday, a panel of experts confused this principle. The National Commission on Terrorism recommended that the president put the military in charge of responding to a terrorist threat or attack on U.S. soil. Its ability to "control vast resources for dangerous, unstructured situations is unmatched" by other agencies such as the FBI, the panel reasoned.

Sounds efficient, until you note that military involvement in civilian affairs is a favored practice of dictators, such as Saddam Hussein or North Korea's Kim Jong Il, who like the swiftness with which soldiers imprison and repress civilians to keep order.

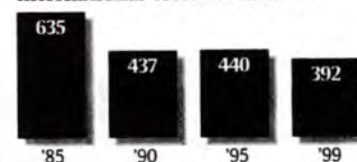
The panel had other bad ideas marring its otherwise thoughtful report. It called for monitoring all 500,000 foreign students in the U.S. for suspicious terrorist activity, despite chairman Paul Bremer's admission that "99.99% of them ... are not terrorists."

The recommendations were made even more extreme by coming at a time when the USA enjoys unprecedented peace. There were 392 terrorist attacks worldwide last year, down from Cold War peaks in the 600s. Total attacks in North America last year: two.

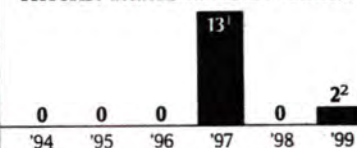
As terrorism evolves to include weapons of mass destruction, it needs to be tackled with the utmost seriousness. But to take on a siege mentality now, as the commission proposes, risks doing far more harm than good.

While police are trained to enforce the law and respect the Constitution, soldiers are trained to kill an enemy. America's greatest minds have understood this difference, entrenching the view in *The Federalist Papers* and in a 1878 law that specifically keeps soldiers out of domestic law enforcement.

World terrorism wanes
International terrorist attacks



Terrorist attacks in North America



1 - In 1997, letter bombs were discovered in the Washington and United Nations offices of the Saudi-owned Al-Hayat newspaper.
2 - In 1999, there was a politically motivated computer-hacking incident in the U.S. and a low-level terrorism incident in Canada.

Source: U.S. State Department

By Gary Visgaitis, USA TODAY

As a result, domestic crises have been the domain of police, the FBI and the Federal Emergency Management Agency.

The commission is vague about the powers it would like to give the military. It does say preventing and responding to a terrorist attack might include the "cordoning off of areas, vehicle searches ... and sweep searches."

Equally cagey about constitutional rights, the panel says the best way to avoid violating them is with practice, arguing that the military should train now for its new, domestic role.

In fact, the best way to protect rights is for the military to avoid the role altogether. Yet, ominously, the federal government began eroding this principle even before this week's report. Military advisers were used in the Waco siege. And throughout the 1990s, soldiers have had to support police and other law enforcers in the domestic drug war.

Among the disastrous consequences: In 1997, a Marine on an anti-drug patrol along the Texas-Mexican border shot dead a teenager herding his family's goats.

To be sure, counterterrorism should be strengthened. And it is possible to imagine a massively destructive attack that would force a president to call in the troops.

But as long as that horror remains remote, changing laws to make constitutional rights easier to violate risks tearing the American fabric more than a bomb ever could.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

6/8/00

Dear Mr. Eaton,

I very much enjoyed my
stay with you in Moscow and was
touched by your kindness and
generosity. I hope to be back
some day. Thanks you.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

^{DNK}
CARL:
CC: NSC
FURTHER
LIST OF
TY LETTERS
(Millison?)
@ 6.9.00


Marriott

HOTELS • RESORTS • SUITES

John L. Eaton
General Manager

Джон Л. Итон
Генеральный Менеджер

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E-mail: j.eaton@marriott-moscow.ru

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

6/8/00

Dear Mr. Eaton,

I very much enjoyed my
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Bill Clinton



HOTELS • RESORTS • SUITES

John L. Eaton
General Manager

Джон Л. Итон
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Direct Tel.: 937 00 02
Direct Fax: 937 00 70
E-mail: j.eaton@marriott-moscow.ru

MOSCOW
Marriott
GRAND HOTEL

June 3, 2000

Dear Mr. President,

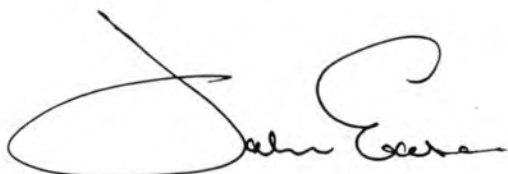
Welcome to Moscow!

We are honored to have you as a guest of the Marriott Grand Hotel.

We wish you a very successful visit, and sincerely hope that you enjoy your stay with us.

Thank you very much for affording us the opportunity to welcome you to our hotel.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "John L. Eaton". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large loop at the beginning and a long horizontal stroke at the end.

John L. Eaton
General Manager

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

6/7/60

Dear Mr. Saverio,

Thank you so much for
your hospitality. I was honored
by being the first guest in your
Presidential Suite and by your kind
generosity and thoughtfulness.
I hope to return to Lisbon
and to Dom Pedro Lisboa someday.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton



Ambassador of the United States of America

May 18, 2000

6-9-00
TO NSC for
Reply ✓

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

'00 JUN 9 PM4:32

Dear Mr. President,

I just returned from Maputo (the U.S. – SADC Meeting), after having done the first ever Tanzanian Trade and Investment Forum in London. The Forum, by the way, was very successful. Upon my return, the Minister of Industry and Commerce Iddi Simba called and told me that during his recent trip to Washington he suggested to U.S. Trade Representative Barshefsky that the G8 should consider holding their next meeting in Tanzania. He asked me to follow-up on that suggestion.

Mr. President, I think it is a brilliant idea! First, given the challenges that have been raised relative to globalization at the WTO meeting and the spring meeting of the IMF/World Bank, to do the G8 meeting in a country like Tanzania would be a stroke of genius. The symbolism of such a meeting in such a context would give a credibility to G8 claims that globalization is synonymous with opportunity and that the G8 really cares about the developing world. Additionally, it would represent an affirmation of your (and the United States') leadership in trying to humanize the face of globalization.

Obviously, we stand ready to be helpful in any way possible.

Take care, my friend.

Charles R. Stith

Ps. Given the latest turn of events in the NY Senatorial campaign, it gives new meaning to the old adage that a day is a lifetime in politics. Give Hillary my regards. It seems like things are really breaking in her favor.



Public Affairs Section News Briefs

LOCAL TANZANIAN NEWS COVERAGE OF LONDON TRADE MISSION

US Ambassador Charles R. Stith

U.S. Embassy
140 Msese Road
Kinondoni District
P.O. Box 9123
Dar es Salaam, Tanzania
Tel: (255-51)-666010 Fax: (255-51)-666701

The Guardian

www.ippmedia.com

ISSUE NO. 1696 TANZANIA TUESDAY, MAY 9, 2000

Major US firms likely to explore investment opportunities in Tanzania

By Godfrey Mollel

MAJOR American companies have shown interest in exploring investment opportunities in Tanzania following a recent trade conference in London, supported by the United States of America.

Speaking to journalists in a press conference in Dar es Salaam yesterday, the US Ambassador, Rev. Charles Stith, said that the trade mission was a success in that it increased his country's investors knowledge of Tanzania

investment opportunities.

Rev. Stith stated that similar trade conference would be held in Paris, France, in what he described as part of his initiative aimed at making Tanzania an African economic success story.

The envoy did not name the companies which have shown interest in investing in Tanzania.

However, he said: "Heads of companies in attendance who spoke to me at the meeting expressed their satisfaction...

Continues on page 4

Major US firms likely to explore investment opportunities in Tanzania

From page 1

I am optimistic that they will finally start investing in Tanzania."

Most of US companies doing business in Africa operate through South Africa, a country which is actively growing its economy.

Motorola, the giant telecommunication firm, Bechtel, PepsiCo, Coca Cola, Turner Broadcasting and several others with a combined market capitalization of over 1 trillion dollars attended the meeting.

The US companies operating in transport, telecommunications, computer, textile and industrial goods sectors were already active in Tanzania.

He said that it was evident during the meeting, the companies were satisfied by presentations on Tanzania investment opportunities.

The explanations were issued by three ministers in attendance, senior government officials and private businessmen.

In attendance were the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Jakaya Kikwete, the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Iddi Simba, and the Minister for Agriculture and Co-operatives, William Kusila.

Rev. Stith said he was confident that the ongoing government measures to pull down

investment barriers would be successful.

Bureaucracy, corruption, licensing regulations, delay in tax refunds, lengthy customs delay and poor infrastructure were among problems hindering investments highlighted at the meeting.

Rev. Stith said corruption was not a major obstacle to investment because there was not any country in the world which completely controlled the menace.

The US exports goods worth over 60m dollars, to Tanzania annually and imports goods worth about 18m dollars, every year.

The **Guardian**

www.ippmedia.com

ISSUE NO. 1696 TANZANIA TUESDAY, MAY 9, 2000



The United States Ambassador to Tanzania, Rev. Charles Stith (left), addresses a press conference at the US Embassy in Dar es Salaam yesterday. (Photo: Tryphon Mweji) See story on page one.

BUSINESS TIMES

MARKETS & ECONOMY

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Friday April 7, 2000

Dar trade mission for London, Paris

By Idd Upete

A 25-man trade delegation will tour Britain and France from April 25 to 29 this year.

The deputy executive director of Tanzania Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture (TCCIA) Frederick Kibodya told *Business Times* last week that the tour is a follow up on the visit made by President Benjamin Mkapa and members of private sector in the United States in September last year.

Kibodya said the purpose of the tour includes the meeting with the United States companies which have invested overseas because their experience shows that they are able to spot investment priorities in other countries.

The delegation will include members from the public sector like Presidential Sector Reform Commission (PSRC), ministries of energy and minerals, tourism and natural resources and agricultural and co-operatives as well as from the private sector.

"We want to join our efforts to attract investors as well as to promote companies which are in the privatisation pipeline," said Kibodya, adding that US companies will be encouraged to come and invest in manufacturing industries, Agro-processing, communication and infrastructure in general.

The organisers of the tour includes the US Embassy in Dar, US Commercial service in Paris and London, Tanzania High Commission in London and its Paris embassy, TCCIA, the Government and Private Sector Foundation

DAILY NEWS

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ON SATURDAY

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Kikwete for investment forum

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Mr Jakaya Kikwete, is expected to lead a powerful Tanzanian delegation to a two-day investment forum to start in London next Thursday. The delegation leaves Dar es Salaam on Tuesday.

The director for investment promotion with the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC), Mr Emmanuel Ole Naiko, told the *Daily News on Saturday* in Dar es Salaam yesterday that his

By Correspondent
MASATO MASATO

centre has organised the forum in collaboration with the US embassy in Dar es Salaam specifically to attract London-based American investors in the country.

The forum, Mr Ole Naiko added, supplements President Benjamin Mkapa's trip to the US last year in which he asked potential American investors to invest in Tanzania.

Mr Ole Naiko said the US ambassador to Tanzania, Mr Charles Stith, advised that American investors be persuaded from outside America, "... and we considered the ambassador's proposal was valid because Tanzania is not popular in America the same way it is in the UK or South Africa."

A similar forum was held in South Africa recently and the most influential American investors based in South Africa attended, Mr Ole Naiko said, adding that the third one will be held in Paris, France in May, 2000.

The TIC director said during the forum, great emphasis will be put on investing potentials in agricultural, mining and tourism sectors: "We will also speak of agricultural-based and service industries," he said.

The forum will be attended by over 50 influential American companies based in the UK. Some of the invitees, Mr Ole Naiko said are the vice-president and sales executive of C.V. executive director of Chesemanhattan Bank and vice-president of City Bank.

The delegation, the director said, comprises the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mr Iddi Simba; Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Energy and Minerals, Mr Patrick Rutabanzibwa; the PSRC chairman, Mr John Rubambe and Mr Ole Naiko himself.

Others are the director of tourism from the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism and other 20 representatives from the private sector.

The African

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NEWS

Tanzania-US traders to meet in London next week

By STAFF REPORTER

FOREIGN Affairs and International Co-operation Minister Jakaya Kikwete would lead Tanzania's delegation at an international trade conference with US investors to be held in London on April 27, an official with the ministry

said.

He said at the conference the delegates would meet several US firms interested in exploring investment opportunities in the country.

He listed the companies as AES Corp., Betchel, Chase Manhattan Bank, Citibank, Coca-Cola, Motorola, PepsiCo and Turner Broadcasting, all

companies have a combined market capitalisation of over 1 trillion US dollars.

"Delegates will discuss existing ventures in the mining, energy and agricultural sectors as well as the growing transportation and tourism networks that are bringing record numbers of visitors to the land of Kilimanjaro and Zanzibar,"

he said.

The conference organised by the US Embassy in Tanzania would take place at the US Embassy in London with the sponsorship of the Citibank.

The Minister for Industry and Commerce, Iddi Simba, several other senior government and private sector officials are among the delegates.

Mtanzania

Jumapili

ISSN 0856-5678

TOLEO NA 1454

Jumapili, Aprili 23, 2000

TANZANIA

Semina kuhusu uwekezaji kufanyika London leo

na mwandishi wetu

WAZIRI wa Mambo ya Nje na Ushirikiano wa Kimataifa, Jakaya Kikwete, kesho ataongoza ujumbe wa Tanzania kwenye semina ya siku moja kuhusu uwekezaji rasimali nchini, itakayofanyika London, Uingereza.

Taarifa iliyoitolewa na Uhalozi wa Marekani mjini Dar es

Salaam juzi ilisema katika semina hiyo itakayofanyika kwenye ubalozi wa Marekani, maafisa wa serikali na kutoka sekta binafsi wa Tanzania watabadilishana mawazo na maafisa kutoka makampuni mbalimbali ya Marekani juu ya fursa ya uwekezaji nchini.

