
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

9/26/60

Spoke with Key C re POTUS
note to do "TY" to speaker. We
agreed that POTUS must have
meant Mr. Lott (see 2nd sentence
of H). Key was going to
get letter together and let
it through Wofford's office
to make sure he's ok w/
POTUS sending letter.

fm

9-22-00

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September 19, 2000

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

From: Harris Wofford *HW*
Subject: Reauthorization of National Service

② *Still R
Showered! talk to
Spencer about
this*

*Copied
Ricchetti
Padesta
Leg. Affairs.
for letter*

① *Acty
to Spencer* *>*
Good news on our front – your front. Look at the attached letter from 49 governors (all but Owens of Colorado) strongly urging reauthorization of the Corporation and AmeriCorps. Both Bushes signed.

Governor Racicot, our newest Corporation Board Member, drafted the letter and talked to many governors personally. He talked to Senator Lott last night. Lott said he would try to get the bill through the Senate by unanimous consent if Tom Daschle would work with him and deliver the Democrats. (I enclose Racicot's just-published Knight Ridder article too.)

Senator Daschle just told me he would do everything he could to help get it through, without extraneous amendments. Senator Kennedy tells me he will press hard and we will succeed in the Senate. Jeffords and staff are in strong support. As you know McCain is now a strong supporter, and in the House John Kasich is helping Chris Shays.

This afternoon your White House team convened a group of non-profit organization leaders supporting AmeriCorps (and supported by AmeriCorps), along with representatives of the governors' state National Service Commissions.

Karen Tramontano was excellent, as she has been throughout. She reported that reauthorization was high on your priorities and that the Congressional Leaders' staffs have been so informed.

We were also delighted to hear that John Podesta was or would be talking to Daschle to urge that this be a matter of common ground for which they would put aside other issues and help get this through. Shirley Sagawa presided and made very helpful pitches.

The House will be harder, but the pressures on Republicans not to be found in opposition to their presidential candidate and their governors should be strong.

Your role in persuading and putting on the pressure will, as you know, be crucial with Dennis Hastert especially – as your role has been the creative and driving force from the beginning.



AmeriCorps Works

Knight-Ridder Op-Ed

Marc Racicot

Governor of Montana

September 5, 2000

As a conservative governor from a western state, I had some doubts when AmeriCorps was launched in 1994. Would young people answer this call to service? What would they accomplish? Even worse, would AmeriCorps become a bureaucratic, expensive, Washington-run program?

Six years and 200,000 volunteers later, these questions have been answered. AmeriCorps works. It is cost-effective, and achieves results all Americans want – safer streets, better schools, and healthier children. At the same time, by teaching young people to serve their country, AmeriCorps is rekindling a sense of patriotism and civic duty that our country sorely needs.

I am not the only governor who thinks this way. This month, 46 Governors will send a letter urging Congress to extend AmeriCorps for five years. Republican and Democrat, liberal and conservative, America's Governors agree that AmeriCorps is, in actuality, a success and they want more of this force for good in the future.

Why is there such overwhelming support? One reason is AmeriCorps' hard-hitting results. Here in Montana, volunteers are battling forest fires, tutoring at-risk students, helping crime victims, and restoring parks and forests. Last year, they served more than 50,000 Montana children and families.

Nationally, the results are notably impressive: in five years members have tutored four million children, recruited 2.5 million volunteers, and helped build thousands of homes. This service is cost-effective. Independent studies have found that for every dollar invested, AmeriCorps returns \$1.66 or more in direct benefits.

AmeriCorps has been successful precisely because it is not a top-down Washington program. In fact, it is one of the most far-reaching experiments in local control government has ever supported. Most AmeriCorps grants are decided by states, and volunteers serve with nonprofit and faith-based groups including the Red Cross, Habitat for Humanity, and the YMCA. This double devolution of decision-making puts states in the driver's seat and helps nonprofits accomplish more and equips them to recruit additional volunteers.

September 19, 2000

The Honorable Trent Lott
Majority Leader
United States Senate
S-230, The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable Thomas A. Daschle
Minority Leader
United States Senate
S-221, The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20510

The Honorable J. Dennis Hastert
Speaker
U.S. House of Representatives
H-232, The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Richard A. Gephardt
Minority Leader
U.S. House of Representatives
H-204, The Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Senator Lott, Senator Daschle, Speaker Hastert, and Rep. Gephardt:

As Governors, we have long been involved in and concerned with volunteer efforts in our respective states. We have seen the progress of young people inspired by older students, the importance of trained hands helping after a disaster, and the pride of a senior sharing his or her time with a child in need of mentoring.

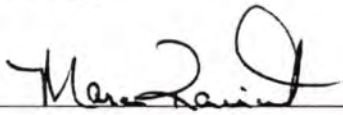
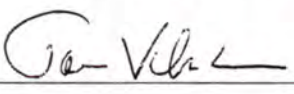
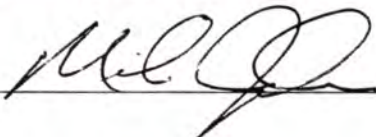
For these reasons and many more we write in support of reauthorizing and extending AmeriCorps and other national service and volunteer programs administered by the Corporation for National Service.

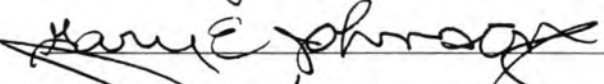
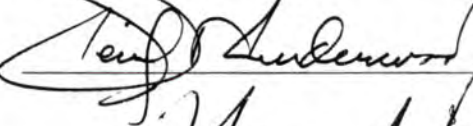
Governors have built an outstanding state-federal partnership in operating national service programs. Governor-appointed state commissions that direct financial resources and membership within states are successfully administering AmeriCorps.

As Governors, we recognize the value of national service as a tool in meeting important needs in our states. We have seen national service at work in our states. We do not want to lose this force for good in our communities, states, and country.

We fully support the National and Community Service Amendments Act of 2000 and strongly urge Congress to pass this legislation.

Sincerely,



Charles W. Tomlinson





Howard Dean

Paul E. Patton

Pat N. Henderson

Gray Davis

Deano Rosello

Frank O'Bannon

James Thompson

Rich Bennett

Don Inquest

Art T. White

Laila O'Neil

Tom Beige

Edmunds ND

Guy E. Patari

Jane de Lee

Benjamin J. Cayetano

Tommy Quinn

Chris

John G. Rowland

Jo Hodges

Tomie Mungore

James Jennings

Jim Hunt

Mike G. O

Thomas R. Lange

William F. Miller

Angelo Paul Cell

Bob Holt

Mike Hunklebee

John Engle

Jesse Ventura

Barry Barnes

John Burr

Deanne Shaker

Angus S. King, Jr.

George H. Ryan

Tony Locke

John A. Ruffolo

Phil Carnahan

Jonny Kandes

James S. Salmon

Don Degehlman

Bill Jones

Bob Bush

Donnie Linn

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 9/22/00

NOTE FOR: Taylor Branch

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

cc:

copied
Branch
Blumenthal
POCUS
personal file

INTERVIEW OF THE PRESIDENT
BY ESQUIRE MAGAZINE
Nassau Inn
Princeton, New Jersey
August 23, 2000

Handwritten notes and a large yellow 'X' mark in the top right corner.

Q I was going to ask you a couple questions. I don't know if you saw these -- a few of them in the briefing that you had. But I was going to start right with that first question: How has the presidency changed you and how do you think you've changed the presidency? Because, in some ways, there is a new archetype for this presidency, this office, and it's one you've created.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think doing the job has changed me for the better --

Q How so?

THE PRESIDENT: I think it has made me more knowledgeable, more able, probably a little more wise. I will leave the office more idealistic about America and it's possibilities than when I entered it. And because I labored from the first day I was in office, and even in the campaign, under a virtually unprecedented barrage of attack, both political and personal, it helped me to develop a certain discipline and a certain humility about -- that it made me sort of get up and go to work every day no matter what else was going on. And it was hard, it didn't come easily. There were days when I was angry and days when I gave myself a pity party. But I worked through it and it was, on occasion, almost surreal. But it also enabled me to learn all those old lessons, it's not what happens to you, it's how you react to it; no matter what people say to you, you can't define how you view the world without -- all those old lessons I really had to learn on a daily basis.

And so I think that in many, many ways that helped me. I also think it helped me personally to be a better person, to be constantly judged and condemned and torn apart, then to have to confess error and be publicly humiliated and all that -- it really helped me a lot, because I think that one of the greatest sins of character almost everybody is vulnerable to is pride. And we all tend to look at other people who do things we don't agree with or think are bad things and say, well, whatever is wrong with me, at least I'm not that. And I think sometimes we are too harsh on other people because it's like a crutch, we don't have to deal with whatever is going on in our lives. And I think it has really helped me to be less judgmental and less hypocritical. So I think in a funny way, even the bad parts of this, the experience, was quite good for me and I think it will make me a better person for the rest of my life.

Q You mentioned the word surreal. And for some, I mentioned this --

THE PRESIDENT: You can go back to how I changed the presidency --

Q Actually, let's go back --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, I think we'll have to wait and see. Whether I changed the presidency depends upon how other people conduct it. But I think that if you look at the campaigns that both Vice President Gore and Governor Bush are running, I think that we involved ordinary American citizens and -- something you know a lot about -- ordinary American heroes to a degree that was unprecedented. President Reagan used to have them in the box at the State of the Union address, but I had real people making policy points.

And I think the connection of what we do in Washington to how people live is closer than it has ever been, because of the way we conducted the business of government. I can give you just one example. Today, when I got off the airplane in New Jersey, there was a fellow waiting for me named Steve Sposato who -- with his two daughters and his new wife. When I met Steve Sposato in 1994, he had just lost his wife to that deranged guy with an assault weapons in a San Francisco high-rise -- do you remember that? The guy in the office building who just started shooting people? One of the people that was shot was Steve Sposato's wife.

And he was a businessman, he was a Republican who just wanted to do something so other people wouldn't lose their loved one. And he came to Washington and spoke for us, brought his little girl. He came back today to show me his little girl had grown up, six years later -- his new wife, his new baby, his mother. And he feels a connection now between his life experience and what happens in Washington. And I think that had always been done to some extent, it had been done to some extent before. But I think we have -- we've done that. I think that's one of the things that other Presidents will try to do -- more and more and more in a systematic, disciplined way, in a way we need to make it.

The White House, and in a larger sense, the nation's government matter to the American people. I think that in breaking the back of the Gingrich revolution and cutting through a lot of the meanness and antipathy toward the government, per se, that existed -- which I think also Oklahoma City had a lot to do with, breaking the back -- I think that it's much harder to, at least overtly, practice the politics of division than it was. The President is supposed to be a unifying force, not just in rhetoric, but in fact.

I think that there are a lot of practical things we changed. I believe that no future President will be able to have a White House that doesn't have a National Economic Council that coordinates all the various parts of the government to deal with economics. It's something that, unbelievably, had never really been done in a disciplined way before. We really had all of our economic players -- Treasury, Commerce, Trade and Small Business -- we worked together in a disciplined way.

I think that the presidency -- our presidency I think was as activist as any since Roosevelt and maybe Johnson, over a broader range of areas. And so I think that people will see the presidency as a place of enormous potential.

You know, when I became President and people were saying, well, the government is not so important anymore because the private sector is really driving the global economy, and, therefore, government will become increasingly less relevant. What I thought was that the government to matter to people had to be different than it was in the industrial era -- that it was less important, in terms of directly creating jobs, hiring people, making sort of command and control decisions for the economy, but that it was even more important for the government to be -- to create the conditions in which Americans can flourish in the global economy and give people the tools to make the most of their own lives.

And so I think we changed the nature of presidential activism, almost as a byproduct of trying to prepare America for a whole new way of living that the Information Age is bringing. It's not just the global economy, but the way people make a living, the way they relate to each other and the way we, as Americans, relate to the rest of the world. So I think we changed the nature of presidential activism.

And we proved, once again, that ideas have consequences and that it is possible, if you get a good team together and you don't worry too much about who gets the credit and everybody tries to work together, you can really get a lot done, even in an adverse political environment, even with the Congress of the other party. But you have to work at it every day in a very systematic way.

The other thing that I think bothered me about presidential politics is that too much of it had become image, positioning, how you are in the media, what happens in the 30 seconds on the evening news four times a week. And this may sound kind of old-fashioned, but to a large extent it really is a job like other jobs. It matters whether you work smart; it matters whether you work hard; it matters what you work on; and it matters whether you've got a good team.

People ask me all the time, well, how did you all keep going every day when all this stuff was going on -- not just the impeachment; before that, the Whitewater, the relentless other attacks, that kind of stuff. If you get up every day and you treat it like a job and you remember who you're working for, you can still get results. And I think that future Presidents will be able to look back on that, I hope take some heart and courage from it. And if they have a mission and they understand what they're doing and they understand that they're doing it for the American people, and all the intermediaries are just people that -- they're doing their role, but you've still got to keep doing the fundamental job -- I think and I hope that people will perceive the presidency as more effective and more impactful on their daily lives in a positive way for a long time to come, if the occupants of the office try to put together a good team that really works together.

Q In a way, is it fair to say that you took the presidency back from the two parties and gave it to the people?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, our party hadn't had it much for the last 30 years before I got it. But I did try to give it back to the people. And I tried to give people that weren't ideologically estranged from me, about whom I could do nothing, I couldn't help that, but the other two-thirds of the American people I tried to at least give them the feeling that whether they agreed or disagreed with any particular decision I made, that at least we were on their side, that we got up every day trying to do something that would help them to have a better life, and their kids to have a better future.

I did make a studied effort to change the way the American people felt about the government, to make it seem less distant, less alien, less tone-deaf. Depending on the issue and the year, I guess we succeeded in a greater or lesser degree. But I think on balance most folks thought I was pulling for them. And that's what I feel now when I go around and just work the crowds and speak.

Q And as a consequence, you're more popular now than when you came in and there's a sense that really, among some people, that you haven't finished, that there's more left to be done. Can you comment on that, your feelings about it? I mean, you're staring down the end here and it must be -- that must be surreal, to have been so --

THE PRESIDENT: Well, a little bit. One of the men I met today in the first line at the airport said, well, you just got 150 days left now. What I think I should do is just keep working until it's over. There has been a lot of commentary, even from some of our critics, saying what a good last year we're having, how much is getting done, both in the Congress and by executive

action, and the level of activism of the administration. But I never bought that idea that part of the inherent rhythm of the presidency was to wind down in your last two years. It seems to me that -- and, to be fair, the times demand a level of activism if you're conscientious. I mean, this is a very dynamic time and my goal is to leave this country in the best possible shape, with the largest number of options available to my successor, and to work until the last day to get that done.

And then what I have to figure out is how I can be an effective citizen, an effective force for the things I believe in when I get out of here, without getting in the way of the next President. Because the country can only have one President at a time and there are certain decisions and policies that have to be made by the President. And I entered the environment which was unprecedented, where the other party decided that from the moment I took my hand off the Bible, taking the oath of office, they would try to delegitimize me. And I don't want to do that because I don't think that's good for America. I don't think that's right.

I hope and I believe that Al Gore will win this election and we'll know when your interview comes out, I guess, it will be after the election -- we'll know. But even if someone that you dearly want to succeed you wins, that person won't be you and there will be different things, different nuances, different priorities. And I think it's very important that a former President -- I don't think you should check your convictions at the door or gag yourself for life, but I do think that the new President should have a real chance to get going, and then you should be at the service of your country if the President ever wants you to do anything.

But I also believe that there are things I can do when I leave here to continue to work for the causes that I have championed, to solve the problems that I've tried to reduce in the country and in the world that won't get in the way of the next President. I just have to work that through. I really haven't -- I've thought about it quite a lot, but I haven't reached any final conclusions and I don't think I should until I leave.

Q I know that Eisenhower went through a serious, real depression, LBJ did the same, when they left office, for whatever period of the time -- Eisenhower for a while. And LBJ, of course, in the end pulling his hair out. Like even just to see him, you could almost see that whatever life he had, had sort of left him when he left the office. He really had a few years left after it anyway. Does that scare you, that there is this precedent? Or you could go the other way and maybe go play golf for a couple decades -- be really happy.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, I have this recurring nightmare that for the first four or five months after I leave office I'll be lost every time I enter a room because nobody will be playing a song. I won't know where I am.

I think the answer to that is to find -- and it will be different for different Presidents, who are at different points in their lives. But if I stay healthy, I should have quite a number of years left. I'll be, I think, the youngest President to leave office since Theodore Roosevelt. And he lived another 11 years after he got out, because he had some health problems.

President Carter has now had 20 marvelously productive years. And I think if you look at him, that's a pretty good model. What you have to do is find out what you care about and try to apply yourself to it, and not live just with your memories. I think it's important that the President be kind of a source of living history and be willing to kind of revisit what happened in the term of his service -- and maybe even write a book or two about that.

But I think about today and tomorrow, and I expect I will until my last day on Earth. And I'll leave history to others. I might -- I'll probably write one book or maybe two. But I'm basically, to the people and the commentators and people that write about me, I might be just as good as dead the day I leave office. But that's not the way I look at my life. I did this. I'm profoundly honored and grateful that I had a chance to do it. I did the best I could and I think the country is better off.

But I now have to get up in the morning of January 21st and make a different life, and I intend to do that. And I hope it will be a good and useful life for me and for my wife and for my daughter and for the things that I care about. I'm actually looking forward to it. It's an interesting challenge and I hope I'll be up to it.

Q Janet Reno told Tom Jeneau another Esquire writer, that when she's done she's going to get in her pickup truck and drive across country. I was wondering if you still have your Mustang?

THE PRESIDENT: I do, actually. And I think they've fixed the steering on it. I parked it at the Winthrop Rockefeller Museum and Antique Automobiles. Our former Arkansas governor, Winthrop Rockefeller, had a wonderful collection of old automobiles, and I put it there. And I've only driven it once, at the Charlotte Speedway, at a Mustang reunion in '94, since I've been up here.

Q Is that the only time you've driven as President?

THE PRESIDENT: No, I drove one day at Camp David, when I was teaching my daughter to drive, inside a two-mile compound I drove a little bit. I'll probably have to get contacts if I want to drive again. I just use reading glasses now, but I'll probably have to improve my eyesight.

I loved to drive when I was a kid. I used to drive across the country all the time when I was young. I never tired of it. I love to get in the car and go by myself somewhere, just drive. So I identified with your road story. I always love that, just stop in strange places, talk to people.

And that's why -- it was one of the ways that I was effective as a politician in Arkansas, because it was a rural state with a lot of roads and a lot of people out there on those roads, in small clumps. That's the way I related to it. I even like it now sometimes when we drive, instead of fly, through little towns, and I can stop and do things. That's one of the things that prompted me to want to do those bus trips in '92 and in '96.

So I don't know. I wouldn't mind doing that if -- I kind of wanted to take a trip with my wife and daughter around the world, just travel for 30 or 40 days after I got out. But if Hillary wins the Senate race -- and I think she will -- then that's probably not a practical alternative. She needs to be getting ready to do her job.

Q I wanted to isolate a couple moments, one in particular. I watched last night the 1999 State of the Union and I gave an indication here that I think that speech is, actually if you break it down, it's a brilliant speech because you start in the surreality of the moment, you're subdued. As the speech goes on you pick up steam. At one point you direct your comments to the American people directly. But what you do is -- I don't know what happened, but the Republicans didn't understand that that State of the Union is great American theater. And you did. So when you pointed out that we need diversity and they didn't clap -- in this moment when they had maybe the opportunity to fill in the vacuum with leadership, they looked terrible. I mean, they lost the moment. And you seemed to pick up steam as you went along.

I'm wondering, though, just because I think it is kind of a great moment, what you were thinking before you got in there and how your approach to that speech physically went, how you -- leading up and then the speech itself and afterwards.

THE PRESIDENT: It got great ratings from the public and it was a big success. But I thought in the beginning it would be sort of like the talking dog -- you know, the guy can stand up and talk and if he doesn't fall all over himself and collapse, he gets an A for effort. But I wanted to do more than that.

I felt two things. First of all, I realized that I had to just purge myself of any thought of anger at them and of any concern about what they were going to do and of any personal feelings, whatever. Franklin Roosevelt once said that the President has to be America's greatest actor. That implies -- that may have a pejorative implication -- but that's not what he meant and that's not what I mean in this case.

But there are times when you're not permitted to have feelings because if people get you to have feelings, if your adversaries get you to have feelings about yourself and your circumstances, then you're beat before you start. And I basically sort of convinced myself, and I still believe, that most of what happened to me politically was the cost of doing business, at the end of a 20-year period of very increasingly negative, vitriolic politics, propagated mostly, but not entirely, by the far right and their alliance with the Republican Party -- which is not to say we were blameless -- we, the Democrats, I mean. But mostly they generated it, beginning really in the late '70s. The basic attempt to delegitimize and de-Americanize your opponent.

And so I just realized that the more I got caught up in all that stuff, even if I was right on the merits, the less able I would be to be President. And that if I gave every bit of physical, emotional, intellectual spiritual energy I had to my job, that the America people would sense that and they would know that, at least for me, it was still about them.

The Republicans were trying to precipitate this great constitutional crisis for political advantage. And the American people knew things were rocking along pretty well in our country and they didn't want their government to go away. And they certainly didn't deserve to have their President disappear or become diverted.

So when I went in there, my whole mind-set was, I'm going to stand up there and talk to America and talk to Congress about their jobs, what they owe America. And to be fair, I had a little bit of boost because all the surveys showed that over two-thirds of the people thought the impeachment was wrong. And we had just had a stunning election in 1998, the dimensions of which still have never been fully appreciated by the political writers. That is, in the election we lost no Senate seats and gained five House seats.

Just by normal historical terms, they should have won. And by the people that were up in the Senate, they should have won between four and six Senate seats, and they should have won 30 House seats. And they out-spent us \$100 million in the election. And we won five House seats. Why? Not because the Democrats just attacked the Republicans for impeachment, but because the Democrats said, here's our program. We're for a patients' bill of rights and 100,000 teachers and a new school construction program and paying down the debt. We had four things we ran on.

And all they care about is going after the President. But the main thing was we have a positive message for Americans. So the Republicans made the election about me; we made the election about the American people. And it's the first time since 1822 that a President's party had won seats in the House of Representatives in the 6th year of a presidency -- during the presidency of James Monroe, at which time there really was virtually no opposition party.

So when I went up there -- I don't want to take too much credit for being able to carry it off because I knew where the folks were. I knew where the American people were. I just kept telling myself every day, you have been given a precious responsibility; it is an opportunity; your country is in good shape, everything you're working for, everything you believe in -- from the economy, the crime policy, the welfare policy, the social policy, the administration -- they were working, they were moving the country in the right direction.

