

—

Chron

g

Bill Clinton

~~Podesta~~ Podesta / 5 Street

VP really wants me to do
his Family Conf. Ther. are
not Monday. This is day
before I go to China -

Am willing - esp. if can
give me a substantive idea
by End of month - good sendoff
to China -

BC

5-22-98

Copied
Podesta
Street
COS

President of the United States

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

5-22-98

May 21, 1998

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT
SUBJECT: SCHEDULING DECISIONS
CC: JOHN PODESTA & SYLVIA MATHEWS

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ACCEPT:

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

5/22/98

Tape Radio Message for the Second Annual Black Men of America Father's Day National Radiothon
Staff Contact: Mike McCurry

5/22/98

Tape Radio Message Congratulating the Results of the Northern Ireland Peace Accord Referendums
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

This message will be distributed on May 23 if the result of the May 22 referendum is successful.

5/27/98

Meeting with the Welfare to Work Partnership Board of Directors
The White House
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed

You will meet with this group in the Roosevelt Room before the Welfare to Work event in the East Room.

5/29/98

✓ Brief Meeting with Kosovo Albanian Leader Ibrahim Rugova
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

5-22-98

6/2/98

9/2/98

Census Event with the Hispanic Community
Houston, TX

Staff Contact: John Podesta, Ann Lewis, Craig Smith, Maria Echaveste, Mickey Ibarra

6/3/98

City Year National Conference
Cleveland, OH

Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

6/4/98

Photo-op with Mothers Against Drunk Driving (MADD) Board of Directors

Staff Contact: Bruce Reed

OPTION:

Date of Event:

6/11/98

Would like to go to the event

Description of Event:

Participate in the First Lady's Event to Announce the First Grants in the 21st Century Learning Center Program
The White House

Staff Contact: Bruce Reed, Melanne Verveer

6/16/98

I'd like to see the new chair and vice chair of the PFIAB

Swearing-in Ceremony of the New Chair and Vice Chair of the President's Foreign Intelligence Advisory Board

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

Warren Rudman and Tony Harrington will be sworn-in as PFIAB Chair and Vice Chair.

PENDING:

Date of Event:

May 29

OK

Description of Event:

Announce New COPS Pilot Project
The White House

Staff Contact: Bruce Reed, Rahm Emanuel

The purpose of this event is to announce the new COPS grant that waives 25% match for economically distressed cities.

5-22-98

6/17/98 or 6/19/98

✓ White House Event to Honor the Recipients of the 1997
Presidential Awards for Excellence in Science and Mathematics
Teaching

Staff Contact: Neal Lane, Bruce Reed

REGRET:

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

5/22/98

✓ Swearing-in Ceremony for Arthur Levitt, Chairman, Securities and
Exchange Commission
The White House

**You will be traveling to Annapolis, MD for the U.S. Naval
Academy commencement address. The Vice President will
swear-in Arthur Levitt.**

5/28/98

✓ Team Harmony Event
George Washington University, Washington, D.C.
Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

**You are currently scheduled to participate in a Patient's Bill of
Rights event on this day. The First Lady will be participating
in this event.**

6/2/98

✓ Meeting with Members of the President's Export Council
Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

**You are currently scheduled to be traveling in Houston and
Dallas, TX on this day. This request has been forwarded to the
Vice President's office for consideration.**

6/11/98

✓ Reception at the Women in Military Service Memorial
Arlington Cemetery, Arlington, VA
Staff Contact: Audrey Tayse Haynes, Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

**This event will celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Women's
Armed Services Integration Act. The First Lady will attend
this reception, and her staff has advised that she does not
believe it is necessary for you to attend this reception.**

5-22-98

6/26/98

National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) 16th Annual
Convention Awards Ceremony
Miami, FL
Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste

You are currently scheduled to be traveling in China on this date. This request has been forwarded to the Cabinet for consideration.

6/29/98

American Association of University Women's Biennial
Conference
The Vice President's Residence, Washington, D.C.
Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste, Audrey Tayse Haynes

You are currently scheduled to be traveling in China on this date. Mrs. Gore will be addressing this group, and Sec. Shalala has also been invited to attend this event.

7/9/98

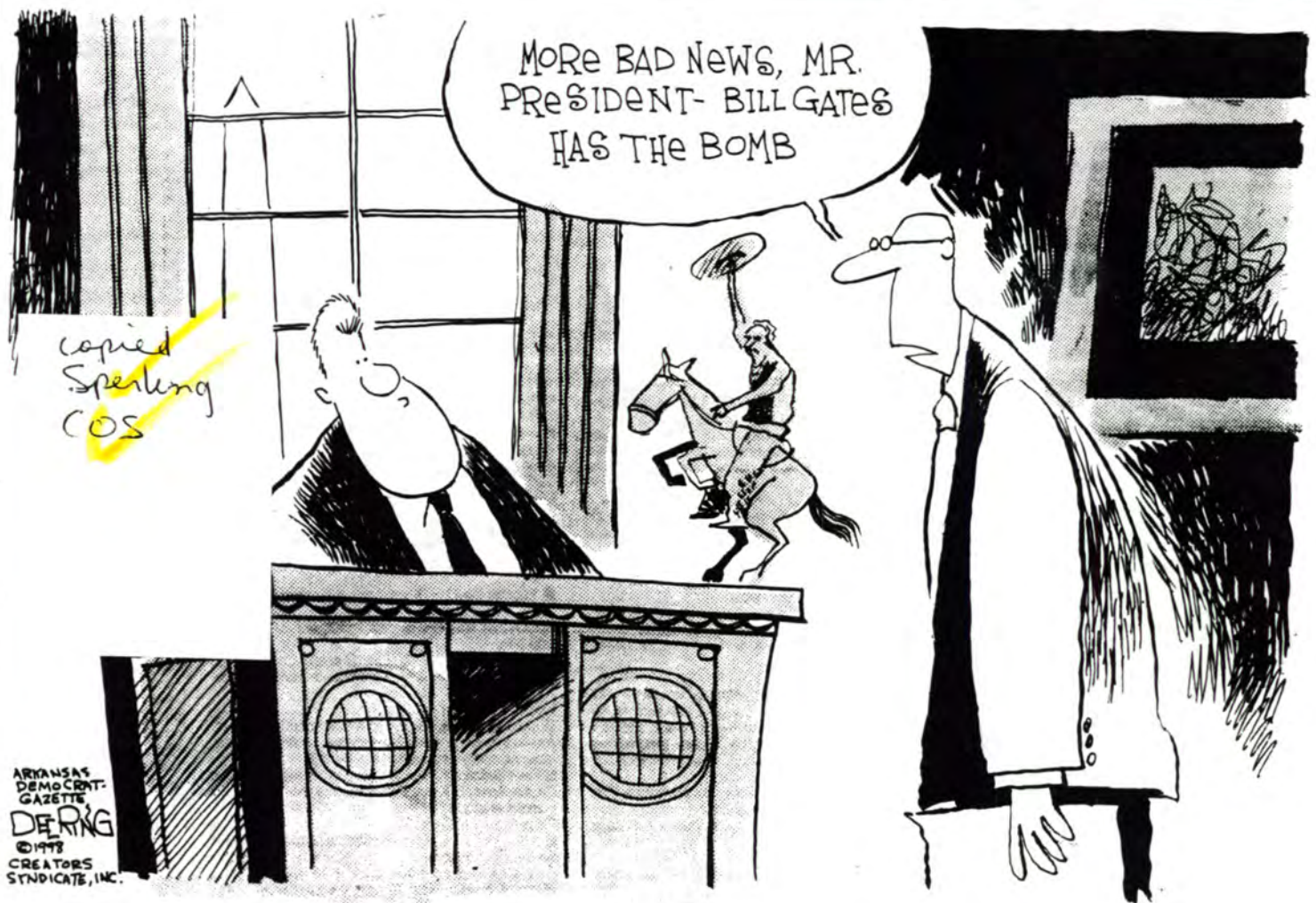
11th Annual National D.A.R.E. Conference
Albuquerque, NM
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed, Rahm Emanuel

You are currently scheduled to be traveling to Atlanta, GA and Miami, FL on this day. This proposal has been forwarded to the other principals and the Cabinet for consideration.

7/26/98

"Teach-in" on Social Security Sponsored by the National Council
of Senior Citizens
Location TBD, Washington, D.C.
Staff Contact: Gene Sperling

You are currently scheduled to be in Aspen, CO on this day. This proposal has been forwarded to the other principals and the Cabinet for consideration.



EDITORIALS

Distant early warning

A deal too good to be right

while sales taxes are
other \$50 million

Bill Clinton

5-22-98

~~Podesta~~

Podesta

VP wants to have reception
for 1000 or so attendees
at her Empowerment Zone
conference in July - &
again is a good idea if the
schedule & money permit.
Ms look into -

W

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5-21-98

President of the United States

THE PRESENT HAS SEEN
5-22-98

Wagon
No call course
on next? - for

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5-22-98

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

98 MAY 20 16:34

TO: Joyce A. Ladner

DATE: May 20, 1998

RECOMMENDED BY: Frank Raines

PURPOSE: To ask her to continue serving as a member of the DC Control Board

BACKGROUND: Ms. Ladner was appointed to the Control Board in 1995. She is a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. and is a Professor of Sociology (on leave) from the Howard University School of Social Work. She has served as Interim President of Howard and Vice President for Academic Affairs. She is a nationally known scholar in many fields (diversity, higher education, urban issues, family and gender issues and child welfare). She has chaired many local advisory panels in the areas of social services and public health. Ladner received her B.A. in sociology from Tougaloo College her M.A. and the Ph.D. in sociology from Washington University in St. Louis.

Initially Joyce was willing to consider reappointment. However, out of frustration with the announcement of an unexpected deficit in DC Public Schools she called to say she did not want to be reappointed. As late as Friday, May 15 she continued to dialogue with White House staff. In a telephone conversation with Bob Nash she said she did not know if she has the time it takes to continue to serve and it is costing her too much. In response to Nash's question of whether she would consider a one year appointment she asked about available ambassador posts. Bob told her no posts are available today. He did say he thinks she would be good; has the right background and would be considered for post openings in the future.

TALKING POINTS: Thank you for the work you have done as a member of the Control Board. I particularly admire your work with the DC Public Schools.

I need you to continue on the Board to sustain and increase the financial improvements and to assist in getting the city's operations in shape to restore home rule.

I am excited about the prospects for growth in education under the new superintendent, Arlene Ackerman. And I know the gains in education, one of my top priorities, will be even greater with your continued leadership.

CONTACT PERSON AND

TELEPHONE NUMBER(S): Brookings 202-797-6073 - Evelyn Taylor (797-6112)

DATE OF SUBMISSION: May 20, 1998

ACTION:

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL

98 MAY 20 PM 6:34

TO: Constance Berry Newman

DATE: May 20, 1998

RECOMMENDED BY: Frank Raines

PURPOSE: To ask her to stay on the DC Control Board and serve as Vice Chair

BACKGROUND: Constance Berry Newman was appointed to the Control Board in 1995. Since July 1992, Ms Newman has served as Under Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. Before that she was Director of the Office of Personnel Management in the Reagan and Bush Administrations. Some of her major management positions were: Assistant Secretary of the United States Department of Housing and Urban Development, Director of VISTA, and President of the Newman & Hermanson Company. She was also Commissioner and Vice-Chairman of the Consumer Product Safety Commission. She received her law degree from the University of Minnesota.

Connie is the only Control Board member that gets accolades from local elected officials, labor and community for her outreach, and sensitivity to District government as an institution and the long-term struggle for self-governance in the city. As a result, she has been recommended by many to be the next chairperson of the Control Board. This has been reported in and supported by local print and electronic media. However, with the media attention, questions were raised about the advisability and preference for a republican chairperson of the Control Board in an overwhelmingly democratic city and with a republican congress that has not been very sensitive to home rule issues. After much deliberation, it was decided to seek a strong democratic chair and ask Connie to serve as vice chair.

With all of this support and attention in the media Connie is reluctant to remain on the Control Board without being the chairperson.

