

FOIA MARKER

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OA/ID Number: 18469
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Folder Title:
SPM [Sean Patrick Maloney] Assignments Done April 2000

Stack:
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Row:
44

Section:
5

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9

Position:
2



419021

C O P Y
from ORM

JUL 19 2000

April 28, 2000

Mr. Jock Gill
18 Woods Edge Road
Medford, Massachusetts 02155-2316

Dear Jock:

Thanks for your email and your comments about my India trip.

I'm pleased to know that your stay here at the White House made such an impression. There is so much to learn about here, and I'm glad that you had an opportunity to see some of the mansion's history firsthand.

Thanks, too, for sharing the news about your family. Please give them my best.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

BC/JAW/DDA/SH/DWB/DC/DWB/ddj-emu-pw-ddj
(Corres. #7182751)
(4.gill.doc)

cc: John Wertman, 97 EEOB

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH through Sean Maloney

CLEAR THRU SEAN MALONEY

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

000502

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-5-00

4/6



Jock Gill <jgill@greenstar.org>
03/31/2000 08:59:55 AM

Do nice by

Record Type: Record

To: Nancy V. Hernreich/WHO/EOP, Betty W. Currie/WHO/EOP

cc:

Subject: Rule of Law or Rule of the Mob?

4-5-00

*After you have seen,
we will send to
Berkhardt.*

Via Email

March 31, 2000

Dear Mr. President,

Congratulations on your recently completed trip to India. While we were not able, in the end, to participate, we remain committed to doing business in India.



cul

On another matter, I wish to express my strong support for the enforcement of the Rule of Law in Miami. If we allow the local situation to deteriorate to the Rule of the Mob, we will be on a very slippery slope to the destruction of one of the foundation pillars of our way of life. I deeply regret the Vice President's ill advised statements on that situation. His failure to support the rule of law was a great disappointment to me - political opportunism at its worst.

It will take a man of your great political skills to preserve the primacy of the rule of law while avoiding ugly civil unrest by a minority portion of our overall society. How will our friends from Haiti, or any other immigrant population, feel if we are not even handed in our application of INS law?

We are off to Princeton this afternoon to see Amanda, who is turning in her senior thesis, and to watch Rosie row in the Brown / Princeton crew races. 12 hours of driving for 7+ minutes of racing -- and a great family time celebrating Amanda's accomplishments.

Best regards,

Jock

PS: On the topic of our stay in the Lincoln bedroom some years ago. I am impressed with it as an example of the vast range of human experience. On the one hand you showed us a copy of the Gettysburg Address in Lincoln's own hand, a sublime achievement. On the other hand, I was struck by the sorrow and frailty to be found in the small corner sitting room: the burns in the rug from the dropped cigarets of President Nixon. I was told by a staff member that Nixon would retreat to that secluded room at the end of



his Presidency to drink, smoke and reflect on the turn of events ending his tenure as president. To find both in the same setting was a very remarkable experience.

Jock Gill, Executive Director

Voice: (781) 396-0492

eFAX: (425) 795-5918

www.greenstar.org

4/19
April 28, 2000

Mr. Jon Huenemann
3812 Foxwood Nook
Falls Church, Virginia 22041-1104

Dear Jon:

I am delighted to join your friends and colleagues in thanking you for your service to our nation both at the Department of the Treasury and in the Office of the United States Trade Representative.

You played an important role in opening new markets abroad and increasing our nation's prosperity and competitiveness, and I am deeply grateful for all you have done. Your work with the Generalized System of Preferences and the first Summit of the Americas helped to promote sustainable economic development around the world and strengthen our ties with our democratic neighbors in Central and South America. I especially appreciate your commitment to implementing the North American Free Trade Agreement. Your dedicated efforts have been vital to ensuring that the agreement successfully advances our interests in trade, investment, workers' rights, and environmental protection.