I felt very strongly about taking the right positions in the Balkans and Northern Ireland, which broke a lot of eggs when I started, and in the Middle East; and all these things I was trying to do around the world.

And I thought that I owed it to the American people to say, here's where we are and here's where I think we need to go and here are the specific things I'm going to do this year. And I'm going to do your business and I'm going to give the Congress a chance to do your business. That was my whole objective. And I'm very gratified that there was a positive response to it.

Q Watching the speech last night, what's interesting is Dick Armey increasingly looks like he's had about six or seven Big Macs and he has complete indigestion. I had a driver in Washington when I came down for the book two weeks ago, and he said he had driven Lindsey Graham to the State of the Union and drove him back afterwards. And he said that he got in the car and he said -- this was a quote -- I don't like that son of a bitch, but that speech went right through anyone who was sitting there listening to it, I mean, it went right into them. And he was just dumbfounded. That was the sort of account of it.

There's something about the way these people have -- some of your enemies have come after you and the way you have kind of struck them dumb. I don't know if you're aware of it, but I'm wondering if you are. And I'm wondering if by leaving the presidency you lose your leverage encountering them. A little bit of that is playing out sort of in the election, where the Republicans want to make this about you, but they can't really do it.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, they can't do it because they can't -- for two reasons. One is, unlike them, I have apologized to the American people for what I did wrong, and most Americans think I paid a pretty high price. Most people make a personal mistake, they're not bankrupt or publicly humiliated and strip-searched. But everybody pays a personal price and most Americans know that the family price is the highest price. So most people are not like politicians and pundits who only keep score in terms of whether you got hurt politically. Most people -- they got this, and they know that I didn't get out of this for free.

That's the first thing. The second thing is, most people know that what they did was not about morality or truth or the law, it was about politics and power and didn't have anything to do with them or their welfare; it had to do with the Republicans and their welfare. And the American people have a pretty good detector about that -- except for the ones that were ideologically predisposed in the first place. So they got that.

And it was never very complicated. The only way that I could have been defeated is if I had played their game. It's like I tell people when Joe Lieberman was picked by Al Gore and they say, oh, it's a big slap in the face to Clinton. I say, I don't consider it that. I agreed with what Joe Lieberman said. And I also agreed with what Joe Lieberman did when he fought against impeachment.

They never apologized to the country for impeachment, they never apologized for all the -- things they've done. So what they tried to do at their convention was to have it both ways. They tried to get the people to keep beating up on me for something that the American people had put behind them. But folks, I think, know that they haven't necessarily put their abuse of power behind them. And so they have to be very careful about how they handle this, because the American people, they say, look, that's over -- this is about him and his family, and that's behind us.

And they've spent, what, \$52 million on Whitewater and what have they admitted -- that there was nothing to Whitewater, nothing to the file controversy, nothing to the Travel Office controversy, nothing to my wife's file controversy. And not

only that, some people are beginning to know that they knew all that in 1996 and they just kept it going because they couldn't let it go.

There was nothing to the Alexis Herman thing, nothing to the Bruce Babbitt thing. Henry Cisneros pleaded to a misdemeanor, having nothing to do with anything he ever did in office. It was never, ever a question that he did anything wrong in his office. And basically, he just did that I think to save \$2 million. Mike Espy was acquitted by a jury.

So after all this time, and they spent over \$100 million on all these special prosecutors and congressional investigations, make it the whole story of the administration -- and they have yet to come up with one example of official misconduct in office -- not one. And there were billions of dollars in free media time spent trying to convince people of that. How in the world the American people ever saw through it, it's a real tribute to them, that they got it.

But I knew every time I gave a State of the Union address and every time I talked during those periods in a press conference that I couldn't win that argument; that the only way I could win was if the public knew that at least there was one person in Washington, D.C. that got up every day and thought about them and worked for them, and that I couldn't become an angry person or I couldn't become a vindictive person, I couldn't as long as I remembered that I had this precious opportunity and I was showing up for work every day.

And to be fair, I had a lot of help in that. I had a lot of people, including a number of religious leaders who weren't as judgmental as the press. Very interesting. And a lot of the leaders around the world -- Mandela was an enormous help to me during this whole period.

Q How so?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, because he thought it was a bum rap. I don't know if you saw the movie we showed at the convention, but that movie -- that was Mandela speaking the day before Congress gave him the Congressional Gold Medal. He insisted on coming a day ahead of time to bash the whole thing, in the White House. And he was talking about the U.N. giving me the standing ovation -- that's when I went there, in the middle of the impeachment.

And Mandela just kept telling me, he said -- I used to talk to him a lot about his life and how he avoided being angry. I thought about people like Mandela and what he'd suffered, or

King Hussein surviving 50 assassination attempts. This stuff, what I went through, was peanuts compared with what a lot of people do to pursue what they think is right in public service.

And Mandela said, you know, he said, they took a lot away from me in those 27 years -- my family life, seeing my children grow up, I was physically and mentally abused. He said, I realized that they could take it all except my mind and my heart; I decided not to give them away. He said, you shouldn't give them away, either. He said, you have total control over what you think about and what you feel every day. And it was like light bulbs going off.

He was very good to me. And so were lots of other world leaders who would call and talk me through it. So I had a lot of help. And my wife and daughter made it possible, too. We just got through it. It was great. In a funny sense, when something like this happens to you, if you survive it, you're living on a whole different plane than you ever would have had it never occurred in the first place. And you also have a whole different view toward other people. A lot of things that other people used to do to make me mad I just kind of blow by now, because I realize it's part of life.

Q So do you think you worked harder after that -- you realized that you had this privilege. Do you think that --

THE PRESIDENT: I don't know that I worked harder, but I think I was more focused. But also keep in mind, I learned things as I went along. You asked about the phases of the presidency. In the first two years -- people look back on this -- in the first two years, we made a slew of political errors. And then we made a huge number of decisions that were good for America over the long run. But in '94 I was sort of shackled with a lot of the ragged edges of how I responded to all this incoming fire and how I had to put together a staff, figure out how it was all going to work together with the Cabinet and with the Congress and get all this stuff done. So there was all that kind of ragged stuff.

And then we passed the economic plan by one vote. We passed the Brady Bill. We passed the assault weapons ban, we passed NAFTA -- all of them wildly controversial. And the benefits, none of them were apparent at the time people were voting, because the economy was already improving rapidly, but people didn't feel it yet; the crime rate was dropping, but people didn't feel it yet; the Brady Bill was beginning to work, but nobody could be absolutely sure that they weren't going to be somehow disadvantaged in their hunting or sporting or whatever. So we lost probably a dozen members of Congress that the NRA took out because they scared them about what was going to happen.

Then we had people disappointed that health care didn't pass and ambivalent about NAFTA. So we had a low turnout of our voters and an inflated turnout of theirs. And we got our brains beat out in the '94 election, which was a terrible experience for me because I felt that -- I was really confident that the economy would pick up, and I was confident that this crime policy was the right policy, and I was confident that we still had to do something about health care and we could go back to it and start chipping away at it, and by '96 people would feel it -- but they didn't by '94. And then I had to kind of rejigger my thinking and figure out how to deal with this Republican majority.

Q Can you describe the night of the election, how you went to bed that night?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I felt terrible because I thought all these people were taking bullets for me -- not for me, they did it for America. They knew it was the right thing to do. But they wouldn't have done it if I hadn't asked them to do it -- in some cases, did more than ask. And they were paying a price and I felt -- I always felt that by '96 that what we were doing would become apparent if I handled the Gingrich revolution in a proper way, because I thought the country would be in good shape by then. So it was one of the darker nights of my presidency because I felt like all these really good people -- and, see, a lot of the people that got beat were the people that were sort of my folks, they were philosophically in line with me and they got elected in districts that could have gone either way, Republican or Democrat, so they were more vulnerable. And it was an awful experience. And I thought about them in '96, too.

Q Do you remember what you did that night in '94, just like physically --

THE PRESIDENT: No, I don't remember. I just remember aching for them all, just aching. I felt much worse about the good people that wouldn't be serving in the Congress than I did the fact that people would be saying that I was finished and all that the next day, because I never really believed that. I thought if I handled the Gingrich majority all right, we'd be fine. I also felt they would overplay their hand, which they did, repeatedly. For three or four years they just kept on overplaying their hand.

But I still see some of those people from time to time that cast that vote on that economic plan, or that stood up and voted for the assault weapons ban or the Brady Bill. You'd be amazed how many -- half a dozen or more of them said, I'm still glad I did it, if I had to do it again, I knew I was going to get beat and I'd do it all over again, just look what it did for America.

So it was really beautiful. But that was a very distinct phase of the presidency. And we had all these people who were great on policy and wanted to work together. But it takes a while to put a team together and get it working out.

I remember in '95 I had a couple of presidential scholars come down and talk to me. And one fellow from Harvard looked at me and he said -- and this is '95, when everybody still said we were dead and all that -- he said, you're going to be reelected, don't worry about it. And I said, why. And he said, because you have the most loyal Cabinet since Thomas Jefferson's second administration. And he said, you all work together, you don't have this back-biting, you don't have all the things that are so typical of Washington. He said, you've got a coherent policy, you've got a good economic program and it's working and I think you'll be reelected.

He turned out to be a prophet -- thank goodness.

Q We're running a little late, and I was thinking if we could do the photo now and then --

THE PRESIDENT: Anyway, that was sort of one big phase.

(interview continues in limousine.)

Q Let's go back to the ethics of the presidency. You had gotten to --

THE PRESIDENT: Yes. So there was '93 and '94 where we did a lot of the things that caused us to lose the Congress, but basically ensured the success of America. I mean, the economic plan brought us back; the crime bill had a lot to do with bringing down the crime rate. And NAFTA I think was a big plus, and we had a lot of other great initiatives. We had the beginnings of the Middle East peace process with the signing of the Palestinian-Israeli accord, and then the signing of the peace treaty with Jordan. So it was a very eventful two years, very good for America, but it was contentious.

And then we had all the kind of raggedy kind of stuff to start in the administration in the beginning, and the controversy over gays in the military and all that. But it was -- I look back on it as a very fruitful time for America because some of the most important things I did as President were done in those first two years.

We also began to get involved in the Irish peace process, which was immensely controversial at that time, because no American administration had ever done that before. I was a tough time.

And then '95 and '96 was -- from '95 and then the beginning of '96 was the question of beating back the Contract on America, vetoing the budget, going through the two government shutdowns, standing our ground. And the American people essentially decided that they would stick with us. It was a huge thing. And then later we got the welfare reform bill, which I signed only in its third incarnation, -- I agreed with the Republicans that we should allow -- that able-bodied people should be required to work, and that we should let the states design the benefits and the work programs.

I didn't see a big problem in allowing the states to set the monthly benefits since, in effect, they'd been doing that since '74 anyway. A lot of people thought I got rid of the welfare guarantee to families, but in 1996, when I signed that bill, believe it or not, the monthly welfare benefit for a family of three went from a low of under \$200 a month in Texas and Mississippi and maybe one or two other states to a high of \$655 a month in Vermont.

So the way the law worked, the states were, in effect, setting their own benefit levels anyway. The big objections I had to welfare reform, were -- and the reasons I vetoed the first two bills were that they would have, in effect, block-granted Medicaid and food stamps for welfare families, and I didn't think that was right because that went to the welfare of the children. And my whole idea was we had to find a way to reward work and family.

And I wanted more money for child care, transportation, and education and training for the welfare recipients. So in the third go-round of the bill the Republican majority agreed to leave in the guarantee for nutrition and medical care and to put in adequate funds on child care and education and transportation.

Now, they did leave in something I really hated, they cut a lot of benefits to legal immigrants, which I didn't like. But I said I'd try to get them back in, and we have now restored virtually all of them. We were able to get that done in the budget fights because the Democrats hung in there with me. And so I think it was a major achievement.

And then, of course, the '96 election turned out very well. And the Democrats picked back up nine seats in the Congress. We lost a couple of Senate seats, but that had more to do with the rotation than anything else. We had three terrible years where -- every two years a third of the Senate comes up, and the first three Senate races in my tenure were all stacked against us, since we had more people up than they did and we had more people retiring than they did. It was just a nightmare.

This year is the first time the tilt of the Senate seats is in our favor, where they have more incumbents up, and I think maybe more people retiring. So it's worked out pretty well for us. And I feel -- I think we'll do well in the Senate races this time. So that was that.

Then '97 and '98, we had the Balanced Budget agreement and a whole slew of other legislative achievements that were bipartisan achievements. And we had, of course, burgeoning Bosnia in the '95-'96 period. And then we had to deal with Kosovo. And continuing other efforts -- we got the breakthrough in the Irish peace process and the Wye River Accords, and a lot of other domestic things were happening. And I began to take more executive actions, like applying the patients bill of rights to all the federal work force and everybody that was federally insured, and beginning to set aside a lot of national monument lands.

Q Was your philosophy changing over these -- you start with the first two years --

THE PRESIDENT: No. I was learning more about how to do it and exploring what the possibilities were. I didn't have a philosophical change, but I do think one of the things that I learned in the first two years, both with the success of the economic plan and the crime bill and NAFTA, and the failure of health care, is that you can get a lot of change out of the American system, but there's only so much change you can ram through at one time. There's only so much that it can absorb. And the system could not absorb some of the things that had to be done to have a universal system with access to health care for everybody, having gone through the strain of making the tough decisions necessary to get rid of the deficit, and deal with crime -- because we dealt with gun safety -- passing all my education reform package, a lot of which passed in the first two years, and including AmeriCorps and other good stuff.

But all that takes time -- it all takes time to do even the good things -- like family leave -- that were passed in those first two years. And then NAFTA -- there's only so much you can -- that both the political system itself can absorb and produce, and the American people can absorb in terms of what's happening that will affect them.

So we were able to go back I think in each of the last six years of my presidency and get quite a lot done, if you were a little bit more attuned to the rhythms of political life in the country and in the Congress.

Q Do you feel when people have said -- when critics have raised the idea that you were using a lot of your political

capital to get through the impeachment period -- I mean, it's something that gets floated a lot, and yet I'm not so sure that you agree at all.

THE PRESIDENT: No. First of all, there's not a shred of evidence of it. I mean, we continued to do things to help -- if there are liberally critics saying that, we continued to do things to help poor people, to help the disability community, to work for racial and ethnic reconciliation, to advance the cause of gay rights. So I just don't agree with that.

And if conservatives say that, we continued to pay the debt down, have a stronger economy, and have a very aggressive position overseas. So there's just no evidence of it. And the truth is, if anything, I gained political capital -- not by not fighting it, but instead enduring it. Our people fought it, all right. They did a terrific job making the counterargument and all that. But by not involving myself so personally in it, deeply, and not letting it dominate my mind and thoughts and time, the more the public supported me in what they were doing, we actually gained political capital.

I think if -- it had no effect on what I could get done, maybe even increased what I could do to some extent. I think if you look, for example, at what -- in '98 at the end, the Congress supported virtually my entire education budget, and most of my other budget priorities. And the same thing happened again in '99, when we had a very, very good year.

There hasn't been nearly enough attention given, I think -- and perhaps I'm somewhat to blame for that -- on the substance of what we tried to do to change federal education policy -- with the biggest increase in higher education access since the G.I. Bill, a huge increase in pre-school, virtually creating from nothing a massive program for after-school programs and mentoring and summer school support from the federal government, requiring all the states to identify their failing schools and come up with strategies to deal with it. I mean, all these things have had a big impact in that area.

So we just continued to rock along. And, look, this year we've got -- unless some terrible thing unforeseen happens between now and the time you run this article, we will have gotten the China trade bill through, the Africa-Caribbean Basin Initiative through, a major global AIDS initiative through. I believe my plan for global debt relief, which is a very important thing, will get through. I think that our education program will remain intact and be supported.

We put 100,000 police on the street; we've got another 50,000 police going out there. So I think that -- and I think

we'll get a minimum wage increase. We might get the patients bill of rights. And depending on how worried the Republicans are, we might even get our Medicare drug initiative.

So I think this is going -- people will look back and be amazed at all the things we've got done in this year, and yet, all we did was do what we always did. We used the State of the Union in a way that I think -- this is something else I hope other Presidents will do, I would advise every President to do this -- we used the State of the Union as an organizing device, a planning device for every year. We tried to keep anchored in the basic themes and ideas that I laid out in '92 and refined in '96.

And I should tell you this. In '95, Thomas Patterson, who is a presidential scholar now at Harvard, but then at Syracuse -- studied the interaction of the President and the media -- said that in '95 I already had kept a higher percentage of my campaign promises than the previous five presidents, in spite of the fact that we'd made more.

And one of the things I hope I've changed about the presidency, going back to my theme that it's a job like other jobs, is that before I ran I decided what I wanted to do. I mean, really, in pretty excruciating detail. And Paul Tsongas and I were the only two candidates in '92 in the Democratic primary that put out these little booklets with detail, and people would make fun of us and talk about how wonky we were. But we had the biggest crowds in the New Hampshire town hall meetings because people knew that we'd actually talk to them about things.

And every year we used the State of the Union as an organizing principle to force ourselves to decide what could we do in the best of all worlds, what do we think we've got a chance to achieve, can we pay for it, do we know how we're going to do it -- so that these State of the Union addresses, every one of them -- and I think that we got better and better at it as we went along. And I don't mean that in a self-serving way, I mean our whole operation -- we used it in a very rigorous way to plan for the future.

And so it's wonderful, because you don't have to get up every day and wonder what you're supposed to do. You've got a plan and you execute. And we're still -- here it is, 150 days from the end of my term, and we're executing a plan that we laid before the Congress and the country in January in the State of the Union address. And I think that it really, really matters to be substantive and forward-looking.

And so if anybody asks me for advice on running for President, the first thing I say is you have to decide why you want to do it, and it's got to be something bigger than yourself, and it's got to be something fundamentally rooted in the aspirations and the needs of the American people. Then you need to figure out exactly what you would do to achieve your objective, and then go out and run on it, and try to have as much clarity as you can. Because the more you think it through, the more likely you are to be able to succeed.

And the more people can't say they're surprised because it's something you've run on, or something you say in your State of the Union address. I'm a big believer in that. I think that's why Al Gore's speech was so successful at the convention. It was like a State of the Union address. There was a lot of the stuff that you always have to have at conventions -- here I am, here's what I believe in, here's the kind of person I am -- but basically, it was, here's what I want for you in the future.

This is a job. And the election should be viewed by candidates as a hiring decision. And if you're a candidate, you're going to a job interview. The grandest, most wonderful job interview in the whole wide world. And part of it is about dreams. And it's about how you communicate with the people that you work for. But also a lot of it's about just good old-fashioned -- you get to define the job, and then what it takes to measure success, and then the public decides whether they want to hire you or not.

It's exhilarating, it's wonderful. There's never been anything like it, and probably never will be. But, for me, it's been just a joy. Even the bad days were good for me. Once I figured out that it was to some extent a cost of doing business, all the incoming fire, it sort of liberated me and I realized I still have got to go to work. And if I hadn't been lucky I could still be home doing real estate transactions in a law office in Arkansas.

So I have no complaints and I'm very grateful. I've had a wonderful, wonderful time. It's been good for -- a fabulous experience for my family -- for my wife and for my daughter, and I'll always be glad I did it. And I'm still working at it. I loved it. I loved it.

Q Thank you for your time.

University of Notre Dame
Notre Dame, Indiana 46556-5629

President Emeritus

Theodore A. Hesburgh Library
Suite 1315

September 15, 2000 9-22-00

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

I am having this letter hand delivered so I can be sure it gets to you soon. I also want to thank you again for your wonderful generosity in coming to the Congressional Medal Ceremony. Given all that was going on at that moment, this was over, above and beyond the call of duty. Many thanks, again.

I spent some time yesterday with Congressman John Porter, who is chair of the House Committee which handles the affairs of the United States Institute of Peace. As you know, he is retiring this year. He has been our largest supporter in the Congress. We discussed the fact that the USIP is now facing a great window of opportunity. The U.S. Navy gave the Institute a wonderful piece of land, the last available on Constitution Avenue at 23rd and M, just across from the State Department. He would like to help us with our funding of the headquarters building there, the spot surrounded by the great War Memorials and the Lincoln Monument. I thought this would be a fitting way to symbolize the fact that, despite great sacrifices for peace in the past, the United States has a small but very hard working Institute which is becoming more and more important to buttress the efforts of our Department of State, and the Department of Defense, as well, as they struggle for peace in so many troubled spots on earth.

This Peace Institute, which is still quite young, has been increasingly important in backing up our efforts in Bosnia and Kosova, in Sudan and Temor, not to mention ongoing efforts in Northern

To Cohen for reply?
Yes ☒ No ☐
cc: Maureen Shea? ☒
Coordinate with NSC?
Yes ☒ No ☐
6.

The Honorable William J. Clinton

September 15, 2000

Page 2

Ireland, Rwanda and India-Pakistan. Congressman Porter, as a kind of final act on his part, he would love to put a bill through the House in his final days that would give us a permanent and very visible headquarters for all of this work. He assured us that if the White House would put this support on a priority basis during his final days in the House, he would do everything possible on his part to enact a provision that would give us \$20 million a year for three years. It would support a large part of the construction of a beautiful national center totally dedicated to peace throughout the world on the very spot commemorating so many Americans who have given their lives for peace. He assured us, if you could place priority on this building as soon as possible, he would give it everything he has, from his position as chairman, to assure that it is passed in these final days.

Having spent nearly ten years as a member of the board of the Institute, appointed first by President Bush and re-nominated by you in your early days in office, I can assure you that the Institute is a very worthwhile and continuing effort to help create peace in all of the troubled spots of the world in which we are engaged.

I thought this was a very generous offer on the part of Congressman Porter and there is no question of what such a move would symbolize regarding our continual efforts for peace in this world. I know that you are besieged from every side these days but I think that this rather modest proposal would be a great testimony to your own commitment to peace in so many ways. It would be a permanent visible symbol of America's generous efforts to achieve peace in our day.

I can only thank you from my heart for considering this somewhat modest request commemorating also the outstanding efforts you, yourself, have made for peace during your tenure as President.

The Honorable William J. Clinton

September 15, 2000

Page 3

My best wishes and prayers are with you for your essential efforts on our behalf to create a symbol of peace for all to see in a permanent way. I should add that we have managed privately to raise about \$3 million which has allowed us to make a study of the site and engage architectural studies as to the shape of this building, which hopefully will be a symbol, as well as a working center for even more efforts in the many years to come.

My sincere best wishes and prayers.