TALKING POINTS: I want to thank you for the leadership you have provided as a member of the Control Board. I recognize, as have so many others, how invaluable you have been.

First, your management expertise has been outstanding in leading reform efforts in personnel, procurement, information technology and asset management.

Second, your sensitivity and outreach to citizens, labor leaders and local elected officials has been crucial in policy making and the consensus budget process.

I need you to stay on the Control Board and assume the position of Vice Chairperson to continue in the direction you have lead the board to get the city in shape to restore home rule.

CONTACT PERSON AND
TELEPHONE NUMBER(S): Smithsonian - Connie Lykes - 202-357-3258

DATE OF SUBMISSION: May 20, 1998

ACTION:

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Sperling
Mathews
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-22-98

3131

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON
May 8, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER
GENE SPERLING
SYLVIA MATHEWS

SUBJECT: Key Events and Messages for Your Trip to Europe

I. PURPOSE

To update you on the events and messages for your May 12-19 trip to Germany and to the U.K. for the G-8 and U.S.-EU Summits.

II. BACKGROUND

Four years ago, during your first trip to Europe as President, you set out a vision for European integration and U.S.-European partnership in the 21st century. This trip to Germany and to the United Kingdom for the U.S.-EU summit is an opportunity to take stock of the progress made toward realizing that vision -- and to set out the next steps we must take to complete it.

The G-8 Summit, together with your bilaterals with Yeltsin, Hashimoto and Chirac, will demonstrate U.S. leadership in working with the world's leading industrialized democracies to shape the forces of globalization to the benefit of all our citizens.

In four years, we have supported and helped shape a new Europe -- increasingly integrated around security, economic and political alliances (Partnership for Peace, NATO enlargement, NATO-Russia and NATO-Ukraine agreements; EU expansion and the EMU; OSCE); the east joined more closely to the west; conflict giving way to peace in Bosnia and Northern Ireland. The Senate has given its consent to NATO enlargement. At the same time, despite front-page frictions, we have enhanced U.S.-European cooperation, both in terms of America's role in promoting European integration and our efforts to deal collectively with common concerns, from trade liberalization to new security threats. Your public remarks and events can tell the story of this progress and set a clear course for the future -- institutionally (next steps on NATO, EU and OSCE) and practically. More broadly, the commitments embraced by the G-8 advance our common determination to sustain financial stability and economic growth and spread their benefits; to equip our citizens for the global economy; and to combat new threats to our security, such as international crime and drug trafficking.

*This was a fun trip
well planned
well executed
Thank you
BZ*

*See Ken
for (K)*

Taken together, these efforts can create a true common space from San Francisco to Vladivostok, in which all of our citizens share the same hopes, dreams and opportunities.

III. KEY EVENTS AND MESSAGE POINTS

Wednesday, May 13 -- Visit to Germany (Berlin/Potsdam)

Events

- Arrival Ceremony
- Working Lunch with Chancellor Kohl
- **Press Availability with Chancellor Kohl**
- **Address on the Future of Trans-Atlantic Relations**
- Meeting with Opposition Leader Schroeder
- Official Dinner

Message

Your meeting, press conference and state dinner with Chancellor Kohl will highlight the vital strategic partnership between the United States and Germany -- a cornerstone of the Trans-Atlantic alliance and of efforts in Europe and beyond to advance freedom, peace and prosperity. You also can use the events with Chancellor Kohl to underscore our strong support for European integration, including the creation of a European Monetary Union. While the press will focus on Kohl's tough reelection campaign, you will want to keep the focus on the U.S.-German partnership and your vision for a Trans-Atlantic future.

The key message event of the day will be your address at the Schauspielhaus on the future of Europe and the Trans-Atlantic partnership. During your first trip to Europe as President in 1994, you detailed your vision for an undivided, peaceful and democratic continent, increasingly integrated around security, political and economic alliances. Your speech in Berlin can amplify your vision and describe how you see the future of the U.S.-European partnership -- seizing the opportunities of the information age, drawing strength from diversity, and combating new threats to our security and well-being (such as rogue states; crime, drugs and terrorism; weapons proliferation and environmental degradation).

Thursday, May 14 -- Visit to Germany (Berlin/Eisenach)

Events

- Berlin Airlift Event
- Visit Eisenach, Remarks to People
- Visit GM/Opel Car Plant
- Visit Wartburg Fortress

Message

At Tempelhof Airport, you will join Chancellor Kohl in a festive commemoration of the 1948 Berlin airlift -- the start of a new U.S.-German post-war partnership that saved Berlin from isolation, deprivation and communism and lifted its people to prosperity. You may wish to emphasize that Germany -- then the beneficiary of a humanitarian "hand out" -- is now one of our closest allies in giving other people a "hand up" toward peace and prosperity. Your visit to Eisenach in the former East Germany will highlight the remarkable progress Germany has made in less than a decade to bridge the divisions of half a century. It will give you an opportunity to meet and interact with a cross-section of the city's citizens. At the GM/Opel plant -- one of the most modern car production facilities in Europe -- you will have an opportunity to discuss with German workers the challenge of moving from a closed, state-run economy to a free market system and to foreshadow G-8 discussions on employability and lifetime learning.

Friday, May 15 -- G-7 and G-8 Summits United Kingdom (Birmingham)

Events

- Bilat with French President Chirac (Pool Spray)
- Bilat with Japanese Prime Minister Hashimoto (Pool Spray)
- G-7 Leaders Meeting
- G-8 Formal Arrival Ceremony and Leaders Dinner

Message

This year's G-8 will build on a theme you have introduced into the last several summit meetings -- making sure the benefits of globalization are shared by all, within and among nations. The three major topics of discussion clearly illustrate this theme: the discussion of the "global economic situation" will focus on our efforts to prevent and respond effectively to financial crises and to integrate the developing world (especially Africa); the session on "employability" will review how all segments of our society can share in growth and opportunity; and the session on "crime" will address how we can strengthen our cooperation to defeat the new transnational threats that come with growing integration.

Friday afternoon, you will meet "at seven" to discuss responses to the Asia financial crisis, highlighting commitments to modernize the international financial architecture. The emphasis will be on improving the quality and availability of financial data, establishing multilateral surveillance to strengthen national financial systems and ensuring private sector burdensharing. The Summit formally begins when all eight leaders

meet at the arrival ceremony; the first G-8 meeting is a working dinner at which you will address political issues including the consequences of the Asia financial crisis, Kosovo and the Middle East peace process. Because neither the G-7 meeting nor the dinner have a public component, you may wish to use your pool sprays with Chirac and Hashimoto to foreshadow the Summit discussions -- in particular international economic and development issues and our efforts to ensure sound financial markets. You should also use this opportunity to welcome the substantial steps Japan has taken to stimulate its economy, while urging quick implementation and further steps to strengthen the financial system and to open and deregulate the economy. You should be able to announce with Hashimoto a strong package of deregulation measures agreed bilaterally and a good agreement on electronic commerce. We will brief the press on the day's details and read-out the dinner.

Saturday, May 16 -- G-8 Summit United Kingdom (Birmingham)

Events

- G-8 Discussion of Transnational Crime
- Release of Crime Segment of Communique
- Leaders Group Photo

Message

Since 1993, you have led your Summit partners in addressing new transnational threats to our common security -- notably international crime, drug trafficking, terrorism and weapons proliferation. Birmingham will continue that focus, with an emphasis on international organized crime and the steps the industrialized democracies must take together to combat it effectively. The Summit will take stock of the concrete progress to date and, on Saturday, release the Crime segment of the Communique detailing next steps (including joint action in attacking cyber crime, smuggling routes and financial fraud.) You will be in a strong position to shape this discussion, having unveiled your own international crime control strategy in Washington prior to departure. Leaders will see a video presentation highlighting the threats and our responses, as will the press corps. The U.K. also will release a progress report on G-8 efforts to implement the Lyon 40 Recommendations on transnational crime. Again, because there is no public component to this day, we will brief the press in detail. You also may wish to devote your weekly radio address to our anti-crime efforts.

Sunday, May 17 -- G-8 Summit United Kingdom (Birmingham)

Events

- G-8 Communique on Employability, Development, Environment
- **Bilateral Meeting with President Yeltsin (Pool Spray)**
- Checquers II Meeting

Message

The focus on employability will allow us to highlight your successful strategy to reform the welfare system, make work pay, invest in people through education and training, and open markets to create export-driven jobs and growth, which has created the strongest labor market in decades. The discussion on development will center on our efforts to bring developing countries more fully into the global economy and to strengthen new democracies and civil society. You will lead the discussion on Africa, providing an opportunity for you to encourage our partners to support some of the initiatives you launched and/or pledges you made in Africa (for example, debt relief and interim financing, increased lending capacity, improved assistance to post-conflict societies) and to convince them to follow the example of the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, by encouraging increased trade with and investment in countries pursuing economic and political reform. We also have begun to forge a common approach on climate change, earning G-8 support for the broad steps we need to take to ratify Kyoto -- establishing market-based international flexibility mechanisms and securing developing country participation in meaningful emissions reductions. Prime Minister Blair will summarize these and other summit accomplishments in his press conference; we will background key points to the American press corps.

Your meeting and pool spray with President Yeltsin will be the public focal point of the day. The media will scrutinize his health and any comments you both make on issues that have provoked some friction in the relationship (e.g., Iraq, Kosovo, Iran/proliferation). You will want to emphasize that Russia's democratic and economic transformation and its international integration are a centerpiece of your vision for an undivided, peaceful and democratic Europe. The new prime minister and (not so new) cabinet are a strong sign that reform remains on track.

Monday, May 18 -- U.S.-EU Summit United Kingdom (London)

Events

- U.S.-E.U. Summit Meeting
- **Press Conference with PM Blair and EU President Santer**
- (Possible) Meeting with Blair and Ahern