On behalf of all those who have had the pleasure of working with you, I commend you for a job well done. Hillary joins me in wishing you continued success and every happiness.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

BC/JHO/SH/emu (Corres. #7193475)
(4.huenemann.j)

cc: DWB/SPM, 94
cc: John Wertman, 97
cc: Jeffrey Oakman, 97

4/19

OFFICE OF THE UNITED STATES TRADE REPRESENTATIVE

Executive Office of the President

600 17TH STREET, NW
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20508

Office of Deputy United States Trade Representative Richard Fisher

April 18, 2000

Number of Pages including cover: 2

To: Sean Maloney
Office/Agency: Staff Secretary
Fax Number: 62215

00 APR 18 PM 2:23

SUBJECT: POTUS letter to Jon Huenemann



SEND TO DAN

SPM

From: Richard Fisher
Phone: (202) 395-9595

A large, stylized handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "R. Fisher".

FAX: (202) 395-3390

Sean:

At the end of March, Jon Huenemann left after 16 years of public service to join the private sector. For the past several years, Jon had been the Assistant U.S. Trade Representative for North America, where he oversaw the implementation and enforcement of NAFTA.

I would appreciate it if the President could sign the attached letter to Jon to thank him for his dedicated service so that we might present it to him at a dinner in his honor at the end of April. I have attached a draft letter, which includes the details of Jon's tenure with the government. If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me or my assistant, Erin Ennis, at the above listed phone and fax numbers.

cc: Carolyn Cleveland

DRAFT POTUS LETTER TO JON HUENEMANN

Mr. Jon Huenemann
3812 Foxwood Nook
Falls Church, VA 22041

Dear Jon:

On the occasion of your departure from public service, allow me to extend my appreciation for your achievements in advancing the interests of the United States in trade and investment negotiations around the world. During your sixteen years of dedicated service, first with the Department of the Treasury, and most recently in the Office of the United States Trade Representative, you made a meaningful contribution to opening foreign markets to U.S. businesses, investors, professionals, workers and farmers, thereby increasing our prosperity and competitiveness.

Thanks to your efforts, the United States' Generalized System of Preferences became an prominent policy instrument for promoting sustainable economic development throughout the world, as well as for encouraging respect for internationally recognized worker rights. You also deserve thanks for your assistance with the first Summit of the Americas, which was the genesis for negotiations for a historic Free Trade Area of the Americas, involving all of the democracies in the Western Hemisphere.

Most particularly, I want to extend my gratitude for your dedication and tremendous efforts in implementing the North America Free Trade Agreement. This has proven to be one of our most successful trade agreements in terms of advancing our interests in trade, investment, workers' rights, and the environment. Your personal work on NAFTA has been an essential component to its success.

You and your family have my best wishes as you take on new challenges.

Sincerely,

William J. Clinton

4/3
April 28, 2000

Ms. Alice Waters
Chez Panisse
1517 Shattuck Avenue
Berkeley, California 94709

Dear Alice:

It was good to see you in California last month. I really enjoyed the evening -- your cooking is such a treat.

Thanks for your suggestion about planting a kitchen garden on the White House grounds. Since I took office, Hillary and I have been interested in the idea of growing fresh herbs and vegetables here at the White House. But we decided that an informal kitchen garden would not be in keeping with the formal gardens of the White House and the historic planting guidelines developed in the 1930s. Instead of having a kitchen garden on the White House grounds, Hillary requested that the National Park Service plant and maintain a vegetable garden on the roof of the Executive Residence. In addition, the East Garden has been planted with garden herbs that our chefs use for our meals, and the National Park Service maintains a compost recycling pile at our greenhouse.

I agree that we must do all we can to support our farmers and the values they represent. Hillary and I hope to see you again very soon. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

BILL

BC/RMS/DDA/SMH/DC/DWB/DWB/ddj-ckb-ddj (Corres. #7177380)
(4.waters.doc)

cc: DWB/SPM, 94 OEOB
cc: John Wertman, 97 OEOB
whcc:
The Honorable Richard E. Rominger
Deputy Secretary of Agriculture
Washington, D.C. 20250

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH through Sean Maloney
CLEAR THRU SEAN MALONEY
PRESIDENT TO SIGN

Alice Waters

TO DAN B
FOR RESPONSE IN
KEEPING w/ GARY
WALTER'S MEMO -
- SEAN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

March 29, 2000

Handwritten notes:
Don't forget to
tell the President
about the
National Park
Service
garden

