

A.
Edward Powell, Jr.
PG027

0-499

Sean -

Send to Burkhardt
for reply?

Yes ☐
No ☒

S.C.



DEPARTMENT OF VETERANS AFFAIRS
ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR FINANCIAL MANAGEMENT
WASHINGTON DC 20420

6-3-99

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-4-99

Mr. President -

Congratulations! again! While
still a bit early to really celebrate,
things do look to be heading in the
right direction.

Looking forward to seeing you
Monday at Beth & Ron's.

All the best -

A handwritten signature, likely of the Assistant Secretary for Financial Management, written in dark ink.

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-24-99

As per our conversation, here is the information regarding H.R. 919 and the Liberian situation we spoke about.

As you know, Liberians who are here in the United States have been fleeing the civil war that broke out in their country from 1990-1997. They were granted Temporary Protected Status (TPS) because of the ferocity of the conflict and the fact they were in very real danger if they returned. Although a stable peace agreement led to the election to the Presidency of former combatant Charles Taylor, a February 26, 1999 report released by the U.S. State Department cites numerous examples of human rights abuses. These include the absence of a check on the power of the Presidency, systematic abuse by and corruption of the nation's security forces, failure to disarm former combatants as per the Abuja Peace Accords, and a complete absence of security forces outside of Monrovia, a situation which allows a low-intensity rebel conflict to flourish, and encourages an overly porous border with neighboring nations whose own security problems are beginning to dwarf that of Liberia, no mean feat.

Most disturbingly, recent signals out of the Taylor Administration have cast doubt upon the very intentions of President Taylor with regard to his willingness to establish a peaceful democracy. The recent violence in the village of Voinjama, where witnesses say over 100 people were killed and over 6,000 people fled the nation demonstrates this (incidentally, refugee processing has now been unnecessarily halted in the Ivory Coast). The public intimidation of the free press through threatening statements made by Mr. Taylor yesterday; his recent declaration of his willingness to attack and seize for himself weapons that ECOMOG peacekeeping forces that are safeguarding also foreshadow his intentions. Most tellingly, however, was the attack upon the majority-ethnic Krahn people in the Camp Johnson Road area, sparking an hours long fire-fight and resulting in the killings though combat and door-to-door executions of hundreds of civilians.

Human rights abuses are rampant, disarmament of former combatants has not come to pass, and there is no guarantee that the Liberians here under TPS will not suffer reprisals from their former opponents if returned to Monrovia. These Liberians literally fear for their lives as each extension of TPS draws to a close.

H.R. 919 would offer the opportunity to those Liberians here in the United States under Temporary Protected Status to apply to adjust their status to that of permanent legal resident. Many of them have built businesses, homes, and lives, contributing greatly to their community. They have done so with only a fraction of the public benefits that many other categories of immigrants do.

The political situation in Liberia will not be safe for this group of people for any time in the foreseeable future. A combination of political affiliations, religious beliefs and ethnic background guarantee them an extremely difficult life, to say the least, if they are returned. We can see, by the situation on the ground, that to forcibly repatriate these people will produce another humanitarian disaster. This time, however, it will be perpetrated upon a people who were deported to a violent nation along with their children, many of whom are full U.S. citizens.

106TH CONGRESS
1ST SESSION

H. R. 919

To adjust the immigration status of certain Liberian nationals who were provided refuge in the United States.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 2, 1999

Mr. KENNEDY of Rhode Island introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary

A BILL

To adjust the immigration status of certain Liberian nationals who were provided refuge in the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the "Liberian Refugee Immigration Protection Act of 1999".

SEC. 2. ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS OF CERTAIN LIBERIAN NATIONALS.

(a) ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS.—

(1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section 245(c) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, the

1 status of any alien described in subsection (b) shall
2 be adjusted by the Attorney General to that of an
3 alien lawfully admitted for permanent residence, if
4 the alien—

5 (A) applies for such adjustment before
6 April 1, 2001; and

7 (B) is otherwise eligible to receive an im-
8 migrant visa and is otherwise admissible to the
9 United States for permanent residence, except
10 in determining such admissibility the grounds
11 for inadmissibility specified in paragraphs (4),
12 (5), (6)(A), and (7)(A) of section 212(a) of the
13 Immigration and Nationality Act shall not
14 apply.

15 (2) RELATIONSHIP OF APPLICATION TO CER-
16 TAIN ORDERS.—An alien present in the United
17 States who has been ordered excluded, deported, re-
18 moved, or ordered to depart voluntarily from the
19 United States under any provision of the Immigra-
20 tion and Nationality Act may, notwithstanding such
21 order, apply for adjustment of status under para-
22 graph (1). Such an alien may not be required, as a
23 condition on submitting or granting such applica-
24 tion, to file a motion to reopen, reconsider, or vacate
25 such order. If the Attorney General grants the appli-

1 eation, the Attorney General shall cancel the order.

2 If the Attorney General renders a final administra-
3 tive decision to deny the application, the order shall
4 be effective and enforceable to the same extent as if
5 the application had not been made.

6 (b) ALIENS ELIGIBLE FOR ADJUSTMENT OF STA-
7 TUS.—The benefits provided by subsection (a) shall apply
8 to any alien who—

9 (1) is a national of Liberia; and

10 (2)(A) who was granted temporary protected
11 status on or after March 27, 1991; or

12 (B) was eligible to apply for temporary pro-
13 tected status on or after March 27, 1991.

14 (c) STAY OF REMOVAL.—

15 (1) IN GENERAL.—The Attorney General shall
16 provide by regulation for an alien subject to a final
17 order of deportation or removal or exclusion to seek
18 a stay of such order based on the filing of an appli-
19 cation under subsection (a).

20 (2) DURING CERTAIN PROCEEDINGS.—Notwith-
21 standing any provision of the Immigration and Na-
22 tionality Act, the Attorney General shall not order
23 any alien to be removed from the United States, if
24 the alien is in exclusion, deportation, or removal pro-
25 ceedings under any provision of such Act and raises

1 as a defense to such an order the eligibility of the
2 alien to apply for adjustment of status under sub-
3 section (a), except where the Attorney General has
4 rendered a final administrative determination to
5 deny the application.

6 (3) WORK AUTHORIZATION.—The Attorney
7 General may authorize an alien who has applied for
8 adjustment of status under subsection (a) to engage
9 in employment in the United States during the
10 pendency of such application and may provide the
11 alien with an "employment authorized" endorsement
12 or other appropriate document signifying authoriza-
13 tion of employment, except that if such application
14 is pending for a period exceeding 180 days, and has
15 not been denied, the Attorney General shall author-
16 ize such employment.

17 (d) ADJUSTMENT OF STATUS FOR SPOUSES AND
18 CHILDREN.—

19 (1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section
20 245(e) of the Immigration and Nationality Act, the
21 status of an alien shall be adjusted by the Attorney
22 General to that of an alien lawfully admitted for per-
23 manent residence, if—

24 (A) the alien is a national of Liberia;

1 (B) the alien is the spouse, child, or un-
2 married son or daughter, of an alien whose sta-
3 tus is adjusted to that of an alien lawfully ad-
4 mitted for permanent residence under sub-
5 section (a), except that in the case of such an
6 unmarried son or daughter, the son or daughter
7 shall be required to establish that they have
8 been physically present in the United States for
9 at least 1 year and is physically present in the
10 United States on the date the application for
11 such adjustment is filed.

12 (C) the alien applies for such adjustment
13 and is physically present in the United States
14 on the date the application is filed; and

15 (D) the alien is otherwise eligible to receive
16 an immigration visa and is otherwise admissible
17 to the United States for permanent residence,
18 except in determining such admissibility the
19 grounds for exclusion specified in paragraphs
20 (4), (5), (6)(A), and (7)(A) of section 212(a) of
21 the Immigration and Nationality Act shall not
22 apply.

23 (2) PROOF OF CONTINUOUS PRESENCE.—For
24 purposes of establishing the period of continuous
25 physical presence referred to in paragraph (1)(B),

1 an alien shall not be considered to have failed to
2 maintain continuous physical presence by reason of
3 an absence, or absences, from the United States for
4 any periods in aggregate not exceeding 180 days.

5 (e) AVAILABILITY OF ADMINISTRATIVE REVIEW.—

6 The Attorney General shall provide to applicants for ad-
7 justment of status under subsection (a) the same right to,
8 and procedures for, administrative review as are provided
9 to—

10 (1) applicants for adjustment of status under
11 section 245 of the Immigration and Nationality Act;
12 or

13 (2) aliens subject to removal proceedings under
14 section 240 of such Act.

15 (f) LIMITATION ON JUDICIAL REVIEW.—A deter-
16 mination by the Attorney General as to whether the status
17 of any alien should be adjusted under this section is final
18 and shall not be subject to review by any court.

19 (g) NO OFFSET IN NUMBER OF VISAS AVAILABLE.—

20 When an alien is granted the status of having been law-
21 fully admitted for permanent residence pursuant to this
22 section, the Secretary of State shall not be required to re-
23 duce the number of immigrant visas authorized to be
24 issued under any provision of the Immigration and Na-
25 tionality Act.

(h) APPLICATION OF IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY ACT PROVISIONS.—Except as otherwise specifically provided in this Act, the definitions contained in the Immigration and Nationality Act shall apply in the administration of this section. Nothing contained in this Act shall be held to repeal, amend, alter, modify, effect, or restrict the powers, duties, functions, or authority of the Attorney General in the administration and enforcement of such Act or any other law relating to immigration, nationality, or naturalization. The fact that an alien may be eligible to be granted the status of having been lawfully admitted for permanent residence under this section shall not preclude the alien from seeking such status under any other provision of law for which the alien may be eligible.

casework

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
7-30-98

Ronald Byrd, Jr.

M.A. in English

looking for

worthwhile

challenging

work

7-30-98

Send to Buskhardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐

C

(501) 835-5067

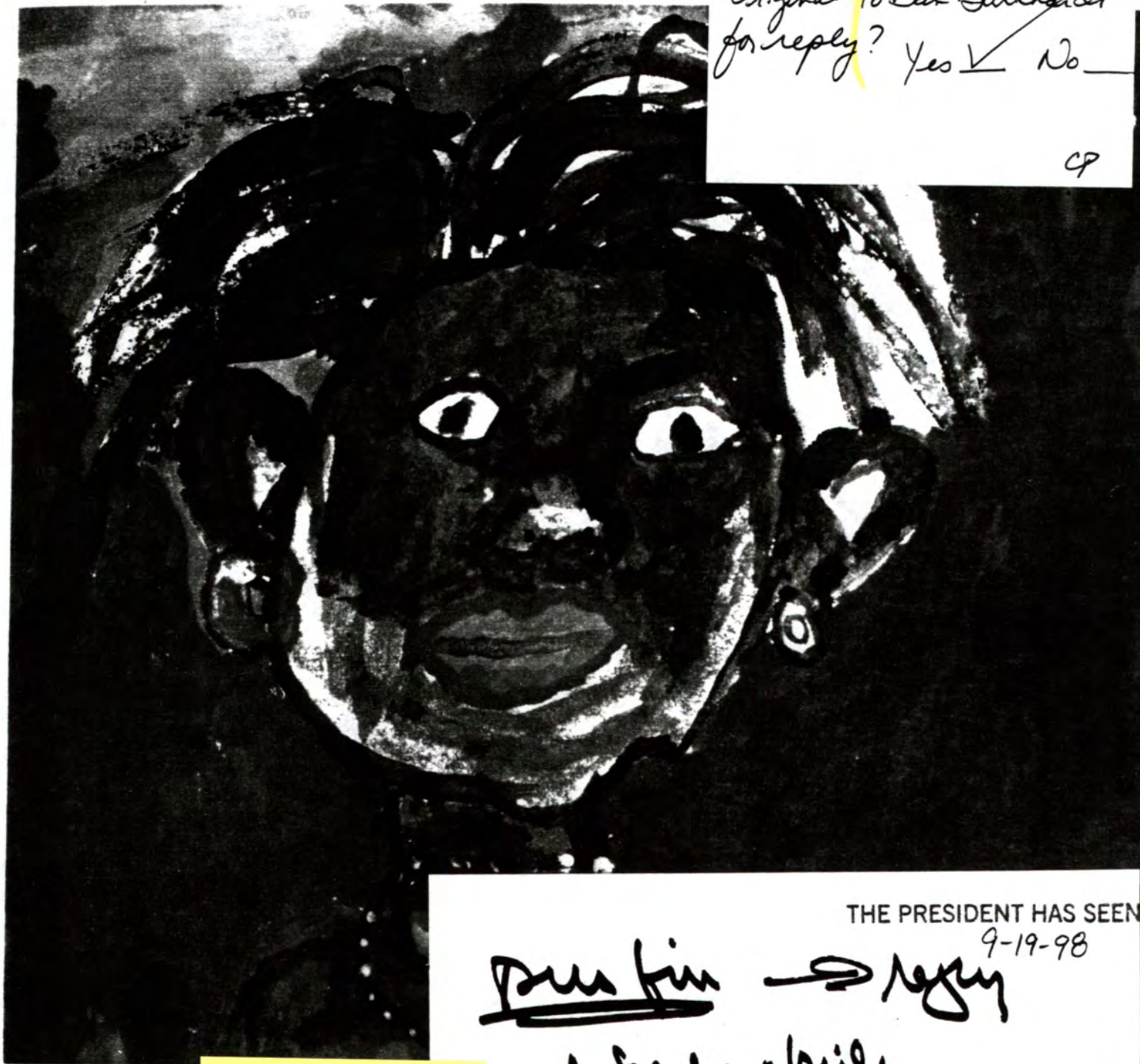
ask to receive resume

Quorum # 4138024
~~Phil~~ could be in edit

Phil - 9/19
Who should cc: ?

Original to Dan Burkhardt
for reply? Yes ☒ No ☐

CP



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

9-19-98

Dan fin → reply

to Franklin + hills

BZ

Marking

Cover art by:
Amber Clark
fourth grade
Oxford Elementary School
Oxford, Mississippi 1998

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-6-99

**SOROS FUND MANAGEMENT
THE SOROS FOUNDATIONS**

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New York, NY 10106
Tel: (212) 397-5501
Fax: (212) 977-4057
E-mail: Darinka_Rakic@sfnny.com

Handwritten notes and signatures:
C. G. ...
...
...

Please deliver the following pages to:

Name:	Mr. William Jefferson Clinton President of the United States
Fax Number:	(202) 456-1210
From:	George Soros
Date:	January 4, 1998
Number of pages:	4

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Dear President Clinton:

I am sending you the full text of the article published today in the Financial Times in the hope you may find it helpful in preparing your State of the Union message. I am ready to follow up in any way you wish.

Sincerely yours,

George Soros.

Copy: Michael Waldman
Director of Speech Writing
The White House
Fax 202-456-2505

AGENDA FOR 1999

A relatively minor dislocation in a far away country - Thailand being forced off its informal dollar peg in July 1997 - unleashed a global financial crisis. Financial markets behaved more in accordance with chaos theory than economic theory. According to chaos theory a bird flapping its wings in China can affect the global weather patterns; according to the economic textbooks, markets tend towards equilibrium; an extraneous shock, like the devaluation of the Thai baht, can cause a temporary dislocation but eventually markets settle down and continue functioning very much as before.

Markets have settled down, and the economies at the center of the global capitalist system have suffered very little damage from the dislocations that occurred at the periphery - indeed in many ways they have benefited from them. People in other countries like Indonesia and Russia are plunged into misery but they are far away. It would be only too easy to go on with business as usual. But we do so at our own peril. Recent events have revealed certain fundamental flaws in the global financial system. Unless we attend to them, the system is liable to disintegrate and we too shall suffer the consequences.

The first lesson we have to learn is rather abstract. Financial markets are inherently unstable. Markets tend towards equilibrium only when they deal with known quantities. But financial markets deal with quantities which are not only unknown but also unknowable; they try to anticipate events in the future which are contingent on how the financial markets anticipate them at present. Financial markets operate with a bias and the bias they bring to bear plays a causal role in shaping the course of events. Sometimes the bias is self-correcting in which case we can speak of a tendency towards equilibrium, but at other times it can be self-reinforcing until it becomes unsustainable, in which case we have a boom followed by a bust. Booms and busts are endemic in financial markets. Instead of moving like a pendulum, markets can move like a wrecking ball, knocking over one economy after another. The swings cannot be avoided altogether but they need to be brought under control if we want to preserve the global economy.

Countries with well-developed financial systems have learnt this lesson from bitter experience. They have established central banks to regulate the money supply and other regulatory authorities to prevent excesses. But all these authorities are national in scope. There are some international financial institutions, notably the IMF and the World Bank, but they were designed for a different world that was devoid of large-scale capital flows. In the recent crisis the IMF proved to be part of the problem rather than the solution.

The primary mission of the IMF is to preserve the international financial system. Its task is to ensure that a debtor country will be able to meet its international obligations, if not right away then within the foreseeable future. The conditions which it imposes on the debtor country are designed with this objective in mind. They include punitively high interest rates, which serve the dual purpose of stabilizing the exchange rates and creating a trade surplus by precipitating a recession. Both these developments indirectly benefit the lenders because they facilitate the repayment of debts.

This method of operation has given rise to what is now recognized as a moral hazard. In case of trouble, lenders could count on the IMF to bail them out; this has supposedly encouraged sloppy lending practices. Actually, the moral hazard is better described as an asymmetry in the treatment of lenders and borrowers.

There is another asymmetry in the way the IMF currently operates. It can intervene only at a time of crisis; it has no authority for preventing a crisis from developing. Yet experience has shown that busts can be prevented only by moderating the boom that preceded it.

These two asymmetries, taken together, explain why the IMF has become part of the problem. This was clearly demonstrated in the recent crisis. The IMF imposed punitive interest rates and the countries concerned were plunged into deep recession. But when the crisis threatened the US, the Federal Reserve lowered interest rates and the US economy escaped unscathed.

