

SPECIAL REPORT: PALESTINE AND THE RIGHT TO RETURN

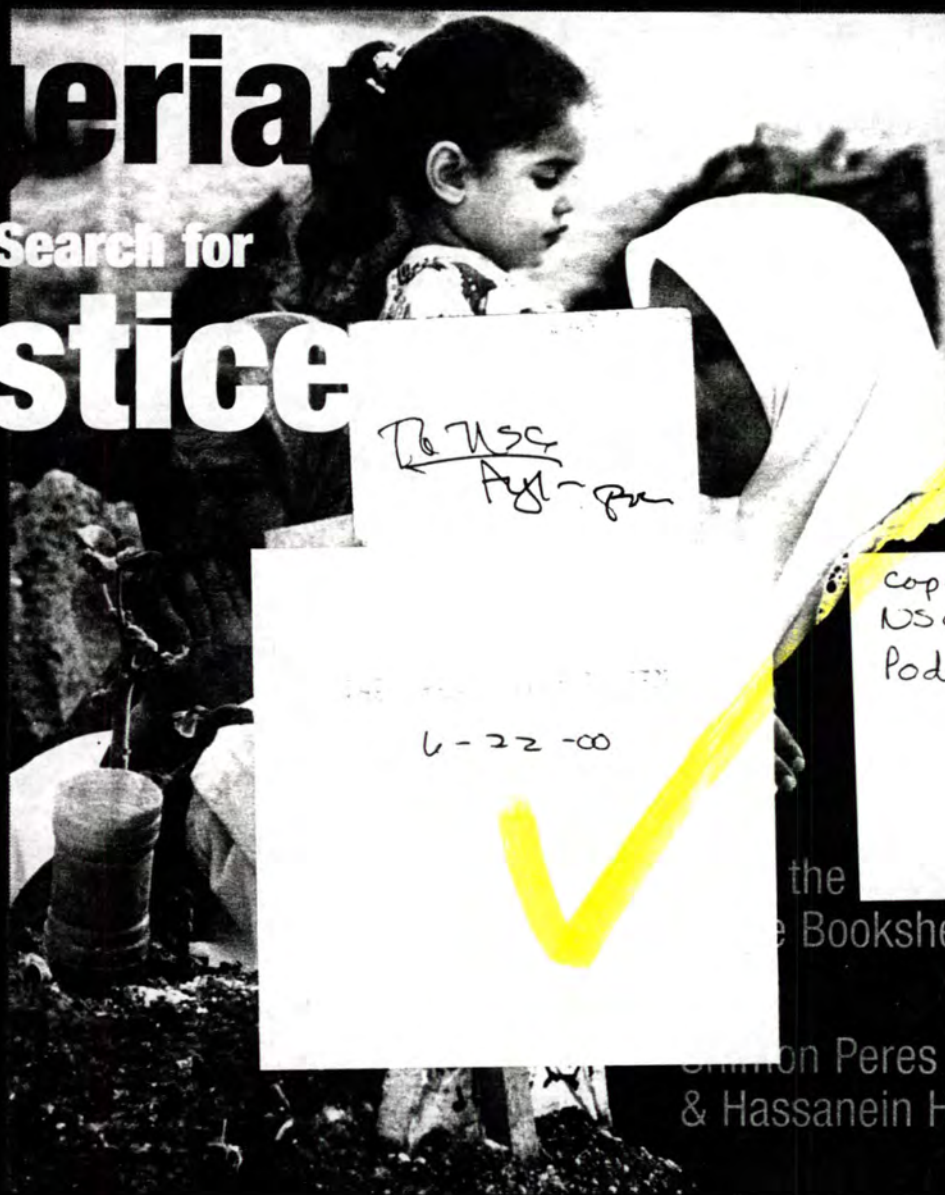
MAY/JUNE 2000

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B U S I N E S S F A M I L Y C U L T U R E

Merian The Search for Justice



the
Bookshelves

Shimon Peres
& Hassanein Heikal

New Churches & Mosques

Palestine's Troubadour

The Poet in Exile





COVER SUBJECT

After ten years of civil war between the military government of Algeria and the Islamist opposition, it is the common people who have paid the highest price.

An Algerian mother with her sister mourns the death of her 3 year old son, a victim of the random killings in Algeria. His 5 year old sister plays as she waits to return to her home from the cemetery where her brother is buried.



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Gas Price Rise Shakes Democrats

*Hill Leaders Fear Effect
On Campaign Prospects;
Gore Calls for Probe*

By THOMAS B. EDSELL
Washington Post Staff Writer

Top House and Senate Democrats have privately warned President Clinton that skyrocketing gasoline prices seriously threaten the party's chances of retaking the House and Vice President Gore's prospects of winning the presidency.

Their fears are shared by strategists in the Gore campaign who see the strongest threat of voter defections to the GOP in the battleground states of the Midwest, where gas prices have soared well above \$2 a gallon, more than anywhere else in the nation.

Gore called yesterday for a broad Federal Trade Commission investigation into possible price-gouging by oil companies, as he tried to defuse Democratic liability on the issue.

"The big oil companies' profits have gone up 500 percent in the first part of this year, just at the time when these prices are going sky-high in the Midwest," Gore told television networks. "I think that justifies a much broader investigation into possible collusion, price gouging and antitrust violations."

Politicians have promoted assorted options for dealing with the rising price of gasoline, including tapping the Strategic Petroleum Reserve and lifting clean-air restrictions in the Midwest. But the White House has proceeded cautiously and, aside from pressing the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) to increase oil production, has not embraced any of these proposals.

At a meeting with President Clinton last Thursday, Rep. Richard A. Gephardt (Mo.) and Sen. Thomas A. Daschle (S.D.), the House and Senate Democratic leaders, talked about the potential political potency of rising gas prices.

"He [Gephardt] raised the issue as a Midwesterner," said Steve Elmendorf, Gephardt's chief of staff, "but obviously it's particularly important in a bunch of states that are of tremendous importance to Gore: Missouri, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, Illinois. It's a big issue."

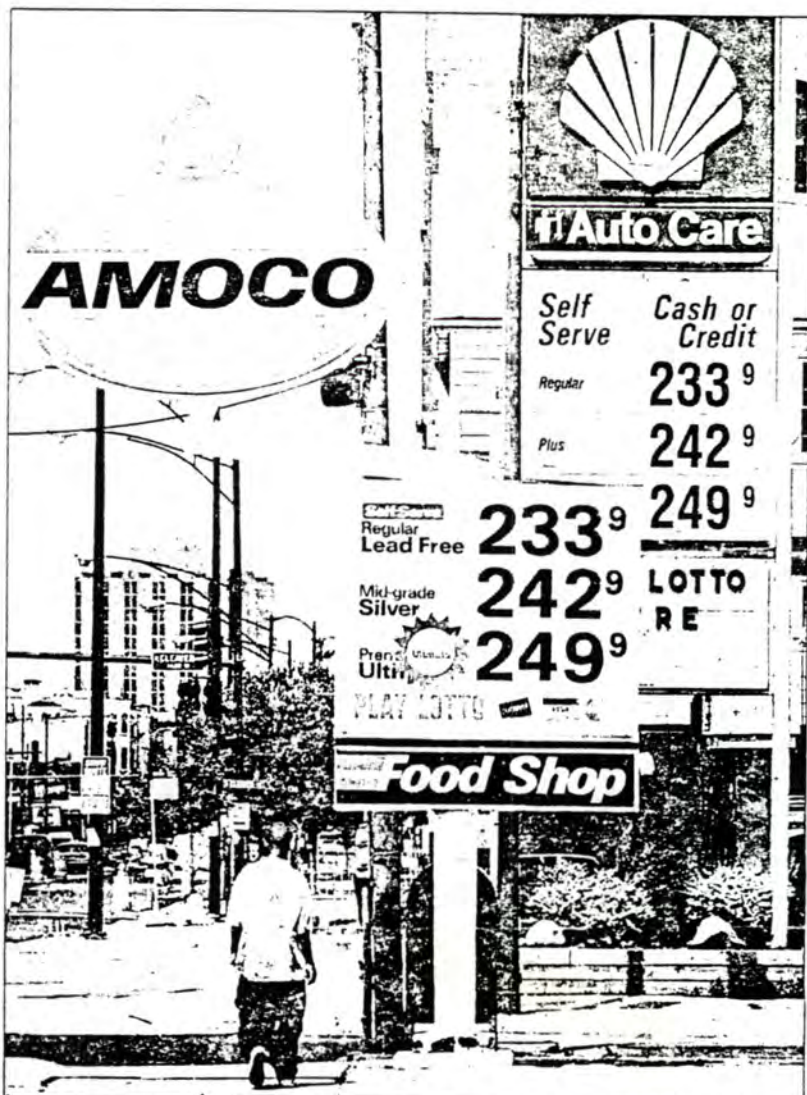
Daschle "has been getting a number of calls both here and at home. There is extreme concern about rising prices," said Ranit Schnelzer, his spokesman. "Gas prices are something people feel very immediately and personally."

The Gore campaign strategists' concern over gas prices lies in the fear that voter discontent has already begun to translate into deteriorating consumer confidence and public faith in the economy, crucial Democratic themes this election year.

Gore campaign officials are finding anger at gas prices to be at the top of voters' priorities in the Midwest battleground where the outcome of the presidential contest is likely to be decided.

"This hurts in the worst way. It makes people worry about the future, they lose their optimism, they get angry when they fill up on the way to work, and they think the political system has let them down. We need people to believe that this administration has helped them and will continue to," a Gore strategist said.

Both Gore and Bush campaign officials said



Gasoline prices in Chicago are among the nation's highest, and some Democrats strategists worry that midwestern voters will blame the administration for the skyrocketing prices.

there has been a steady decline since the start of the year in the percentage of people who say the country "is going in the right direction," a poll question that many survey specialists believe is a key factor in predicting the chances of an incumbent getting reelected—or an incumbent vice president winning the top office.

A Bush campaign official contended that the surge in gas prices reinforces another problem for both Clinton and Gore: the notion that "no one is running the store," that has evolved with the New Mexico forest fires inadvertently started by the Park Service and the "disappearance" of computer hard drives at the Los Alamos National Laboratory.

Another Bush official noted with some relief that the gas price increase amounts to a direct assault on Gore's campaign theme stressing economic prosperity. "Just by touting prosperity, Gore runs the risk of walking into his own punch," he said.

Democrats are already pressing for a tough Federal Trade Commission inquiry into the price hikes, and a number of Democratic House members in Illinois yesterday called for a Justice Department investigation into price-

fixing.

"I think the oil companies are punishing and gouging us for using ethanol," said Rep. Janice D. "Jan" Schakowsky, one of four Illinois Democrats who held a hearing on the issue in Chicago. "It's the only reason I can come up with to explain why Chicago and Milwaukee are paying 40 cents more a gallon than everyone else." Rep. Luis V. Gutierrez (D-Ill.) said he would ask Attorney General Janet Reno to look for any signs of price-fixing in the oil industry.

OPEC oil ministers are expected to approve a modest increase in crude oil production at a meeting this week, but experts do not believe the additional output will significantly reduce U.S. prices.

The Department of Energy yesterday reported that gasoline prices jumped to record highs for the fourth week in a row. The national average retail price for unleaded gasoline soared 5 cents from last week to \$1.681 a gallon, based on the Energy Information Administration's weekly survey.

Staff writers William Claiborne and Ceci Connolly contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 20, 2000

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Bush Hits Democrats on Technology Education

By TERRY M. NEAL
Washington Post Staff Writer

VANCOUVER, Wash., June 19—George W. Bush today described the Clinton administration's efforts to advance technology education as convoluted and burdened by bureaucracy, and he proposed consolidating all of those initiatives under one \$3 billion program.

At the same time, he proposed \$400 million in new spending over the next five years for the Education Department to research ways that technology can be used to boost student achievement and to create a clearinghouse that states and local officials can use to learn about education technology programs.

Bush said that as president he would consolidate the Federal Communications Commission's School and Libraries program with eight Education Department programs and free schools from the tangle of paperwork that makes it difficult to apply for federal dollars. He also said he would loosen restrictions in the FCC's so-called E-Rate program, which seeks to wire schools and libraries.

Under Bush's plan, schools also would be able to spend the money to purchase computer hardware and software, and pay for teacher training.

Bush faulted the Clinton administration—and, implicitly, Vice President Gore, who has made technology education a key issue—for "missing the point" by supporting a system that he said seeks to improve technology but makes no effort to determine whether new technology is improving student achievement.

At an event at Eleanor Roosevelt Elementary School here, Bush said the top concern in his administration would not be how many schools "are wired, but what are children learning. My campaign will be about challenging process and focusing on results."

As part of what he calls "the smart use of technology," Bush said he would ensure accountability in the use of federal money by asking states to measure how education technology funds improve student achievement.

Gore aides responded that Bush had ignored an existing program called the Technology Literacy Chal-



BY ERIC DRAPER—ASSOCIATED PRESS

GOP presidential candidate George W. Bush comments after discussing technology's role in education at a school in Vancouver, Wash.

lenge Fund, which provides \$425 million annually to help schools purchase computers and equipment and train teachers.

Bush's announcement came on the first leg of a three-day West Coast swing that will take him through two states—Washington and California—that are engines of the new economy.

At the elementary school, Bush sat next to his wife, Laura, a former teacher and librarian, as part of a panel of educators. At one point, he remarked that "frankly, I think it's the toughest job in America to be on the local school board." Before now, Bush has frequently said that "the toughest job in America is a single mother with two kids."

Bush will focus on education much of this week and plans to speak on math and science education Tuesday with his wife at an event in Cupertino, Calif.

Tonight Bush made two fundraising stops in Palo Alto, the heart of Silicon Valley. He raised \$400,000 for his campaign in the first event; at the second, he helped to raise another \$3.5 million, which will be divided among Bush, the state GOP and the Republican National Committee. Campaign officials said Bush would help raise approximately \$2 million more at an event Tuesday in Los Angeles. That money also will be divided three ways.

The campaign gleefully boasted that it had outdone Gore, who helped raise about \$2.6 million for the Democratic Party at a Silicon Valley fundraiser in mid-April.

Reno Urges Better Cyber-Security

By JOHN SCHWARTZ
Washington Post Staff Writer

Two-thirds of Americans are concerned about "cyber-crime" and more than 60 percent are less likely to do business over the Internet because of it, according to a new survey released at a "Cyber Crime Summit" in Herndon yesterday.

"We are very dependent on cyber-technology—we have not kept up with cyber-security," said Attorney General Janet Reno in remarks to the meeting, which brought together law enforcement officials and information technology firms for a day

of discussion. The groups have had a rocky relationship. Companies have been reluctant to share too much information about cyber-attacks with government for fear of embarrassment or legal liability if a firm's vulnerability is exposed. Many companies have also said criminal investigations disrupt business.

Reno said the government was still learning how to investigate cyber-crime without disrupting companies, but said that investigation was nonetheless necessary. Comparing the situation with a home burglary, she said the police need to be able to

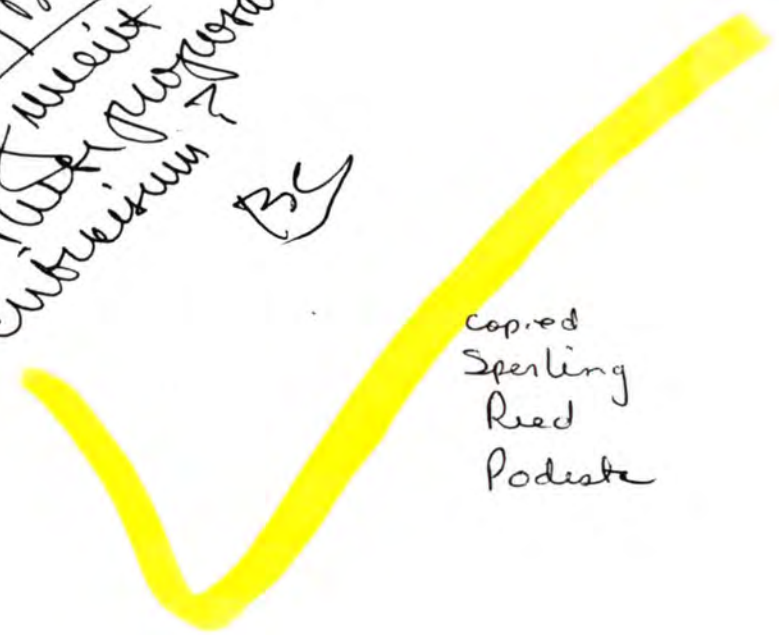
get to work right away after any crime. "If the crime scene is messed up... clues and pieces of evidence are vacuumed up, police are going to have a hard time solving your burglary," Reno said.

Reno said a solution would have to come from industry with government help. She said she was asking U.S. attorneys in 93 federal districts to talk with local business officials to build better relationships.

The summit was hosted by Electronic Data Systems Corp. and the Information Technology Association of America; EDS and ITAA also commissioned the survey.

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A Safer Retirement Plan

Vice President Al Gore has learned from his boss. With Clintonesque strokes he has put together a retirement plan that extracts the best part of Gov. George W. Bush's proposal, leaving the governor to defend the unpopular parts, such as the likely need to cut promised Social Security benefits.

Mr. Bush proposes to create private savings accounts by diverting part of the Social Security payroll tax. Mr. Gore is expected to announce today that he would help families set up individual retirement accounts without touching Social Security money. But his plan, unlike Mr. Bush's, would raise national saving, help low- and moderate-income families more than high-income families and pose no threat to basic Social Security benefits.

The Gore plan would work like 401(k) savings plans except that the government, not employers, would provide the matching funds. A married couple making \$30,000 could contribute up to \$1,000 a year and receive an extra \$3,000 in tax credits — a 3-for-1 match. The tax credit would be refundable so that even a family with no income tax liability would receive the full \$3,000. The federal grant phases out so that a couple making \$100,000 would receive only a \$1,000 credit if it made a \$3,000 deposit, a 1-for-3 match. The account would not be taxed until withdrawals during retirement, though families could withdraw money earlier for catastrophic medical expenses or college tuition or to buy a first home. Early withdrawals are designed to persuade low-income families to participate.

Republicans accused Mr. Gore of hypocritically

proposing a concept — investing personal retirement money in stocks — that he labeled “risky” when proposed by Mr. Bush. The criticism is misplaced. Investing basic retirement money in stocks can be imprudent. But investing additional money in stocks and bonds once the family's basic Social Security retirement benefit is preserved poses nowhere near the same type of risk.

The tax code already includes deductions for 401(k) and other types of retirement accounts. In general, wealthy families participate more frequently than others. Mr. Gore's proposal, because it relies on refundable credits rather than deductions and provides a larger match for the savings of low-income families, would be steeply progressive.

Progressivity is key to promoting savings. The economics profession is divided on whether 401(k) and other tax-subsidized accounts actually raise savings, the lifeblood of investment and growth, or merely shift existing savings out of ordinary savings accounts into tax-favored accounts. But even William Gale of the Brookings Institution, whose research raises doubts whether existing tax breaks raise savings, predicts that Mr. Gore's plan will work. It is focused on low-income families that save very little now and will almost certainly have to save more to put money into Mr. Gore's program.

Like Mr. Bush's plan, Mr. Gore's would help families build wealth that they could leave for their heirs. But unlike Mr. Bush's plan, Mr. Gore would boost private wealth without putting any basic Social Security retirement benefits at risk.