Very sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Theodore M. Hesburgh". The signature is written in dark ink and includes a small flourish at the end.

(Rev.) Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.
President Emeritus



UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

An independent institution established by Congress to strengthen the nation's capacity
to promote peaceful resolution of international conflicts

OFFICE OF THE CHAIRMAN
(202) 429-3835 DIRECT

September 18, 2000

The Honorable Samuel R. Berger
National Security Council
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, 1st Floor, West Wing
Washington, DC 20500

BY HAND

Dear Sandy:

We are writing to you on a highly urgent basis in hopes of gaining your assistance in obtaining Congressional funding for the permanent headquarters of the United States Institute of Peace. We believe there is a special opportunity before us to secure funding for our planned headquarters at the Northwest corner of the National Mall.

Our supporter in the House, Congressman John Porter, Chairman of the Institute's Appropriations Subcommittee (Labor, Health, and Human Services), has expressed to us his strong endorsement of the project and his commitment to work with the Administration to obtain funding to build our headquarters at the corner of 23rd Street and Constitution Avenue NW. The Institute already "owns" the building site – as a result of legislative action by Congress, the Administration, and the Navy completed in 1996.

Chairman Porter believes attaining funding is possible if the Administration partners with him in the effort, but that without a collaborative approach the chances of success at this time would be uncertain. He thinks that a three-year authorization of \$20 million per year for construction of the building and a \$20 million appropriation for the first year is attainable in the final budget negotiation in the next few weeks. Mr. Porter hopes to shepherd this approach through the legislative process in cooperation with the Administration. As a first step, he proposes that the Administration include the three-year authorization as well as funding for the first year for the Institute's building construction among those items added to the Labor, Health, and Human Services legislation, which will be negotiated at the end of this session of Congress.

As background to this effort, we need not go into great detail on the work of the Institute. We believe you have become acquainted with our policy development, public outreach, training and reconciliation activities. You have participated directly in such events as the President's speech from our podium on China policy, our work in support of the Dayton accords, our activities regarding Korea and Iraq, our training of U.S. military and police in support of peacekeeping missions, etc.

A permanent headquarters for the Institute will stabilize and substantially expand our role in providing support for the government and the American people on the full range of activities that we pursue in fulfillment of our Congressional charter. The new headquarters will also give us new and unprecedented opportunities for public education and heightened impact in our policy development and training work, as well as in practical peacemaking activities in zones of conflict around the world.

The Institute over the past three years has raised nearly \$3 million from private sources in support of the headquarters project. This has enabled us to advance the architectural design planning for the building, and it is clear that we can construct a most useful facility of both symbolic and functional meaning on the three-acre site.

Father Ted Hesburgh has just written to the President (see letter enclosed) expressing his heartfelt hope that the Administration can support this project. As Father Ted says, "I think that this rather modest proposal would be a great testimony to your own commitment to peace...."

We would deeply value your assistance in gaining the necessary Administration support to strengthen Congressman Porter's effort to pass the required legislation authorizing and appropriating funds for this project. We are ready to brief you – or whomever you designate – at your early convenience on any details of this project or the legislative process that is now being played out.

We believe the Administration could not conclude its term with a more appropriate contribution to the country's foreign policy capabilities than through such support. President Clinton's determined efforts to advance the Middle East Peace Process, for example, express his administration's realization of the importance of peacemaking in building a more stable post-Cold War world.

Sincerely yours,



Chester A. Crocker
Chairman of the Board



Max M. Kampelman
Vice Chairman



Richard H. Solomon
President

Libby HIKIND
718 477-1200

9/22/00

Go to
see cc to
only

Dear Mr. President

It is a critical time for
9-22-00

Lo Jo Cohen for reply? excuse of the

c Yes ☒ No ☐ in Perm.

Coordinate with NSC? w forgiveness

f Yes ☒ No ☐ a more formal
the hour is

cc: Berger
law in preparing
for the Sabbath.

The pre-trial proceedings
are telling of Peru's goal of
a life sentence for Lori.
She will not get a fair trial.

Please do all you can to
obtain her freedom. Her health
is very poor. She needs to be brought
home this week!

Please help save this life.

Libby HIKIND

Libby Hinkind
718 477-1200

9/22/00

Go to
and see to
only

Dear ~~Mr~~ President:

This is a critical time for
Lori Berenson because of the
current turmoil in Peru.

I ask your forgiveness
for not writing a more formal
letter, however the hour is
late and I am preparing
for the Sabbath.

The pre-trial proceedings
are telling of Peru's goal of
a life sentence for Lori.
She will not get a fair trial.

Please do all you can to
obtain her freedom. Her health
is very poor. She needs to be brought
home this week!

Please help save this life.

Libby Hinkind

The New York Times

THE NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIALS/LETTERS FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 22, 2000

Free Lori Berenson

Lori Berenson, the American serving a life sentence in Peru for treason, has always been at the mercy of Peru's stormy politics. President Alberto Fujimori has repeatedly used her case to prove he is tough on terrorism and to paint his opponents as squishy. The current turmoil in Peru now threatens to prolong Ms. Berenson's imprisonment. Last month Peru's highest military court — no doubt directed by a president eager to improve relations with Washington — granted her a new trial on a lesser charge. The court acknowledged that Ms. Berenson was not a

charging her with treason. But Mr. Fujimori's political calculus is now altered by his surprise plan to hold new elections and not be a candidate himself. Ms. Berenson, who has been in prison for nearly five years in very harsh conditions, should simply be released.

Ms. Berenson may well have had some involve-

ment with the Túpac Amaru Revolutionary Movement, which sought to overthrow the government. If so, her activities were certainly marginal. Her trial was profoundly unfair — like those of thousands of others convicted in Mr. Fujimori's special anti-terrorism courts. Her lawyers were unable to see the evidence against her, cross-examine witnesses or present evidence in her favor. The miscarriage of justice was so egregious that Mr. Fujimori was forced to set up a panel to review the convictions. More than 1,000 of the wrongly convicted were freed; people believed to be innocent are still in prison, and the panel has shut down.

Ms. Berenson's family says that in her new trial, her lawyers have not seen the file of charges and testimony, and were not present when witnesses were questioned. Rather than extending the charade, Mr. Fujimori should let her go.



NAOMI MAUER
Assistant to the Publisher

Sept. 13, 2000

Dear President Clinton,

On behalf of the Jewish community, I write to you regarding the American woman, Lori Berenson. We do not believe that she can get a fair trial in Peru.

Perhaps the humanitarian aid that the United States gives to Peru, should be predicated upon the release of Lori Berenson to United States custody.

At the very least we urge you to send United States monitors to oversee the trial. If nothing else, it will convey the message that the eyes of the world are upon them.

It would be a real travesty if this young American woman has to spend the rest of her days rotting in a Peruvian cell.

Thank you for your consideration,

Yours truly,

Naomi Mauer
Asst to the publisher

Rhoda and Mark Berenson
320 East 25th Street
New York, NY 10010
Tel: 212-689-3868 and Fax: 212-689-9572

July 13, 2000

Dear Libby:

Thank you so much for sending information about our daughter Lori to the office of the First Lady. Lori has been imprisoned four years, seven months, and two weeks today and has always proclaimed she is innocent of the preposterous charges that have been rendered against her. She suffers from a variety of physical ailments owing to her harsh, high altitude incarceration, poor food, and stress. Her physiological age is now much older than 30 - what she is chronologically.

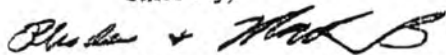
Lori has spent these years under conditions that most middle class Americans could not endure. However, she continues to fight for her rights and express concerns for maltreatment of others.

For the first two and a half years of incarceration Lori asked for help in securing a fair trial. For the past two years it was made evident that a fair trial in Peru is impossible - the Peruvian President Alberto Fujimori controls the judiciary (civil and military) and controls the Peruvian Congress. He also controls the media. The Peruvian government has used its media to continually publicize fabricated stories about Lori. In short, the Peruvian media has convicted Lori and created a monster. In addition, the Peruvian government has shown its antagonism towards "big brother" - the United States -- in Lori's case. She is their "Gringa" terrorista. During the recent presidential runoff in Peru, President Fujimori tweaked his opponent Alejandro Toledo on being soft on terrorism, arguing Mr. Toledo would free Lori and open the floodgates to terrorism. The demagoguery was quite powerful. Lori became symbolic of Fujimori's tough stance on terrorism and his refusal to bow to the United States.

We would like very much to meet with the First Lady. We are always asked "what is Hillary doing?" The question is not really fair - she is a candidate for the United States Senate, she is not yet Senator from the State of New York. Nevertheless, the fact she has not met with us when she has traveled so extensively throughout the State of New York these past several months, meeting so many people, leads many to believe that she is avoiding us. Meanwhile, Representative Rick Lazio has signed the "Dear Colleague" letter in the House which urges President Clinton to use all diplomatic means necessary to secure Lori's release. Mr. Lazio also signed a similar letter last year. He can say to New Yorkers that he supports New York citizens, Republican or Democrat, and that Lori is proof that he is going to be a Senator who cares for constituents.

We would like to meet with Mrs. Clinton at the earliest opportunity, either in public or in private, whichever she feels appropriate. If you have any way of conveying this request we would be very grateful for your help. We know our daughter is not a terrorist. We know she is a wonderful, compassionate human being whose life long interests are in the service to humanity. It is sad to know her health is withering with the years.

Sincerely,


Rhoda and Mark Berenson

THE LORI BERENSON CASE: HIGHLIGHTS

- **Arrest and Sentence**

Lori Berenson, a human rights activist working as a freelance journalist for two U.S. publications, was arrested in Peru in November 1995 and charged with treason as a leader of the MRTA. Although she has always vigorously proclaimed her innocence, she was sentenced to life in prison by a faceless and secret military tribunal. She never had a fair trial and she is unable to obtain one in Peru. Peruvian military tribunals have been universally condemned and the recently released State Department annual human rights report states, "Proceedings in these military courts--and those for terrorism in civilian courts--do not meet internationally accepted standards of openness, fairness, and due process."

- **Innocence**

In a letter to the human rights community in August 1998 Lori Berenson wrote, "I have never been a member of the MRTA; I have never participated in the planning of a violent act, neither with the MRTA nor anybody else; neither have I promoted violence, and what is more, I do not believe in violence and it would not be possible for me to participate in violence."

- **Human Rights Violations**

Amnesty International has declared Lori Berenson a political prisoner and has said that the military tribunal that sentenced her was but a "parody of justice." The United Nations High Commission on Human Rights has found that Lori Berenson's detention is "arbitrary" and in violation of several articles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant of Political and Civil Rights. The Inter-American Commission for Human Rights of the OAS has ruled that Lori Berenson's case is admissible for full hearing but Peru subsequently withdrew from this international judicial body. Former U.S. Ambassador to Peru Dennis Jett has said that Lori Berenson has been singled out for unduly harsh treatment because of her nationality. In addition, former Peruvian Prime Minister Javier Valle Riestra, an internationally respected constitutional lawyer, cited flaws and lack of due process in Lori Berenson's military tribunal and urged that she be pardoned and expelled from Peru.

- **Prison Conditions**

Lori Berenson was confined for nearly three years at Yanamayo Maximum Security Military Prison at an altitude of 12,700 feet where the harsh climate, lack of heat, thin air, and poor food led to numerous medical problems. Since October of 1998 she has been held at Socabaya Prison at a height of 7,600 feet where the climate is somewhat better, but where she has been held in isolation, cut off from contact with the general prison population.

- **Congressional Letters**

In June 1999, 180 members of the House of Representatives signed a letter to President Clinton reminding him that he was obligated by Act of Congress 22 USC Section 1732 to secure the release of an American citizen wrongfully held abroad and urging him to seek Lori Berenson's release. In addition, 33 Senators signed a letter to Secretary of State Albright calling for Lori Berenson's release on humanitarian grounds.

MARY MCGRODY*Prisoner of Peru*

Mark and Rhoda Berenson of Manhattan have been married for 38 years. They're both retired college professors—he from statistics at Baruch and she from physics at Nassau Community. Their whole lives are wrapped around Peruvian politics. Alberto Fujimori's one-man runoff election has outraged the world but the Berensons' attention is riveted on one person, their 30-year-old daughter, Lori, who is serving a life sentence in a military jail.

Last winter, Fujimori's rival, Alejandro Toledo, came to New York and made Lori Berenson a campaign issue. He promised that he would look into her case. She is in the fourth year of her sentence. Only a comedian would say she had due process in a Peruvian military court, where she was found guilty of "aggravated terrorism" by hooded judges. Toledo, who refused to participate in the election because of the absence of anti-fraud measures, said that he would "personally interview" the former MST student who says she was set up by the Peruvian secret police.

Terrorism is in Peru what communism used to be in our politics. It is radioactive. Fujimori called Lori Berenson a "criminal" and charged Toledo with being "soft on terrorism." Toledo backed off, mumbling about having been misunderstood or misquoted.

The Berensons have no idea whether a Toledo victory would have meant the release of their daughter from her windowless cell in Arequipa. All they know is that Lori, a free-lance writer, was picked up on a bus in Lima by security agents, taken to a terrorist safe house and from there to a secret military court, where her lawyer could neither call nor cross-examine witnesses.

She was in a bad way at her trial. She had been in a cell for 39 days in the same clothes she was wearing when arrested. Her cellmate was a woman who was slowly bleeding to death from wounds suffered in the police raid on the terrorist safe house. Exhausted, terrified and furious, she took the stand and attacked the justice system in Peru. She raged, "It is a crime to worry about the subhuman conditions in which the majority of this population lives, then I will accept my punishment."

The videotape of the "gringa terrorist" is a staple of the Peruvian political diet.

"They've made her a monster," says Rhoda Berenson sadly.

Her cell has no running water, or electric light. She sleeps on a mattress on the floor and is allowed out for two hours

a day. The U.S. Embassy visits "regularly," which the Berensons say means five times a year.

Rhoda and Mark Berenson gave up their jobs so they could spend time trying to help their daughter. They lobby Congress and the State Department, circulate petitions, and write letters. About every two weeks, they make the wearying 8,000-mile round trip to see her, bringing reading material—which must be in Spanish—and food and warm clothes—the climate is harsh. They can't kiss her or touch her hand. They visit through a double mesh wire. After their 15-hour journey, they get an hour each with her. Lori, who is apparently quite sociable, can speak to only two other prisoners, both Shining Path women with whom she does not communicate well since she is opposed to all forms of violence.

Why hasn't the administration made more of a fuss about Lori Berenson? Clinton administration officials say they insist she should be given a fair trial. But quiet diplomacy has been the rule, apparently because Fujimori is a much-needed ally in the drug war. He ousted democracy last weekend, but he has reduced the coca crop by 50 percent.

Fujimori is emotionally involved in terrorism—his own family members were involved when the Japanese embassy in Lima was raided by terrorists in 1996. And he may have the prevailing Latin American loathing of Yankee ecstasies, particularly women. Four American churchwomen were raped and killed by Salvadoran soldiers in 1980 for sympathizing with the poor.

Lori went to Peru to write stories about the wretchedness and injustice of Peruvian lives for two left-wing magazines. She spent several years in Nicaragua with the Jesuits and other church groups working with Salvadoran exiles.

Rep. Carolyn Maloney (D-N.Y.), who leads Lori's cause, visited her correspondent in prison in 1997. "I liked her," she says. "She struck me as a very concerned young woman." Her "crime" may have been unwavering. Her interviews with Shining Path terrorists looked like plotting to paranoid Peruvian authorities.

Carolyn Maloney thinks the president should invoke a provision in the U.S. code that requires him to do everything "short of war" to rescue Americans wrongfully imprisoned abroad. She thinks the State Department should be "more supportive."

"It's time for that girl to come home to her parents," she says.

THE WASHINGTON POST

THURSDAY, JUNE 1, 2000 A3

Mitzvah of Freeing 'Hostage' Lori Berenson

After reading the letter to the editor by Richard Borkow ("Lieberman: Jewish Peacemaker," September 1), I was moved by an editorial, "Injustice in Peru," in the same issue regarding the injustice continuing to be perpetuated against Lori Berenson. Upon learning more about Ms. Berenson's life, it occurs to me that perhaps she deserves the title of "Jewish peacemaker." Ms. Berenson is a kind, idealistic young woman whose top concern is *tikkun olam*, the betterment of mankind.

As an Orthodox Jew motivated by the *mitzvah of pidyon shvuyim* (freeing hostages), I have worked closely with non-observant co-religionists Mark and Rhoda Berenson in their tireless crusade to free their daughter.

The list of other Orthodox Jews who have made efforts to help Ms. Berenson includes, Rabbis Ronald Greenwald, Menachem Genack, Michael Whitman, Arthur Schneller,

Victor Vorland and community leader Malcolm Hoenlein. We have worked in brotherhood in our

basic human rights are denied can make all the difference in the world to the her and her family.

This innocent woman, our Jewish daughter, is counting on us to work together for her freedom.

Abraham Ashenberg
Brooklyn, N.Y.

*A kind, idealistic
woman accused
of terrorism.*

attempt to save her.

Our struggle must continue. Misleading reports from Peru of the "awarding" of a new trial for Ms. Berenson appear to merely be an appeasement to the United States that will do nothing but provide her with a 30-year-plus sentence.

A call to President Clinton by the readers of the Forward to halt all aid to Peru as long as Ms. Berenson's

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Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

Why Not
Speak
Out?

Saturday, 15 April 2000

BOSTON

When the Serbs captured three U.S. soldiers during the Kosovo war a year ago, President Clinton warned President Milosevic of Yugoslavia: "Make no mistake — America takes care of its own."

It is a fine sentiment. But the president has signally failed to apply it in a case that should nag at his and the country's conscience. It is the case of Lori Berenson.

Ms. Berenson, a 30-year-old American, is being held in an isolation cell in Peru — a cell without light, heat or running water. "She has been in prison four years, four months, ten days today," her father, Mark Berenson, said when I met her parents Monday.

The Peruvian government of Alberto Fujimori says that Ms. Berenson helped the Tupac Amaru terrorist movement; a charge that she firmly denies. She was convicted of "treason" — against a country of which she is not a citizen — after what no civilized society would regard as a trial.

Military officers wearing ski masks to conceal their identities conducted the proceeding. Ms. Berenson was not allowed to call witnesses or testify herself. She was sentenced to life in prison without parole.

"I have never participated in the planning of a violent act . . ." she wrote to human rights groups. "I do not believe in violence, and it would not be possible for me to participate in violence."

What she does believe — a left-wing view of poverty and misery in Peruvian society — she does not conceal. Indeed, her outspoken statement of those views played into the hands of President Fujimori.

The Berenson case
and America's
conscience.

When she was arrested, in November 1995, she was held without access to the outside world for 39 days, the last 11 in a cell with a naked, desperately ill woman who was given no medical care. Suddenly Ms. Berenson was brought out, put in front of television cameras and told to talk.

The New York Times

Speaking in angry tones, in Spanish, she said: "Nobody can deny that in Peru there is much injustice. If it is a crime to worry about the sub-human conditions in which the majority of this population lives, then I will accept my punishment."

Mr. Fujimori used the video clip to paint Ms. Berenson as a terrorist — and an interfering American. One of his popular achievements as president has been the crushing of terrorist movements.

I cannot know for sure whether Ms. Berenson conspired with the Tupac Amaru or, as she says, simply interviewed some members — names unknown to her — as a freelance journalist. What is beyond doubt is that her trial lacked any semblance of due process of law. Amnesty International called it a "parody of justice." Javier Valle Riestra, a noted constitutional lawyer, was Peru's prime minister until he condemned the Berenson trial methods and said she should be pardoned. He did not last long in the Fujimori government after that.

The flagrantly illegitimate trial makes President Clinton's passive posture on the case puzzling. When 180 members of the House urged him last year to secure her release by carrying out a statute that calls for U.S. action on behalf of Americans held improperly abroad, he replied only that he was seeking a "just and expeditious solution." He has not condemned the lack of due process at the trial.

Senator John McCain, who knows about unjust imprisonment firsthand, signed a copy of his book for Ms. Berenson: "To Lori, Best Wishes & Admiration. God Bless." But he has not spoken out against the nature of her trial.

The election in Peru this week demonstrated, in two ways, why the Berenson case demands U.S. action. Mr. Fujimori used smears, dirty tricks and ballot-rigging. But when other Latin countries and the U.S. put on real pressure, he held off from giving himself a first-round victory. Pressure works.

"The lack of law, the innuendoes in the election were there in Lori's case all along," her mother, Rhoda Berenson, said to me.

Her father was a professor of statistics at Baruch College in New York for 30 years, her mother a professor of physics at Nassau Community College for 25. Both have given up their jobs, their normal lives and their savings to campaign for Lori Berenson's freedom. Every two weeks or so, one of them flies 8,000 miles to speak with Lori for an hour through a screen.

"I totally believe my daughter," Mr. Berenson said. "One day, God willing, you'll see for yourself." □

Friday, 14 April 2000

The Lori Berenson Case

To the Editor:

You report (front page, April 13) that Peru's president, Alberto K. Fujimori, now faces a runoff, having failed to win the needed 50 percent of the vote in an election that was marred by charges of improprieties.

Just as the election process was called into question, the arbitrary interpretation of law was used to wrongfully incarcerate our daughter Lori Berenson without due process four years ago. She is in prison because of policies in which the ends justify the means. The same lawless attitudes were used by the police who arrested her and by the controlled tribunal that condemned her.

Our government's commitment to fair elections in Peru is important, but in fact, our government cannot have a higher commitment than to an individual's human rights. Our government should demand Lori's release now.

RHODA BERENSON
MARK BERENSON
New York, April 13, 2000

LORI'S OWN WORDS

The following is an English translation of the letter Lori band wrote in Spanish.
(A copy of the original can be provided upon request.)

Yanamayo, Peru
August 22, 1998

Members of the Community
of Organizations
for Human Rights

Esteemed Men and Women:

Through this communication permit me to congratulate you on your important work for human rights.

I would like to inform you of some details about me and my case.

As you know, I have been confined for more than two and a half years at the Yanamayo maximum security military prison, accused of being a member of the MRTA, and fulfilling the sentence of life imprisonment dictated by a faceless military tribunal.

I have never been a member of the MRTA; I have never participated in the planning of a violent act, neither with the MRTA nor anybody else; neither have I ever promoted violence, and, what is more, I do not believe in violence and it would not be possible for me to participate in violence.

I do believe in ideals of justice and equality; to share the ideals of a more just world for the poor majority does not imply that I share in the use of violence to achieve such goals.