The IMF is now under severe attack. There are voices calling for its abolition. Others want to cripple it by imposing all kinds of conditions. I believe these attacks are misconceived and misdirected. If global financial markets are inherently unstable we need a stronger regulatory framework rather than dismantling existing institutions just because they proved unequal to their task. We need to improve them, not abolish them.

It should be recognized that banks and financial markets left to their own devices do a very uneven and unreliable job in allocating capital among different national economies. International capital flows need to be regulated. The choice is between international regulation and letting each country protect its interests the best it can.

Unfortunately, the present arrangements for international regulation are woefully inadequate and very punitive to those countries which have to depend on it. If they tried to protect themselves as Malaysia has done, the system would disintegrate. That is why we need to improve the international regulatory framework even if for the time being, we, at the center of the global capitalist system, feel no pain. To be specific, we need to convert the IMF into something resembling an international central bank.

When I speak of an international central bank I do not have in mind an institution like the Federal Reserve or the European Central Bank. I am talking about empowering the IMF to act as lender of last resort with regard to a select group of countries that are eager to obtain such protection. In order to qualify, these countries would have to meet certain conditions that would make it very unlikely that the IMF would have to intervene as a lender of last resort. The countries concerned would have to follow sound macroeconomic policies; have a sound banking system, with appropriate supervision; provide adequate information both to the IMF and to the markets; maintain flexible exchange rates with appropriate measures for the control of excessive capital flows; have proper corporate governance and bankruptcy laws; respect certain basic human rights and abide by the rule of law. In return, the IMF would stand by as a lender of last resort and provide an adequate supply of capital even if the financial markets are unwilling to do so.

Those countries which cannot or will not meet these conditions would continue to have access to the IMF on terms similar to those which are available currently with one major difference: in a crisis the IMF may impose conditions not only on the country concerned but also on creditors. By putting would-be creditors on notice the IMF would prevent excessive capital inflows from developing. If it still became necessary to impose a moratorium or a compulsory debt to equity conversion scheme the international financial system would not be disrupted, because it would be an isolated case. The threat of contagion, which is inherent in the current arrangements, would be eliminated.

It should be emphasized that, as things stand at present, the IMF does not act as lender of last resort. The amount it can lend to a country is limited and it usually accounts to only a fraction of that country's outstanding obligations. The only way an IMF program can be successful is by reestablishing market confidence. That is why the program has to be skewed in favor of the creditors. That is why the countries concerned are so heavily penalized -- and if the program fails, as it did in Indonesia and Russia, the penalty can be even greater.

Empowering the IMF to act as lender of last resort would radically change the mission of the IMF and the way it operates. It would eliminate the current imbalance in favor of the creditors and to the detriment of the debtor countries. Countries which meet certain performance criteria would have the protection of a lender of last resort; and if other countries got into trouble the burden would be shared between the lenders and the borrowers. The lenders and investors would also be better served; in the first category countries they would enjoy the benefit of a lender of last resort; in the second category countries they would know that they are acting at their own risk.

The new arrangement would also eliminate the current imbalance between prevention and crisis intervention. The emphasis would be on prevention where it properly belongs. International credit and investment could grow without the devastating interruptions which are occurring with increasing frequency. Countries which choose to accept the discipline of having the IMF as lender of last resort, would cease to be second-class members of the global capitalist system; and the others would have something to aspire to.

Booms and busts would not be banished altogether; that is impossibility. But the IMF in its new incarnation would act not only as a lender of last resort but also as a kind of international central bank, regulating the environment for international capital flows in order to obviate the need to intervene as lender of last resort. Central banks always err in one direction or the other but on the whole they do a creditable job because they can correct their mistakes based on the market reaction. There have been no breakdowns at the center of the global capitalist system similar to those which are currently afflicting some of the countries at the periphery, since 1933. If we want to have a well functioning global capitalist system we need to extend similar protection to the periphery.

This is not a utopian ideal but an idea that could and should be implemented right now. It is not my brainchild, although it was the inspiration for the International Credit Guarantee scheme which I proposed a year ago. That idea was ahead of its time. But an international lender of last resort is an idea whose time has come. The idea is implicit in the recent G7

communiqué, which proposed preventive actions and a contingency fund, and in the speeches of President Clinton, Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown, and other statesmen. It is discussed more explicitly in some of the papers circulating in official circles.

The financial resources which would enable the IMF to act as lender of last resort would come from incremental Special Drawing Rights (SDRs) which the member countries would assign to the IMF for that purpose. The SDRs would not be issued until they are authorized by the governing body of the reconstituted IMF.

I would not like to pretend that it would be easy to establish the rules by which a reconstituted IMF would operate. An international regulator of credit and money supply would have to consider not only the countries at the periphery but also the countries at the center of the global capitalist system. It would be improper for either the Federal Reserve or the European Central Bank to allow its autonomy to be infringed by an international body; but both institutions and their respective Treasuries would be represented on the governing body of the reconstituted IMF and in that context, they would be better able to coordinate their global responsibilities.

Most global financial crises have been precipitated by a rise in interest rates at the center. That was true in 1929, in 1982, and again in 1992 when the reunification of Germany destroyed the European Exchange Rate Mechanism. It was not the case in 1997-8, although it could be argued that the Thai baht became unhinged because of the rise in the value of the dollar, but it may well be the case in the next crisis. The ability to inject or restrict liquidity not only at the center but at the periphery would open up policy options which are not currently available. The idea of something resembling an international central bank could provide the cornerstone of the new financial architecture around which a new Bretton Woods Conference could be organized.

The conference could take place next October but a lot of preparatory work needs to be done in the meantime. In the United States, a task force of the Council on Foreign Relations and others are studying the subject; there ought to be similar initiatives in Europe. But it is even more important that the countries that could benefit from a lender of last resort - countries in Southeast Asia, Latin America and the rest of the world - should address the issue. After all the new architecture seeks to correct the asymmetry between center and periphery - the countries at the periphery must have an important say in its design.

George Soros

Global Cumulative AIDS (Adults and Children) Estimate Total (late 1996): 20 million

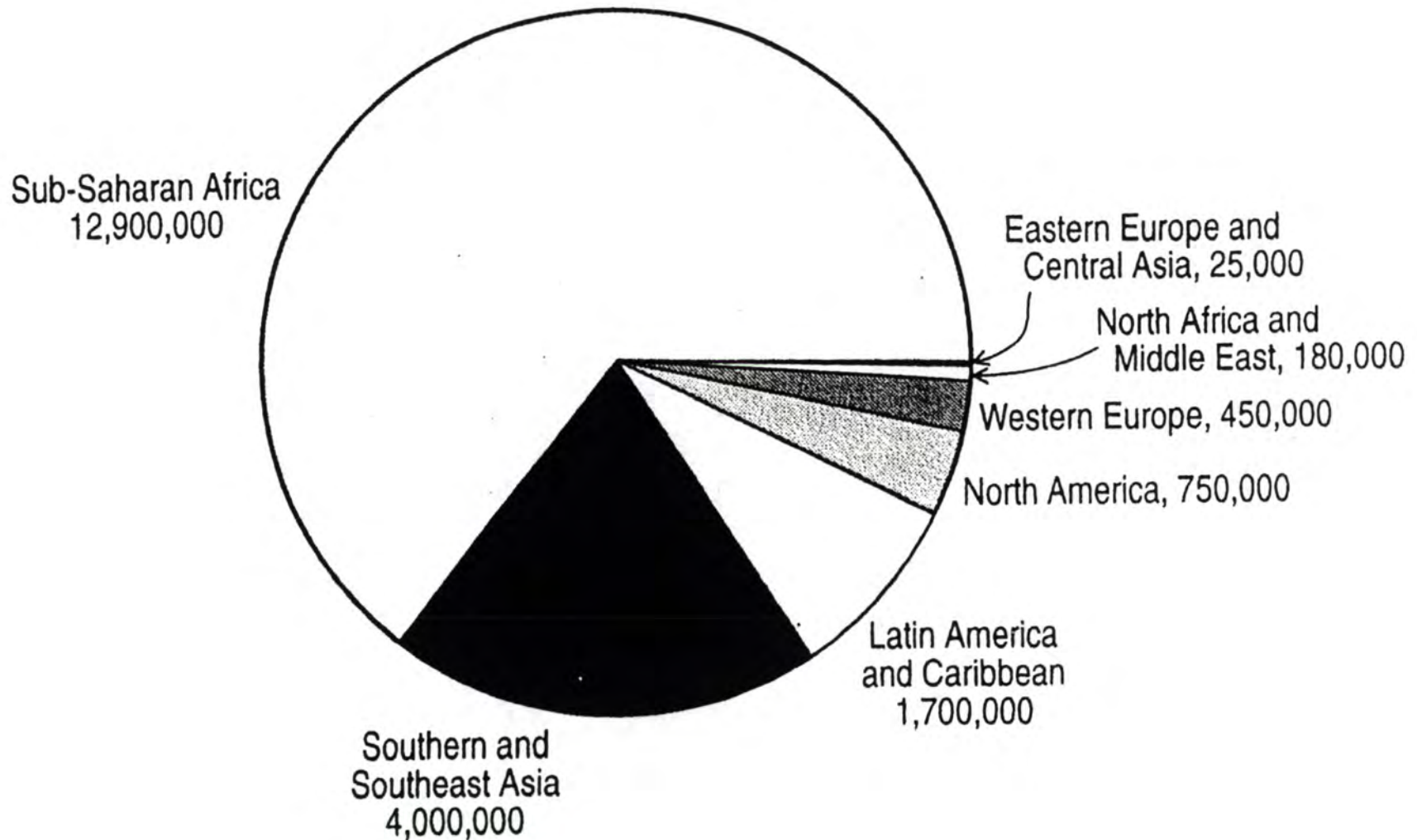


Chart 9

Estimated Cumulative HIV Infections in Women by Early 1994

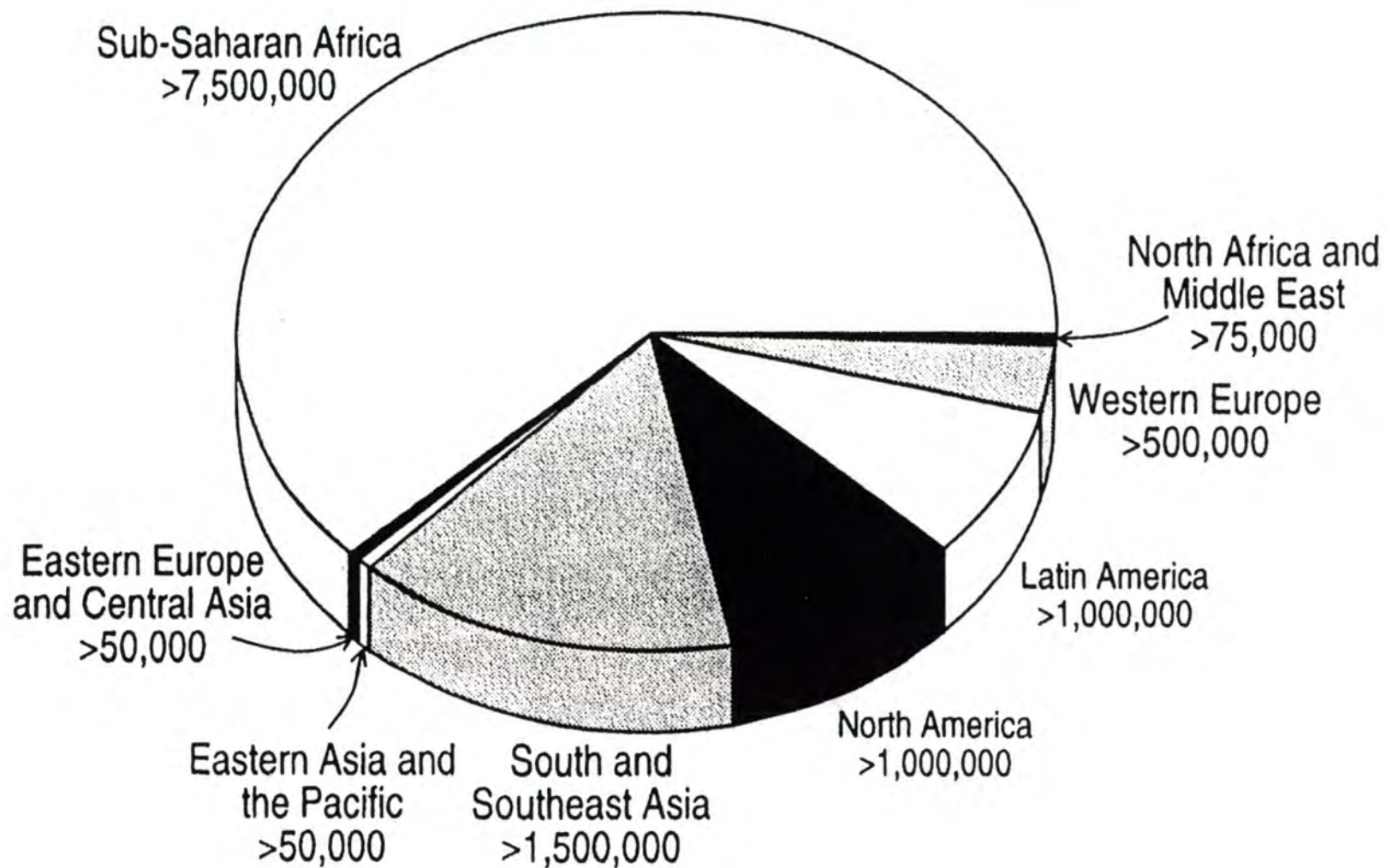
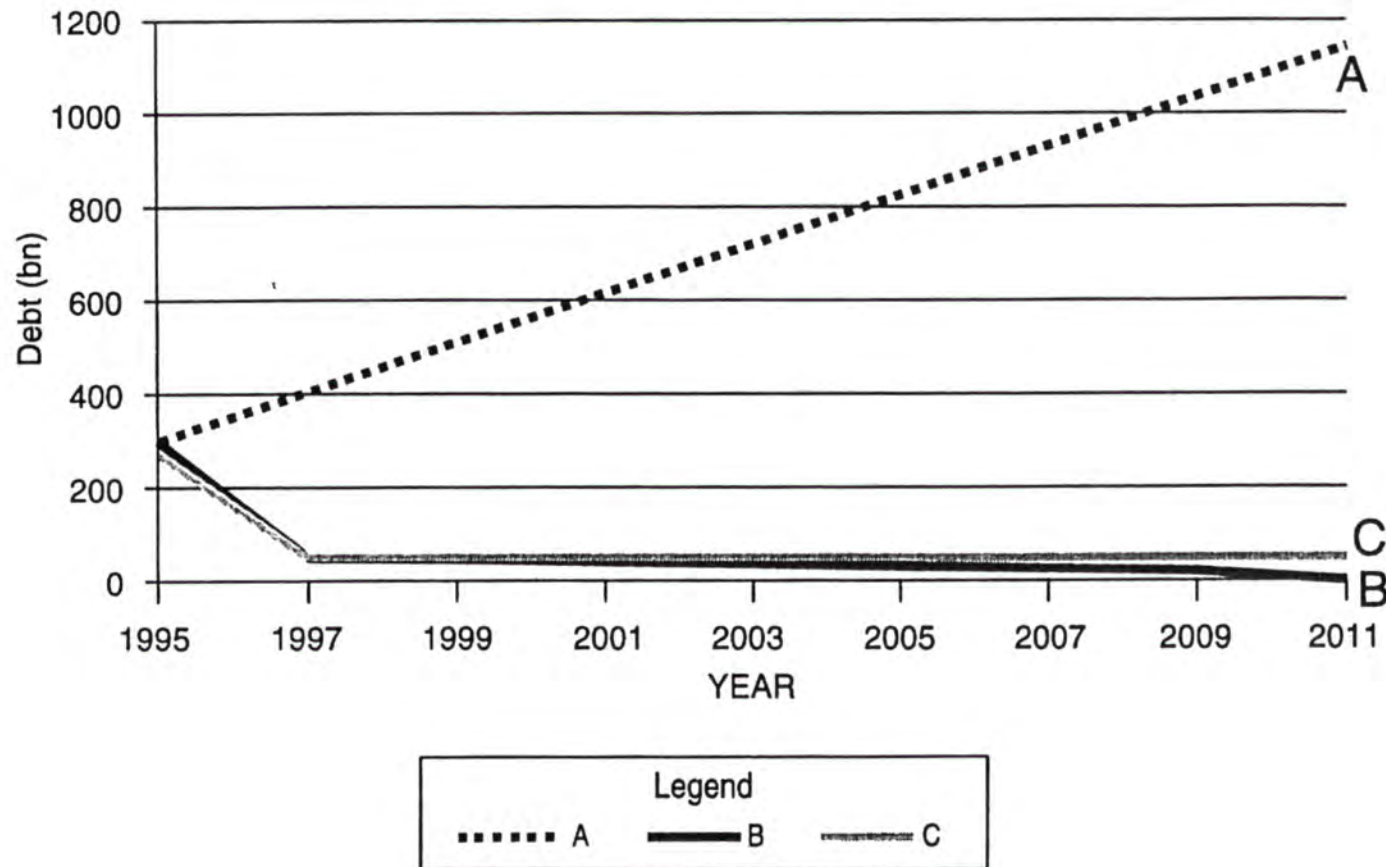