More Money for Debt Relief

Last year the United States and other industrialized countries pledged to provide \$27 billion to reduce the foreign debt of 36 of the world's poorest nations, if those countries adopt sound economic policies and use the savings for health, education and other basic needs. Debt relief has bipartisan supporters, including humanitarian aid groups and religious conservatives. Washington pledged to pay only 4 percent of the wealthy nations' total, or \$920 million over four years, with most of the money up front. But today in both the House and Senate, votes are scheduled that are likely to slash Washington's contribution to debt relief. This imperils the whole project, as several other nations will meet their commitments only if Washington meets its own.

Debt relief is crucial because poor countries use up to 60 percent of their government budgets to service debt on loans taken out decades ago that will never be repaid. The burden helps condemn these nations, which are mostly in Africa, to a cycle of poverty. In 1996 the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund began a limited program of debt relief that helped only four nations, but now the program is expanding. Wealthy nations have agreed to forgive their own debtors and chip in to cancel

debt owed to regional banks like the African Development Bank. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, led by Jesse Helms, authorized \$600 million in debt relief for the next three years.

But Congress is now likely to approve far less. Alabama's Sonny Callahan, a Republican, has recommended that his House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations approve only \$69 million. The Senate meanwhile will vote on a foreign operations package that includes only \$75 million for debt relief.

These votes would leave the United States looking foolish at the next meeting of industrialized nations in July, where Washington could find scant support for its own initiatives. More important, countries that have sweated to meet all the criteria for debt relief are waiting. Bolivia will lose \$35 million this year because of the delay. Some in Congress are counting on a last-minute deal at the end of the fiscal year to restore the money. This is a gamble the world's poorest nations cannot afford. **Congress should restore the administration's full request. If it does not, Mr. Clinton should veto the foreign operations bill, which is likely to contain other objectionable provisions worthy of a veto.**

Good
for Mr. Clinton

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A Warning From Putin and Schröder

By Josef Joffe

FOR the "last remaining superpower," it is time to ask the Ed Koch question, "How am I doing?" The answer is, "O.K., but not great."

Ten years after victory in the cold war, the United States is still No. 1 by any conceivable measure. But the lesser actors — Russia, Europe, China — are beginning to make true what history and political theory have predicted all along: Great power will generate "ganging up." Nos. 2, 3 and 4 will seek to balance against Mr. Big.

Just last week, President Vladimir Putin of Russia swept into Berlin, where he deftly executed a classic gambit of Muscovite diplomacy. This is the age-old attempt to forge privileged relations with Germany, the traditional holder of the European balance. He wooed, and he won. "Germany," Mr. Putin intoned, "is Russia's leading partner in Europe and the world." Chancellor Gerhard Schröder cooed back; he, too, was all for a "strategic partnership" with Russia.

One motive is obvious. Both Europe and Russia intensely dislike the American missile defense project, and for good reasons. If it works (which it won't for many years, if ever), the "Son of Star Wars" will further magnify American dominance by devaluing the nuclear arsenals of Russia, China and Europe. No wonder Mr. Putin and Mr. Schröder together trained their guns on the anti-missile bubble in the sky.

The more general thrust is obvious, too. The purpose is not to resume the old game of the 18th and 19th

centuries, which was to harness alliances or even go to war to lay low the hegemonist du jour. It is to contain and constrain what the lesser powers see as excessive clout on the part of No. 1.

In the past, the United States was rarely mentioned by name. Russians and Chinese kept inveighing against a "unipolar world" and a "single model of culture." The enemy was

A clumsy U.S. Goliath invites an alliance of Davids.

"hegemonism" and "repeated imposition" by you-know-who. Now, as usual, it is the French who thunder where others grumble. Foreign Minister Hubert Vedrine likes to call the United States a "hyperpower" given to "unilateralist temptation" because "there is no counterweight."

Last week, the European Union's external affairs commissioner, Chris Patten, made it explicit: Europe had to grow into a "serious counterpart" to the United States. In fact, that process is well under way. According to the German foreign minister, Joschka Fischer, monetary union, begun in 1999, was an "eminently political act" by which Europe had "opted for an autonomous path." Shamed by its impotence in the Kosovo bombing, the European Union last December vowed to field an intervention force of 60,000 capable of slugging it out without the United States.

None of this should come as a surprise. Subtly and cautiously, the lesser players are acting out the oldest game of nations. Primacy provokes, and power begets power.

What is No. 1 to do?

The most critical item is a change of consciousness. America is so far ahead of the crowd that it has forgotten to look back. Yes, the president and his minions are diligently working the global diplomatic circuit. Public opinion, as the surveys keep demonstrating, remains internationalist. But Congress has come down a long way from the days of Senators Arthur Vandenberg and J. William Fulbright. Now, it is obliviousness with a dollop of yahooism. Why else would Congress have foisted Star Wars, the Sequel on President Clinton — without looking at the feasibility (low), the costs (very high) and the toll on American leadership (soaring).

Sure, when you are eyeing that megamerger or I.P.O. bulging with zillions, the rest of the world looks both boring and ornery. But this world — this wondrous system of open trade and collective defense that the United States built in the 1950's — won't manage itself. Nor will it long withstand America's unilateralist reflexes like the missile defense system or the micromanagement of the Kosovo war by the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Obsessive second-guessing by the brass back in Washington not only riled European souls, but also humiliated the NATO commander at the time, Wesley Clark, who happens to be an American. Why stick to the alliance if it becomes a wholly owned subsidiary of the Pentagon?

One assumes that the "last remaining superpower" will want to remain one. But if so, the United States might recall the best tradition of its postwar grand strategy. It wasn't just sheer size and weight that shaped this most brilliant chapter of American diplomacy. It was the bipartisan conviction that power comes with responsibility, and that responsibility must defy short-term self-interest or the domestic fixation of the day.

Hence that marvelous alphabet soup of international institutions from NATO to GATT and the I.M.F. that turned America into the "indispensable power" celebrated by Madeleine Albright. Why? Because this No. 1 was the first in history to lead rather than rule. Others followed because the United States was a supply-side hegemon — it provided the world with essential public goods like stability and free trade.

To heed the needs (and sensibilities) of others is the best defense against "ganging up," and that is as true in domestic as in international politics. Great leaders shun both imposition and indifference.

The proper maxim for Mr. Big is: "Do good by others to do well for yourself." Great powers remain great if they promote their own interests by serving those of others. □

Josef Joffe is co-editor of the German weekly *Die Zeit*.

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many difficult issues still to be dealt with.

The central fact is, the issues that make the Korean Peninsula one of the world's most dangerous flash points are now being discussed by the people who can solve them: the Koreans. The greatest progress toward peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula was made from 1989 to 1992, when the two Koreas had an active dialogue, and a series of high-level visits. The Basic Agreement, signed by the two Koreas on Dec. 13, 1991, is regarded by Kim Dae Jung as "the bible for inter-Korean relations." His key objective has been the full implementation of that agreement.

If the just-concluded summit starts a process of dialogue and reconciliation between Seoul and Pyongyang, it will become harder to hang the "rogue state" label on North Korea. This might discomfit some people in Washington, who have been using North Korea's past bad behavior as justification for pursuing the expensive and unproven missile defense plan. That is another significant benefit that might result from last week's summit.

Events Stretching Over Years Led to North-South Korean Rapprochement

By Tom Plate

Special to the Los Angeles Times

Last month, a little-noted scene told a big story. In a then-secret meeting with Chinese President Jiang Zemin, Kim Jong Il showed up wearing a Mao jacket. This was befitting of the leader of a North Korean economy that was being ground to dust under rigid Maoist rules. But, if clothes make the man, then note that Jiang wore a Western business suit as befitting the reformist leader of a country that's modernizing. Jiang's mission, in effect, was to get North Korea to change its economic clothes. Judging from the historic agreement signed this week between North and South Korea, he may have done just that.

Yet the full story behind the South-North Joint Declaration of June 15, 2000, goes back to 1994, a pivotal year that set in motion a train of events that pulled up in Pyongyang earlier this week in the form of the unexpectedly sweeping Korean peninsula agreement. It was in 1994 that former President Carter made a bold and unauthorized trip to North Korea to urge its leaders to enter into nuclear disarmament negotiations. Washington was alarmed that the region was edging close to war again. Just months later, academic and diplomat Robert Galucci accepted the then-thankless task of constructing a diplomatically complicated and politically controversial agreement in Geneva that offered North Korea the promise of peaceful nuclear reactors in return for dismantling its nuclear capability. Galucci, now a Georgetown University dean, in effect tied North and South Korea in a seminal negotiating process.

In the South, Kim Young Sam, the first democratically elected Korean president, stumbled in negotiations with the North but achieved something essential to the process. His presidency succeeded in closing the door on whatever governing aspirations the South Korean military elite retained. As Kim Young Sam told me in April 1996: "We have made a decisive departure from authoritarianism. Never again in this country will there be a coup." It was that success with democracy, as well as with its striking economic advances, that provided such a stark Mao-jacket contrast with the North.

Then there was President Clinton, who also in 1996 nearly committed a diplomatic blunder that would have haunted his presidency. His staff planned a trip to Asia that excluded a stopover in South Korea. Fortunately, the South Korean foreign minister persuaded then-U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher that the president's itinerary would be interpreted in Pyongyang as a lessening of the U.S. commitment to South Korea. The brilliant but mercurial Clinton then visited South Korea briefly and focused, for the first time really, on the complex issues there. Before long, U.S. diplomacy was re-energized. In Washington, Charles Kartman, the canny State Department Korea coordinator, conducted meeting after meeting with the North Koreans, many of them secret. In New York, Stephen Bosworth, then head of the multi-nation Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization that was to build the North Korean reactors, successfully engaged the North in construction and engineering details, in effect inculcating a rational negotiating process. Today, the steel-willed Bosworth is the American ambassador in Seoul, perhaps the best we have ever had.

Then, in the fall of 1997, came an astonishing domestic

political development in South Korea. Defying predictions, the people of South Korea chose as president, in only their second presidential election, the longtime, oft-exiled, once-imprisoned opposition leader. In an interview shortly before taking office in 1998, Kim Dae Jung told me he was prepared to personally go to the North for a summit at any time, without preconditions. Kim was to prove the man of destiny that Asia and Korea needed.

Yet North Korea, desperately poor and with many of its people without adequate food or starving, still possessed a mesmerizing 1.2 million-man war machine. So, in early 1999, Defense Secretary William S. Cohen conducted a six-day diplomatic trip to calm down the hawks in both South Korea and Japan. And to calm down domestic U.S. hawks on Capitol Hill, Clinton adroitly tapped Cohen's predecessor, William Perry, well-respected on Capitol Hill, to compose a thorough review of U.S. policy. The Perry report gave birth to the U.S. counterpart to Kim Dae Jung's "sunshine" policy of engagement with the North.

One other piece needed to fall into place, and it was a big one. Almost everyone, including even the Japanese, was trying to bring North Korea to its senses before its own perverted policies brought it to its knees and perhaps crashing down on the South. But not China. It was acting almost as if North Korea didn't exist. It bolted out of its shell fast, however, when North Korea foolishly test-fired a missile with a trajectory that took it over Japan. Tokyo then declared a new interest in a regional missile defense system. The prospect of such a system, which would also cover Taiwan, infuriated and alarmed Beijing, and suddenly was born a vigorous Chinese diplomatic effort to knock some sense into Pyongyang. Evidently, that plain speaking did a world of good.

There is, of course, no certainty that a permanent Korean peace is at hand. After all, there was the North's Kim still in his Mao jacket as he signed documents with the South's Kim in his business suit. But because the leading powers of the Asia-Pacific region have worked together in this common diplomatic effort since 1994, permanent peace is now an actual probability. It bodes to become nothing less than a diplomatic benchmark in the annals of world diplomacy and one of Asia's greatest turning points.

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Ostriches in Congress

OUT ON the campaign trail, the two leading presidential aspirants proclaim their internationalism and their delight in the prospect of a budget surplus. In Congress today, neither internationalism nor financial bounty will be much in evidence. The Senate is set to vote on its foreign policy spending bill, which provides only \$75 million for Third World debt write-offs, way short of the \$435 million that the administration has pledged. A House subcommittee is meanwhile scheduled to adopt a similar version of the bill. In its current form, it should be vetoed.

The House bill provides only marginally more for debt relief than would the Senate. This threatens to undermine last year's deal, in which reform-minded developing countries promised to adopt poverty-reduction plans and rich countries pledged the debt relief to make them affordable. The six richest countries other than the United States have pledged more than \$1 billion, but they will walk away if Congress fails to provide America's contribution.

The House bill is bad in other ways, too. It provides only \$202 million for the struggle

against AIDS, a sixth less than the \$244 million the administration requested. It offers only \$577 million for the World Bank's soft-loan arm, a main source of resources to battle AIDS; the administration wants \$836 million. The House also guts America's commitment to international family planning; that too will affect the fight against AIDS as well as development generally. It cuts the administration's funding request by more than a quarter, and imposes an egregious rule banning all recipients of U.S. funds from so much as discussing abortion.

The foreign-operations bills are not the only ones in which Congress would shortchange America's international commitments. Last week another House committee cut the administration's request for United Nations peacekeeping by a third, endangering humanitarian efforts in Kosovo, East Timor and elsewhere. In the coming budget battle, the Clinton administration and the Gore campaign are sure to denounce the congressional Republicans for their cramped vision. It will be interesting to see what part that other internationalist, Gov. George W. Bush, will play in that debate.

No Games on School Prayer

THE SUPREME Court yesterday decisively reaffirmed its long-held position that public schools have no business sponsoring prayer. By a 6 to 3 vote, the justices struck down the policy of a Texas school district that permitted students to lead invocations at school football games. The ruling sends a clear message to the school systems elsewhere that have sought through various mechanisms to circumvent the Constitution's prohibition of state-sponsored religion. The court declares that it sees through the tricks and will not tolerate policies that use the power of government to encourage prayer.

When the court held in 1992 that a school district could not invite a rabbi to give a commencement invocation, it left open the question of whether student-led prayer at such events is also prohibited. In an effort to retain prayer, the Santa Fe Independent School District in Texas adopted a system under which students would vote on whether to have invocations at football games. If they voted yes, they would then elect a student to give the invocations. The idea was that, unlike a speaker brought in by the school, such student-initiated prayer would not be govern-

ment action but simple free speech.

Writing for the majority, however, Justice John Paul Stevens noted that the invocations "are authorized by a government policy and take place on government property at government-sponsored school-related events." The system of elections "ensures that only those messages deemed 'appropriate' under the district's policy may be delivered." And the statements themselves are "subject to particular regulations that confine the content and topic of the student's message." Wrote Justice Stevens, "An objective Santa Fe High School student will unquestionably perceive the inevitable pregame prayer as stamped with the school's seal of approval."

Opponents of a high wall of separation between church and state often portray it as an attack on religion. But this case illustrates the importance of such a wall as a shield for religion. The suit was brought by Mormon and Catholic students who alleged they were aggressively proselytized by teachers and school officials and whose own religions were denigrated in school. State power, the court reaffirms, must not be arrayed against minority religious groups—even at football games. That's absolutely the right position.

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The New York Times
June 16, 2000

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Drought Bakes Much of South, Periling Crops

By JO THOMAS

VALPARAISO, Neb., June 15 -- The pond on Dave Barry's farm, once six feet deep, has dried to a mud puddle, and the purple flowers on the surrounding alfalfa are an ominous sign.

"It should reach two feet before it blooms, but it's only four inches," Mr. Barry said today as a hot, dry wind rattled the stumpy plants.

"It's fit for a lawn mower. It's done."

Here in eastern Nebraska, in a swath of the Gulf Coast from Florida to New Orleans, in the hills of West Texas and in Georgia and Alabama, pockets of extraordinary drought, by some measures the worst in a century, are baking farms and homes.

In Florida, alligators are roaming out of lakes and ponds that have all but disappeared. In southeast Louisiana, rice crops and drinking wells are being ruined by salt water that has seeped into the parched aquifer. In West Texas, ranchers are selling off goats and sheep as the grasslands dry up. In Georgia, the red soil is baked hard as concrete.

Here and there this week, the first rain in months has fallen. But far more will be needed and the damage is already done for many farmers.

John Guichuk, a rice specialist in Louisiana State University's Cooperative Extension Service, says salt water that has been drawn into the depleted aquifer is killing crops and could ruin the soil and next year's crop.

In Concho County, Tex., Lance Rasch, the county extension agent, said most ranchers have liquidated their herds, with only 25 percent of the livestock left compared with four years ago. Some large ranches have no livestock, he said.

But not just farmers are feeling the effects.

In the lush suburban neighborhoods of Tampa, Fla., and Atlanta, "water police" roam, enforcing restrictions on watering lawns.

Parched communities in northern Florida have become tinderboxes, with almost daily brush fires in several counties. The smoke from one brush fire that raged just outside Orlando this month set off fire alarms in a downtown hotel.

Despite the severity in some areas, the effects are not as widespread as in some past droughts.

"This is not a drought of national geography," Agriculture Secretary Dan Glickman said.

Mr. Glickman said the drought had not affected prices and production of major crops like wheat, corn and soybeans or pushed up food prices, as a nationwide drought did in 1988. "I don't believe we're going to have that."

Nevertheless, where the drought has hit, it has hit uncommonly hard. Mr. Glickman said there was little precedent for the weather's extreme volatility in recent years, with severe dry spells and then torrential rain and floods. "That's what's unusual -- those intense weather patterns," he said.

Keith Collins, chief economist at the United States Department of Agriculture in Washington, saw serious effects on production of peanuts and cotton. In Alabama, which produces 10 percent of the nation's peanuts, growing conditions for 83 percent of the crop are poor, indicating sharply reduced harvests.

In Georgia, source of half the nation's peanuts, 28 percent of the crop has been caught in such conditions. In Texas, source of a third of the nation's cotton production, the department says 21 percent of

the current crop has been struck.

Farmers in parched areas who rely on irrigation have been hit doubly hard, by the drought and the rising cost of oil to drive the irrigation systems. Senator Bob Kerrey, Democrat of Nebraska, said that in the state's southwestern corner, the cost of irrigating wheat has jumped from \$100 an acre to \$200.

On Wednesday Gov. Mike Johanns of Nebraska declared a state of emergency and sought aid for the most stricken counties.

Allen Dutcher, the state climatologist, says the drought began in the southeastern corner of the state in the middle of July last year.

"It wasn't really until the month of September that we saw everyone in the state go dry," Mr. Dutcher said.

"It was eight weeks before anyone got precipitation at all.

Then it was dry again until February."

Nebraska wheat farmers depend on fall and spring rains to build up moisture in the soil.

With no rain, farmers found themselves needing 25 inches of rain in a growing season that typically provides 18.

"The pastures didn't respond this spring," Mr. Dutcher said. "We didn't have the moisture for growth when it was cool, and the temperature skyrocketed in May.

We had 100 degree readings."

"The next thing that went down was the wheat crop," he said. "Harvesting will begin this week, but our yields in a lot of places will be 50 percent or less.

In the southeast, a lot of people are cutting the wheat for grazing, as supplemental cattle feed."

On Wednesday, the governor said he would allow farmers in 46 counties to harvest grass along state and federal roads to feed their animals.

"With the lack of moisture and the hot, dry winds, there's a lot of fear," said Marilyn Carlson, Nebraska's director of agriculture.

"As streams decline, we may have to restrict irrigation."

Nebraska has 13 million acres in corn, sorghum and soy beans.

And 55 percent to 60 percent of it is irrigated.

"Center-pivot irrigation has to run 24 hours a day," Mr. Dutcher said. "There's no moisture in the soil to rely on.

Irrigators will not be able to keep up with crop water demands."

Mr. Barry, who farms 1,500 acres of corn, soybeans and alfalfa, was operating water pumps on his farm today, but only for 60 acres.