Kwa mujibu wa taarifa hiyo, semina hiyo iliyoandaliwa na Balozi wa Marekani nchini,

Charles Stith, itahudhuriwa na maafisa kutoka makampuni ya AES Corp., Bechtel, benki za Chase Manhattan na Citibank, Coca Cola, Motorola, Pepsico, kampuni ya utangazaji ya Turner na mengine.

Macneo ya uwekezaji yatakayojadiliwa ni ya madini, nishati, kilimo, uchukuzi na utalii.

Kwa mujibu wa taarifa hiyo, ujumbe wa Tanzania kwenye

semina hiyo utakuwa ni pamoja na Waziri wa Viwanda na Biashara, Iddi Simba, Emmanuel ole Naiko, kutoka Kituo cha Uwekezaji Tanzania na Amour Khamis, kutoka Kituo cha Uwekezaji Zanzibar (ZIPA) na Katibu Mkuu Wizara ya Nishati na Madini, Patrick Rutabanzibwa.



MZALENDO

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Kikwete kuongoza ujumbe wa wafanyabiashara London

Na Mwandishi Wetu

UJUMBE wa Tanzania, ukiongozwa na Waziri wa Mambo ya Nje na Ushirikiano wa Kimataifa, Jakaya Kikwete, unatazamiwa kuhudhuria mkutano wa kibiashara utakaofanyika mjini London Aprili 27, mwaka huu.

Kwa mujibu wa taarifa iliyotolewa kwa vyombo vya habari na ubalozi wa Marekani nchini, Waziri Kikwete mbali ya kuongozana na ujumbe utakaowajumuisha wafanyabiashara na wataalamu wa masuala ya kibiashara, pia atafuatana na Waziri wa Viwanda na Biashara, Iddi Simba, ambapo watapata nafasi ya kuongea na wawakilishi wa kampuni mbalimbali za kimataifa zinazotaka kuwekeza vitega uchumi nchini.

Taarifa hiyo pia imezitaja baadhi ya kampuni kubwa za biashara zitakazohudhuria mkutano huo kuwa ni AES Corp, Bechtel, Chase Manhattan Bank, Citibank, Coca Cola, Motorola, Pepsico na Turner Broadcasting ambazo zina vitega uchumi sehemu mbalimbali duniani vinavyokadiriwa kuwa na thamani ya trilioni kadhaa za dola za Marekani.

Mkutano huo umeandaliwa na Balozi wa Marekani nchini Tanzania, Charles Stith, na kudhaminiwa na Citibank. Utafunguliwa na Waziri Kikwete ambapo wajumbe watazungumzia masuala mbalimbali ya kiuchumi na nafasi ya uwekezaji nchini Tanzania.

Kulingana na taarifa hiyo, kumekuwepo na hali ya kupungua kwa kasi ya misaada kutoka nchi zilizoendelea kwa nchi masikini suala lililoelezewa kuwa linahitaji msukumo wa hali ya juu, ikiwa ni pamoja na kukua kwa sekta binafsi ambayo itatoa mianya kwa wafanyabiashara wa Tanzania kujitangaza nje ya nchi kwa lengo la kuvutia wawekezaji na kuinua wigo wa biashara za kimataifa.

Masuala mengine ya kibiashara yanayotarajiwa kuzungumziwa katika mkutano huo ni uwekezaji katika sekta ya madini, nishati, kilimo, usafirishaji na utalii kwa lengo la kuutangaza na kuvutia watalii kutoka sehemu mbalimbali duniani kushuhudia utajiri wa mali ya asili iliyoko nchini.

Tanzanian team to meet US investors in London

By Guardian
Reporter

TANZANIA, on Thursday participates in a trade conference in London which will be attended by American giant companies interested in exploring investment opportunities in the country.

A press statement, issued by the US Embassy in Dar es Salaam at the weekend, said the conference will be attended by various American companies, including Coca-Cola, Citibank, PepsiCo, Chase Manhattan Bank, Turner Broadcasting, AES Corp, Bechtel and Motorola which have a combined market capitalisation of over one trillion dollars.

The conference, organised by the US Ambassador to Tanzania, Reverend Charles Stith, and the US Embassy in Dar es Salaam, will be opened by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Jakaya Kikwete, who is leading a high-ranking delegation.

The delegation will include the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Iddi Simba, and several other senior government and private sector officials.

The conference, to be held at the US Embassy in London, will be sponsored by Citibank.

The statement said the number of high-level delegates to the conference demonstrated Tanzania's resolve to show growing commercial opportunities that have resulted from the government's extensive economic reform programme.

"Having become the first African country to receive debt relief under expanded HIPC (Highly Indebted Poor Countries) programme, and having been the first African country

Tanzanian team to meet US investors in London

From page 1

to sign an Open Skies Aviation Agreement with the US, Tanzania is at the forefront of reforming African countries that are taking the initiative to integrate themselves into the global economy," said the statement.

The trade conference was a further step in that direction, and should serve as a model for future interaction with foreign investors who have the capital and technological resources to promote growth and development in Tanzania.

In today's era of declining foreign aid and an increasing emphasis on the private sector as the engine of growth, there was a strong need for African economies to market themselves to United States and European investors who might not normally consider doing business in Tanzania.

"This innovative mission represents an effort to break down the geographical barrier by exposing Tanzanian officials to US companies who run their international operations out of their regional headquarters in London," said the statement.

The delegates would discuss existing ventures in the mining, energy and agricultural sectors, as well as the growing transportation and tourism networks that were bringing record numbers of visitors to "The Land of Kilimanjaro and Zanzibar".

Continues on page 5

Kikwete leads business delegation to London

By Simon Kivamwo of PST

A TWENTY-man-delegation, led by Foreign and International Co-operation Minister Jakaya Kikwete, left yesterday for London to attend a business forum which starts tomorrow.

According to an official statement from the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC), issued yesterday in Dar es Salaam, the forum would be attended by American giant companies interested in exploring investment opportunities in the country.

Other senior government officials include, Minister for Industry and Commerce Idd Simba, Permanent Secretary in the Ministry of Energy and Minerals Patrick Rutabanzibwa and Director of Europe and the Americas in the Foreign Ministry, Marwa Matiko.

Others in the list are; the Director of Tourism in the Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, Salehe Pamba, January Gaspar Mrema from the Ministry of Industry and Trade, Edward Hosea from Prevention of Corruption Bureau, Ole Naiko from TIC and John Rubambe from PSRC.

Representatives of the private sector institutions are, the chairman of Board of Tanzania Cashewnuts Marketing, Kitwana Kondo, Juma Akukweti Board of Cashewnuts, Fredrick Kibodya from Tanzania Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture (TCCIA) and Nassor Mazrui from Zanzibar's Chamber of Commerce, Industries and Agriculture.

Others are the Deputy Direc-

tor General of ZIPA, Amour Khamisi, the General Manager of Tanzania Cashewnut Board, Dr. H. Mandari, the Managing Director of Tanzania Coffee Board, L. Omari and G. Kejo from Tanzania Tea Board.

Also in the list are, Thomas Fille from Tanzania Marketing Board, E. Sanga from Bhesco, A. Faraji from ACF Holding Ltd., Dr Judith Mhina from Mojuro Investment and Frank Mutani from African Consulting Group.

A press statement, issued by the US Embassy in Dar es Salaam last weekend, said that the forum would be attended by various American companies, including Coca-Cola, Citibank, Pepsico, Chase Manhattan Bank, Turner Broadcasting, AES Corp, Bechtel and Motorola which have a combined market capitalisation of over one trillion dollars.

The forum, organised by the US Ambassador to Tanzania, Reverend Charles Stith, and the US Embassy in Dar es Salaam, will be opened by the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Jakaya Kikwete.

The forum, to be held at the US Embassy in London, will be sponsored by Citibank.

The delegates are expected to discuss existing ventures in the mining, energy and agricultural sectors, as well as the growing transportation and tourism networks that were bringing record numbers of visitors to Tanzania.

The forum is expected to be closed by the Tanzanian High Commissioner in the UK, Dr Abdul Sharef.

Dar for London trade forum

By FREDDY MARO

A HIGH powered delegation left the country yesterday for a one-day Tanzania Trade Forum in London to take place tomorrow.

A statement from the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC) which was made available to the *Daily News* says that the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Mr Jakaya Kikwete led the delegation.

A number of topics to be discussed during the forum include: An overview of Tanzanian economy, commercial opportunities — a US perspective and economic partnership.

Other topics are: Privatisation of utility parastatals, investment one stop centres, government ministries on sector opportunities—minerals and energy, tourism and manufacturing.

The statement indicates that there will be a question and answer session.

Other dignitaries in the Tanzanian delegation include, the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mr Iddi Simba, the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Energy and Minerals, Mr Patrick Rutabanzibwa and director of Europe and the America in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Ambassador Marwa Matiko.

Others include: The director of Tourism, Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism, Mr Saleh Pamba and the director of Prevention of Corruption Bureau (PCB), Mr Edward Hosea.

Others are, the Director of Investment Promotion, Tanzania Investment Centre, Mr Ole Naiko, the executive chairman of the Presidential Parastatal Sector Reform Commission (PSRC), Mr John Rubambe and Mr January Mrema from the Ministry of Industry and Trade.

Representatives of private sector institutions will also be among the delegation for the trade forum, according to the statement.

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TANZANIA

APRIL 30, 2000

Kikwete invites US investors

TANZANIA has asked United States businessmen and women to invest in various sectors of the economy, saying the investment climate in the country was friendly and conducive.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Mr Jakaya Kikwete, told a trade and investment forum in London, Britain on Thursday that Tanzania was keen for a trade partnership with the US.

He told the US entrepreneurs that Tanzania had abundant natural resources ranging from minerals, arable land, tourism to forests apt for wood harvesting.

Mr Kikwete said Tanzania had done much to create an enabling environment for local and international investors, saying the country would do more to create more incentives.

"We have investment incentive regimes that are internationally competitive. Therefore, you have everything to gain if you invest and do business in Tanzania," said Mr

By **SUNDAY NEWS**
Reporter

Kikwete.

The minister told the prospective investors that they stood to gain a lot through investing in the country given its geographic location and stability in the southern Africa region.

"Tanzania is a member of important regional economic groupings in the region which enables an investor who locates oneself in our country to access the markets and resources of the member states," he said.

Mr Kikwete said the country had the right political and economic environment for being a meaningful partner to US companies and entrepreneurs.

The minister cited the incentives which the country offers as tax concessions, including import duties, corporate and withholding taxes and capital allowances.

He said much as there could still be red tape in facilitating investments, the Third Phase

government under President Benjamin Mkapa was seriously addressing bureaucracy with a view to surmounting it.

The trade and investment forum was organised by Tanzania in collaboration with the US embassy in Dar es Salaam. It was held at the US embassy Commercial Auditorium in London.

The US Ambassador to Tanzania, Rev. Charles Stith and the Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mr Iddi Simba, attended the function. Officials from the Tanzania Investment Centre also attended.



MINISTER Kikwete

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TANZANIA

APRIL 30, 2000

Kikwete in Switzerland

By *SUNDAY NEWS* Reporter

THE Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Mr Jakaya Kikwete, today arrives in Switzerland for a three-day official visit at the invitation of the Swiss government.

Mr Kikwete, who is presently in London attending an investment meeting for Tanzania with US businessmen, is expected to meet several Swiss officials including the country president, Mr Adolf Ogi.

According to a statement issued by the Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation ministry yesterday, among issues to be discussed by Mr Kikwete and his hosts include bilateral relations between the two countries.

Other matters on the agenda are Tanzania's efforts to maintain peace in the region and support for the forthcoming October general elections. The situation in the Great Lakes region and the role of Tanzania in the Arusha Burundi peace process, the conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the question of refugees will also be discussed.

Mr Kikwete is expected to return to London on Tuesday ready for a visit of the Republic of Ireland.

OPINION

Tanzania needs genuine investors

IN another drive to woo investors the government in collaboration with the United States embassy in Dar es Salaam recently organised a trade and investment forum in Britain.

The aim, of course, was to sensitise the Americans on the investment opportunities in Tanzania, incentives at their disposal and the investment climate in the country.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Mr Jakaya Kikwete, and other senior government officials led Tanzania's delegation to the forum.

Needless to say, Tanzania is endowed with vast arable land and abundant natural resources yet to be fully exploited. These range from minerals, forestry, tourism and industrial sectors, just to cite a few.

Since 1986 Tanzania embarked on economic reforms with a view to shifting from the centrally planned economy to a free market structure which encouraged competition.

The government, therefore, decided to withdraw from direct involvement in productive and commercial activities, allowing the private sector to play a key role in the economy.

And this is where international investors come in especially in sectors which are yet to be fully exploited like mining, tourism, forestry and fisheries.

The London trade and investment forum did much to paint the investment image obtaining in Tanzania which, we believe, gave the American investors an impetus to plough their resources in the country.

Our only major concern here is the sort of prospective investors we receive in the country. While the majority of investors coming to Tanzania are keen and committed to investing in the country, there are few who look very promising and serious when they go to the Tanzania Investment Centre only to establish later they are fake and crooks.

Typical cases which have embarrassed this country involve the banking sector where some clients were embroiled in a banking wrangle with Greenland and Meridien Biao banks on their savings.

The aim here is not to recount the episode but to emphasise that Tanzania needs serious and committed investors from the local and foreign fronts.

It is in that spirit we join Minister Kikwete in reassuring prospective American investors that Tanzania's doors are wide open for genuine investors who are keen on doing business with us. Those we warmly welcome them to our country.

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TANZANIA

FRIDAY, MAY 5, 2000

Tanzania impresses US business

By Correspondent
MASATO MASATO

TANZANIA's drive to create a conducive investment climate are set to deliver the goods as several potential US investors seek to start economic ventures in the country, it has been learnt.