Chart 10

Two Scenarios of External Debt Relief

Strategies in Sub-Saharan Africa

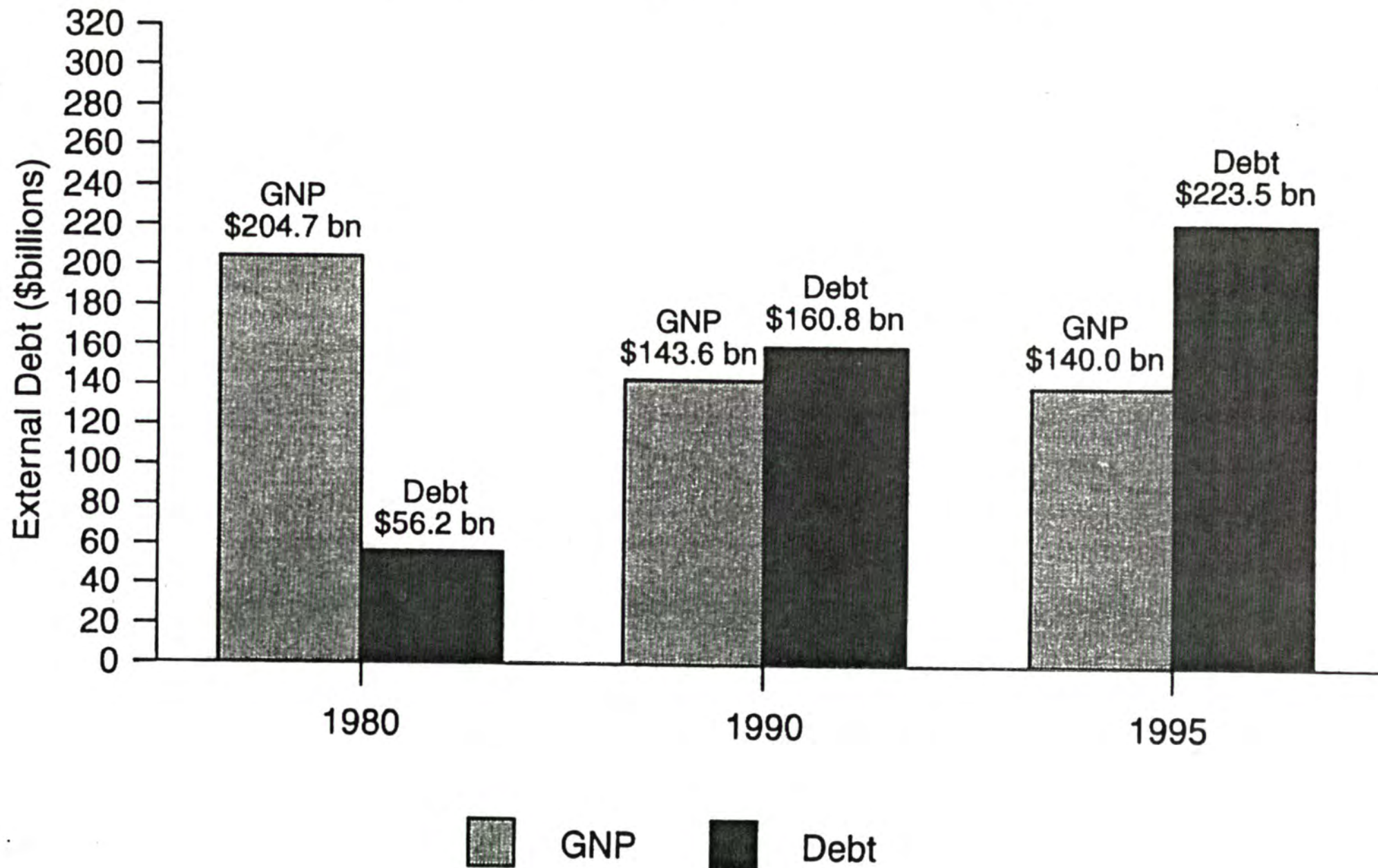


A represents: Scenario showing business as usual. African debt will rise from \$300 billion in 1995 to over \$1 trillion by the year 2011.

B represents: Scenario showing effective debt relief and reform programs as proposed by the Sullivan Plan. It proposes 90 percent debt conversion.

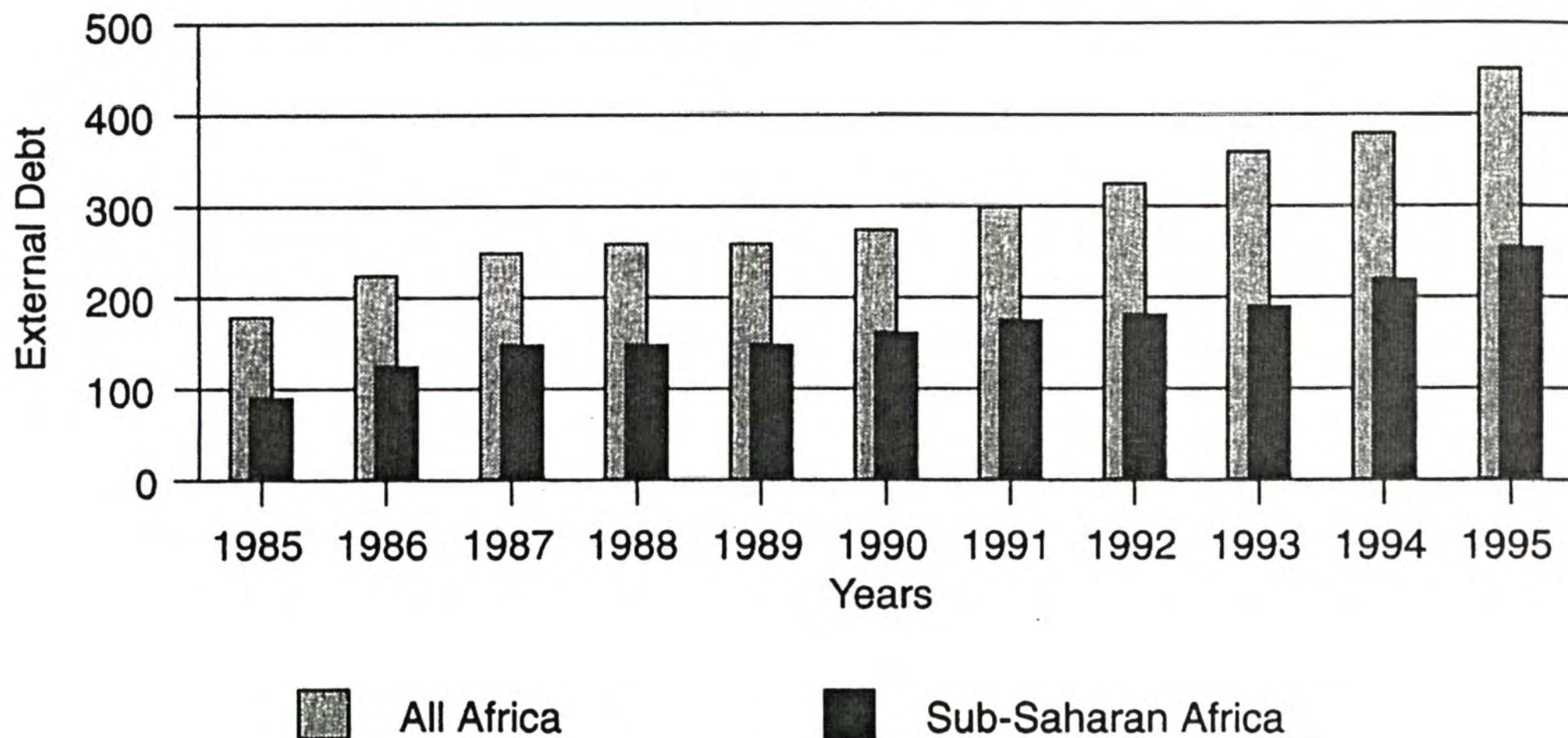
C represents: Scenario showing \$30 billion repaid to the creditors over fifteen years.

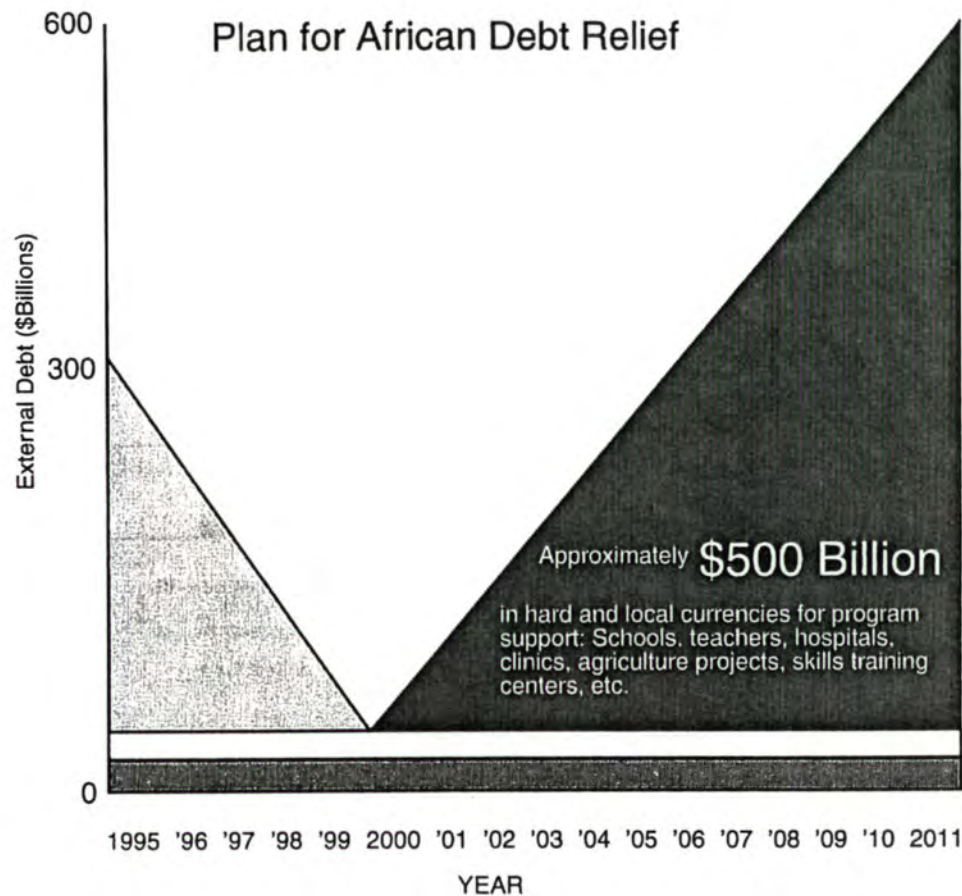
Sub-Saharan Africa Profile



Africa's Mounting External Debt

(\$Billions)

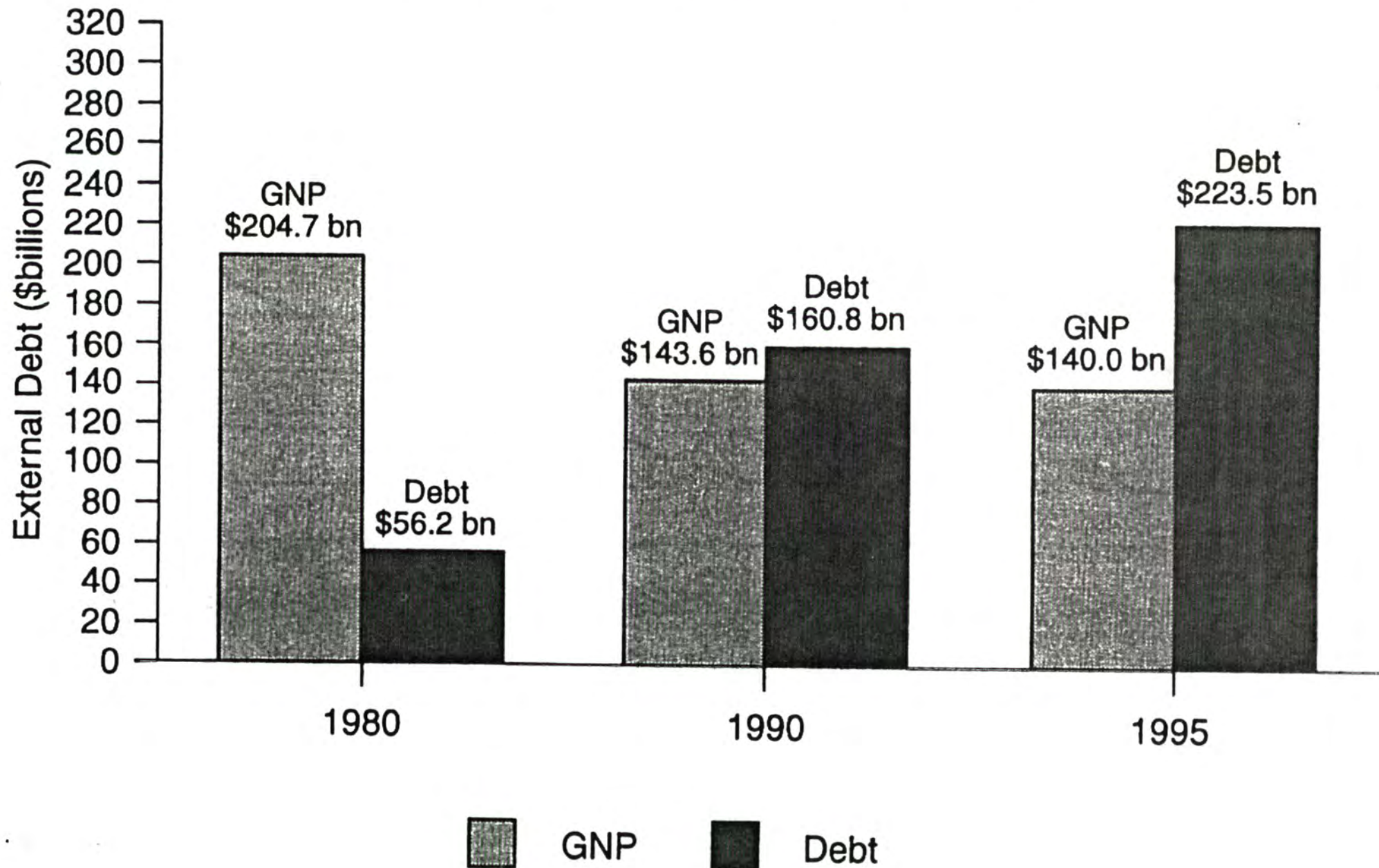




-  90 percent (\$270bn) of the debt cancelled with 10 percent remaining on books for fifteen years.
-  Accumulated interest at 3 percent on remaining debt converted into local currency for education, health, and other human development purposes.
-  The 10 percent retained debt matched with grants and loans (new loans repaid with interest, annually, on a timely basis); also in-kind contributions and self-help after fifteen years of tax relief as described in the plan.
-  Retained \$30 billion debt remaining on books of participating African nations, to be matched with hard currency support from loans, investments, grants, equipment, technical assistance, etc., from participating commercial institutions, banks, multinationals, and nations over a fifteen-year period, equaling \$30 billion of added investment participation.

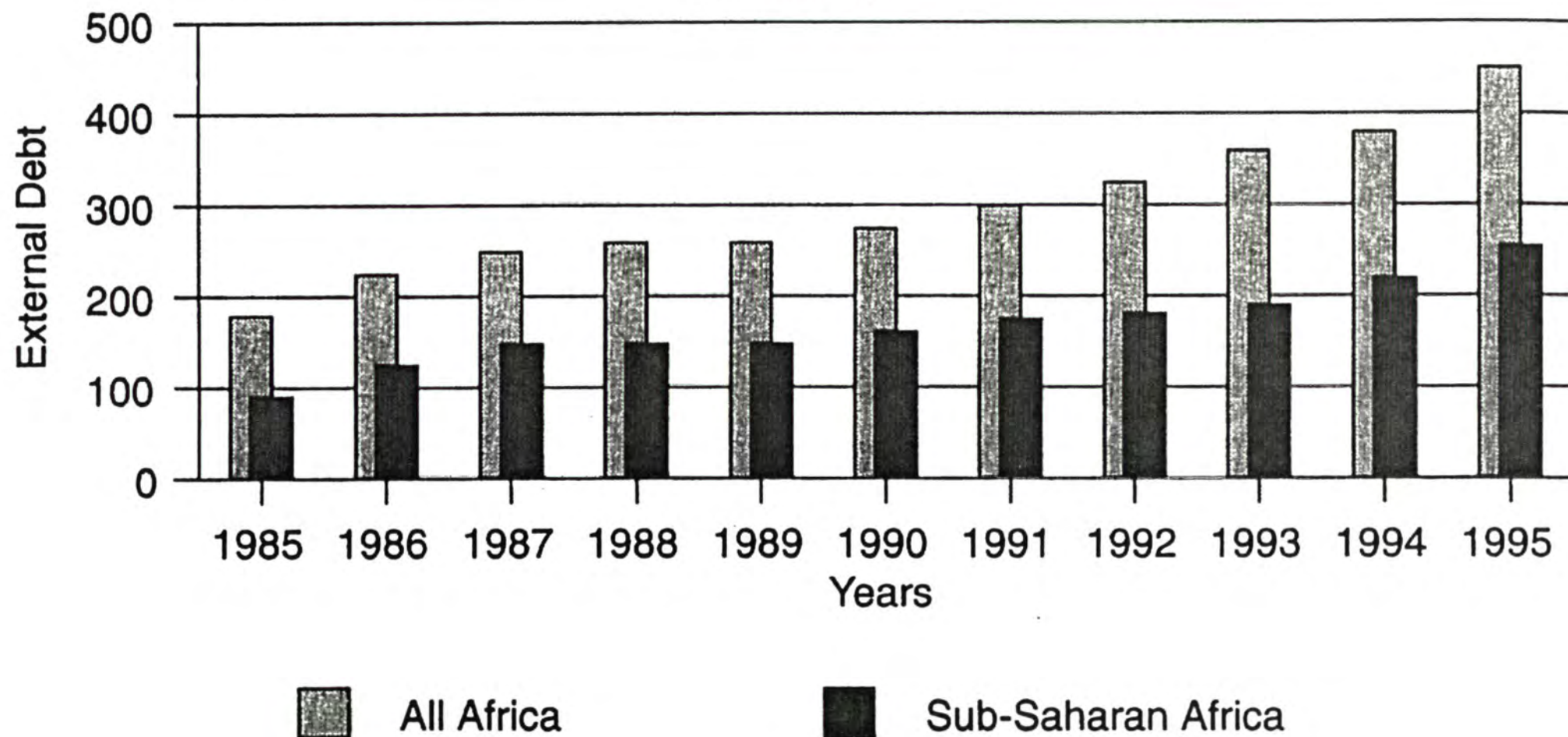
RESULTS: Will create 2 million new jobs in Africa and up to 200,000 new jobs for America, France, Germany, Japan, and other participating developing countries in needed machinery, equipment, materials, technical support, and other development requirements.