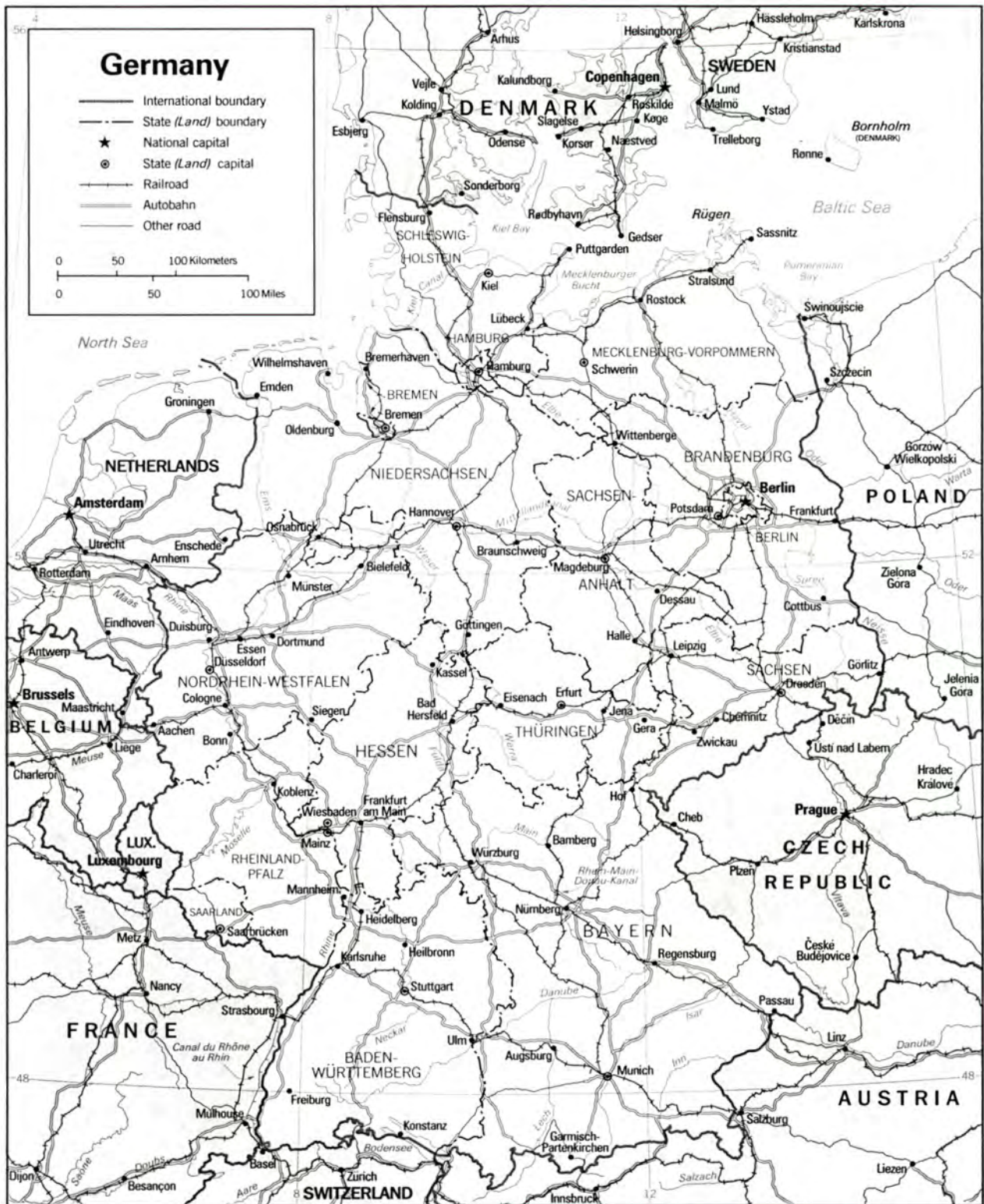
Message

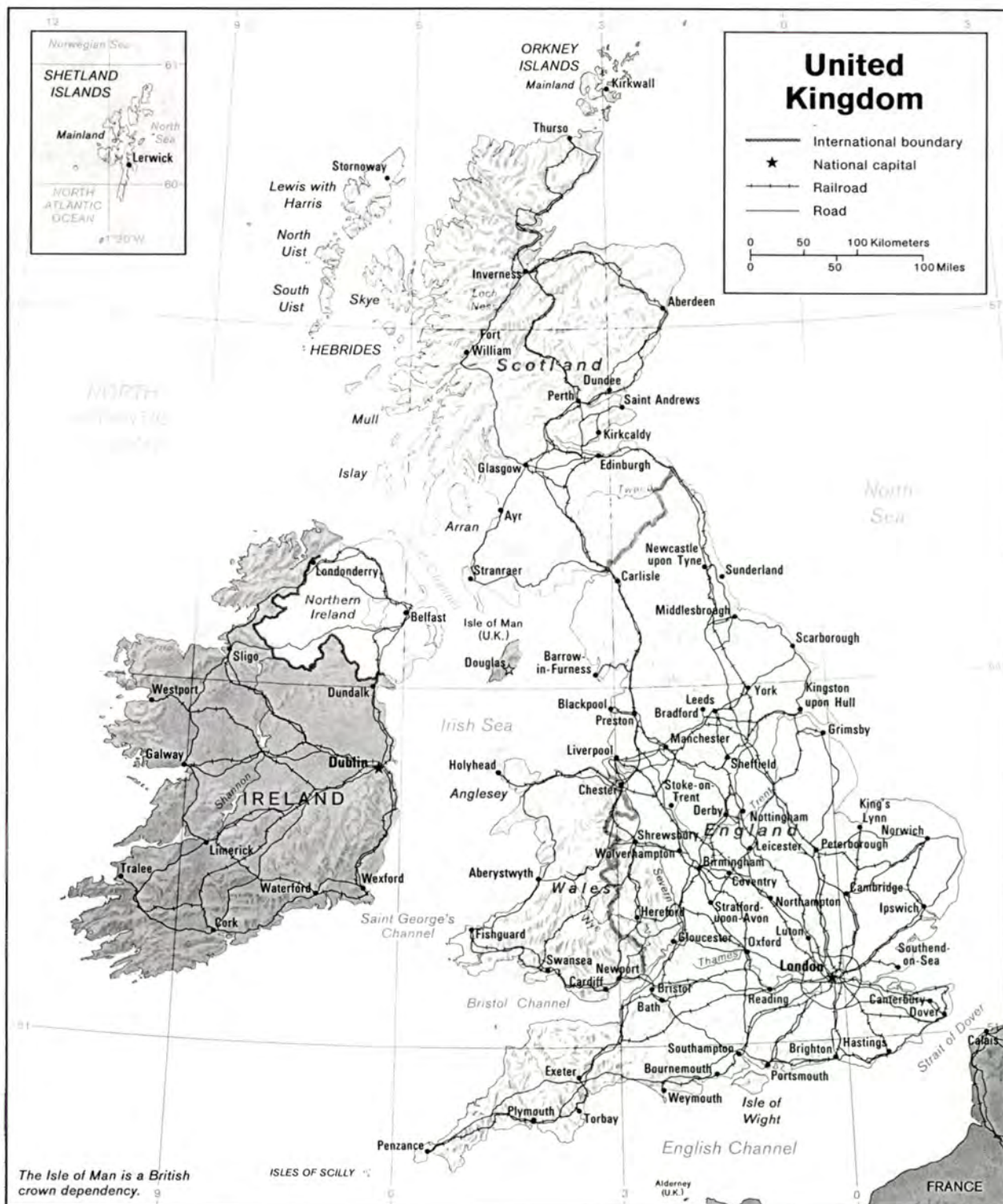
These twice-yearly U.S.-EU summits provide an opportunity for progress, pushing both sides forward on practical cooperation that affects our citizens -- notably liberalizing trade, combating new security threats, and promoting peace and stability in troubled regions of the world. Two way trade and investment between the United States and the EU exceeds one trillion dollars a year -- a powerful engine in all our countries for jobs, growth and progress. We are currently working to overcome French opposition to a possible trade initiative, which we are hoping you could announce jointly with Blair and Santer in London along with enhanced cooperation with the E.U. on Iran and other countries that threaten international order. This is in addition to the usual harvest of Euro-Atlantic initiatives that facilitate our trade and interaction. Our challenge is to highlight these gains while minimizing any frictions over ILSA and Helms-Burton. Since it is unlikely that you will go to Northern Ireland before the referendum, we are considering a three-way meeting with you, Blair and Ahern to show continued involvement and provide an opportunity for you to discuss with the two governments the way forward on the peace process.



This is a detailed black and white map of Europe and its surrounding regions. The map includes the following features:

- Geographical Features:**
 - Greenland:** Labeled as "Greenland (DENMARK)" in the top left.
 - Iceland:** Labeled "ICELAND" with "Reykjavik" as its capital.
 - British Isles:** Includes "UNITED KINGDOM" and "IRELAND". Major cities like London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Belfast, and Dublin are marked. The "Irish Sea" and "English Channel" are also labeled.
 - Scandinavia:** "NORWAY", "SWEDEN", and "FINLAND" are shown. Major cities like Oslo, Stockholm, Helsinki, and Tromsø are marked. The "Norwegian Sea" and "Barents Sea" are labeled.
 - Central Europe:** Includes "GERMANY", "FRANCE", "NETHERLANDS", "BELGIUM", "LUXEMBOURG", "POLAND", "CZECH REPUBLIC", "SLOVAKIA", "AUSTRIA", "HUNGARY", "ROMANIA", "BULGARIA", "SERBIA", "CROATIA", "SLOVENIA", "BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA", "MONTENEGRO", "ALBANIA", "GREECE", and "TURKEY". Major cities like Paris, Berlin, Rome, Moscow, and Athens are marked.
 - North Africa:** Includes "ALGERIA", "TUNISIA", "MOROCCO", and "LIBYA". Major cities like Algiers, Tunis, and Rabat are marked.
- Bodies of Water:**
 - North Atlantic Ocean:** Located to the west of Europe.
 - North Sea:** Located between the British Isles and Scandinavia.
 - Baltic Sea:** Located between Scandinavia and Central Europe.
 - Mediterranean Sea:** Located to the south of Europe.
 - Black Sea:** Located to the east of the Mediterranean.
 - Aegean Sea:** Located between Greece and Turkey.
- Islands and Archipelagos:**
 - Faroe Islands:** Labeled "Faroe Islands (DENMARK)" with "Tórshavn" as its capital.
 - Shetland Islands:** Labeled "SHETLAND ISLANDS".
 - Hebrides:** Labeled "HEBRIDES".
 - Orkney Islands:** Labeled "ORKNEY ISLANDS".
 - Isle of Man:** Labeled "Isle of Man (U.K.)".
 - Channel Islands:** Labeled "Guernsey (U.K.)" and "Jersey (U.K.)".
 - Canary Islands:** Labeled "Canary Islands (SPAIN)".
 - Balearic Islands:** Labeled "BALEARIC ISLANDS".
 - Sicily:** Labeled "Sicily".
 - Sardinia:** Labeled "Sardinia".
 - Corsica:** Labeled "Corsica".
 - Malta:** Labeled "MALTA".
 - Cyprus:** Labeled "Cyprus".
- Scale and Projection:**
 - Scale:** 1:19,500,000.
 - Projection:** Lambert Conformal Conic Projection, standard parallels 40°N and 56°N.
 - Scale Bar:** Shows distances in kilometers (0 to 300) and miles (0 to 300).
- Other Labels:**
 - Greenland Strait:** Located between Greenland and Iceland.
 - Denmark Strait:** Located between Greenland and Iceland.
 - Rockall (U.K.):** A small island in the North Atlantic.
 - Jan Mayen (NORWAY):** A small island in the North Atlantic.
 - Volga:** A major river in Russia.
 - Dniester:** A major river in Ukraine.
 - Dnieper:** A major river in Ukraine.
 - Black Sea:** Located to the east of the Mediterranean.
 - Aegean Sea:** Located between Greece and Turkey.
 - Ionian Sea:** Located between Greece and Italy.
 - Tyrrhenian Sea:** Located between Italy and the Mediterranean.
 - Adriatic Sea:** Located between Italy and the Balkans.
 - Ligurian Sea:** Located between Italy and the Mediterranean.
 - Balearic Sea:** Located between Spain and the Mediterranean.
 - Bay of Biscay:** Located between France and the Atlantic.
 - Strait of Gibraltar:** Located between Spain and Morocco.
 - Alborán Sea:** Located between Spain and Morocco.
 - Molilla (SPAIN):** A small island in the Alborán Sea.
 - Oran:** A city in Algeria.
 - Algiers:** A city in Algeria.
 - Tunis:** A city in Tunisia.
 - Valletta:** A city in Malta.
 - Rabat:** A city in Morocco.
 - Casablanca:** A city in Morocco.
 - Sevilla:** A city in Spain.
 - Valencia:** A city in Spain.
 - Barcelona:** A city in Spain.
 - Bordeaux:** A city in France.
 - Nantes:** A city in France.
 - Lyon:** A city in France.
 - Strasbourg:** A city in France.
 - Geneva:** A city in France.
 - Zürich:** A city in Switzerland.
 - Bern:** A city in Switzerland.
 - Frankfurt am Main:** A city in Germany.
 - Cologne:** A city in Germany.
 - Essen:** A city in Germany.
 - Bonn:** A city in Germany.
 - Stuttgart:** A city in Germany.
 - Munich:** A city in Germany.
 - Leipzig:** A city in Germany.
 - Bremen:** A city in Germany.
 - Hamburg:** A city in Germany.
 - Copenhagen:** A city in Denmark.
 - Malmö:** A city in Sweden.
 - Göteborg:** A city in Sweden.
 - Stockholm:** A city in Sweden.
 - Umeå:** A city in Sweden.
 - Luleå:** A city in Sweden.
 - Kiruna:** A city in Sweden.
 - Tromsø:** A city in Norway.
 - Hammerfest:** A city in Norway.
 - Murmansk:** A city in Russia.
 - Arkhangel'sk:** A city in Russia.
 - St. Petersburg:** A city in Russia.
 - Helsinki:** A city in Finland.
 - Tampere:** A city in Finland.
 - Vladivostok:** A city in Russia.
 - Severaya Dvina:** A city in Russia.
 - Lake Ladoga:** A lake in Russia.
 - Lake Onega:** A lake in Russia.
 - White Sea:** A sea in Russia.
 - Baltic Sea:** A sea in Europe.
 - Gulf of Bothnia:** A body of water between Sweden and Finland.
 - Gulf of Finland:** A body of water between Finland and Russia.
 - Gotland:** An island in the Baltic Sea.
 - Bornholm:** An island in the Baltic Sea.
 - Kaliningrad:** A city in Russia.
 - Gdansk:** A city in Poland.
 - Poznań:** A city in Poland.
 - Łódź:** A city in Poland.
 - Wrocław:** A city in Poland.
 - Kraków:** A city in Poland.
 - Warsaw:** A city in Poland.
 - Prague:** A city in the Czech Republic.
 - Brno:** A city in the Czech Republic.
 - Bratislava:** A city in Slovakia.
 - Budapest:** A city in Hungary.
 - Vienna:** A city in Austria.
 - Ljubljana:** A city in Slovenia.
 - Zagreb:** A city in Croatia.
 - Sarajevo:** A city in Bosnia and Herzegovina.
 - Belgrade:** A city in Serbia.
 - Podgorica:** A city in Montenegro.
 - Tirane:** A city in Albania.
 - Skopje:** A city in North Macedonia.
 - Chisinau:** A city in Moldova.
 - Iasi:** A city in Romania.
 - Cluj-Napoca:** A city in Romania.
 - Bucharest:** A city in Romania.
 - Sofia:** A city in Bulgaria.
 - Constanta:** A city in Romania.
 - Varna:** A city in Bulgaria.
 - Istanbul:** A city in Turkey.
 - Bursa:** A city in Turkey.
 - Izmir:** A city in Turkey.
 - Rhodes:** An island in Greece.
 - Crete:** An island in Greece.