Commenting on the recent London Investment Forum in Dar es Salaam yesterday, the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC) Director for Investment Promotion, Mr Emmanuel ole

Naiko, described the forum as a great success as it has interested many foreign businesses to invest in Tanzania.

Mr ole Naiko said the forum provided the investors with a clear insight of Tanzania's investment potential.

"It was very important that we were able to explain to prospective investors that issues they had earlier complained about were being addressed," Mr ole Naiko said.

The complaints had mostly

centred on high electricity tariffs, corruption, tax structure, unfair tax collection practices and bureaucratic red-tape in the clearing of imports and exports.

"Most of the problems will be tackled soon whereas the electricity tariff issue is to be resolved by the end of this year," the director said.

On corruption, Mr ole Naiko said: "US investors already in Tanzania assured their counterparts that Tanzania is working hard to eradicate the graft.

He said various papers were presented at the forum all giving an overview of Tanzania's investment potential. The papers were presented by Minister for Industry and Commerce, Mr Iddi Simba, and chairman of the Parastatal Sector Reforms Commission, Mr John Rubambe.

Other papers were by Mr ole Naiko and Mr Amour Khamis of the Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency. The Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Mr

Jakaya Kikwete also addressed the forum.

The two-day forum was organised by TIC in collaboration with the US embassy in Dar es Salaam specifically to lure American businessmen to invest in Tanzania.

Mr ole Naiko added that a similar forum will be organised in Paris, France in the near future. "The idea is to make American investors, wherever they are to perceive Tanzania as the best place to set shop in Africa."

BUSINESS TIMES

Friday May 5, 2000

Friday May 5, 2000

EAST AFRICAN NEWS

Tanzania calls for more US investment

TANZANIA has asked the US business community to make use of the friendly and conducive investment climate in the country and invest in various economic sectors.

Tanzanian Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation Jakaya Kikwete said that Tanzania is keen for a trade partnership with the US while speaking at a trade and investment forum co-organized by Tanzania and US in London, Britain, on Thursday.

Kikwete told the US entrepreneurs attending the event that Tanzania has done much to create an enabling environment for local and international investors, saying the country would do more to create more incentives.

"We have investment incentive regimes that are internation-

ally competitive. Therefore, you have everything to gain if you invest and do business in Tanzania," said Kikwete. He cited the incentives offered by the Tanzanian government as tax concessions, including import duties, corporate taxes and capital allowances. However, he admitted, there could still be red tape in facilitating investments; but the government under President Mkapa, is seriously addressing bureaucracy with a view to surmounting it.

Tanzanian official figures show that US investments in Tanzania currently range between USD15 million and USD 20 million a year. Investment sectors include tourism, manufacturing, construction, transport, petroleum, fishing and agriculture.

(Xinhua)



Jakaya Kikwete

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TANZANIA

TUESDAY, MAY 9, 2000

'Red-tape fails Tanzania'

By MUHIDIN ISSA
MICHUZI

TANZANIA has been singled out as a country with immense investment opportunities in Africa, but she urgently needs to drop the red-tape tag to woo more investors.

"Tanzania enjoys an abundance of natural resources which offers tremendous investment opportunities," the US Ambassador to Tanzania, Rev. Charles Stith, said yesterday.

The envoy who was briefing journalists on the outcome of the trade and investment forum organised by the US in London on April 27, said Tanzania is an investor paradise.

He said American investors were keenly eyeing Tanzania, but are hesitant due to frustra-

tions likely to be encountered prior to setting up business.

"Red tape, obstacles within licensing and tax institutions as well as poor infrastructure could discourage potential investors," said the US ambassador.

Rev. Stith outlined several factors given to potential US investors at the London forum with political stability and a viable multi-party democracy being top on the list.

He listed other factors as investment benefits and incentives Tanzania offers, unconditional transferability of capital

and profits.

Others are investment guarantees and settlement of disputes in case of nationalisation or expropriation, smooth transfer of technology agreements and obtaining credits from domestic sources.

A powerful delegation, including three ministers and a number of top executives and private businessmen, attended the London forum.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation, Mr Jakaya Kikwete, who was the head of the delegation, had said during the conference that Tanzania has investment incentive regimes that are internationally competitive.

The African

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US scoffs at empty investment promises

By ONGERI JOHN

TANZANIA should act swiftly to curb corruption and red tape to boost the flow of investors in the country, US Ambassador Charles Stith said in Dar es Salaam yesterday.

He said most US investors were happy with the openness and the commitment shown by the government, but the positive impression would not last long if the government keeps on promising while doing

Tanzania asked to curb graft, red tape

FROM PAGE 1

nothing.

"Telling the same story many times and seeing nothing happening won't do the country any good," the envoy cautioned.

He referred to an important meeting late last month in London where government officials, accompanied by members of the local business community, met with representatives of US firms operating in Europe.

The meeting explored opportunities and challenges faced by investors coming to Tanzania, he said.

Ambassador Stith urged the government to adopt an

attitude of seriousness in the creation of an investor-friendly environment in the country.

The call has been issued ahead of a planned national workshop in Dar es Salaam this week to find ways of cutting down on red tape in investment facilitation.

Up to 70 participants from government departments, private sector firms, NGOs, UN and donor agencies as well as key bilateral trade partners are expected to attend the workshop organised by the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC).

The London meeting was attended by Foreign and International Co-operation

Minister Jakaya Kikwete, Industry and Commerce Minister Iddi Simba as well as Agriculture and Co-operatives Minister William Kusila.

About 35 US firms with combined capitalisation of more than one trillion dollars participated in the meeting, the envoy said.

US banking and insurance institutions dominated the US presence in the meeting, which attracted among others well known firms such as AES Corp., Bechtel Corporation, Chase Manhattan Bank, Citibank, Coca Cola, Motorola, Pepsi Corp. and Turner Broadcasting, he said.

TO PAGE 2

HABARI ZA KITAIFA

Balozi wa Marekani asema:

Rushwa Tanzania yakatisha tamaa wawekezaji

WAWKEKEZAJI wengi kutoka nje wanashindwa kuwekeza nchini kutokana na tatizo la rushwa kushamiri katika sekta mbalimbali.

Hayo yalisemwa jana na Balozi wa Marekani nchini, Charles Stith, wakati akizungumza na waandishi wa habari kwenye ubalozi huo mjini Dar es Salaam.

Alisema pamoja na nchi kuwa na uoto wa asili na vivutio vingi vinavyoweza kuwapendeza wawekezaji lakini tatizo la rushwa limechangia kwa kiasi kikubwa kuwakatisha tamaa.

Stith alikiri kwamba tatizo la rushwa halipo Tanzania peke yake bali karibu nchi zote duniani zinakabiliwa na tatizo hilo ingawa serikali husika

Na Mwandishi Wetu

zinajitahidi kulipiga vita.

Aliyataja matatizo mengine kuwa ni sheria ngumu za upatikanaji wa leseni na urasimu uliopo kwenye sekta mbalimbali za serikali.

Hata hivyo, aliisifu Tanzania kwa kuwa na vivutio vingi ambavyo kila mwekezaji hufurahishwa

navyo.

Alivitaja baadhi ya vivutio hivyo kuwa ni pamoja na mbuga za wanyama, Mlima Kilimanjaro na sehemu kadhaa za makumbusho.

Balozi Stith aliyasema hayo wakati akitoa majumuisho ya mkutano wa biashara na vitega uchumi nchini Tanzania uliofanyika Uingereza. Mkutano huo

ulifadhiliwa na serikali ya Marekani.

Mkutano huo uliofanyika Aprili 27, mwaka huu, ulihudhuriwa na Waziri wa Mambo ya Nchi za Nje na Ushirikiano wa Kimataifa, Jakaya Kikwete; Waziri wa Viwanda na Biashara, Idd Simba; Waziri wa Kilimo na Ushirika, William Kusila, na viongozi wengine mbalimbali.

Kwa mujibu Stith, Marekani inakusudia kuleta wawekezaji katika nchi za Afrika ili kuzisaidia nchi hizo kujikwamua na tatizo la umasikini.

Wawekezaji hao imeelezwa wataelekeza nguvu zao katika shughuli za maendeleo ya huduma za jamii, kilimo na hifadhi ya chakula.

Nipashe

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Wawekezaji zaidi kutoka Marekani kuingia Tanzania - Balozi Stith

Na Beatrice Bandawe

MAKAMPUNI makubwa ya Marekani yameonyesha nia ya kuwekezavitegauchuminchini Tanzania kufuatia mkutano wa kibiashara ulioandaliwa na serikali ya Marekani na kufanyika mjini London, Uingereza hivika ribuni.

Akiongea na waandishi wa habari jijini jana, Balozi wa Marekani nchini, Mchungaji Charles Stith, alisema kuwa katika mkutano huo juhudi zake zililengakuifanya Tanzania iwe nchi inayofanikiwa kichumi katika bara la Afrika.

Alisema mkutano huo ulionyesha mafanikio na kwambaumeongezamatumaini kwa Tanzania kupata wawekezaji zaidi.

Alisema makampuni mengi, ambayo yalihudhuria mkutano

huo mjini London, yalionyesha hamu ya kuja kuwekeza nchini Tanzania.

Hata hivyo, Mchungaji Stith alifafanua kuwa hakuna kampuni iliyoeleza wazi kuwa lini itakuja kuwekeza.

Mkutano ambao pia ulihudhuriwa na Waziri wa Mambo ya Nje na Ushirikiano wa Kimataifa, Bw. Jakaya Kikwete, Waziri wa Viwanda na Biashara, Bw. Iddi Simbana Waziri wa Kilimo na Ushirika, Bw. William Kusilla, uliridhishwa na maelezo yaliyotolewa na mawaziri hao.

Mkutano huo pia ulandaliwa kwa lengo la kuongeza ushirikiano kati ya Tanzania na Marekani.

Mchungaji Stith alizitaja baadhi ya kampuni zilizohudhuria mkutano huo kuwa ni Kampuni ya Simu ya Motorola, Bechtel, Pepsco,

Coca Cola, Turner Broadcasting nanyiengine ambazokwa pamoja zina mtaji zaidi ya dola za Kimarekanitilionimoja.

Mchungaji Stith alisema ana uhakika kuwa hatua za serikali za kukabiliana na mipaka ya uwekezaji zitazaa matunda.

Alisema mambo makubwa yaliyozungumzwa katika mkutano huo ni pamoja na ukiritimba, rushwa, masharti ya utoaji leseni, ucheleweshaji wakulipa ushuru, mlolongo na ucheleweshaji wa forodha na utendaji hafifu, kuwa ni matatizo yanayokwamisha uwekezaji.

Kwa mujibu wa Mchungaji Stith, rushwa haikuwa tatizo kubwa katika mkutano huo juu ya uwekezaji kwa sababu hakuna nchi yoyote duniani ambayo imefanikiwamojakwa moja kupambana nayo.

Alasiri

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NA. 01065 JUMANNE MEI 9, 2000 SH. 100

Balozi wa Marekani azoza

Na Alloyce Komba, Ubalizi wa Marekani

BALOZI wa Marekani nchini, Mchungaji Charles Stith amesema Tanzania inapaswa kutangaza sera zake za uwekezaji na biashara kwa taasisi za fedha ambazo ziko zaidi katika miji ya London, Uingereza na New York na Massachusetts.

Balozi Stith alisema hayo jana wakati akiongea na waandishi wa habari juu ya mkutano wa biashara na uwekezaji kati ya wafanyabiashara wa Marekani na wa Tanzania uliofanyika mjini London, Uingereza, hapo Aprili 27 mwaka huu.

Akawaambia waandishi kuwa sasa ni wakati muafaka kwani Marekani ikiwa ndlo yenye uchumi wenye nguvu zaidi duniani,

inajipanua na kuingia katika ushirikiano na nchi nyingi hasa za Afrika ambazo kutokana na sababu za kihistoria na umbali kulikuwa hakuna ushirikiano huo.

Balozi Stith akabainisha kwamba Marekani imekuwa ikifanya biashara nyingi na kuwekeza pesa nyingi huko Afrika Kusini, ambako kiuchumi hakuwezi kulinganishwa na nchi zingine za Afrika.

Pia akasema mkutano huo wa London ulipa fursa Tanzania kuwavutia wa Marekani kuwekeza katika madini, utalii, masuala ya pesa na kupata taarifa za ubinafsishaji.

Akasema katika mkutano huo baadhi ya taasisi za fedha hasa mabanki yaliwakilishwa.

Akazitaja taasisi hizo kuwa ni

parhiojana Citibank, State Street Bank & Trust Co. na Chase Manhattan.

"Biashara na uwekezaji ni kuzungumza na watu wenye pesa. Yawezekana taasisi hizo ziliwakilisha makampuni kadhaa ya Marekani kwa vile ndizo zinazotoa pesa kwa makampuni hayo," akasema Balozi Stith.

Akasema ujumbe wa Tanzania katika mkutano huo ulioandaliwa na Balozi Stith na kugharimiwa na Citibank uliongozwa na Waziri wa Mambo ya Nje na Ushirikiano wa Kimataifa, Bw. Jakaya Kikwete akiandamanana Waziri wa Viwanda na Biashara, Bw. Iddi Simba.

Mkutano mwingine wa namna hiyo unatarajiwa kufanyika huko Paris, Ufaransa mwezi Septemba mwaka huu.

Financial Times, Wednesday, May 10-17, 2000

Reform systems before creating more bodies and committees

IN a move to promote investment in Tanzania, the government has taken various measures including addressing investment hurdles. Along this move the Investment Advisory Board was late last month launched in Dar es Salaam by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, Mr. Idd Simba.

The board, he said would be advising his ministry on all matters related to business registration and licensing.

Placed to oversee activities of the Business Registration and Licensing Agency (BRELA) which was also inaugurated in that particular day, the board would also be responsible to advise the ministry of Industries and Commerce.