"The price of fuel makes watering corn that sells for \$1.60 a bushel a waste of time," he said. "Without rain, we'll have to water for 60 days, and we'll lose \$1 a bushel."

He has already moved his 160 cows, with their calves, to pastures where it rains, 280 miles away, at a cost of \$2 a mile.

As he drove away from his rock-hard alfalfa fields, which yielded only a fourth of their usual harvest this spring, he passed Conservation Reserve Program pastures, held in reserve for soil conservation and wildlife.

Today the federal government released them for use by farmers who want to rent them for grazing.

"It's too late for us," Mr. Barry said. "I've moved my cattle. People south of Lincoln sold theirs two weeks ago."

Roadside haying, where farmers can pay to harvest hay along state and federal roads, will begin next Monday and "could help some," he said. "But there's bottles and cans and broke-off tree stumps.

You ruin as much equipment as you make in hay."

Unless rain falls soon, southern Alabama could face the driest first half of a year in this century.

Already, Alabama has been scorched by the worst drought since the 1950's with rainfall a foot below normal in some areas this year and two feet below over two years.

Gov. Donald Siegelman has declared a state of emergency in 19 of Alabama's 67 counties.

Faye and Joe Williams raise corn, cotton, peanuts, grain sorghum for their cattle on 1,000 acres in Newton, in the heart of the drought in southeast Alabama.

In a normal year, the 5-foot, 3-inch tall Mrs. Williams could hide in her corn stalks. This year, she noted, "It's up to my waist." She added: "We didn't plant as much cotton as anticipated. We got all of our peanuts planted but about a third came up." She said the farm had two streams that had gone dry.

"Farming has got way out of balance too," she said. "Everything we have to buy is up, up, up but the prices are at a standstill level."

On his farm near Montezuma, Ga., Lynmore James cannot graze his cattle on barren pastures, and the earth is baked hard.

"You can't dig a hole" Mr. James said. "You can't get anything to scratch the surface."

"We could get the blues, but we try to keep in good spirits," he added. "We go to church and we meet and talk about our problems."

But there are signs of hope.

Much needed rain fell today in southern Alabama and the Florida Panhandle but unless the thunderstorms continue for days or even weeks the rainfall will not be enough.

On June 7, the first real rain in months fell on Tampa, and people rushed outside to watch and to celebrate. Thunderstorms are forecast.

"I would think once the rainy season has begun, we might catch up slowly," said a cautious Eric Oglesby, a hydrologist for the National Weather Service at Ruskin, Fla.

In east Nebraska rain is spotty.

It may rain an inch in Lincoln, as it did this week, and only a few drops will fall on Mr. Barry's farm.

"It's going to take a miracle to make a corn crop," he said.

"Ten inches have to go into the ground in the next ten days.

An inch isn't going to do us any good."

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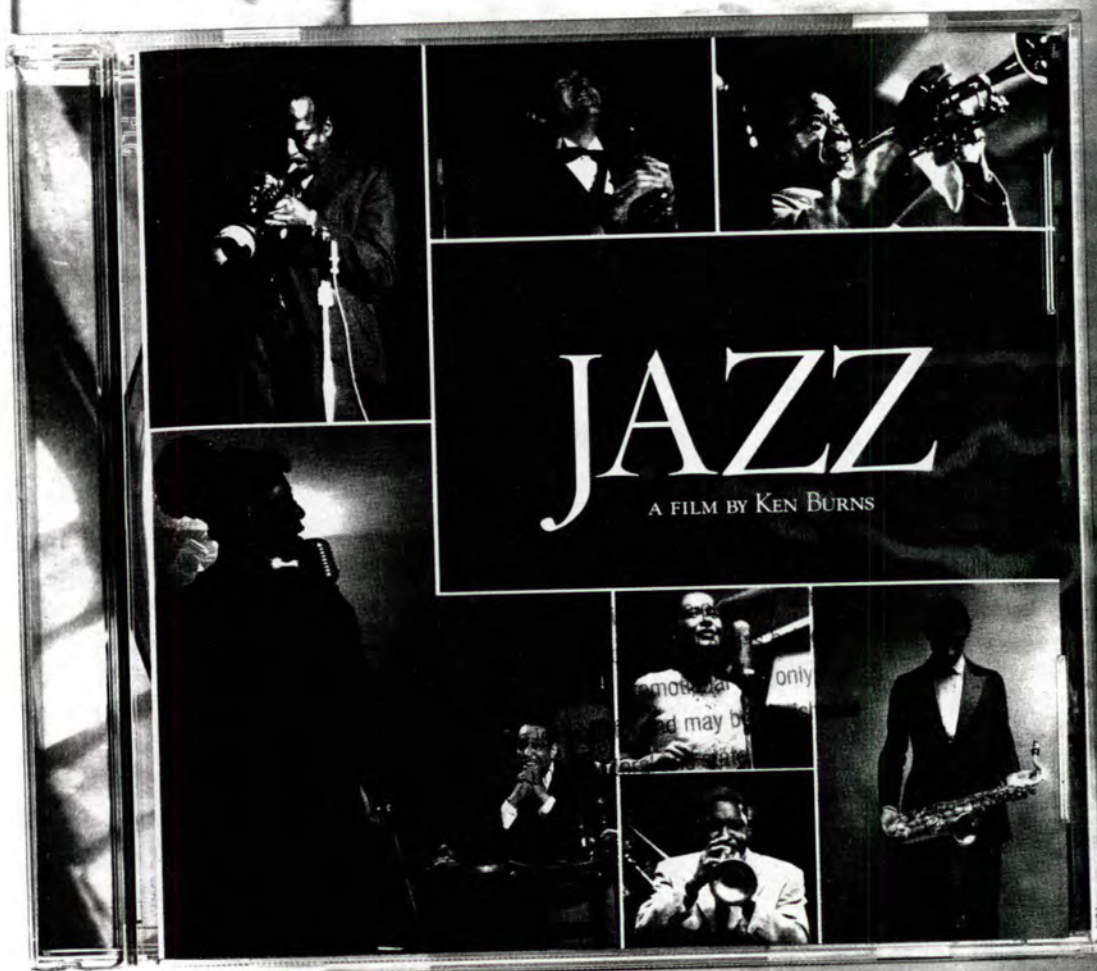
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U.S. 15th in Health Care, WHO Study Says

Ranking Is Attributed to Method Used in Medical Financing

By DAVID BROWN
Washington Post Staff Writer

Although the United States spends considerably more on health care per person than any other nation, it ranks only 15th among countries of the world on an overall index designed to measure a range of health goals, according to a broad new assessment released yesterday by the World Health Organization.

The American method of financing medical care is one reason the U.S. health system lags behind those of Japan, most European countries, Canada and Australia, according to the report. A less-than-optimal life expectancy here is another.

On the other hand, the United States leads the world in the "responsiveness" of its health system, a category the study's authors used to measure how respectfully people are treated and how efficiently their medical care proceeds.

"I think this is profoundly important," said John M. Eisenberg, head of the federal Agency for Healthcare Research and Quality, which is concerned with measuring performance and outcome in medical care. "It's an important alarm for Americans to look at and realize how much better we can do."

The United States ranks 24th in the world in life expectancy. It ranks 32nd in the degree of variation among the population in life expectancy, which means that a sizable percentage of Americans die prematurely.

In spending, however, the United States is without peer. Nearly 14 percent of its gross domestic prod-

uct is spent on matters of health, more than any other country. Its per capita spending on health—from government, business and individual consumers combined—is \$3,724 a year, about a thousand dollars more than the \$2,644 being spent by its nearest competitor, Switzerland.

In a complicated measure of health system "performance," the study found that the United States could get more for its dollar if the money were spent differently. With an "efficiency" score of 84 percent, it is behind virtually all of Europe (which France leads) as well as Israel, Morocco, Chile, Saudi Arabia and Costa Rica.

On a global scale, that [score] is pretty good," said Julio Frenk, a WHO physician and epidemiologist who is one of the chief authors of the study. "But it says the U.S. could still get 16 percentage points ahead with the same resources. It is clear that there is room for improvement, even without spending anything more."

The WHO report is the product of two years' work by hundreds of physicians, economists, statisticians, demographers and anthropologists. It is the first systematic attempt to go beyond impression and anecdote in measuring how well one system works compared with another.

"It started with the frustration of trying to answer questions from governments about this or that latest fashion in health sector reform," said Christopher J.L. Murray, a WHO epidemiologist and the other principal author of the study.

The WHO evaluation is com-

posed of five gauges of health system performance.

The first is the "disability-adjusted life expectancy" (DALE), which is conventional life expectancy, discounted by years of ill health. The latter is a way of including in the measurement the burden of disease a population lives with (but doesn't die from). The global leader in DALE is Japan, at 74.5 years. For the United States, the DALE is 70 years.

The second is child survival. Most people born survive into adulthood. Consequently, the mortality of people in their first five years of life is an index of the health inequality in a population.

The third is the "responsiveness" of the health system, which reflects the quality of human interaction between health care providers and patients. Its components include respect for individuals and their freedom of choice, the confidentiality of records, the promptness of attention when one is ill and the quality of facilities.

The fourth component measures how well different subgroups of a population—women, the elderly, the poor, minority groups—are treated when it comes to the things that make up "responsiveness."

The final component measures the fairness of health care financing. "Perfect fairness" is defined as every household devoting the same percentage of its non-food spending on health care—regardless of how large or small its income is, or how sick or well its members are.

All five of the gauges involve value judgments. However, the judgments were not reached arbitrarily.

They are consensus views derived from the results of surveys of thousands of people in dozens of countries. There is, for example, near universal agreement that out-of-pocket payment at the time of illness is an undesirable and unfair way to finance health care.

Embedded in the 51 pages of tables in the 215-page report are myriad insights into national success, failure and opportunity.

Oman, with \$334 in per capita health spending, ranks No. 1 among the world's nations in life expectancy for its investment. In 25 years, Murray said, that Persian Gulf state has reduced its child mortality from about 1 per 4 children born to the current rate of 18 deaths per 1,000 births.

Chile and Lebanon have virtually the same per capita spending (about \$570 a year), but the former ranks 33rd in overall "performance"—or health attainment for its investment—while Lebanon ranks 91st. Part of the reason is that Lebanon has a highly unregulated health care system built around the private provision of care, which decreases its population-wide efficiency.

A generation ago, China emphasized disease prevention and universal primary care. (It was one of the first Third World countries to eradicate smallpox and was famous for its "barefoot doctors.") With the arrival of a market economy in the 1980s, medical care became financed largely by out-of-pocket payment by consumers. Today, it ranks 188th out of 191 nations in the WHO assessment's "fairness of financing" measure.

Ranking Care

The World Health Organization ranked the health systems of member nations by the level and distribution of health, as well as factors such as confidentiality, promptness, personal respect and fairness of methods for financing health care.

Overall health system attainment, top 25 nations

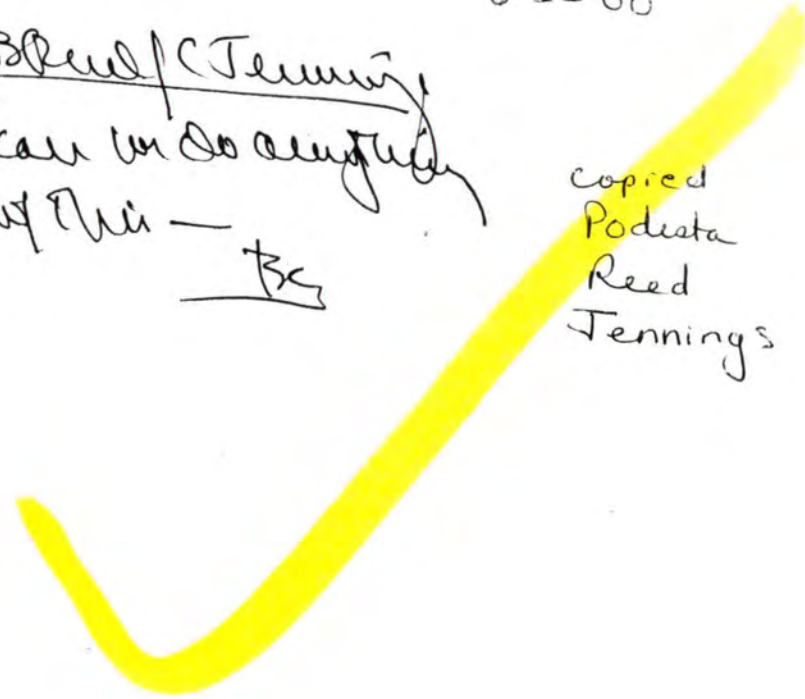
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2. Switzerland
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4. Sweden
5. Luxembourg
6. France
7. Canada
8. Netherlands
9. United Kingdom
10. Austria
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12. Australia
13. Belgium
14. Germany
15. United States
16. Iceland
17. Andorra
18. Monaco
19. Spain
20. Denmark
21. San Marino
22. Finland
23. Greece
24. Israel
25. Ireland

The erosion of organized planning for health may be one reason China's life expectancy has barely budged in the past 20 years, despite the huge growth in its national wealth, a traditional driver of health improvement, Frenk said.

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Value America Gets Closer to Investment Via Private Placement

Talks Reported on an Exit Strategy for Milosevic

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By STEVEN ERLANGER

PRAGUE, June 18 — The Clinton administration is exploring with some of its NATO allies and Russia the possibility that President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia be allowed to leave office with guarantees for his safety and his savings, senior American and NATO officials say.

The discussions are delicate and informal, the officials stress, emphasizing that the administration is not preparing any offer to Mr. Milosevic — who has been indicted by an international war crimes tribunal — and will not make one.

On the other hand, "if we were presented with a hard and fast offer that would get Milosevic out of power, we'd have to think very hard before saying 'no,'" a senior administration official said.

Another senior official said that the United States would condemn any proposal that would allow Mr. Milosevic to go anywhere but to the war crimes tribunal in The Hague. "That's the policy," the official said. "But 'Would we act to stop it or quietly acquiesce?' is another question," the official said, then added carefully: "There has been no formal discussion of this — that I am aware of."

Mr. Milosevic raised the question of his future last summer, after the war over Kosovo ended, officials say. But Washington rebuffed any discussion of a deal.

Various proposals have been raised to Washington and Athens in recent weeks by emissaries saying they come from Mr. Milosevic, the officials said. But what is less clear is whether they are fully authorized, and whether Mr. Milosevic is serious about doing a deal, or simply trying to "see how the ground lies," an American official said. "What we would never do is make him an offer, because he'll just pocket it."

Any deal, even without clear American fingerprints, would also put Vice President Al Gore into a difficult position during the presidential campaign and could undermine the international tribunal that indicted Mr. Milosevic.

It is also not clear why Mr. Milosevic would choose to leave power now, the officials caution. While his position is slowly disintegrating, along with Yugoslavia's economy, his current seat is probably the safest place for him. "It would be hard for him to trust assurances from anyone, inside or outside the country," an official said.

Within his ruling party, Mr. Milosevic has said that it is important to wait out the Clinton administration, and that a President George W. Bush would be more "realistic" toward Serbia and carry less personal animosity from the Kosovo war.

Still, President Clinton raised the issue of Mr. Milosevic's future with the Russian president, Vladimir V. Putin, at their recent summit meeting. Russian officials have told some NATO-country officials. According to the Russians, Mr. Putin told Mr. Clinton that Miami seemed as good a place for Mr. Milosevic as Moscow, the officials said.

The Clinton administration has made the ouster of Mr. Milosevic one of its main policy goals and regards him as the central obstacle to democratization and stability in southeastern Europe. Secretary of State

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Madeleine K. Albright has told her top aides she wants Mr. Milosevic out of office before she goes, yet Mr. Milosevic has frustrated Washington, outflanking the opposition.

"There is keen interest in these proposals in Washington," said a NATO-country official. "They can't be seen to be shopping. But they are sending signals that should a clear proposal come, it would be seriously entertained. And that shows they're serious. If you write about it, it will be full denial. But it's the best solution for everyone, and they could spin it as victory, as his head on a platter. There is a strong argument that democracy should be put ahead of the person."

Greece is one of the countries actively exploring the possibility of a deal for Mr. Milosevic's ouster, which could mean exile abroad for him and his family or, less likely, pledges of safety inside Serbia from any successor government that promises not to extradite him.

Orthodox Greece provided humanitarian aid to Serbia and Kosovo even during the air war and has acted as a go-between for NATO and Belgrade in the past.

Last month, Mr. Milosevic saw the former Greek foreign minister, Kostas Papoulias, and some important Greek businessmen, including some with close ties to the United States. Mr. Milosevic is said to have asked to see former Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis, whom he trusts, but officials say that they are looking for more signals of seriousness from Belgrade before Mr. Mitsotakis would be authorized to go.

While Mr. Milosevic is beleaguered and unpopular, and the country is having severe economic problems, the Serbian opposition is weak and there are no signs of potential

insurrection. The army and the police have not cracked. Russia and China, which opposed NATO's use of force in Kosovo and have interests in Serbia, have been willing to help Mr. Milosevic and his government with credits, loans and energy supplies.

On the other hand, the officials

say, Mr. Milosevic is showing signs of nervousness. He is not seeing a broad range of people or traveling widely inside the country; there is evidence of a grain shortage that will drive up food prices; and there have been a series of assassinations of senior officials and criminal leaders, none of them solved, that indicate instability.

The opposition is becoming more of a widespread movement inside Serbia, with opinion polls showing a growing desire for change and an end to international isolation, even if the current leaders of the opposition are not popular themselves.

Furthermore, international sanctions against Yugoslavia are becoming better coordinated and seem to be biting those close to the government. Just last week, officials say, Cyprus, a favored spot for Serbian money and money laundering, finally agreed to shut down the office of Beogradska Banka on technical grounds.

Mr. Milosevic and his family are believed to have large amounts of money in foreign banks, although the size and location of the holdings are not known.

Mr. Milosevic seems tired and irritable, the officials say, and they note that his speeches have a kind of ideological fury more reminiscent of the views of his influential wife, Mirjana Markovic, a professor of sociology who founded the Yugoslav United Left Party.

Some in his own party are said to be looking beyond him, and the security of his family — especially his son, Marko, who is involved in a wide range of business activities — is a concern.

Marko Milosevic, although on a list of individuals banned from travel to European Union countries, was recently in Greece on a false diplomatic passport, one official said, and he is now believed to be in Japan, possibly on his way to China.

As for Mr. Milosevic's conviction that a Bush administration would be more realistic and less emotional toward him, a Bush foreign policy adviser cautioned that there was no agreed policy, and that the situation in Serbia could change a lot in six months.

"But Milosevic should take no comfort from the prospect of a Bush administration," the adviser said. "There will be no sense of letting bygones be bygones. The strategy may change in different ways, and it will be worked out with the Europeans. But the idea that a bunch of Kissingerian realpolitikers will focus energy elsewhere and let him mind his own business is not something he should bank on."

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How Clinton Is Like Ike

By Stephen E. Ambrose

No two presidents would seem as different personally and politically as Dwight Eisenhower and Bill Clinton. But the similarities in the circumstances of their presidencies are significant.

Since Franklin Roosevelt, only three presidents have served for eight years, and one, Ronald Reagan, had fallen in the polls in his final year. Eisenhower continued to be widely popular, as Mr. Clinton has today. Had the Republicans not passed the 22nd Amendment in 1951, limiting the president to two terms — something they did to spite a dead man, Franklin Roosevelt — Eisenhower would almost certainly have beaten John Kennedy in 1960.

This year the Republicans are finally getting a payoff from the term limitation: Gov. George Bush does not have to run against President Clinton, who has already beaten his father and Bob Dole.

