



United Steelworkers of America

AFL-CIO/CLC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-13-99

Five Gateway Center
Pittsburgh, PA 15222

(412) 562-2300 • FAX (412) 562-2598

'99 JAN 12 AM 9:42

George Becker
International President

January 8, 1999

The Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of the United States
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

For 15 months now the Steelworkers Union has been in the crisis which has now engulfed America following the first of the currency collapses in events that, if left unchecked, would follow: the collapse, decline in their domestic demand and the application of the "medicine," a flood of imports into America of key manufactured products — particularly steel.

We need
Government
longer action
that could not
solve.

Event
October of last
bipartisan summit

Now, in
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1-13-99

Send to Burkhardt

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Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

For 15 months now the Steelworkers Union has been speaking out about the crisis which has now engulfed America's steel industry. Immediately following the first of the currency collapses in Asia, we pointed to the series of events that, if left unchecked, would follow: these countries would face economic collapse, decline in their domestic demand and with the application of the IMF's "medicine," a flood of imports into America of key manufactured products — particularly steel.

We pointed out that none of this was inevitable, that prompt and decisive Government action could easily avert this crisis. In fact, as we made clear, the longer action was delayed, the more damage would be done, much of it damage that could never be repaired, and the more difficult the problem would be to solve.

Eventually our voice was joined by America's steel companies and in October of last year by the United States Congress in the form of unprecedented bipartisan support for strong action.

Now, after all this time, we have received the Administration's response in the form of a report entitled "A Comprehensive Plan For Responding to the Increase in Steel Imports." Unfortunately, this Plan is neither comprehensive nor terribly responsive.

Reduced to its essence, the report after acknowledging the correctness of almost every aspect of our analyses, that there is a crisis, where it came from and who the current worst offenders are, refuses to propose anything approaching the strong affirmative steps now needed to address it.

While we note the stated willingness of Japan to reduce their level of imports and the apparent willingness of the Administration to hold them to that commitment, we are deeply concerned with the lack of an overall program to deal with this crisis.

All key steel producing countries must immediately commit to fully reduce all of their steel imports to pre-crisis levels (July of 1997) and the Administration must hold all of them to this commitment. Without such a comprehensive approach; steel will be shifted among products and countries, thus nullifying the value of any relief.

We would be prepared to work with the Administration if they would adopt such an approach, however, we now have no choice but to work with our supporters in Congress, of which there are many, to pass into law the absolutely vital relief which the Administration is apparently unwilling to provide – legally binding quantitative restraints which reduce steel imports to their pre-crisis levels.

These quotas would not ban all steel imports, nor do they need to last forever – just long enough to let the various trade cases work their way through the legal process. But when you are bleeding to death, the first thing you must do is stop the bleeding then you deal with the wound. Make no mistake about it – the Steel Industry is bleeding to death and the Steelworkers Union will do whatever it takes to stop it.

How will \$300 million in tax breaks, spread over five years, stop the flood of imports?

What will \$300 million in tax breaks do for Steelworkers' families whose dreams of a decent life are being crushed under the weight of foreign steel, or for those communities which will be devastated as these mills go down?

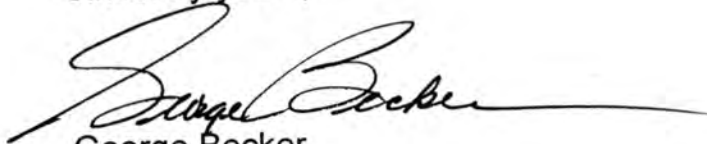
We do not need tax breaks for the steel industry, nor do we need a pat on the head and a special pass to move us to the front of the unemployment line.

President William Jefferson Clinton
Page 3
January 8, 1999

What we need is for this Administration to stand up and say, without hesitation or doubt, that America will not sit idly by while foreign nations and corporations destroy one of our basic industries, an Administration that will stand up and say enough is enough – Steelworkers have suffered enough, they have worked hard and played by the rules, and they have earned a right to a decent living and a decent life.

We need this Administration to STAND UP FOR STEEL, TO STAND UP FOR AMERICA.

Sincerely yours,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "George Becker", with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

George Becker
International President

Before the Trial, Ask the Pivotal Question

By Jack Rakove

A critical question has gone strangely neglected amid our preoccupation with the procedures for conducting an impeachment trial and repeated allusions to the "somber" and "solemn" character of it all. When and how will the Senate consider whether the offenses alleged against President Clinton amount to "high crimes and misdemeanors" — a question that the President's lawyers yesterday rightly reminded the Senate it should ponder?