Former Member of Congress
1983- 1995

JIM SLATTERY
(202) 429-7264

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

**Re: International Trade Commission's Remedy Recommendation
on Wheat Gluten 201 Petition**

Dear Mr. President:

On November 29, 1994, I cast my last vote as a member of the U.S. House of Representatives. The vote was for the legislation to implement the Uruguay Round of GATT.

At the time, I had concerns about what effect the Uruguay Round Agreement would have on the wheat industry but I was convinced the enhanced Section 201 or safeguard provisions would be available to protect small U.S. interests adversely affected by a surge in imports.

I am writing because Midwest Grain Products, headquartered in my hometown of Atchison, Kansas, is being destroyed as the result of the Uruguay Round Agreement. Midwest Grain Products is the largest producer of wheat gluten in the United States. (Wheat gluten is the protein component of wheat flour that is used in bread, pasta, pastries and pet food.) They employ nearly 300 people in Atchison, a town of 12,000, and have through the years supported countless charitable organizations. They made a profit during every year of their nearly 50 years of existence until 1996 when the negative consequences of the Uruguay Round hit them.

It is hard to believe but the Uruguay Round permitted the European Union (E.U.) to raise their tariffs on wheat gluten and the co-product wheat starch while the U.S. was required to lower its tariffs on these products. The E.U. tariff on wheat starch is 27 times higher than the U.S. tariff. The E.U. tariff on the co-product wheat gluten is 11 times higher than the U.S. tariff.

As a result of the very high tariffs on wheat starch, E.U. producers have been able to sell wheat starch within the E.U. for 2 ½ times the world price. They are then able to use the excess profits earned on starch production to underprice the co-product wheat gluten. (There are five

Phil I was
John P. was
agreed on this
Bob Kyle is now working
H. Slattery on this
J. Slattery requested
meeting on
issue
not

DING

'98 MAY 21 PM 5:58

5-21-98

Any need for further
follow-up?

Yes ☒ No ☐

Send to
Pub for reply. Kyle to
Court with
see if
response is necessary.
May not be now.
Phil

The Honorable William J. Clinton

May 13, 1998

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units of starch for every one unit of gluten in wheat flour but the gluten is worth about the same as the five units of starch.) E.U. producers are shipping huge quantities of wheat gluten to the United States at prices far below the U.S. cost of production. It is impossible for the U.S. industry to compete under these circumstances even though the International Trade Commission (I.T.C.) concluded the U.S. industry was more efficient than their E.U. competitors.

Over the last three years, the industry has attempted to achieve a negotiated solution to this problem to no avail. Officials in the U.S. Department of Agriculture and in the U.S. Trade Representatives Office encouraged the U.S. Wheat Gluten Industry to file a section 201 petition with the I.T.C. This advice was followed.

After a thorough investigation and public hearings that gave all parties an opportunity to present their views, the I.T.C. unanimously decided that the domestic wheat gluten industry is being seriously injured as a result of the surge in imports primarily from the E.U.

The I.T.C. then unanimously recommended in a report to you on March 18, 1998, that a four-year quota be implemented. The I.T.C. found that this remedy recommendation would provide the minimum level of relief that is necessary to address the serious injury that the Commission found to exist. The I.T.C. correctly concluded that a tariff would not work and neither will a tariff rate quota. The purpose of the relief period is to give the injured U.S. industry the opportunity to adjust and ultimately compete.

The I.T.C. found in a report released May 4, 1998, that the "domestic industry's adjustment plan is viable in the mid to long term." The I.T.C. concluded the many new products the industry is producing will enable it to return to a profitable state within four years. In other words, the U.S. industry can compete with the E.U. producers if just given an opportunity to adjust during the next four years.

The following people and organizations support the I.T.C.'s remedy recommendation.

- 1) The National Organization of Wheat Growers.
- 2) The United Food and Commercial Workers AFL-CIO.
- 3) The American Bakers Association that represents 80% of the bakers who are the customers.
- 4) Senators Daschle, Dorgan, Johnson, Baucus, Conrad and Brownback have all supported the 201 petition filed by the industry and the quota remedy.

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5) More than a dozen members of the House have also expressed support and I am unaware of any current Congressional opposition.

The Australian Government is also supporting the four year quota recommended by the I.T.C.

No U.S.-based industry or trade association appeared before the I.T.C. in opposition to the gluten petition. Recently, Cargill expressed opposition but it must be remembered that Cargill owns a European wheat gluten production facility that ships gluten to the United States and therefore wants to continue the status quo.

The U.S. industry has been losing money since the flood of E.U. imports started. Midwest Grain Products has seen its stock drop from \$36 a share to \$11.50 a share. There are 300 families in Atchison, Kansas, 200 in Pekin, Illinois, and 50 in Hamburg, Iowa that are depending on you to protect their jobs against unfair foreign trade practices.

I sincerely hope you will agree to the quota remedy unanimously recommended by the I.T.C. Small businesses and workers need to know their government will stand up for them when they face unfair foreign trade that threatens their family's economic security. That is the case here and that is why section 201 was strengthened in the 1994 legislation implementing the Uruguay Round.

I think it would be a terrible mistake to deny relief to an industry that has received a unanimous decision from the I.T.C. that they are being seriously injured as the result of a surge in imports. Section 201 is available to deal with precisely these kind of cases.

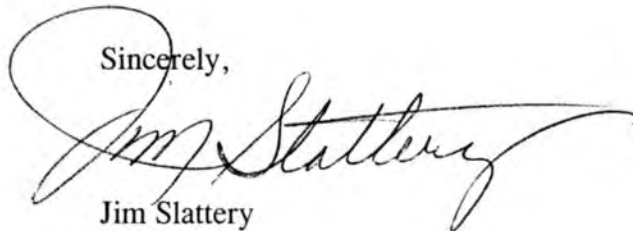
If you agree to the quota remedy unanimously recommended by the I.T.C., I believe you will be telling workers and small businesses all over this country that you will stand with them when they face unfair foreign trade practices. You will make clear you are willing to use available trade remedies that are perfectly legal under GATT to protect them. I believe this will be helpful in convincing members of Congress to give you fast track authority.

On the other hand, if the only viable remedy is denied, a powerful negative message will be sent. Opponents of fair trade would argue that an important value added agriculture industry was denied relief even after proving serious injury and obtaining an unanimous remedy recommendation at the I.T.C.

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Mr. President, I deeply appreciate your thoughtful consideration and I am looking forward to visiting with you about this matter. On behalf of my hometown and the U.S. Wheat Gluten Industry, I thank you for your help.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Jim Slattery". The signature is fluid and elegant, with a large initial "J" and a long, sweeping underline.

Jim Slattery

R.S.

*This is extremely important
to a lot of friends in my
hometown.*

Thanks again for your help.

Jim

Greg Munday
6175 Chino Avenue Chino, California
91710
909-628-1822

'98 MAY 21 PM5:16

May 16, 1998

*The White House
Washington D.C.*

Dear President Clinton,

*I would like to acquire a set of Presidential cuff links. Would you please send me a pair?
Or advise me how I can obtain them. I would wear them with great pride. I am hoping
that in your kindness you will grant this request.*

Thank You for your generosity, and keep up the good work.

Ardent supporter and fan,

Greg Munday

Greg Munday

5-21-98

*Send to A puzzle for appropriate
handling?*

Yes ☒

*Back
for
Munday*

Bill Clinton

5-22-98

Sandy

Mike is great + I really
think we should get
on w/ implementing
Mike's strategy — to soon

Has anything ~~been~~ the
come of Madeleine's talks
w/ Pinar? —

BR

Copied
Bergen
COS

President of the United States

Who Is Bibi?

Surely it must mean something. How can it not?

How can it be that in the same week that Israel's Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, comes to Washington to face a U.S.-imposed deadline on the peace process, the Israeli public is far more interested in the fact that an Israeli transsexual diva won the Eurovision song contest?

The Israeli singer, Yaron Cohen, has been known ever since his sex change five years ago as the female vocalist Dana International. She won the prestigious Eurovision song contest in Britain last week — one of the most widely televised events in Europe and the Middle East, and when word of Dana International's victory spread through Israel, late-night celebrating broke out in the main square of Tel Aviv.

Over in Jerusalem, though, which will host next year's Eurovision song contest, the ultra-Orthodox Deputy Mayor Haim Miller declared that events like Eurovision should "stay in the land of the gentiles." This upset Jerusalem's Mayor, Ehud Olmert, who was quoted by A.P. as calling his deputy a blabbermouth. Meanwhile Dana International, who favors feather and sequin dresses, took it all in stride, saying, "I am just so proud to represent my country."

If only the peace process got this much attention.

Why hasn't it? Largely because most of the Israeli public knows that all this haggling over percentages has little to do with Israeli security, and much to do with Mr. Netanyahu's coalition. The truth is Israelis, these days, are more interested in who they are — particularly in the rising cultural war between secular and religious — than who the Palestinians are. The Israeli public knows this conflict is headed for a two-state solution of some kind or another and they just want it resolved in a safe, orderly manner. They assume that is what Mr. Netanyahu is doing.

But is he? The amazing thing about Mr. Netanyahu is that after two years in office no one is still sure who he is. Mr. Netanyahu's media adviser and confidant, David Bar-Ilan, was quoted in this week's *New Yorker* as saying of Bibi: "It's not possible to read what he feels, even with me. I never feel I know what's in his heart or mind. I don't know who does."

The whole thrust of recent U.S. diplomacy has been an effort to find out who he is, by putting together a proposal that meets Mr. Netanyahu's

basic demands — that the parties begin final status talks immediately, that Palestinians take concrete steps to combat terrorism before they get any more land, and that the interim withdrawals be as small as possible before final status talks — 13 percent.

The Palestinians have accepted. Bibi has not, largely because he is unwilling to confront the far right of his coalition, who don't want to give up anything. Mr. Netanyahu knows he has to withdraw, but he doesn't want to alienate his far right, who touch something in his own soul. He wants to be Nixon going to China and still be

Netanyahu's identity crisis.

honored by the John Birch Society.

Bibi is behaving as if he has three options: 1. No deal with the Palestinians, but no deterioration in relations with the U.S. or the Arabs. 2. A deal based on a magic formula that will satisfy the Palestinians and every extremist in his coalition. 3. A deal with the Palestinians, but one that will require him to actually lead — to openly confront the far-right wing of his coalition or form a national unity government. Option one is an illusion; this status quo will not hold forever. Option two is an illusion; there is no such pain-free formula.