Sub-Saharan Africa Profile



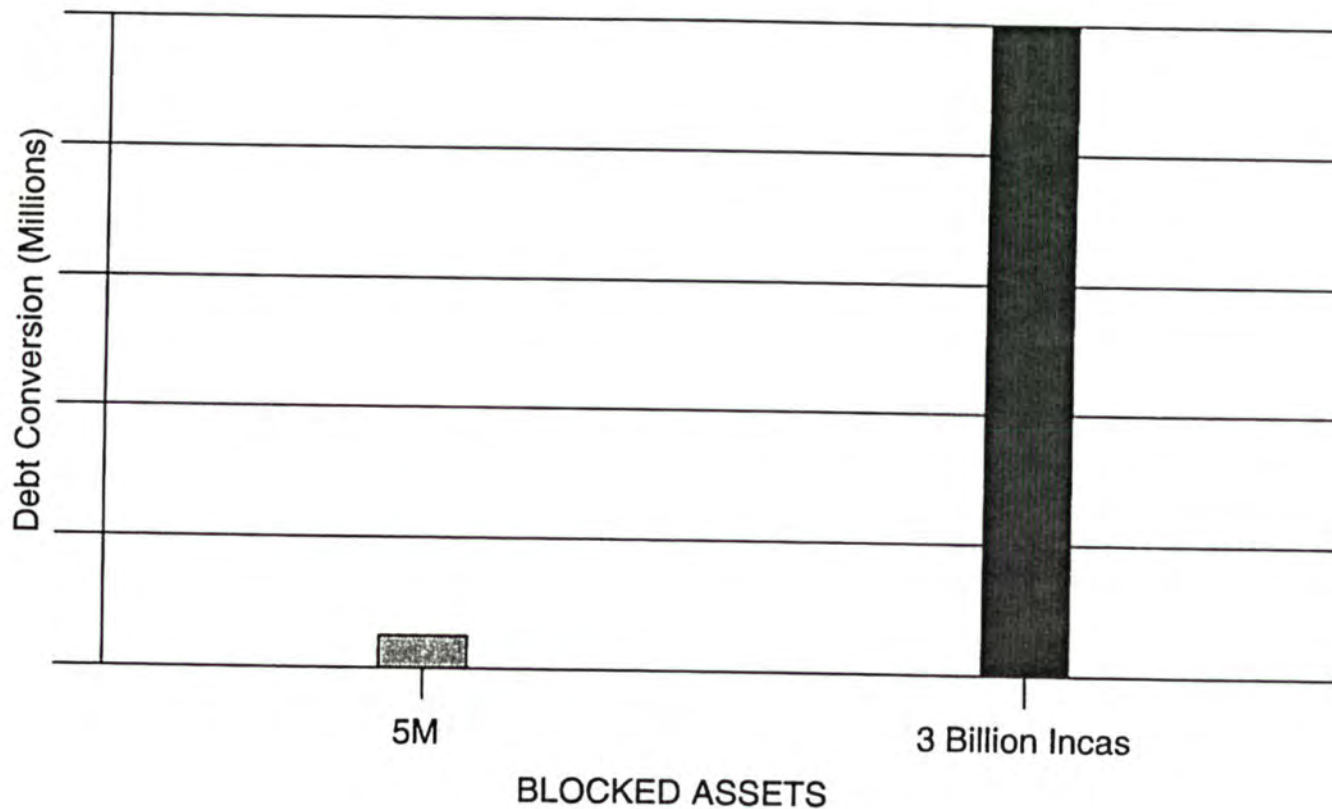
Africa's Mounting External Debt

(\$Billions)



Peru Model: Blocked Asset

1991-1994



Assets donated to IFESH

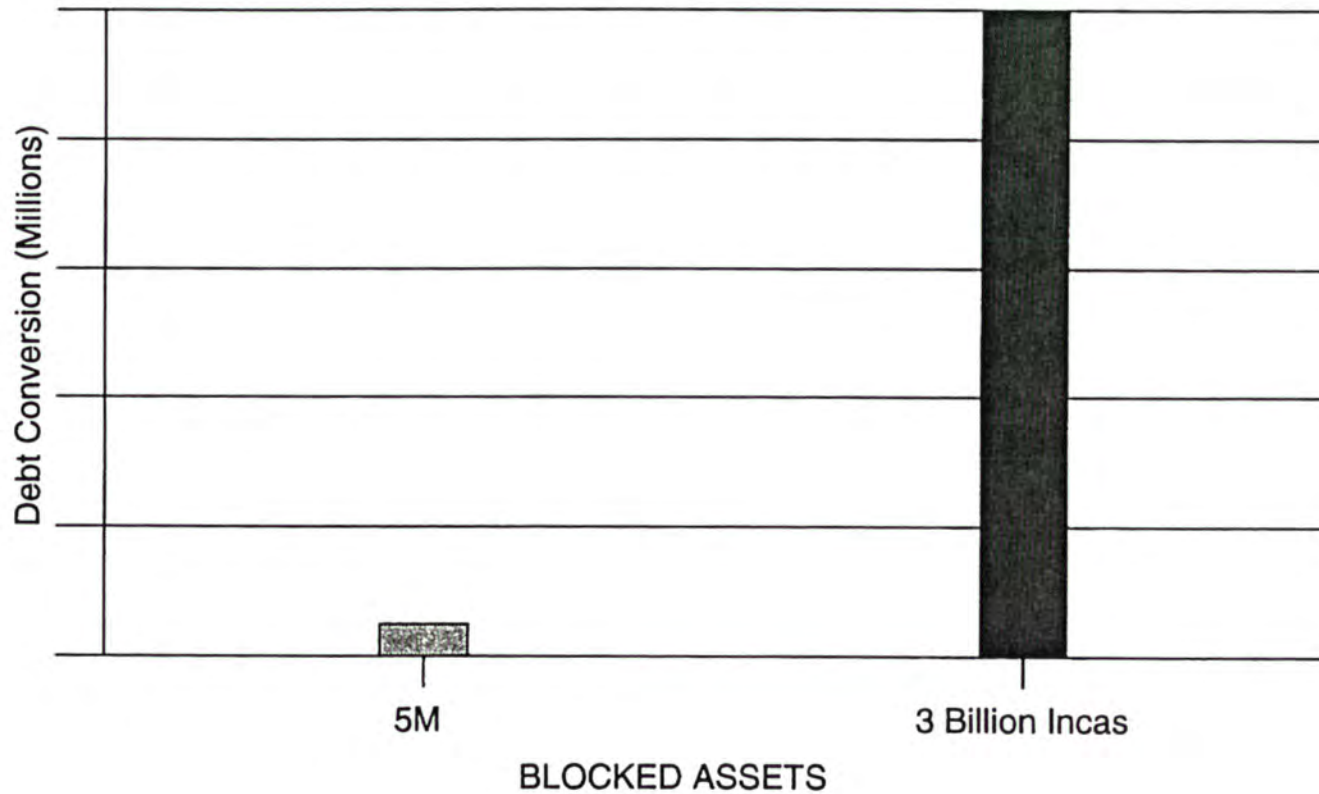
Assets converted to local currency

Progress Results with Use of Converted Local Currency
1991-1996 (five years)

1. 20 skills training center: Training 5,000 Peruvians by the year 2000.
2. 6 work centers (factories): Employing 1,000 workers by the year 2000.
3. 4 orphanages: Accommodating 900 orphans by the year 2000.

Peru Model: Blocked Asset

1991-1994



Assets donated to IFESH



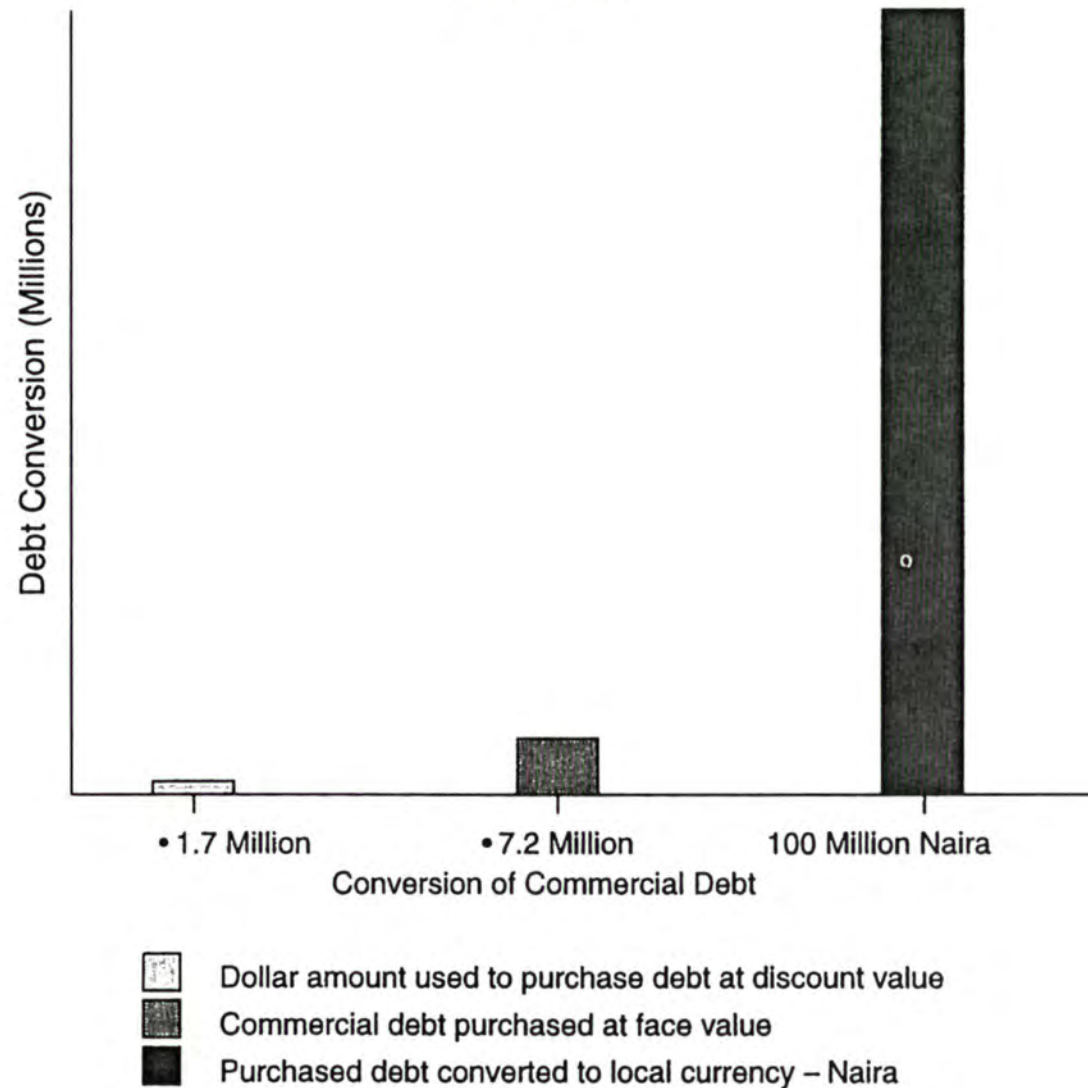
Assets converted to local currency

Progress Results with Use of Converted Local Currency
1991-1996 (five years)

1. 20 skills training center: Training 5,000 Peruvians by the year 2000.
2. 6 work centers (factories): Employing 1,000 workers by the year 2000.
3. 4 orphanages: Accommodating 900 orphans by the year 2000.

Nigerian Model: Debt for Development

1993–1996



Results

1. Developed 5 skills training centers serving 2,000 trainees per year.
2. Initiated River Blindness projects helping 150,000 beneficiaries prevent blindness.
3. In cooperation with World Bank counterpart funds dug 50,000 tubewells in Nigeria.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-28-99

9/28/99

Millones de almas para
"Jesucristo" en este avance final.

Y el Señor añadía cada día la
iglesia los que debían de ser
salvos. Hechos 2:47



Bishop Manuel Castaneda
215 Booth Lane
Tarboro, N.C. 27886
Casa (252) 823-2506
Iglesia (252) 823-8712

Special help.

Should we send to
Buykhardt?

✓ MICKEY Yes _____
IBARRA no ✓ _____

cc: Cabinet Affairs -

Yes _____
no ✓ _____

FOUNT issue

This man says
business needs
special help in
N.C. after flooding
Someone should
contact him

PHOTOCOPY
W/C HANDWRITING

Result is yes
This man says
(Fugitive) needs
special help in
N.C. after freedom
Bermans should
contact him

Should we send to
Buckhardt?
✓ Micky ✓ as
✓ we
cc: Colonel Alphas -
✓ Yes
✓ No

9/28/99

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
9-28-99

Iglesia Cristiana
Evangelica "La Roca"
4004 N. Main Street

Servicios

Martes	7:30 p.m. Oracion y Estudio Biblico
Jueves	7:30 p.m. Servicio de Jovenes y Damas
Sabado	7:30 p.m. Culto Evangelistico
Domingo	11:00 a.m. Escuela Dominical 6:00 p.m. Culto Evangelistico

¡ Hacia adelante iglesia
CRISTO VIENE
PRONTO!!!

9-23-99

CITY OF FOUNTAINS
HEART OF THE NATION



KANSAS CITY
MISSOURI

Neighborhood and
Community Services
Department

Youth Services

Brenda Andrews

Division Head

(816) 274-2397

FAX (816) 274-2149

e-mail: Brenda_Andrews@kcmo.org

4th Floor, City Hall, 414 E. 12th St.
Kansas City, Missouri 64106

*Brenda
Wants to help
NY Youth Services
B*

*copied
Reed
Podesta*

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

WJC
JFK
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PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE WHITE HOUSE

Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

5/3

Jake -

Do you know

where his

stands?

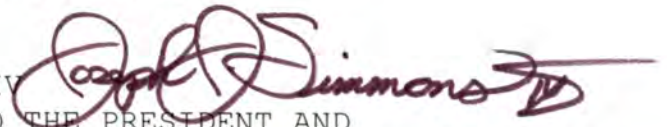
Phil Cplm

ORN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 15, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR PHILLIP M. CAPLAN
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
STAFF SECRETARY

FROM: JOSEPH J. SIMMONS IV 
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE MILITARY OFFICE

SUBJECT: Mrs. Burris' Wrongful Death Claim

Attached you will find a fact sheet, provided by the U.S. Army, concerning the training accident that resulted in the death of Major Andrew Burris, the husband of Mrs. Andrew Burris.

The Investigating Officer, appointed by the Adjutant General of the Maryland National Guard found "insufficient evidence to conclude that there was either misconduct or negligence on the part of the driver of the truck." The Adjutant also recommended no adverse action be taken and approved the findings and recommendations.

DoD will provide me continual updates as the investigation progresses. If you have any further questions, please call.

Attachment

FACT SHEET

SUBJECT: Mrs. Karen Burris Writes About Wrongful Death of Her Husband

1. Purpose. To provide the facts on actions and investigations concerning the training accident resulting in the death of Major Andrew Burris, the husband of Mrs. Karen Burris.

2. Facts.

a. Following the incident at Camp Blanding, Florida that resulted in the death of MAJ Andrew Burris in June 1997, the 82nd Airborne Division conducted the primary AR 15-6 investigation. Following the initial investigation, COL Donald J. Kasperik, Commander, Winn Army Community Hospital, Ft. Stewart, GA, with primary medical oversight, directed another AR 15-6 investigation into the medical system issues surrounding the incident. This was a Quality Assurance/Credentialing inquiry, conducted by the Medical Staff Peer Review Committee of Winn Army Community Hospital. The Florida National Guard assisted the Winn Army Community Hospital, Fort Stewart, Georgia with the conduct of their AR 15-6 investigation.

b. As a result of that investigation, the Florida National Guard completed the following actions: An update of the Annual Training Site Support Plan with designated responsibilities; an updated Medical Standard Operating Procedures Guide by Winn Army Community Hospital; a staff assistance team visit from Winn Army Community Hospital staff personnel; and a Mass Casualty Training Exercise including military/civilian interface and Life Flight on January 24, 1998 to evaluate the medical systems/Standard Operating Procedures. The final Standard Operating Procedures guide will be reviewed and approved by the Commander, Winn Army Community Hospital and quarterly staff assistance team visits have continued to evaluate corrective actions.

c. The Maryland National Guard conducted a collateral AR 15-6 investigation. The Investigating Officer appointed by the Adjutant General of the Maryland National Guard found insufficient evidence to conclude that there was either misconduct or negligence on the part of the driver of the truck. His recommendation was that no adverse action be taken. The Adjutant General of Maryland approved the findings and recommendations.

d. On January 28, 1998, Congressman Lee Hamilton sent Acting Secretary of the Army, Mr. Mike Walker, a letter from Ms. Burris requesting that someone be held accountable for the death of her husband.

e. It is believed that Ms. Burris also discussed her concerns with several senior officials including the FORSCOM Commander, his Legal Advisor, and the Surgeon General.