Will that body ever examine this question in its own right, something it cannot easily do once the trial formally begins, since the rules silence senators until the final deliberation? Will the issue be left to the President's lawyers pursue, though some senators have already discouraged them from doing so? Or will senators act silently on this question, when they vote either on an anticipated motion to dismiss after the initial round of presentations or, much later if witnesses are called, to convict or acquit?

The troubling ambiguities that have dogged this impeachment cannot be resolved if the Senate considers only the veracity of the charges made about the President's misdeeds and misbehavior. That risks legitimizing the shaky theory of impeachment under which the House majority acted: that misrepresentations tied to a civil suit (itself of doubtful legal merit) involving an incident of private be-

havior occurring well before Mr. Clinton took office amount to high crimes and misdemeanors.

The argument could be made, of course, that the Senate should proceed directly to trial because doing otherwise would impugn the motives of the lower House, which the Republican majority is clearly loath to do. Moreover, justice, from the President's viewpoint, might simply mean allowing him to be defended on the facts, which he has repeatedly indicated will vindicate his claims of innocence. No less an authority than Benjamin Franklin viewed a Senate trial in just this way: as a means of giving the President "an honorable acquittal when he should be unjustly accused."

All of this seems consistent with the idea that "duty to the Constitution" and "the rule of law" require that the Senate proceed to trial, with or without witnesses. Yet a higher notion of constitutional duty should urge the Senate to consider the standard of impeachment separately, *before* it proceeds to the delicate matter of witnesses.

With all due respect to Representative Henry Hyde, the true issue has never been whether the President is above the rule of law, for Kenneth Starr can always indict Mr. Clinton when he leaves office. It is, rather, whether impeachment is appropriate for the offenses alleged. The Senate is perfectly entitled to consider this question from the outset, and not simply as a matter of conscience when each member votes to convict or acquit.

Senators do not sit simply as jurors; they are, in reality, the judges, over whom Chief Justice William Rehnquist will only nominally preside. This was what Alexander Hamilton meant when he observed (in Federalist 66) that it was in "the nature of the proceeding" that im-

peachment "can never be tied down by such strict rules" as operate in ordinary cases — "either in the delineation of the offense by the prosecutors [the House], or in the construction of it by the judges [the Senate]."

"Construction" is synonymous with interpretation; it means that the Senate is responsible not only for gauging the facts, but also for assessing the very legitimacy of the charges.

In judging whether the theory sustaining this impeachment is adequate, senators need to reflect on their duty both to the Constitution we have inherited and to the one we want to have once this episode is

The Senate ought to apply the 'high crimes' test.

over. They could well begin by asking why they have been so perplexed over how to proceed.

The answer does not lie solely in the political calculations that inevitably affect their judgments. It lies as well in an uncomfortable fact that all our evocations of duty, solemnity and bipartisan bonhomie cannot completely mask: Presidential impeachment is a vestigial, largely moribund element of the Constitution that has proved nearly useless in two centuries of the Republic.

When the Framers adopted it, they were reviving an English practice that had never worked very well, had always been highly politicized and had essentially become obsolete after 1715 (though one celebrated impeachment, of Warren Hastings,

Governor-General of the East India Company, was just beginning). That they adopted it at all owes less to confidence that it would work than to their persisting uncertainty about the novel system of Presidential elections they cobbled together.

Few of the Framers thought the Electoral College would actually make a conclusive decision; many worried that the eventual election by the House would be subject to partisan manipulation. With these nagging doubts, retaining impeachment made sense as a last resort to guard against the possibility that the electoral mechanism would simply not work well.

Two of our three past impeachment proceedings (the abortive resolution against John Tyler and the actual trial of Andrew Johnson) arose when the electoral system exposed another flaw in the constitutional design by bringing to the White House Vice Presidents who did not truly owe their political loyalty to the parties (Whigs and Republicans) that elected them. Only the near impeachment of Richard Nixon threatened a genuine reversal of an electoral verdict, and that occurred only because the nature of the offense and the cumulative evidence of Presidential complicity brought even his own party to favor resignation.

Those conditions are highly unlikely to obtain in the current proceedings, and that is why the Senate should not proceed to a full trial without first seriously judging the adequacy of the theory sustaining this impeachment. For even with an acquittal, we risk transforming an unwieldy and vestigial element of the Constitution into a potential loose cannon — or canon — of constitutional manipulation. □

Copied
Craig
Podesta

The New York Times
TUESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1999

Jack Rakove, a professor of history at Stanford University, is the author of "Original Meanings: Politics and Ideas in the Making of the Constitution," which won a Pulitzer Prize.