That leaves only option three: Bibi leading. But because he is so much better at spinning than deciding, his first instinct is always to spin. It's time for the U.S. to stop this charade and find out just who Bibi is. The U.S. has put a fair compromise on the table. Bibi has deliberately kept the Israeli public in the dark about it, always emphasizing only the costs and never, ever, the benefits. President Clinton should now make sure every Israeli understands every detail of the U.S. plan. If Mr. Netanyahu thinks he can get a better deal, then he should negotiate with Mr. Arafat directly. If he thinks he can live with the status quo, then please, go ahead, and leave us alone. But he must not be allowed to hide behind U.S. diplomacy, and a virtual peace process, and then think he can blame America when the inevitable breakdown comes.

This is Bibi's moment, and it will be decided by whoever he turns out to be. I just hope he knows. □

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Rahm Emanuel

From: Stephen P. Cohen

Subject: End of Game but not End of Match/
Part Two: Bibi Takes His Best Shot
Part Three: American Response One: A Policy Speech

Date: May 19, 1998

Part Two: BIBI TAKES HIS BEST SHOT

Bibi has taken his best shot. What has it amounted to?

Let us review his main arguments and their status.

1) Bibi shifted the issue from the substance of the American ideas to the issues of process: ultimatum, deadline, only Israel can decide on its security. On substance he shifted from the dangers of 13% to the dangers of Hilary Clinton's declaration on a Palestinian state and the danger that America would dictate its views in the final status negotiations, including on Jerusalem. The objection to 13% just did not stand up; no other objection to the American ideas was seriously attempted. Still Bibi has helped to teach a catechism of Palestinian sins of non-compliance which falls on receptive ears.

2) Fundamentally, Netanyahu has attempted to shift focus from the lack of trust between Arafat and himself to distrust of the Palestinians and of the American approach, laying blame on a specific set of actors, in particular Martin Indyk, Strobe Talbott (the usual suspect), and Madeline Albright 'who trust Arafat or the Arabs in general'. They are unwilling to openly lay blame on the President.

The implication of the lack of trust shift should be made clear. Bibi's theory of peace without trust is a dangerous virus in the international relations of Israel. It means that Israel comes to distrust anyone who acts with trust toward the untrustworthy Arabs, worst of all Arafat. If the United States is not willing to treat Arafat with total distrust, it is not that Israel reconsiders its distrust of Arafat, it is that Israel starts to distrust the United States. This is the great danger to American-Israeli relations in Netanyahu's theory of peace without trust: it is transitive. It leads to distrust of the democracies who have relations of trust with Arabs, which is all of the democracies who do not share his demeaning theory of Arab diplomacy, America and Europe in particular.

3) Bibi has tried to preempt America's walking away from the process, by broad hints that America would be to blame for any subsequent outbreak of violence. One of his ministers has already blamed

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American mediation for the impasse with the Palestinians, arguing that without American "adoption of the Palestinian" approach the Palestinians would have by now accepted whatever Israel's Government was willing to give. This is a brazen accusation that should not be allowed to stand, and the veiled threat of blaming America for violence is a dishonorable threat that should be condemned, not covered to.

4) Rather than uniting Jews behind him, Bibi has sown great confusion. Many feel the Administration has misstepped on process, though not on substance. Many supporters of the President have become more alienated than ever from AIPAC and its approach. Some look to Arik Sharon to save the day, hoping that somehow he can revive the pattern of direct Israeli-Palestinian bilateral agreements, but without full awareness of the positions of Sharon and without any awareness of where Palestinian flexibility has its limits. It is mostly a hope to change the subject.

5) Bibi has succeeded in reinforcing the view that there is no real Palestinian politics, only Arafat machinations. He has again succeeded in highlighting doubts about Palestinian long term intentions by (emphasising the Covenant, textbooks, and by spinning the Nakba (anniversary of the founding of Israel) demonstrations as evidence that the Palestinians are still trying to end the existence of Israel as such.

6) Doubts about Bibi abound in Israel but have yet to harden into politically relevant actions. Threats accumulate from right and left, but with no strong presumption that any will be carried out. Bibi has left the impression that he has weathered another storm, and that no storm is on the horizon that is strong enough to force his hand one way or the other. Third Way has written a letter, signed by four Knesset members, warning to Netanyahu that absent progress within a month it would depart the Government. Ten Government coalition Knesset members from a variety of coalition parties have signed a letter to Netanyahu that is tough and demanding.

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PART THREE: THE AMERICAN RESPONSE : 1) A POLICY SPEECH

- 1) There must be a defining event or public statement that fully activates the Israeli political system. Secretary Albright's brief press conference last week in London did so temporarily but Bibi deflected from substance to process in a highly effective way.
- 2) The focus must be that process has done all it can, it is now a time for decision about substance. There should be as a background a Secretary's somber detailed review of the history of diplomacy and anti-diplomacy since Hebron. The failures of both sides to build trusted channels, the insistence of both sides on actions and inactions that polarized and enraged, Palestinian security problems and the American ideas many answer to them must be emphasised.

- 3) The conclusion of a major policy speech should be as follows:

The best possible proposal that an American year of effort could produce is on the table, and awaits an affirmative answer. American judgment is that there is no better proposal that the sides are able to come up with, and no better ones that American mediation could come up with. Again and again America has been inviting the parties to submit better ideas that meet their needs and the minimal requirements of their partners. To no avail.

The parties must judge their own interests, and weigh the benefits of agreement against the costs of halting the peace process. It is their judgment alone that will decide. It is not America that will judge the decisions taken, but the history of the region and of their peoples, that is the judge. Their judgment will be in an acceleration toward a future of peace or in the menace of a reversion to a future of violence.

Let each party look at itself and look at its partner and decide. Shall we risk reengaging in peace with a distrusted partner, or shall we risk reengaging in violence with a distrusted partner? Which is the greater risk to us Israelis? What is the greater risk to us Palestinians? Shall we choose a path which could lead to accelerated final status talks in which we could discover whether there is a reasonable mutually acceptable path to peace? Or shall we choose a path which could lead to deterioration of hard fought gains in personal and national security and in personal and national economic hopes?

Do not look toward us as you weigh your decisions. This set of ideas was the best we in America could do in an atmosphere where trust between the leaders in the region

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had evaporated. We took as much as possible of Israeli ideas and shaped them to meet minimum Palestinian requirements. Sometimes the Palestinians felt it went below their minimum. We took some Palestinian aspirations and reshaped them for an Israeli Government committed to making its steps toward peace very modest and very cautious. We did so with little and ineffective communication between Israelis and Palestinians, and where the usual sources of help were not available. Understanding between Israel and other Arab leaders had become strained and devoid of basic confidence.

The Palestinian Authority has kept its word with us, affirming a set of ideas and staying with it, despite great internal strain and opposition from without and within. These ideas often upset them but they affirmed them, and with them their basic belief that Oslo was a historical breakthrough that cannot be set aside. We hope this is a dawning of a new maturity in Palestinian diplomacy and if it is it will be much appreciated in future endeavors for peace, and in future direct Israeli-Palestinian negotiations.

Israel's Prime Minister has wrestled with these ideas for several months, trying to fashion creative ways to go forward. We invite him and his Government, and the Israeli people, to decide upon these ideas promptly and favorably. We want these ideas to open a new chapter in the peace process, a chapter which could be written by Prime Minister Netanyahu together with his Palestinian counterparts, and which is the ultimate chapter of a Palestinian-Israeli peace effort. These ideas are on the table and will not be removed from the table. We believe an Israeli 'yes' will be not so much a 'yes' to America, as a 'yes' to the deep-seated Israeli desire for peace, a desire that unites Americans and Israelis.

There is no deadline. There is just the line separating the dead from the living, the line separating war from peace. All of us want all Israelis and all Palestinians on the side of life.

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Rahm Emanuel

From: Stephen P. Cohen

Subject: End of Game but not End of Match

Part Four: From Secret Diplomacy to United States Public Affirmation of Peace

Date: May 20, 1998

Here are some proposed elements for an American peace policy in the coming two months, starting with this week when the President returns to the Middle East battle and after Bibi has departed.

WHAT NOT TO DO

1. Do maintain the integrity of the positions and policy. No alternative approach to the Palestinian-Israeli solution should be presented publicly for several months. The position should be that there is a coherent, integrated and balanced set of ideas on the table and the United States awaits an Israeli affirmative response. Hold the Palestinians to their yes, and keep stating that the United States awaits the affirmative Israeli response. Bibi needs to change his answer. The US should keep asking the question.

2. There should be no more Dennis trips. No more Dennis trips, not even one. No, not just one more. There was a long period when every Dennis trip was a pressure for decision. Now every Dennis trip is a relief of pressure for decision, and a false encouragement to the Israeli people that things are moving, and soon it will be worked out. It is essential to be working policy on the understanding that more Israeli people support Bibi because they believe he is going to say 'yes' but is just a tough bargainer than Israelis who support Bibi because they believe he is going to say 'no' and risk a break with President Clinton.

What is to be done:

FROM SECRET DIPLOMACY TO UNITED STATES PUBLIC AFFIRMATION OF PEACE

Since the parties have not taken ownership of peace and the legacy of Sadat-Begin, Oslo, Rabin, and the Israel-Jordan Treaty, the United States must assert ownership and demonstrate that it is vital and is the only basis for a Middle East future. It must treat the end of the American attempt to privately cajole and convince the leadership of the parties not as an end of the peace process, but as a moment for its revitalization and reaffirmation by the people of the Middle East and of America and the world.

Israel has a popular song and the Likud, has recently appropriated it as special to them, "We have no other Country". The United States must say to the Israeli people and to the Arab peoples: We have no other peace process." So secret diplomacy now has to pause for the Israeli answer of 'yes' and in its place there must be a public campaign for peace, for the Israeli public, for the American public, and for the Arab world, with special attention to the Palestinian world..

1. COMMUNICATE TO THE ISRAELI PEOPLE:

a) The President should give an interview to Israeli Television (TV is the key to the Netanyahu constituency) saying how disappointed he is with the Israeli difficulty in saying "yes" to such a carefully prepared proposal. Yet he should be upbeat in saying how pleased he is that the issue of peace is so much the preoccupation again of the Israeli leadership. He should say how pleased he is that the

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American diplomacy has achieved a level of Palestinian compliance with security cooperation that was simply not possible without vigorous American involvement.

No threats, no anger. Just love and sorrow.

He should stress how there are important common interests that must be faced together, the really big future challenges that are being overlooked. Making this agreement is the key to a common front with friendly Arab states and Israel, guided by the United States to face down these threats.

He should say how important it is that Mr. Netanyahu has acknowledged again and again that Oslo must be honored, that there is no other way to peace but fulfillment of Oslo. We just hope that he will find the way to affirm Oslo with this Government. We know he wants to do it with this

Government. The President should stress how much he knows that the Israeli people want peace and deserve the security that comes with peace.

After Israeli TV there could be one to Palestinian TV if carefully prepared with the Palestinian leadership.

b) The President should initiate communication to the spiritual and cultural leadership of Israel, saying it his personal way of celebrating Israel's NEXT fifty years. One by one they should come to the White House for informal brief discussion. Rav Ovadyah Yosef would be the right choice of a spiritual leader; Amos Oz could be the right cultural personality; Amnon Shahak after he leaves the position of Chief of Staff; President Ezer Weizman; Miriam Ben Porat, Israel's outgoing Ombudsman and State Comptroller; Aharon Barak, Israel's Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.; Sephardic Chief Rabbi Bakshi Doron. One a month while we await the Israeli affirmation. Not the politicians, not until there is a politician who takes a courageous leadership role for peace. The message of such meetings: the Israeli people are important to us, they deserve peace, how can we help them reach for peace. Peace is compatible with internal harmony, necessary for it. It is the absence of peace that increases tensions.

2. COMMUNICATE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

Build the political center in America for peace and effective American diplomacy in the Middle East.