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

f. According to Ms. Burris' correspondence, she met with President Clinton at the Veterans' Day Breakfast on November 11, 1998, and he offered to help her in any way possible.

g. In November of 1998, Ms. Burris sent letters to President Clinton, and the Office of the Secretary of Defense. In December, Ms. Burris sent Senator Warner and Senator Robb letters, again asking that someone be held accountable for the death of her husband.

h. On December 10, 1998, Mr. Todd Weller, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Reserve Affairs, Mobilization, Readiness, and Training, signed an interim response to Ms. Burris.

i. As noted previously in other correspondence, in accordance with current regulations and directives, the National Guard Bureau has neither the authority nor jurisdiction, to investigate or resolve this inquiry to the completion requested by Ms. Burris.

j. All information available is subject to the Freedom of Information Act. In accordance with current regulations and directives, persons requesting information concerning this inquiry/investigation should contact the appropriate Commanders and The Adjutant Generals of the respective states.

k. All information provided is to used for official use only and should not be released outside the appropriate agencies of the Department of Defense.

MAJ MATTHEW URBANEK, NGB-PL/703-607-2784

APPROVED BY COL BRUCE DAVIS

2

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 1/11

To: Jake Simmons, WHMO

From: The Staff Secretary

Please advise. President
wanted this looked into, with all
appropriate handling, of course.

Phil Caplan

Attn.

Nancy Hernandez

from:

Karen Burris

- memo you requested

Thank you!

cc: Mr. Burris
George Smith
(let's discuss)

Karen Burris
6615 Ivy Hill Drive
McLean, Virginia 22101
(703) 356-8628

99 JAN 11 AM 11:06

November 16, 1998

Dear Mr. President,

I would like to thank you for taking the time to speak with me personally at the end of the receiving line at the Veteran's Day breakfast. To refresh your memory, I am the wife of Major Andrew Burris, a soldier in the 82nd Airborne, who was senselessly killed in a training accident while evaluating the Maryland National Guard during their annual two week training period.

Mr. President, I truly believe that your offer to help me in any way possible was sincere and your concern was genuine. I implore you to read the attached memo detailing the incredible errors that occurred on the night of my husband's death. I attended the wreath laying service at Arlington National Cemetery after the breakfast. Your speech touched upon the very core of the problems facing our soldiers during peace time training today. My husband's death was due to a complete lack of leadership and organization of the most severe kind and a total breakdown of national guard soldiers being trained properly and adequately.

My husband was a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute and was an infantry officer for fifteen years. He was a consummate soldier and would proudly have given his life for his country but not to the negligence of the Maryland and Florida National Guards. He was highly respected by his subordinates, peers and superiors. His favorite motto was "lead by example" and he did just that. He performed his duties beyond the best of his abilities and he expected the same of his fellow soldiers. He was a paratrooper in the 82nd Airborne Division, spent eight months in Desert Storm and never wavered in his loyalty and love for his country. Please help me in my quest in having individuals held properly accountable for their failure to perform their duties bestowed upon them. I want my daughter to be certain that her father's life was worthy of individuals being held responsible for their actions. I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Karen Burris

Karen Burris

Wrongful Death of Major Andrew Scott Burris

On Friday, June 13th, 1997, Major Burris was struck and subsequently killed by a 2 ½ ton truck in black-out conditions while waiting to evaluate an ambush performed by the Maryland National Guard at Camp Blanding, Florida. Below is a summary of the most severe failures and deficiencies in planning and decision making that occurred the night of his death although there were several other failures.

- the driver and assistant driver (from the Maryland National Guard) were not supposed to be driving in the area in which they were traveling
- they were ordered hours beforehand to stop driving the vehicle to which they replied they did not have to comply that their "mission was over"
- they were driving 30-35 mph in a 5mph zone without any head lights, running lights or ground guides
- were not wearing their issued Night Vision Goggles although the assistant driver had his in his lap
- struck Major Burris and kept driving thinking they had hit a wild animal
- when stopped by another soldier and informed that they had indeed hit Major Burris claimed that their vehicle was not involved in the accident and that they had simply stopped to put light on the accident scene.

Major Burris knew he had been run over by the truck and yelled for help. Absolutely no medical evacuation plan was in place and not one soldier knew the Standard Operating Procedures for an accident of this magnitude.

Medical Malfunctions...due mostly to the Florida National Guard at Camp Blanding

- * an ambulance did not reach the accident site for 45 minutes and arrived inadequately equipped with medical supplies to help Major Burris
- the second ambulance to arrive was also lacking in medical supplies
- medical treatment was sub-standard. Major Burris should have received 3000 cc's of fluids and only received 250 cc's
- a civilian helicopter was ordered and also arrived without proper medical supplies and did not have any communication devices that would allow them to communicate with the ground resulting in Major Burris being flown around between hospitals and not having any medical personnel available to help him. A MEDEVAC helicopter should have been ordered to deal with the magnitude of his injuries stocked with medical supplies.
- Major Burris was grossly misdiagnosed by a Physician's Assistant. He was diagnosed with head trauma while internal bleeding was never diagnosed although he himself had stated that he had been run over and had obvious tire marks on his abdomen.
- Physician's Assistant was not current on Advanced Trauma Life Support (ATLS) and therefore not capable of diagnosing the severity of Major Burris' injuries

IN SUMMARY: I was told in a meeting at the Pentagon by the Army Surgeon General, General Blanck, that had my husband had proper medical treatment that he would have survived his injuries without any change in quality of life. The entire medical evacuation procedure should have taken 18 minutes and it took them 2 hours to get my husband to a hospital where he died on the tarmac. The previous year's evaluation performed by the same battalion in the 82nd Airborne of the Maryland National Guard pin-pointed EVERY deficiency and problem that lead to the death of my husband. The Maryland and Florida National Guard had an entire year to fix these problems and did not. It is in my opinion that due to total negligence and failure in leadership from the very top to the bottom Major Burris is dead and not one person has been held properly accountable.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to call:

Karen Burris (703) 356-8628 (wife of Major Burris).

KINARD, CRANE & BUTLER, P.A.

MIKE KINARD
STEVE R. CRANE
DAVID F. BUTLER

ATTORNEYS AT LAW
118 E. CALHOUN
P.O. Box 727
MAGNOLIA, ARKANSAS 71753

September 19, 1995
President Bill Clinton
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Attention: Nancy Hernreich

Dear President Clinton:

The purpose for writing you at this time is to bring you up to date on the Sawyer and Hasenfus Private Bills (H.R. 410 Sawyer and H.R. 871 Hasenfus) pending consideration by the Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims.

The position Chairman Lamar Smith, R-Texas, is taking is that the Office of Management and Budget (O.M.B.) will not release the Report on comments from the Department of State and Department of Justice in order for his Subcommittee to consider the legislation and set a hearing. I refer you to my letter dated July 26, 1995, which was forwarded to you by Jimmie Red Jones.

We have historically had good support from the Department of State, but I do not know how the Department of Justice has responded. I respectfully refer you to the present position of the Department of Justice embracing the U.S. Government's sponsorship of the Contra Resupply Operation as reflected in pleadings filed September 2, 1993, in the U.S. District Court for the Eastern District of Virginia (CIV. No. 93-12201-A).

I hope you can assist us in getting O.M.B. to refer these Bills back to the Subcommittee so Chairman Smith can set hearings during this term of Congress. There may even be a way to have hearings waived and the Bills signed out, but I do not know.

I intend to visit the Arkansas Senatorial delegation and Congressmen Dickey, Roth and others while in Washington in response to your invitation for Friday evening, September 29.

PAM/JIM -
ASAP Before 9/29
cc: BRUCE
Any Follow up? Should you

PAM -
I sent the original to Debby in
Jim Dorsky's office without a
white sheet. They will go
ahead and begin processing,
and will speak with
you when you return.

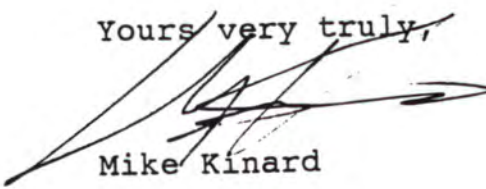
Paul
Bruce
Any follow
up?
(501) 234-4727
Fax (501) 234-4181
you call

I was contacted by CBS (60 Minutes) about a program they are evidently planning on the matter. My only comment was that the White House staff was aware of the pending Bills. I trust this was appropriate. I have been very sensitive to keeping this at a low profile and out of the limelight for my clients' best interests. However, it appears Mr. Mike Wallace who personally went to Nicaragua in 1986 has followed the case closely and now wants an update on these families.

I earnestly solicit any guidance your staff can give me. I arrive in Washington Wednesday afternoon and will stay at the Capitol Hilton until Sunday morning, September 30.

I hope you have been able by them to be brought up to date on this matter to enable a member of your staff to obtain some word on the status of the O.M.B. action.

Yours very truly,


Mike Kinard

MK:jp

10/12
Bruce: Harkins to
talk to POTUS again
after a while

Kinard

Wassenaar

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL

ID 9506229

REFERRAL

DATE: 02 OCT 95

95 OCT 3 A/D: 58

MEMORANDUM FOR: STERN, T

DOCUMENT DESCRIPTION:

TO: PRESIDENT

SOURCE: KINARD, MICHAEL

DATE: 26 JUL 95

SUBJ: PRIVATE BILLS - ESTATE OF WALLACE SAWYER/HR-410 - EUGENE HASENFUS/

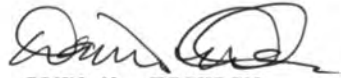
HR-871

REQUIRED ACTION: APPROPRIATE ACTION

DUE DATE:

COMMENT: PER TELEPHONE CONVERSATION W/ JIM SEATON (6-9191)

FOR


JOHN W. FICKLIN

NSC RECORDS MANAGEMENT OFFICE

KINARD, CRANE & BUTLER, P.A.

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

118 E. CALHOUN

P.O. Box 727

MAGNOLIA, ARKANSAS 71753

MIKE KINARD
STEVE R. CRANE
DAVID F. BUTLER

Paul Jen
Polus Segr
(Snp.)

(501) 234-4727
FAX (501) 234-4181

6229

July 26, 1995

President Bill Clinton
White House
Washington, D.C.

Re: Private Bills - Estate of Wallace B. Sawyer, Jr.
H.R. 410 and Eugene Hasenfus, H.R. 871

Dear President Clinton:

It was good seeing you at the Excelsior Hotel in Little Rock recently. As I stated in the brief visit, you continue to make us proud of your service. As I have traveled in other areas of the country, I see positive responses to many of your initiatives and growing respect for your tenacity of purpose. Your ability to hammer consensus and to invite coalitions for the overall good of the country is well known to me from my experience in the Arkansas Senate. I, for one, encourage you to continue to reach out to all sides to encourage both Democrat and Republican members of Congress to keep on the high road of governance and to reject those who encourage divisiveness for their own political agenda.

You have always invited me to communicate with you and I appreciate the effort you make to keep in touch with us back home. In an effort to get this letter to you, I called upon our mutual friend, Jimmy "Red" Jones to assist me.

I need your help with the Sawyer/Hasenfus Private Bills which have apparently become pigeonholed during the comment process while pending in the Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims. Chairman Lamar Smith wrote the Department of Justice, Department of Defense and Department of State on March 24, 1995, inviting their written responses in order to meet the Subcommittee requirements.

To date the only information I have received is that the Department of Justice has responded and the letter is being held up at the Office of Management and Budget.

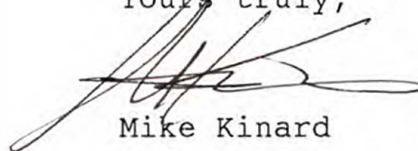
I have no information from the Department of State or Department of Defense inquiries.

We have come a long way in our efforts to obtain justice for these families who are victims of the failure of the U.S. Government to meet its responsibilities to those carrying out the Oliver North mission in Nicaragua.

These two Congressional Bills may be defeated because of my lack of ability and knowledge of the system, but they should at least be afforded a hearing. In light of the facts which have now become public, I would hope the Department comments will not be unfavorable.

I sincerely request your help getting the Departments to respond to Chairman Smith's request of March 24, 1995, attached.

Yours truly,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Mike Kinard', with a stylized, sweeping flourish extending from the end of the name.

Mike Kinard

MK:jp
Attachment

cc: The Honorable Jay Dickey
The Honorable Toby Roth

HOT SPRINGS
COMMITTEE; 6-2-95 10:48AM HOUSE JUDICIARY COMM-
SENT BY: IMMIGRATION

MAJORITY MEMBERS
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CHARLES J. WOODHEAD, CALIFORNIA
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STEVE CHABOT, OHIO
MICHAEL PATRICK RABAGAN, ALABAMA
BOB BARR, GEORGIA

GENERAL COUNSEL
ALAN F. COFFEY, JR.

ONE HUNDRED FOURTH CONGRESS

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY

2135 RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

WASHINGTON, DC 20515-6216

(202) 225-3981

March 24, 1995

MINORITY STAFF DIRECTOR
JULIAN EYSTEIN

501 829 3404
MINORITY MEMBERS
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JOHN EDWARDS, TEXAS
JACK PETERSON, TEXAS
JEROLD HADLER, NEW YORK
ROBERT C. "BOBBY" SCOTT, VIRGINIA
WILLIAM L. "MATT" NORTH, CALIFORNIA
JOSE E. SERRANO, NEW YORK
TON LONGWORTH, CALIFORNIA
SHEILA JACKSON LEE, TEXAS

Re:

H.R. 410 - Estate of
Wallace Sawyer, Jr.

Honorable Warren M. Christopher
Secretary
Department of State
2201 C Street
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Sir:

Enclosed please find a copy of the above captioned bill which has recently been referred to this Subcommittee. The Subcommittee would appreciate having your written comments on the bill at your earliest convenience.

Sincerely,



LAMAR SMITH
Chairman, Subcommittee on
Immigration and Claims

Enclosure

From: **OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT**
through Office of the Staff Secretary

Request for:

☒ **BC** Reply for the President
Information
Staff action/reply
Other

Re: Private Bills - H.R. 410 and H.R. 871

Action requested wants help getting responses

Comments Important

NAME Mike Kinard

DATE OF LETTER 7-26-95

REFERRAL DATE 8-8-95

URGENT! REPLY DUE ASAP

RESPONSE DUE _____

CC: _____

Pam Madaris

Jim Doriskind

To: Andy Sene

From: Jim Doriskind

Action on referral Can you handle?

(This is the one I ~~called~~ told
you about, Jim - 2 -

* Please note ~~at~~ ~~the~~ ~~phone~~

REFERRAL DATE 8/14/95

DRAFT DUE By POTUS's act

CONTROL NO. 8/31

To: _____

From: _____

Comments _____

COMPLETION DATE _____

To: **OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT**

From: **Office of the Staff Secretary**

Comments _____

COMPL

STAFF to BWR
Beel for
proposed Potus
reply.

AOS

95 AUG 17 P12: 36

~~95 AUG 17 P12: 10~~
8/17/95

~~THUR~~ → TODD STERN

As discussed. A prompt reply
would be appreciated.

(Five pages follow.)

Jim
Suter

Jim
Seaton

Talk
to
Bruce
Linsey

Hasenfus

E X E C U T I V E O F F I C E O F T H E P R E S I D E N T

04-Sep-1995 01:19pm

TO: Carolyn E. Cleveland
TO: Anne S. Walker

FROM: Todd Stern
Office of the President

SUBJECT: dacom to lindsey

I sent a package to Bruce on the road that included a letter to the President from a Mike Kincaid concerning two private relief bills. I should have gotten a copy back for me to hold, but never did. This is quite important. Please try to track this down for me. I will need to talk to Bruce about it tomorrow or Wednesday.
todd

9-5-95

Todd -

Attached -

Carol



U. S. Department of Justice

Office of Legislative Affairs

Office of the Assistant Attorney General

Washington, D.C. 20530

Honorable Lamar S. Smith
Chairman
Subcommittee on Immigration and Claims
Committee on the Judiciary
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

Thank you for the opportunity to comment on H.R. 871, a bill "for the relief of Eugene Hasenfus." For the reasons set forth below, the Department of Justice recommends against enactment of this legislation.

The private relief bill is premised on the opinion that the United States should compensate Mr. Hasenfus in the amount of \$805,209 for his experiences in Nicaragua during the nine month period from October 1986 to July 1987, even though he was not a federal employee and the United States did not cause his plane to crash. Mr. Hasenfus' plane was shot down by Nicaraguan government forces and he was imprisoned by that government.]✓

As you are aware, the Federal Tort Claims Act is a limited waiver of sovereign immunity. It was enacted by Congress largely because the legislative process is ill-suited to resolve individual personal injury claims. Through the Federal Tort Claims Act, Congress gave the courts the responsibility to apply the law uniformly to all claimants and assure that each claim is decided on its factual and legal merits. In granting this limited waiver, Congress provided very specific terms and conditions applicable to the government's consent to suit, and the courts have uniformly held that the Federal Tort Claims Act's limited waiver of sovereign immunity should be strictly construed. If enacted, H.R. 871 would effectively bypass limits in the Federal Tort Claims Act which bar suits absent a negligent or wrongful act by a United States government employee or which arise in a foreign country.

This bill would establish an unwarranted precedent of preferential treatment for favored litigants. Singling Mr. Hasenfus out for special treatment would undermine the well-established principle of American jurisprudence that requires the

uniform application of the law to all persons. The case has not been made which would justify a private bill of relief for Mr. Hasenfus. He was not a federal employee, nor did the United States cause his plane to be shot down.

For the foregoing reasons, the Department of Justice recommends against enactment of H.R. 871.

The Office of Management and Budget has advised this Department that there is no objection to the submission of this report from the standpoint of the Administration's program.

Sincerely,

Kent Markus
Acting Assistant Attorney General

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 4, 1994

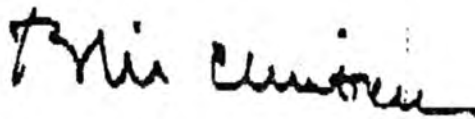
Dear Representative Roth:

Thank you for your letter conveying the request for financial compensation of your constituents Eugene and Sally Hasenfus. I regret the delay in my response but we have been reviewing the details of the case over the last several months.

Mr. and Mrs. Hasenfus' request for financial compensation has been carefully considered by several departments of the government. It appears that as Mr. Hasenfus was not an employee of the U.S. Government and he had no contractual relationship with the government, there is no legal basis for compensation. Absent special legislation, a contractual obligation of the U.S. Government or some other express authorization, the payment of U.S. funds to Mr. and Mrs. Hasenfus is not legally possible.