Wednesday, January 13, 1999

2

PHOTOCOPY
PRESERVATION

SENATOR BOB DOLE
901 15TH STREET, N.W.
SUITE 410
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

December 14, 1998

#288156

Spencer
DEC 17 1998

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

Dear Mr. President,

This week I returned from my third mission to the former Yugoslavia as Chairman of the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP). I am pleased to report that my visit concludes a successful year for ICMP supported activities.

When I accepted this appointment one year ago, toward the resolution of missing persons issue essential Protocols had not been released by Belgrade and the Fla: been released by Zagreb. This year, these protocols were authorities in Croatia and Yugoslavia.

Also, when I first visited Bosnia as ICMP Chair minimal movement forward in the area of inter-entity ex Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat representatives often re let alone work together on territory controlled by anothe third trip, I am pleased to report that there has been dran exhumation process in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This y process (which is funded by ICMP) accounted for the e: This is more than three times the number exhumed in th Plans are already being made for the next exhumations

Of course, the large number of remains creates a new challenge, namely that of identification. In that regard, the ICMP is funding two storage and identification facilities in Tuzla and Banja Luka which should be completed by the beginning of the next exhumations season. Also, the ICMP has just completed an assessment of DNA facilities and needs not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but Croatia and Serbia, as well. This assessment includes recommendations for new projects and facilities, which will be funded by the ICMP.

There is still one area in desperate need of forward movement and that is the issue of detainees unaccounted for -- in other words, those individuals who were known to be detained under a clear command structure at one point in time, but have now disappeared. I pressed President Izetbegovic on this matter and all other relevant Bosnian authorities

1-13-99

Phil -

This came in as a report. Shouldn't we send it to NSC for stfing?

Yes

No

Alternatively, should we put in system & put in info pack?

Yes

No

SENATOR BOB DOLE

901 15TH STREET, N.W.

SUITE 410

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20005

December 14, 1998

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This week I returned from my third mission to the former Yugoslavia as Chairman of the International Commission on Missing Persons (ICMP). I am pleased to report that my visit concludes a successful year for ICMP supported activities.

When I accepted this appointment one year ago, there was minimal movement toward the resolution of missing persons issue essential to reconciliation. The Vukovar Protocols had not been released by Belgrade and the Flash and Storm Protocols had not been released by Zagreb. This year, these protocols were handed over to the respective authorities in Croatia and Yugoslavia.

Also, when I first visited Bosnia as ICMP Chairman in January, there was minimal movement forward in the area of inter-entity exhumations in Bosnia. Bosniak, Bosnian Serb and Bosnian Croat representatives often refused to meet in the same room, let alone work together on territory controlled by another ethnic group. Following this third trip, I am pleased to report that there has been dramatic progress with respect to the exhumation process in Bosnia and Herzegovina. This year, the inter-entity exhumation process (which is funded by ICMP) accounted for the exhumations of over 1700 remains. This is more than three times the number exhumed in the prior two years combined. Plans are already being made for the next exhumations season.

Of course, the large number of remains creates a new challenge, namely that of identification. In that regard, the ICMP is funding two storage and identification facilities in Tuzla and Banja Luka which should be completed by the beginning of the next exhumations season. Also, the ICMP has just completed an assessment of DNA facilities and needs not only in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but Croatia and Serbia, as well. This assessment includes recommendations for new projects and facilities, which will be funded by the ICMP.

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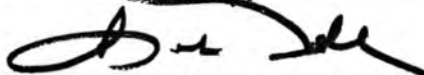
with whom I met. While I do not yet have concrete results, I received pledges anew to release all relevant information. In a joint meeting with Haris Silajdzic, Jadranko Prlic and newly appointed Tiomir Gligoric I witnessed a new spirit of cooperation. There seems to be a genuine willingness among the Bosniaks, Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats to continue to work together and expand the success achieved in the exhumation process. I will propose to the three sides that each release information on any five detainees unaccounted for -- simultaneously and without precondition. It is my hope that this proposal, if implemented, will provide the necessary momentum to make progress on this matter.

Unfortunately, due to poor weather conditions I was unable to travel to Zagreb to present a new, sophisticated x-ray machine to the forensic facility there. I had hoped to take that opportunity to press the head of the missing persons commission in Croatia to include the participation of Serb citizens of Croatia in its planning and activities. Nevertheless, I have written the Foreign Minister of Croatia to raise concerns about the lack of Serb involvement in the exhumations process, in particular. Also, the ICMP is planning to fund forensic projects in Belgrade.