Board members have been drawn from government and the business community.

Mr. Simba said, "unless the country solved problems related to business registration and licensing, Tanzania will continue to appear as the most unfavourable investment desti-

nation in the continent."

The launching of BRELA is welcomed by every one, although we still emphasize that the board should be more objective and realistic in executing its activities. So far, several advisory bodies have been formed in Tanzania, including the advisory committee for the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA).

However, experience have shown that Tanzania is always punctual to form bodies and committees rather than reforming respective systems and their related regulations. In so doing, such bodies end up glorifying the institutions and not being accountable to the public.

One of the arguments raised by American investors at the just ended US-Tanzania investors forum in London was the issue of investment hurdles in the country including the tax system, bureaucracy, corruption and high priced utilities. The meeting was organized by the US Embassy in Tanzania.

However, during his in-

teractive meeting with chief executive officers of private enterprises in Dar es Salaam recently, President Benjamin Mkapa said his government was keen to support private sectors with vision and commitment to the long term interests of Tanzania.

Thanks that after government's intensive campaigns to promote investment in the country, promising results are starting to appear.

When US-Tanzania investors were meeting in London in last week, over 60 Britain companies were holding exhibition in Dar es Salaam. This illustrates that it is about time the country should take critical reform in various institutions, the role we expect to be done by BRELA.

Evaluations on investment and market potentials indicate that Tanzania is well placed in Africa to attract more investment and trade. According to the Japanese companies, Tanzania is placed at the top in terms of trade and investment potential.

What is needed here is to make existing regulatory framework more friendly. Already experts have said that its not complete and partly outdated.

Studies including the one funded by the USAID reveal that Tanzania has to repeal a number of laws originating from the era before reforms started.

We need to start there. Thanks on-going efforts by the Tanzania Investment Centre (TIC) to attract inflow of foreign capital. Tanzania is one of the leading recipients of capital inflows in Southern Africa.

Between 1996-1998 Tanzania received slightly higher than 10 per cent of the total investment capital inflow received in the entire SADC region.

Despite these achievements, Tanzania has to repeal a number of investment laws including land laws. Some studies show investors in Tanzania like her partners in the entire East Africa region, were facing serious difficulties in purchasing or leasing industrial land.

Industrial land equipped with the necessary infrastructure is over-priced and only available in the urban centres. With respect to Tanzania, the study says land leases are comparably cheap, but ownership of land is limited to the government and the existing industrial sites still lack proper utilities.

However, there are still a number of factors inhibiting revitalization of industrial development. It is our expectation therefore that policy-related factors including problems in taxation system, insufficient protection from dumping and smuggling, various types of bureaucracy, insufficient land policy, slow divestiture, inadequate investment incentives, insufficient export promotion and budget constraints, at this juncture will be scrutinised and addressed promptly.

Also factors to work on them, are those related to natural resources like lack of exploitation policies, lack of access and infrastruc-

SOCIAL-ECONOMIC OUTLOOK



Sebastian Paschal

ture, lack of sub-sector development strategies and licensing, lack of large investors and unsolved environment questions, which were found to slow down investment in the country. We expect also that constraints to the efficient use of production factors like inadequate transport system and services, unreliable and expensive electricity will at this time not be overlooked by the policy-makers in making Tanzania competitive in this era of globalisation.

BUSINESS TIMES

ISSN 0856 - 2814 NO. 607 TShs. 500 KShs. 50 UShs. 1,000 Friday, May 12 — 18, 2000—ECONOMIC & FINANCIAL

Tanzania's economy: Africa's next success story - US Envoy

By Bakari Machumu

TANZANIA has been described as "Africa's next successful economy story," following the marked success of its extensive economic reform programme.

This observation was made in the city by the Ambassador of the United States of America to Tanzania, Rev Charles Stith, during a press briefing held at the US Embassy early this week.

Stith's description was based on the flexibility with which Tanzania has opened its doors to globalisation, following its adoption of *free market economy* policies.

Obviously impressed by the country's macro-economic performance so far, Stith sees the current direction Tanzania has taken as being the only way to achieve a strong sustainable economy — provided the direction is maintained and constantly improved upon.

Stith said that "Tanzania is at the forefront of reforming African countries that are taking the initiative to integrate themselves into the global economy".

Recently, the US Embassy in Tanzania organised a conference in London as a follow-up to President Benjamin Mkapa's tour of the US last year. The London conference explored opportunities and challenges that are faced by investors coming to Tanzania, and was attended by representatives of about 35 well-known US firms operating in Europe.

Led by the minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Jakaya Kikwete, the Tanzanian delegation met with the US companies which, together, have a total capitalisation of over USD 1 trillion. Key economic sectors discussed at the conference included mining, energy, agriculture, transportation and tourism.

"This innovative mission (the London Conference) represents an effort to break down the geographical barrier by exposing Tanzanian officials to US companies who run their international operations out of their regional headquarters in London," the envoy explained.

However, Stith challenged the country to maintain regular up-dates by going to major money centres like "London, New York and Massachusetts. Go where capital players are.....major investments cannot come in one meeting: it is more of a process," the envoy exhorted.

The Embassy plans another conference for US companies to meet a Tanzanian delegation in Paris, in November this year.



American Embassy

Dar es Salaam
Tanzania

Press Release - April 23, 2000

Tanzania's Foreign Minister Says "Yes" to Globalization

In sharp contrast to protests about "globalization" last week at the IMF/World Bank meetings in Washington D.C. and at the WTO Summit in Seattle last December, Tanzania is rapidly moving to integrate with the global economy to spur economic development through trade and investment. On April 27, a Tanzanian delegation led by Foreign Minister Jakaya Kikwete will participate in a trade conference in London to meet U.S. companies interested in exploring investment opportunities in Tanzania. The attending companies - including AES Corp., Bechtel, Chase Manhattan Bank, Citibank, Coca Cola, Motorola, Pepsico, Turner Broadcasting, and others - have a combined market capitalization of over 1 trillion dollars.

The conference, organized by U.S. Ambassador to Tanzania Charles R. Stith and the U.S. Embassy in Dar es Salaam, will be opened by Minister Kikwete, who is leading a high-powered delegation that also includes Minister of Industry and Commerce Iddi Simba and several other senior government and private sector officials. The conference will take place at the U.S. Embassy in London with the generous sponsorship of Citibank. A program schedule is attached.

In today's era of declining foreign aid and an increasing emphasis on the private sector as the engine of growth, there is a strong need for African economies to market themselves to U.S. and European investors who might not normally consider doing business in Tanzania. This innovative mission represents an effort to break down the geographical barrier by exposing Tanzanian officials to U.S. companies who run their international operations out of their regional headquarters in London. Delegates will discuss existing ventures in the mining, energy, and agricultural sectors, as well as the growing transportation and tourism networks that are bringing record numbers of visitors to "The Land of Kilimanjaro and Zanzibar".

The number of high-level delegates on this mission demonstrates Tanzania's resolve to showcase growing commercial opportunities that have resulted from the government's extensive economic reform program. Having become the first African country to receive debt relief under the expanded HIPC program, and having been the first African country to sign an Open Skies Aviation Agreement with the U.S., Tanzania is at the forefront of reforming African countries that are taking the initiative to integrate themselves into the global economy. This trade conference is a further step in that direction, and should serve as a model for future interaction with foreign investors who have the capital and technological resources to promote growth and development in Tanzania.

TANZANIA TRADE FORUM, APRIL 27
U.S. EMBASSY LONDON
10:00 AM to 4:00 PM

9:15 - 10:00	Registration and Coffee
10:00 - 10:05	Welcome - William Brekke, Commercial Officer, U.S. Embassy London
10:05 - 10:10	Why we are here - Charles R. Stith, U.S. Ambassador to Tanzania
10:10 - 10:20	Keynote Address - Jakaya Kikwete, Tanzanian Minister of Foreign Affairs
10:20 - 10:50	U.S. Embassy Overview of Tanzanian Economy - Michael Heath, Second Secretary, U.S. Embassy, Dar es Salaam Commercial Opportunities - A U.S. Business Perspective Mark Fitzpatrick, AES Executive Director
10:50 - 11:35	Tanzania: An Economic Partnership Introduction: H.E. Iddi Simba, Minister for Industry and Commerce Investment One-Stop Centers: Mr. Emmanuel Ole Naiko, Tanzania Investment Centre Director Mr. Amour Khamis, Zanzibar Investment Promotion Agency (ZIPA)
11:35 - 11:50	Privatisation of Utility Parastatals - by John Rubambe, Chairman, Parastatal Sector Reform Commission (PSRC)
11:50 - 12:30	Open Forum - Questions and Answers
12:30 - 1:40	Lunch
1:40 - 2:40	Government Ministries on Sector Opportunities Energy and Minerals Mr. Patrick Rutabanzibwa, Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Energy and Minerals Tourism Salehe A. Pamba, Director of Tourism, Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism Manufacturing Januarius Mrema, Ministry of Industry and Commerce
2:40 - 3:25	Private Sector Panel: On Doing Business in Tanzania Dr. Gideon Kaunda, Tanzania Chamber of Commerce, Industry and Agriculture A.P. Mushi, Director, Tanzania Private Sector Foundation D. Bilcliffe, Executive Director, Kilimanjaro Airports Development Company
3:25 - 4:00	OPEN FORUM- Questions and Answer session
4:00 - 4:05	Closing Remarks - by Dr. Abdul Shareef, Tanzania High Commissioner in UK

**U.S. ATTENDEES TO LONDON TRADE CONFERENCE
APRIL 27, 2000**

Matthew Milukas, Director of Development
InterGen (UK) Ltd.

Anjum Zahoor Iqbal, Africa Division Head
Citibank

Gian Paulo Potsios, Managing Director
Citibank Global Corporate Banking

Nasir Kausar, Vice President
Citibank Global Corporate Banking

James Buckle, Relationship Associate
Citibank Global Corporate Banking

Benjamin Fraser, Vice President
State Street Bank & Trust Co.

Douglas Findlay-Shirras, Director of Marketing
State Street Global Advisors

Tim Walker, Regional Treasurer
Bechtel Limited

Mark Fitzpatrick, Executive Director
AES Corporation (Songo Songo)

Alan Collard, President for Africa
Chase Manhattan Bank

Gordon Rennoldson
Chase Manhattan Bank

Robert Ahomka-Lindsay, Group Manager, Africa
Coca Cola Corporation

Shawn McCormick, Senior Policy Advisor
BP Amoco

Theo Deheyder
Louis Dreyfus Corporation

Roger Rookes
Louis Dreyfus Corporation

Dave Baker, Business Development
Western Geophysical, Baker Hughes

Fulton Moraes, European Treasurer
Rohm and Haas

Ian Coles, Managing Partner
Mayer, Brown & Platt

Rasik H. Patel, Executive Chairman
Afro-Asian Insurance Services Ltd.

Navnit Davda, Director
Andy Impex Ltd. (Chubb)

Margaret Snyder

Gene Harris, Senior Commercial Officer
U.S. Commercial Service
European Bank (EBRD)

John Khan, President
Cybercity Consultants

Muslim Aladin
Tanzania-U.K. Business Groups

Chuni Chande, Managing Director
Buckrise Enterprises Limited

N.G. Davida, Director
International Commodities Services Ltd.

Alan Palmer, Southern Africa Director
Scottish Trade International

Hassan Karim, Managing Director
Classic Landmarks Ltd.
Exportlink Euro Ltd.

Ron Fennell, Consultant
Public Sector Management

A.T. Dembeniotis, Chairman
Grecian Investments (U.K.) Ltd.

Howard Davies
Cargill - Ralli Brothers

James Freidlander, Managing Partner
Akin, Gump

Nisk Kankiwala, Vice President for Africa
Pepsico

Bob Jenkinson
Cummins Power Projects

Peter Caroe
Knight Frank

TANZANIA DELEGATION TO LONDON TRADE CONFERENCE, APRIL 27, 2000

Tanzania Government Officials

1. Hon. Jakaya Kikwete, Minister of Foreign Affairs
2. Hon. Iddi Simba, Minister for Industries and Commerce
3. Mr. Patrick Rutabanzibwa, Permanent Secretary – Ministry of Energy and Minerals
4. Ambassador Marwa M. Matiko, Director of Europe and the Americas – Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Int. Coop.
5. Mr. Salehe A. Pamba, Director of Tourism – Ministry of Natural Resources and Tourism
6. Mr. Januarius Mrema, Ministry of Industry and Trade
7. Mr. E. D. Ole Naiko, Director of Investment Promotion – Tanzania Investment Centre
8. Mr. John Rubambe, Executive Chairman – Presidential Parastatal Sector Reform Commission
9. Kassim A. Mtawa - Personal Assistant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs

Private Sector Institutions

1. Hon. Kitwana Kondo, MP, Chairman – Board of Tanzania Cashewnuts Marketing Board
2. Hon. Juma Akukweti, MP, Board Member – Board of Tanzania Cashewnuts Marketing Board
3. Mr. Frederick G. Kibodya, Deputy Executive Director – Tanzania Chambers of Commerce Industries and Agriculture
4. Mr. Nassor A. Mazrui, Chairman – Zanzibar Chambers of Commerce Industries and Agriculture
5. Mr. Amour A. Khamis, Deputy Director General – ZIPA
6. Dr. H. F. Mandari, General Manager, Tanzania Cashewnuts Marketing Board
7. Mr. L. Omari, Managing Director – Tanzania Coffee Board
8. Mr. G. O. Kejo, Tanzania Tea Board
9. Mr. Thomas W. Fille, Tanzania Cotton Marketing Board
10. E. N. Sanga, General Manager – Bhesco Ltd.
11. A. C. Faraji, ACF Holding Ltd.
12. Y. Manji, Executive Director – Quality Foam Ltd.
13. Dr. Judith Mhina, Mojuro Investment Ltd.
14. Mr. Frank Mutani, African Consulting Group Ltd.
15. Mwanjaa E. Chami, Golden Time Travel Services Ltd.
16. Dr. Gideon Kaunda, Alliance Air, TCCIA

17. Mr. Hilary Biduga, All African Travel and Tourism Association
18. A. P. Mushi, Tanzania Private Sector Foundation
19. Mr. Wilson Ndesanjo, Corporate Insurance Brokers Ltd.
20. Mrs. Anne E. Sanga, Bhesco Ltd.
21. Mr. David Bilcliffe, Kilimanjaro Airport Development Co. Ltd.
22. Fisha Nsilo-Swai Martin, Financial & Legal Consultant
23. Farhan Faruqui, Managing Director, Citibank Tanzania
24. Alnoor Jamal, Director, New Africa Hotel
25. Hussain Damani, Director, J. R. Enterprises Ltd.
26. S.M. Akbar, Director, Hua Hua International Trading Inc.
27. Wilson Ndesanjo, Chief Executive Officer, Corporate Insurance Brokers Ltd.