1) The Secretary of State and the Peace Team should speak to Congress, to many Jewish and other audiences about the intensive American efforts and build a constituency for these ideas and for the careful American approach.

2) Gather together the disparate elements who can make up a coalition in America to support peace and diplomatic activism in the future. Jews and Arab Americans, policy wonks and business interests, the few Senators and Congressmen who were not afraid to support the President in the last weeks.

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Make a commission or some such body or conclave. Not for big recommendations on policy, just for discussions of how to help the United States be most effective in building regional peace, how to get the American people behind this major American foreign policy effort for peace in this dangerous area of the world. Use the cultural events (see above), and evenings or lunches with Israeli and Arab visitors to build the group and expand it. Create a respect for the political center. Now it is marginalized by traditional advocacy groups. Give more time and attention to building a political center on middle east policy than to calm down the traditional one-note hard line groups.

3. COMMUNICATE TO THE PALESTINIANS AND BUILD A PARTNERSHIP FOR CHANGE WITH THEM

5. Help reconstruct the Palestinian image in America, and help bring about change in key Palestinian behavior while awaiting the Israeli answer.

When Arafat comes to meet President Clinton, and that should happen, let it be after very careful preparation of every aspect of his visit and scripting of his speeches, actions and appearance. Make it a significant bilateral visit.

~~Help them go forward on the Covenant removal for American consumption and in cooperation with the United States, unrelated to the implementation of the redeployment ideas. The centerpiece of the visit could be a call by Arafat for a meeting of the Palestinian National Council in America with a one item agenda, the Charter repeal consistent with the Arafat letter to Clinton! This would require careful agreement on whom Arafat would discourage from coming so that there was no visa/Congress explosion.~~

Create a joint US/Palestinian Commission for the Palestinian Future as a Free and Democratic People. Under this rubric start creating relations between PA officials and the various bodies of US Government to create the most "advanced, effective and participatory Arab self-government" in the region.

Start addressing the Hamas threat with the Gulf States and with Jordan more vigorously. This is a very dangerous situation: the political accommodation that Jordan and the Gulf want with Hamas could destroy all the work you have done to distance Arafat from Hamas. The address for working on this follows.

4. COMMUNICATE TO THE ARAB WORLD:

CONVENE THE United States-Arab States Peace SUMMIT

1) Start talking to Arab leaders. Tell them it is time for them to come forward with their vision of peace comprehensive inclusive interactive and secure. Preempt any negative Arab summit by inviting key Arab leaders to a meeting with the President as a trade-off for not going off the deep end: not undermining American Gulf policies and not building up Sheikh Yassin and Hamas, and perhaps

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providing a new injection of funds into the Palestinian Authority via some new mechanism which is more American controlled. Move Syria away from a policy of renewed undermining of stability in all its time honored ways.

2) Bring a group of Arab leaders together with President Clinton to declare that peace is still alive but awaits an Israeli decision for peace. Include Crown Prince Abdullah and President Assad, with the closer group of Mubarak, King Hassan II. (Assad will not meet with Hussein or Arafat.) Use it to calm Saudi games with Sheikh Yassin and to get them to reaffirm peace commitments. Use it to stroke Assad so that Syria not be afraid that the US will play Lebanon games against him, and to stop his tendency to play pro-Iraq and anti-King Hussein. This event should just be at the first week of September to just precede the UN General Assembly and trump the Khatami arrival at the UN is that is planned. The joint declaration should be minimalist reaffirming land for peace, 242-338, the importance of all tracks, including especially the Syrian/Lebanon tracks and the multilateral process, and support for American Middle East peace leadership including the ideas on the table.

Working towards this would itself be very positive even if it did not come off.

3) Be careful about the Lebanon initiative of Israel. Make it clear that it can only go forward with Syrian cooperation not as an anti-Syrian initiative. Do not lurch toward Syria and allow Bibi to escape the Palestinian decision, except by the clearest statement to the United States of accepting the withdrawal from the Golan as coming right after the withdrawal from South Lebanon.

M E M O R A N D U M

To: Rahm Emanuel

From: Stephen P. Cohen

Subject: Four Questions for the post-Passover End Game

Date: April 14, 1998

1. Is there a Bibi yes out there worth waiting for?

a) Prime Minister Netanyahu will only say yes to the unrevised American proposal, if at all, ~~after it has been out there formally, has been endorsed by the President, has been formally accepted by the Palestinians, and has been sustained as an official document for at least a month.~~

b) If Bibi were to make a written proposal to the President: with about 12% territory with a definite map, with non-conditional redeployment, with no abrogation of the third redeployment, and with acceptance of the United States as judge of Palestinian and Israeli compliance that would be worth waiting for. If there are broad conditionalities and insistence on Israel as judge of compliance, it is not worth the damage to credibility to move from the American proposal as it is,

c) If Bibi were to make such a written proposal, the President should insist that Bibi make it also directly to the Palestinians; and Arafat should be invited to discuss it with President Clinton personally.

d) Netanyahu has his own deadline: the AIPAC Policy Conference in Washington on May 13. He cherishes showing up the President in his own capital with obedient Jews and pandering Congressmen, all applauding his outmaneuvering the President. Bibi bluster and manic self-confidence has been rewired up by Senator Lieberman and by the missing person act of Ehud Barak. May 12 must be an American deadline.

2. Can the Palestinians hold to their yes if there are changes?

a) The Palestinians are in the midst of a difficult struggle with Hamas and are afraid that Bibi is building an offer which is designed to force them to say no. They can hold on to the present yes, as long as they are sure it will stay as yes to the proposal they know. They *can* be talked to about any changes, if at all, only by a laying on of hands with the President and his National Security Advisor. Such a proposal for any changes without such highest level contact would instinctively be rejected. Egypt and Hamas, each for different reasons, will curse the Palestinians for accepting changes.

b) The Palestinians are heading for another dangerous conspiracy theory, if in the midst of this struggle with Hamas, they are publicly embarrassed by the United States, while the Saudis are taking such care with Sheikh Yassin and while the Lebanon proposal is hanging in the air. Sandy Berger should

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find the reason to talk to Abu Mazen or still better Arafat himself to calm jittery nerves and slow down the conspiracy factory.

3. What is the end game of this process?

An agreement about redeployment is only a part of the end game and not, right now, the most important part of it. It is good to negotiate to see how far Netanyahu will move. It is great to get an agreement if it falls within the parameters indicated, but it is not at this time the essential. Netanyahu has pointed out that the logic of step by step has exhausted itself, because the trust between the parties has disappeared. This end of trust in Arafat is for Netanyahu a fundamental tenet about negotiating with the Arabs, not a result of a lapse in Palestinian performance.

a) The essential is to spell out and reassert the logic of peace for Arabs and Israelis; and to reshape that assertion by placing at the center *American middle east imperatives for peace and the consequences of ignoring those imperatives*.

b) The Secretary of State must lay out the facts of the proposal, its development, its acceptance and its rejection.

c) The President must lay out the principles of American engagement with peace, with Israel, and with its security. Only the President personally has the unrivaled credibility with Israelis and with Americans to speak with sadness and resolve about the strategic and moral significance of peace and the tragedy of squandering the opportunity for it. There is no substitute for the President's own voice, not necessarily in a formal speech.

4. What defines American and Clinton success in the Middle East at this time?

The prodigious effort of the last year demonstrates that neither for Israel nor for the Palestinians, nor for the Arabs, are interim arrangements the success they once were, even if they could be achieved. Success defined by specific agreements is not possible without prior reassertion of American primacy in the region. Success of this round of diplomacy must be defined in terms of American relations with the region, not regional cooperation and mutual confidence. There must be an acceptance by the key leaders of the need for America to help define the parameters for agreement.

What everyone needs is a sharp assertion of the terms of engagement and the basic truths about peace. In the pursuit of the details of agreements, we have lost sight of the axioms of the peace process, which were so obvious to all after the intifada, the fall of communism, and the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The following are the three critical points for President Clinton to take the high road and assert American leadership:

1. There will be no peace without Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories, land for peace. There will be no withdrawal, without the Israeli will to withdraw, and the Israeli decision to accept the

Rahm Emanuel
Page 3
April 14, 1998

Palestinians as a nation among Middle East nations. No one can impose that. No one should try to impose that. Israel needs to know that only it can make this decision. Israel needs to know that it can make that decision, because its partners are ready.

Israelis must have no illusion however: in their present path there will be no peace. The Arabs may be weak militarily but they will not accept a dictate.

2. Israeli security is the highest responsibility of Israel, and the unshakeable commitment of the United States. It has to be an unchallenged principle of the Palestinians and Syrians and other Arabs. But Israel must not manipulate the meaning of security to protect ideological positions and territorial claims.

The United States will not second guess the details of Israeli security. But Israel will never achieve security if it does not distinguish between demanding, rigorous, but realistic security arrangements, and making apocalyptic assertions about the essential destructiveness of Arab and Palestinian nationalism.

3. Israel and the Arabs must not simplify the security equation. American ability to remain the respected guarantor of Israeli security depends on its leadership in the region being recognized by Arab and Israeli alike. This requires peace process success. United States strategic leadership against terrorism, and against weapons of mass destruction; American insistence on a region in which Israel is a full partner in peace; American commitment that Israel be first in the technology of defense in the region: these are the cornerstones of Israeli security in the coming decades, and the necessities of peace for Arab and Israeli alike.

When Israel chooses peace, when the Arabs choose peace, the United States will be very vigorous and effective in brokering that peace. As in Ireland we have time, skill, and great energy for genuine peace making. Until that time, the United States will stand behind its present proposal as the best way to advance toward peace. We will continue to urge the people of Israel to say yes to peace and the Palestinian people to continue to choose that yes to peace.

5/22/98

Original being
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Ofc

5-22-98

2388

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

98 MAY 12 PM 4:23

May 12, 1998

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SAMUEL BERGER (K) Fr
LARRY STEIN JS

SUBJECT:

Response to Letter from Senator Moynihan on
Responding to Genocide

Purpose

To respond to Senator Moynihan.

Background

Senator Moynihan has written in support of your remarks in Rwanda, in which you committed to enhancing Administration efforts to identify and act on information suggesting the threat of genocidal violence. He also enclosed a copy of a 1992 memorandum he sent to you following a trip he took to Bosnia. Among other issues, the memorandum address questions of ethnicity that bear upon the themes of your Rwanda address.

Your response thanks Senator Moynihan for his support and agrees that early warning is an essential ingredient in preventing genocide, but also notes that it is only one of several necessary tools. The response goes on to describe other important efforts, including those reflected in the Entebbe Joint Communique.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the attached letter at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter for Signature

Tab B Incoming Correspondence

Bail to Sandy B
before send →

Sandy

He on talk

probably OK to send
~~and of this~~ letter by AS
then set up meeting with
2-4 other Cong, perhaps
a few more experts →

Ba

copied
Berger
Stein
NSC WW Desk
COS
Malley (1st
3 pages)

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Pat:

Thank you for your letter concerning my remarks in Rwanda regarding genocide. I also appreciated your providing me with another copy of your insightful trip report on the Balkans. While we have made great strides toward forging peace in that region, your report highlights the importance of continued vigilance in pursuit of both reconciliation and justice.

As always, you have raised in your letter thought-provoking questions that require serious attention. I believe we are developing a range of effective responses to the challenges posed by ethnic conflict and its aftermath -- responses that emphasize political reconciliation while accommodating the need for justice in post-conflict societies, and which recognize the importance of short-term reconstruction to bridge the gap between relief and long-term development.

All too often, however, these efforts come only after ethnic conflict that causes great suffering, and we are determined to do more to prevent the kind of mass killings that took place in Bosnia and Rwanda over the past several years. As I indicated in my remarks in Rwanda, early warning is a critical tool, but just as important is our ability to act quickly and effectively on information we receive. The earlier we are prepared to act through concerted diplomatic efforts, the less likely it is that we will be confronted with the stark choice between unilateral U.S. military intervention or inaction.