In my own way, I have worked for these ideals. In Peru, I sought to learn about and find ways to help the most poor and oppressed people. I met with, observed, and studied these people, including their history, their culture, their music. I also tried to observe how the government, the law, and the economically powerful treated the poor. I was writing about what I experienced and learned and I had legitimate journalistic credentials from two U.S. publications. I hoped to be able to help the situation of human rights and social justice for the most poor; I still believe in that, and I believe it will happen.

Certainly, I have not had real justice. I am completely innocent of the horrendous charges made against me, and there could not be real evidence that shows such crimes.

I hope that these details might give you a better basis to facilitate an understanding of my situation and, at the same time, I turn to reiterate my greatest respect and admiration for your important works for the good of humanity.

With much respect,

Lori Berenson

NEW BETHEL

BAPTIST CHURCH

reet, Northwest

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D.C. 20001

TEI

line (202) 986-0267

TELECOPIER TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

TO Ms Betty Lurie 9-22-00

LOCATION _____

Who should handle?

TELECOPIER NUMBER 456DATE 9/22/00

Send to NSC to handle

TIME 10:48MESSAGE Here is the note that Ted passedpersonally to the President.My meeting on Tuesday of next week
will be to discuss the nonviolent approach
and formula - I want to be helpful on thisTHIS TRANSMITTAL INCLUDE 3 PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET. IF TOTAL
NUMBER OF PAGES ARE NOT RECEIVED, PLEASE CALL (202) 387-9100
IMMEDIATELY.FROM Wae

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1739 Ninth Street, Northwest
Washington, D.C. 20001

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TELECOPIER: Faxline (202) 986-0267

TELECOPIER TRANSMITTAL COVER SHEET

TO Ms Betty Lurip

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TIME

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MESSAGE

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NUMBER OF PAGES ARE NOT RECEIVED, PLEASE CALL (202) 387-9100
IMMEDIATELY.

FROM

Wae

ABEAS ABDULAZIZ

عباس عبد العزيز

June 20, 2000

Mr. President,

I would like to propose to you a peace project for the Gulf region to the benefit of all parties involved, and with certainty to the benefit of the United States, with the following objectives:

- a) The peace and stability of the region
- b) Human rights: because thousands of women, children, and old people are dying in Iraq
- c) The security of United States interests in the region, now and in the future

My distinguished sir, as you know, for more than one year, the United Nations resolution concerning the special committee for armaments of mass destruction has never advanced one step because the resolution is not clear regarding the removal of the embargo, even if Iraq allows the inspectors to come back into the country. For this reason, Iraq will never change its position because it will have nothing to lose.

The peace in the region remains destabilized. Further stifled in the area are all social development, commerce and trade. The society has lost its security, normalcy and basic social benefits, taken for granted elsewhere in the world. Perhaps most dangerous and disconcerting is the region's loss of the freedom to develop into a democratic society. The military budget is greater than civilian and social development.

Mr. President, you command operations for peace and stability in the most delicate scenarios in the world. I believe in this project and I believe that you could finish your presidency with another triumph by bringing a solution to the Gulf problem that involves a truly lasting peace, as well as regional security and stability.

I propose to you, for the benefit of all parties involved, the following program:

- a) Iraq would allow the inspectors back, offer full and unrestricted access and cooperation to these inspectors, in order to show good will and to start to build trust between the United States and Iraq and between Iraq and the rest of the world; at the same time of acceptance by Iraq of the return of the inspectors, the government of the United States will make an official statement to announce this return and will officially open a way to the lifting of the sanctions against Iraq given a definite time which will be decided by an open dialogue between Iraq and the United States.
- b) The United States and Iraq would have an agreement that once the United States is satisfied that the inspectors are able to complete their work satisfactorily, a dialogue would take place between the United States and Iraq regarding the lifting of the embargo.
- c) The United States would cancel the no fly zones in the south and in the north of Iraq and would stop flying within the country. The United States would agree to remove itself from Iraqi internal

ABSA3 ABDULAZIZ

عباس عبد العزيز

affairs, for example regarding the Kurdish issue.

- d) After the inspectors are allowed to complete their tasks and Iraq has shown good will toward the United States, the United States would agree to authorize civilian and commercial airlines to operate and open the country to the rest of the world.
- g) Given the enormous need to rebuild the infrastructure of a war-ravaged nation, and the size of the infrastructure contracts involved, Iraq would guarantee the United States more than \$15 billion worth of contracts, providing the United States authorizes American companies to do business in Iraq. Companies such as Boeing, Bechtel, and oil industry, pharmaceutical and food companies would potentially benefit, by being guaranteed these very significant contracts, which in turn could provide additional jobs to your nation's work force. We must not forget the benefits to the United States in having its foot in Iraq, helping to maintain a balance in United States-Iraqi relations. These economic relationships will remain and become stronger, thus providing great incentive for all parties to maintain strong and balanced relations and to maintain peace and stability in the region. Furthermore, large American interests in Iraq can provide incentives that will boost American popular opinion.
- f) When the United States is satisfied that Iraq has shown good will and is moving forward in a positive direction, the United States could help by postponing the required payment of war damages of the past years to a later time, so that Iraq may use this money for infrastructure investment.
- g) The United States would give its word that, providing Iraq honors all agreements, the embargo would be lifted against Iraq.

In the interest of rebuilding a nation and equally importantly, of rebuilding trust between the United States and Iraq and the rest of the world, I submit to you, Mr. President, this proposal in good faith. I believe that the United States under your leadership will be able to find a lasting solution for peace and for improved understanding between these nations, by focusing on your mutual interests and potential areas of interdependence which provide incentives for maintaining peace and stability.

Hoping that this proposal addresses the major concerns and interests of the parties involved, and recognizing that time is of the essence, I would like to make myself available to you to discuss all additional issues that may need to be addressed.

Very truly yours,



Abbas Abdulaziz

9-22-00
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9-22-00

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Carol: Barbara
pk's talk to Betty re: status/
plan for photos + whether
ltr. is necessary @ 9-25-00

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Youth Leader Suggests National Honour for Khairat

With Compliments
To President CLINTON
of USA,

From Senator Khairat Abdul Razak Gwadabe
Representing Fed. Capital Terr. Abuja

Welcoming
Clinton

Gimbiya

CAPITAL HILL NEWSLETTER

Vol. 1, No. 002. A monthly constituency publication August 2000



Beyond the Okadigbo Incident

My Pact With Noble Dreams
— Khairat

"Women Are Still Suppressed"

— Khairat

Youth Leader Suggests National Honour for Khairat

With Compliments
To President CLINTON
of USA,
From Senator Khairat Abdul Razak Gwadabe
Representing Fed. Capital Territory Abuja



Welcome to President Clinton

EDITORIAL

BEYOND THE OKADIGBO INCIDENT

The Fourth Republic in Nigeria and particularly the experiment in democracy aimed at bringing a new political culture which emphasises firm control of power in all arms of governance by civilians and for that matter a promise of thorough transformation of lives of the entire citizenry and restoration of hope for the future, has indeed faced its frightening moments of trials. The recent and mostly widely reported, was the removal from office as Senate President, Right Honourable Dr. Chuba Okadigbo, a foremost scholar, philosopher, polemicist, and an intelligent politician.

While the circumstances, which led to Okadigbo's impeachment, are now well known, the truth of the matter is that Nigeria cannot afford not to move forward. At least, democracy has to be preserved, and the arms of governance must be seen to be positively functional.

What remains is, of course, an assessment of the morality, which should govern the new process of leadership in the upper house, which should be seen to be powerful, dependable and authentically capable of making laws and protecting it. The Senate should not, and cannot be a toy in the hands of those who seek the protection of democracy only for the pur-

pose of self - preservation in power, or those who are determined to uphold virtues, which alone are beneficial to themselves and their sponsors.

Nigerians whole-heartedly want positive change in all spectra of life, including government and leadership, which they see as the first point of call in all issues, which affect their livelihood including welfare and security. They want to see a perfectly functional system - a system which promises progress, adequate utilization of natural wealth, positive re-orientation in socio-cultural experiences, prompt attention to the ever-expanding dilemma of the poor and the impoverished, and making the economy (both national and international) work out wonders at self improvement.

Nigerians do not wish to remain forever doubtful and cynical of what the political culture is capable of bringing about. They want to see that democracy truly and unhypocritically work; that it bridges all forms of widening gulf amongst the citizens, and establish a credible present and wholesome future. To them, democracy should not be found in the books alone, but should be capable of being fully practically experienced, positively, richly, and progressively in our country.

Nigeria is a unique country in Africa, and for that matter, in the entire world. What brought about wars in other countries had not spelt doom for us as a

people, even when we experienced some shocking effects. What this means is that she is indeed a lucky country; we are a lucky people. It is time for us to wake up and make democracy attain its full objectives in our midst, instead of depending only on luck, in our march towards full nationhood.

We need to truly sit down as / a people, do away with mischief, discordance, hatred, envy, self-antagonism, bad blood, bad faith and weak beliefs and embrace dignifying culture of pride in our energies and potentialities / accountability, probity, and belief in self. We have to struggle hard enough to make all enemies of democracy fail in their satanic choice of attitude and style.

Nigeria is bigger than all of us. And we have no other country but Nigeria. Our sincere commitment should not be limited only to the protection of individuals; we should be better concerned with the protection of the motherland; to work for good and progressive ideals, which will make the country more stable, and letter suitably equipped to stand the test of the democratic challenge, which is promised by the 21st Century.

There is no other way to think as authentic patriots.

PUBLISHER'S CORNER

MY PACT WITH NOBLE DREAMS

A few weeks back, our political experience as a people witnessed a very traumatic moment. Changes occurred in the Senate, and there has been no doubt that Nigerians have since been responding to these changes in various ways till now.

What is important is that I do know that Nigerians elected their representatives to serve specific purpose: work hard to give their lives a new shift in value, a value with human face, buttressed by pursuit of truth, fairness, transparency and accountability. The Senate, as I said in a recent interview did not of itself employ anyone. It is Nigerians who noted us in. And it was not in vain.

In all that has happened in the Senate and outside of it, since the emergence of the new democratic culture in Nigeria in May 1999, I have always seen it as my duty as a patriotic Nigerian, to fight for the common man; for truth and objectivity, and of course, for the growth of Nigeria.

Gimbiya Newsletter, 2000

True, political parties may be different as well as those who joined them or started them. But I have always believed that the ultimate aim of politics is purposeful change of society.

That will have no meaning if ideals and respect for due process do not guide our actions. We exist in a vacuum if we are not ready to give due respect to procedure in our political activities. And even in all segments of our experience as / a people.

I am aware that in advanced countries of the world where democracy is being practiced, seriousness is being given a chance. That is serious engagement with truth, discipline, sense of responsibility and decency. Serious commitment to the pursuit of noble ideas and ideas, and of constant familiarity with all shades of opinions such as might influence the present and future of their society.

I honestly stand for change; true, unadulterated, pure change, because this is what we need right now. This is what will make this political experiment different from what it had always been. It is the way forward.

Moreover, such a change must be seen to be transparently honest, straight and palatable to the common man. Our constituents want and demand everything good - good and regular supply of water, electricity, health facilities and transport system; they insist on good welfare.



*Distinguished Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq
representing FCT*

package from a government who promised to be for them; they want good education and social infrastructure. Their security system should be neatly preserved and protected. The future of their children must be guaranteed. All these interests have to be achieved and sustained through a solid economic base - a thoroughly non-dependent, rich and progressive economy.

My first hand experience with the grassroots at the FCT clearly shows that there are a lot of neglected areas in which the government must come down to the assistance of the poor, helpless and hopeless majority of our citizens. And it cuts across the entire Nigerian society.

The truth is that we should rather concentrate on satisfying these needs. This is the whole essence of democracy - if it is to have meaning.

NEWS

ELECTORATES SCORE SENATOR KHAIRAT HIGH

Thousand of eletorates of the fedral Capital Territory Abuja have scored Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq high while appraising her performance both in the National Assembly and the Constituency.



Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq in the midst of political leaders at Kuje recently.

An opinion poll conducted in the Federal Capital Territory; Abaji, AMAC, Bwari, Gwagwalada, Kuje, and Kwali revealed that over 90% of those interviewed commended the Senator and traditional title holder for standing as a worthy example of a representative of the people.

Senator Khairat who doubles as the Gimbiya Ushafa and Kwali and also the Sarauniyar-Rubochi, Garkuwan Jabi and Sarkin Yakin Shere won the hearts of her electorates through what must of them described as her "transparent commitment to the development of the country".

Several of the respondents were impressed by her recent stand on the observance of procedure, which she insisted was

vital for the success of the legislature in particular and the country in general.

Some of the respondents however described her confidence, performance and influence in the Senate as very encouraging as she has shown that the Nigerian woman has the capacity not only to represent the people but also to become a credible leader.

While commenting on her performance in the Senate, Chief Benedict Okafor who said he was instrumental to the overwhelming support she got from the various community development associations and Non-Governmental Organisations during the elections said the Senator has truly vindicated them by proving that she

was equal to the task and was worthy of whatever trust reposed in her

A youth leader from Abaji showered praises on Senator Khairat for not getting her name soiled in the unfortunate contract scam in the Senate that has dented the image of some of her colleagues.

Both residents of AMAC and Gwagwalada area councils were however impressed by the brave role she played in trying to save her colleagues who were indicted by the Kuta Probe Panel adding that her style of debate and arguments in the Senate has left no one in doubt about the tremendous impact she has created in the National Assembly.

Cont. on P11

I AM SENSITIVE TO NATIONAL ISSUES

(Sanetor Khairat's statement to the press at a recent conference)

It has become necessary for me to make this statement out of a glaring need. From the moments since the adjournment of sitting for August 1st, 2000, I perceive that the position I took on the floor of the house has either been misunderstood, or is being deliberately twisted in meaning and significance for clandestine whims.

I wish to reiterate that I am a Senator of the Federal Republic, at the Senate to represent the Federal Capital Territory. The wishes and aspirations of the people of the Federal Capital Territory are the reason I step into the Senate Chambers each day of sitting.

As a woman, I have to be sensitive about matters affecting women, children and family, and in this I assume a national status being blessed to be one of the few women in the Legislative arm of Government.

This is responsibility I cannot shirk or even jettison.

As a Senator of the Federal Republic, it has become my duty and responsibility to take a stand on issues, and I dare say that I place Nigeria first, and thereafter, the sustenance of democracy, which is through the development and protection of the structural institutions upon which a strong and virile democracy is propped up.

I affirm that these considerations mainly determined my position on the submission of the Idris Kuta Committee report and not the puerile contention in some quarters that it was a ploy to save the necks of some people. That we incidental to good governance and sustainable democracy must not use impropriety to pass judgement in impropriety is entirely.

I must note that the first motion to set up the Idris Kuta Committee was based on ruinous and newspaper reports of allega-

tions of impropriety in the Senate.

Without touching the motives behind making the undebated report public by whoever, now these same newspapers are alleging acts, which constitute abuse of ethics on the part of the committee chairman, and possibly members, if indeed they occurred, and if indeed the allegations are true.

For as long as newspapers claims called the moral credentials of officers, to question, similar claims of unethical conduct must call to question the moral credentials of the Committee, and manner of treating the submission of the report.

Therefore the need to again investigate the conduct of the Chairman since completing his assignment cannot be overlooked.

The survival of democracy in Nigeria is possible only if the citizens' political office holder, public officers, and institutions including the media in ALL CONDUCT, do not break rules, abuse ethics, and make nonsense of procedure.

NEWS

GOVERNMENT SHOULD BE HUMANE TO THE POOR

--Khairat Abdul-Razaq

The Federal Government of Nigeria has been asked to always demonstrate humane feelings towards the poor, as leadership exists for the protection of all and sundry.

Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq, representing the FCT and Chairman of the Committee on the FCT had said this during her second visit to Kado Community in Abuja recently, to distribute relief materials to the people who were victims of the demolition of illegal structures in the month of July.

In her words: "I feel touched by your plight. And whatever affects you affects me as your representative; your voice. It was necessary for the government to consider the poor when actions are taken. The land in Abuja belongs to the government, but people are not aware. This is why the poor people here should have been considered before their houses were pulled down and properties destroyed", she said.

She said housing is a major problem in Abuja, and it was rather unfortunate that a lot of people from other places in Nigeria hoping to reside in the FCT, knew so little of this problem, thereby making life difficult for them thereafter.

On what she hopes to do on the housing problem especially with

regard to the Kado people, she had said that before 2001 Federal Government Budget, she would work hard to ensure that the government makes provision of cleared land for people to have little plots and on which to build, adding, "I need your prayers to make it possible".

Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq spoke glowingly on the richness of Abuja, adding, "The soil is rich. With small rainfall, crops grow easily. It is an agricultural area. But those coming should be aware of the housing prob-

lem". And since both the rich and the poor look towards Abuja as a national centre of fulfilment, the government has to do everything possible to make life worthwhile for all. She also pledged to assist the people of Kado in their relocation drive, adding, "Many people are hopeful. I am hopeful too. What is important is for us to know our rights", she concluded. Some of the items personally donated to the people included ten bags each of rice, maize, garri and salt; as well as large tins of palm oil and bundles of clothes.

ue interest in the resources which every community is endowed with and can contribute to our federations".
From "Seizing the Next Century: state of the Nation review"

"Education must be considered a national security issue for the future of our nation. Politics must stop at our school - house doors; it cannot be allowed to intrude. We must be resolved that education is the birthright of the next and future generation".
From "Seizing the Next Century: state of the Nation review"

Quotable Quotes Cont. from P7

"The empowerment of our women is the empowerment of all Nigerian families"
From "Seizing the Next Century: state of the Nation review"

"The challenge before our nation is one of change. Change to amend the old structures that have proven inimical to growth and the exploitation of the resources - human and materials which component areas of our federation possess and can contribute to the common wealth".
From "Seizing the Next Century: state of the nation review"

NEWS

I AM IN POLITICS TO CREATE A DIFFERENCE

The chairman of the Senate Committee on the Federal Capital Territory, Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq has said that she is into politics to create a difference.

In a chat with pressmen in Abuja recently, Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq said, "Gone are the days when women politicians were seen and perceived as mere stooges to their male counterparts who could not do much to create changes in the already battered image of the country".

She said under the new democratic dispensation and the transparent leadership posture of President Olusegun Obasanjo, Nigerian women politicians particularly the few elected legislators were working relentlessly to save the country from its battered image.

Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq disclosed that as part of her strategies she had mapped out far-reaching programmes that could involve women to strive at building a new image for the country.

The senator pointed out that as concerned mothers, Nigerian women were committed and dedicated to ensuring the success of the present administration of President Obasanjo.

She said she was seriously concerned about Nigerians' attitude to the various programmes lined-up by the Obasanjo's administration adding that only qualitative support to such programmes like the UBE, Poverty Alleviation and the anti-corruption crusade, could drastically improve the country's image.

In addition to the various forms of assistance she has been rendering to hundreds of Nigerians from across the country in her FCT constituency, Senator Khairat believes that more training and enlightenment for Nigerians especially women was necessary because of the ever changing environment, which requires timely information and knowledge for people to become relevant in the society.

She said in spite of the difficulties involved, she has embraced the challenge of spearheading Nigerian women to rekindle the lost image of the nation and assured that Nigerian women will discharge this duty creditably.

QUOTABLE QUOTES

(Thoughts of FCT Senator)

"For as long as there is governance, there will be positions. And as long as there are positions, there will be people interested in filling them. Why not women?"

At the meeting of women's caucus, Abuja (4/8/2000).

Women are still suppressed. Men trivialise women's decisions and interests. Even women leaders do not get recognised for leadership. Unfortunately women are their own enemies. And some of the things we do inadvertently affect us".

At the meeting of women's caucus, Abuja (4/8/2000).

"I always stand for procedure. And procedure goes well, everything is smooth and moving, there will be no rancour".

Interview with Weekly trust newspaper (August 11 - 17, 2000) page, 3.

Interview with Weekly Trust newspaper (August 11 - 17, 2000) page, 3.

"We lack patience to study situations properly. We are only interested in results, which may be wrong how do you want us to be organised and to seek to move forward when our operations are not neatly following the laid down procedure? We say one thing and do the other. I feel bad over such a situation... our total approach to issues is wrong. We are all eager to make impact. Whatever we do today will affect tomorrow. Whatever we do will affect the future. This is why I am bothered about respect for procedures".

In a recent interview with pressmen.

"The major challenge facing our nation is unlocking val

Cont. on P6

GENDER CONCERN

(An Address at a meeting of Women's Caucus, August 4, 2000 at Nicon Hilton, Abuja.)

I feel highly honoured to welcome you all to the meeting of the multi-party women's caucus, and to thank the organisers of this programme for their sensitive drive and initiatives. The subject of this meeting is to review the political parties constitutions and manifestoes in Nigeria, with a view to recommending to the PDP, APP and AD, party leadership the proposing amendments and reforms as they relate to women.

It is a truth, which is glaringly manifest that women have contributed immensely to the overall development of national economics and international trade in the world, and their relevance cannot be over looked.

But we all know that this significance does not result into a full acknowledgement of women's role. Indeed, poverty does impose additional pressures on the time of women and exposes the need for new survival strategies. Women have faced problems of male chauvinism, and it is a fact that many of them now lack good courage to inspire them to join politics, and participate more effectively in the process of nation building.

Be that as it may, women in general constitute about one-third of all industrial sector workers in developing countries, and a high

proportion of the labour force in export processing activities and services sector such as banking and tourism.

Indeed after several years of military rule, Nigeria is now a democratic nation and in pursuit of this battle to attain greater height in democratic ex-



Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq

perience, the women have not been left out. And this is a plus for their culture of improved awareness and socio-political maturity. Their humanity has been immensely enriched. Their voices have become loud and the actions have added great impact to their collective relevance to national growth and development. It is true that some women had since lost their lives in the struggle.

At dawn of a new era, the Nigerian women have overcome major detriments to systematic discriminative gender systems to pave way for some democratic structures. They campaigned ef-

fectively, worked hard and got elected into vital organs of government at all levels.

In view of the noble roles by past heroines in our culture history and the need to complement the efforts of the present, there is the need to document the achievements and efforts of the Nigerian women.

It may also interest you to note that in the effort to minimise the sufferings and discrimination against women, a proposal on legislation and legal action on women trafficking and child labour at both national and sub-regional levels was held recently here in Abuja, FCT.

One is happy to note, as well, that on the international scene, Nigeria has done much in her efforts to eliminate all forms of discrimination and hardship on women. Actions are being taken by various women organisations and agencies to sanitise all Nigerians towards the plight of women.

In this regard, distinguished women, may I seize this opportunity once more to welcome you all. I wish you a successful deliberation.