I hope this information is useful to you and your constituents.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Toby Roth
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

KINARD, CRANE & BUTLER, P.A.

MIKE KINARD
STEVE R. CRANE
DAVID F. BUTLER

ATTORNEYS AT LAW
118 E. CALHOUN
P.O. BOX 727
MAGNOLIA, ARKANSAS 71753

Paul Jen
John Sigm
(Imp.)

(501) 234-4727
Fax (501) 234-4181

6229

July 26, 1995

President Bill Clinton
White House
Washington, D.C.

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Page Two.

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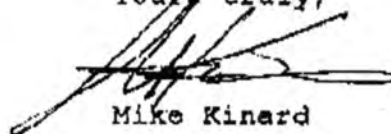
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Yours truly,



Mike Kinard

MK:jp
Attachment

cc: The Honorable Jay Dickey
The Honorable Toby Roth

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-29-99

Sandy

This guy says he has
a fix for dot computer
security virus -
Should have someone
who understands it
contact him →

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For



copied
Bergen
Podesta

CRYPTEK
SECURE COMMUNICATIONS, LLC

David E. Gross
President & CEO

14130-C Sullyfield Circle, Chantilly, VA 20151-1615
In VA In NJ
703.802.9300 Voice 201.236.1784
703.818.3706 Fax: 201.934.0558
email: dgross@cryptek.com

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WJC HANDWRITING

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-29-99

Sandy

This guy says he has
a fix for dot computer
security virus -
Should have someone
who understands it
contact him →

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Podesta

[Handwritten signature]

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-29-99

To See Daley ASAP

I was wrong on the fashion
show - It wasn't Annie
Sullivan - it was this person,
Fern Mallis, who ~~ruled it~~
Please call her - Thanks

copied
Sec Daley
Podesta

6/29

BoC



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7
ON
SIX
TH

SEVENTH ON SIXTH, INC.

1412 BROADWAY

NEW YORK, NY 10018

(212) 221-6239

FAX (212) 768-0515

website <http://www.7thonsixth.com>

Fern Mallis
Executive Director

C.F.D.A.

FERN MALLIS
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

COUNCIL OF
FASHION DESIGNERS OF AMERICA
1412 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10018
TEL 212.302.1821
FAX 212.768.0515

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-29-99

To See Daley ASAP ~~XX~~

I was wrong on the fashion
- It wasn't Annie
- it was this person,
Jalili, who raised it -
call her - Thanks -

copied
Sec Daley
Podesta



Handwritten notes:
Houston Show
Jalili
with
Cousins

CFDA

FERN MALLIS
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

COUNCIL OF
FASHION DESIGNERS OF AMERICA
1412 BROADWAY
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10018
TEL 212.302.1821
FAX 212.768.0515

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

CAMP DAVID 6/29/99

Sunny

M. Kantor says if
we can't get blood at
WHO should look at
3rd person - says Brazil,
rest of L.A. would support
Chilean foreign minister's
funeral -

copied
Benger
Podesta

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

UNCLASSIFIED

PREC: RUSH

CATEGORY: INTERNATIONAL

NWSID: A0013874

SOURCE: AP/East

a0733

^BC-Yugoslavia-Kosovo, 3rd Ld-Writethru, a0725,1308<

^Despite tensions with Russia, NATO troops stream into Kosovo<

^Eds: LEADS throughout to UPDATE with Clinton talking to Yelstin about troops in Kosovo, Serbs saying four killed in Pristina shooting; EDITS to conform; No pickup.<

^AP Photos XVG101,103,104,XSI101,103<

^By LAURA KING=

^Associated Press Writer=

PRISTINA, Yugoslavia (AP) NATO peacekeepers streaming into Kosovo's capital ran into resistance Sunday from Russians seemingly intent on controlling a strategic airfield and Serbs trying to keep British troops away from houses burning in a suburb.

NATO soldiers in several armored personnel carriers were trying to work their way around roadblocks set up by Serbs near the suburb of Sofali in eastern Pristina. Reporters following the NATO troops could see houses burning in the predominantly ethnic Albanian neighborhood.

After being turned away at two roadblocks, the British troops were trying to get in through a back road.

"We have the authority to go in, but we don't want to fight our way in," said Lt. Damien Walker. "We want to do it peacefully."

It was unclear why the structures were being set ablaze, but there have been frequent reports of Serb forces setting ethnic Albanian houses afire as they retreat ahead of advancing NATO troops.

Earlier Sunday, a dozen of British armored personnel carriers rolled into downtown Pristina along the same route where thousands of Serbs had cheered arriving Russian troops more than a day earlier.

There was no organized greeting for the British, but some ethnic Albanians on the street breathed sighs of relief. "Yes, I feel safer now," said Hysnie Berisha, 50, holding her hand over her heart. "These (British) are only a few, but those that are here give us some dignity. More will come and we will be more safe."

Serbs on the street were less accommodating. Some made obscene gestures and grumbled complaints, but there were no attempts to interfere.

Tension was higher at the strategic airport just outside Pristina, where Serbs and Russians were blocking any further NATO troops one day after some British forces were given access to the airfield.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin and President Clinton spoke by telephone Sunday about Russia's role in the peacekeeping force in Kosovo. Details of the conversation were not immediately released.

CNN showed footage of what it said were British and French military vehicles being turned back by Russians at a roadblock just

outside the airport.

Speaking to reporters in Skopje, Macedonia, about Russia's early arrival in Kosovo, NATO Supreme Commander Gen. Wesley Clark said, "No plans have been disrupted whatsoever by this bizarre event."

"We had no intention of using the airport for any deployment purposes," he added.

Elsewhere in Pristina, the Serb-run Media Center said two Yugoslav soldiers, one Serb policeman and a civilian were killed Sunday morning in the Vranjevac district in separate attacks involving ethnic Albanian rebels of the Kosovo Liberation Army. It said a KLA group was dug in at a local school. The report could not be independently verified.

On Kosovo's southern border, the first big contingent of U.S. Marines and Army troops was preparing to move into the province, several days sooner than initially anticipated.

An Army column including tanks and Bradley fighting vehicles was stopped at the border waiting to cross in the afternoon. The group, with 100 to 150 soldiers, was expected to take over control of the area around Kacanik from British troops on the main road north toward Pristina.

Moving toward the border behind them was a column of about 1,000 Marines bound for Gnjilane in southeastern Kosovo, the town intended as the headquarters for American operations in the province.

The first big Kosovo-bound international aid convoy also departed Skopje and crossed the border Sunday. Fifty vehicles were carrying 250 tons of supplies organized by the World Food Program, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and other aid groups, said convoy spokeswoman Paula Gedin. She said the convoy was headed for Pristina.

Despite the difficulties at the Pristina airport, British troops busily fanned out around the perimeter of Pristina, taking up positions along main roads. Lt. Gary Bond, who was with about a dozen armored vehicles, said soldiers were reconnoitering the area, searching for helicopter landing sites and setting up field headquarters.

Brigadier Robert Baxter was looking over an abandoned factory near the edge of the city. "I'm trying to find a home for headquarters," he said.

The NATO security force initially was expected to set up its command center at the airport, but that facility's status remained unclear.

Progress on the diplomatic front seemed slow. NATO and Russian commanders met face-to-face Saturday to discuss control of the airport, which the Russians took over after arriving unexpectedly in Pristina early Saturday. Top U.S. officials sought to dismiss indications of a rivalry with the Russians.

"It's a coordinated occupation right now and the final details are going to be worked out," said Gen. Henry Shelton, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Many Serbs believe NATO forces will be unable or unwilling to save them from revenge attacks by ethnic Albanians, and see Russian troops greeted with cheers by thousands of local Serbs when they arrived early Saturday as their protectors.

A British pool reporter described a tense encounter Saturday when Russian and Serb troops initially barred British forces from the airport.

The impasse at the airport wasn't resolved, the report said,

6-14-99

until negotiations were convened between the Russian commander, his Serb counterpart and British Brigadier Adrian Freer, commander of the British 5th Airborne brigade.

Britain's SKY news, citing reports from the airport, reported that NATO and Russian commanders had reached a deal on sharing the runway.

"The latest we're hearing from the airfield there is that Col. Gen. (Viktor) Zavarzin, the Russian commander, has just said they settled concrete questions," said Chris Bellamy, a defense analyst for the network.

Russia's ITAR-Tass news agency reported that Zavarzin and the operation commander for the Kosovo mission, British Lt. Gen. Mike Jackson, met late Saturday to discuss "interaction" in the peacekeeping mission.

"We did not touch upon issues of big policy, we settled specific issues of interaction aimed at implementing the U.N. Security Council's resolution on stabilization in Kosovo," Zavarzin was quoted as saying. He was promoted by Yeltsin Saturday, after the Russian troops beat NATO to Kosovo.

<-END-OF-AUTOBREAK(1)-<

-AUTOBREAK(2)-FOLLOWS<

APE- 06/13/99 09:55:00

DIST:

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-14-99

TRENT LOTT
MISSISSIPPI

United States Senate

OFFICE OF THE MAJORITY LEADER
WASHINGTON, DC 20510-7010

June 10, 1999

'99 JUN 11 AM 7:35

*Podesta
As I must
write to confirm?*

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20502

Dear Mr. President:

I appreciate our conversation this morning, and our mutual desire to come to an understanding about recess appointments. We have often worked together to help promote the smooth operation of the government, and I believe that we can once again come to an agreement.

As you know, the recent recess appointment of the U.S. Ambassador to Luxembourg has caused great concern to many members of the Senate. I believe that it would be constructive for us to reach an understanding in principle on how we will now proceed to ensure that we avoid similar sparring between the Executive Branch and the Senate in the future.

I agree that we will use the understanding reached between President Reagan and Senator Byrd in 1985, cited by your Chief of Staff today. That understanding, described in the Congressional Record of October 18, 1985, states "...prior to any recess breaks, the White House would inform the Majority Leader and [the Minority Leader] of any recess appointment which might be contemplated during such recess. They would do so in advance sufficiently to allow the leadership on both sides to perhaps take action to fill whatever vacancies that might be imperative during such a break."

I believe that this is both a reasonable and a constructive framework. Following this precedent will help us to proceed in a cooperative and expeditious manner on future nominees.

Mr. President, I appreciate your stated desire to work with me on this issue, and I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,



Trent Lott

copied
PodestaPHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITINGPHOTOCOPY
HANDWRITING

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-24-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

* maritime interdiction

① Germans - "opt out"

② British - no one can
opt out =

CATCH 22

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-24-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

① Solano ready
to go forward
w/ planning now
w/o NAC

② preparing/
mobilizing 2-3
hrs

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-10-99

6/10

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

4:15 - Briefing for
Mazars video
4:25 - Video to Mazars
Conf
4:35 - 4:52 Briefing
& video address &
2 videos

8:00

ADDRESS THE NATION

8:30 DCCC

10:00 ~ 10:30 MOVIE
(LATE NIGHT !!)

Senior Meds is a community service program of the National Council of Jewish Women-Chicago Section in collaboration with the Illinois Pharmacy Foundation, Linda Esposito, R.Ph,CGP,FASCP Walgreen Pharmacy, Osco Drug and Registered Pharmacists throughout the state of Illinois with a grant from the Polk Brothers Foundation.

If you are interested in this program and/or want more information, please write to:

NCJW
c/o Rose Wandel
6033 N. Sheridan 29H
Chicago, Illinois 60660-3022

or call:
(773)769-3912

NCJW
c/o Rose Wandel
6033 N. Sheridan 29H
Chicago, Illinois 60660-3022

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

7-1-99

NCJW

National Council of Jewish Women
Chicago Section

Jennings - Fyl - 

Senior Meds

copied
Jennings
Podesta

This program is designed
for adults 55 and older.

Senior Meds

Medication Education Program:

This program is designed to offer information to the older adult population on the proper use of and potential problems from their medication(s). This program also helps older adults recognize these problems and what to do. The program covers:

- the expected effect of a medication
- potential side effects and what to do
- how to properly take medications: amount and type of fluid
- understanding the directions
- importance of taking medication as directed and the potential consequences if not taken properly
- the dangers of sharing medication(s)
- potential problems when seeing more than one physician
- the importance of using one pharmacy
- physical changes and their effects on medication(s)
- confusion and memory loss: causes, what to do
- proper storage of medication
- what to do with unused and outdated medication
- generic drugs
- myths, quack medication, advertising aimed at this population
- vitamins
- other topics can also be included

At the conclusion of the program the pharmacist will answer questions, both from the group as a whole and on a one to one basis if necessary.

Medication Review

This program allows an older adult to visit one on one with a registered pharmacist, who will review their medications*, both prescription and non-prescription with them. The pharmacist will look for:

- drug/drug interactions
- potential allergy problems
- adverse drug interaction
- proper use of medications
- medication duplication
- understanding directions
- non-prescription medication use

The pharmacist will fill a medication record card, answer questions, explain any potential problems to the individual and refer them to their physician when necessary.

*confidentiality is assured for all participants

- This program is offered throughout the greater Chicago land area.
- NCJW will arrange to do the program on your group's normal meeting day, time and location
- There is informative, easy to read and understand literature provided for all participants
- The NCJW will train individuals and groups interested in developing this program for groups in other areas.

The National Council of Jewish Women is a volunteer organization, that works through a program of research, education, advocacy and community service to improve the quality of life for women, children and families, and strives to ensure individual rights and freedoms for all.

525/

To

Buddy & Socks

OKM

**THE ROBINSON'S
VAN, LINDA
KILTY, KIZZIE
311 PARKWAY DRIVE
SYRACUSE, NEW YORK 13207
315 478-0480**

AUGUST 30, 1999

DEAR SOCKS & BUDDY:

WE HAVE BEEN FOLLOWING YOUR ADVENTURES IN THE NEWSPAPERS AND
ON RADIO & T.V. WE HAD HOPED TO SEE YOU DURING YOUR TRIP TO
SYRACUSE. BUDDY, WE WILL WATCH FOR YOU ON T.V. HOPE YOU ENJOY
YOUR VACATION. BUDDY HOLD YOUR BREATH WHEN YOU DIVE INTO
SKANEATELES LAKE THE WATER IS REAL COLD. SOCKS SORRY YOU
COULDN'T BE HERE, CAUSE KNOW SOME GREAT TREES TO CLIMB.

SIGNED:

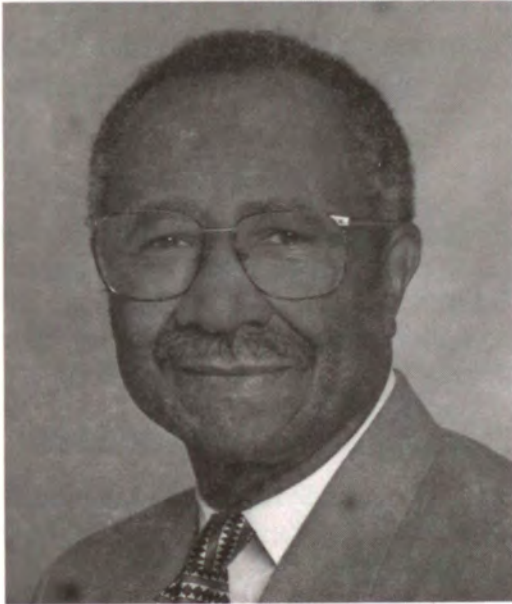
KIZZIE – I'M THE CAT
(I'M 4 YEARS OLD)

KILTY – I'M A KERRY BLUE TERRIER
(I'M 8 YEARS OLD)



ELECT Van Robinson

for Syracuse Councilor-At-Large



Endorsed by:

Greater Syracuse Labor Council
International Union of Operating
Engineers

Carpenters Local 747
Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers

**Democratic • Independence
Liberal • Veterans**



Experience Counts

Van Robinson

works hard for us on the
Syracuse City Council, using his
vast community service and
business experience to tackle the
tough issues we face.

Improving Education

Van will work to create a strong working
relationship between the Council and the
Schools Superintendent to ensure our chil-
dren receive the quality education they
deserve

Attracting Jobs and Commerce

Van will make Syracuse more business-
friendly to entice businesses to locate here
and create jobs

Improving Housing

Van will increase the availability of safe,
affordable housing and will hold landlords
accountable for the condition of their
properties

Van Robinson

He fights for the things we need.

6-3-99

1. Parenting

2. Culture: Mexican (M/V) (Vida)

3. School: En: diff / Overlooked
: Early Warning
: Conflict Resol
: Positive
: Counselor

6-10-99

Sutphen, Mona K.

From: Hammonds, D. Holly
Sent: Wednesday, June 09, 1999 11:55 AM
To: Sutphen, Mona K.
Subject: RE: status of shipley call package?? m [UNCLASSIFIED]

Gene may ask Podesta to call a small meeting on this today, FYI -- inc SRB of course.

Gene not happy with option #2 himself, but is concerned about steel. My sense is that SRB - who of course will also be concerned about steel -- ought to:

1. Inquire what we think option 2 will really buy us on steel and ask for honest assessment of Hill fall-out from Option 1 or the fall-back. (I don't believe for a minute it will have ANY negative affect on China WTO)

2. Suggest that at a minimum we push Baucus on fallback option -- level of relief is very significant (in fact similar to option 2, but less offensive to NZ/Australia. Is this really so much less appealing from Hill/industry perspective than option 2 or are we just not pushing back at all b/c Podesta doesn't want to waste any energy catering to New Zealand and Australia?

PS: I am told that Members other than Baucus, are privately ok with not going as far as option 2. So Baucus, whose sister is in the industry, is the key issue.