Finally, following my meetings in Sarajevo, I chaired a meeting of the entire commission which now includes Susanna Agnelli, Uffe Ellemann-Jensen, and Michael Portillo. There was a consensus reached that the commission would work to expand the sources of donor funding, given the increasing pace of activities for the coming year and for the purpose of developing a follow-on missing persons institute in the region that will eventually assume the functions of the international organizations such as the ICMP and the International Committee of the Red Cross. It is my hope that the United States will once again provide a \$2 million contribution for activities in 1999. That contribution can be used to leverage assistance from other countries. In that regard, I have written to the Secretary of State requesting a renewed contribution and urging that the missing persons issue be raised at the upcoming donors conference on Dayton implementation. The international and inter-entity cooperation we have achieved in Bosnia -- especially in the exhumation process -- could serve as a model for other implementation efforts. Moreover, I believe the United States can be proud of its record in support of the resolution of the missing persons issues which are essential to the achievement of reconciliation and a lasting peace in the region.

Please let me know if you would like to discuss any of these matters. Thank you for your continued support and interest. US leadership has been essential to the success we have achieved through the International Commission on Missing Persons.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Bob Dole', with a stylized flourish at the end.

BOB DOLE

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

INCOMING

DATE RECEIVED: DECEMBER 22, 1998

99 JAN 7 AM 11:34

NAME OF CORRESPONDENT: THE HONORABLE BOB DOLE

SUBJECT: REPORTS ON HIS THIRD MISSION TO THE FORMER
YUGOSLAVIA AS CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERNATIONAL
COMMISSION ON MISSING PERSONS (ICMP)

ROUTE TO: OFFICE/AGENCY	(STAFF NAME)	ACTION		DISPOSITION	
		ACT CODE	DATE YY/MM/DD	TYPE RESP	C COMPLETED D YY/MM/DD
TIM SAUNDERS		ORG	98/12/22		C 99/1/6
<i>Phil Caplan</i>	REFERRAL NOTE:	A	99/1/6		- 1/1
	REFERRAL NOTE:		1/1		- 1/1
	REFERRAL NOTE:		1/1		- 1/1
	REFERRAL NOTE:		1/1		- 1/1
	REFERRAL NOTE:		1/1		- 1/1

COMMENTS:

Not for the President's email to the Congress

ADDITIONAL CORRESPONDENTS: MEDIA:L INDIVIDUAL CODES: _____

MI MAIL USER CODES: (A) _____ (B) _____ (C) _____

*ACTION CODES:	*DISPOSITION	*OUTGOING	*
*	*	*CORRESPONDENCE:	*
*A-APPROPRIATE ACTION	*A-ANSWERED	*TYPE RESP=INITIALS	*
*C-COMMENT/RECOM	*B-NON-SPEC-REFERRAL	*OF SIGNER	*
*D-DRAFT RESPONSE	*C-COMPLETED	*CODE = A	*
*F-FURNISH FACT SHEET	*S-SUSPENDED	*COMPLETED = DATE OF	*
I-INFO COPY/NO ACT NEC		*OUTGOING	*
*R-DIRECT REPLY W/COPY *			*
*S-FOR-SIGNATURE *			*
*X-INTERIM REPLY *			*

REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
(ROOM 75, OEOB) EXT-2590
KEEP THIS WORKSHEET ATTACHED TO THE ORIGINAL INCOMING
LETTER AT ALL TIMES AND SEND COMPLETED RECORD TO RECORDS
MANAGEMENT.

S

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-12-99



12 JAN 99

Personal

*Regan
Linn*

OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
Washington, D.C. 20500

Office of the Director

Dear Mr. President -

- The purpose of this note is to strongly
advise you to present
Union Speech as s

1-12-99
Send to ~~Burkhardt~~ ^{Burkhardt}
for response?

Yes ☒

No ☐

- The nation must
\$17.8 Billion drug
forward.

- I will be proud to stand with
your policies on 19 JAN as you
focus on our future.

VLM

~~DARBY~~ McCaffrey

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-12-99



12 JAN 99

Personal

*Regina
Linn*

OFFICE OF NATIONAL DRUG CONTROL POLICY
EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
Washington, D.C. 20500

Office of the Director

Dear Mr. President -

- The purpose of this note is to strongly advise you to present your State of the Union Speech as scheduled.

- The nation must be governed. The \$17.8 Billion drug policy must go forward.

- I will be proud to stand with your policies on 19 JAN as you focus on our future.

VLR

DANNY McCARTHY

Motion to Send Impeachment Back to the House

99 JAN 13 AM 10:58

From: I
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417-866
417-862
417-866
email: I

Carolyn ?

To: Bet

er / David Kendall / Greg Graig

Dear Cli

Thank y
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u are very busy working on a defense strategy for the
l as the former Democratic candidate for United
States Congress here in the 1st district of Missouri. I would like to contribute my legal skills to our cause
of defending the President and I hope that you will find my arguments to be useful and that we can put
this atrocity behind us and get on with the business of the people.