Eisenhower and President Clinton both had to govern with the opposition in control of Congress. Eisenhower, like Mr. Clinton, moved to the center on the issues of the day, at the expense of all-out support from his core constituency, in his case the Republican right.

Each man had his vice president as his party's candidate for the presidency. Eisenhower regarded the election of Vice President Richard Nixon as a referendum on his performance; Mr. Clinton sees Vice President Al Gore in the same light. A major difference between Presidents Eisenhower and Clinton is that Eisenhower, a world figure long before he became president, did not have to worry about his reputation. Yet as his public service was drawing to an end, Eisenhower turned his concerns more to long-range matters than to short-term political gains — something Mr. Clinton is doing today.

A theme of Eisenhower's last term was protecting America's land heritage; similarly, Mr. Clinton has acted to designate more wilderness areas. "There are things that must be done," Eisenhower told his brother Milton, things like his program called the Soil Bank, intended to save and build the nation's soil. He wanted the government to acquire marginal land, especially in the Great Plains. Take it out of wheat, he said, and turn it back to native grass or forest. Eisenhower refused to sell off public lands or to open the national wilderness areas or national parks to commercial or mineral exploitation. Mr. Clinton has made and is making similar efforts.

Another common theme at the end of the two presidencies is the pursuit of peace. Eisenhower wanted to end the arms race; he was the first to end nuclear testing in the atmosphere, and he wanted an accommodation with the Soviet Union. Mr. Clinton wants to bring peace to the Middle East and Northern Ireland, and to resolve the conflict between

India and Pakistan.

Today, Eisenhower's trips to promote peace have been almost forgotten. In 1959 Air Force One replaced the Columbine, a propeller craft, and the new plane could fly around the world. (When Eisenhower boarded Air Force One, it was the first time he had ever ridden in a jet.) He went to, among other countries, India, Greece, Spain, Afghanistan, Paki-

For Eisenhower, it was legacy versus loyalty.

stan, Turkey, Italy, Germany, Britain, France and Iran.

And he went from triumph to triumph. In Bonn, London and Paris, his landing and motorcade drew immense crowds. In India, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru told him the crowds were bigger even than the ones Mohandas Gandhi had drawn.

But Eisenhower's popularity, at home and abroad, was not enough to

propel Richard Nixon into the presidency. What Mr. Clinton does for Mr. Gore is yet to be discovered. But it is already apparent that while Mr. Gore wants to run on the president's record, he also wants to set his own agenda.

So it was, too, for Nixon, when he stressed that the big difference between him and John Kennedy was that he had experience in government at the top. Nixon almost made it seem that he, not Eisenhower, was running the government. But this was precisely the area in which Eisenhower was the most sensitive. The standard Democratic criticism of Eisenhower was that he reigned rather than ruled; the president wanted it understood that he never delegated the decision-making powers.

So in an August 1960 press conference, when reporters asked Eisenhower to name one major idea of Nixon's that he had adopted, the president replied: "If you give me a week I might think of one. I don't remember."

Those two sentences may well have cost Nixon the victory in what was the closest presidential election in American history. And they certainly highlight the fundamental dif-

ference between a sitting president who wants to protect his legacy and a vice president running for president who wants to build a legacy of his own. □

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the business leaders. "Do we not have the right to think of our own security? We not only have the right but the duty for everyone's sake, because if a country like Russia feels threatened, this would destabilize the situation in Europe and the entire world."

Putin, who spent five years in East Germany as a KGB spy in the Cold War climax of the 1980s, is visiting this recently restored German capital for the first time as a statesman. His emphasis on security issues harked back to the era of superpower tensions, as he also used his meetings here to reiterate opposition to Washington's proposal to build a national missile defense system.

"This could set in motion a very dangerous spiral of the arms race," Putin said of the U.S. project, which would require changes to the 1972 Antiballistic Missile Treaty.

Europe faces little risk of all-out war at the moment, Putin said. But he warned against complacency amid what he sees as a threat to European security from the U.S. antimissile project. Germany and other NATO allies on also have expressed reservations about the proposed shield against missiles and the wisdom of weakening the arms control treaty.

The new Kremlin leader, elected in March, had been expected to push for more German investment in Russia and forgiveness of a portion of Moscow's \$19-billion debt. Germany holds nearly half of Russia's \$43-billion foreign debt, and officials here said earlier this week that they had been informed Putin would seek a postponement, if not a full write-off, of more than \$8 billion in payments.

Germany is also Russia's most important European trading partner, with \$224 million in direct investment in the former superpower last year. But German officials made clear on the eve of Putin's visit that debt forgiveness was not in the picture.

Putin's two-day visit here has been overshadowed by accusations both in Europe and in Moscow that the Tuesday arrest of billionaire media entrepreneur Vladimir A. Gusinsky shows that the Kremlin is resorting to repressive tactics to stifle dissent. Gusinsky's media empire, which includes the independent NTV network, has been highly critical of Putin's war against the separatist republic of Chechnya.

At a Council of Europe conference on mass communications held in Krakow, Poland, on Thursday, the group's secretary-general criticized the arrest of Gusinsky "without concrete charges" and said it would be intolerable if the move is related to his media enterprises.

"The arrest of the owner of the only private television in Russia is a matter of concern," said the official, Walter Schwimmer.

German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer and his Russian counterpart, Igor I. Ivanov, had an "exhaustive face-to-face talk" during which Gusinsky's arrest and concerns about media freedom were addressed, a German government spokesman said. No details were given.

From his jail cell in Moscow, Gusinsky issued a handwritten statement accusing the Kremlin of "political intrigue organized by senior representatives of the state for whom the freedom of speech is a danger."

Putin, who earlier had expressed surprise about the arrest, said Thursday that he considered the detention "excessive." Like his predecessor in the Kremlin, Boris N. Yeltsin, Putin has often sought to distance himself from repressive behavior by police or judicial forces by denying that they acted on orders.

Putin was set to meet for several hours Friday with the German chancellor, as well as with another group of economic leaders, before returning to Moscow.

condition," the Abu Sayyaf rebels holding the hostages informed Philippine authorities Thursday, urging swift resumption of negotiations on their demand for \$20 million for the captives' release.

Nerves have frayed all around in the crisis that began when the heavily armed Islamic insurgents kidnapped Wallert, husband Werner and son Marc, 10 Malaysians, two French, two Finns, two South Africans, a Filipino, and a Lebanese early Easter Sunday from a remote Malaysian resort island. The hostages were smuggled by boat into the wilds of the southern Philippines guerrilla stronghold.

The appeal by Abu Sayyaf for new talks after a four-day "cooling-off period" imposed Monday by the Philippine government may be a sign that Manila's posture of patience and caution has worked to put the onus on the rebels to break the protracted impasse.

Or, as government officials from the Philippines and countries such as Germany working diligently for release of the captives, the latest missive may be yet another flicker of hope that will be cruelly extinguished.

"We must accept the reality that this isn't going to be resolved quickly," Ronaldo Zamora, an adviser to Philippine President Joseph Estrada, told journalists in Manila, the Philippine capital, after the rebels' latest contact.

During this week's pause for reflection, German Foreign Minister Joschka Fischer consulted with his counterparts from France and Finland to work out a common position among the European governments involved in present to the Philippine government. The three agreed, according to a German Foreign Ministry communication, that the hostages' safety is paramount and that no actions be undertaken that could expose them to danger.

That message was a reaction to a comment last week from the Philippines' frustrated chief negotiator, Robert A. Ventajado, who said a commando raid to free the hostages was now an option.

The European diplomats also have had harsh words for journalists, along with appeals for them to stop complicating the fragile negotiations by inserting themselves into a situation beyond any government's control.

Referring to an incident earlier this month in which 11 journalists—nine of them Germans—were themselves held captive during a visit to Jolo until colleagues chipped together \$25,000 to free them, the foreign ministers beseeched media to keep their distance and to show "responsibility and consideration for the hostages."

The German news reports from the camp captured the despondency of the hostages, many still wearing the same clothes they wore when they were seized eight weeks ago and deprived of decent food, enough water and anything to read aside from rebel propaganda.

Only about one-fourth of the food, water and medicine delivered by humanitarian intermediaries actually reaches the hostages, 57-year-old Wallert told Germany's Der Spiegel magazine during the visit. The hostages have since been separated into two groups and moved from a reed hut to an open camp elsewhere on the island, German government officials in Berlin have been told.

"We are evermore uncertain if we'll ever get out of here," a nearly hysterical Wallert, who suffers from a circulation disorder that makes it difficult for her to walk, told the magazine. "We are dying here, and there's nothing you can do."

Europe, Philippines Clash Over How to End Hostage Crisis

By Carol J. Williams

Los Angeles Times

BERLIN For more than a week now, there have been no fresh pictures of the 21 hostages on the Philippine island of Jolo not since 11 European journalists bribed their way into the captives' encampment and were forced to pay \$25,000 more to ransom themselves out.

But the word reaching diplomats and intermediaries trying to resolve the nearly 2-month-old standoff is that the captives continue to discover new depths of despair with each passing day, trapped in a hellish tug of war between boredom and terror.

Two of the captives, Renate Wallert of Germany and Stephane Loisy of France, have fallen into "very serious

As Romania Struggles, President's Popularity Fades

By David Halley

Los Angeles Times

BUCHAREST, Romania In the slow dance of post-Cold War NATO enlargement, Romania was one of the former Soviet bloc countries most strongly desiring to waltz right in. So when it was rejected for last year's first wave of expansion, many Romanians felt spurned.

Then, right after the disappointment of watching other once-Communist states join the alliance first, NATO launched airstrikes on Yugoslavia and Romania was supposed to applaud.

President Emil Constantinescu did. But the Romanian public did not.

The reverberations still echo today, with Constantinescu,

since Romania's strongest advocate of democracy and close relations with the West, now facing probable ouster partly because of his firm backing for NATO.

"The people's reaction was, 'Why should we support the ones who don't want us?'" Eugen Vasiliu, a senator from the ruling coalition, said in explaining Constantinescu's loss of popularity. "That was the moment of his fall. The people think with their heart rather than their mind."

Constantinescu's strong pro-NATO stance boosted Romania's standing with the West and helped it get talks launched on joining the European Union. But public revulsion at NATO's bombing of Yugoslavia, coming on top of widespread anger over falling standards of living, has undercut Constantinescu's domestic support so severely that, according to polls and analysts, he is likely to lose an election later this year.

Opposition leader and former President Ion Iliescu, a onetime associate of Communist leader Nicolae Ceausescu who broke with the dictator before his overthrow, has drawn about 45 percent support in recent polls, compared to 18 percent to 20 percent for the president.

Many here believe this means a likely return to power by Iliescu, who emerged from the bloody 1989 revolution to lead Romania until his defeat by Constantinescu in 1996. Some fear that all this could mark a major setback for the advance of democracy and free-market economics in this region.

"For six years (after the overthrow of communism), Romanians waited for a miracle, and when Constantinescu came, we thought it was the miracle. But no miracle happened," said Ion Cristoiu, director of the daily AZI newspaper.

Bulgaria and Slovakia, two other former Soviet bloc states that have been invited into the "second tier" of European Union candidates along with Romania, are similarly struggling in a difficult transition to democracy and free markets a decade after communism's fall.

The three countries now have multi-party political systems and feisty media, and are moving toward Western-style economies. But their economic strength and the maturity of their democratic institutions lag far behind Hungary, Poland and the Czech Republic, which as the three most successful former Soviet bloc states are top applicants for the European Union.

Here in Romania, the high hopes for economic growth and acceptance into the mainstream of Europe after the election of Constantinescu have been brutally dashed.

Corruption and abuse of power are serious problems in virtually all former Soviet bloc states. Slovakia, formed in the 1993 breakup of Czechoslovakia, had its hopes for joining the European mainstream hit especially hard by these issues, although the most diplomatically damaging allegations there have revolved around former Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

Until the authoritarian Meciar lost power two years ago, NATO and the European Union refused to even consider granting membership in Slovakia.

The current government of Prime Minister Mikulas Dzurinda has generally won high diplomatic marks from the European Union for its commitment to democracy. But Meciar remains very much in the picture as leader of Slovakia's opposition.

In a move widely seen as aimed at blocking Meciar's possible return to power, the government sent masked commandos into his home last month to arrest him on charges of fraud and abuse of power during his six years as prime minister. He was released in a few hours after paying a \$250 fine for failing to answer a summons to testify in the 1995 kidnapping of former President Michal Kovac's son.

Authorities said Meciar was arrested for allegedly paying illegal bonuses worth \$14,000 to his Cabinet ministers while in office. But many commentators said the main purpose of the spectacular raid was to pursue a suspected link between Meciar and the kidnapping, which is widely believed in Slovakia to have been an effort by the government's intelligence service to embarrass Kovac, a Meciar rival.

It is not yet clear whether the current government's arrest of Meciar has hurt him politically or if it might rebound in his favor by arousing resentment against the strong-arm tactics that were used. But such goings-on hurt Slovakia's efforts to be seen as a normal European democracy.

Slovakia is also facing economic hardships. A fiscal austerity program has triggered soaring unemployment, now at

about 20 percent. The economy has slowed from a strong pace in the Meciar years to 4.4 percent growth in 1998 and 1.9 percent in 1999. Progress remains slow in the privatization of state industry.

Bulgaria, meanwhile, recorded 2.5 percent growth last year after 3.5 percent in 1998, marking recovery from a severe 7 percent decline in 1997. Led by President Petar Stoyanov, Bulgaria's government also backed NATO's bombing campaign, despite strong public misgivings.

Bulgaria made some progress in privatization in 1999. But controversy erupted last month over allegations that Prime Minister Ivan Kostov had covered up intelligence reports about corruption among senior officials. He rejected the opposition's demand that he quit.

The Romanian government hurt itself politically under Constantinescu by trying to push forward market-oriented reforms, including privatization of state industries, yet failing to be firm enough against opposition from groups such as angry coal miners, many analysts say.

"The reform ... began slowly and with a lot of fear," Vasiliu said.

Iliescu's likely victory in November "will be an unbearably big problem" for Romania, predicted Corneliu Nistorescu, editor in chief of *Evenimentul Zilei*, a leading Romanian newspaper. "He represents the period when in Romania there didn't exist the will for strong reform."

Many officials within the European Union and NATO view Iliescu primarily "as a former Communist," Nistorescu added. "At the first wrong move, Romania will be put on standby again."

The AZI newspaper's Cristoiu, however, argued that the impact of an Iliescu victory would not be so severe and that the center-right parties now holding power might reform themselves in a healthy way if they are forced into opposition for a few years.

"I think this thesis that Iliescu's return to power would mean something like isolating Romania from the European Union and NATO is something the (ruling) power is using to help them in the elections," Cristoiu said. "Whoever wins the election, Romania's policy will continue to be pro-Western."

Pope's Persistent Calls for Mercy May Be Turning Point for Church

By Richard John Neuhaus
Special to the Los Angeles Times

Now we'll probably never know if Mehmet Ali Agca acted on his own when he attempted to assassinate Pope John Paul II, or whether he was an agent of the then-communist secret police of Bulgaria, acting on behalf of the Soviet Union. Yet, as we shall see, that is hardly the most important question raised.

Agca has given conflicting accounts of the May 13, 1981, attack, and, as the Italian prosecutor said, "You can't keep people in prison just to make them talk." After serving 10 years of his life sentence, Agca has been pardoned by Italian President Carlo Azeglio Ciampi and will now be returned to Turkey to complete 9 1/2 years of a jail sentence for killing a newspaper editor there. Agca, 42, might prefer his Italian jail to the one from which he escaped in Turkey, but everyone else seems pleased enough with the pardon.

Clearly the decision has the approval of the pope. In 1983, John Paul visited Agca, and one remembers the widely publicized picture of the two of them sitting in Agca's cell, looking as though the pope were hearing his confession. Afterward, the pope said he had forgiven him, but of course we know nothing of what was said between them.

The pope's forgiveness and approval of the pardon fit into a long series of incidents in which he has been trying to teach the world about the meaning of mercy. It seems that hardly a week goes by without the pope pleading for clemency, which is but another word for mercy for a condemned criminal in the United States or elsewhere.

In his 1993 encyclical, "Evangelium Vitae" (the gospel of life), John Paul came out strongly against capital punishment, contending that in modern systems of criminal justice it is rarely, if ever, needed to protect society. While Agca was not condemned to death, his pardon inevitably raises the question of the status of punishment in Catholic thought.

Many Catholics and others who greatly admire this pope are not, or not yet, convinced by his position on capital punishment.

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Despite U.S. Restrictions Against Cuba, Door Opens Wider for Visits by Americans

By CHRISTOPHER MARQUIS

WASHINGTON, June 15 — By relaxing rules and applying only a spot enforcement of travel restrictions, the Clinton administration is opening Cuba to American travelers at a rate not seen in more than 40 years.

While administration officials deny that the increased travel is intended to undermine the 38-year-old embargo against Cuba, the new flow has given rise to a flurry of business, personal and political contacts, and there is a renewed push in some circles — both Democratic and Republican — to relax the commercial boycott, one of the last relics of the increasingly distant cold war.

The number of Americans traveling legally to Cuba has surged by 10 percent a year in the last five years, Treasury Department officials said. And the number traveling to Cuba on the sly more than doubled in the same period, they said.

According to Cuban government figures, about 135,000 Americans visited Cuba last year on individual or group trips sanctioned under the administration's increasingly relaxed rules. And some 22,000 Americans went last year illegally through third countries, according to the U.S.-Cuba Trade and Economic Council.

The increase in Americans going to Cuba reflects an administration strategy to encourage contacts between civilians in both lands, partly as a way to help Cuba prepare for a smooth transition after President Fidel Castro, who has ruled since 1959, is no longer in power.

The administration has helped make those growing numbers possible by allowing direct flights to Havana from New York and Los Angeles this year, and adding more flights from Miami, which now reach four cities in Cuba. The number of people traveling directly to Cuba grew by almost 50 percent last year.

In addition, the Commerce Department increasingly approves licenses for private planes, like those that carried executives in January to the first trade show of American medical products in Havana.

[Speaking on CNN's "Both Sides with Jesse Jackson" on Sunday, Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright said, "I think we have to keep pursuing, through ways that we can, the

people to people contacts and trying to expand the space for the people" of Cuba.]

Charles S. Shapiro, the director of the State Department's Office of Cuban Affairs, said that by making more contact with Americans, Cubans "understand they can make decisions in their own lives."

Asked whether the new strategy is a way to relax the embargo while avoiding the political firestorm that would accompany a formal attempt to do so, Mr. Shapiro said, "Absolutely not." Congress is needed for any substantial policy switch, he said. "What the president can do is make some changes in the margins."

In 1996, Congress codified the Cuban embargo into law. That stripped the president of the ability to lift sanctions by executive order, as he has done, for example, with Vietnam. But the president retains a right to

Looking ahead to life after Castro, a 'people to people' strategy.

define who can travel, and the administration is considering additional measures to ease travel further, including lifting the once-a-year restriction on visits by Cuban-Americans, officials said.

Representative Mark Sanford, a South Carolina Republican, returned from a recent trip to Cuba and introduced a bill to let Americans travel freely to the island, arguing that the trade ban is failing and the limits on travelers are unconstitutional. "I thought we were supposedly shutting the place down," he said, "and you see all this new hotel construction."

In recent weeks, some members of the Congressional Black Caucus who went to Havana returned denouncing the embargo. The American Farm Bureau threw its weight behind a Republican proposal to allow the sale of food and medicine to Cuba after two Democrats from Arkansas re-

turned eager to sell rice. A top official of the United States Chamber of Commerce emerged from a meeting with Cuban officials saying that Cuba is willing to negotiate compensation for properties it confiscated from American companies more than four decades ago.