-----Original Message-----

From: Sutphen, Mona K.
Sent: Wednesday, June 09, 1999 10:03 AM
To: Arvizu, Alexander A.; @ASIA - Asian Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Cc: Hammonds, D. Holly
Subject: RE: status of shipley call package?? m [UNCLASSIFIED]

sharon will bring me the "final" version. we can attach it as tab a. m

-----Original Message-----

From: Arvizu, Alexander A.
Sent: Wednesday, June 09, 1999 9:56 AM
To: Sutphen, Mona K.; @ASIA - Asian Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Cc: Hammonds, D. Holly
Subject: RE: status of shipley call package?? m [UNCLASSIFIED]

Am finishing up the cover memo and will walk it over asap. We may need help of ExecSec/Systems, as it would make sense for the NEC decision memo, which is not in our system, to be an attachment to the call package.

Alex

-----Original Message-----

From: Sutphen, Mona K.
Sent: Wednesday, June 09, 1999 9:44 AM
To: @ASIA - Asian Affairs; @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: status of shipley call package?? m [UNCLASSIFIED]

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

6-14-99

Kate Britton

To: The President

Monday, 11pm

Letter: 4 pp

Attachments: 8 pp

Jenningscopied
Jennings
Podestainterview material
from a pro-life friend
worth readingBCPHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

Kate Britton

The Washington Post, Front Page, Sunday, May 23, 1999
"Federal Embryo Research Is Backed"

"A presidentially appointed ethics panel has decided to recommend that the federal government begin funding some research on human embryos, saying the moral cost of destroying embryos in research is outweighed by the social good that could come from the work. [The commission states that,] 'We have moral obligations to the future health...of people, and we need to balance these with...the symbolic moral obligation we have to the embryo...It is...permissible to destroy embryos where it is necessary to save people.'"

Monday evening, May 24, 1999

Dear Bill,

I feel compelled to respond to the decision by your panel to recommend to you the killing of human embryos, which it seeks to justify by stating that the intention of the killing is the enhancement of the lives of other humans. My response will be to quote for you from the teachings of two of this century's most eminent spokesmen in the arena of bioethics, Dr. Jerome Lejeune and Pope John Paul II.

Jerome Lejeune, M.D.

From France, known as the "Father of Genetics" for his discovery of the first-known genetically based human disorder, Down Syndrome.

The excerpt which follows has been taken from testimony given before the Honorable William Dale Young, August 10, 1989, Circuit Court for Blount County, State of Tennessee. Proceedings concerned a domestic relations case in which a divorcing couple were in dispute over the matter of possession of frozen embryos conceived by them in an in vitro fertilization procedure undertaken earlier. The father desired the embryos to be destroyed; the mother desired either to retain

mother. Dr. Lejeune traveled from Paris to serve as an expert witness in the field of genetics. The Court found in favor of the mother, determining that the best interest of the children [sic] was that they be made available for implantation, their only hope of survival. Dr. Lejeune's testimony has been judged subsequently to be a masterpiece of science and ethics, conveying truth which can be of benefit far beyond the boundaries of the State of Tennessee.

Q. Doctor [Lejeune], can you tell us what we can tell about these human beings from [the stage of] three cells forward?

A. **The amount of information which is inside the zygote [Note: When a zygote divides it becomes an embryo.]...is [so] big that nobody can measure it. I have to explain that very simply. You have the two meters of DNA, one coming from the father, one coming from the mother...[T]o spell out this amount of information which is absolutely necessary (otherwise no life would be possible)...[n]o computer in the world would have a storage enough just to fill the amount of data...Nobody knows how to do it. You have to realize that this...information which makes a man enormous compared to the...computer [is] because it's a man which has made the computer; it's not the computer which has made the man.**

Q. Do you regard an early human being as having the same moral rights as a later human being such as myself?

A. **You have to excuse me. I'm very, very direct. As far as your nature is concerned, I cannot see any difference between the early human being you were and the late human being you are, because in both case[s], you were and are a member of our species. What defines a human being is: He belongs to our species. So an early one or a late one has not changed from its species to another species. It belongs to our kin. That is a definition. And I would say very precisely that I have the same respect, no matter the amount of kilograms and no matter the differentiation of tissue.**

Q. [Dr. Lejeune], I take it you would believe, from your testimony today, that it is morally very wrong to intentionally kill a zygote?

A. **I think it's no good; it's killing a member of our species.**

Q. And it would be the same as if we were to kill twenty years later the person the zygote would become?

A. It's difficult to tell because you ask me a justice question. I'm a biologist.

Q. But those are your beliefs?

A. My belief is that it's no good to kill a member of our kin, very simple belief. [End of Dr. Lejeune]

Pope John Paul II
The Splendor of Truth
Encyclical Letter, 1993

Section 51. Only in reference to the human person in his unified totality, that is, as a soul which expresses itself in a body and a body informed by an immortal spirit, can the specifically human meaning of the body be grasped...By rejecting all manipulations which alter human meaning, the Church serves man and shows him the path on which he can find God.

Section 80. Reason attests that there are objects of the human act which are by their nature "incapable of being ordered" to God, because they radically contradict the good of the person made in His image. These are the acts which, in the Church's moral tradition, have been termed "intrinsically evil": they are evil *always and per se*, on account of their very object, and quite apart from the ulterior intentions of the one acting and the circumstances. Whatever is hostile to life itself...[and] whatever violates the integrity of the human person, such as mutilation...[is] a negation of the honor due to the Creator. [Note: Mutilation of the human embryo by dissection, which causes death, is required in order to harvest stem cells.] So long as they infect human civilization the[se practices] contaminate those who inflict them more than those who suffer the injustice [of the practices]...[I]t is never lawful, even for the gravest reasons, to do evil that good may come of it (cf. Romans 3:8)--to intend directly something which of its very nature contradicts the moral order, and which therefore must be judged unworthy of man, even though the intention is to protect or promote the welfare of society in general.

(4)

Section 81. Intentions can never transform an act intrinsically evil by virtue of its object into an act "subjectively" good or defensible as a choice.

Section 82. An intention is good when it has as its aim the true good of the person in view of his ultimate end. [Note: Man's ultimate end is full participation in the life of God.] [End of Pope John Paul II]

Bill, I appeal to you to deny as unethical any granting of federal funds for research which requires the killing of human embryos, who in fairness must be considered "non-consenting human subjects." Many prominent scientists attest to the fact that there are alternatives to the harvesting of stem cells from embryos as well as that the need for fetal cells as a source of stem cells for medical research has already been eclipsed by the more readily available (to say nothing of the capacity for consent!) adult stem cells. [See attachments.]

Scripture informs us that man's dignity comes from his capacity to honor His Creator by his choices. Implicit in our freedom, great as it is, is the truth that not all choices do honor Him. Some options have only the trappings of good, but in fact are evil and require rejection. *"You may eat freely of every tree in the garden; but of [this] tree you shall not eat."* Genesis 2:16

Bill, I ask you to use your executive authority to inform the National Institutes of Health that your own sensitivities (informed, cautious and resonating with the majority of Americans) must determine the outcome of the matter of the killing of human embryos. God will not fail to supply you with the necessary *fortitude* for this decision, if you ask Him. (See *today's* meditation on that!) Tell them, on this one, you've got to live with yourself.

~ "Whoever receives one child in My name, receives Me." Matthew 18:5

+ In the love of Christ,

Kat

Apologies for length yet I could have said so much more. I have tried to select the best for you to consider and pray about.

Kate Britton

Scientific Experts Agree: Embryonic Stem Cells Are Unnecessary for Medical Progress

New research suggesting that nerve stem cells "can de-differentiate and reinvent themselves" as blood-producing stem cells "means that the need for fetal cells as a source of stem cells for medical research may soon be eclipsed by the more readily available and less controversial adult stem cells."

- D. Josefson, "Adult stem cells may be redefinable," *British Medical Journal*, 30 Jan. 1999, p. 282

* * *

Commenting on the same findings: "The research shows 'there are alternative strategies' to harvesting stem cells from embryos, said Dr. Ronald McKay, a National Institutes of Health researcher and a pioneer in stem cell studies."

- P. Recer, "Patient's Cells May Grow New Organs," Associated Press, Jan. 21, 1999

* * *

Recent research shows that mesenchymal stem cells in adult bone marrow "can in principle be used to repair bone, cartilage, tendon and many other injured or aged tissues... The cells would be derived in many cases from the patient's own bone marrow and thus present no problem of immune rejection."

- N. Wade, "Discovery Bolsters a Hope for Regeneration," *New York Times*, April 2, 1999, p. A17 --

* * *

Due to advances in the use of the anti-aging enzyme telomerase, "the ability to rejuvenate specific cells in the body opens up a dazzling array of possibilities. Doctors could grow skin grafts for burn victims using their own skin, insulin-producing cells for diabetics, or muscle tissue for sufferers of muscular dystrophy."

- R. Larson, "Scientists find new life for old cells," *Washington Times*, Dec. 29, 1998, p. A1

* * *

Adult "precursor" or stem cells "may prove much more useful to medical science" than embryonic cells. "Scientists used to think that such potential for cellular regeneration was present only in embryos – that, for example, humans had made their lifetime supply of brain cells by age 17. But that canon is steadily eroding... 'I think we will find these stem cells in any organ that we look,' says Harvard Medical School researcher Evan Y. Snyder."

- L. Johannes, "Adult Stem Cells Have Advantage Battling Disease," *Wall Street Journal*, April 13, 1999, p. B1

* * *

"This suggests that there is a stem cell in the adult bone marrow that is capable of becoming anything if you give it the right signal."

- Bryon Petersen of University of Pittsburgh Medical Center, quoted in P. Recer, "Cell Used to Make New Liver Tissue," *Associated Press*, May 13, 1999

* * *

Commenting on new ways to "regenerate" and transplant patients' own brain cells to treat Parkinson's and other diseases: "What we have is a protocol in which we don't have to harvest 12 or 15 fetuses, we don't have to give immunosuppressant therapy, and we don't have to worry about viral disease transmission."

- Michel Levesque, director of neurofunctional surgery at Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles, quoted in M. Moran, "For cell transplants, is one brain better than two?", *American Medical News*, May 3, 1999, p. 29

* * *

"For generations, scientific dogma held that the adult brain cannot repair itself, because it lacks stem cells. Wrong. Recently, scientists found that adult brains do indeed harbor stem cells... Since stem cells divide endlessly, a single sample started from a human fetus could provide all that's needed. But the recipient's immune system might attack these as foreign. Perhaps the patient's own body is a better source of stem cells... [Moreover,] brain stem cells may not be a necessary ingredient for custom-making new brain tissue. Scientists believe it may be possible to reprogram more readily available kinds of stem cells, such as the ones that produce skin, so that they will churn out brain cells, instead."

- D. Haney, AP Medical Editor, "Scientists Try to Grow Brain Parts," *Associated Press*, May 1, 1999

Engineering Researchers Help Biomedical Firm Win Grant for Novel Treatment of Tendon Injuries

April 2, 1997

Contact: Chris Curran

(513) 556-1806 (O)

chris.curran@uc.edu

Cincinnati – People who suffer serious tendon injuries like President Clinton's might recover more quickly and more completely using a new treatment being tested by researchers in the University of Cincinnati College of Engineering. The treatment was developed by Osiris Therapeutics, Inc. of Baltimore.

The treatment is based on human mesenchymal stem cells, embryonic-like cells responsible for the formation of cartilage, bone, muscle, tendons, ligaments and other connective tissue. Osiris is developing therapies using a patient's own stem cells to regenerate tissue damaged by injuries or disease. Normally, the healing process is very slow and inefficient because there are so few stem cells available.

Preliminary research results using animal models indicate that stem cell implants dramatically reduce the time required for healing following tendon surgery. Randell Young, the manager of preclinical studies for Osiris, said experiments showed "a significant increase in tendon repair strength as early as four weeks after surgery" with continued improvement up to 12 weeks after surgery.

David Butler, a professor of engineering mechanics at the University of Cincinnati, found that stem cells could regenerate about two-thirds of normal tendon strength within four weeks. The re-grown tendon could also absorb nearly the same amount of energy as a normal tendon. More important, the quality of tissue was good. "It was a rapid improvement in both quality and quantity of tissue," said Butler.

The preliminary results were reported at the annual meeting of the Orthopaedic Research Society in San Francisco. The next phase of the research will focus on the patellar tendon and the Achilles tendon, because those two tendons are subjected to the greatest amount of force. And as President Clinton will find, the normal recovery time is typically quite long.

"It's going to be debilitating for him," said Butler. "it will be six weeks to three months of rehab. Jogging? He's done with that for quite some time, at least six months."

There are over half a million injuries in the United States each year to patellar, quadriceps, Achilles and rotator cuff tendons. Those numbers are likely to increase in coming years as the number of older Americans increases. "Age is a factor," said Professor Ed Grood, who collaborates with Butler in the Noyes-Giannestras Biomechanics Laboratory at UC. "As you get older, your ligaments and tendons get weaker. They're more susceptible to injury."

The National Institutes of Health just awarded Osiris a two-year \$750,000 Small Business Innovation Research (SBIR) grant to continue development of the treatment in collaboration with the University of Cincinnati researchers.

Osiris President and CEO James Burns said he's encouraged by the progress made so far on the research and said the large SBIR grant indicates the National Institutes of Health believes stem cell implants are a promising approach. "The ability to restore patient function to normal within one to two months would provide a substantial breakthrough in the treatment of soft tissue injuries," said Burns.

A key to using mesenchymal stem cells is the way they are implanted into the body. Researchers have found that the cells respond not only to chemical signals inside the body, but also to physical stresses. Therefore, Osiris has developed customized implants which maximize the quality and quantity of new tissue produced. Osiris researchers are also exploring the use of mesenchymal stem cells to regenerate bone, cartilage and muscle.

Human studies are awaiting FDA approval.

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Public Relations Home Page

University of Cincinnati Home Page



Stem Cells Move Closer To Treating Patients

The stem cell story continues with today's news that some forms of these pluripotent cells are much closer to treating human disease than previously suspected. In a report in the April 2 issue of *Science*, researchers announce they're much farther along in the ability to prod certain stem cells into becoming normal, mature human tissues than most people realize.

(Editor's Note: For an earlier UniSci story on research in this area, see [Cultured Stem Cells Open New Era In Biology And Medicine](#).)

The stem cells used in the current study, unlike the embryonic stem cells (ESs) unveiled last November at Johns Hopkins – which theoretically can produce any cell type in the body – are more specialized. They typically develop into a smaller number of specific tissues.

In this case, the researchers have nudged the stem cells in question – called mesenchymal stem cells (MSCs) – into forming cartilage, bone and fat cells apparently identical to the usual human versions.

The MSCs are harvested from adult tissues, skirting the ethical issues that the more basic stem cells carry and avoiding the prohibition on the use of federal money for research using human embryonic stem cells.

MSCs are currently being tried experimentally for breast cancer patients whose bone marrow has been damaged by chemotherapy; the scientists have also used human MSCs to repair tendon and bone injury in animals. Possibilities abound, they say, for such applications as restoring heart muscle after heart attacks or repairing cartilage in joints before arthritis really sets in.

The research reported in the *Science* paper took place at Osiris Therapeutics, a Baltimore biotech company. Daniel Marshak, Ph.D., the lead researcher, has appointments in two departments at the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine.

[Contact: [Marjorie Centofanti](#)]

02-Apr-1999

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Cell Used to Make New Liver Tissue

By Paul Recer

AP Science Writer

Thursday, May 13, 1999; 3:06 p.m. EDT

WASHINGTON (AP) — Special bone marrow cells have been shown to convert into basic liver tissue, raising the possibility of one day using a patient's own marrow to repair failing livers, researchers say.

In laboratory rat studies at the University of Pittsburgh Medical Center, researchers found in bone marrow a master, or stem, cell that under special conditions will convert itself into functioning liver tissue cells.

Bryon Petersen, lead author of the study to be published Friday in the journal *Science*, said the work is the first step toward learning how to rescue failing livers using the body's own stem cells.

Petersen said that in new experiments he already has shown that injecting the special marrow cells into rats causes the animals to form new liver tissue.

Although the work only has been demonstrated in laboratory animals, Petersen said other studies strongly suggest humans also have bone marrow cells that will convert into liver cells.

“What we have learned from the rat, we should be able to extrapolate to the humans,” said Petersen. But he cautioned that perfecting the technique for humans may take a decade.

Dr. John M. Vierling, liver specialist at Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles and chairman of the board of the American Liver Foundation, said the research raises “very exciting” possibilities for reviving dying livers.

Vierling said that other researchers have been trying with little success to find in the liver stem cells that could make new tissue. If the cells can be isolated from the bone marrow and cultured, he said, it raises the possibility of finding a virtually unlimited supply of key liver cells.

“The ability to take something from scratch, so to speak, and grow it up in the quantity that you need would be extraordinary,” Vierling said.

Dr. Mark F. Pittenger, a researcher at Osiris Therapeutics in Baltimore who recently found in bone marrow the stem cells for bone, cartilage and fat, called Petersen's "a significant step forward."

"It bodes well for our learning how to regenerate organs," said Pittenger. "Liver disease is a very serious problem."

The American Liver Foundation says about 26,000 Americans die annually from liver disease. About 5 million in the U.S. are infected with hepatitis B or C, virus diseases that are a major cause of liver failure.

Petersen said that his research investigated how some people with liver failures are able to grow new liver tissue. Some patients with failing livers recover after the organ spontaneously grows new cells, he said.

The liver often can generate new hepatocytes, or a type of healthy liver cells, after an injury or disease. But Petersen said that some patients who do not make new hepatocytes still end up growing new liver tissue and recovering.

Just how this happens, said Petersen, long has been a mystery. Researchers suspected some special cells in the bone marrow somehow were prompted to start making new cells for the distressed organ.

Petersen said research using the lab rats proves the bone marrow is the source of these new liver cells.

In the study, Petersen and his colleagues destroyed the bone marrow of female rats and replaced it with marrow from male rats. This meant that the female rats had bone marrow that carried the male Y chromosome, which could be used to identify cells.

The scientists treated the female rats with a chemical that prevented their livers from regenerating and then damaged the livers, mimicking an injury.