Stop Being Your Own Enemies, Nigerian Women Told.

Nigerian women have been called upon to desist from attitudes, which tend to portray them as their own greatest enemies, and as forces, which prevent the recognition of women as potential contributors to the cause of national development.

Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq representing the FCT expressed this opinion in a welcome remark at a meeting of Women's Caucus, 4th August 2000 at the Nicon Hilton, Abuja.

Citing various instances from recent events in the country, Senator Abdul-Razaq condemned what she called the pull-her-down syndrome, which some Nigerian women themselves seek to promote as if politics is war against their own gender.

The first Nigerian female Senator of the FCT using the occasion to address women politicians from various political parties, called on Nigerian women to be prepared to sacrifice more to the general struggle for liberation because 'for as long as there is governance, there will be positions. And as long as there are positions, there will be people interested in filling them. Why not women?' she said, adding that the Federal government grossly undermined women in various appointments in the past, particularly on Ministers and Ambassadors, and it involved a lot of struggles before

the Obasanjo regime considered some women for certain positions.

She said women generally disenfranchise themselves through cowardly and self-antagonistic behaviours, while men keep recycling themselves in power, benefiting from it and pushing women aside. To her, 'women are still suppressed. Men trivialize women's decisions and interests. Even women leaders do not get recognised for leadership. Unfortunately women are their own enemies. And some of the things we do inadvertently affect us'. She expressed sadness that politics does often expose women to all forms of trials and temptations, while only few actually care to know what courageous women can do to better the image of women. She lamented the fact that true women politicians are often misunderstood.

The outspoken and courageous lawmaker has categorized the Nigerian women into three - those not in politics but 'who are dedicated, and capable of withstanding pressures come rain, come sun, and they come in different shapes and sizes. These want true change; they don't want to die or watch their children die of hunger, lack of education and

unsure means of livelihood; the women in politics who are educated, informed and are wives of important personalities, widows of important personalities, looking for relevance but do not act and participate in politics until a system is over'; while there are those who go into politics to seek elective positions; who are therefore power players, to be first in the group to give service and make sacrifices because they feel women should be truly involved.

To her, women should fight for at least 30 percent role in decision-making in Nigeria, urging them to 'work together to secure a place for our daughters'.

The first Nigerian female Senator of the FCT using the occasion to address women politicians from various political parties, called on Nigerian women to be prepared to sacrifice more to the general struggle for liberation because 'for as long as there is governance, there will be positions.



...a motivator of the young Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq giving gifts to a girl at Rimba / Ebagi ward of Abaji, recently.

"WOMEN ARE STILL SUPPRESSED"

The question of women's place in the governance of the country has again been highlighted by the FCT Senate Committee chairman, Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq, when she said "Nigerian women are suppressed".

During a recent meeting of the Women's Caucus formed by members of diverse political parties, held in the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, Senator Khairat said that the age-long women's struggle for attainment of social equality, economic security and political freedom was swatted by many anti-progressive elements that do not see why women should be given leadership roles.

She said since independence, Nigerian women have shown interest in national affairs only to be sidelined by some self-centred elements that do not see the virtues of their mothers lending a hand at spearheading the affairs of the nation.

Senator Khairat said in spite of the qualitative inputs of Nigerian women, several norms militating against women's active participation in shaping the destiny of our great country still exists.

She said during the first, second and third republics, Nigerian women were used as voting tools who were immediately forgotten after elections as the men constituted the lot of elected representatives who formed over ninety five percent of the executive both at the Federal, State and Local levels.

Senator Khairat noted that despite this un-encouraging situation, women in the country remained committed to their collective determination to free themselves from the grips of anti-progressive forces who still do not believe that women should not be suppressed.

For this noble role of rekindling interest in the freedom of women, PDP is becoming more popular among Nigerian women, both in the urban and rural centres across the country, the Senator disclosed.

The fiery Amazon said the movement against gender discrimination in the country received a boost with the formation of the People's Democratic Party (PDP), which she said had a special focus on the plight of Nigerian women in its manifesto.

With the support of the party, she said, Nigerian women have become a thorn in the necks of their oppressors.

For this noble role of rekindling interest in the freedom of women, PDP is becoming more popular among Nigerian women both in the urban and rural centres across the country, the Senator

disclosed.

She was sad that Nigerian women are not well recognised in the country's hall of fame as both past civilian and military administrations did little to immortalise our heroines like the late Chief (Mrs) Ransome Kuti, Madam Tinubu, Queen Idia of Benin, queen Amina of Zazzau, Alhaja Kudirat Abiola, etc.

Senator Khairat opined that with the present number of elected women legislators on the increase, the Nigerian women were not only set to assert themselves but also fight against any form of oppression since their increased involvement in shaping the destiny of the nation was not only desirable but also necessary.

She urged Nigerians to support all legislations and other programmes of the present administration, which are aimed at women empowerment adding that future legislations in this direction would be comprehensive.

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COMMENDATION

YOUTH LEADER SUGGESTS NATIONAL HONOUR FOR KHAIRAT

Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq has been commended by the Karu Dynamic Youth Organisation for identifying with the helpless rural communities in the FCT through supporting various community development projects in the area.

Making the commendation while addressing a joint meeting of seven youth associations in Karu recently, Mal. Mohammed D. Marafa recalled Senator Khairat's assistance to those affected by the demolition exercise at Kado village last month.

According to the youth leader, the senator had already completed a comprehensive study of problems of the various communities in the areas with a view to initiating

moves for their solution.

Top among the problems areas as revealed by Mal. Marafa were roads, electricity, water supply and renovation of schools.

Mal. Marafa also disclosed that Senator Khairat has completed a study of the potentials of each Area Council in the FCT adding that she was soon to embark on a major programme hinged on promoting inter-area council co-operation to accelerate the pace of development of the entire Federal Capital Territory.

He said, Senator Khairat was to enlist Federal Government assistance for clearing and allocating parcels of land to those affected

by various demolition programmes adding that the Distinguished Senator was convinced of getting the Federal Government's support because of the importance of the housing needs in the territory.

With this good understanding of the political guru, the youth leader suggested that Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq should be conferred with a national honour for contributing to the development of the FCT.

He said her concern for the poor in the society has marked her out as a true nationalist given the fact that she is representing the interest of people from all parts of the country and not just a particular state.

Electorate score Khairat high

The respondents also reflected on her performance in her constituency hailing her for opening and equipping her constituency office, employment of staff and timely payment of salaries. They also commended her for her constant briefings, her open door policy, access to the electorates and her motherly assistance to the needy.

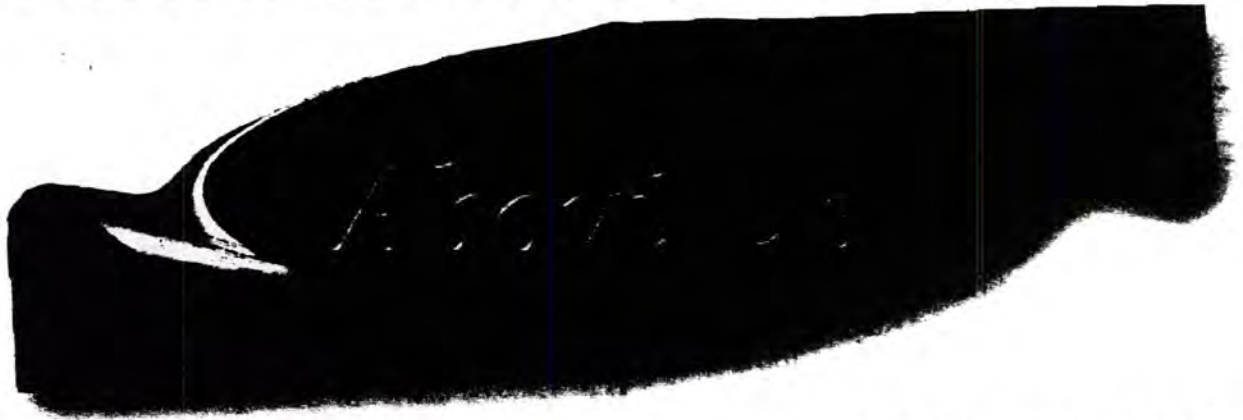
Her concern over the plight of displaced residents whose structures were recently demolished in most parts of the FCT has also endeared her to the people. They said her people oriented programmes have singled her out not only as a dynamic

Senator but also as a true nationalist who is committed to national unity and other veritable instruments of nation building.

Cont. from P4



Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq with children at Dafa ward, Kwali Area Council, during a working tour of the Area.



The Publication of Gimbiya Newsletter by Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq signifies her heroic rise to fulfilling her campaign promises by highlighting those bottlenecks that militate against rapid and sustainable development in her FCT constituency in particular and the country in general.

The Newsletter serves to provide a veritable platform for development by stimulating transparent, efficient, virile, moral and intellectual response that will move the nation forward.

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Publisher: Senator Khairat Abdul-Razaq Qwadabe

**You may reach the distinguished Senator for the FCT in her constituency office:
Plot 449 Kontagora Street, beside Voice of Nigeria Garki, Area 3.**

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P.O. Box 4718
Syracuse, NY 13221
Phone: (315) 434-8800
Fax: (315) 434-9155

Northwestern Mutual Life

Fax

To:	Terry McAuliffe	From:	John "Duke" Kinney
Fax:	202-261-0773	Pages:	2
Phone:		Date:	09/18/00
Re:	Article		
☐ Urgent ☒ For Review ☐ Please Comment ☐ Please Reply ☐ Please Recycle			

Mac:

This was the article from Saturday morning's paper, please pass it on to the President. If you need a 4th person for your golf game, give me a call!

Have a great day!

Sincerely,

Duke

9-22-00

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-1006

Chaw/ Steve
mark you to
see 65803
number

September 19, 2000

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I still have the t-shirt. I still vividly remember the day. It v
good memories as long as I live.

I'm talking about the trip to the Princeton commencement v
national HOPE tuition credit plan. It was a great day. And
remember Leon Panetta turning to me and saying "This thir

I believe it has worked, Mr. President, and it is an important part of your legacy. While
it has not worked, however, is in Georgia, the state that was its model. And over the
years, everywhere I've gone in my state I have heard about it.

Here is why: Georgians who attend state colleges and receive state HOPE scholarships
cannot claim the federal Hope tuition tax credit under current law. The 1997 federal law
permits a credit of up to \$1500 for tuition and fees only. Federal law also requires non-
taxable scholarships to be applied to a student's tuition charges, before the tax credit can
be used. As a consequence of these two provisions, recipients of Georgia's HOPE
scholarship cannot take advantage of the federal program.

Mr. President, I'm certain it was not your intention to exclude Georgians from the federal
Hope program and I know you will recognize the irony of a law that penalizes the very
state that served as a model for the national initiative. I wanted you to know that I plan to
introduce a bill in the next week or so that would correct the problem. The bill would
amend the law so that Georgia residents who receive state HOPE scholarships can
participate in the federal tax credit program. I look forward to making this issue my first
legislative initiative in the Senate, but I also recognize that the Senate does not have
sufficient time to act on it before we adjourn and while you are still president. So I am
asking for your help.

9-22-00

Is a response
called for?

YES

TO DELIAC FOR REPLY
coordinate w/OMB/PPC

red dot.

W 9-23-00

9-22-00

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-1006

September 19, 2000

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I still have the t-shirt. I still vividly remember the day. It will remain there in my attic of good memories as long as I live.

I'm talking about the trip to the Princeton commencement when you unveiled your national HOPE tuition credit plan. It was a great day. And it is a great program. I remember Leon Panetta turning to me and saying "This thing better work, Governor."

I believe it has worked, Mr. President, and it is an important part of your legacy. Where it has not worked, however, is in Georgia, the state that was its model. And over the years, everywhere I've gone in my state I have heard about it.

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The President
September 19, 2000
Page 2

I understand that over the next several weeks you will be negotiating with House and Senate leadership on an omnibus spending bill. I hope you will consider including the substance of my bill on your list of priorities, using your last chance to correct this omission of thousands of Georgia college students.

Your friend,


Zell Miller

Shirley and I have a one-bedroom apartment in The Methodist House, across from the Supreme Court. This new job is taking some getting used to - but it's fascinating. My thoughts and prayers are with you and yours
with affection



I am told the cost would be \$28 million

Attention: Mr. President

The President of the United States of America

fax number 202-456-1210

00 SEP 22 04:17

From: Rickey Townsend

Date: 9/21/00

Fax number: 715-325-5295

Phone number: 715-325-5295

documents enclosed: 50 pages (letter) etc...

Thank you.

Very important letter, please give
to Mr. President.

Thank you. Send to Cohen?

Yes ☒

No ☐

cul

Dear Mr. President,

09-21-00

I am a proud Democratic voter and have tried my best to serve this country. I am writing you this letter in hopes you can help me return to serving this country in the field I devote my life to the Federal Bureau Prison. I served in the U.S. Army (active duty) from 1980-1986. Then from 1988-1992, I served in the U.S. Army National Guards as a section leader and a assistant platoon sergeant. I was accepted into the Federal Bureau Prisons and I started working at FCI Oxford as a GS-6, Correctional Officer on 12/30/91 then was promoted to GS-7 on 06/28/92. The years 1992,1993,1994,1995,1996,1997, 1998,1999 and 2000. I experienced multiple discriminatory acts towards myself due to certain staff members at FCI Oxford, Wisconsin and dealing with Office of Worker Compensation Programs. I experienced a hate crime first hand shortly after the O.J. Simpson verdict on 10/4/95. I was poisoned on 10/11/95, 7-days later after the verdict while at work. I worked with a 300+ white staff with only five African American Correctional Officers. FCI Oxford is known to have a low minority rate of African American staff, when the majority of the inmate population is African American.

The incident started when I had been requested to work the Waupaca Unit, by the Unit Manager Jim Wayman. This was a unit that I was not normally scheduled to work. He offered me coffee from a pot in the unit secretary's office (A secured area from inmates), which turned out to be cold because it was sitting over night, so I had to heat it up in the microwave in the officers station (No Other Staff Drink The Coffee From That Pot But Me, Because Everyone Else Had Brought Up There Cups From The Lieutenants Office). In the four years that I was there Mr. Wayman has never offered me anything. When Mr. Wayman, seen me get up to get my first cup of coffee he conveniently leaves the unit. I had two small cups of coffee, within a 30-minute period which I had been warned by an inmate as I was heating that first cup, not to drink it, because he stated "it was bad for my health." I just told him to get out of my office. Within twenty minutes, I was reacting to whatever was in the coffee, I felt a burning sensation in my stomach moving up to my chest, out to my arms, legs and head. My heart was racing, chest pains, head started hurting, blood pressure shot up, nausea and my body was going numb with a burning sensation all over. I immediately went to the unit secretary office across the hall and stated to her (Deb Paske) "call for the institution doctor (Dr. Reed) or the P.A." (Physician Assistant). "I think I'm having a heart attack." She immediately called the control center by phone and stated "staff member down and needs medical assistance he's having a heart attack." I had to wait for approximately twenty minutes for any staff to show up. Out of 300+ staff, only 3-staff members showed up, and neither one of them was the facility doctor.

FCI Oxford policy states that a doctor or a P.A. will respond, and the Associate Warden is to be notified whenever an officer is reported down. However, the institution doctor nor a PA ever showed up to the staff emergency. The compound officer came and got me on the a electrical go cart, and moved me without a Dr. being present from the infirmary, and while five staff members had to remove me from the electrical go cart to take me inside. Mr. Wayman and Mr. Graves (Associate Warden) walked through a side door about 20-feet from me, and they both looked at me and laughed, and walked away like nothing had happened. From that point on I knew something wasn't right, and I kept stating to the staff members that were taking me into the infirmary "check the coffee...check the coffee!!!"

I was taken to the infirmary, where they left me laying there for hours, and I kept stating "don't let me die!! Check the coffee!!" FCI Oxford policy states for an ambulance to be called in an emergency. But instead, they wanted me finally to drive myself to the hospital, and when I refused, Lt. Renstrom took me in a government sedan vehicle. On the way to the hospital he conveniently got lost (it's his job to know the area like the back of his hands, in case of a prisoners escape). I stated to him please don't let me die like this or my death will be on your hands. I stated that you know the hospital knows that I am coming. I stated to Lt. Renstrom "how are you going to explain a 45 min trip taking a 1 1/2 hours." Right then he thought about what I said and remarkably he finds the main road, and started doing speeds from 70-85 miles an hour.

Once at the emergency room at Hess Memorial Hospital in Mauston, Wisconsin Lt. Renstrom pulled the emergency room doctor aside and told him something in private that till this day I do not know what was said. The attending doctor on call was Dr. Logan, he came back in the room and asked me what happened to me at work, and I told him about the coffee, and that I thought I was poisoned. I told Dr. Logan that I had never missed a day of work or been sick in my life and also that the coffee offered to me by Mr. Wayman was cold. I also told Dr. Logan it took around 20min for the effects of the coffee to kick in. The Hospital staff did not pump my stomach, clean out my intestinal tract, or call the poison control center. Yet everywhere you look there are poison control center stickers on phones with the phone number right at eye view. Instead, I basically laid there, and was diagnosed with caffeine overload and high blood pressure. I had to argue just to get them to keep me in the hospital overnight for observation, because I all most past out from being so weak. Later after the incident it was brought to my attention the prison only is allowed to serve decaf. The doctor started me on high blood pressure medication, even though I had never had high blood pressure before in my life. Six months before the incident I had a blood pressure reading at a screening site, it was (110/70) a normal reading. My blood work came back as 14 to 17 things off, that were either too high or too low off the charts from the normal ranges. All the remaining blood cultures were borderline. I have suffered a tremendous amount of pain because of this injury not including all the other things involved.

This is why I come to you for help. Many events have taken place since that incident (10/11/95). I tried to file with the EEOC right after the incident but my employer would not file it telling me I had no case. I have tried to file against my employer again in 1997, with an attorney, I come to find out works for the employer. I paid attorney Shindell \$1,000 to do a case evaluation which she stated would take fourteen days. I provided her with all the records dealing with the discrimination issue. However, she dragged out the case evaluation for three months, kept my files that I given her for two years (so I could not get another attorney). Instead of working on the discrimination case, she claimed she was working on a Disability case. When I was already accepted for workers comp before seeing her. I also applied myself for Disability Retirement and was accepted without her help. Shindell ran up a bill for over \$8,000 dollars in three months without my authorization, and put this on my credit without notice of doing so. The question is what did she do? I feel that she was told to delay the process, so that I could not do anything, and they hope that I would just die from the poisoning in my system. I was so drugged up by my doctors with prescription medication I couldn't think straight to file on my own. Over the last five years I have had over 17,000 pills pushed through my system. I asked my family and

friends for help but nobody helped me. Jean Fennell was at one time my future mother in law, she helped me file medical records and take me to doctors appointments. I met my present girlfriend Crystal Gallego in November of 1999, she read all my medical records and looked up every word in those records and told me what was wrong with me. I knew I was poisoned and had hair samples to prove it but never could make a connection on my symptoms and medical records because I could never concentrate long enough to do so. My own primary care doctor Dr. David Hoffman a person who I trusted that practices at Mile Bluff Clinic in Mauston, WI lied to me about almost everything he never told me what certain tests meant or who he really was being paid by. I found out I have permeant damage including brain damage, prescription narcotics addiction problem, seizures due to medication tampering, mental anguish and may never be able to walk normal again. I was hoping you could maybe find me help to get these toxins out of my system Silver, Antimony, Arsenic etc.. I just found out from a Nupharlogist (Kidney Specialist) that my kidneys are leaking protein into my urine that was caused by the poisoning. I have no lymphatic and immune system, because the poison burn out my lymphatic systems. My doctors keeps covering up the fact that I was poison so that they would not get in trouble. When I been sick eleven times this year, and three of them I have been hospitalized for infections and viruses. I just want to return to my field of work and lead a normal life. I am begging you please help me, there was no investigation done on the hate crime preformed upon me, that I am aware of, all I want is a full scale investigation and medical help. I tried to write the governor of the state of Wisconsin, Tommy Thompson (Republican), and he would not get involved. Please Mr. President Help Me!!! Thank you for your time and consideration concerning this issue.

Sincerely,


Mr. Ricky Townsend
P.O. Box 912
Wisconsin Rapids, WI
54495
(715) 325-5295



Hillary and I were sorry to learn that you have not been well. We hope that you will soon feel better, and we are keeping you in our thoughts and prayers.

Barack Obama

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



Ricky Townsend
4730 Highway 735, 3 Lot A
Wisconsin Rapids, Wisconsin
54495



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Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Debate This!

Let's get crazy for a moment and imagine that the two presidential candidates are actually going to devote one of their debates to foreign policy — what would they talk about? Would Al Gore, Rick Lazio-like, thrust upon George W. Bush a map of the world with the country names spelled out phonetically (RUSH-ah, ee-ROCK, Grease)? Would Mr. Bush ask Mr. Gore to give viewers his insights on Buddhist temples? Nah. Doubt it.

Mr. Gore could, though, ask the Republican candidate to explain how is it that Mr. Bush's foreign policy advisers say the U.S. shouldn't be the world's global cop or 911, fighting wars around the world, while Mr. Bush's vice-presidential nominee, Dick Cheney, says U.S. troops are woefully underfunded and underprepared. Put it together and the Bush position is that the U.S. military should be better prepared to do nothing and better funded to go nowhere.

Mr. Gore could also ask Mr. Bush why, if the Republicans are so serious about foreign policy, they allowed both the Senate and House foreign affairs committees to be run by Republican lawmakers, such as Jesse Helms, who had so little clue about the world that these two once-great committees have become more irrelevant than anytime in their histories.

Mr. Bush, for his part, could press Mr. Gore to elaborate on his call for more "forward engagement" in U.S. foreign policy, to quell crises before they erupt. For instance, Mr. Bush could ask Mr. Gore for a single example of where the Clinton team successfully forward-engaged. The Asian economic crisis? Haiti? Kosovo? Russia? Cuba? Iraq? Other than in North Korea, where the Clinton team deserves credit for defusing a very dangerous situation, this would be a short list.

But this forward engagement concept actually would be a good place to start a debate. Where would each candidate be working right now to defuse a crisis that could require costly U.S. intervention, and what tools would he use? Right answer: The most likely places for U.S. intervention in the next four years are five islands: Cuba, Taiwan, Indonesia, North Korea and Iraq — the latter two being islands unto themselves.