The "people to people" contacts were authorized with bipartisan support in the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act but were not broadly put into effect until last year. Access to Cuba, the top Caribbean tourist destination a half century ago, has been limited for decades to American journalists, government officials and Cuban exiles visiting relatives. Now the flow includes the likes of the Yale Glee Club, the Baltimore Orioles and 130 students from Buxton High School in Williamstown, Mass.

"You can put me next to a person on the street and I'll tell you how they can go to Cuba," said Pamela Falk, a professor of international law at the City University of New York law school. "Most Americans can fit into one of the legitimate categories."

Vicki Huddleston, the top American diplomat in Cuba, said in Los Angeles this month that the goal is to channel information and ideas. "No island can remain an island with open communication," she said.

But some supporters of the trade ban are skeptical.

"I don't see the benefits of the people to people policy," said Representative Robert Menendez, a Cuban-American Democrat from New Jersey. "There have been hundreds of thousands of visitors and millions of dollars spent, and Castro has become more oppressive."

In May 1999, the administration for the first time gave about 150 universities, as well as high schools, religious groups and other organizations, the authority to license their members for travel to Cuba.

Groups that formerly clashed with Treasury Department officials over the travel restrictions say their fortunes have changed. When the San Francisco-based group Global Exchange staged a protest trip by 200 Americans in 1994, Treasury Department authorities confiscated passports and froze the group's bank account. Today, Global Exchange is licensed to take Americans on tours

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to attend film festivals, conduct language courses, even take an ecological bike trip, said Pam Montanaro, a trip coordinator.

At the same time, Americans who do not bother to get government approval face little risk of prosecution, administration officials said.

Unauthorized travelers include everyone from Cuban-Americans — who run afoul of the rules by traveling more than the approved one family visit a year — to beachcombers, fishermen, political activists, sex tourists and others. Though about 22,000 Americans traveled illegally to Cuba last year, Treasury Department authorities levied only about 200 civil penalties, officials said. And they did not refer a single case to the Justice Department for criminal prosecution.

More than 100 cases of suspected travel violations have languished for months because defense lawyers have demanded hearings for their clients and the Treasury Department's Office of Foreign Assets Control has no judges to conduct them.

The travel restrictions in reality are curbs on spending money in

Cuba. Authorized American travelers are allowed to spend up to \$183 a day. Unapproved visitors who spend cash could face up to 10 years in prison, \$1 million in corporate fines, \$250,000 in individual fines or civil penalties up to \$55,000 per violation.

Federal authorities admit that their contradictory mandate — to make authorized travel easier while impeding tourism — makes the restrictions on Cuban travel some of the most difficult to enforce. Yet they insist the law remains an effective deterrent for most Americans.

Enforcement is complicated because many of the unauthorized travelers fly to Cuba through third countries, like the Bahamas, Canada or Mexico. Eager for the foreigners' cash, Cuba obliges Americans by failing to stamp their passports.

That leaves United States authorities to rely largely on the honor system to determine which travelers have broken the law.

Some analysts say the increased legal travel is already building bridges between Americans and Cubans. The American tide is "keeping the Cuban government off balance,"

especially as it seeks to attract investment but maintain control, said John Kavulich, president of the U.S.-Cuba Trade and Economic Council in New York, a nonprofit center financed by businesses that seek to understand opportunities in Cuba.

But those seeking to maintain the economic pressure on Cuba are dismayed by growing signs that American tourism is becoming mainstream. Urban bookstores offer a dozen guidebooks to Cuba; rental villas in Cuba are offered on the Internet by an agency based in Austin, Texas; the Web site of Abercrombie & Fitch, the youth-oriented clothing company, offers tips on how to "go play" in Cuba, while noting that "it's technically illegal."

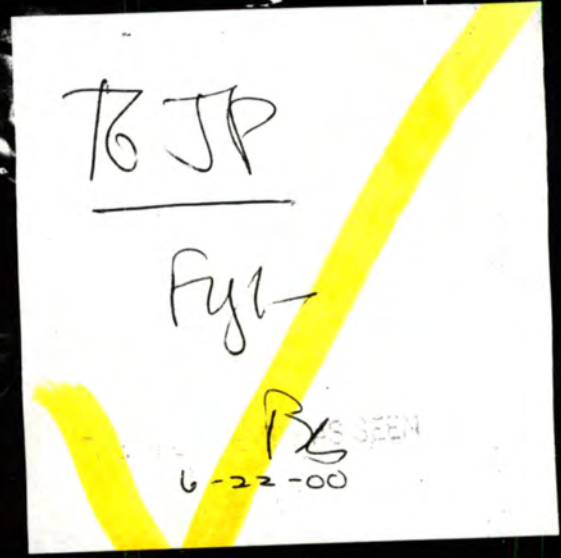
Mr. Menendez, the New Jersey lawmaker, said American visitors are spending time on the beach and in nightclubs — not engaging the island's dissidents or independent journalists. He accused the administration of "casting an economic lifeline to the regime" in Havana to ease economic pressures there and avert a social explosion, which in turn, could produce a refugee exodus.

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GEOFFREY C. WARD AND KEN BURNS

Authors of the best-selling *THE CIVIL WAR* and *BASEBALL*

6-22-00

H.R. 3069: Southeast Federal Center Public-Private Development Act of 1999

- We strongly support the goal of developing the Southeast Federal Center.
- We would support providing government subsidies to develop the SEFC, but are concerned that some of the particular financing arrangements in the bill would lead to the Federal government assuming the risk of private financial ventures, something we believe the Federal government should not do.
- Despite these concerns, we will not oppose the bill. At the same time, we do not want to embrace the approach on a more general basis.

Reimbursing Metropolitan Police Department (MPD)

- The MPD has asked the Federal government for the \$8.9 million that it claims was the cost of managing the IMF/World Bank protests.
- Jack Lew has told both the Mayor and Rep. Norton that the Administration would work with them to secure reimbursement for MPD, and asked that the District work with OMB to identify the direct cost of managing the protests (MPD acknowledges that some of the \$8.9 million paid for long-term equipment upgrades rather than the one-time costs associated with the protests).

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Fred Hiatt

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Internationally: War Crimes Sanctimony

Human rights advocates lobbied passionately for U.S. military intervention to save the people of Kosovo. Now many of those same advocates are lobbying for an international criminal court that may ensure that the United States never stages a humanitarian intervention again.

These advocates, along with many U.S. allies in Europe and elsewhere, believe they have occupied the moral high ground, and they are having a grand time needling America for its supposed arrogance and obtuseness. But what feels good now will be costly down the road, and the price will be paid not by self-satisfied human rights lobbyists, nor by the United States, but by the next victims of genocide who will be left without protection.

The sad part about all this is that a permanent war crimes tribunal is not a bad idea. It could have been created with enough deference to national sovereignty to satisfy the United States and still perform most of the useful functions that human rights groups have in mind.

But the process is not moving toward such a sensible outcome. What is emerging instead is a permanent tribunal and permanent prosecutor's office that will operate with almost no external checks and balances—and that will claim jurisdiction over Americans even if the United States does not sign or ratify the treaty creating it. Already a dozen nations, including France, have ratified the treaty establishing this tribunal. When the list grows to 60, the court will begin to operate.

And how will the United States respond? Congress provided a clue last week with the introduction of the "American Servicemembers' Protection Act," which would bar U.S. participation in any United Nations peacekeeping mission unless U.S. servicemen were granted immunity from prosecution by the new court. The bill's supporters include the chairmen of the House and Senate foreign affairs, intelligence and judiciary committees, among others. Sen. Jesse Helms is behind it, but he is not isolated in his position.

The bill in some respects goes too far. It bars any U.S. cooperation with the court, an unwise tying of the next president's hands. But its concerns for U.S. soldiers are far from delusional, despite Human Rights Watch's scorn for the bill's "scare tactics."

Kosovo provides a useful example. The United States and its allies intervened without U.N. authorization—a violation of Serbian sovereignty and probably of international law. Human rights advocates at the time weren't too hung up about that, and for good reason. Sometimes the only way to stop bad men from doing bad things is with force; lawyers won't get the job done.

Once NATO did intervene, though, human rights groups were quick to accuse the United States of violating the laws of war, mostly through its unintentional bombing of civilians. Amnesty International still maintains that the United States committed a war crime when it attacked a Serbian television station (though the architects of hate radio in Rwanda are themselves accused of war crimes, and the United States is criticized for not having prevented those stations from broadcasting).

Not to worry, say the court's proponents. An existing, ad hoc international court on war crimes in Yugoslavia, after deliberating for 11 months, decided not to haul Gen. Wesley Clark or any other American up on war-crime charges. Besides, the proponents add, the new court can't take jurisdiction over alleged war crimes if the offending country investigates the charges on its own.

Sen. Helms can be forgiven for finding neither of these arguments entirely reassuring. That the Yugoslavia court took the charges as seriously as it did is worrisome enough, and—created as it was by the U.N. Security Council—it is far more sensitive to political ramifications than will be the new, unchecked prosecutorial bureaucracy. And while the new prosecutors will have to give deference to a host-country investigation, they and their equally untethered judges will have the power to decide whether such an inquiry is satisfactory or a sham.

There is a need for a standing court. In Sierra Leone right now, the criminal Foday Sankoh has been apprehended, the government of Sierra Leone would like outside help in trying him—and there is no one ready to help. A permanent war crimes tribunal would meet such a need.

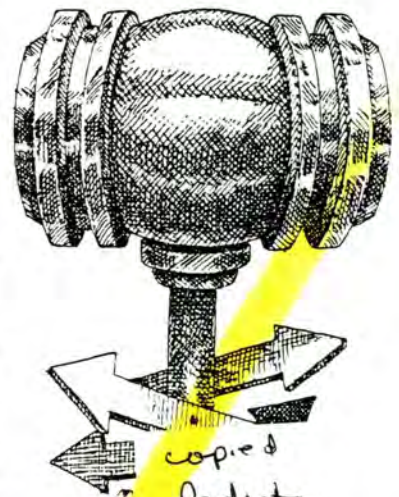
That's an easy case, because the country itself wants to cede jurisdiction. The permanent court also could have been set up to take over when the U.N. Security Council requested it—

as the council did for Yugoslavia. Such a system would ensure that national sovereignty would be overridden in this undemocratic way only in the most egregious cases.

Such a system also would give a veto over any prosecution to the five permanent members of the Security Council—the United States, Russia, China, France and Britain. Neither the human rights lobbyists nor other governments would countenance such great-power unfairness. Why should Russia in Chechnya get off, they ask, or China in Tibet?

Of course, the countries making these righteous arguments in many cases are the same ones that can't bring themselves even to vote for a resolution condemning Russian and Chinese behavior when the issue rolls around each year in the United Nations. German Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder just welcomed Russian President Vladimir Putin like a long lost brother; if the court that Germany wants were operating, presumably Schroeder would have had to arrest Putin for Russia's savage crimes in Chechnya.

But never mind. It feels good right now to be so principled. And let someone else worry about the next Kosovars who might need American help.



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Pentagon comes under attack for not having China center

Facility was to study Beijing's military and plans for attack

By Bill Gertz
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Congress has criticized the Defense Department for failing to move quickly in setting up a special center to study the Chinese military.

A House committee report on the current defense authorization bill says "the committee is concerned that the Department of Defense has not placed sufficient priority on ensuring that the center can carry out its mandate."

"The committee is especially concerned that the department has not identified a source of funding for the center to allow it to proceed with hiring a permanent director and implementing the research, conference, and other activities for which the center was established," the report says.

A Senate aide who specializes in China affairs said the Pentagon appears to be subverting Congress' original intention for the center by turning it into a part of its military diplomacy with China.

The aide, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, said the Center for the Study of Chinese Military Affairs should not become a "schmooze" center for U.S.-Chinese military exchanges. "That's contrary to everyone's intent for establishing this center," he said. "The idea [for the center] is to devote people full time to what we view as a rising Chinese military power and potentially threatening military developments."

The Pentagon announced in March it had established the new

center but missed a June 1 deadline for appointing a permanent director. Federal law requires the center to be set up by June 2001.

As a result of differences with the administration, Congress has refused to fund the center in the current defense bills now working their way through the House and Senate.

However, to keep the center going, the U.S. Pacific Command has agreed to provide some \$20,000 for a conference, officials said. The funding has raised concerns among congressional aides that the administration is not following Congress' wishes.

Congress required the center to be established by the Pentagon under last year's defense authorization law. One goal, according to committee reports, was to study China's "growing military power" and its strategy toward the United States.

In a slap at U.S. intelligence, the report says that "currently the Department of Defense lacks an organization whose primary mission is to provide comprehensive analysis and promote a broader understanding of Chinese military affairs and strategy."

The Pentagon announced in March it was creating the center, but failed to meet a June 1 deadline for having a permanent director in place and a detailed plan.

A National Defense University (NDU) official involved in setting up the center said the naming of Ronald Montaperto, an NDU China specialist viewed within the

Pentagon as a soft-liner on China, had met the June 1 deadline.

Other defense and congressional officials said the current NDU outline for the center does not fit with the legislative requirements. Instead of focusing on the People's Liberation Army, the center will focus on economic issues and other nonmilitary topics and is being transformed into the Pentagon's military exchange program with China, they said.

Several congressmen said the exchanges are being used by China to gather intelligence and to influence U.S. military policies toward China with the goal of making it easier to gain military technology.

Tom Donnelly, a former House Armed Services Committee staff member, said the center has been caught in the politics of U.S. China policy. "The administration is trying its best to ignore it," Mr. Donnelly said.

Mr. Montaperto's involvement also is controversial, he said. "It would be a mistake to name a guy with the political baggage that he brings to the job, whether it's a conservative or a panda hugger" — the term used to describe pro-China analysts, he said.

To be useful over the long term, the center needs to become a non-controversial source for information on the Chinese military.

The Joint Staff, in particular, is said to be upset with the center and its parent group, the Institute for National Security Studies, for failing to provide support to the U.S. military.

The Washington Times

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Bioterrorism defense under fire

Doctors say military plans are wrong approach

By Dan Vergano
USA TODAY

Plague stalked the streets of Denver recently, in the form of a sham bioterrorist attack.

Starting in mid-May, when fake patients started walking into city hospitals, federal officials used the exercise to gauge the response of law enforcement and public health authorities to an intentional outbreak of infectious disease.

Over 10 days, the mock attack caused more than 1,000 imaginary deaths.

"The exercise was a really good way to think through the issues we might encounter and enhance our relationships with our counterparts" in local law enforcement and public health, says the Justice Department's Myron Marlin. His agency co-ran the \$3.5 million "Project TopOff" exercise because of the participation of top federal officials, including Attorney General Janet Reno.

Beside the pretend events, however, a real battle rages over bioterrorism.

At a recent briefing sponsored by the American Medical Association, infectious-disease specialists argued that military planners have botched the nation's bioterrorism defenses and ignored the doctors who would form the leading lines of defense against terrorists wielding diseases to kill.

At the start of the month, a congressional advisory panel released a controversial report urging greater military involvement in domestic counterterrorism efforts.

"It's not the military who will respond to a biological event, but biologists," says AMA briefing speaker Michael Osterholm of the Minneapolis-based Infection Control Advisory Network, an infectious-disease consulting firm. A former state health official, he warns "it's just a matter of time" before a bioterrorist attack occurs. He estimates an anthrax attack could cause 3 million deaths.

Like noted smallpox expert D.A. Henderson of Johns Hopkins University's Center for Civilian Biodefense Studies in Baltimore, Osterholm criticizes the federal government's allocation of funds as already too military-oriented, with about \$121 million sent to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention to combat bioterrorism, out of about \$10 billion in the 1999 federal counterterrorism budget.

Politicians are paying more attention to these concerns: Only last week, Sens. Bill Frist, R-Tenn., and Edward Kennedy, D-Mass., introduced a bill that would add funding to public health efforts like fighting bioterrorism.

Biological weapons pose a unique public threat. Unlike explosives or gunfire, microbes overwhelm people slowly, spreading through the populace with symptoms that can mimic more benign maladies, like the flu. Nobel Prize-winning biologist Joshua Lederberg of Rockefeller University in New York points to the 1918 flu epidemic, which killed at least 20 million people worldwide, as a model for the type of disaster a biological weapon could wreak on mankind.

"Biological events are very different from explosive or chemical attacks, and they require different responders," says Scott Lillibridge, bioterrorism chief at the CDC.

But he defends his agency's capabilities against the verbal blast at the

AMA briefing. Lab analysis, vaccines and drugs, "disease detectives," and quarantine are all tools that can be directed toward a biological disaster by the CDC director without the involvement of any other federal agency, Lillibridge says. "We anticipate the rest of the government catching up with us."

Much of the concern over bioterrorism springs from revelations of Iraqi biowarfare capabilities after the Gulf War and reports from bioweapons scientists, notably Ken Alibek, author of *Biohazard*, who details Russian scientists' efforts to make weapons out of smallpox, anthrax and other formidable diseases.

"Until recently, strategic planning, program implementation and research related to bioterrorism have been dominated by those whose backgrounds are in fields other than medicine and public health," Henderson said in a May speech at the National Academy of Sciences.

Instead of funding military bioterrorism response teams, he says, the government should bulk up disease surveillance efforts staffed by physicians and public health experts.

Some experts say that beefing up the surveillance efforts would offer a payoff to public health in detecting natural biological disasters. Speaking hypothetically, "from the perspective of a local public health official wondering what good are bioterrorism initiatives, you might tell them to take advantage of it to get resources for other activities," such as improving infectious-disease surveillance, says Michael McGinnis of the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation in Princeton, N.J. In 1993, he published an article in *The Journal of the American Medical Association* that estimated infectious diseases kill about 90,000 people every year. More active surveillance might

cut those numbers, he says.

Amid calls for such dual-use activities, some decry bioterrorism warnings as a ploy for increased funding, among both physicians and the military.

"They're playing a game. They think it's a money pot," says epidemiologist Victor Sidel of the Albert Einstein College of Medicine in New York, a past president of the American Public Health Association. "Alarmists do a disservice to public health. We have much more important public health problems than this one."

He criticizes efforts to build up stockpiles of vaccines for exotic bioterrorist agents when people die of real, and common, infectious diseases every year. Tuberculosis killed 1,666 people nationwide in 1999, while pneumonia and influenza killed about 86,000, for example. The CDC received \$128 million last year to fund its efforts in vaccines for childhood and other diseases and combating antibiotic resistance, \$7 million more than its bioterrorism funding, says James Hughes, head of the CDC's National Center for Infectious Diseases.

In 1950, the federal government started the CDC's Epidemic Intelligence Service with the intent of detecting sneak disease attacks during the Cold War. Since then, the only domestic bioterrorist attack was the 1984 poisoning of a salad bar by a religious cult in Oregon, an event that left 750 people ill but unhospitalized. "Most bioterrorism planning revolves around worst-case scenarios," says terrorism expert Bruce Hoffman, who heads the Washington, D.C., office of RAND, a military and public policy think tank. Terrorists desire terror, he suggests, a goal achieved far more easily and cheaply with a gun or a bomb than with microbes.

In September, the General Accounting Office released a report critical of efforts to stop bioterrorists. It noted the high technical barriers facing such would-be attackers. "It's a risk we have to question," says Hoffman, while acknowledging the awful potential of biological weapons.

"Even a small incident could turn into a large one very quickly," Osterholm says. "From a terrorist standpoint, for sheer terror, nothing attacks the psyche more than an infectious agent."