A better plan than a motion to dismiss

I have read the President's reply to the articles of impeachment and you hit on a number of interesting
points. In particular, the assertions that the article of impeachment is unconstitutionally vague and that
they charge multiple offenses in one article. What you are claiming is that the charges are
constitutionally defective.

1-13-99

Normally, when charges are defective, the defendant mo
and it is unlikely that the Senate will have the political w
the constitutionally correct thing to do, it would have the
right wingers their day in court.

Motion to make more definite Amend Art

There is a better plan. Instead of (or in addition to) a Moti
more definite. Instead of asking that the charges be thro
articles back to the House so that they can be corrected
constitution. It would be like asking the Senate to order th
Senate try the President when the charges are defective?

What you are saying is that these Articles of Impeachment
President to face defective charges; and it would be unfair
unwinnable. If the charges are defective, how can the Sena

Send to Barkhardt?

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Yes

Carol
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On handle with "Betty"

mail?

Yes

No

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Motion to Send Impeachment Back to the House

99 JAN 13 AM 10:58

From: Marc Perkel
309 North Jefferson #220
Springfield Mo. 65806
417-866-1222 Office
417-862-9830 Home
417-866-1665 Fax
email: marc@perkel.com

To: Bettie Currie / President Clinton / Orson Porter / David Kendall / Greg Graig

Dear Clinton Legal Staff,

Thank you for taking the time to read this. I know you are very busy working on a defense strategy for the upcoming Senate trial. I am a strong supporter as well as the former Democratic candidate for United States Congress here in the 7th district of Missouri. I would like to contribute my legal skills to our cause of defending the President and I hope that you will find my arguments to be useful and that we can put this atrocity behind us and get on with the business of the people.

A better plan than a motion to dismiss

I have read the President's reply to the articles of impeachment and you hit on a number of interesting points. In particular, the assertions that the article of impeachment is unconstitutionally vague and that they charge multiple offenses in one article. **What you are claiming is that the charges are constitutionally defective.**

Normally, when charges are defective, the defendant moves to dismiss. This however isn't a court of law and it is unlikely that the Senate will have the political will to dismiss the charges. Although it would be the constitutionally correct thing to do, it would have the appearance of cheating justice and denying the right wingers their day in court.

Motion to make more definite /amend Articles of Impeachment

There is a better plan. Instead of (or in addition to) a Motion to Dismiss, file a motion to make the charges more definite. **Instead of asking that the charges be thrown out, you ask that the Senate vote to send the articles back to the House so that they can be corrected so as to meet the requirements of the constitution.** It would be like asking the Senate to order the House to amend their pleading. How can the Senate try the President when the charges are defective?

What you are saying is that these Articles of Impeachment are defective, and that it would be unfair to the President to face defective charges; and it would be unfair to the right wingers to have charges that are unwinnable. If the charges are defective, how can the Senate proceed?

By asking for a Senate vote to rule that the Articles of Impeachment are defective, the Senate can send it back to the House where new articles would have to be passed. The new articles would have to contain specific allegations of wrongdoing and separate articles for each charge. **In a criminal proceeding it is not uncommon for the judge to require the prosecutor to amend their charges if the charges are ruled defective.**

Sending it back to the House is the Death of the Impeachment

The House can't really amend the articles of impeachment. They would have to pass new articles of impeachment. This is a new House with 5 more Democrats and 7 less Republicans (due to resignations). I don't think there's a snowball's chance in hell of passing articles of impeachment again. **If the Senate votes to send it back to the House, impeachment is dead.**

This would be a politically brilliant move to make. **It would be far easier to get the Senate to send it back to the House rather than dismiss it.** I'm sure most of the Senate hates it that the House stuck them with this process in the first place and would love an opportunity to dump it right back on them. If the Senate is going to be stuck with an impeachment trial, shouldn't the House at least be required to file Articles of Impeachment that are at least in proper form? I think so, and I think Senators will agree.

The best part is that there are a lot of Senators who want this to go away. **Senators are looking for an easy way out, and this is the easy way out, and that's why they'll vote for it.** If you file a motion to require the House to file proper Articles of Impeachment, impeachment is dead!

Further Reading

Nothing less than VINDICATION:

<http://www.vindicate.org>

My article on the Perjury Trap defense is at:

<http://www.perkel.com/politics/clinton/perjury.htm>

I also have a web page on impeachment at:

<http://www.perkel.com/politics/clinton/impeach.htm>

And, my Republicans for Clinton page is at:

<http://www.perkel.com/politics/clinton/repub.htm>

My 2 cents...Good Luck!