On Cuba, eventually Fidel Castro is going to pass away, and when he does there will be enormous pressure from Miami Cubans to intervene in Havana when a power struggle breaks out there. Now is the time to be preparing a soft landing for Cuba. Regarding

Taiwan, China's Jiang Zemin is expected to step down at the next party congress in 2001 and he will not want to leave office without having at least resumed the dialogue with Taiwan, or be seen to have taken some decisive, unilateral action to press unification. Because a war between China and Taiwan threatens so many U.S. interests, the next president should consider secret U.S. mediation between the two as soon as he's sworn in.

North Korea is a small basket case, whose hard-headed regime is also desperately in need of a soft landing,

World issues that won't get aired.

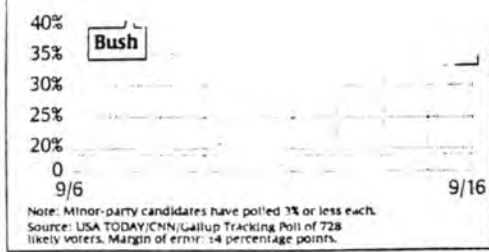
which the Clinton team has been working on, and Indonesia is a large basket case, whose soft-headed regime may be incapable of keeping Indonesia from splitting apart. Indonesia is a long way from Washington, but if the world's fourth-largest country, which sits astride the key shipping lanes of Southeast Asia, comes unglued, America will get drawn in.

Finally, U.S. fighter planes are in action over Iraq every day. It will take just one U.S. plane to be shot down inside Iraq for the next president to have his foreign policy agenda immediately dominated by what to do about Saddam Hussein. (Actually, we're already Saddam's hostages. With today's oil market so tight, if he takes just a few barrels off the market, gasoline could go to \$3 a gallon.)

As for new tools, one place the next president could start is by revamping U.S. foreign aid, by both greatly expanding the foreign aid budget, so that America is no longer the world's cheapskate, and by making all U.S. non-military assistance or debt relief conditional. The condition would be that the recipient country put in place basic anti-corruption, rule-of-law measures and institutions that will attract private investors, who have replaced governments as the key source of capital for growth in the world. Aid or investment will not work in countries without institutions.

As I said, just some crazy thoughts. No doubt the presidential candidates can, and will, get by without discussing any of them. The next president won't be so lucky. □

Struck
Lazio
Gore
Iraq
Korea



By Julie Snyder, USA TODAY

style. For the sessions Oct. 11 at Wake Forest University in Winston-Salem, N.C., and Oct. 17 at Washington University in St. Louis, the candidates will sit at a table in a talk-

show style format. The final debate will include questions from the audience. The moderator for all three sessions will be Jim Lehrer of PBS, who moderated the debates in 1996.

The debate between vice-presidential nominees Joe Lieberman and Dick Cheney will be Oct. 5 in Danville, Ky. The candidates will sit at a table with a moderator yet to be named.

Cohen concerned over some peacekeepers' behavior

Defense Secretary William Cohen expressed "grave concern" about a U.S. peacekeeping unit in Kosovo accused of abusing civilians. He said the incidents "reflect behavior that cannot be allowed to recur," but he cautioned that the problem in one Army unit shouldn't tarnish the work of more than 10,000 U.S. soldiers in the Balkans. Officials are expected to release a report today that says members of the 82nd Airborne Division groped women at checkpoints and struck and harassed other civilians. Four Army officers and five enlisted men received punishments that included reduction in rank and forfeiture of pay. The probe was sparked by the murder in January of an 11-year-old girl. A staff sergeant pleaded guilty to murder and sodomy charges and was sentenced to life in prison.

candidate on the ballot, rather than participate in only test. The Supreme Court ruled in June that such a system tramples a citizen's rights. Among the races Tuesday is the Democratic Senate primary in which high-tech millionaire Maria Cantwell and consumer advocate Deborah Senn are seeking the right to take on Republican Sen. Slade Gorton.

Voters in eastern Washington also will get to pass judgment on Rep. George Nethercutt, who reneged on his promise to serve only three terms in Congress. Challenging him in the GOP primary is former radio talk show host Richard Clear.

Massachusetts and Oklahoma also hold primaries Tuesday.

Senate poised to vote this week on China trade deal

The Senate is expected to approve legislation this week that would end Congress' annual review of China's trade status and grant the communist nation normal trade relations on a permanent basis. In exchange, China would open its vast markets to more American goods and services. The trade pact has cleared the House of Representatives, and President Clinton has said he would sign it.

The candidates today

- Gore: Las Vegas
- Bush: Little Rock; Kansas City, Mo.

Written by Paul Leavitt with staff and wire reports



By Matt Campbell, Agence France-Presse

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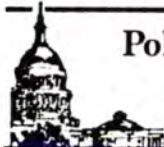
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Congress Forfeits Its Role

The Wen Ho Lee debacle is a textbook case of executive-branch misconduct.

The Taiwanese-born Los Alamos scientist was kept in solitary confinement, shackled, denied bail and repeatedly accused of selling the "crown jewels" of U.S. security secrets to China. The Justice Department, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Energy Department—along with some of the press—were the perpetrators in this miscarriage of justice.

Last week, thanks to a courageous judge appointed by Ronald Reagan, the case was dropped. All we know for



Politics & People

By Albert R. Hunt

certain is that Mr. Lee, who'll be explaining his actions to federal agents next week, downloaded lots of classified material. The government dropped 58 of 59 charges against him and the man once depicted as a modern-day Julius Rosenberg was free to go home.

As Judge James Parker so eloquently observed, an American citizen was egregiously denied his fundamental rights by a government that then lied about it and tried to cover up some of its misdeeds. This cries out for an inquiry from what should be the most appropriate place: Congress.

Sure. That's about as sensible as launching inquiries headed by John Rucker on ethnic sensitivity, rap artist Eminem on decency, or Bill Clinton on sexual promiscuity.

Congressional oversight usually has three objectives: to evaluate the effectiveness of government officials, actions or programs; to initiate, when necessary, reforms; and, to score political points. For

five years congressional Republicans have focused only on the last of these and failed miserably in the process.

They are pathetic imitations of the tough oversight guys in the last Democratic-run Congress, John Dingell and Jack Brooks. These legislators engaged in excesses, but they also achieved important objectives, such as reforming government purchasing practices and university billing procedures.

The dominant, often sole, rationale for the current crop of overseers is an obsessive desire to get Bill Clinton.

This was most pronounced in the biggest oversight of all: impeachment. Anyone who thought the Republicans were acting on principle ought to read a riveting new book, "The Breach," by Washington Post reporter Peter Baker. The driving force behind the House GOP's march to impeachment was Majority Whip Tom DeLay. Mr. Baker reveals the following impeachment memo, by a DeLay aide: "This whole thing about not kicking someone when they are down is B.S.—Not only do you kick him—you kick him until he passes out—and then bat him over the head with a baseball bat—then roll him up in an old rug—and throw him off a cliff into the pounding surf below!!!"

If the Republicans had demanded a tough censure with accompanying sanctions, they would have foiled Democrats. A move to censure would have passed with a vote of about 400 to 34, the president would have been thoroughly discredited, Republicans would have gained the upper hand and the entire political landscape would be different today.

But impeachment is only the most dramatic piece of a pattern. Republican leaders have been so indiscriminate in their obsession to "get" Mr. Clinton that they've actually helped him. California Democratic Rep. Henry Waxman directed the

minority staff of the Government Affairs Committee to analyze the myriad charges, and the subsequent facts, brought by House Republicans, particularly Oversight Chairman Dan Burton.

The 22-page document is devastating. Among the Republican allegations: White House counsel Vince Foster was murdered because of the Whitewater land deal; the Clinton White House compiled a political "enemies list" by improperly using FBI files; there was a conspiracy between the Clinton administration and the Chinese government to affect the 1996 elections; the White House deliberately, and illegally, altered videotapes of presidential fund-raising events; the Clinton administration engaged in a "political payoff" in an Indian gambling decision; and, former Clinton aide Webster Hubbell, caught in a prison wiretap, explicitly implicated the first lady in his own legal misdeeds.

There's more. One top Republican actually suggested the president engaged in "treason." But all the accusations have a common denominator: They are blatantly false.

Wen Ho Lee is only the latest. Ever since reports first surfaced several years ago that the Chinese had obtained major U.S. nuclear secrets through espionage, fingers started to point at the Los Alamos lab and Mr. Lee. Senate Intelligence Committee Chairman Richard Shelby, alluding to the Lee case, said Attorney General Reno should be canned. "Heads should roll," agreed Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott.



Wen Ho Lee

A few Democrats joined the fray, including members of the committee headed by Rep. Chris Cox that looked into alleged Chinese espionage. A number of Republicans, and Sen. Bob Torricelli, assailed Attorney General Janet Reno for not approving an FBI-requested wiretap of Mr. Lee. It's now clear that the request for the wiretap was deeply flawed.

Republican Sen. Arlen Specter, who's rarely seen a headline about himself that he didn't like, issued a report earlier this year charging that "errors and omissions" by the Clinton administration "have permitted Dr. Lee to threaten U.S. supremacy by putting at risk information that could change the global strategic balance." Guess who is now preparing to hold a hearing on Wen Ho Lee? Arlen Specter.

There are many legitimate questions that should be raised. What happened to a top FBI agent who lied about Mr. Lee's involvement? Why have relations between the Justice Department and FBI become harmfully adversarial? Why has the FBI gotten away with such unscrupulous leaks in this case? Why is the head of the criminal division at the Justice Department irrelevant? Was Wen Ho Lee a victim of racial profiling? If not Mr. Lee, did someone else leak sensitive secrets to the Chinese? Did Janet Reno and Energy Secretary Bill Richardson panic over congressional pressure? Was the imprisoned Mr. Lee subjected to constitutionally impermissible pressures to make him change his story?

It should be the role of Congress to probe these questions. They provide an appetizing target for politicians. As Vermont Sen. Patrick Leahy notes, there are those on Capitol Hill who "want to engage in a blame game about who won and lost this case." But, he concludes, "Congress's own aggressive meddling in this case should disqualify us from playing the referee."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 9/22/00

NOTE FOR: Taylor Branch

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

cc:

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China Is Said to Rearrest Bishop Released for Clinton's '98 Visit

By ERIK ECKHOLM

BEIJING, Sept. 17 — An 81-year-old Roman Catholic bishop in southern China, who spent a total of more than 30 years in prison for his loyalty to the Vatican, was rearrested last week, a Catholic foundation in the United States said today.

The latest arrest of Bishop Zeng Jingmu of Jiangxi Province is a particular setback for the Clinton administration and a slap in the face for the Vatican.

In early 1998, as President Clinton prepared to visit China, American officials sought Bishop Zeng's early

release from a labor camp, where he had been sent in 1995 for holding unauthorized religious services.

When he was freed in May 1998, six months before his three-year sentence expired, President Clinton and other officials called his release a hopeful sign that Mr. Clinton's policy of constructive engagement with China was "bearing fruit," in the words of James R. Sasser, then the American ambassador to China.

Since his release, Bishop Zeng, who is described as frail by associates, has reportedly been kept under virtual house arrest, with tight police

surveillance.

But at midnight last Thursday, close to 60 security agents surrounded the bishop's house, entered it and seized him, said Joseph Kung, head of the Cardinal Kung Foundation in Stamford, Conn., which publicizes the persecution of China's so-called underground church.

Mr. Kung said in an interview that Bishop Zeng's associates had not yet been told why he was taken in. But Mr. Kung speculated that it was because of his continued intransigent stand against cooperating with the government-allied church. His foun-

dation has reported the detentions or beatings of several other pro-Vatican priests in the last few months.

The arrest report coincided with the publicized visit to China by a high Vatican official. Cardinal Roger Etchegaray's attendance at a religious conference in Beijing last week had been widely interpreted as indicating a slight thaw in relations between China and the Vatican.

Since he was ordained as a priest in 1949, the year the Communists won power in China, Bishop Zeng has been one of the most steadfast opponents of the official "patriotic"

church, which accepts the supremacy of the Communist Party and rejects the Pope's right to select bishops. Between 1955 and 1995, according to the Kung Foundation, he spent 30 years in prison.

In the early 1990's, he became known for offering huge open-air Masses on a mountaintop, attended by tens of thousands of worshipers until the authorities clamped down.

The official church has about 70 bishops and claims five million members, while Vatican officials say that from five million to ten million Chinese follow the unauthorized Roman Catholic Church.

In some regions, the two groups coexist, if uneasily, and many priests privately admit to having divided

loyalties. But in regions with high concentrations of Catholics, relations between the government and the underground church are tense, according to the United States State Department's Sept. 5 report on religious freedom.

On Aug. 16, 1999, the Central Committee of the ruling Communist Party issued a document "calling on the authorities to tighten control of the official Catholic Church and to eliminate the underground Catholic Church if it does not bend to government control," according to the State Department report.

The Vatican and China broke off relations in the early 1950's over issues of papal authority and religious freedom.

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White House Seeks Legacy In New Rules

*Clinton May Leave Mark
On Big Variety of Topics*

By CHARLES BARINGTON
and JOBY WARRICK
Washington Post Staff Writers

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Mindful that Republicans could occupy the White House in less than six months, the Clinton administration is working feverishly to issue a host of new regulations supported by environmentalists and other liberal-leaning groups but opposed by many business and industry organizations.

The proposed rules would set tougher standards on a variety of topics from food labeling and diesel exhaust to the regulation of federal contractors. Taken as a group, they could account for a major chapter in Bill Clinton's presidency.

In some cases, the White House is battling Congress to overcome Republican opposition to initiatives that require legislative approval. In other cases, however, the administration is moving aggressively to take executive actions that could regulate a wide range of activities long after Clinton has left office.

At the Environmental Protection Agency alone, officials have listed 67 regulatory decisions looming before Clinton's second term expires in January. Environmentalists, who generally have supported the Clinton-Gore administration, are pressing the officials to take utmost advantage of their remaining months.

"If they were to accomplish all their goals, it would cement Clinton's legacy as one of the nation's great environmental presidents," said Daniel Weiss, political di-

rector of the Sierra Club's Washington office.

Clinton has signed more than 450 executive orders and proclamations, which don't require congressional approval. Many involve minor matters. But some are dramatic and controversial. This year, for example, the president invoked the Antiquities Act to create the Grand Canyon-Parashant, Giant Sequoia, Agua Fria and California Coastal national monuments, all in the West. Many western residents and politicians objected, calling it an unwarranted intrusion into land policy decisions, and just yesterday Republican vice presidential nominee Richard B. Cheney raised the possibility that some of the new monuments created by Clinton could be rescinded by a Bush administration.

Several business groups accuse Clinton of overusing his executive powers to institute measures too unpopular to pass the House and Senate. "Because he's got a Republican majority in Congress, he clearly, in my opinion, is looking for avenues to go around them," said Bruce Josten, executive vice president for government affairs at the U.S. Chamber of Commerce.

Nowhere is the rules-making process currently more hectic than at the EPA—although administration officials insist it's business as usual. "It's not like we're loading up just to get as much stuff out the door as possible," one senior official said. But the heavy agenda reflects a belief that many pet environmental programs could fade or fizzle under a Republican administration.

Opponents of White House environmental policies say they fear more last-minute maneuvering of the kind that enabled the administration to issue controversial water pollution rules last month. Lawmakers had passed a "rider," or spending bill amendment, to block the regulations, which require states to undertake extensive water surveys over the next 15 years as a step toward controlling polluted runoff.

But the EPA effectively sidestepped Congress by rushing the rules into print just days before the spending measure was signed into law. Sen. Tim Hutchinson (R-Ark.), co-author of the rider, called the maneuver "a tremendous thumb in the eye to the United States Congress."

Other environmental initiatives undergoing final grooming could stir similar controversy:

- "Roadless" policy: The U.S. Forest Service is preparing to issue final rules to ban new road construction in the service's last remaining parcels of undisturbed wilderness. The ban would affect about 40 million acres, roughly a fifth of the Forest Service's 192 million acres. The timber industry and off-road vehicle enthusiasts are among the strongest opponents.

- Diesel exhaust curbs: The EPA has set a fall deadline for completing far-reaching regulations on controlling pollution from diesel engines. Proposed rules would require advanced exhaust controls on new diesel engines while forcing oil companies to remove most of the pollution-causing sulfur from diesel fuel. The oil industry strongly objects to the proposals. But they are backed by environmental and public health groups, who say cleaner diesels would reduce lung cancer and alleviate suffering for millions of people with asthma.

- Mercury emissions: The EPA is expected to determine this year whether mercury emissions from coal-burning power plants should be regulated. Recent studies have found that mercury, a toxic chemical exempted from regulation under the Clean Air Act, poses a significant health threat to pregnant women and children with diets high in freshwater fish. A decision to regulate emissions could lead to expensive smokestack controls for power plants.

- Pesticide curbs: As part of a congressionally or-

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dered review of food safety, the EPA is finishing risk assessments for dozens of popular pesticides, including widely used diazinon and atrazine. Farmers and chemical manufacturers fear the agency may move to restrict or ban these pesticides, just as it curbed the use of top-seller Dursban earlier this year.

■ Nuclear workers' compensation: White House and Energy Department officials are pressing for a compensation package for workers who were exposed to radiation and chemical hazards while helping build the nation's nuclear arsenal. Although the initiative has bipartisan support from key legislators, others in Congress oppose what they say would be the first new entitlement for a class of workers since the government began compensating black-lung victims three decades ago.

The White House is unapologetic about its efforts in this area and others. "The president is determined to get as much as he can done for the American people through executive action, as he has for the last eight years," said Bruce Reed, Clinton's top domestic policy adviser. "We're approaching the next six months the same way we've approached the last 7½ years: To try to pass legislation with Congress, and to make use of the president's existing authority to get things done. . . . We work with Congress. But just because they've ground to a halt doesn't mean the executive branch should."

Technically speaking, all executive orders can be overturned by a new administration. Politically, however, it's not so easy. New regulations often come about only after months or years of public hearings, debates and written appeals that leave parties bruised and exhausted. To try to overturn an order would require restarting the whole process.

"It's very hard to do," said White House spokesman Jake Siewert. He noted that various presidents over the years have invoked the Antiquities Act to create national monuments and, despite cries of protest virtually every time, not one has been overturned.

Other controversial regulatory cases the administration would like to resolve involve food, drugs and government contracts.

The Clinton administration says it would like to see the abortion pill RU-486 approved for U.S. consumers, a notion that roils antiabortion activists. The Food and Drug Administration said in 1996 the drug was "approvable," but a series of manufacturing and labeling issues—as well as staunch opposition from antiabortion groups—have prevented final clearance.

According to the drug's sponsor, the FDA has until late September to respond to its most recent submissions. Should RU-486, or mifepristone, be approved shortly before the November election, opponents almost surely will claim there's a political motive. Vice President Gore has spoken favorably about RU-486,

while Texas Gov. George W. Bush has said he "would not be inclined to accept" FDA approval of any abortion-inducing drugs.

At the Agriculture Department, officials are completing long-debated standards for labeling organic foods and for requiring nutrition notices on meat and poultry.

Secretary Dan Glickman has said he will announce final rules for the national organic standards by the end of the year. Some industry groups have been fighting plans to prohibit the use of genetic engineering in organic plants and grains. The USDA is eager to complete the rule before that and other issues re-emerge.

Nutrition labeling of meat has also been a long-standing issue. Clinton in May asked the USDA to propose rules making it mandatory this year.

Stores have been encouraged to include information about calories, fat levels and other nutrition measures on their meat and poultry labels for some time. But the administration concluded the practice was not widespread enough, and so mandatory labeling was necessary. While a final rule probably won't be ready by year's end, officials said they expected the proposed rule and public hearing process to be completed.

If Bush wins the November election, his administration could block the rule. But the decision might prove politically difficult because of the momentum built during the Clinton presidency.

In the area of federal contracts, which involves billions of dollars, the Clinton administration has been trying for months to issue regulations strenuously opposed by some business groups. The proposal would allow government agencies to deny contracts to companies found to have violated federal or state laws or federal regulations. Tax, employment, environmental, antitrust or consumer protection provisions are specifically covered.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce called the proposed regulations "arbitrary and ambiguous" and a "blacklist" provision that would give unlimited power to agency officials to decide who could compete for government contracts. The House recently voted to block the regulations, approving an amendment by Reps. Thomas M. Davis III (R-Va.) and James P. Moran Jr. (D-Va.). The vote will hold the regulations at bay until the General Accounting Office completes a study on whether they are justified.

Joshua Gotbaum, acting deputy director for management at the Office of Management and Budget, said the administration is pressing the Senate to reject the House provision when the two chambers work out their differences on a related spending bill.

"We're going to urge the Senate to come to a different position," Gotbaum said. "No business in the world"—including the federal government—"should be required to do business with companies they don't trust."

In a recent speech to the National PTA Convention in Chicago, Education Secretary Richard W. Riley summed up the administration's philosophy.

"Some people might wonder why I am setting any goals at all at this time," Riley said, as he rattled off objectives—reducing class size, modernizing crumbling schools and making college tuition tax-deductible—that have met stiff congressional resistance. "They might say, 'Riley, the president's term is ending in seven months. Now isn't the time to set ambitious goals. Now's the time to rest on your laurels and take it easy.' Well, I may be a 'lame duck,' but I'm still the 'same duck' I was on my first day as secretary of education. And that means I'm going to fight for education every hour of every day, and I don't mind ruffling some feathers along the way."

Staff writers Marc Kaufman and Valerie Strauss contributed to this report.

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Sandy Thurman

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Podest

AIDS Envoy: 'A Cashmere Glove Over A Steel Fist'

*Thurman Tackles Pandemic
With Soft-Spoken Bluntness*

By BARTON GELLMAN
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK—The king of Swaziland shouldered Tom Rosshirt aside the other day as the White House speechwriter angled toward Sandra L. Thurman. His Majesty Mswati III wrapped Thurman in a warm embrace and called her Sandy. Then came President Paul Kagame of Rwanda. Then President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana.

When Rosshirt escaped with Thurman downstairs from the Waldorf Astoria's Palm Room, where President Clinton had just spoken to African leaders about AIDS, the scene replayed. A Zambian stopped to book a spot on Thurman's calendar for President Frederick Chiluba. Then it was the foreign minister of Thailand.

Usually, it is an ambassador who has to work a room, angling for face-time with heads of state. These days, the world is working its way toward Sandy Thurman, for the unlikely reason that she is President Clinton's personal envoy in the global fight against AIDS.

Clinton plucked Thurman, an Atlanta activist and third-generation Georgia pol, to be director of the White House Office of National AIDS Policy more than three years ago. Last month, amid intensified attention to the pandemic's global toll, he added an international portfolio. The scale of the catastrophe—19 million dead, 34 million dying—has begun to sink in with world leaders, and Thurman aims to help coordinate the global response.