In this respect, the Entebbe Summit Joint Communique represents a step forward. At the Summit, where I joined five regional heads of state to consider pressing issues in Central and Eastern Africa, governments agreed to deny extremist networks the use of their territory, postal services, airports, financial institutions, passports, road networks and communications systems. If successfully enforced, this concerted action could substantially weaken the remnants of those extremist groups

responsible for the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, and diminish the likelihood of a resurgent genocide.

Again, thank you for your support on these issues. As we work through the many questions they present, I hope you will continue to provide me the benefit of your insights.

Sincerely,



PS

We should discuss
this more - will
be in touch

The Honorable Daniel Patrick Moynihan
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

Daniel Patrick Moynihan
New York

United States Senate
Washington, D. C.

March 31, 1998

Dear Mr. President:

I read with great interest the text of your address in Rwanda in which you announced that you were directing the administration "to improve ... our system for identifying and spotlighting nations in danger of genocidal violence...."

You may just recall our conversation during the transition in 1992 when I told you I would be making my way to Sarajevo. You asked for a report, which I sent from Zagreb on November 28th. I don't believe it ever got to you in Little Rock and I can't imagine you would have the time to read it now, but there are two relevant passages. First:

* { 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.

And, second:

{ 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.

APR My point, simply, is to encourage you in your initiative. In my experience, our assorted bureaucracies have little interest in ethnicity and need to be prodded.

Respectfully,



The President
 The White House
 Washington, DC 20500

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COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-6200

LAWRENCE O'DONNELL, JR., STAFF DIRECTOR
EDMUND J. MIALSKI, MINORITY CHIEF OF STAFF

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 charge 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 Croatians, Orthodox christians to talk to Serbians, 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 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 Croatians 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.

Shelves of Snooping Aids Make Privacy Hard to Buy

By VIVIANNE WALT

A MAN stepped through the door of a spy store in West Hollywood and muttered that his company, a "major movie studio," was tapping his telephone. He needed a device to examine the phone, hunt down the tap and shut the thing off.

That might sound like a reasonably worried customer. But telephone tapping is bigger than ever — both the illegal kind and the legal kind. Court-authorized government wiretaps reached a record two million private conversations last year, according to Justice Department figures released this month.

Americans might express outrage that Linda Tripp taped phone calls from her



Anyone wondering if a phone is tapped can buy this \$500 device to check.

friend, Monica Lewinsky, the White House intern. But Ms. Tripp, it seems, has plenty of company. More than ever, Americans seem to relish listening in on other people's conversations and taping their own, electronics analysts and people who sell electronic devices say.

For do-it-yourself spies, the easiest surveillance — taping your own calls — is now so simple and cheap that there hardly seems to be a reason not to own the technology. Many new telephone answering machines have a button that, when pushed, will begin taping conversations without informing the other party. That is illegal in only about a dozen states; New York is not among them, although Maryland, where Ms. Tripp taped Ms. Lewinsky, is.

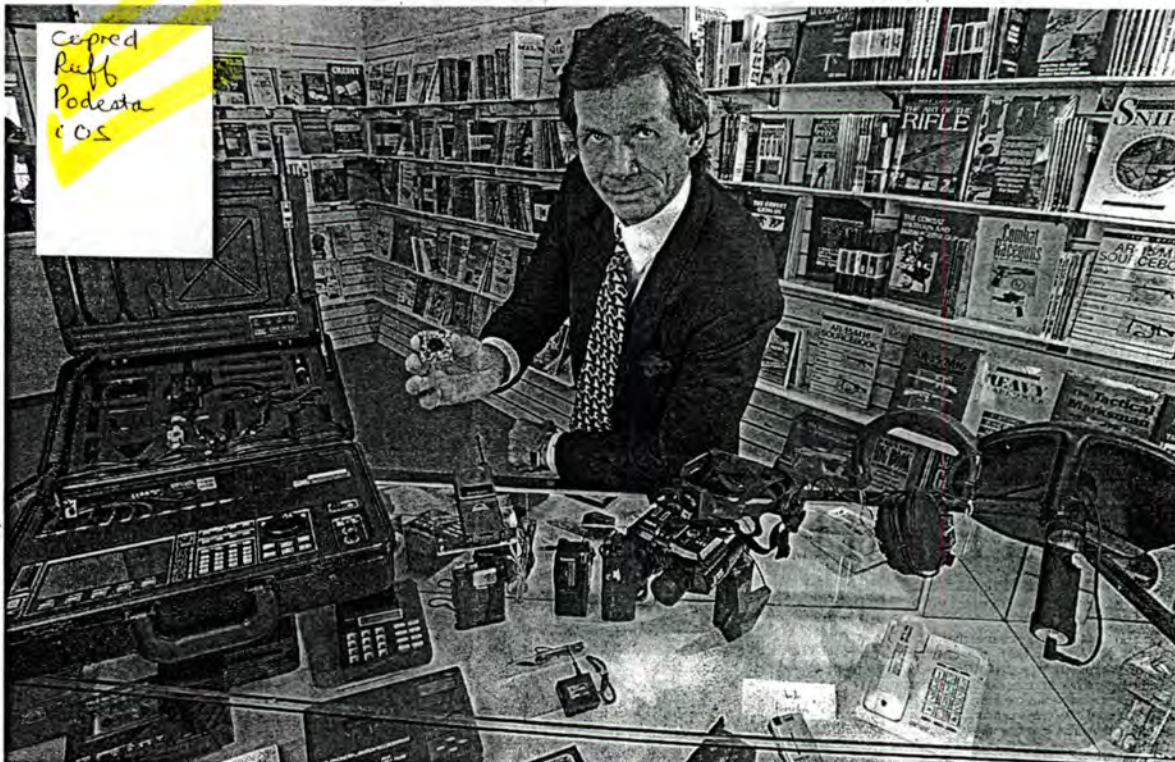
Several recording jacks on the market plug into a tape recorder on one end and a telephone on the other, allowing the user to put the tape on pause during irrelevant parts and so save various literary agents and reporters from slogging through hours of worthless chitchat later on.

"I'm not sure what people are doing with these, but they're very popular," said a sales assistant at a Los Angeles branch of Radio Shack, whose catalogue offers three such jacks, ranging from \$19.99 to \$34.99.

At the West Hollywood spy store, Spy Tech Agency, on Sunset Boulevard, engineers have modified regular voice-activated recorders so they can tape four hours on each side, which allows someone to tap a phone without having to baby-sit the action continually. With one of these, the owner can splice a connecting line into one part of the telephone wire — which is called tapping into the line — and then hide the recorder in some other part of the house.

Last year, said the Spy Tech Agency's owner, John Dresden, the device may have saved the life of a Spy Tech client, a suspicious husband who taped his wife's calls only to discover that she and her lover were plotting his murder. His wife found the recorder and smashed it, Mr. Dresden said, but the husband returned to buy another one and then handed the tapes to the police.

More recently, Mr. Dresden installed one of these recorders for a woman who wanted to record the calls of her teen-age son, whom she suspected of using drugs. The tapes exceeded her worst fears, Mr. Dresden said. "She couldn't believe the stuff he was doing," he said.



EARS TO HEAR A surveillance kit costing \$19,500, at left, is sold at stores like the Spy Tech Agency in West Hollywood. The owner, John Dresden, held a pinhole video camera.

With all this gadgetry, anybody might be tempted to try tapping a phone. But beware: all states ban unauthorized third-party wiretaps, even though some judges have ruled that parents can record their children's calls because they pay the phone bills.

Despite the laws, private investigators say they are being bombarded with clients' requests for illegal wiretaps. "When I had an ad in the yellow pages, I'd get a few requests every week," said Tom Grant, a longtime private detective in Los Angeles. By far the easiest method of telephone tapping, he said, is bribing a technician.

Telephone deregulation has increased the number of telephone companies, and it has also changed the design of telephone boxes outside buildings, which connect the inside lines to the street. Since telephone companies no longer have sole authority over the inside wires, new boxes are designed with simple, modular jacks so an electrician can add a line. That means that a snoop with minimal technical know-how can plug a recording jack into the box without ever entering the house.

Still, new digital telephone systems are far more difficult to tap than the older, analog lines — so much so that the Federal Bureau of Investigation won an agreement from the telephone industry to institute some changes in the system to make surveillance easier. Under the deal, companies agreed to give government agents the ability to track cellular-phone users. But the F.B.I. is arguing for greater access to digital networks, including, among other things, the ability to monitor conference calls even after the agent's target has hung up.

Cordless and cellular phones can invite



Do-it-yourself spy gadgets include a night-vision scope that costs \$645.

eavesdropping. Speaker Newt Gingrich was overheard in December 1996 by a Florida man and woman who were using a simple radio scanner in their car; they eavesdropped on a conference call with Republican leaders, hatching their response to ethics charges against him. At least one of the participants chose to talk on a cellular phone — proving, perhaps, that many Americans are not aware of how leaky wireless telephones can be.

It is also true that the recorded phone call has become commonplace in some areas. Call a customer-service line, and a recording lets you know you are being taped. Answer a telemarketing call, and that call is probably being taped.

"There's an acceptance that there are fewer opportunities for candid conversation," said Robert Ellis Smith, editor of The Privacy Journal, a newsletter based in Providence, R.I.

Government wiretapping is on the rise,

too. A total of 1,186 requests were approved by Federal and state judges in 1997, which was an increase of 3 percent from the number in 1996, according to the Justice Department wiretapping report issued this month. As in the past, most of the requests, nearly three-quarters, were for drug investigations; the largest number were issued in New York, which had 304; in New Jersey, with 70, and Florida, with 57.

But for those who care about keeping their conversations private, there are a few simple rules. First and foremost, stay off cordless and cellular telephones: they act as radio transmitters. If you need a cordless telephone, buy an expensive, digital version. Vtech makes telephones that include a digital scrambling system. Use digital, rather than analog, cellular phones for more private conversations. Another rule to remember is that even if your phone is secure, your conversation partner's may not be.

For sensitive calls to a specific person, two voice-scrambling devices are available to attach to both handsets. They will scramble the transmission and unscramble it on the other end. Spy Tech sells them for \$300 each (www.spytechagency.com).

While scrambling devices can render wiretaps useless, some tap detectors on the market will alert you if someone's listening. Most of them work on finding radio signals transmitted over the line, a signal that there is a wiretap at work. But in large offices, finding a bug or phone tap needs far more complicated methods than anything you can buy from a catalogue.

"It isn't that simple, like in the movies, unfortunately," Mr. Dresden, of the Spy Tech Agency, told the studio employee who came looking for a wiretap detector for his

office telephone.

"We'd have to come in and sweep the whole place — it'll cost you around 50 grand," said Mr. Dresden, leaning against a cabinet of tiny transmitters in his blue jeans and cowboy boots. In an era when people are seeing alluring little gadgets for James Bond and Dick Tracy-type wristwatch computers, it was disappointing news. The man left empty-handed.

In the final analysis, many people seem not to care a great deal about whether their calls are being tapped. The news this month that the government was listening in on a record number of calls barely made a flutter in the news.

"Technology's already diminished our privacy a lot," said David Wagner, a computer-science graduate student at the University of California at Berkeley who helped crack the GSM encryption technology used in 80 million cellular phones a few weeks ago. "Two hundred years ago, if you wanted a private conversation, you went out into the middle of the woods."

Mr. Dresden cannot provide the woods. But in recent years, he has helped several financial companies come close to that experience by designing safe rooms for them where deals can be made without fear of economic espionage. One room in a downtown Los Angeles building, Mr. Dresden said, has vibrating noise generators built into the walls — about \$30,000 worth of electronic equipment alone.

For the studio employee who wandered into his store, however, Mr. Dresden offered his best advice for anyone needing privacy: "Don't use the phone."

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-21-98

Councilman Noach Dear

4424 16th Avenue
Brooklyn, New York 11204
Telephone (718) 633-9400 • Facsimile (718) 633-9403

CLVP
Don't miss

May 14, 1998

Betty Currie
Secretary to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20502

Dear Betty,

My thoughts are always with you and I just wanted you to know that I'm keeping you in my prayers. I am certain that things will go very well for you.