JP / Ricchetti
worth reading
it's fascinating, too a
real portrait of the end
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TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE

The Jefferson Lecture

Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Hon. A.I.A.

University of Virginia
Charlottesville
April 13, 2000

The origins of Rome are mythic. By contrast, the capital of the United States, rich in Roman reference and design, was provided for in a written Constitution, and implemented by act of Congress.¹ The Residence Act of 1790 followed in a matter of weeks an agreement reached over Thomas Jefferson's dinner table at 57 Maiden Lane in Manhattan in which the then-Secretary of State agreed to the proposal of then-Secretary of the Treasury Alexander Hamilton that the new Federal Government assume the debt incurred by the several states during the Revolutionary War. A daunting act of statecraft. Most of the outstanding obligations had been issued by northern states – Virginia had paid off its war debt – such that this marked a considerable concession by Jefferson as a matter of regional interest and to his larger concern that the States not become too dependent on the new national government. Hence his terms. The seat of that national government would be removed from the bustling, bursting streets of Manhattan to a malarial swamp on the banks of the Potowmac River.

The Compromise of 1790, as historians have it, is surely the beginning of national politics in the new nation.² The Legislature, the Executive, the regions, the interests, working things out. Yet it might better be seen as the last of the Constitutional provisions for the separation of powers. The Constitution refers to a "District . . . as may, by Cession of particular States, . . . become the Seat of the

Government."³ Given the plural – States – it may be that the present arrangement was already contemplated in Philadelphia. New York was not yet the first city of the Nation, but was well on its way as was evident to most. It would shortly become the financial capital, the transportation hub, the port of entry, the city that the rest of the world would look to as the symbol of America. The culture in the largest sense was in New York; government would be somewhere else.⁴

And not much of it. Jefferson proposed a plan for Washington in 1791 that was little more than a village on the banks of the "Tiber." There would be growth, no doubt. But nothing noticeable by way of magnificence.⁵

He had not reckoned on Pierre Charles L'Enfant. In a matter of months the French military engineer, a wartime associate of Washington, had created a plan for a seat of empire (see Fig. 1).⁶ In Monumental Washington, John W. Reps judges that L'Enfant's "general inspiration" had to come from Versailles. He continues,

Here truly, if not "a plan wholly new," was an urban composition unique at least to America both in scale and in concept. All the baroque design motifs of European planning developed over the years in the old world suddenly and splendidly found application on this virgin site for the capital of the newest of the world's nations. It was a supreme irony that the plan forms originally conceived to magnify the glories of despotic kings and emperors came to be applied as a national symbol of a country whose philosophical basis

was so firmly rooted in democratic equality.

And yet, inappropriate as this design may have been as a reflection of the constitution of the new government, it must have appealed to the aspirations of its leaders for national grandeur. Even the sophisticated Jefferson, who can hardly have failed to appreciate the anomaly of the L'Enfant plan, apparently never objected to the design. Perhaps he, Washington, and the others to whom this task had been entrusted showed, by their acceptance of the plan, their ultimate faith in the nation's ability to rival Europe in power and architectural glory. Certainly it was an act of faith in the future to adopt this plan so obviously beyond the resources that could immediately be mustered for its completion. Their vision, and that of L'Enfant, took decades to be vindicated.⁷

Indeed, L'Enfant had written Washington on September 11, 1789, seeking the commission to design "the Capital of this vast Empire."⁸ We catch our founders peeking at a future not wholly that of honest yeoman.

But there is more. Imperial though the plan might be, the central focus was Pennsylvania Avenue separating as well as connecting the "Congress's House" and the "President's House," the centers of power of the American constitutional system, whilst provision was made for a Supreme Court, more or less in between.⁹

In 1800, John Adams lost the presidential election. He thereupon turned over the Treasury, such as it was, the armed forces, and the Great Seal to Jefferson and made his way back to Quincy. American democracy was thus established, and now situated in the city of Washington. The next year Jefferson began his

administration with a symbolic ride down the Avenue, from Congress to the President's House. Thereafter he planted four rows of Lombardy Poplars to define the space between. But then the British came, burned the Capitol, and marched down Pennsylvania Avenue and burned the President's House. (We had burned Fort York, now the site of Toronto.) The city languished. The President's House was repainted, thus becoming the White House, but not much else happened. Tiber Creek festered and overflowed, an "indescribable cesspool" full of "smells and malarial mosquitos."¹⁰

In time the government if not the city revived. The Treasury Building, the Patent Office athwart Eighth Street and the Post Office (later the Tariff Commission) across the way finished the early classical phase of government building. In the 1830s a macadam surface was laid for the Avenue. The Civil War brought some development and a considerable portion of parades. Governor Alexander "Boss" Shepherd planted some 50,000 trees about the city and saw that sewers were laid. Nineteenth century architecture had appeared in the form of Renwick's Smithsonian Building (1855), the new Old Post Office (1899) by Willoughby Edbrooke, Romanesque and soaring; the Second Empire State, War & Navy Building (1888) by Alfred B. Mullett; the Pension Building (1883) by

General Montgomery C. Meigs, a Farnese Palace with an interior space still without equal in the Western Hemisphere. But Washington remained a Southern town, governed by Congress, with little civic life, utterly segregated by race with vast numbers of Negro "citizens" living in the notorious alleys.

For all the scattered new buildings, the second half of the 19th century in Washington is perhaps best evoked by the travail of the Washington Monument. From the end of the Revolutionary War onwards, all manner of statues and mausoleums were proposed in his memory; in 1804 Jefferson settled on a site south of the White House, but nothing happened. The centenary of Washington's birth revived interest and a voluntary society was formed. Robert Mills won the competition and states and the like began to contribute blocks of marble. Alas, in 1854 Pope Pius IX contributed a block taken from the Temple of Concord in Rome. Alert citizens knew the installation would be the signal for the Catholic uprising. Accordingly, the "Pope's stone" was unceremoniously dumped somewhere in the Potomac, and work ceased. The stump just sat there for a generation. All manner of proposals came forward, including building one of the "better Hindu pagodas."¹¹ (Hindus do not have pagodas, but ours was then, as now, an eclectic culture.) Finally, however, with the Nation's centennial at hand,

Congress set the Army Corps of Engineers to finish the job. As it turned out, lack of time and money gave us the incomparable obelisk we have today.

But nothing much else happened. Whereupon, at the turn of the century seemingly everything happened. In celebration of the 400th anniversary of Columbus' voyages nigh on to half the American population journeyed to the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago to see the City Beautiful, a Periclean vision of the city and the citizen.¹² Something Jefferson would have instantly recognized, replete with temples he could readily have designed. Buildings were to be white, symbol of sanitation and good government, above all of uplift. One writer of the time proposed that "emotions once channeled toward the supernatural be redirected to the civic ideal."¹³ Come to think, something Jefferson seems intermittently to have had in mind.

Senator James McMillan of Michigan, chairman of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, brought the Chicago planners – Burnham, McKim, Olmstead, St. Gaudens – to Washington. By 1902 they had a plan to reproduce their exposition in the one downtown in America that had room for it (see Fig. 2). Trees were planted, sites leveled, vistas established. Washington would be the City Beautiful, if for no other reason than that all the other places were already

cities of another sort.¹⁴

Alas, the beautifiers turned their back on Pennsylvania Avenue, preferring the Mall on the Chicago model. In the 1920s Andrew Mellon as Secretary of the Treasury (where the government building office was then located) began construction of the Federal Triangle. White, serious, uplifting edifices without exception facing the Mall. The National Gallery, donated by Mellon and designed by John Russell Pope was on the Mall itself.

But then came the Depression and worked just stopped. The Second World War followed; the Pentagon went up, the largest Federal building ever, but across the river. Nothing of consequence in the District.¹⁵ With the Housing Act of 1949, urban renewal came to Southwest Washington. The neighborhood was cleared, alleys and all, but the aftermath was lifeless. In any event, it never came near the center.

Pennsylvania Avenue languished. A familiar sequence had commenced. The folk who had once lived in the central city took the trolley uptown. Or a bit later drove to the suburbs. The small houses and small lots gradually emptied. Retail stores, some considerable, left in pursuit of their customers. The oyster houses and suchlike were maybe the last to vanish, but by 1960 they, too, had

gone. The lights went out. By 1960 save for a hotel and a restaurant at the western end, the only commercial establishment open after dark on Pennsylvania Avenue was Apex Liquors at 7th Street, in the building where Matthew Brady had his studio and Lincoln had gone for his last portrait.

The future was clear enough. It had happened elsewhere. The two- and three-story buildings, often as not wooden, would be cleared, a sequence of office buildings would replace them; urban life would migrate elsewhere. As with any other downtown.

The problem was not like any other downtown. The unfinished Federal Triangle did not much help. The Archives apart, these were government buildings off limits to the public, closed at night and on weekends. The Columbian Exposition along with its Greek temples had at least featured the Midway, alive with "Little Egypt's hootchey-kootchy, and the blast of saxophones from Florenz Ziegfeld's big band review."¹⁶ There was not even a movie theater on Pennsylvania Avenue. When the Eisenhower administration determined that there needed to be a national cultural center, getting in on the New York act as you might say, the vast building was in Foggy Bottom, far from the city center.

In his report accompanying L'Enfant's plan, Washington had written, "The

Grand Avenue connecting both the palace and the federal house will be most magnificent & most convenient." It was to be "built up at once."¹⁷ But that was now long ago, and long forgot.

Of a sudden, however, the idea of the Avenue of the Presidents came back to life in the course of the Inaugural Parade of President John F. Kennedy on January 20, 1961. The history that followed has been meticulously recorded by Carol M. Highsmith and Ted Lamphair in their splendid volume, Pennsylvania Avenue, America's Main Street (1988). Although it was given out that it was President Kennedy himself who came up with the idea, it was in fact Arthur J. Goldberg, a man of genius and extraordinary range, whom the Gods smiled upon that day. Years later he recounted the event to the authors.

"I don't think it hurts a great man to knock down a few legends," said Goldberg. "A president of the United States newly inaugurated has more important things to think about at that moment than the condition of Pennsylvania Avenue."

Along with other cabinet members, Goldberg was provided with an automobile in which to ride up Pennsylvania Avenue. "I was very much impressed with the day," he remembered, "and I was very much impressed with myself! I was a new cabinet officer, the first time I had ever held public office. Riding in the car, I noticed vividly what I may have ignored as a Washingtonian since 1948: the dilapidated condition of this Avenue of the Presidents, which I then and now regard to be the most important thoroughfare in our nation's capital. At that time, it consisted of a bunch of decrepit pawn shops,

taverns, horrible souvenir shops that took advantage of tourists, and second-hand clothing stores. In sum, it was a disgrace."

He filed, but never forgot, that impression.¹⁸

At a cabinet meeting of August 4, 1961, the discussion of foreign policy paused just long enough for attention to turn to the next most important issue in government – at that time certainly – which is to say office space. Secretary Goldberg noted that the Labor Department was in 15 buildings scattered across the District. The President agreed and the Secretary became co-chairman of something with the unpromising title of Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space. As Goldberg's assistant, the drafting went to me.

The Ad Hoc Committee reported to the President on May 23, 1962.¹⁹ It dutifully proposed a ten-year plan for constructing twelve new office buildings. We were not so dim to Washington reality as to fail to list J. Edgar Hoover's new F.B.I. building as the first priority. (The building had been authorized by Congress in 1939, a measure of how construction had just stopped.) Next was a new Department of Labor building, and so down the list to the Department of Agriculture.

The touch of Goldberg's genius was to propose the rebirth of Pennsylvania Avenue as part of an otherwise routine procurement project. We were neither of

us theorists but we could look about us. The Capitol and the White House were works of architectural conviction and political statement. Jefferson had even entered the design competition for the latter. The Federal Triangle derived from conviction, withal derivative. But through the 20th century we had been avoiding anything modern. In 1939, the Saarinen had produced a stunning design for an art gallery on the Mall.²⁰ It would have been the first contemporary building in the Federal inventory. It went away to a general sigh of relief.

Thus it came to me that we needed an architectural policy. It was a simple enough affair. One page; still in place.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES FOR FEDERAL ARCHITECTURE

The design of Federal office buildings, particularly those to be located in the Nation's Capital, must meet a twofold requirement. First, it must provide efficient and economical facilities for the use of Government agencies. Second, it must provide visual testimony to the dignity, enterprise, vigor and stability of the American Government.

It should be our object to meet the test of Pericles' evocation to the Athenians, which the President commended to the Massachusetts Legislature in his address of January 9, 1961: "We do not imitate - for we are a model to others."

The committee is also of the opinion that the Federal Government, no less than other public and private organizations concerned with the construction of new buildings, should take advantage of the increasingly fruitful collaboration between

architecture and the fine arts.