Smart money said she would not get the job. Secretary of State Madeleine K. Albright and Frank Loy, undersecretary of state for global affairs, wanted to fill the post with a foreign service officer, reporting to them. After six months of internal debate, they thought they were winning that fight. In July, Loy announced that the naming of a career ambassador was imminent. The next day, he called a reporter to retract the report.

People have a way of underestimating Thurman, who dresses for society, calls most everyone "love" or "dear" and lets her blond hair drape over her shoulders at 47.

"My daddy used to have a saying that I had the check in the bank before most people realized I had a brain," Thurman recalled.

"Time and time and time again" people mistake her

Sandy

This is a great
piece — Thanks
for all you do

BAC

Players

Sandra L. Thurman

Title: Director, Office of National AIDS Policy; presidential envoy for AIDS cooperation.

Age: 47.

Education: Bachelor's degree, Mercer College.

Previous jobs: Director, Office of Citizen Exchanges, State Department; director of advocacy programs, Task Force for Child Survival and Development, Carter Center; executive director, AID Atlanta.

manners for softness, said James Carville, an old flame of Thurman's from their days on former Georgia governor Zell Miller's 1990 campaign. "The State Department and everybody's taken a run at her, and they ain't the better for it. She kind of has a cashmere glove over a steel fist."

Carville demurred about their romance, except to recall that "she dragged me to I don't know how many damn fundraisers" for humanitarian causes.

After five years as executive director of AID Atlanta, a community support and care program for people living with AIDS, Thurman had sweet-talked donors into tripling her budget. She took leave to serve as political director of Clinton's 1992 Georgia campaign, but stayed in health care advocacy until Clinton's second term.

Thurman is blunter, in her gracious southern way, than is common among high-level appointees. She made clear in public, within months of becoming AIDS "czarina," that she strongly disagreed with the president's decision against funding for needle exchanges to prevent the spread of AIDS among drug abusers.

And she did it without making an enemy of Barry McCaffrey, her White House counterpart for drugs, who opposed such funding. Earlier this year, she even lured the retired Persian Gulf War general to a soup kitchen for AIDS patients, where he pronounced the grub "top 1 percent Army mess hall, which I would take as a compliment."

She describes Air Force One, on which she flew most recently to Tanzania and Nigeria with Clinton, as "16 hours trapped with 40 of your co-workers, like a big bus with wings."

"Of course I'm burned out," she said, in mock exasperation. "I've been doing this for 18 years!"

But not too burned out to spend her vacation on the "family disease"—politics. Thurman's mother was a Georgia Democratic Party chairman, and Thurman knows where the power is. Her job at the Los Angeles convention was running credentials. If you wanted someone in, said Sen. Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), "who [were] you picking up the phone to talk with? Sandy Thurman. She catches you one way or the other."

In her White House office, Thurman has only six staff members to help coordinate AIDS policies that spend billions of dollars across a dozen agencies. Some colleagues in other departments describe her Jackson Place townhouse headquarters as a black hole for paperwork. She has a way of missing meetings, or saying the date is no good, that "stops progress dead in the water" when she does not like the direction her colleagues are going, one of them said.

Thurman said before leaving for Africa last month that she is "very sensitive to the quality of work that comes out of this office" and agreed she might not "move as quickly as people would like." But when she came back she took a steelier line.

"The more I thought about that, the more it ticked me off," she said. "With such a small staff we operate in triage mode, so most of our energy goes where the bodies are dropping fastest. . . . There's a certain level of arrogance to folks thinking what is their priority ought to be [my] priority."

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Mr. Bush's New Strategy

Gov. George W. Bush's task for the next week or so is simple. He has to get his arrhythmic campaign back on a steady beat before he gets typecast as a Republican version of Michael Dukakis, the Democratic nominee in 1988. For a long time, Mr. Bush counted on his personality and his promise to restore "honor and dignity" to undermine public regard for Vice President Al Gore. But now that he is behind, Mr. Bush plans to battle on issues outlined in his new "Blueprint for the Middle Class," such as his proposed tax cuts, education reforms and plans to overhaul Medicare and Social Security. This may well be the right strategy, but it will not be an easy one. Not only is this Mr. Gore's preferred terrain, but on most of these subjects, polls show that voters favor Mr. Gore.

To be sure, Mr. Bush will now get a chance to be specific about compassionate conservatism, yet the debate will almost certainly be less about philosophy than about who gets what benefits. Mr. Gore has made headway because he has been able to show that his programs benefit middle-income families, while Mr. Bush's policies seem tailored to corporate interests and the well-to-do.

On prescription drugs for Medicare, for example, Mr. Bush would use federal funding to encourage competition among private health care plans, an approach that Mr. Gore says would amount to a giveaway to insurance companies. The governor's assumption on these proposals seems to be that voters will see him as a champion of markets and Mr. Gore as a fan of big government. But it is by no means clear that the voters Mr. Bush needs — say,

retirees in Florida — dislike Washington Medicare bureaucrats more than the benefits bureaucrats at the insurance companies.

No matter how inventive Mr. Bush becomes in proposing changes in the basic New Deal and Great Society safety net, he has yet to explain how he will pay for what he wants to do if he proceeds with a tax cut estimated to cost nearly \$2 trillion over 10 years. True, that proposal helped him in the Republican primaries when he was running against Senator John McCain. But even his fellow Republican derided it as too heavily weighted toward the rich, and now Mr. Gore has countered with a plan of limited tax cuts tailored to the middle-class concerns such as helping families pay for college. Mr. Gore's plan has been criticized as a fiscal patchwork, but its sales pitch has a broader appeal.

If the tax cut drives the whole debate toward a choice between which programs benefit which classes of people, Republicans will deplore the dangers of class warfare. But class resentments have long been a staple of American politics, from the late 19th century to the presidential race in the new production of Gore Vidal's play "The Best Man." So have the kind of income-distribution and retirement security concerns that Mr. Bush will be touching on when he takes to the stump with his tax, Social Security and Medicare proposals. The polls show why the governor felt he had to shift gears before the October debates, but it is hard to see exactly where the voter payoff comes in an argument with Mr. Gore over bread-and-butter issues in the swing states.

The Shadowy Politics of Peru

After a wave of mass street demonstrations and diplomatic protests failed to persuade Alberto Fujimori to call new presidential elections in Peru, palace intrigue has apparently caused his fall. The manner of Mr. Fujimori's demise is fitting, for the aide who helped keep him in power — Vladimiro Montesinos, the chief of Peru's intelligence police — seems to have played a central if unintended role in the president's decision to call new elections and renounce his own candidacy. This happened over the weekend after a Peruvian television channel broadcast a videotape that apparently showed Mr. Montesinos bribing a member of Parliament.

Mr. Montesinos is the president's chief adviser and fixer. It is not clear how the videotape got out, and why it led to the president's announcement. Peruvians speculate that Mr. Montesinos could not be fired because he has compromising information about the president, and that Mr. Fujimori could not hold onto power without him.

There is nothing murky, however, about what must happen now. New elections should be held within weeks, supervised and monitored by the Organization of American States. Opposition politicians in Peru face pressure to grant amnesty to Mr. Fujimori and his top officials if they return to private life. This would only allow the rot inside Peru's government and security forces to continue.

Mr. Montesinos, in particular, has managed to

quash various investigations of his behavior. He was expelled from the army in 1977 on charges of selling secrets to the Central Intelligence Agency. He then became a lawyer for drug traffickers. He became Mr. Fujimori's attorney, and got prosecutors to drop charges of tax evasion.

When Mr. Fujimori was elected president, Mr. Montesinos quickly became his chief adviser and took charge of Mr. Fujimori's contacts with and appointments of military officers. Peruvian and American human rights groups such as Human Rights Watch accuse him of creating death squads. He is widely believed to have instigated Mr. Fujimori's 1992 assumption of dictatorial powers, and newspapers published evidence this year linking him to dirty tricks against opposition candidates.

Peru's opposition and the O.A.S. have made Mr. Montesinos' removal a top priority, but the Clinton administration has still not settled a long internal debate about how to treat him. America's anti-drug chief, Barry McCaffrey, praised the effectiveness of the intelligence police's drug-fighting work in a visit to Lima in 1996, and a small program of aid to the unit was ended only last year. There were conflicting reports yesterday as to whether Mr. Montesinos had been detained. His supporters in the army should allow his long-overdue arrest, and it is also time for the free elections that President Fujimori so arrogantly blocked earlier this year.

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Frustration Grows With Cost of Health Insurance

By SAM HOWE VERHOVEK

TACOMA, Wash., Sept. 16 — Eddie Williams, 30 years old, counts himself lucky to have a good job, making \$17 an hour as a deliveryman for the Bowman Oil and Propane Company. He and his wife are careful about their budget, and so have been able to sock away some savings for their daughter, Tianna, 6, and their son, Kendan, 4. They were able to vacation in Southern California this summer and visit relatives in Nevada.

But all their planning got a jolt a few weeks ago, when health insurance premiums for the two children abruptly shot up by 40 percent — to \$350 a month from \$250.

"Of course you ask yourself why," Mr. Williams said. "You even wonder whether it's worth it to pay all that. The children are healthy. Seems like they've only gone to the doctor twice this year, both times for shots, which weren't even covered by the insurance. But these are my kids we're talking about here. You never know what might happen. So we pay it. I wouldn't dream of them being without insurance."

With health insurance premiums across the country rising by 10 percent and in some cases much more in recent months, millions of people like Mr. Williams, and often their employers as well, are grappling with a soaring expense that stands in odd and vexing contrast to many other items in their budgets. Even as consumer prices actually fell over all last month for the first time in 14 years, according to a federal report

issued Friday that said the decline was largely attributable to a drop in gasoline prices, health care costs are on a seemingly relentless rise.

And for workers, managers and the owner at Bowman Oil and Propane, such higher premiums produce strikingly similar cries of frustration. They all wonder why the increases are so large and express puzzlement and anger at the economic forces driving them. They say the larger premiums, which insurers say are caused by the rising costs of prescription drugs, and more generally by the escalating demands for medical services, are playing havoc with their budgets.

Here at Bowman, the owner and president, Bob Bowman, recently instructed the general manager, Dan Knelleken, to hold off on wage increases until at least January, when the company faces another possible increase in the premiums it pays for its employees. Actually, as far as Mr. Bowman and Mr. Knelleken are concerned, employees already received something of a wage increase, when the company absorbed a 10 percent rise in premiums over the summer.

"I told people here at the time — you're getting a dollar-an-hour raise, whether you see it in your paycheck or not," Mr. Knelleken recalled.

And both he and Mr. Bowman described the expense of increased premiums as coming "straight off the bottom line," since it was not passed on in the form of higher prices for the company's heating oil and propane customers.

Bowman is one small company, with about a dozen full-time employees and an additional 20 or so seasonal workers in the winter, when demand for heating oil is highest. But the problems it faces managing health care costs are typical of those faced by thousands of small busi-

nesses across the country, which in turn have produced a chorus of fury and stoked a major issue in the presidential and Congressional campaigns this year. Both parties have proposed major plans aimed at controlling health care costs, and especially at bringing down the prices that consumers pay for prescription drugs.

Health insurance costs are so high that more than 40 million people across the country have no insurance at all, which is also a major campaign issue.

But many workers continue struggling to afford the premiums. People like Mr. Williams contend with rising premiums for their dependent children, which are often largely the responsibility of the employee, and often worry about the burdens on elderly parents as well. Mr. Williams's mother faces payments of \$450 every three months for a battery of prescription drugs for a heart problem. And employers like Mr. Bowman seem to feel equally trapped, describing health insurance as a benefit they must provide to find and keep good workers in the strong economy, but one whose costs they feel powerless to control.

Bowman is part of a "purchasing pool" of about 350 local companies here that is administered by the Tacoma-Pierce County Chamber of Commerce, whose president and chief executive, David Graybill, said premiums had risen by an average of about 20 percent this year.

The companies have some ability to pick and choose among large insurers but, as Mr. Graybill put it in an interview: "When the higher premiums come in, there's an immediate disbelief. But then they start shopping around, and they find that kind of increase is more the norm across the board."

And while in some cases small companies have contained costs by cutting back on benefits or passing premium increases to the employees, many employers like Mr. Bowman said they felt they had little choice but to absorb much of the cost, leaving them sounding just as angry as individual consumers.

"The gigantic companies have this attitude of 'take it or leave it,'" explained Mr. Bowman, a bald, jovial man, dressed for work the other day in khakis and a Hawaiian shirt. "It's the same thing we see with Arco, or U S West," he added, referring to the oil giant and the regional telephone company. "They have the upper hand. They say, this is the price to pay. Medicine and health care are no different these days."

Individual workers at Bowman, like Mr. Williams, the driver here, feel no different. Mr. Williams himself is insured through the plan at Bowman, which costs the company an average of \$201.01 per worker a month, \$30 of which is paid by the employee through a payroll deduction. The employees can also pay to cover a spouse, for \$230.65 a month, and children, for \$105.75 per child.

After careful consideration of the benefits offered by the Bowman plan and the one used by the Seattle crane company where his wife is an administrator, the Williamses insured the children through her plan, which was about \$40 a month more but had lower co-payments and other advantages. But that is the plan that shot up \$100 a month.

"It just seems like an unbelievable amount of money," Mr. Williams said. "I mean, you could practically rent a doctor's office yourself for that kind of money."

David Holden, 40, a driver with the company for 10 years and a single parent, also pays the premiums for his two children, but worries about the next increase.

"These aren't cost-of-living-type increases," Mr. Holden said. "When something shoots up 20, 30 percent, it's way beyond that." Like Mr. Williams, Mr. Holden believes he is paid well, and with time-and-a-half for overtime, his financial picture is solid. If the premiums soar again, he said: "We'd start cutting back on nonessential things, movies, recreational activities. But I worry about where we'd start cutting after that."

Here at Bowman, where the company motto — "Always There. Always Fair." — is emblazoned on trucks and tanks, the people who run the place are no less pained by the cost of insurance.

"Years ago, we tried a program where we were able to carry the dependents," Mr. Knelleken said in an interview at the company headquarters, a small building in Tacoma's gritty industrial area with a spectacular and unobstructed view of Mount Rainier.

"Now we can't do that," Mr. Knelleken added. "We looked at it again last year. We thought, 'It would really be great to do this.' But the numbers were just too astronomical."

Bowman intends to keep offering insurance, but not all small companies feel that way. A national survey of small businesses released this month by the National Blue Cross and Blue Shield Association and the Employee Benefits Research Institute found that one in seven companies with fewer than 100 employees said they would drop health insurance if premiums increased by 10 percent, and 46 percent said they would change their coverage, presumably to policies that are less expensive but also less comprehensive.

Here in Tacoma, Mr. Graybill, at the chamber of commerce, said that he hears complaints all the time about rising premiums, but that most companies seemed intent on maintaining coverage for their employees, at least for now.

"It helps that the economy is very good," he said. "I think we'd hear real screaming if this was coming in a time when the economy was extremely sour."

Some drivers work only in the winter months for Bowman, when the company reaches peak demand from its 12,000 heating oil customers, spread over five counties. They are covered for insurance during the months they work, then have to decide whether to pay for the plan themselves in the other months. Some, especially those without children, simply take their chances and let their insurance lapse in the off months.

"I've had drivers just drop the insurance," said Robin Bowman, the company's accounting department supervisor and a daughter of Mr. Bowman, the owner. "I say, what do you mean you're going to drop it? They say they can't afford to have it. And in the back of my mind, I'm worrying and thinking, how can you afford not to have it?"

The New York Times

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with issues ranging from tax credits for children to education to health care for senior citizens.

A series of polls released this weekend showed why Bush is headed to the upper Midwest: His early power in the area has been eclipsed by Gore.

In Missouri, Illinois, Michigan and Pennsylvania, where Bush once led, Gore now has the advantage. The two are essentially tied in Ohio, where Bush once had an expansive lead.

Campaign spokesman Ari Fleischer said that Bush's message, and a pair of new ads on health care, will sharpen the distinctions between Bush and Gore.

"What you're seeing is a very focused, more aggressive effort to let voters know where Governor Bush stands on the major issues of the day," Fleischer said.

Gore, meanwhile, will campaign in California this week, along with his running mate Joseph I. Lieberman. The two are scheduled to arrive in Los Angeles Monday night for a party fundraiser, and will move on to Fresno Tuesday. GOP vice presidential nominee Dick Cheney will campaign in Sacramento, Calif., Tuesday.

Fuel Tank Problem Festers More Than a Quarter Century By Myron Levin= ^ (c) 2000, Los Angeles Times=

The federal standard on fuel system integrity has not been substantively revised since 1974. In a review of the standard in 1990, NHTSA estimated that 1,400 deaths and 9,000 injuries were occurring annually in fire-related crashes, that the casualties were rising, and that "the existing standard has had a minimal effect."

Ten years later, the rule has not been changed.

Last year's record-breaking verdict of \$4.9 billion against General Motors in a Los Angeles case stemming from a fiery crash of a 1979 Chevy Malibu was, in some respects, a guilty verdict for the fuel integrity standard. GM had argued, unsuccessfully, that it was not liable for the injuries of six burn victims, as its vehicles fully complied with the federal standard.

(The trial judge later reduced the award to \$1.2 billion and the case is on appeal).

The weakness of the standard had previously complicated a major probe of fire dangers in GM pickup trucks. The NHTSA investigation involved allegations that the pickups, which had fuel tanks mounted on their sides, were unduly susceptible to fires when involved in crashes. An estimated 161 people who had survived collisions in the trucks had burned to death.

Resisting pressure for a recall, GM argued that its pickups were as safe as competing models, had met the government standard on fuel system integrity, and therefore could not be defective.

GM emerged victorious in December 1994, when Transportation Secretary Federico Pena declared that there would be no recall and that GM instead would pay a settlement of \$51 million for safety research. In announcing the settlement, Pena invoked the need to upgrade the fuel system safety standard.

That was six years ago. NHTSA says it hopes to issue proposed revisions this fall.

Boosting Vehicle Safety Languishes in Bureaucratic Mire By Myron Levin= ^ (c) 2000, Los Angeles Times=

Efforts to strengthen vehicle safety standards have languished year after year because of lengthy delays, extremes of caution and shifting priorities within the nation's traffic safety agency, an examination by the Los Angeles Times has found.

As a result, many safety regulations are weak or out of date or fail to address important causes of traffic injuries and deaths. Critics of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration, or NHTSA, say countless deaths have occurred as a result.

NHTSA has acknowledged that a number of its standards are weak, out of date or fail to address important causes of traffic injuries and deaths. But fixing the problem has proved elusive.

A Times review of government documents and court records going back 30 years revealed numerous examples:

After 25 years of research and internal debate, NHTSA

has yet to take effective action on vehicle rollovers, which killed an estimated 10,133 Americans last year, the greatest toll in at least a decade. In fact, because of weak standards for roof reinforcement, drivers and passengers wearing seat belts are more likely to die in a rollover than unbelted ones. "It seems unjust" that those who wear seatbelts could be exposed to more danger "than they might expect with no restraint," an internal Ford memo on the problem noted in 1968.

NHTSA has not substantively revised its standard on fuel tank safety for over 25 years, despite the agency's findings that thousands of deaths and injuries occur annually in fire-related crashes, and that the standard is ineffective. In 1990, NHTSA estimated the toll from fire-related crashes was 1,400 deaths and 9,000 injuries, and nothing has been done since.

The agency has failed to upgrade its 30-year-old standard on head restraints, although it estimates 740,000 whiplash injuries occur annually at a cost of \$4.5 billion in medical and other expenses.

Bowing to the auto industry, NHTSA declined to set a minimum strength requirement for latches on rear liftgates of minivans, acting only after reports of 37 deaths of people ejected from the rear of the vans.

The agency repeatedly rejected appeals to address the risk of people, especially young children, dying in locked automobile trunks. Although it has now mandated that an escape button or switch be installed in cars manufactured after Jan. 1, 2001, it has yet to finalize the standards.

A review of NHTSA's work over the decades reveals a common pattern: The agency identifies the need for a tougher standard, announces the planned revision in the Federal Register, and seeks comments from the auto industry and the public. But often, five or even 10 years later, the upgrade has yet to emerge from the bureaucratic mire. Other times NHTSA concludes after years of work that a change would be unfeasible, or that it should devote its limited resources to other priorities.

Magnifying the impact of the delays on public safety are the long lead times automakers usually get to comply once a tougher standard is finally adopted.

NHTSA administers more than 50 vehicle standards covering lights to brakes to door latches most of them adopted about 30 years ago. Some merely codified prevailing design practices of the auto industry and were expected to be strengthened over time. Yet a number of key rules have never undergone substantive revision, despite research by NHTSA and others that found them seriously flawed.

Other regulations have not kept pace with changes in technology or fundamental trends in the vehicle market. For example, when the recall of millions of Firestone tires was announced last month, NHTSA officials acknowledged that the federal tire standard was adopted before radials replaced bias ply tires decades ago.

In some cases, the low threshold set by weak standards has made it harder for NHTSA to perform one of its other critical duties determining if vehicles are defective and need to be recalled, records and interviews show.

Critics acknowledge that NHTSA has achieved some life-saving advances in vehicle standards, but usually when Congress or some crisis, such as the tire disaster, force it to act.

"There are issues, like rollover, that they (NHTSA) have taken inexcusable lengths of time to move on," said Jackie Gillan, vice president of Advocates for Highway and Auto Safety, an alliance of consumer, health and insurance groups based in Washington, D.C.

"NHTSA's ability to put out controversial rules or rules that the auto industry does not agree with is very limited," remarked Chuck Hurley, head of the National Safety Council's highway safety group.

For their part, automakers say they are taking the lead in safety, and moving ahead with side airbags and other advances without being required to by NHTSA.

Officials at NHTSA, which has described highway casualties as "the neglected epidemic of our society," refused to make senior officials available to be interviewed for this article. They said the agency will stand on its record of helping to achieve dramatic gains in highway safety.

The agency noted in a prepared statement that highway death rates have fallen from a high of 5.5 fatalities per 100 million

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vehicle miles traveled during the 1970s, to about 1.6 deaths per 100 million miles today.

Safety experts note, however, that nearly all the improvement occurred during the 1970s and '80s, with limited progress since.

Indeed, after topping out at 54,589 in 1972, U.S. traffic deaths fell to 39,250 in 1992, but then began to rise again. An estimated 41,611 people were killed and 3.2 million injured in traffic collisions last year. A key category of fatal accidents, rollovers, is on the rise. And federal statistics show that highway accidents continue to cause one-fifth of all deaths of children under 15, and one-third of fatalities among 15 to 24 year olds.