I'm enclosing an article that I would like you to pass on to the President. I know that he will get a kick out of reading it. Thanks.

Sincerely,

Noach
Noach Dear

Enclosure

DAN BURKHARDT

please coordinate the
reply.

copied
VP
COS

Dear's Clinton connection

Councilman tries to parlay link into congressional seat

By **JOEL SIEGEL**

Daily News Senior Political Correspondent

With connections, cash and plain old chutzpah, conservative Councilman Noach Dear has built an improbable friendship with President Clinton and transformed himself into one of the Democratic Party's top fund-raisers.

Now the Brooklyn Democrat is trying to parlay his successes into a seat in Congress and complete an audacious ascent up the political ladder.

Dear has more money in his campaign account, \$793,000, than any other nonincumbent House candidate this year, according to the Washington-based Center for Responsive Politics, a nonpartisan research group.

He expects to collect a staggering \$2 million to \$2.5 million by the Sept. 15 primary, a four-way struggle for the seat being vacated by Senate candidate Charles Schumer (D-Brooklyn).

One morning, sifting through photos of himself with Clinton and Vice President Gore, Dear chirps, "I have a relationship with them."

He flips to a picture of himself standing between Clinton and another ally, Republican Mayor Giuliani ("To Noach, You're bridging a gap here!" Clinton wrote over it.) Then the phone rings.

It's David Bar-Ilan, a top aide to Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. A minute later, Deputy Mayor Randy Mastro is on the line. Seconds after that, Harlem Rep. Charles Rangel returns a call.

"Right after my primary, you're No. 1!" Dear tells Rangel, his voice approaching the verbal speed limit. "What I did for myself [raising money], I got to do for you. Because you're a good

(Dear would outlaw them) and taxpayer vouchers for religious schools (Dear supports them).

"Only God knows and understands it," says Dear. "I just hit it off with him."

White House aides say Clinton has a real affection for the councilman, but Dear's fund-raising has something to do with his status.

In 1994, with Clinton's popularity sagging, he presented himself as someone who could help. Dear was rebounding from his own troubles.

There was the high-profile bankruptcy of a kosher restaurant he opened in the 1980s, and his 1993 agreement with the state attorney general to repay \$37,262 to a private foundation that paid for expenses like telephones in his home and trips abroad by his wife and two daughters.

He collected contributions from Orthodox businessmen, until then an untapped resource for Democrats. He says he raised \$2 million for the 1996 Clinton-Gore campaign and for the national party.

Clinton-Gore campaign finance chairman Terry McAuliffe said Dear is among his Top 10 fund-raisers.

Now Dear expects help from national Democrats in return, partly by allowing him to tap into Clinton's contributors.

Dear has raised more money than the combined total of his Democratic opponents, Queens Assemblywoman Melinda Katz, and Assemblyman Daniel Feldman and Councilman Anthony Weiner, both of Brooklyn.

"Someone with a record as disgraceful as his will be repudiated by the voters no matter how much he spends," Weiner says.

Dear dismisses such talk as the inevitable attack on a front-runner.

With **Kathy Kiely**

Who's got the money

Noach Dear tops the list of five nonincumbents running for House seats this year with the most money in their campaign accounts as of March 31:

	CASH ON HAND	CASH RAISED
Noach Dear	\$793,662	\$900,227

The other Democrats battling to succeed Rep. Charles Schumer in the 9th District and a rationale for how each could win:

Assemblywoman Melinda Katz	Councilman Anthony Weiner	Assemblyman Daniel Feldman
Amount Raised: \$238,000 ■ The only woman in race and the only Queens candidate.	Amount Raised: \$183,000 ■ Has most constituents voting in the Democratic primary.	Amount raised: \$238,000 ■ He's been a public official longer than the other candidates.

guy. I love you!"

Dear, 44, an Orthodox Jew who wears a yarmulke, played klezmer (folk) music at weddings and bar mitzvahs when he began dabbling in politics. He entered the City Council in 1982 and earned a reputation as one of its colorful, and excitable, members, protesting Calvin Klein jeans ads on buses as "kiddie porn" and nearly coming to blows in a debate over the Crown Heights riots.

Even Dear is somewhat at a loss to explain his sudden status as a Friend of Bill.

Dear says it was "cemented" when he gave Clinton a consoling passage from the Talmud amid the darkest days of the Whitewater investigation. Clinton then quoted the passage at a national prayer breakfast. The two now talk every few weeks, Dear says.

Dear, however, breaks with Clinton on at least two issues — late-term abortions



5-22-98

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 20, 1998

98 MAY 20 4:50

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: Sylvia Mathews
Assistant to the President and Deputy Chief of Staff

FROM: Thurgood Marshall, Jr. T.M.
Assistant to the President and Cabinet Secretary

Kris M. Balderston 
Deputy Assistant to the President and Deputy Cabinet Secretary

SUBJECT: Fires in Mexico and Central America

copied
Marshall
Balderston
Mathews
COS

In recent weeks, forest fires have burned over one million acres of land in Mexico (the size of Rhode Island) and Central America, severely affecting visibility and air quality in Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, and Costa Rica. The worst drought conditions in 70 years, exacerbated by El Niño, have aggravated slash and burn agricultural practices in Mexico and the countries of Central America, leaving thousands of fires burning out of control. More than 50 Mexican firefighters have died and the smoke has limited airport operations in impacted areas. The smoke has been moving into the southern United States over the last several weeks and has necessitated a health advisory in the State of Texas. The extent of the fires and the weather outlook mean we may face this problem for several weeks.

The U.S. Agency for International Development's Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance (OFDA) is the focal point for the coordination of all U.S. Government assistance in response to the fires in Central America. USAID has established an operations center to monitor the situation and coordinate a response. USAID will make available up to \$10 million in response to immediate, fire-related needs in Mexico and Central America. So far, the following actions have been funded by USAID:

- Financial assistance to support the operations of a specialized firefighting, heavy-lift helicopter which arrived in Zantepec firefighting base and the prepositioning of air support capacity, including four Air Crane helicopters to combat active fires.
- Deployment of firefighting and safety equipment for up to 3,000 Mexican firefighters through the US Forest Service (USFS), and the provision of

communications equipment to support operations of firefighting teams in the field. The assets will arrive in Mexico City for onward transport to affected areas by May 22.

- Prepositioning of a U.S. Forest Service team of fire suppression experts. The 20-person team will travel to Mexico pending clearance from the Mexican government.
- Fire suppression training will continue to be provided to local and national fire management personnel in Mexico, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras and El Salvador. USAID is prepared to fund enhanced training programs to build on the positive impacts of more immediate disaster response activities.

The fires have produced significant air pollution (soot) which has drifted over Texas. EPA offered assistance to the State of Texas in monitoring air quality to ensure that the public's health is adequately protected. Haze has also been reported in Arkansas, Missouri, Oklahoma, Louisiana, New Mexico, Georgia, and Florida.

EPA installed five new fine particulate air monitors which began collecting samples on May 16. Monitors were deployed in San Antonio, Dallas, Galveston, Brownsville, Houston, Austin, and Corpus Christi. Initial data from these monitors found that levels of small particulates should not create a high health risk for most of the general population over a short period of time. However, concentrations at or above these levels over many days may exceed the safe limit set for an average exposure over a year. Sensitive sub-populations-- including children, the elderly, and persons suffering from respiratory ailments-- have been advised to exercise caution. The State of Texas has been in daily contact with FEMA, HHS, the National Weather Service, CDC, DOT, and USDA.

Local National Weather Service field offices, in partnership with the Texas Natural Resource Conservation Commission (TNRCC), are issuing daily messages containing TNRCC's health alert message and a meteorologic outlook. The National Weather Service reports that the winds have shifted to the West/Southwest across the Pacific Ocean diverting the haze from the US. Visibility has improved in Texas from 2-3 miles to 7 miles. NWS notes that this will last until early next week when the smoke may drift north over Texas again. The long term weather forecast (2 weeks) includes rain in Texas. In Mexico, the rains that usually put out the fires that are started by the farmers are not expected until late June. However, some light precipitation is expected in southern Mexico next week.

The Office of Cabinet Affairs continues to hold a daily conference calls with affected agencies and USAID Administrator J. Brian Atwood is chairing daily interagency meetings to discuss the situation.

TOM LANTOS
CALIFORNIAWASHINGTON OFFICE:
2217 RAYBURN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3531DISTRICT OFFICE:
400 EL CAMINO REAL
SUITE 820
SAN MATEO, CA 94402
(650) 342-0300
IN SAN FRANCISCO:
(415) 588-5257**Congress of the United States**
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515**INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE**Ranking Member,
Subcommittee on International Operations
and Human Rights
Subcommittee on International Economic Policy
and Trade**GOVERNMENT REFORM AND OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE**Subcommittee on Human Resources
Subcommittee on National Security,
International Affairs, and Criminal JusticeCochairmen, Permanent United States
Congressional Delegation to the
European ParliamentMember, United States
Congressional Delegation to the
North Atlantic AssemblyCochairmen, Congressional
Human Rights Caucus

May 20, 1998

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500
Fax: 202-456-6703

Dear Mr. President,

The following letter to me from the former President of B'nai Brith International and my response
are enclosed for your information.

Best personal regards,

TOM LANTOS
Member of Congress

5-22-98

Send to Bunkhardt?

Yes _____

No ☒ _____To NSC for C.
reply.

Jack J. Spitzer

9725 S.E. 36th, Suite 304

Mercer Island, WA 98040-3840

Phone: (206) 232-3510

Fax: (206) 232-9879

E-mail: jjs@covenantmortgage.com

FACSIMILE TRANSMISSION

May 08, 1998

The Honorable Tom Lantos

Fax No.:

Dear Tom:

Recently 81 Senators signed the "Mack Lieberman" letter urging continued involvement of the United States in the Israeli-Palestinean peace process which signatures reflected a wonderful support of Israel. We thank all of the 81 for this continued interest and support.

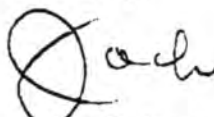
Unfortunately, however, that letter also urged that the administration's participators reflect a sterile position making no positive proposals to bring the parties together.

The President and the Secretary of State cannot be effective unless they present proposals. I would urge that you advise the President of your own feelings that the President's proposals and our government's proposals to achieve peace are the things truly desired by his constituency and that you, as a leader in the Congress, feel strongly that this be supported. And please express this opinion on the floor of the House.

My dear friend, won't you please advise me of the steps taken in this matter and the reaction of the President.

With warmest personal regards and best wishes, I remain

Sincerely,



Jack J. Spitzer

Phone: (206) 232-3510

JJS:er

TOM LANTOS
CALIFORNIA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
2217 RAYBURN BUILDING
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20515
(202) 225-3531

DISTRICT OFFICE:
400 EL CAMINO REAL
SUITE 820
SAN MATEO, CA 94402
(650) 342-0300
IN SAN FRANCISCO:
(415) 966-5257



Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE

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European Parliament

Member, United States
Congressional Delegation to the
North Atlantic Assembly

Cochairmen, Congressional
Human Rights Caucus

May 20, 1998

Mr. Jack J. Spitzer
9725 S.E 36th, Suite 304
Mercer Island, WA 98040-3840
Fax: 206-232-9879

Dear Jack,

You and I have fought many battles through the decades for the safety and security of Israel. As the only survivor of the Holocaust ever elected to the United States Congress, you know the intensity of my feelings on this issue.

It is my considered judgement that no administration since the birth of Israel has been as committed to Israel's security and welfare, both intellectually and emotionally, as is this administration. I make this statement with great enthusiasm and no reservations of any kind. I believe this to be true of President Clinton, Vice President Gore, Secretary of State Albright, National Security Advisor Sandy Berger, and their key associates.

I do not expect any administration in the future to be as strongly supportive of Israel as the current one, and I am afraid that this will be true not just for my lifetime, but that of my grandchildren as well. I have carried this message to many parts of the country, and I have shared these views with friends like you all over the United States.

I know that you are as appreciative of this administration's attitudes as I am.

With warmest personal regards,

Cordially,

Tom

TOM LANTOS
Member of Congress