Marc Perkel

Marc Perkel 01-12-99

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-11-99

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 11, 1999

MR. PRESIDENT:

The attached Berger/Stein memo seeks your approval to make a strong effort to achieve Senate ratification of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty this year. *If you approve Sandy will announce the effort in a speech tomorrow and you will push for the Treaty in your State of the Union speech.*

Sandy and Larry believe the CTBT can be an enduring achievement of your presidency. Over 150 nations have signed the treaty, but it cannot enter into force until 44 specific countries ratify it, including the U.S., India, Pakistan, Russia and China. If the U.S. fails to ratify it, these other key nations will also balk.

As you know, we made a push for ratification last year, but Senator Helms (with Lott's approval) blocked hearings on the Treaty, holding it hostage to hearings on the 1997 ABM accords and the Kyoto Treaty, neither of which we are prepared to submit to the Senate. Despite the Helms/Lott opposition, Sandy and Larry recommend an all-out campaign to achieve Senate approval before next fall, when a conference of CTBT nations will convene.

Approve ☒

Disapprove ☐

Discuss ☐

Phil Caplan *Phil*
Sean Maloney *SM*

*Copied
Berger
Stein
Podesta
NSC WW Desk*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

'99 JAN 8 PM 4:59

January 8, 1999

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *RB*
LARRY STEIN *LS*

SUBJECT: Pushing CTBT Ratification in 1999

Purpose

To request your approval to mount a serious effort in 1999 to achieve Senate approval of the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

Background

The successful negotiation of the CTBT in 1993-1996 and its signature by 151 states since then is an enduring achievement of your Presidency, marking both a significant step back from the Cold War and a significant step forward in constraining nuclear proliferation. The Treaty cannot, however, enter into force until 44 specific countries ratify it, including the United States, India, Pakistan, Russia and China. The fate of our efforts to: (a) secure Senate advice and consent to the CTBT; and (b) achieve the Treaty's international entry into force (EIF) will almost certainly be decided in 1999. If the United States does not show leadership by ratifying:

- India will almost certainly balk, frustrating our nine-month diplomatic effort to achieve Indian adherence to the CTBT and shore up the international nonproliferation regime in the destructive wake of India's nuclear tests;
- Russia and China will also hold off on ratification; and
- Pakistan will likely not take steps to adhere to CTBT ahead of either the United States or India.

Efforts last year. Our push to move the CTBT in 1998 built on a series of "CTBT" events -- including your State of the Union

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

appeal; the endorsement by four former Chairmen of the JCS; and your trip to Los Alamos, where all three lab directors assured you of their confidence in the stockpile stewardship program. The nuclear tests by India and Pakistan provided urgency -- albeit unexpected and unwelcome -- to our efforts in the Senate.

On the "plus" side, our efforts helped establish strong public support for CTBT, fueled by global abhorrence of India's and Pakistan's tests. Recent polls show 75-80 percent of the American public favor ratification, and editorials across the country overwhelmingly support the Treaty.

Nonetheless, Senator Helms, with open support from Senator Lott, blocked hearings in his committee. Helms has repeatedly said CTBT will be held hostage to: (a) hearings on the 1997 ABM accords (which we do not intend to submit to the Senate until Russia ratifies START II), and (b) hearings on the Kyoto Treaty (which we do not intend to submit until developing states agree to some form of meaningful participation).

Game Plan for 1999. Recognizing we must assume Lott and Helms will not agree to cooperate in moving CTBT unless we are prepared to cut some sort of deal involving CTBT and a Republican legislative priority (without, of course, compromising our strong Democratic support), I believe we should nonetheless launch an all-out campaign this year to achieve Senate approval: the stakes are high; we have solid support from most Democrats and some Republicans; public support is strong.

As a first step, if you approve, I would announce next week in a speech on Nonproliferation at the Carnegie Center that the Administration intends to make CTBT a top foreign policy legislative priority this year, and that we will push for early Senate hearings and a vote on the Senate floor. We would also feature CTBT in your State of the Union address, and follow this up with an aggressive legislative and public affairs campaign, with active participation by relevant Cabinet officials.

In all our representations, it will be important to emphasize the importance of achieving ratification by September 1999 so that we can positively influence both Indian and Pakistani adherence and participate in the Conference of States that have ratified CTBT that is to be held as early as next October. Unlike last year, we can fairly represent that we are facing a CTBT "deadline" of sorts (though it is not as "hard" as the deadline we faced with the CWC in our successful 1997

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-11-99

ratification battle). Only those states (including the United States) that have ratified the CTBT by October can fully participate in and vote at the crucial EIF Conference. Such a "deadline" might help light a fire under Senate Republicans who understand the connection between CTBT, India-Pakistan diplomacy and U.S. global leadership in the fight against nuclear proliferation.