To be sure, strengthening vehicle standards is a difficult task. On top of the technical complexities, NHTSA faces the powerful resistance of automakers to any encroachment on their freedom to determine vehicle designs.

But critics also blame a lack leadership at NHTSA. And they say agency assertiveness and morale have been sapped by perennially lean budgets and the lack of a strong base of support in Congress which often takes the industry's side in conflicts with NHTSA.

Although the occasional crisis, such as the tire recall, seizes attention, observers say congressional interest in vehicle safety has been episodic and short-lived.

"There are very few members in the House and Senate who care deeply about auto safety these days," said Hurley of the National Safety Council. And in the current anti-regulatory climate, he said, no one "is looking at more things for government to do."

Indeed, NHTSA seems to fit the model of smaller, less intrusive government that has been in favor since the Reagan administration. The agency's current budget of \$367 million represents a 36 percent decrease from 1980, the last year of the Carter administration, when adjusted for inflation. Twenty years ago, the agency had 103 people on its rule-making staff. Today, there are 62, including some engaged in non-safety programs.

"NHTSA tends...to be a fire brigade," said Donald Friedman, an automotive engineer and consultant who has worked as a NHTSA contractor. "With budgets the way they have them now, the agency is very much subject to a continuous erosion of its regulatory function."

While less focused on regulation, NHTSA has increased its emphasis on improving the behavior of drivers, including grants to the states to crack down on drunk driving and encourage seat belt use.

Safety experts say that behavioral programs have a high potential payoff, since driver error is a cause or contributing factor in most accidents. But critics argue that behavior modification is no substitute for adequate safety standards, since the most careful drivers still need vehicles that will do well in a crash.

However, as a force for safer vehicles, NHTSA increasingly is taking a back seat to product liability lawyers and automakers themselves, who are finding more than ever that safety sells.

"All manufacturers are ... now trying to get as much safety performance out in their products as they can," said Bob Lange, engineering director for the General Motors Safety Center in Warren, Mich. For some vehicle models, safety has become the "core element of... brand image," he said.

However, consumer advocates say neither civil lawsuits nor market forces have raised the bar enough particularly when safety innovations tend to be concentrated in the high-end models.

"You can get all that stuff if you pay for it," said Kennerly Digges, a former senior official at NHTSA. "But the guy in the small car is at a disadvantage."

Over the past decade, most big advances in vehicle standards came under orders from Congress including mandatory dual front airbags and the more recent requirement of advanced airbags to avoid injuries to children and small adults.

NHTSA also strengthened the standard for interior padding to reduce head injuries in crashes, boasting that the revised standard would save as many as 1,200 lives per year. But the agency completed the revision under a deadline from Congress in 1995 a quarter century after the agency had initially proposed

strengthening the rule.

The adoption last year of a standard on child seat anchorages designed to keep kid seats from being improperly installed was a rare instance of NHTSA completing a major rule-making on its own.

Kidnappers, With Hostages, Flee Philippine Army Assault (Manila)

By David Lamb= ^ (c) 2000, Los Angeles Times=

MANILA, Philippines Hundreds of heavily armed kidnappers holding 19 hostages, including an American and two French journalists, abandoned their camp Sunday and fled with their captives into the jungles of Jolo island after an all-out assault by the Philippine armed forces.

Defense Secretary Orlando Mercado said he believed all the hostages were alive and unharmed.

"I would like to think they will not kill the hostages," he told reporters, "because they know their own lives and livelihood depend on keeping them alive."

With the government maintaining a news blackout on the operation

which Mercado said was intended to free the hostages and "neutralize" the rebel group known as Abu Sayyaf few details emerged. But fighting was apparently light as the army swept through the camp and pursued the kidnappers across steep jungled terrain.

The military struck the rebel camp with aerial bombing relentlessly after the invasion of Jolo island, 600 miles south of Manila, began at dawn Saturday. Gen. Angelo Reyes, the Philippines' military chief, described Abu Sayyaf as being in "escape mode." But the guerrillas had no place to escape to as the Philippines tightened its naval blockade around the 345-square-mile island.

"Undeniably the risk to the hostages' lives remains very high," Robert Aventajado, the government's chief hostage negotiator, said. "You're dealing with a big military operation and a large group of bandits under different leaders. What I hear from the military is that they'll be very lucky if they are able to save the hostages' lives."

Aventajado said in an interview that the chance of resuming talks to win the hostages' release is nil and that the government has disbanded its negotiating team.

"The military will definitely pursue its mission to the end," he said, adding that President Joseph Estrada wants the kidnapping threat posed by Abu Sayyaf permanently destroyed.

Although Aventajado has won the freedom of 31 hostages kidnapped by the rebels in various batches over the past six months, most of the 19 remaining captives are what he calls "walk-ins" people who entered the Abu Sayyaf lair voluntarily for different reasons. Many paid the guerrillas an entrance fee to gain access to their camp.

The hostages are made up of 12 Philippine Christian evangelists who trekked into the Muslim stronghold to pray for peace; French journalists Jean-Jacques Le Garrec and Roland Madura, who were covering the story of an earlier kidnapping; American Jeffrey Schilling, a Muslim from Oakland, Calif., who entered the camp for unexplained reasons and is married to a cousin of a top rebel; three Malaysians; and a Philippine resort worker.

At one point, the rebel leader, Ghalib "Robot" Andang, complained to Aventajado that he had more hostages than he could handle. When the negotiator suggested that Abu Sayyaf could lighten its burden by releasing some of them, Commander Robot, as he is called, replied: "What good would it do? They just keep on coming."

But Andang also made sure his stable of captives was never empty because his group has collected an estimated \$16 million in ransom in the past few months. After releasing four captives Sept. 9, Abu Sayyaf went out the next day and snatched the three Malaysians from a nearby island and brought them to Jolo. Five days later, a frustrated Estrada broke off negotiations and ordered the attack.

Soldiers and marines pushing into the interior of Jolo are being backed by F-5 fighter jets and 105-mm howitzers. Helicopters continued to shuttle troops and equipment Sunday onto Jolo, an island with a population of 400,000, from the larger island of Mindanao. Military officials said the operation should take three

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9/22

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Top of page:

Col 1: Feature on Chechnya where thousands of people have been gobbled up by the Chechen kidnapping machine, which has ravaged Russia since 1994. (Will move in future with art.)

Cols 2-5: Los Angeles MTA strike faces city with gridlock. (With art.)(MTA, moved.)

Col 6: Efforts to strengthen vehicle safety standards have languished year after year because of lengthy delays, extremes of caution and shifting priorities within the nation's traffic safety agency a combination of factors which created a bureaucratic mire. (NHTSA, moved.)

Above fold:

Col 2: Al Gore's surge in the national presidential polls has been powered by women. In one poll Bush has lost more than a dozen percentage points in support among women in little more than a month. (CAMPAIGN-GENDER, moves Monday.)

Cols 3-4: Local feature.

Below fold:

Cols 3-4: Feature on Monkeys. (Will move in future with art.)

Bottom of page:

Cols 1-2: Olympic art.

Cols 5-6: In the aftermath of President Alberto Fujimori's momentous decision to hold new elections and relinquish power, Peruvians grapple with two fundamental questions: What really happened? And what will happen next?

9-22-00

Global Community Needs More Fuel for Its Economic Engines
By James Flanigan= ^ (c) 2000, Los Angeles Times=

The most serious energy crisis since the 1970s threatens to slow world economies and promises years of renewed concern over an old problem: the price and availability of energy.

President Clinton last week cited the threat of global recession as he urged oil producing nations to increase production.

Economic growth is slowing in South Korea and India due to higher prices for oil. The economies of European countries, already disrupted by protests over high gasoline prices, are especially vulnerable.

The U.S. economy, with inflation remaining low, doesn't seem to be suffering the effects of high energy prices. So far, the nation's greater productivity and its reduced reliance on oil and gas compared to the 1970s have offset the energy turmoil.

But behind the aggregate statistics, small businesses are being hurt by prices for gasoline, diesel fuel, natural gas and heating oil that have doubled so far this year.

And the true effect of the higher prices may not be realized yet. Competition has generally prevented business from raising prices to offset their higher energy costs. But their incomes are being cut, just as every consumer of gasoline, diesel fuel and natural gas has less to save or spend on other goods because of the drain of higher energy prices.

There is no shortage of oil or of natural gas, experts insist. And in fact, increased supplies of imported oil arriving in the next two months are expected to ease concerns over heating oil availability for the winter.

But if there isn't a shortage, there is little oil or gas to spare, either. Commodities that were in surplus a year ago suddenly are in tight supply and subject to interruptions.

Indeed, the world's industrial system has so little cushion that the slightest hiccup can cause an extreme reaction. That's why natural gas prices surged 3 percent on Friday, to \$5.34 per thousand cubic feet more than double the average gas price a year ago because storms in the Gulf of Mexico could threaten gas production there.

The buffer of surplus oil production in the world has been cut in half in the last year as prosperity in Asia, Europe and the United States has increased demand for fuel. Cambridge Energy Research Associates estimates that the oil surplus "cushion" is now equivalent to the annual output of Iraq.

Thus Saddam Hussein, once again directing threats at Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, has leverage over the world's economies.

In the United States the Internet-driven economy's need for super-consistent power supplies is adding to pressures on electricity systems. Internet systems like those used by most of the nation's major industries and institutions cannot be effective without a much more reliable flow of power than the power grid has traditionally supplied.

Despite its seeming suddenness, the new energy problem has been taking shape for years, analysts point out. Relatively low prices for oil and gas in recent years caused a worldwide downturn in investment for new sources of fuel, said Joseph Stanislaw, president of Cambridge Research.

With little or no new supplies being developed since 1998, and demand rising as Asia's economies recovered from recession, today's tight supply situation was inevitable, Stanislaw said.

To be sure, oil companies and governments of producing countries remain skeptical of a long-term new tightness in the supply-demand relationship. OPEC ministers were reluctant to agree to Clinton's recent demand that they boost production because the last time they increased oil output significantly, in 1998, the result was a plunge in the price of crude to an average of less than \$12. Investors fled oil company shares and Wall Street criticized companies for investing in a "commodity" business. So companies used their capital for other things, like acquiring each other, rather than explore for oil and gas.

Although it is hard to picture at times like this, oil remains prone to oversupply, say some analysts. "Even a mild recession today would cause prices to go down to about \$22 a barrel," says Albert M. Anton, partner and head of research at Carl H. Pforzheimer & Co., a New York investment company specializing in oil and gas issues. "And prices would certainly come down if President Clinton released oil from the Strategic

Petroleum Reserve."

Clinton can release oil from the Reserve to alleviate temporary oil price pressures on the U.S. economy. He is considering such a move, but is waiting to gauge the effect of increased OPEC output. "We need to watch the situation closely," Clinton said Friday.

Even so, a release from the Strategic Reserve would be only a stopgap move in what has become a new era for oil, some analysts say.

The long U.S. economic boom of the '90s gradually ratcheted up demand for energy, but sluggishness in Europe and stagnation in Japan limited the world's appetite. And Asia's short but intense economic crisis in 1997-98 helped to create a mini-glut of crude oil.

Today, the picture has changed. Much of Asia is rebounding strongly, and Western Europe is enjoying its strongest economic growth in years. Along with the remarkable continuation of the American boom, the industrialized world is robust. And a new economic player, China, increased oil purchases dramatically this year to fuel its rapidly growing economy, analysts report.

That's why, unless they induce a global recession, high energy prices are unlikely to be temporary. New oil and gas production cannot be brought in quickly.

Although investments now are increasing to develop oil and gas in the deep waters of the Gulf of Mexico and offshore Angola and other West African countries, it will take two to three years to bring supplies to market from such sources, analysts estimate.

So experts recall the 1970s, the decade when two oil crises sent oil from \$2 to \$40 a barrel and inflation to double digits and caused two crippling U.S. recessions.

"We're entering a new period of higher energy prices not as severe as the 1970s, but a new, higher level for the next half decade," said Thomas Petrie, president of Petrie-Parkman Associates, a Denver company that does research on energy investments.

If the average crude oil price in recent years has fluctuated between \$15 a barrel and \$21, now it will fluctuate between \$22 and \$28 a barrel with occasional spikes to current levels of \$35 a barrel, Petrie predicts.

In Europe, where value added taxes are tacked onto rising fuel prices with the burden compounded by a sinking euro the effect on living standards has sparked demonstrations by truckers, taxi drivers and others in recent weeks, shutting down economic activity.

In Asia, every \$1 rise in the price of crude oil cuts hits economies such as South Korea with a double whammy, making exports less competitive by increasing costs and also depressing sales of automobiles, which Korean companies make.

The U.S. economy, already slowing, will slow further as the burden of energy costs restricts small business and leaves consumers with less money to spend. If oil prices rise 33 percent to the "new higher level" that analysts predict for the next five years, it could clip 2 percent a year from U.S. economic growth meaning \$165 billion less in annual output, 5.5 million fewer jobs.

Add the ripple effects of a slowdown in Europe or Asia, whose businesses and consumers would buy fewer American products and undercut this nation's export machine, and the direction is clear.

Such a slowdown would shift the economy's perspective, from today's enjoyment of growth to yesterday's concern over energy prices. Hybrid gasoline-electric cars that get 50 to 70 miles per gallon will be fashionable.

Energy efficiency in industry will become a hot topic again and thermostats in homes will be turned up a notch in summer and down in winter.

Meanwhile, the U.S. and world economies need new energy production and new conservation measures to keep prices reasonable and continue the kind of economic growth that creates better jobs and maintains a good standard of living. Like the 1970s, this will be a challenging decade.

Parties Take Advantage of Murky Laws to Fund Attack Ads

By Jeff Leeds= ^ (c) 2000, Los Angeles Times=

The Republican Party blasted Al Gore in a recent television ad that showed him at a Buddhist temple fund-raiser while an announcer tut-tuts, "There's Al Gore, reinventing himself on television again."

Democrats also attacked, hitting the GOP presidential ticket with an ad that charged: "George Bush? Siding with the big drug companies. The Gore plan: fighting for our seniors."

Attorneys for both parties agree these ads would be illegal if they were designed "for the purpose of influencing" your choice for president because they are purchased with "soft money" donations from wealthy givers and corporations that candidates are not supposed to touch.

Watchdogs scoff, but the lawyers contend these are "issue ads" designed to educate voters about important topics not change their vote. With that new interpretation, both parties have shirked the appearance of independence they attempted in 1996 and are now openly allowing their candidates to direct soft money-financed advertising.

"We can now see the full effect of the breakdown of our campaign finance laws," said Sen. Russell Feingold, D-Wis., co-sponsor of a bill to crack down on such practices. "What we now have ... is a political ad war funded by corporate contributions, which is exactly what the federal election laws have tried to prevent."

"The public certainly cannot be blamed for not recognizing the fine legal distinctions between ads run by the parties and ads run by the candidates, or ads that are supposedly about issues and ads that are about elections," he said.

On Wednesday, a trio of prominent watchdogs filed a lawsuit that seeks to circumvent the so-far toothless Federal Election Commission and obtain an expedited federal court ruling to stop the ongoing coordination.

Common Cause, whose president is one of the plaintiffs, has already complained to the Justice Department and the FEC. The new lawsuit is filed under a provision that allows it to be heard by a three-judge panel of the U.S. District Court in Washington. The ruling would clarify the rules about coordinated advertising not find whether the parties have been in violation to date.

"It is our hope that the courts will make clear what is obvious to everyone in the country except the FEC," said Scott Harshbarger, president of Common Cause. "That these party ad campaigns are a massive subversion of our campaign finance laws laws meant to protect all of us from the corrupting influence of big special-interest money."

As the presidential advertising war has intensified in recent weeks, officials have made little secret about the coordination between the candidate campaigns and the political parties. So far, the parties have spent a combined total of \$60 million on "issue ads" since June.

GOP nominee George W. Bush has openly directed the Republican Party to pull ads that he didn't like. Vice President Al Gore has hired the same media team to make his commercials that is working at the Democratic Party.

All of the groups involved the watchdogs, the FEC, the campaigns and the parties agree that the 2000 presidential campaign is being run in a gray area when it comes to finance laws.

During the last presidential election in 1996, the rules were generally understood to limit coordination between the parties and the candidates. Still, there was plenty of suspicion about coordination during the campaign, and later investigations found substantial evidence of it.

Investigators revealed that both parties had regular meetings between the media teams making ads for their candidates and the party.

President Clinton acknowledged that he reviewed storyboards for Democratic Party ads before they were broadcast. A 1999 memo from the FEC's general counsel concluded that the Democratic meetings "planned and implemented these nominally separate advertisements as a single, integrated media campaign."

Last year, the FEC rejected a recommendation for multimillion-dollar fines against the Republican and Democratic campaigns in a 6-0 vote. Earlier this year, the commission deadlocked 3-3 over its general counsel's finding that the Democrats' coordination was substantial enough to warrant action

9-22-00
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 22, 2000

MR. PRESIDENT:

Attached is a draft op-ed on China that the New York Times requested for this Sunday's edition, which they will need by COB today. It is within their word limit. This has been approved by Sandy and John.

*Made a few
changes
it's good*

Tom Malinowski

Copied

Malinowski

Berger

NSC WW Desk

Padesta

9-22-00

China/PNTR op-ed

China's imminent entry into the World Trade Organization, made possible by the agreement we negotiated to open its markets and Congress's passage of Permanent Normal Trade Relations, can be the most important development in our relationship with that country since we normalized ties in 1979.

The most immediate benefits will be economic. Chinese tariffs from telecommunications to autos to agriculture will fall by half or more. We will be better able to sell and distribute American-made goods in China without relocating our factories, or selling through the Chinese government, or transferring technology. In return, we have agreed only to maintain the access China already enjoys to our market.

But if we viewed the passage of PNTR solely as an economic opportunity, we would be missing ~~its broader significance~~ ^{main} indeed, we would be missing the point. At stake is how China evolves over a decade or more. Will it resist globalization, or harness it to meet human needs? Will it reject popular demands ^{more freedom} for accountability, or achieve the stability that comes only from letting people shape their ^{own} lives? Will it disregard global rules, or work within them?

Trade with China will not automatically bring freedom or peace. But opening China's markets can influence the choices it is making at this important moment in its history.

In the last 20 years, China has established the right to own property and lifted more than 200 million people from poverty. Yet the state still dominates China's economy. Environmental damage is hurting the quality of life and economic growth. Some 800 million Chinese still live off the land; many millions want to migrate to cities, where unemployment already is high.

Hard liners in China opposed WTO membership because China's closed economic system reinforces their political control. More reform minded leaders understand that in a global economy, the system must become more open and competitive -- that despite political risks, this is the only way for China to meet its mounting challenges and avoid internal upheaval and disintegration.

In other words, there is a debate underway in China, as elsewhere, about how to adapt to globalization. We have a stake in the course China chooses. Membership in the WTO puts China on a course that will diminish the role of government in its economy and its people's lives, while ~~entangling~~ ^{bringing} China ~~in~~ ^{into} an international system of rules and responsibilities.

As tariffs fall, competition will speed the dismantling of China's state enterprises, which means that tens of millions of Chinese citizens will no longer depend on the government for everything from their paycheck to their housing to their health care. There also will be tensions -- more short term unemployment, labor and political activism -- and China's leaders will face hard political choices. We don't know how they will choose when the moment of truth arrives. But there will be great pressure to accommodate popular demands, by expanding local elections, letting workers take grievances to court, and broadening outlets for dissent.

Open markets will also accelerate the information revolution in China. In the past year, the number of Internet addresses in China has more than quadrupled to 9 million. This year, the number is expected to grow to over 20 million. China's effort to restrict access to some Web sites only proves how these changes threaten the status quo.

By agreeing with us on its terms of entry into the WTO, China has ~~also~~ chosen to work within the international system. By enacting PNTR, we have validated that choice, bolstering leaders who favor cooperation, taking an emotional issue away from hard liners who seek to stoke anti-

American nationalism. We still have significant differences with China, but through engagement we have a better mechanism to resolve them. This includes working toward a peaceful resolution of tensions between China and Taiwan. Taiwan will join the WTO immediately after China. Their economic ties will deepen further, and so will the costs of confrontation.

To seize these opportunities, we must clearly understand our interests in China's future. We do not want to see a strong China that seeks confrontation. Nor do we want to see a weak China, beset by internal conflicts and social dislocation, becoming a vast zone of instability in Asia. Ironically, the one sure path to stability for China, as for any nation in this global age, lies in change: in liberating the potential of its people economically and politically, and reducing barriers to international cooperation. We must encourage China to see its success in those terms. How can we do that?

First, China must make enormous changes to meet its WTO obligations – restructuring industries, publishing long-secret laws and regulations, establishing formal procedures to adjudicate disputes, and leveling the playing field for foreign firms. It has asked us for help in building the expertise to make these changes, developing its legal system, and in addressing its devastating environmental problems. It is in our interest to provide it.

Second, we should continue to bring China into international regimes and institutions that set global rules. China has been more willing to adjust its conduct to meet international standards it has freely embraced than to respond to unilateral demands. For example, it has joined the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the Chemical and Biological Weapons Conventions, and has strengthened its export controls in accordance with each. We are encouraging it to join the global regime that limits the transfer of missile technology, and to ratify the international human rights treaties it has signed.

That is not a substitute for direct efforts to press China on the transfer of dangerous technology, or peaceful resolution of differences with Taiwan. And America must continue to support from the outside the struggle for human rights on the inside -- as we have by sponsoring resolutions at the UN Human Rights Commission and by shining the spotlight on violations of religious freedom -- as we will by working with the new commission Congress has established to monitor China's progress on human rights. But we will be even more effective if we act in concert with others in the context of international rules.

Finally, we must maintain our military presence and our alliances in Asia. There remain enough uncertainties that we must be ready if there is a crisis. ~~But~~ If tensions between North and South Korea decrease and if China continues to open up, we may be tempted to draw back. We must not do so. For we are not in Asia simply to respond to danger, but to be a balance wheel for stability that prevents danger from arising. We can play that role even better if adoption of PNTR and China's entry into the WTO reduces mutual suspicion, while accelerating the pace of constructive change in China.

Of course, that is only an opportunity, not a guarantee. We cannot control the choices China makes. But we do have control over what we do. With PNTR, we have ~~chosen to put~~ ^{made the right choice,} China in ~~the right direction,~~ ^{the right direction,} to extend our hand rather than merely clenching our fist. ~~That is an~~ ^{That is an} ~~achievement on which we can and should build~~ ^{achievement on which we can and should build} ~~in the right direction.~~ ^{in the right direction.}