6-22-00

DP/Security
in Mexico/Italy
see ~~note~~ modest
community part of this

Copied
Podesta
Berger
NSC WW Desk



David Horowitz

908 WESTHOLM AVENUE
LOS ANGELES, CA 90024
(213) 279-2291
FAX (310) 475-1369

orig to

cc: Burkhardt

6-22-00

Yes _____

No _____

cc: [unclear] LL

CWJ

00 JUN 22 AM 8:59

June 16, 2000
Ms. Lisel Loy
c/o Ms. Carol Cleveland
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20502

Dear Ms. Loy:

I want to introduce myself. I have been a friend of the President and First Lady since the middle 1980's and was of some assistance to the President in his first campaign for the White House.

I am also a friend of Dr. Robert Schuller who has been suggested for the Medal of Freedom. I am writing to both endorse that suggestion and to send along information I do not believe you have received, which is intended to enlighten you on the personal relationship between President Clinton and Dr. Schuller, in case no one has made you aware of that.

The enclosed notes from the President indicate that Dr. Schuller has been both inspirational and supportive of the President on some key issues of his presidency, notably the elimination of the national debt. The President refers to Dr. Schuller's phrase, "the power of possibility" as a factor in starting his thinking along those lines. Surely, a debt free society is a wonderful freedom for the American people, which will also benefit all the people of the world.

The Reverend has also been of personal assistance to the President in times of trouble and a spiritual guide. He has visited the White House several times and they have prayed together. He gifted the President with a Bible opened to the verse on which the President swore his oath of office at his inauguration. Dr. Schuller has guested with the First Family in the family quarters and they consider him a friend and spiritual guide.

-more-

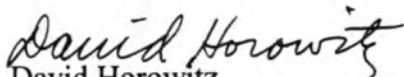
-Page Two-

I add these notes, along with some articles written by and about Dr. Schuller, because his own office would have considered it too forward to say these things themselves. Of course, the President needs no reminder of all this, but I just wanted to bring this to your attention as you gather information to make a final list of names.

Ms. Cleveland has advised me that many more letters endorsing Dr. Schuller for the Medal would be in order and helpful, and I am willingly undertaking such a task. I hope soon you will be receiving endorsements from many more persons of great weight in this country, many of whom are well known as personal acquaintances also by the President.

I thank you for taking the time to review this additional material on Dr. Schuller.

Cordially,


David Horowitz

THE ORANGE COUNTY Register

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1997

In Schuller, Clinton finds inspiration

RELIGION: Even before his State of the Union address, the president had tapped the Crystal Cathedral leader for spiritual guidance.

By **CAROL McGRAW**
The Orange County Register

Fleetwood Enterprises founder John Crean of Newport Beach was watching President Clinton's State of the Union address last week when he focused in on the gray-haired guy sitting next to Hillary Rodham Clinton.

"I thought, 'Boy, that sure looks like Bob.' But then the channel switched to the O.J. verdict."

Crean, a longtime contributor to the Crystal Cathedral, learned the next day that it indeed had been the Garden Grove church's founder, the Rev. Robert Schuller, in the seat of honor.

And while it's not unusual for the flock to see their famous minister on the tube — his "Hour of Power" is broadcast to millions worldwide — his appearance with the Clintons on the big night has caused a stir.

The question many in the congregation are asking: Is Schuller becoming clergyman to the White House?

Schuller says he has found Clinton to be a "profoundly religious man who seems most interested in healing the nation."



HIS BIG NIGHT: The Rev. Robert Schuller and Hillary Rodham Clinton listen to President Clinton's speech to the nation Feb. 4. Clinton praised the world-famous pastor by name.

The Associated Press

But while neither Clinton nor Schuller have announced an official communion, they have been seeing an awful lot of each other.

Besides getting the coveted seat next to Mrs. Clinton, Schuller has been the president's guest at numerous events in recent months. They've written each other notes. They've talked on the phone. They've prayed together. Schuller was in the presidential entourage at Israel Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's funeral.

During last week's address, Clinton held up Schuller and several others as "those whose lives reflect our shared values and the best of what we can become when we are one America."

The president said it was Schuller who suggested that he read Isaiah 58:12 — "Thou shalt be called the repairer of the breach." Clinton has been using it in all his major speeches lately. He even laid his hand on that Bible passage when he was sworn in.

Isaiah may not be as catchy as "I like Ike," but it has added a decidedly new moral twist to the

presidential persona — positioning Clinton as builder of national unity, say political watchers.

Schuller says he has used the passage as his personal devotional since he was ordained a minister more than four decades ago. In the years since, about every celebrity imaginable has visited the Crystal Cathedral. Schuller's popularity rests on his effervescent combination of Christianity and a self-help message he calls "possibility thinking."

The late Vice President Hubert Humphrey asked Schuller to say the eulogy at his funeral. So did rock 'n' roll disc jockey Wolfman Jack. Years ago, presidential hopeful Bob Dole donated money to buy one of the Crystal Cathedral's 10,000 windows.

But even at that, Schuller, who started his ministry some 42 years ago by preaching from atop the concession stand at the Orange Drive-In Theater, seems genuinely humble about shepherding a sitting president.

"I was shocked when I realized they had given me the seat right next to Mrs. Clinton," says Schuller, a former Alton, Iowa,

SCHULLER: He says Clinton is a 'profoundly religious' man

farm boy. "And when the president mentioned me by name, I was even more amazed."

Schuller and Clinton first met in person a year ago, when the president invited the pastor to visit. Schuller ended up staying the night, getting the VIP digs in the Lincoln bedroom. "I almost cried," Schuller said. "I kept thinking of what history is here ... the voice of Teddy Roosevelt, the sound of Franklin Roosevelt's wheelchair moving around the corridors."

He and Clinton discussed economics and Schuller's book "The Power of Being Debt Free."

While many of his 10,000-member congregation say they were thrilled to see Schuller in Washington, some don't like the liberal leanings of the White House.

Says Crean, a longtime Republican whose son once ran unsuccessfully for Congress: "We should all be proud of Schuller. I'm sure it was the high point of his life."

But he adds, "Even though Clinton is a lame duck, he wants to get all the favorable response he can for Al Gore's run for the White House."

On Monday, the Crystal Cathedral was still abuzz about the latest Washington, D.C., visit.

Robert Elliott, minister at Reformed Baptist Church in Riverside, was browsing the bookstore. "Personally, I'd like Clinton to keep to his Baptist roots. Schuller talks too much about personal improvement and not

enough about repenting and God's redemption."

Wes Ingram and his wife, Loretta, were visiting from Waterville, Wash. "Schuller has a lot to offer the president," Ingram said. "But then, he has a lot to offer everyone."

Ingram and his wife belong to different political parties. They've been married 41 years. "Politics don't matter," he said. "It's about Christ in a person's heart."

Political consultants note that the mixing of politics and religion has a long history, and that both Clinton and Schuller should benefit from the association.

Los Angeles political consultant Joe Cerrell noted that that evangelist Billy Graham advised Democratic and Republican presidents alike. Now with Graham in poor health, he wonders if Schuller will take that role.

Fred Smoller, political-science professor at Chapman University, says politicians find help wherever they can get it. Nancy Reagan consulted an astrologer. Hillary Clinton consulted self-esteem builder Tony Robbins.

"On one level, politicians connect with the spiritual camp for political reasons," Smoller says. "But on another level, the office is brutal and these people are hurting."

Schuller agrees.

"Repairing the breach is something we can all use."

THE SEATTLE TIMES

RELIGION

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1997

Billy Graham's heir?

BY SALLY MACDONALD
Seattle Times religion reporter

ROBERT Schuller the next Billy Graham? The Crystal Cathedral televangelist to millions backpedals at top speed when asked that question, but it's not an altogether unthinkable conclusion to reach these days.

After all, that wasn't Graham sitting next to first lady Hillary Rodham Clinton during the State of the Union address Tuesday night -- even though Graham has advised presidents and sat with their wives at great state events for nearly 50 years.

And it wasn't the Rev. Jesse Jackson or the Rev. Franklin Graham who suggested the Bible verse that has become a byword of Clinton's second term -- even though Jackson is perhaps the most famous political preacher of our day, and Graham is Billy's son and the man who will succeed him as head of the Billy Graham Evangelistic Association.

"That verse has been the cornerstone of my own life," Schuller said yesterday in a telephone interview. It was the Bible verse quoted at his own ordination into the ministry nearly 50 years ago, and "it was a gift I gave to the president. He called me and said he had been carrying it around in his pocket. I asked him if that verse maybe motivated him recently when he gave the Medal of Freedom to Dole, and he said yes, that's where the inspiration came from."

But that doesn't mean Schuller thinks he's the next Graham.

There has been speculation about who could possibly fill the widely respected and loved Graham's shoes as the nation's most recognized and beloved spiritual leader. Graham, who will turn 79 this year, suffers from Parkinson's disease. Franklin Graham will succeed him in his ministry should he become incapacitated, but Franklin doesn't have the ear of the White House.

Schuller, 70, says he isn't comfortable talking politics with presidents and doesn't do it. "Let's just say I've been a spiritual consultant to presidents."



Rev. Robert Schuller sat next to Hillary Rodham Clinton during the State of the Union speech this week, but he says he isn't comfortable talking politics with presidents and doesn't do it.

'I've been a pastor to America for 27 years. And it's not just to America. It's also Europe.'

REV. ROBERT SCHULLER

His consultancy to presidents reaches back to Richard Nixon, "who was born and raised in my county in California. I was close to Bush and Ford, who's from Michigan where I went to (Hope) College." He wasn't close to Carter he says; Reagan wasn't mentioned.

Schuller built his enormous Crystal Cathedral from a drive-in church at a busy California freeway interchange. His "Hour of Power" on Sunday mornings -- evangelical Protestant faith mixed with psychological positive thinking -- is viewed by an estimated 20 million people in 180

Schuller advises presidents, too

countries.

"I've been a pastor to America for 27 years," he says in the deep, booming voice that is one of his trademarks (others are his thick, silver hair and a smile that seems to constantly play across his lips).

"And it's not just to America. It's also Europe. And I was the first evangelist welcomed by Gorbachev to preach in Russia."

That was in 1989, when, according to Schuller, Soviet officials told Armand Hammer, Schuller's friend and liaison, that, despite 70 years of official atheism, the country was missing the "positive stimulus" that seems to come from religion.

The "Hour of Power" still goes to Russia, Schuller said. Former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev "has become a friend," and he claims Russian President Boris Yeltsin "begins his day watching it."

Schuller says his early studies were in psychology and he considers himself "a healer, a repairer of broken hearts."

Unlike Graham — who last year reportedly privately met with Clinton and criticized him for vetoing the Partial-Birth Abortion Ban Act — Schuller said he will keep his religion and politics separate.

"I cannot impose my value system, cannot, have not and will not get involved in party politics. That's not my role. My role is pastoral, not political."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1997

President Finds Power In Preacher of the 'Hour'

Evangelist Suggests Theme for Second Term

By Peter Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

One is a Southern Baptist from Arkansas who was educated in Catholic schools and often worships at his wife's Methodist church.

The other is a television evangelist who preaches about the power of self-esteem and "possibility thinking" to millions of faithful viewers each week from the pulpit in his all-glass cathedral in Southern California.

An unlikely pairing at first glance, perhaps, but President Clinton seems to have found something of a spiritual soul mate in the Rev. Robert H. Schuller, the world-famous host of "The Hour of Power," one of the most watched and influential religious programs in history.

There was Schuller at the White House the weekend before the inauguration, suggesting Scripture to mark the beginning of the president's second term. There was Schuller again last week, sitting next to Hillary Rodham Clinton in the House gallery during the State of the Union address as the president singled him out for recognition. And there was Schuller on the telephone with a White House speechwriter, offering thoughts for Clinton's confession-style talk a couple days later at a national prayer breakfast in which the president complained about the mean-spiritedness that infuses Washington.

As Clinton opens the next stage of his presidency, preaching reconciliation and casting himself as a unifying force in a divisive world, the president has turned to many quarters for



BY NICK UT—ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Rev. Robert H. Schuller is pastor of Crystal Cathedral in California.

counsel. But it has been Schuller who has provided the Biblical inspiration—his favorite Bible verse (Isaiah 58:12, "Thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach") has become almost an anthem for Clinton—and helped inject the religious overtones to the second term's opening days.

"He thought he grabbed the Bible verse, but I think the Bible verse grabbed him," Schuller said in an interview from his office in Garden Grove, Calif. "I said to him in the last few days, 'I wish you could see yourself with a pastoral heart, not a political heart.' And by golly, that's what he's doing. I don't think he knows it. . . . But with the verse, he's a pastor to the nation, not a politician."

From his Crystal Cathedral, sheathed in more than 10,000 panes

of glass, Schuller runs one of the nation's oldest television ministries, a congregation of the Reformed Church in America. Now in its 27th season, his broadcast helps bring in more than \$50 million a year and reaches an estimated 20 million followers in 184 countries with his message of "positive theology." Among the "power quotes" that he spices his writings with are: "Turn your hurt into your halo," "God plus me equals a majority," and "Nothing great ever happens on the OK level."

This persistent focus, both in his sermons and in 31 books (including five national bestsellers), distinguishes him from other evangelists who preach on television.

"He is an example of an evangelist who puts a straight emphasis on self esteem and feeling good about oneself," said Ron Sider, a professor at Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary. "It's not clear that the full historic Christian affirmation of sin is as clear in his preaching as it might be."

Although he has known other world leaders, including President Richard M. Nixon, Schuller is not as politically oriented as evangelists like Pat Robertson or Jerry Falwell—"I'm a pastor, not a politician," he likes to say—which made his recent presence at the White House so surprising to those who follow his career.

"He has not been known, as some others have been, to be with the presidents, like a Billy Graham over the years," said Paul D. Nelson, a close observer of evangelical ministries as president of the Evangelical Council for Financial Accountability. "That has not been something where he has taken a stand. Not that he hasn't got convictions about issues, but his role has been that of a pastor."

Clinton is not the most popular figure among his more conservative-minded viewers and Schuller acknowledges receiving a number of calls from angry devotees unhappy at seeing him sitting next to Hillary

White House Finds Inspiration in Crystal Cathedral

CLINTON, From A1

Clinton last week—prompting him to offer an explanation during his service Sunday.

Yet the minister finds no irony in growing close to a leader whose own past sins, real or alleged, have been so thoroughly dissected for the world to examine. "There are real character accusations against him," Schuller said, "but you can't pass judgment until they're proven. As a pastor, my job is to help and to heal the hurting person, even if you disagree with him. I'm a Christian and Jesus didn't say, 'I love you, if.' Jesus specialized in loving sinners."

Clinton's tenure has always been marked by eclectic theological musings.

While often unnoticed by the public, aides said, he frequently invites leaders from a wide range of religions to the White House for private sessions.

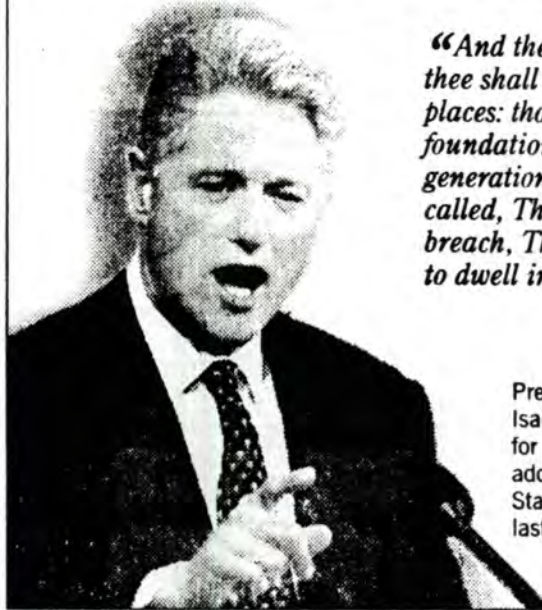
During his annual New Year's retreat to the Renaissance Weekend, this year, the only panel discussion he attended was a program called "Spiritual Life in a Secular Society." And during last week's prayer breakfast, Clinton unburdened himself in an unusually revealing talk that exposed his own sense of vulnerability and moments of weakness as he discussed the political culture in Washington.

He, too, was guilty at times of hypocrisy and self-righteousness, he acknowledged. He, too, has experienced the moments when "my heart was getting a little hard" and revenge was on his mind. And with Isaiah 58:12 in mind, he pleaded to the audience, "We are in a world of hurt. We need help. We are in the breach."

J. Philip Wogaman, pastor at Foundry United Methodist Church, where the Clintons attend services at least once a month, believes the president is searching for the right way to reach out.

"It's clear that he's been troubled by a good deal of division in our society and I think he's right on target there," said Wogaman. "His dealing with it there was spiritually deep."

CLINTON'S FAVORITE BIBLE PASSAGE



"And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called, The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in."

—Isaiah 58:12

President Clinton used Isaiah 58:12 as the basis for portions of his inaugural address on Jan. 20 and his State of the Union address last Tuesday

PHOTO BY ROBERT A. REIDER—THE WASHINGTON POST

Clinton, 50, got to know Schuller early in his first term, according to aides, when the silver-haired, 70-year-old preacher sent him a letter. Over the years, they have talked or written occasionally, and finally met in person in February 1995, when Clinton invited Schuller to spend the night in the Lincoln Bedroom. Late that evening, according to Schuller, Clinton stopped by the room and the two prayed together.

Later that year, Clinton invited Schuller to join many other religious figures in the U.S. delegation to the funeral of slain Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

But the relationship seemed to grow after last year's election, when Schuller sent Clinton a congratulatory note and quoted from Isaiah: "And they that shall be of thee shall build the old waste places: thou shalt raise up the foundations of many generations; and thou shalt be called. The repairer of the breach, The restorer of paths to dwell in."

Clinton kept a copy of that in his pocket for a while afterward and when Schuller visited the White

House the Saturday before the inauguration and reminded him of it, aides said the president rewrote his speech to include the phrase and decided to have his dog-eared family Bible opened to that verse when he took the oath of office.

Clinton went on to quote it again during the State of the Union and in other public remarks or private conversations.

He paraphrased it in talking with his old adversary, House Speaker Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), during the limousine ride from the White House to the Capitol on Inauguration Day.

Clinton even credited the verse with inspiring him to honor his defeated Republican challenger, Robert J. Dole, at a White House ceremony last month.

"I am sure the spirit of the passage has helped me in countless ways and may have helped me to see that I should give the Medal of Freedom to Sen. Dole," Clinton said in a Jan. 27 handwritten letter to Schuller. "For this and more I am in your debt."

The New York Times

TUESDAY, MARCH 18, 1997

Not All Presidential Advisers Dwell on the Political World

By GUSTAV NIEBUHR

In his 50 months in the White House, seeking succor in the bad times and a check on his ego in the good, President Clinton has turned to a small circle of mostly Protestant clergy members who have offered him spiritual counsel, in private meetings, phone calls and faxes.

"It helps me to stay centered," Mr. Clinton said in a recent telephone interview. "It helps me to keep in a positive frame of mind. It keeps me both humble and optimistic. It helps to have private relationships with people who are trying to help you reach beyond yourself and stay in touch with what really matters."

Mr. Clinton's contacts with the clergy members, most of whom are little known outside religious circles, have taken place largely out of public view. And they have continued even as the Administration's political troubles have been deepened by hostility from many religious conservatives, who particularly object to the President's support of abortion rights and homosexuals in the military.

But last month, as the White House entered a period of increasing political difficulties over campaign fundraising, Mr. Clinton brought one ministerial friend into the national spotlight. He invited the Rev. Robert H. Schuller, the host of "The Hour of Power" television program, to sit beside Hillary Rodham Clinton during the State of the Union speech.