With these objects in view, the committee recommends a three-point architectural policy for the Federal Government:

1. The policy shall be to provide requisite and adequate facilities in an architectural style and form which is distinguished and which will reflect the dignity, enterprise, vigor, and stability of the American National Government. Major emphasis should be placed on the choice of designs that embody the finest contemporary American architectural thought. . . .

2. The development of an official style must be avoided. Design must flow from the architectural profession to the Government, and not vice versa. . . .

3. The choice and development of the building site should be considered the first step of the design process. . . . Where possible, buildings should be located so as to permit a generous development of landscape.²¹

The proposal for Pennsylvania Avenue followed. The history of the Avenue was set forth in considerable detail. (It having for practical purposes been quite lost.)

Then:

Pennsylvania Avenue should be the great thoroughfare of the city of Washington. Instead it remains a vast, unformed, cluttered expanse at the heart of the Nation's Capital.

The present appearance of Pennsylvania Avenue demands attention for the precise reason that profound changes are about to take place. Large segments on the north side are decayed beyond restoration. It is clear that a great many of the buildings are about to be torn down and replaced by new structures which will include both

private and public buildings.

This presents a great opportunity. From Washington's time there has been a general understanding that the Federal Government has a responsibility to maintain standards of buildings and architecture in the Nation's Capital. For the past half century this function has been ably performed by the Commission of Fine Arts. The prospect that a considerable number of buildings will be erected along Pennsylvania Avenue in a short span of time makes it possible to consider the overall appearance, as well as the appearance of the individual structures. Instead of designing and constructing one new building at a time, it becomes possible to design and construct what would, in effect, be a new avenue.²²

The following September the President nominated Secretary Goldberg for the Supreme Court. He was promptly confirmed and Pennsylvania Avenue was pretty much left to his former assistant. This at all events is how it turned out.

The White House had taken our point. Kennedy's statement of June 1 accepting our report was entitled, "Memorandum Concerning Improvements in Federal Office Space and the Redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue."²³ He directed that the National Capital Planning Commission take on the latter.

The Commission could not have been more welcoming, and administered two Congressional appropriations to support the project's modest expenses. Even so, the enterprise needed an organization of its own.

The Kennedy years were indeed special in Washington; ideas raced round

and hopes were never so high. We would go to the moon and we would rebuild Washington. The President's close friend, the artist William Walton, joined in the conversations early on, as did Frederick L. Holborn of the White House staff. The name of Nathaniel Alexander Owings came up, and in short order there emerged the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue. We would later claim to have been "appointed by President Kennedy on June 1, 1962," but this was all made up. No matter, the reputation of the architects, planners and such as Dan Kiley conferred an air of officialdom.²⁴ (Thus when Hoover was asked by Owings to move his proposed building back fifty feet to make way for trees and promenade, he readily enough agreed. He could not, however, accept the idea of an arcade at street level, fearing his agents might be mugged. Or so Owings related.) The more so as The Washington Post and The Washington Star were endlessly encouraging, as were critics such as Wolf Von Eckhardt and Ada Louise Huxtable.

The stars began to get in line. Of special note, in 1964 S. Dillon Ripley became Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution and commenced to rebuild and revive the Mall with the spontaneity of Fourth of July fireworks.

Owings took hold con brio. A plan evolved (see Fig. 3). It was too grand even for so grand a site. We would keep only the Old Post Office tower and a vast

National Square at the west end of the Avenue would have swept away the Willard Hotel, and much else. All the same the idea fitted the time. Word reached Kennedy through Walton, and also Mrs. Kennedy, who had a lively and informed interest in design. The first Plan took some sixteen months to complete. Before leaving for Dallas on November 21st I had arranged on his return so he might see me at noonday of November 22nd, Charles Boardman, Director of District of Columbia Affairs, and I got together to work out the arrangements. The phone was out of order. The President had been shown the plan at the White House, and had gathered with a small group in Ralph Dungan's southwest corner office. It was a moment like none other. The President and Vice President in Texas; much of the cabinet half-way across the Pacific en route to Japan. A dozen, at most two dozen of us also alone in Washington, not knowing what was going on. Word drifted in: the President was dead. And so Walton and I left. In an introduction to the Highsmith & Lamphair narrative I write,

At about midnight . . . I went back to the White House, back to the little warren of rooms where we had awaited word from Dallas that afternoon. Evelyn Lincoln, Kennedy's secretary, had cleaned out every scrap of paper from her office, leaving only one of the

Bachrach portraits of President Kennedy which he used to sign for, well, I don't know . . . senators, I suppose. I picked it up and went round to the front door of the Oval Office, which was open. I stood at attention: saluted. Steady as she goes. It was a touch I think he might have liked. Anyway, I was young, and I had a quarter century to spare.²⁵

As it happened, it would take thirty-five years, but I do believe we are finally getting there.

During the whole of this time, until her own death in 1994, Mrs. Kennedy and I would correspond about the Avenue, for she saved the undertaking in a farewell call on President Johnson. I knew of this, but never had it directly from her until a note of October 1987:

Dear Pat,

You are right about my asking President Johnson to not let it fade away. He asked me to come to his office a day or so after November 25th, and wanted to know what there was he could do for me – and that is what I asked for. [It was something] Jack cared about so deeply.

For all the goodwill that followed the assassination, the first event was a considerable setback. The massive cultural center that had been proposed by President Eisenhower was to have been privately funded. Mrs. Kennedy had succeeded to the chair of the board charged with raising the money. It wasn't going well, and all agreed that with the launching of the new Avenue Plan we

would break up the center into three separate units – theater, symphony, opera – to be clustered up near the White House. A refurbished Municipal Building would be the opera house. Alas, a member of Congress rose to propose that the government pay for the building and that it be named for the late President. And so it remains in Foggy Bottom, behind a "tangle of freeway ramps."²⁶

President Johnson took Mrs. Kennedy's wishes as something of a command. His counsel, Harry C. McPherson, Jr., had been following the subject with great interest. The Council's report was submitted to the President in April 1964. The following March, Johnson issued an executive order creating a Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue to concern itself with "the main ceremonial avenue connecting the centers of the Legislative and Executive Branches of the United States Government."²⁷ Owings would be chairman, me vice chairman. At last we were official! The commission included most of the cabinet and assorted luminaries, especially Ripley. We now had momentum.

The following September, in a letter to Congress Johnson proposed that the Avenue be designated a national historic site and to be administered and developed by a Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue "to carry forward the work" of the temporary body.²⁸

Owings now brought in the young David M. Childs and things happened, withal it was hard to learn of them. It had been generally assumed that the enterprise died with the President who had sponsored it. The Sunday Star, a faithful friend, had editorialized that the Council had "dropped this misshapen baby on the Capitol's doorstep and promptly folded up."²⁹ Yet in 1968, the last year of the Johnson Administration, Owings and Childs and their fellow free spirits produced a second Pennsylvania Avenue Plan (the Blue Book). (See Fig. 4.)

Here we encounter the power of an idea. Washington was no longer a place-other-than-New York. It was the capital of the most powerful nation on earth, and deserved to look it. The capital, further and fundamental, of a democracy. The twentieth century had transformed American government, which in turn transformed American culture. National and international politics consumed our energies and resources and all this was centered in Washington. The more then to look to appearances. There were Stalinales across the globe; at least one Brasilia. If ours, as we insisted, was a different political culture, our capital had to so state. Somehow we came to sense this. A fine instance was the founding of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. The

legislation passed in the last days of the Johnson Administration.³⁰ The Declaration of Policy stated first that a "living institution" be created to carry the work of "a brilliant advocate of international understanding." Next that it be located in the area north of Market Square, that being the desire of the Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue. If we were not to have an opera, seminars would serve, along with an urban campus (see Fig. 5).

There was a degree of drama attendant to the founding of the Center. The legislation provided for a board of trustees of 15 persons, seven from government, beginning with the Secretary of State and "Eight appointed by the President from private life." On January 16, 1969, with four days of his administration remaining, Johnson appointed the eight private members for staggered terms, with the longest going to Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. Two days later, by executive order, the President named Humphrey chairman.

What to do? If L.B.J. was President, it pretty much followed that Humphrey was Vice President, and not in "private life." Whereupon, on January 21, Dillon Ripley sent a two-page letter to the new President, Richard Nixon, extolling his "spontaneity at the zestful inaugural ball" followed by a detailed proposal that I be appointed to the Wilson board (there being one slot for any

person in government the President chose to name). This was Charles Blitzer's doing, but Ripley saw it as a way to keep the new institution from being caught up in partisan politics. As for Humphrey, he looked upon the chairmanship as his new role in national public life, everything he had ever hoped for . . . well, almost. On February 11, he wrote me about the first board meeting "in my office, Room 6202, FOB 7" asking if I could bring Owings along. The minutes record:

In his introductory remarks Hubert Humphrey noted the Board is charged with the challenge of creating a new American institution, the nation's memorial to Woodrow Wilson. As stated by the Pennsylvania Avenue Commission, " . . . More than a memorial to the President it will be a gift to the world. Bringing to the Capital . . . a center of intellectual inquiry directed primarily to the problems of world order and all their many ramifications, we conceive nothing less than an institution of learning that the 22nd century will regard as having influenced the 21st."

Mr. Humphrey expressed his hope that the Center would become, as soon as possible, a vital force in Washington and a crossroads for scholars, diplomats and statesmen from all over the world. He noted the interest and recommendations of the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, the Smithsonian Institution, the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue and members of Congress in advancing the idea for a Center. He stressed his hope that the Board will continue the work which has already gone forward in planning for the Center. In this regard, the Center as conceived, would be both a scholarly institution and a living monument:

– an integral part of the Plan for Pennsylvania Avenue, the new urban design for downtown Washington, as recommended by the Woodrow Wilson Memorial Commission and the President's

Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue;

– a place of beauty which will renew and continually stimulate its surroundings and be enriched by the resources of the Capital, the National Archives, the Library of Congress, and offices of the Federal Government.

He next turned to Ripley who

noted the advantages of having the Center located in this area and mentioned that the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the American Historical Association, and other similar institutions and universities have indicated an interest in developing permanent facilities in this downtown area. He expressed the hope that the Center would operate 24 hours-a-day and function as an integral part of the Washington community.³¹

Whereupon I showed the model, to encouraging murmurs from Blitzer and McPherson who had also been appointed to the board by Johnson. The great National Square never had much luck. But the same year Congress authorized Pershing Square to be built on a site facing the Willard, emphasizing the latter. There was less talk of tearing down Henry Hardenbergh's 1901 masterwork.

Now came the "urban crisis." American cities were convulsed by riot and riotous behavior. The assassination of Dr. King in 1968 led to devastating burning and destruction throughout the land, including Washington where the fires reached, as one book had it, Ten Blocks From The White House. Everywhere the inner city declined, not least that of the capital, defined by Pennsylvania Avenue.

The population fled. There were now at most some thirteen dwellings – apartments – the whole length of the Avenue. A vicious heroin epidemic struck. The Inaugural Parade of 1969 took place in a garrisoned city. A group of responsible, liberal citizens proposed to the White House that the garrison be made permanent.

I had gone off to be director of the Joint Center for Urban Studies of M.I.T. and Harvard but now returned to Washington as Assistant to the President for Urban Affairs, with the President head of a new Urban Affairs Council. The parallel to the National Security Council was explicit; if anything, the sense of crisis more acute. Pennsylvania Avenue became a metaphor for urban renaissance. In the Congress Senator Henry M. Jackson of Washington took on the issue, as did Representative Jonathan B. Bingham of New York. As ever Kay Graham of The Post and Newbold Noyes, Jr., of The Star were supportive to the point of cheering. We needed a success.

In October, 1969, the Temporary Commission held its first meeting under the new administration. Recall that President Johnson had assigned half the cabinet. Now they all turned up. George Romney, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development, proposed legislation which approved of the new Plan, and to

fund and establish a development corporation to implement it. Owings announced the inclusion of 1500 living units.³² We had realized that nothing would last until people actually lived there.

The new President promptly proposed self-government for the District of Columbia, and saw the Avenue as the national government's share in the reconstruction ahead. On September 8, 1970 he toured Pennsylvania Avenue, and sent a long message to Congress proposing a Federal City Bicentennial Development Corporation.³³ It was full of history and full of, well, surprisingly good news. A six-acre reflecting pool at the foot of Capitol Hill was under construction. Owings' initiative. A Labor Department building was going up across the way. At Fourth Street on the south side of the Avenue the National Gallery would build an addition by I. M. Pei. At Eighth Street there would be a "cross axis that will meet precisely the purposes L'Enfant envisioned." To the north the Wilson Center. To the south construction had already begun on Gordon Bunshaft's Hirshhorn Museum and Sculpture Garden while plans were well advanced for the National Gallery Sculpture Garden. (I had been drafted chairman of the Hirshhorn board as a link between the old administration and the new.)

Indeed the most striking of all the doing and undoing over Pennsylvania

Avenue may be that very cross-axis. Mills' Patent Office (where L'Enfant had located the national cathedral) was all but abandoned when Owings and I snuck in one day in 1962, would become the National Portrait Gallery and the National Museum of American Art of the Smithsonian. Its exquisite Doric columns face the Corinthian columns of the Archives (notched in by the Federal Triangle planners in the 1920s to face north). A Navy memorial with fountain flowing and bands playing would emerge. As would outdoor cafes and apartment buildings up and down the street. Across Constitution Avenue, the National Gallery Sculpture Garden, opened in 1999, is sheer joy as a pool in summer or as a skating rink in winter. In perfectly aligned sequence we find one great institution after another each with great or understated welcomes, cheering either way.

On to the F.B.I. building between Ninth and Tenth Streets, set back fifty feet with three rows of trees in front. Finally Metrorail, which had begun with the conscious support of the new administration, the most modern subway system of its kind in the Nation, purposefully intended to tie downtown to the suburbs.