Recognizing the difficulties, the bottom line remains that CTBT ratification remains a "win/win" issue for us -- exactly the kind of business the U.S. public overwhelmingly wants to see its government conducting.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve our making an all-out effort to achieve advice and consent to CTBT in 1999.

Approve ☒ _____

Disapprove _____



El Embajador de Venezuela

PARTICULAR

44
Good luck

January 12th, 1999 99 JAN 13 PM 2:55

His Excellency
Mr. William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America
Washington, DC

1-13-99

Send to NSC?

Yes ☒

No ☐

Dear President:

It is with deep regret that my time as Ambassador to the United States has come to an end. I cannot express my appreciation for the time I spent in Washington, and how honored I am to have strengthened the ties between the United States and Venezuela.

The occasion of your visit to Venezuela in October 1997 allowed me to spend some time with both of you that otherwise would not have been possible in Washington. I have fond memories of that trip, as do all Venezuelans, I am sure.

I have attached a photograph taken the day of the Diplomatic Corps salute in April 1997, which my daughter Jamillah attended with me. Because of the admiration and respect I have towards you, I would be grateful if you could autograph picture. I will treasure it as a memento of my years in Washington.

As my date of departure draws near, rest assured that I will take with me back to Venezuela nothing but appreciation and heartfelt thanks for the United States and its people, as I do for you and Mrs. Clinton.

Sincerely,

Pedro Luis Echeverría



El Embajador de Venezuela
PARTICULAR

74
Good luck

January 12th, 1999^{99 JAN 13 PM 2:55}

His Excellency
Mr. William J. Clinton
President of the United States of America
Washington, DC

Dear President:

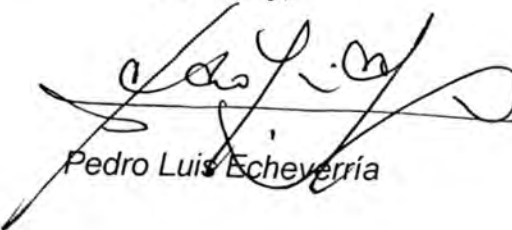
It is with deep regret that my time as Ambassador of Venezuela to the United States has come to an end. I cannot express how much I have enjoyed my time in Washington, and how honored I am to have served my country by strengthening the ties between the United States and Venezuela.

The occasion of your visit to Venezuela in October 1997 allowed me to spend some time with both of you that otherwise would not have been possible in Washington. I have fond memories of that trip, as do all Venezuelans, I am sure.

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Sincerely,



Pedro Luis Echeverría

1-13-99

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

1/13/48

Mr. President

Dory

Sen Johnson asked
me to tell you that
Bishop Owens is
doing watch parties
in 47 states.

RD



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
1-14-99
THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR
WASHINGTON

January 13

Mr. President —

'99 JAN 14 PM 1:31

This is a sample of
what we talked
about yesterday —
More to come

[Handwritten signature]

Burt Bullitt

THE DENVER POST

Founded 1892

William Dean Singleton, *Chairman*
Gerald E. Gilly, *President and Publisher*

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Jeanette Chavez, *Managing Editor*
Sue O'Brien, *Editor of the Editorial Page*

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Carol H. Green, *VP Human Resources*
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Allen J. Walters, *VP Advertising*

1-14-99

1-10-99

Canyon brinksmanship

Silent, splendid and untrampled, the rugged but delicate desert north of the Grand Canyon deserves special protection. The awe-inspiring landscape doesn't face immediate threats, but in the near future it may be subjected to strip mining, interior and condo development along its edges.

Such an outcome would be a front to both nature and future generations.

U.S. Interior Secretary Babbitt — a former Arizona governor — has proposed designating 300,000 acres of federal property in the area as a national monument.

It's a grand idea.

The move would ward off attempts to strip-mine the fragile terrain, but still permit historic uses such as hunting and grazing. It represents a middle ground between letting the irreplaceable landscape get ruined and making the place inaccessible to the public that owns it.

President Clinton could unilaterally make the designation, much as he created the Escalante/Grand Staircase National Monument from Bureau of Land Management property in 1996. But the Escalante decree provoked a stinging backlash in Utah, where the new monument is located — and Babbitt wisely wants to avoid a similar political

firestorm in Arizona.

The Interior chief thus has re-

1-14-99

After you have seen,
we will send to
Burkhardt -

Good
with C. Frankton
George Frankton
personally

Although McCain is a potential presidential contender, this effort should transcend transient politics.