The association with such a prominent minister would seem like a clear asset for Mr. Clinton in providing a counterweight to critics who assert that he lacks convictions or a moral center.

As a Southern Baptist, Mr. Clinton belongs to Protestantism's evangelical wing, but the skepticism he has provoked among fellow believers helped cost him the majority of the Protestant vote in the 1996 election, when he won large majorities among voters who identified themselves as Roman Catholics, Jews or people of no religious faith.

The clergy members close to Mr. Clinton say they have talked to him mainly about spiritual matters, choosing prayer over politics. But they have also offered advice on policy issues. Some counseled him to sign a bill last year that would have banned a late-term abortion procedure. One asked him to back a proposed constitutional amendment to balance the Federal budget.

Mr. Clinton said he did not object to this counsel, even when it ran counter to his positions. "They ought to have the power of their convictions," he said. "They ought to share them with me."

Some previous Presidents have been close to individual clergy members — Richard M. Nixon kept up a famous friendship with the Rev. Billy Graham — but Mr. Clinton is unusual in the number of contacts that he maintains.

His inner circle includes the Rev. Rex Horne, pastor of the Immanuel Baptist Church, which Mr. Clinton attended in Little Rock when he was Governor of Arkansas; the Rev. Tony Campolo, a sociology professor at Eastern College in St. Davids, Pa., and the Rev. Bill Hybels, senior pastor of the Willow Creek Community Church in South Barrington, Ill.

Mr. Horne phones Mr. Clinton every Saturday night that the President is in Washington. Mr. Campolo and Mr. Hybels meet separately with him in the White House nearly every month.

Mr. Clinton said that he also corresponded regularly with the Rev. Gordon MacDonald, senior pastor of Grace Chapel in Lexington, Mass., and that he occasionally spoke with Mr. Schuller, senior pastor of the Crystal Cathedral in Garden Grove, Calif.

Mr. Clinton said he also spoke with the Rev. Leo J. O'Donovan, a Jesuit priest and the president of Georgetown University, from which Mr. Clinton graduated in 1968. Their contact, Mr. Clinton said, focuses "almost exclusively" on policy issues.

The sermons Mr. Clinton hears



Jim Wilson/The New York Times

A clerical circle helps President Clinton 'stay centered.'

most often these days are preached by the Rev. J. Philip Wogaman, pastor of Foundry United Methodist Church in Washington, which the President and his wife frequently attend.

Despite the attention that Mr. Schuller has drawn since the State of the Union speech, most of the clergy members close to Mr. Clinton have kept a lower profile.

Mr. MacDonald, 57, said he had never publicly discussed his association with Mr. Clinton and doubted that many in his congregation knew about it. He and his wife, Gail, he said, "have only talked about this to our closest friends."

Although Father O'Donovan could not be reached for comment, the other clergy members or their spokesmen described their conversations with Mr. Clinton as centering on prayer, Bible reading and discussion of personal spiritual growth.

Mr. Campolo, 62, a minister with the American Baptist Churches in the U.S.A., said: "I don't think I've met him where we both didn't pray. So it's not like the Old Testament



Arkansas Democrat-Gazette

President Clinton regularly talks or corresponds with several members of the clergy, including the Rev. Rex Horne, above left, who was his pastor when he



White House Photo, 1990

was Governor of Arkansas; the Rev. Bill Hybels of Illinois, above right, and the Rev. Robert H. Schuller of the Crystal Cathedral in California.

king who says, 'Come in and pray for me,' to the high priest."

Mr. Schuller, 70, said he had told the President about "possibility thinking," his conviction that a positive outlook leads a person to productive results. "I think he's turned on by that," Mr. Schuller said.

Mr. Clinton, who is 50, said he saw "practical, positive consequences" in these relationships.

Recalling times when he was "low in the polls and taking a great public beating," he said, "It was very interesting what these people wrote to me, what they said to me, and how they helped me get through it and kind of keep not just my public composure, but to be more centered and to be able to enjoy each day of life and of this job, no matter how bad it seems to be at the moment."

Mr. Clinton said the clergy members had also helped to keep him from becoming "overinflated" by the Presidency's power. By some accounts, their conversations have been blunt and searching, although the clergy members declined to go into detail.

Mr. MacDonald said: "I've been in a small group with two or three guys where some pretty candid things were said. He's accepted rebuke. He invites blunt talk."

Still, proximity to President Clinton can have a public cost. Mr. Horne, who is a theological conservative, was confronted by anti-Clinton pickets outside his church every Sunday for four months in 1993. After this year's State of the Union speech, some admirers of Mr. Schuller called the Crystal Cathedral to complain

Mr. Schuller has said in interviews that he is nonpartisan and that he has met with several previous Presidents.

Mr. Schuller said he initiated contact with Mr. Clinton by phoning the White House on Christmas Eve 1994, when Mr. Clinton was in the political doldrums after the election of Republican majorities in Congress. He left a message for the President, saying he was praying for him.

Referring to his denomination, the Reformed Church in America, which traces its history to 16th-century Dutch Calvinists, Mr. Schuller said, "We're taught in that tradition to always pray for the President and those in government, whether you agree with them or not."

Mr. Clinton immediately called back to thank Mr. Schuller and invite him to visit the White House. Since then, they have spoken on the phone and exchanged letters.

Mr. Schuller said he had once urged Mr. Clinton to support a balanced budget amendment, saying that he worried about how much the Government spent on interest payments on the Federal debt. The President, Mr. Schuller said, "listened strongly, but he was noncommittal." Mr. Clinton has since stated that he opposes an amendment, arguing instead for balancing the budget by 2002.

Mr. Horne, 43, said that as Mr. Clinton's pastor, he promised after the 1992 election that Immanuel Baptist's congregation would pray for the new President weekly. On Inauguration Day 1993, he asked the Clintons whether there was anything more he could do. "Hillary immedi-

ately said, 'You can call the President weekly,'" Mr. Horne said.

Since then, the two men have spoken every Saturday evening that Mr. Clinton has been in Washington, talking for about 15 minutes.

Mr. Horne declined to discuss the spiritual side of their conversations, but he has let Mr. Clinton know his feelings about some public issues.

"Every once in a while, I think there's something that's worth raising with the President," he said, "but I'm generally really cautious with that."

He said that he had expressed his concern about persecution of Christian minorities abroad and that he had told Mr. Clinton that he favored the bill that would have banned the late-term abortion procedure.

"Of course, we disagree on the abortion issue," Mr. Horne said. "You know, he understands — and we talk about that — that we may not see eye to eye on that."

In January 1993 in Little Rock, Mr. Horne arranged a luncheon for Mr. Clinton, inviting about a dozen clergy members, including Mr. Hybels, 45. Mr. Hybels and Mr. Clinton hit it off. Mr. Hybels was not available for comment, but the Rev. Lee Strobel, another Willow Creek minister, said Mr. Hybels met monthly with the President, "usually in the Oval Office," for an hour or more. "They pray together," Mr. Strobel said.

But sometimes the discussion has turned to public policy.

"I know they talk about abortion," Mr. Strobel said, adding that he had received a request from Mr. Clinton, relayed through Mr. Hybels, for his thoughts on the issue of late-term abortion.

Mr. Strobel, who holds a master's degree from Yale University Law School, composed a six-page memorandum giving moral and legal grounds for Mr. Clinton to sign the ban. In it he "also expressed Bill Hybels's sentiments" against the procedure, Mr. Strobel said, adding that he was "very disappointed" when Mr. Clinton vetoed the bill.

Mr. Campolo met Mr. Clinton in October 1993 when he and several other clergy members were invited to the White House to discuss how government and religious groups could help people in inner cities.

Mr. Campolo, who heads an evangelical organization that assists urban youths, using college-age volunteers, said that since then he had met with Mr. Clinton once a month, usually for an hour or two. They have prayed for God to guide Mr. Clinton's decisions. Mr. Campolo said he had told the President that he would be held responsible by God "for the condition of the poor."

Reflecting on his relationship with the clergy members, Mr. Clinton said: "In their various ways, I think they think they're ministering to me. They're trying to help me deal with the life of the Presidency and the life of the country at the same time."

The President, Facing Isaiah's Challenge

By Robert H. Schuller

NOW that the report of Kenneth Starr, the independent counsel, has been delivered to Congress, the big question is, What does the future hold for President Clinton? Will he finish his second term?

To shed light on that, let's go back to the beginning of this term. During a Saturday morning breakfast before the inauguration, I gave the President a Bible verse. He eagerly accepted it, and I could tell he was deeply and profoundly moved. The verse was from Isaiah 58:12: "You shall be called the repairer of the breach, the restorer of paths to dwell in."

Looking to repair a breach of his own making.

The President used that verse as he put his hand on the Bible and took his oath of office on Capitol Hill, and he referred to it again at a prayer breakfast in Washington yesterday. The President has been drawn to this verse, despite failing to live up to its message.

Now, nearly two years into his second term, we find our country deeply divided by a breach for which President Clinton himself, by his own admission, is responsible. It is not a breach between Democrats and Republicans, conservatives and liberals, but a breach between those committed to high and honorable morality and those who live on a sliding scale of immorality or amorality. The breach is evident in his own family and his own marriage.

I would like to call upon the President to take a fresh look at the verse

Robert H. Schuller, senior pastor of the Crystal Cathedral, is host of the "Hour of Power," a syndicated weekly television program.

in Isaiah and do everything he can to seriously and honestly live up to it. This is a challenge he has never faced up to before. I pray that he is up to it, because it is the most important decision of his entire Presidency.

How will the President react and respond to the unfolding scandal

now that Mr. Starr's report has been delivered? More damage control? More retrenching? More digging in, holding on, firing back, summoning the tears, in an effort to win back the support of enough people to keep himself in office? Will such actions repair the breach?

The question remains: Should Mr.

Clinton remain in office? Fight it through? Wait for the vote to be taken in the Senate on impeachment? Might one vote from one senator prevent the two-thirds vote needed to remove him from office? In such an instance, the President would win, but would it be a noble and honorable victory, or would it be a Pyrrhic victory? Would it help heal the breach in our country, or would it make it deeper, bloodier?

I was most encouraged when the President stated at the prayer breakfast yesterday his willingness to seek wise counsel and professional help as he asks for our forgiveness. His determination to repair the breach that he has caused is likewise most heartening.

I pray that he remains true to his word, however painful and costly it may be for him to do so. I also ask the nation to pray for him. The President must make some hard decisions. These decisions will be painful. But even painful decisions are relatively easy to make if we know the right questions to ask.

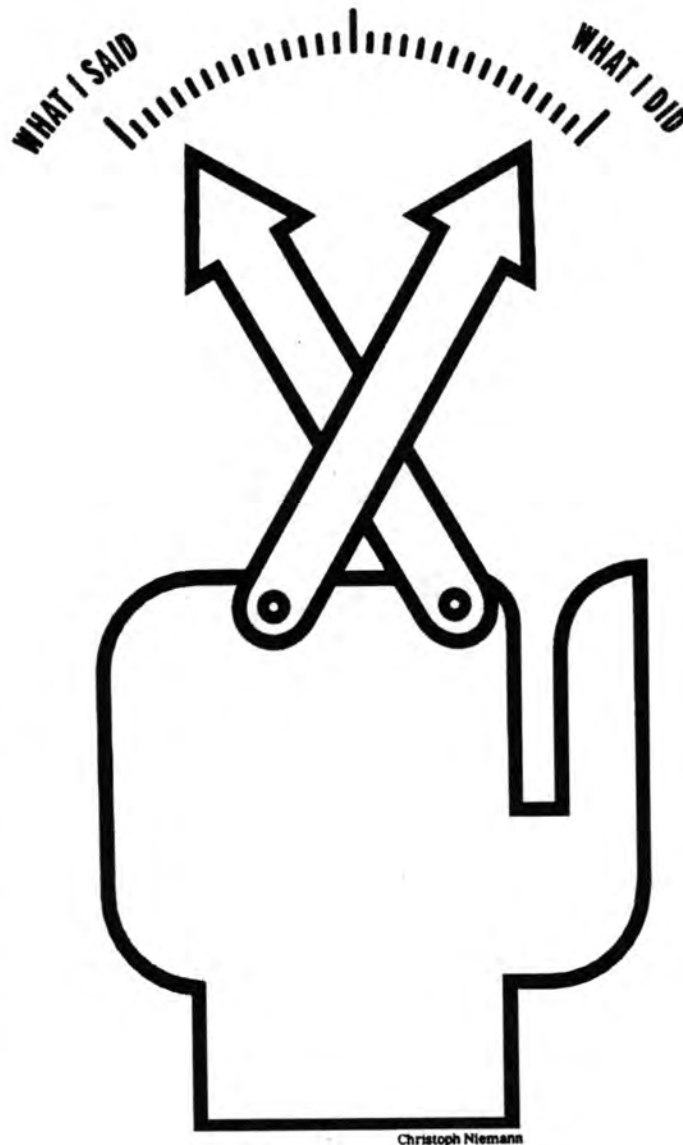
The questions I think the President needs to ask himself are these:

1. Which course of action will be in the best interest of my family and my country?
2. Which course of action will begin to close the breach that I have caused by my behavior?
3. Which course of action will restore honor and dignity to me and to all others who have been hurt?

President Clinton must realize that today's decisions are tomorrow's realities. This means we should dedicate our lives to tomorrow, for we all have a responsibility to make tomorrow better than today. Today, we each have mountains to climb and crosses to bear, but none of us can do it alone. We need the love and support of family members and friends and, above all, a strong relationship with God.

The world is facing dangerous times, financially, politically, physically, spiritually and morally. The United States needs to be at its strongest now, more than ever. This country and the world demand honest, moral and humble leadership immediately. We can go no longer without it.

The nation awaits the President's answer. □



Christoph Niemann

Los Angeles Times

FRIDAY, FEBRUARY 14, 1997

PERSPECTIVE ON RELIGION

Pastoral Outreach Knows No Politics



The president has opened his heart to the word of God; who would deny him that comfort and counsel?

By ROBERT H. SCHULLER

It is sad that the rift caused by political partisanship in this country has carved deep wounds in the souls of so many Americans. In a world in which we all have missed the mark at one time or another, certainly no political party, candidate or partisan aim is free of flaws. But in a nation that holds in its creed oneness under God, those we have chosen to lead must be held close to the word of the Creator, though sinners we all are.

Some have criticized my public appearance with President Clinton because of his alleged moral and ethical infractions. A murmur of "How could a man of God cavort with such an unsavory character?" seems to permeate the hearts of a segment of the American public. But let us all remember, Jesus Christ made himself available to all in need, and not for their outward piety. He sought out those who lurked in the shadows of society, and above all he loved them for the potential of goodness that waited to be awakened in their souls.

Because I myself am imperfect and because I have dedicated my life to resurrecting myself and others, I feel that anyone who comes seeking truth and guidance that only God can give is deserving of my respectful attention. If someone comes to me and asks, "Will you help me find spiritual direction?" I'm compelled to help that person as best I can.

Every Sunday our ministry reaches multiplied millions of people around the world, all of whom are guilty of falling short of what God has planned for their lives. Is it cause for controversy that we should minister to one more?

With God it does not matter whence a person came; the only thing God cares

about is where we are going from now on. The past is not the present. The future holds unlimited possibilities for those who will accept divine guidance and grace.

There are many who are hurting and are in need of help in our country today. Could we deny any of them if they came seeking counsel? The point is that I have counseled presidents of both political parties. Each and every day I receive letters and give help to people who may never reach the pinnacles of government or have fame and fortune, yet they are in spiritual need. Our president, who has been elected to lead us into the new millennium, needs spiritual guidance like all of us. Is it not in the best interest of our country that he receive the word of God?

Over the last four years our world has changed in many significant ways. Numerous nations have not only experienced external threats, but have been torn apart by internal struggle as well. In Israel, the birthplace of Christ, a bitter feud erupted in the assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, a man with whom many had ideological differences, but who was undeniably working to achieve peace. I see a parallel situation developing in this country; bitter ideological differences are also threatening to tear our country asunder.

As a people with strong traditions of working for what is right, we must not allow ego, power or prestige to cloud our focus. The trappings of prominent elected offices do not shield the occupants from the challenges, temptations and failures of daily life. In fact, public figures are often more susceptible because they are isolated. There are times when even our leaders must be nourished. We should encourage the president in his spiritual quest.

For all Christians and people of faith in America, the occasion of our president's public pronouncement of spiritual commitment should be a time for celebration rather than alarm. For those who truly care about spreading

the word of God and his commandments, the appearance of the president of the United States at the doors of the church should bring joy to our hearts.

My relationship with the president is fully consistent with my role as a pastor: to comfort, shepherd and pray. I am not here to judge President Clinton or anyone else; only God can do that. All we can and should do is listen to him and encourage him in his search for spiritual guidance.

Having preached the word of God for almost half a century, I certainly have seen human souls transformed. I have faith in the power of God to look into the hearts of men and women and see goodness. I know that he can inspire goodness to be revealed and received. I believe that sinners can become saints. Thus it is with faith and hope that I and my staff will continue to counsel and encourage those who come to us to improve themselves.

Already President Clinton has shown signs that he's willing to repair the breaches both within his personal life and among the citizens of our country. At the National Prayer Breakfast, the president bravely acknowledged his own shortcomings, including at times being hypocritical, self-righteous and hard-hearted. That says something about his character, that he has the courage to vulnerably look within himself and find room for improvement. By looking to the Bible and seeking spiritual guidance, he is taking steps to reconcile our differences. The least we can do is to vigilantly pray not only for our presidents but for all of us who seek the truth. Let us all be "repairers of the breach and restorers of paths to dwell in" (Isaiah 58:12).

The Rev. Robert H. Schuller is pastor of the Crystal Cathedral in Garden Grove. His weekly television program, "Hour of Power," is seen in 184 countries.



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

1/27

Dear Dr. Schuller -

Thank you for your letter.

It is true that I missed the
venue you gave me, and the story of your
gift with the Spokes and Sam Warner and
Ford on the way to the inauguration.

It is true that Hilkey had the
Bible open to $\$58.12$.

I am sure the spirit of the
passage has helped me in countless
ways and may have helped me to see
that I should give the Medal of Freedom
to Mr. Cole.

For all this and more I am in
your debt.

Feb. 3 is the day before the
State of the Union but I will make
home time to see you if you can
come.

Sincerely

John C. Johnson

PS - Please give my regards
to our friend J.B. Fugate, a
remarkable man.

THE WHITE HOUSE

5/6/99

Dear Rep. Schuler —

When I saw this article,
& thought of you.

If Congress will adopt my
Social Security plan, will pay the
debt down to its lowest level since
before World War I by 2015, and
we can be debt free by 2018!

When you first mentioned
this to me, I didn't think it could
be done, as events at home and
abroad unfolded, & became a
"possibility thinker" on this issue!
& hope you're well.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

National Debt Will Be Cut by Record Amount

From Reuters

WASHINGTON—A booming economy that is flooding government coffers with tax revenues will permit the U.S. Treasury to pay down the national debt by a record amount during the current quarter, the agency reported Monday.

The Treasury said it will reduce government indebtedness during the April-June second quarter by \$116 billion—surpassing the previous record pay-down of \$97.9 billion made during the second quarter last year.

The second quarter includes the April 15 deadline for filing individual income tax returns from the prior year, so it typically yields a flood of money from last-minute taxpayers.

In addition, the agency predicted another pay-down during the third quarter of about \$10 billion.

Although the quarterly pay-downs are significant, they represent a small inroad into reducing accumulated government debts that total about \$5.5 trillion.