The President was particularly pleased with having persuaded – well, commanded – the Navy to take down the Temporary buildings – "temporary since 1918" – on the Mall, to be replaced by a fine garden. He concluded his message to

the Congress, however,

What is missing from this otherwise impressive and promising list of activity is the residential and commercial development which is indispensable to the revitalization of the Federal City area. While various government activities have gone forward with energy and success, it would have to be said that there was less private activity in the area at the end of the decade of the 1960s than at the beginning. The sources of this decline are many, but three in particular seem fundamental. The first is that small investor confidence in the area has greatly declined. There are many reasons for this, but it should be noted that such a change in the attraction for small businesses and similar activities is normal in the development of the American city. It has happened almost everywhere else, and of itself requires no special explanation. The difference is that the Federal City is like nowhere else. It is special, and for that reason special measures must be devised to respond to its needs. A second general source of lagging private development is that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for prospective investors to aggregate land parcels so as to obtain sites large enough for profitable investment. A third source has been the continuing uncertainty as to the actual depth of the commitment of the legislative and executive branches to the development of the Federal City.³⁴

What was needed was a P.A.D.C. In the last month of his first term, Nixon's bill finally passed. He chose Elwood "Pete" Quesada to head the new body. Quesada, a Republican, an Air Force General in World War II, was given to command, not negotiation. (As director of the Federal Aviation Administration, he persuaded President Eisenhower to build Dulles Airport – the nearest Saarinen ever got to Washington, but a triumph withal.) He stayed on until 1978, by which

time a third plan had been developed and acquired momentum. The ideals of the earlier plans were not lost, but it was eminent domain that fulfilled them. Also, and not least, home rule for the District of Columbia was secured in 1973. The first elected Mayor, Walter E. Washington, was an ardent supporter of the Avenue development – it would be a mark of what self-government could do – and brought a geniality to the enterprise that General Quesada sometimes lacked. So also the business community. The banks had abandoned downtown well before people did, but now the Federal City Council, Downtown Progress, and the Greater Washington Board of Trade joined in. Delano E. Lewis, chairman of the Board of Trade commented, "We all realized that downtown as a whole could not come back if the Avenue as a whole was still a national disgrace."³⁵

In 1986 the Willard Hotel was triumphantly reopened. Pershing Park was completed, a wonderfully secluded enclave amidst all that public show. Freedom Plaza, adorned with passages from Walt Whitman, Frederick Douglass and the whole of the pantheon. And so back down the Avenue. The finest of our architects signed up, much aware what was being entrusted to them. The Old Post Office became headquarters for the National Endowment for the Arts, and housed a complex of shops and restaurants. The Navy Memorial is indeed a triumph,

enclosed by the Market Square buildings – Owings' vision of housing atop office towers, with cafes at street level. John Marshall Park provides a splendid vista north. The Pension Building – as with the Patent Office – all but derelict when Owings and I crept-in in 1962, with shrubbery and small trees growing up through rotted wooden floors, is today the magnificent National Building Museum. Finally at Fifth Street stands the splendid Canadian Embassy. Howard H. Baker, Jr., as chief of staff to President Reagan, had suggested the location, parallel to ours in Ottawa across from the Houses of Parliament. In 1996, the Pennsylvania Avenue Development Corporation was closed down, having completed its work with one exception to be noted.

In the meantime I had become chairman of the Senate subcommittee dealing with public buildings. All too visible from our hearing room windows was Burnham's Union Station (now owned by Amtrak), near to derelict; the roof leaking, the interior all but abandoned. One morning John H. Chafee of Rhode Island, a ranking Republican on the Committee suggested we walk over to see what we had done, or rather not done. The result was a series of appropriations that led to a startling revival. I thereupon got through a bill to construct an office building for the Administrative Office of the United States Courts, and became

chairman of the Commission for the Judiciary Office Building. This was to match the post office Burnham had built just to the west of the station. The new building, now the Thurgood Marshall Federal Judiciary Building, was dedicated in 1992 – a brilliant design, perfectly matching Union Station in cornice and such like, by Edward Larabee Barnes. Benjamin Forgey of The Washington Post described it as "an abstract variation of classicism."³⁶ A feat which had escaped the Chicago architects, but which surely they anticipated.

"Make no small plans," Burnham had famously declared, and indeed we did not. This should have been welcome to Washington, given its beginnings a century earlier. But this vision was by then mostly lost. At first the plan of the McMillan Commission was outright scorned by Congress. In 1908 The Evening Star featured a huge recounting with the headline

A SHOWY SHAM, THE CONCOCTION OF A SHAM COMMISSION.³⁷

The President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue was surely far closer to a "sham" commission but the idea was more than well received, even when details were criticized. For a civic movement had been stirring from the time in 1954 when Phillip Graham of The Washington Post helped create the Federal City Council and now helped bring our story to a conclusion. The Council had come

up with the idea of an International Trade and Cultural Center, a vast emporium to be located in Southwest along the waterfront. But the neighborhood was opposed and nothing happened until the idea surfaced again in the Reagan Administration. By 1986 The Post could report that the Executive Branch was thinking of the remaining space of the Federal Triangle as a site. In 1988, the President announced the U. S. Cultural and Trade Center Commission, with former Senator Charles H. Percy as chairman and Harry C. McPherson as vice chairman. Terrence Golden, an entrepreneur and public servant, was now head of the General Services Administration. Where, in 1961, I had looked out the window of the Labor Department building and seen a parking lot of "surpassing ugliness," Golden, a businessman of rare grace and vision, saw a billion dollars of real estate being used as a parking lot. In a series of dramatic encounters with his successor it was agreed that G.S.A. would go forward. We already had a design sketch from James Ingo Freed and I could ensure that the Woodrow Wilson Center would be included in the complex. On September 24, 1990 I wrote Mrs. Onassis:

Dearest Jackie,

. . . Pennsylvania Avenue is now finally, at long last, almost certainly, quite possibly, unquestionably on its way to completion.

The building was named the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center with an adjoining Woodrow Wilson Center on Woodrow Wilson Plaza.³⁸

This was something new for the Federal Triangle. Restaurants, concert halls, foreign governments, private firms, seminar rooms, all open to the public.³⁹

President Clinton and Mrs. Reagan spoke eloquently at the dedication on May 5, 1998 (see Fig. 6). I spoke briefly, beginning,

It would be some two centuries since Jefferson declared that
"Design activity and political thought are indivisible."

And it was a fine thing, I concluded, that the building should be named for President Reagan, "one of whose many gifts to the American Nation is a vision of a world at peace and free to trade."

In all a reassuring tale. An urban design, indivisible from a political – constitutional – purpose endured through two centuries and has now substantially prevailed. Pennsylvania Avenue is "lively, friendly and inviting." Yet of a sudden closed. Just so. In 1995, blockades went up at 14th Street and at 16th Street in front of the White House. Blockades and block houses. Armed guards. This, too, is in ways an aftermath of the Kennedy assassination. In 1963 the budget of the Secret Service was \$7 million; today it is \$800 million and rising. None dare

defy the threat analysis of this burgeoning bureaucracy. And for that matter, the Capitol itself is now surrounded by barricades and officers. The Architect of the Capitol is planning an underground garage at First and C Streets, N. E., such that our parking lot of surpassing ugliness will go away and we shall be nearer to the "Arc of Park" we first proposed in 1993, to fulfill at long last the McMillan vision for the Capitol grounds.⁴⁰ But we will also have a ring of stanchions and guardians.

Somehow we have got to recover our nerve; shaken really since November 22, 1963. The peerless Robert A. Peck, Commissioner of Public Buildings, put it just so in recent Congressional testimony.

Our job is to protect the people who work in the building, the people who visit it, and, at the same time, to keep our buildings from becoming fortresses foreboding, forbidding, and unwelcoming to the American public for whom they are built.⁴¹

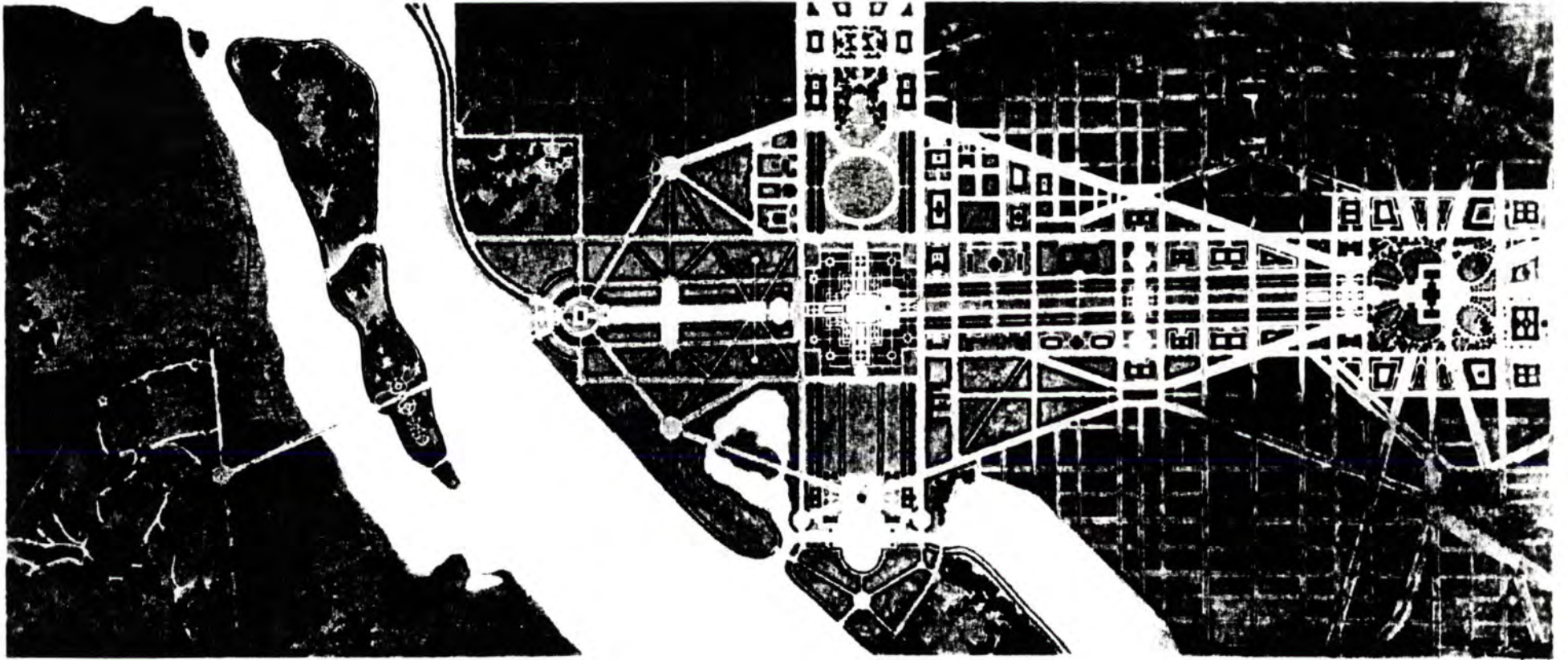
This is more than management. It is "design activity and political thought" in its highest and best sense.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure

1. The L'Enfant Plan, 1791.
2. The McMillan Plan, 1902.
3. Model of the Plan of the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964.
4. Model of the Plan of the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1968.
5. Following a Senate Rules Committee hearing on the Woodrow Wilson Center, Daniel P. Moynihan, Sen. John Sherman Cooper, Sen. Claiborne Pell, Nathaniel A. Owings, and Sen. B. Everett Jordan look over a model of the Center at Market Square, May 1968. The inscription reads: "To Daniel Moynihan, with very real regard and every good wish, Claiborne Pell." (Pell was chairman of the subcommittee on the Smithsonian.)
6. Moynihan and Mrs. Reagan at the Dedication of the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, May 5, 1997 (courtesy The Washington Post).

[Fig. 1. The L'Enfant Plan, 1791.]

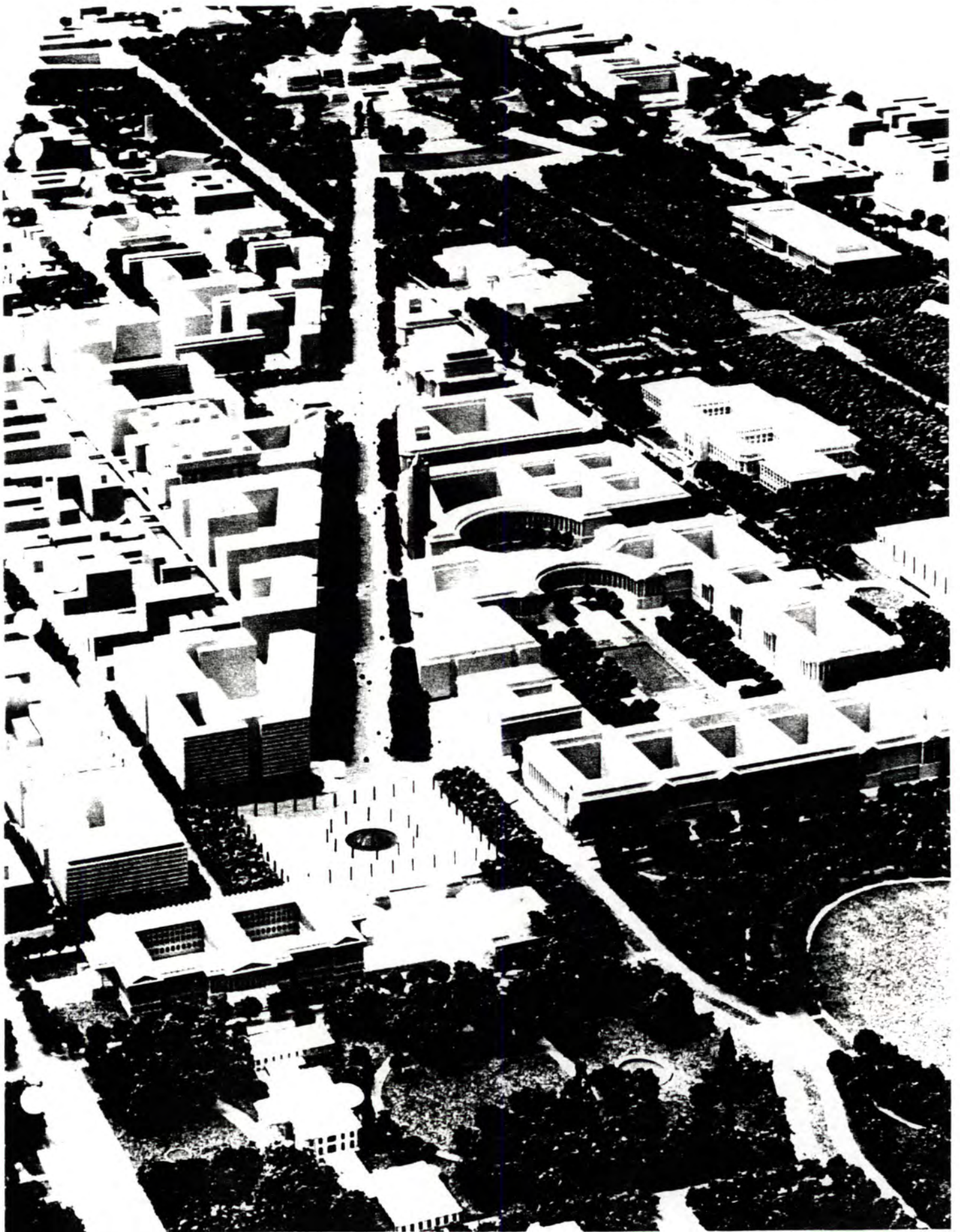


THE MALL.
WASHINGTON, D. C.