McCain and Babbitt are trying to preserve for future generations one of America's great natural wonders — much as Teddy Roosevelt did when his presidential decree protected the Grand Canyon itself in the early part of this century.

The landscape north of the existing national park is visually and ecologically part of the greater Grand Canyon. It should be protected — before pressures looming over the horizon provoke a crisis.

NOT
MUCH
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THAT
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BUT W
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BUILD
LOCAL
SUPPORT

In this column alone is The Denver Post's opinion expressed.

THE DENVER POST

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Canyon brinksmanship

Silent, splendid and untrampled, the rugged but delicate desert north of the Grand Canyon deserves special protection. The awe-inspiring landscape doesn't face immediate threats, but in the near future could be subjected to strip mining in its interior and condo developments along its edges.

Such an outcome would be an affront to both nature and future generations.

U.S. Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt — a former Arizona governor — has proposed designating 300,000 acres of federal property in the area as a national monument.

It's a grand idea.

The move would ward off attempts to strip-mine the fragile terrain, but still permit historic uses such as hunting and grazing. It represents a middle ground between letting the irreplaceable landscape get ruined and making the place inaccessible to the public that owns it.

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firestorm in Arizona.

The Interior chief thus has recruited a Republican, U.S. Sen. John McCain of Arizona, to the cause. McCain plans to sponsor legislation designating federal land north of the existing Grand Canyon National Park as a national monument. He is consulting with other Arizona officials, to gather political support for the measure.

Only if Congress fails to act would Babbitt ask Clinton for a presidential declaration.

Getting bipartisan congressional backing is clearly the better approach. Colorado's Capitol Hill delegation could help, since the National Park Service unit that oversees the Grand Canyon is based in metro Denver.

Although McCain is a potential presidential contender, this effort should transcend transient politics.

McCain and Babbitt are trying to preserve for future generations one of America's great natural wonders — much as Teddy Roosevelt did when his presidential decree protected the Grand Canyon itself in the early part of this century.

The landscape north of the existing national park is visually and ecologically part of the greater Grand Canyon. It should be protected — before pressures looming over the horizon provoke a crisis.

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BUT WE
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LOCAL
SUPPORT



Steve Yozwiak/The Arizona Republic

Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt wants to protect 400,000 acres of virgin land on the west edge of the Grand Canyon.

BABBITT TAKING RIGHT TACK TO PROTECT CANYON LANDS

Give Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt credit. He wants to build a consensus on how best to protect a vast and untamed swath of nearly 400,000 acres at the west end of Grand Canyon.

This is a kinder, gentler approach than President Clinton's sudden — and politically suspect — designation of the Grand Staircase-Escalante National Monument in southern Utah during the height of the 1996 presidential campaign.

Babbitt's idea is to include ranchers, hunters and the Arizona congressional delegation in discussion about how to build long-term protections before any specific recommendation is forwarded to the president.

The Shivwits Plateau on the Canyon's North Rim is a mostly deserted landscape in the great tradition of scenic lands of the Colorado Plateau. There's wide diversity, from grasslands and undulating terrain of piñon-juniper shrub to pine forests and canyons with colorful hues. Though there are a few pockets of private holdings, Bureau of Land Management acreage makes up most of the land that Babbitt wants to designate as a national monument.

On a recent tour of the area, Babbitt told *Republic* reporter Steve Yozwiak that nowhere else in the lower 48 states is there so large an expanse of beautiful lands that's intact.

"Some people might say then, 'Why bother?'" Babbitt said. "My response is, that is the lesson

of history: If you don't think about it before the problems are on you, then you have controversy."

Nothing fuels the passions of the West quite like restrictions on land usage and the implied threat that property rights may be in jeopardy. Now is the time to plan. There is no imminent development of coal, oil or other resources, and other than grazing cattle and sport hunters, few visit the area.

Monument status would prohibit mining and development but permit ranching and hunting. If the lands were included in Grand Canyon National Park, ranching and hunting would cease — uses Babbitt says he does not want to see curtailed.

Our parks and monuments lie at the heart of the nation's conservation ethic. Usage is soaring. So is the public's love affair with preserving lands for future generations.

Babbitt says he's "open to a big, wide-ranging discussion," and that is precisely what is needed. It may take many years, but that's OK. The important thing is to begin a meaningful and truthful dialogue now.

Editorials represent the position of The Arizona Republic, whose editorial board consists of Keven Ann Willey, Jennifer Dokes, Mark Gennich, John Kolbe, Joel Nilsson, Linda Valdez, Ken Western and Steve Benson.