Still, the longer term trend of the government's debt is downward. Congress has adopted a budget plan that foresees reducing the government's debt by \$1.8 trillion between 2000 and 2009.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

6/14
20 RHS
BP, MJ

June 9, 1999

Dr. Robert H. Schuller
12141 Lewis Street
Garden Grove, California 92840

Dear Bob:

Thanks for your wise letter and for sharing concerns about Social Security and the national debt. You've raised some interesting questions, and I'll be thinking about how we might best address them. As you know, I care deeply about this issue and am pleased with the progress my Administration has made.

I'm glad you took the time to write.

Sincerely,

Bill Clinton

2788 Middlecoff Place
Falls Church, Virginia
February 12, 1999

Betty
I just found this
letter - can you see
if he still wants to see them
I'll bring the books
to you I'll sign them
BAC

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton

During the past five years you have become a very popular and important part of Foundry United Methodist Church.

As you may know our church has extensive archives going back to 1814 and containing items pertinent to Presidents James Madison, Andrew Jackson, John Q. Adams, James Polk, Abraham Lincoln, Andrew Johnson, Rutherford B. Hayes, William McKinley, Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman.

On behalf of the church archivist, I would appreciate it if both of you would sign a copy of Dr. Wogaman's latest book -- From the Eye of the Storm. As you know Foundry has shared this storm with you. We tried to show our support and love of BOTH of you as much as we were able. Thank God that the Senate today has concluded the public part, I pray that God will also aid you both in resolving the private part. We all need love, forgiveness and the grace to forgive.

If you care to write any comments to Foundry in the book I am sure future church historians would treasure your remarks.

If you are willing, please have someone call me at (703) 698-1498 and I can send the book to you, or we could meet briefly after a church service.

And if it is not too presumptuous would you also sign my copy of Dr. Wogaman's book?

Please forgive the rough letter - I just got a new computer and this is the first document I have tried to type and print - eventually I'll learn where all the bells and whistles are located.

Sincerely yours,

Richard Wegner
Richard Wegner

TO BURKHARDT
FUL REPLY;

AP BOOKS

BY BC/HRC;

Dispatch w/
all 4 books +
letter to

Wegner @ 6-2200

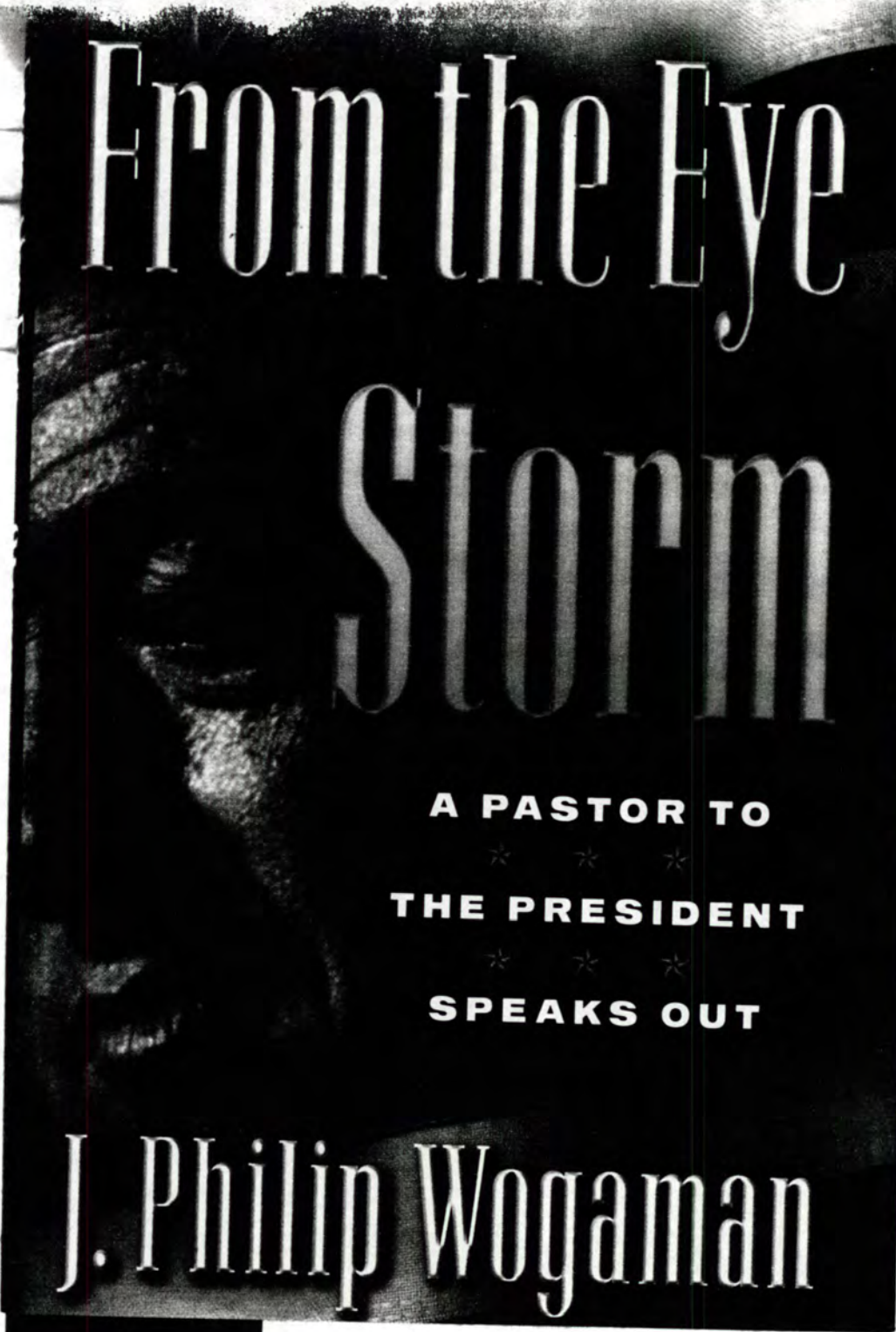
6/2/00

Returned call -
will send books

6.12.00

called + left
message.

B



From the Eye of the Storm

A PASTOR TO
★ ★ ★
THE PRESIDENT
★ ★ ★
SPEAKS OUT

J. Philip Wogaman

From the Eye OF THE Storm

To Richard Wagner
with best wishes

Paul Krutzen

From the Eye OF THE Storm

To Forevery Church
With appreciation
for taking my family
into your family
Bill Clinton
6/18/00

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Between
HOPE *and*
HISTORY

MEETING

AMERICA'S

CHALLENGES

FOR THE

21ST CENTURY

President
BILL CLINTON

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IT TAKES
— A —
VILLAGE

And Other Lessons



Children Teach Us

HILLARY
— RODHAM —
CLINTON

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John Brown

* The Current U.S. Tax Treaty with Japan Is Unsatisfactory.

Background:

The U.S.-Japan Income Tax Treaty has been in force without amendment since 1971 and is antiquated compared to current U.S. Treaties. The Treaty was negotiated in the 1960s when Japan considered itself a developing country needing trade protection. Clearly such protectionist tax policy is no longer appropriate.

The U.S. Government has negotiated or updated more than 28 tax treaties and protocols with trading partners in the past eight years. Japan is a notable exception to this group, which includes France, Germany, Canada, the U.K. and Italy. The United States does less trade with each of these countries than with Japan.

copied
Sperling
Podesta

Currently the U.S. and Japan have not commenced a formal renegotiation of the Treaty, although informal dialogue is occurring between the tax officials of MoF and Treasury. Secretary Summers has raised the issue several times with Minister Miyazawa – getting an approving nod, but no action. Recent meetings at the working level seem to have produced “new momentum,” according to Stu Eizenstat. There is no reason that a Japanese commitment to begin renegotiation of the tax treaty cannot be a “deliverable” for you at the upcoming bilateral.

American Interest:

Support for renegotiating the Tax Treaty has been expressed by every major American company that is doing business in Japan. There is bi-partisan support for renegotiation in the Congress. That has been expressed by letters from a majority of the members of the Ways and Means Committee and Senate Finance Committee to Secretary Summers.

The U.S.-Japan Business Council will meet in Tokyo July 9-11 and will exert its influence to persuade the GOJ to begin negotiations. U. S. companies are working with their Japanese counterparts to bring pressure on the GOJ. It is a major effort, reflecting the level of support that American (and Japanese) business feels.

Japanese Interest:

A recent survey by the Keidanren indicates that 60% of Japanese corporations doing business in the United States have concerns about tax issues and would like to see renegotiation as a part of a broad review of U.S.– Japan tax questions. (That probably came as a surprise to the MoF officials.)

MoF has expressed concerns that a change in the withholding structure would cause a revenue loss of more than \$1Billion in a time of tight budgets. Withholding rates changes could be phased in over time and revenues from investments that could be enhanced by the changes would likely offset the losses

Substantive Reasons for A New Treaty:

The relatively high withholding tax rate discourages private corporate investment into both countries.

1. The high Japanese corporate rate plus the 10% withholding tax is like a tariff which causes a barrier to new U.S. investment in Japan.
2. This barrier unfavorably affects the trade deficit with Japan.
3. The level of investment into Japan directly impacts Japan's financial health.
4. The Competent Authority mechanism for resolving disputes between the two governments is not working well and should be modified to allow arbitration or mediation.
5. Portions of the high withholding taxes in Japan are taken as credits for U.S. tax purposes, reducing revenues of the U.S. Treasury.

Conclusion:

Of the several items that will be on the agenda in Tokyo, a commitment to renegotiate the U.S.-Japan Tax Treaty is likely to be least politically difficult issue for the GOJ to deliver. It is a procedural issue, not substantive. It has broad support in the Japanese business community. There is essentially no constituent opposition to it. The Japanese Prime Minister can deliver.

6-22-00

Cous
Fy
Tant Howard may be
BC
Dut
Ascalan
Cos 973-2650

6/22

JP

I think I already sent
you a note on this but
we need to do 1 or 2

Medal of Freedom ceremony
and a big Citizen Medal
ceremony —

Copied
Podesta
Beckhardt
Log

NOT

- Tim Burke, GOA
- Marion Williams
- Jesse (prosecution?)
- Wes Clark — would like
to do soon —
- Sten Wiebe?
- Ellen Guggenheim?
- David Hacking? Some already?

BK

We need to help on 1, 2, 3
border of Kohn on 4
I think the Commission
is a good idea

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

THE PRESIDENT
6-26-00
00 MAY 24 AM 10:56

May 24, 2000

RECOMMENDED PHONE CALL

TO:

Governor Jane Dee Hull (R-AZ)

O: 602-542-1317

H: 602-971-8468

RECOMMENDED BY:

Mickey Ibarra, (6-7060)

H: 301-951-3347

PURPOSE:

You indicated your desire to return Governor Hull's call this week.

BACKGROUND:

On Thursday, May 18, the Governor wrote you regarding illegal border crossing concerns between Arizona and Mexico. She also called late in the evening requesting to talk with you. IGA referred this matter to Deputy Attorney General Eric Holder at the Justice Department for guidance following a conversation with her staff. Eric spoke to the Governor on Friday, May 19, and again yesterday regarding her concerns and our Administration's response. He reports his conversation was positive and the Governor expressed her appreciation.

In addition, Attorney General Reno and Eric met with Senator Kyl today to discuss this matter. U.S. Attorney for Arizona, Jose Rivera, has stressed the need for complete intergovernmental cooperation to diffuse the border conflict. Additional Justice Department background information and Governor Hull's letter is attached.

TALKING POINTS:

- Governor Hull, I understand you tried to reach me last week regarding border concerns and that you have heard from Eric Holder and the Justice Department.
- I have also received your letter on this subject and share your concern about recent incidents along the Arizona-Mexico border.

Copied
Ibarra
Podesta

① Also needs more notes
agents on Border + Management
② EPA stopped a fence
want to build
③ EPA should help w/ bad
pollution on San Pedro River
④ Also work w/ Rep Kohn
on streamlining workers
permits process, including
more than farm workers.
Don Council to study
border

- We are committed to enforcing the rule of law along the border. This includes U.S. immigration laws.
- We are working to address the root cause of the problem - the increasing incidence of illegal immigration and smuggling through this area. INS and Border Patrol are identifying additional resources (agents and technology) to better patrol the border.
- We will continue to work with state and local officials to uphold the rule of law along the Arizona border and make the border community safer. I encourage you to work with USA Rivera and Eric Holder.
- I also want to thank you for your public support of China/PNTR.

JANE DEE HULL
GOVERNOR
STATE OF ARIZONA

May 18, 2000

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

More than a year ago I was in Washington to meet with your top border officials, including Deputy Attorney General Eric Holder, regarding the volatile situation on the Arizona border with Mexico. At that time, officials of the Justice Department and its agencies with border authority assured me that they understood the problem and had a strategy to address the problems caused by extraordinary increases in illegal immigration.

Unfortunately, the problem has only increased in severity without adequate resources to implement that strategy, and the potential of tragedy involving harm to lives and property in Cochise County is increasing. The dangers that exist in that area are a concern of public officials on both sides of the border, and merit your attention and assistance.

I have been gratified by the support the Congress has directed to Arizona in the form of substantial increases in the number of border agents authorized and funded. Likewise, I have every confidence in the quality and commitment of the Border Patrol officials assigned to the Tucson sector of the U.S. border. The level of cooperation between local, state and federal law enforcement has been excellent, and each responsible agency was in my office this week renewing their commitment to work together to address the threats to people and property all along the border.

Clearly the problem is not a lack of resources in Washington, and it is not in the implementation of a strategy in Arizona. The problem that is crippling Southeastern Arizona is the result of a failure to deliver those resources from Washington to the Border Patrol officials on the ground in my state.

When an identical problem threatened our national borders in California and Texas, resources were directed to effectively stem the flow of illegal immigrants. I

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
May 18, 2000
Page Two

respectfully request that you treat the concerns of Arizona's citizens with the same commitment to resolve the problem.

In closing, I must mention the latest troubling impact of this almost unimpeded stream of illegal immigration: the degradation of the environment in Southern Arizona. As Interior Secretary Babbitt has repeatedly note, the San Pedro River is considered one of the most remarkable riparian areas in the Southwest United States. However, the unrelenting flow of foot traffic through the riparian areas of Cochise County is threatening the fragile environmental treasures of this region. This is just the latest, and potentially most irreversible, harm being visited on the State of Arizona.

Again, for the protection of the people, the property and the environment of my state, I request that you provide Arizona the resources necessary to protect our nation's border.

Sincerely,



JANE DEE HULL
Governor

Background and Talking Points for Call to Governor Jane D. Hull

Background

Rancher Activity

The efforts of the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and Border Patrol along the U.S./Mexico border have resulted in reduced incidences of illegal migration along both the Texas and California border. This success has led to increased illegal migration traffic along the Arizona/Mexico border. While attempts have been made to bolster the enforcement of this area, property owners along the border have become more vocal and public in their displeasure with what they perceive to be a failed border policy. Since April 1999, there have been approximately 18 incidents along the Arizona and Texas border in which private citizens have detained Mexican immigrants that were discovered on their property. Most incidents involve the migrants being turned directly over to the U.S. Border Patrol; however, private citizens do use guns to intimidate the migrants. Local prosecutors along the border have been reluctant to file charges against ranchers for possible criminal activity, in part due to state laws favorable to property owners, and in part due to concern for political fall-out on the local level.

Administration Response

The Department of Justice has expressed its concern regarding the volatile nature of the ranchers' activities. The Attorney General and the Deputy Attorney General have both told Mexican officials that the ranchers have legitimate concerns. The Department of Justice has asked the Mexican government to do its part to prevent its citizens from crossing illegally into the U.S., especially in areas known to be particularly dangerous for a variety of geographic and other reasons, and the INS is taking steps to patrol the border more aggressively. The Department's primary concern is that people's rights are being protected and nobody is hurt.

Deputy Attorney General Holder and U.S. Attorney (USA) for the District of Arizona Jose Rivera have each met with Governor Hull, and state and local officials, on several occasions. Department of Justice officials have underscored to the Governor that while federal jurisdiction exists for immigration and drug trafficking violations, activity taken by ranchers on their own property against illegal migrants is a matter of state and local jurisdiction.

Deputy Attorney General Holder spoke with Governor Hull last Friday, and is planning on talking to her again this week. In addition, Attorney General Reno and Deputy Attorney General Holder met with Sen. Kyl yesterday to discuss this matter. Sen. Kyl's staff thought the meeting went very well, the Senator said positive things to the TV crew that was outside the meeting, and is calling others in the Arizona press to say positive things. He has requested specific budget/appropriations information which we are working on providing for him.

In addition, USA Rivera has stressed the need for complete cooperation to diffuse the border conflict. In the past, USA Rivera has made offers to both state and local prosecutors that resources from his office, including Assistant U.S. Attorneys, could be used to assist the state and local prosecutors in their efforts to enforce the rule of law in the region. The reaction on the

local level has been tepid for reasons mentioned previously. In addition, Governor Hull has rebuffed suggestions that she call out the National Guard to help address the border problem.

Finally, Secretary of State Albright met with Mexican Foreign Minister Rosario Green in Washington, D.C. last week. Secretary Albright was quoted as saying, "We want to have an investigation and prosecution of those responsible for what has been happening in Arizona. Vigilante justice is unacceptable." (Dallas Morning News, 5/19/2000). This statement is potentially problematic because while the federal government has complete jurisdiction over the immigration issues along the U.S./Mexico border, it has no jurisdiction over the activity of the ranchers on their private property. Legal research conducted by the Department of Justice has identified no federal statute that could be used to prosecute these ranchers for action taken on their property.

Border Patrol/Immigration and Naturalization Service

The Border Patrol and INS are working to respond to the needs and concerns of U.S. citizens and local law enforcement officials along the Arizona/Mexico border:

- The Border Patrol has strengthened ranch patrol units in Douglas, AZ to help stop the flow of illegal immigration;
- INS is in the process of deploying additional personnel, equipment and technology to the area;
- Since mid-1999, INS has increased the number of agents along the Arizona/Mexico border by 122 permanent agents and 28 temporary agents;
- INS is committed to keeping the temporary Border Patrol agents in Arizona indefinitely, and at least through December 2000;
- INS intends to increase the total number of new Border Patrol agents along the Arizona/Mexico border between now and December 2000 by over 200; and
- The INS has created a 24-hour toll-free hotline for area residents to call and report migrant traffic and immigration-related problems. The creation of this phone line was announced throughout southern Arizona through a series of town hall meetings and the local press.

Chartered
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901-15th Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20005-2301
(202) 371-8000
Telex: 1561792 VERLIP UT
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00 JUN 22 PM5:15

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(INCLUDING COVER PAGE)

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SPACE FOR ADDITIONAL MESSAGE

Dear Betty:

Per our conversation today, attached please find the draft remarks for the President with regard to Mr. Bahadori Amir's event being held on July 15.

Please let me know if you need any further information.

With best regards,

Mary Kremp
Assistant to Senator George J. Mitchell

6-22-00

To Speedwriting?
Yes *No* *—*

cc: leg aff.

Draft Remarks By The President

I'm pleased to join his many friends in honoring Amir for a quarter century of leadership in design and fashion. Amir has lived the American dream. He immigrated to the United States in 1970 with a burning desire to become a leading designer. While retaining pride in his Persian heritage, he embraced America with a passion. It is that passion and pride, along with an uncompromising integrity, that characterizes his work. His designs are worn by Monarchs, Heads of State, corporate tycoons, movie stars, even Presidents. But no matter how busy he's been, Amir has always found time to give back to the society in which he's prospered. In 1984 he established a community service award, recognizing the silent heroes of his community. It's been his way of saying thank you to America. Tonight we say to Amir, thank you and God bless you.