[Fig. 3. Model of the Plan of the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1964.]



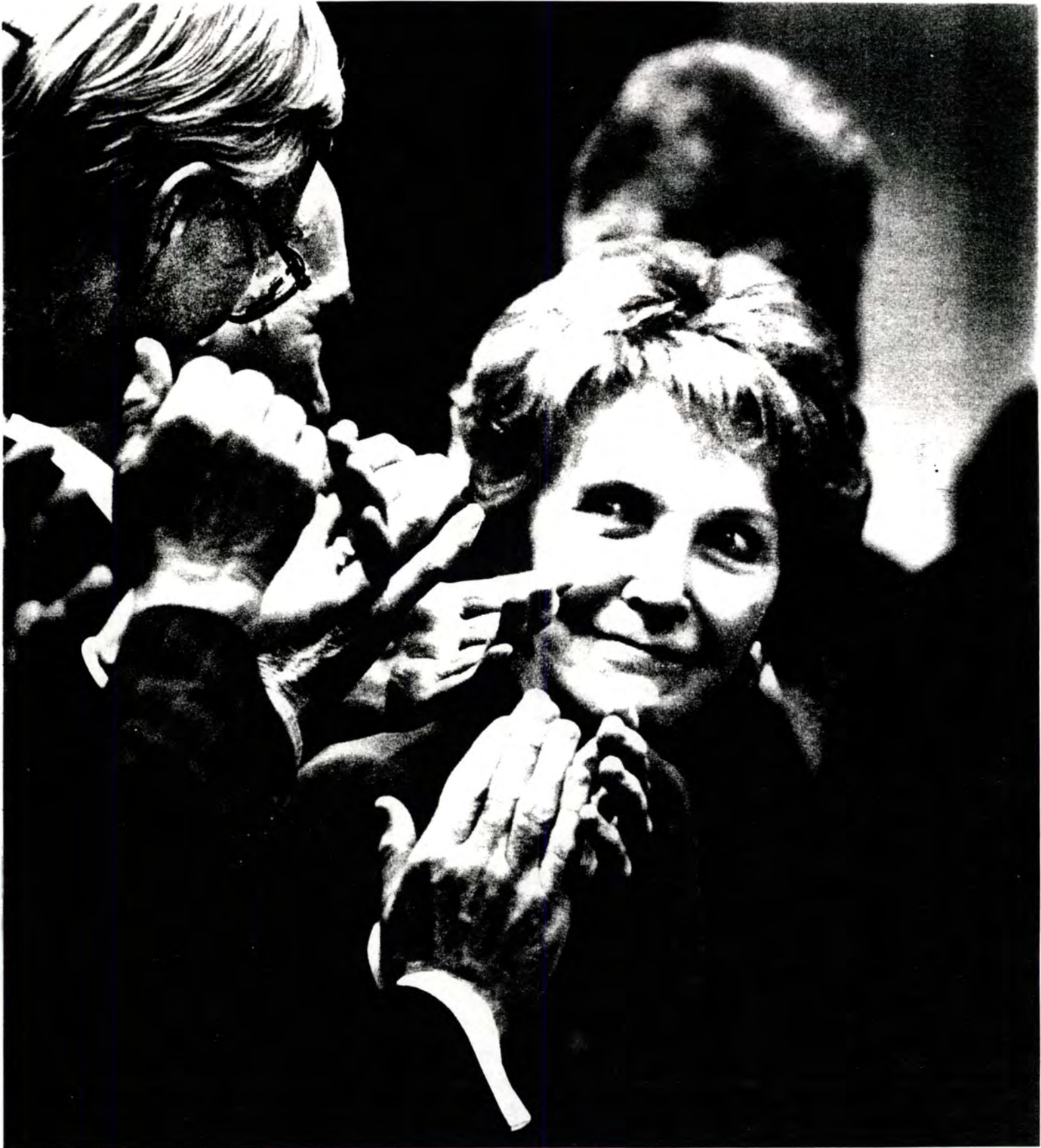
[Fig. 4. Model of the Plan of the President's Temporary Commission on Pennsylvania Avenue, 1968.]



[Fig. 5. Looking over a model of the Woodrow Wilson Center at Market Square. 1968.]



[Fig. 6. Moynihan and Mrs. Reagan at the Dedication of the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center, May 5, 1997 (courtesy [The Washington Post](#)).]



NOTES

1. See, e.g., Michael Lind, "The Second Fall of Rome," The Wilson Quarterly 24, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 50.

2. The "Compromise of 1790" was enacted into statute by the Residence Act (Ch. 28, July 16, 1790, 1 Stat. 130) and the Funding Act (Ch. 34, August 4, 1790, 1 Stat. 138). The latter was based upon Hamilton's Report Relative to a Provision for the Support of Public Credit, first submitted to Congress on January 9, 1790, which established the financial foundations of the United States. The Nation's debt of \$75.4 million would be funded – that is converted into interest bearing bonds which would mature after an assigned period of time. There were three basic provisions: 1. As mandated by the Constitution, the foreign debt and interest would be paid in full according to initial terms; 2. The principle of the domestic debt would be paid at par (with 4 percent interest on long-term, and 6 percent on short-term bonds) to current bearers; 3. State debts (totaling \$21.5 million) would be assumed by the Federal Government with interest payments deferred until 1792.

The plan appeared to favor not only the northern states but also the wealthy merchants and creditors of northern cities who had acquired their bonds at a low cost, largely from veterans and farmers. Hamilton, however, expected that the capital funded for the bonds would be reinvested into the Federal Government and that by linking the interests of the creditors with those of the Government, regional differences would be diminished over the long-run.

3. U. S. Constitution, art. I, sec. 8.

4. See Daniel Patrick Moynihan, "Richard Rovere," The New Yorker, September 17, 1984.

5. John W. Reys, Monumental Washington (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967), p. 12.

6. Papers of Pierre Charles L'Enfant, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

7. Monumental, p. 21.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 8.

9. Ibid., p. 18.

10. Carol Highsmith and Ted Lamphair, Pennsylvania Avenue, America's Main Street, with a foreword by Daniel P. Moynihan (Washington, D.C.: American Institute of Architects Press, 1988), p. 61.

11. Christopher Weeks, The AIA Guide to the Architecture of Washington, D.C., with an introduction by Francis D. Lethbridge, 3rd ed. (Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. 66.

12. In Perfect Cities: Chicago's Utopias of 1893 (Chicago, Ill.: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 36-44, James Gilbert suggests a fascinating connection between the Midwest urban planners at centuries' end with the fervent Protestant revivalist villagers of the "burned over district" of central New York in the 1830s and beyond. Surely no region or period in American history was as rich in millenarianism – the Oneida Community, our first avowed "communists," the Church of Latter Day Saints at Palmyra in Wayne County, Universalists from Monroe County. Burnham had migrated westward for the region before coming to Chicago.

13. Paul S. Boyer, Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978), p. 252.

14. See "The Improvement of the Park System of the District of Columbia," Report of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia, 57th Congress, 1st sess., Senate Report no. 166 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1902), p. 16.

15. Some construction did come to Foggy Bottom. In 1937, the Federal Reserve Board Building by Paul Phillipe Cret went up on Constitution Avenue between 20th and 21st Streets, N. W., and in 1941, the first of two major sections of the War Department building, by Gilbert Stanley Underwood and William Dewey Foster, was completed at 23rd and C Streets, N. W. The State Department moved into the latter in 1947 after the War Department, "impatient with the piecemeal approach to building, . . . decided to construct the huge Pentagon." Pamela Scott and Antoinette J. Lee, Buildings of the District of Columbia (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 212.

16. Alvin Rosenbaum, "Rediscovering America at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition," Blueprints: The Journal of the National Building Museum 11, no. 1

(Winter 1993): 2-7.

17. Main Street, p. 51.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 122.

19. Congress, House, Committee on Public Works, Report to the President by the Ad Hoc Committee on Federal Office Space, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1962).

20. See, e.g., AIA Guide, p. 13.

21. Ad Hoc Committee, pp. 11-12.

22. *Ibid.*, pp. 12-15.

23. John F. Kennedy, "Memorandum Concerning Improvements in Federal Office Space and the Redevelopment of Pennsylvania Avenue." Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1962), p. 448.

24. President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue, Report of the President's Council on Pennsylvania Avenue (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1964). Council members included: Nathaniel A. Owings (chairman), Frederick Gutheim, Douglas Haskell, Frederick L. Holborn, Daniel Urban Kiley, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Chloethiel Woodard Smith, Paul Thiry, Ralph Walker, William Walton.

25. Main Street, p. 11.

26. National Capital Planning Commission, Extending the Legacy: Planning America's Capital for the 21st Century (Washington, D.C.: National Capital Planning Commission, 1996), p. 46.

27. Executive Order 11210, 30 Federal Register 4051-4052 (1965).

28. The President's letter announced the approval of the Order of Designation, signed by Secretary of the Interior Stewart L. Udall, and made under the Historic Sites Act of August 21, 1935 (49 Stat. 666). The designated portion of the Avenue extended from the edge of the Capitol grounds to the boundary of the White House grounds to include the Federal Triangle, Judiciary Square, the Lincoln Memorial, the Treasury Building, and portions of downtown

Washington's commercial district. See Lyndon B. Johnson, "Letter to the President of the Senate and to the Speaker of the House on the Pennsylvania Avenue National Historic Site." Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1965), p. 1027.

29. Main Street, p. 126.

30. Johnson signed legislation authorizing the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars on October 24, 1968 (82 Stat. 1356).

31. See papers of Daniel P. Moynihan, Manuscript Division, Library of Congress.

32. The housing goal was reduced from 1500 units to 1200 in 1981 after plans to expand the National Archives at Market Square across Pennsylvania Avenue (where an "Italianate Hill Town" was to be built atop underground storage) were changed to Suitland, Md. By March 2000, however, Charles A. Doctor, chairman of the Downtown Housing Now Committee, could report that while 833 units were built under P.A.D.C. auspices, "It is now anticipated that approximately 500 additional units will be built in the Pennsylvania Avenue plan area in the near future . . . [to] bring the total up to 1,333."

33. Richard Nixon, "Statement Supporting Legislation To Establish the Federal City Bicentennial Development Corporation." Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1971), pp. 713-18.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 717.

35. Main Street, p. 146.

36. Benjamin Forgey, "The Powerful Walls of Justice: Union Station's Solid, Streamlined Neighbor," The Washington Post, September 26, 1992, p. D7.

37. The Evening Star, January 14, 1908.

38. The Federal Triangle Development Act was signed into law August 21, 1987 (101 Stat. 735), authorizing construction of the International Cultural and Trade Center on the Federal Triangle site; the Ronald Reagan Building and International Trade Center Designation Act was signed into law December 22, 1995 (109 Stat. 766), naming the building after the former President.

39. The G.S.A. awarded the Reagan Building with its Honor Award for architecture (1998) noting,

Fitting the last piece into a puzzle is not always easy, particularly when the puzzle is the historic 70-acre Federal Triangle complex of Government office buildings in the heart of the Nation's capital and the piece is the 3.1-million-square-foot building – the second largest Federal building after the Pentagon. Eschewing a facile replication of the surrounding buildings, architect James Ingo Freed merged traditional and contemporary themes to create a mixed-use building of permanence and stature.

40. The "Arc of Park Capitol Grounds Improvement Act" (S. 160, 106th Congress, 1st sess.) would convert most of the surface parking surrounding the Capitol in the area sweeping counter clock-wise from Second Street, N. E., across the reflecting pool, and thence back to First Street, S. E., with landscaped public parks. Underground parking facilities would then be constructed as needed. Delaware Avenue between the Capitol and Union Station would be closed to traffic and rebuilt as a pedestrian walkway.

41. Congress, Senate, Committee on Environment and Public Works, Subcommittee on Transportation and Infrastructure, Hearing on the Fiscal Year 2001 Capital Investment and Leasing Program. 106th Cong., 2nd Sess., March 21, 2000.