Two weeks later, the livers were removed and the researchers found they contained new liver cells that carried the Y chromosome marker. This meant that cells from the bone marrow had gone to the failing livers and started the regeneration process.

→ "This suggests that there is a stem cell in the adult bone marrow that is capable of becoming anything if you give it the right signal," said Petersen. "I have been able to show that there is a cell in the bone marrow for the liver."

He said there is preliminary work in his lab that shows the bone

marrow also has a stem cell that converts into pancreatic cells.

Petersen said that once researchers learn to isolate stem cells from the bone marrow, switch them into liver cells, and then grow them into large quantities, it may be possible to rescue failing livers with simple injections.

Vierling cautioned, however, that the technique would not totally replace the need for liver transplants.

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[Back to the top](#)

washingtonpost	NEWS	STYLE	SPORTS	CLASSIFIEDS	MARKETPLACE				
PRINT EDITION	TOP NEWS	WORLD	NATION	POLITICS	METRO	BUSINESS & TECH	HEALTH	OPINION	WEATHER



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
6-14-99

Daniel Patrick Moynihan
New York

copied
Berger
Podesta

United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

April 6, 1999

Sammy
We both need to
set up the Blogman
meeting as soon as
get back from Europe
DS

Dear Mrs. Clinton:

You were wonderfully generous to call this old sailor of an Easter afternoon! As a result, I immediately commenced to cure; am home, and with the pleasing instructions to do nothing for three weeks. So why not get about the business we talked of Sunday.

The world needs a Clinton Doctrine. Which is to say a general statement of why and when the international community, in whatever format, will intervene on behalf of an ethnic community seeking to become an independent state. And when it will not.

Wilson brought the norm of self-determination to world politics. But it was open ended. They had in mind a few historical countries in central Europe, Poland for one, taken over by neighboring empires that were in the process of themselves being taken apart. They had no notion of ethnicity as a postmodern phenomenon. (Or such is my thesis.) Much less that it could spring up in hundreds of ways and hundreds of places.

Which is to say there have to be limits, and, to an extent, norms. As of now there are none. I fear we have been a bit unthinking about Kosovo. As I mentioned, we don't even seem to know the language of the people on whose behalf we have commenced the first war in Europe since 1945. Nor do we seem to grasp its meaning to the Serbs. (See West, p. 841 ff. in the new Penguin edition.) If something is to come of this, other than ruin, it appears to me that the President needs to lay out a new conceptual agenda.

I enclose a copy of the Memorandum I wrote to him -- he had suggested this -- from Zagreb on November 28, 1992. My primary message was that the outgoing administration wanted nothing to do with the region, and was

PHOTOCOPY
WJC HANDWRITING

bequeathing him a potential disaster. (In this Sunday's *Times* Eagleburger says as much.) Galbraith and I were disgracefully treated. Our itinerary, which included Kosovo and Macedonia, canceled. Fair enough; Cheney knew what we would find. But it is disheartening that the President never saw what I wrote. (We had taken a lot of small arms fire, and a night of artillery shelling to no purpose whatever!) If any others in the incoming administration read it, they would not -- Strobe excepted -- have thought the subject of any great consequence. That is what I was warning about.

Also Pandaemonium, a quick read which I hope will interest you.

I make so bold as to suggest the President assemble a small group to give him some thoughts. Huntington. Glazer. Lipset. Others.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, consisting of a series of loops and a long horizontal stroke at the bottom.

Mrs. Hillary Clinton
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

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United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON ENVIRONMENT AND PUBLIC WORKS

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-8175

Zagreb, Croatia

November 28, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT-ELECT

You will recall our conversation of November 13 in which I mentioned that I would be visiting this region. You asked if I would share my impressions with you. I am writing this of a Saturday morning here in our embassy in Zagreb, whence Peter Galbraith, of the Foreign Relations Committee staff, and I will be setting out for Washington later in the day. I will check dates and details in Washington on Monday, and get it retyped, and ask Peter to get it to you in Little Rock. He has been here a number of times over the year and is much better informed than I.

First some atmospherics. We arrived at Frankfurt at dawn on Monday, and made our way to the air base. Galbraith had been sending cables and making telephone calls from New Delhi saying we would need a plane, adding that while I was travelling as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, but that I also planned to send a report to you. However, the base commander at Rhine-Main, as it is called, had heard nothing of this. Nothing daunted even so, he set out to find us a C-12.

As we were sitting about, waiting for news, he mentioned that they were sending three relief flights a day into Sarajevo. That's where I want to go, said I. He leapt to the phone with instructions that UN Two Zero Three was not to move, piled us into his car, and out to the runway. We were airborne in five minutes. Good man.

About the time we were leaving Austrian air space (all rules suspended in this massive, fifteen-nation exercise) our pilot received a radio message that U.S. Senators were not allowed into Sarajevo. I told him to signal back that if the West Virginia Air National Guard, our crew, could take the risk, so could I and that I had no intention of being diverted. This appeared to settle the matter. But another half hour later we received word that the airport in Sarajevo was closed in, and that we would have to land at Zagreb.

This was a lie.

Our chargé here in Zagreb, the admirable Ron Neitske, was on hand when we landed. I apologized for disrupting his day, but explained about the weather in Sarajevo. What weather? he asked. Five minutes ago two C-130s had taken off for Sarajevo. The airport was indeed open. Which it isn't always, and when it is, you know. Great.

I will spare you the details, but Tuesday morning we were aboard a Canadian C-130 bound for Sarajevo. We

stayed the night and flew back Wednesday on a U.K. Hercules. EUCOM was furious and CODEL MOYNIHAN was denied any further logistic support; in particular no plane was provided for our planned trip to Kosovo and Macedonia, two as yet uninvolved entities where there is no fear of flying whatever.

That is a lot by way of atmospherics, but I can think of no better way to impress upon you, as it was impressed upon me, that the outgoing administration is beginning to realize the magnitude of the foreign policy disaster they are bequeathing to you here in the Balkans. At minimum it will be a human disaster. The International Rescue Committee representative suggests in a best case scenario -- peace in Bosnia-Herzegovina -- 50,000 people will starve to death by spring. In the worst case half a million. Others scale the worst case back toward a quarter million deaths. But then, of course, the seasons go round and winter comes again. It is entirely possible that in time the Muslim population of Bosnia-Herzegovina will be systematically extirpated. Genocide.

It is also possible that before that happens there will be something like a European war in this region.

So much for the New World Order.

The order to keep me out of Sarajevo, and the subsequent tantrum, came directly from Cheney. Scowcroft knew of it. Men I have known for a quarter century and think of as friends. I can't blame them. They depart leaving behind an awful crisis, for which a share of the blame is clearly theirs. Or at least that would be my judgment.

SARAJEVO. The most intense urban warfare environment in the world just now. Disembark, AK-47s chattering. Dash for the sand bags, insinuated into a Ukrainian armored personnel carrier, set out across no man's land to the city proper. UNPROFOR (United Nations' Protective Forces) headquarters. An Egyptian APC, considerably more user-friendly, to the presidency. Television as you are greeted by President Izebegovic. Back to HQ. Briefing. Artillery getting heavy now. Whiskey. A good meal in the mess. (Morillon, the commander, is a Legionnaire. They have a thing about dining well under fire.) To bed, shells landing 300 yards away.

I was first in Sarajevo forty years ago. Undamaged by World War II, a Muslim/Viennese city of considerable charm. It is damaged now, but not yet destroyed. That is only partially the object of the Serbian forces in the surrounding mountain tops. Their

object is to destroy the population. We are driven around by a former captain in the Gurkha Regiment, now with the British Foreign Office and seconded to the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. With a staff of two, he is responsible for feeding a third of a million persons. The siege began May 2nd. There are no longer any food stores in the city. What arrives by plane or truck one day, is eaten the next day. If the planes can't land, or the convoys can't get through, starvation comes quickly. The Brit is uncomplaining but disheartened beyond what would be explained by exhaustion. He says two things. First, you can never believe anything told you. Second, for seven months there has been a steady decline, which continues.

The military are much in evidence, but it is not clear how much they do. The main forces are French, Ukrainian, and Egyptian. This is meant to enable Roman Catholics to talk to Croats, Orthodox Christians to talk to Serbs, and Muslims to talk to Muslims. How well this works is another question, for their only mandate is to support the relief effort, but to do so without using force. This presents no great problem for the Serbs, who are content that some supplies get through, so long as they are not sufficient. There is no prospect whatever of breaking the siege.

HOW DID ALL THIS HAPPEN? There is a sense, I suppose, in which nothing very much has happened. The twentieth century began in August, 1914 when a Serb nationalist assassinated the Austrian Archduke in -- Sarajevo. The cause was that of Greater Serbia. War followed, a sort of peace, then another war, then a protracted Cold War. Greater Serbia was kept on hold, but then all that came to an end, and the conflict resumed. In the interval, however, largely at the behest of the United States, the international order had proclaimed the principle of self-determination, such that the conquest of a place such as Bosnia-Herzegovina, by a state such as Serbia is expressly forbidden by the United Nations Charter. (In the event it was Stalin who insisted that "self-determination" be included in Article I. But Woodrow Wilson, and the United States, first insisted that this must be the international norm.) A place such as Serbia, however, argues that it is only seeking to provide that self-determination for Serbs living in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Hitler said the same thing when he invaded Czechoslovakia, citing Wilson chapter and verse. A year go the Serbs were seeking to annex portions of Croatia, citing the same principles.

The fact is that most of the conflicts of the 20th century have been basically ethnic or nationalist in

character. (Same words, really. One Greek, the other Latin.) However, the reigning ideologies, world views, what you will, have obscured this reality, perhaps especially for Americans. At the outset of the century there were two such dominant views. On the one hand the liberal expectancy, which held that ethnic attachments were pre-modern modes of thought, not very attractive, and would soon go away with the progress of the enlightenment. On the other hand, there was the Marxist prediction, which held that ethnic attachments were epiphenomena of pre-modern modes of production, and would soon go away with the progress of socialism. Both were wrong. Ethnicity is in fact post-modern.

The foreign policy and intelligence institutions you are about to take over have never been able to see this. You are entitled to know that this is a bit of grievance of mine, and my views may need some balancing. In brief, in 1979, when I was a member of the Intelligence Committee, I began to argue, in public and private, that in the 1980s that the Soviet Union would break up along ethnic lines, and that this could conceivably lead to catastrophic nuclear exchanges between the successor nations, in the first fusion of ethnic hatred with nuclear power. No one at the CIA could grasp the concept. The USSR was seen as a permanent antagonist. After all, it worked, didn't it?

(The same Agency which in 1987 formally estimated per capita GDP in East Germany to be higher than West Germany.) During the 1980s I was an Observer to the START talks in Geneva. I would go over from time to time and ask the company at the ambassador's table did they ever consider the possibility that by the time they finished with the mind-numbing details of their treaty with the USSR that there might no longer be a USSR? Blank looks, no comment. (When the treaty did arrive in the Senate I asked the negotiators when did that possibility occur to them? Mid-1991.)

As the Cold War ended, and the Soviet Union began to break up, American analysts by and large said it wasn't happening. Then we began to say it oughtn't to be happening. We were clinging to our bi-polar certainties. In August, 1991 President Bush went to Kiev to warn the parliament there against the dangers of "suicidal nationalism". This after it had become inevitable that the Ukraine would separate from Russia. Bill Safire called it the "Chicken Kiev speech." In the same manner, two months earlier, June 21, 1991, Secretary of State Baker went to Belgrade to warn against the break-up of Yugoslavia, noting the separatists could expect no help from the United States. This just four days before long-planned

Slovene and Croatian declarations of independence were to take effect.

Here in Croatia, over in Bosnia, those remarks are held to have been a signal to the Serbs that the United States would not object to a drive to annex territories with Serb populations, consolidating a Greater Serbia.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE? Probably not a great deal. The administration has left you with few options. Had we got over our Cold War rigidity sooner, we might have understood that Yugoslavia was going to break up whether we liked it or not, the Serbs might have got the message to accept this reality. Instead we gave the impression that we would not that much object to their seizing the opportunity to start expanding again. Had we seen to it that the sanctions voted by the Security Council on May 30th were instantly enforced -- Serbia imports at least three-quarters of its oil -- the Serbs might have got the message to stop. Instead we dithered for five months, and only two weeks ago said we really mean it. Had we brought the Security Council around to voting "demonstrations" under Article 42 of Chapter VII -- taking out every bridge in Belgrade in one bombing raid -- we might have sent a message to the Serbs that "ethnic cleansing" wasn't going to be worth it to them. But now we have some

1600 UN troops spread out all over Bosnia. To start bombing Belgrade is to commence the massacre of our peacekeeping forces. Thus Morillon, no stranger to combat, made clear to us that if we were going to ship arms to the Bosnians, he would only ask 48 hours notice so that he could get all his men out of the region.

All that we can do at this point is to see that the food gets in. It is possible that the administration will use the intervention in Somalia, also an ethnic conflict, as precedent for Bosnia, in which event, there will be some additional forces on the ground by the time you take office. If not, you can do more on your own. I would caution, however, that American troops are not needed. What will be needed in January is a clear message to Belgrade that there is a new President who has no history of seeing things from Belgrade's point of view and who, among other things, has instructed the United States embassies in the region to provide the fullest support to the War Crimes Commission announced by Secretary General Boutros-Ghali on October 26. The Commission will operate under the 1949 Geneva Conventions, which grew out of the Nuremberg Tribunal. This was very much an Anglo-American initiative. There are a dozen detailed measures that might make sense. Thus, Croatia is currently supporting 800,000 refugees; the

comparable ratio of refugees to population in the U.S. would mean the equivalent of 50 million refugees. Inflation runs at 3000 percent a year, unemployment upwards of 60 percent. But the main thing is to send the message that a new President has brought a wholly new point of view to this situation.

BEYOND THE BALKANS. If I were asked to pick a symbolic date on which our present crisis may be said to have begun, it would be back in June of 1965. The United Nations, very tentatively, had decided to convene a Seminar -- nothing so grand as a conference -- on the Multi-National State. Yugoslavia had offered to play host, and had offered the site of Ljubljana, capital of Slovenia. (Which would be the first secessionist state.) The "Minorities" issue was thought to have been the undoing of the League of Nations, and so it had taken a long time for the U.N. to get around to touching on the subject once again. You would have thought that this would be reason enough to hurry, but the Cold War was judged to have put all that nonsense behind us. And so nobody in the Department of State wanted to bother with such a marginal matter. I was then Assistant Secretary of Labor for Policy Planning. I had recently published, with Nathan Glazer, a book on the ethnic groups of New

York City. (Still in print, mind!) A call came from State. Would I be willing to represent the United States at Ljubljana? Sure, said I. Off I went, enjoyed it -- one good cable line, "AM IN LJUBLJANA. I HAVE SEEN THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN EMPIRE AND IT WORKS" -- came back and told everyone who would listen that Yugoslavia clearly was going to come apart and was fair to begging us for help and advice. As I suggested earlier, persons listened but did not hear.

There are going to be, what? fifty new states in the next fifty years. A number during your administration. Most will come into being through violent ethnic upheaval. The world needs rules for these upheavals which do not now exist. The old rules of sovereignty, the Westphalian state, just don't fit with this new reality. We have to ask ourselves just what "self-determination" means. And under what circumstances the world community, through the United Nations usually, but not necessarily, has the right to intervene. Without setting ourselves up for an inquest by some future Non-Aligned Conference.

These are not the kind of questions the United States government has been asking within its own councils. The subject has seemed irrelevant, and somehow soft. International law was seen as saying what cannot be done, a device for restraining and

controlling national actions. Which is to say, ours, inasmuch as those other bastards could care less. But that was then, now is now. I repeat that in discussions in Geneva with our START negotiators -- our Ambassador Max Kampelman will attest to this -- I would ask why we seemed to take it for granted that the Soviet Union would exist by the time the Treaty was finished. Utter incomprehension. But now you, poor man, are going to have to deal with the fact that one of the successor States, the Ukraine, is suddenly not so sure that it wants to be a non-nuclear nation. All predictable, but not predicted.

It would not, for example, be too great a task to instruct your Secretary of State to work up a scenario for ethnic conflicts between now and the year 2000 that would concern the United States and which might or might not be avoided or diverted. (I beseech you not to ask the CIA. It is brain dead and should be honorably interred.) Let us reward persons who find patterns, and anticipate Somalias. As for example, a pattern of conflict the world over is for a "backward" group to attack an "advanced" group. This is what is going on in Bosnia, where the Muslims are the people of the towns, the professional classes and the intelligentsia, while the Serbians are the peasants. Mind we are not used to thinking of Muslims as more

advanced than Europeans. Albeit, these are Europeans.
(Muslims are not accustomed to thinking of Europeans as
more advanced than they.) But all this is lost on
official Washington.

My closing thought would be to hope that the
people you bring into government try to absorb and to
come to terms with the forces of hate in the world.
Glazer and I have been writing about ethnicity for a
third of a century. (I have a book out in January
based on last year's Cyril Foster lecture at Oxford.)
but we have never celebrated it. To the contrary, if
anything we have been warning about it. You could do worse
than to send every new Assistant Secretary over to the
coastal town of Slano, say 15 km north of Dubrovnik.
It was occupied for about six months by Montenegrin
territorials. (Or so I would gather.) There is
nothing left there but the handwriting on the wall. In
roman letters, so that the Croatsians would be sure to
understand, the graffiti declares that there will be
more to come. One soldier named Marko was concerned
that his message go beyond the borders of Croatia, and
so scrawled in English letters to wit: YOU ASK FOR
IT. I find the slight inaccuracy in the English
wonderfully evocative. Not "you asked for it" and now
you have got it. Past tense. But rather, your very

existence constitutes grounds for retaliation against you. Unto the end of time.

I will be happy to talk with you further, if you like, or with anyone you ask to call. Perhaps, however, you could hold this memorandum more or less closely.

A handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a series of connected loops and a long horizontal stroke at the end.