MEMORANDUM FOR: NANCY V. HERNREICH
DIRECTOR OF OVAL OFFICE OPERATIONS

FROM: GARY J. WALTERS *Gary J. Walters*
CHIEF USHER

SUBJECT: RESPONSE TO ALICE WATERS

Thank you for an opportunity to respond to the letter from Alice Waters of Chez Panisse Restaurant to the President concerning the planting of a "kitchen garden" at the White House. This is not a new proposal, for years and over a number of administrations, a group of culinarians including Ms. Waters, Julia Child, Robert Mondavi, and others have attempted to get involved in affairs of the White House food and beverage operation. They are certainly well meaning people but they have their own agenda and it is not always that of the First Lady or the President.

What follows is not new information as I have provided it numerous times to various interested parties.

For many years the East Garden (current Sculpture Garden) has been planted with garden herbs that are used by the chefs in their preparation of meals for the First Family and their guests. Additionally, during the Clinton Administration, at Mrs. Clinton's request, the National Park Service has planted and maintained a number of plantings of garden vegetables (tomatoes, peppers, etc.) in containers on the roof of the Executive Residence. It was decided that the formal gardens of the White House and the historic planting guidelines developed by the world renowned Olmstead Brothers landscape architecture firm in the 1930's would not accept an informal kitchen garden.

The National Park Service has maintained a compost recycling pile at our greenhouse at a remote location from the White House and its formal gardens. This concept was well received and documented in the "Greening of the White House" project and is addressed each Earth Day. Once again, the idea of a compost pile within the confines of the White House grounds was not in keeping with the formality and use of the grounds.

The establishment of a "kitchen garden" would not insure its continuation in future years.

In my opinion, if the President were to accept the seeds for the family's personal use it would not be the last time we heard about the seeds as Ms. Waters is fond of publicity.

:CHEZ:PANISSE:

March 20, 2000

Nancy Hernreich
The White House
Office of the President
Washington, D.C. 20502

Dear Ms. Hernreich:

Martha Whetstone told me you were the person who could bring this to the President's attention. Because of the timing, I am hoping he will receive this letter as soon as he returns from India. I am most grateful for your help.

Sincerely,

Alice Waters

Alice Waters

Chez Panisse Restaurant

:CHEZ: PANISSE:

ac 1/25
Gayle Walters
Please advise
JH

March 20, 2000

The President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

As always before, it was exciting to see and hear you up close at Susie and Mark Bueli's and to cook for you. I was, however, deeply dismayed to learn—too late!—that you are allergic to chocolate.

As I suggested that night, your presidency can still help realize Thomas Jefferson's dream of a government informed by the values of a nation of independent farmers. Therefore I encourage you to show the world your concern for the environment with this simple and beautiful gesture:

Mr. President, plant that garden on the White House grounds! Let the nation know that its highest leader understands the necessity of a life lived in harmony with the earth. You can do this quietly, swiftly, and without any rhetoric. I can think of no more powerful way to ground your legacy than to leave behind a kitchen garden and the compost pile to nourish it. It would be a gracious gift to your successor, and the Clinton White House Garden would be a living, evolving monument in constant use, changing with the seasons and the years, but always representing the enduring values you have defended throughout your years in office. Making such a gift would be an act of presidential healing and humility unprecedented in American history.

You said to me, "Send me the seeds!" The seeds are on the way: The expertise of a national network of authorities on sustainable agriculture and garden design is at your disposal. There is still time enough, but please do it now. The timing is perfect. Tomorrow it will be spring, and the Department of Agriculture's new organic standards are pending. Launch this project and I will happily come and cook you dinner from the garden.

Mr. President thank you for your stewardship of the nation these past eight years. Your creation of a White House garden will be a symbol of that stewardship—and of nourishment for all citizens.

With respect and admiration,

ALICE I. WALTERS

Alice Waters

Chez Panisse Restaurant

:CHEZ:PANISSE:

March 20, 2000

Nancy Hernreich
The White House
Office of the President
Washington, D.C. 20502

Dear Ms. Hernreich:

Martha Whetstone told me you were the person who could bring this to the President's attention. Because of the timing, I am hoping he will receive this letter as soon as he returns from India. I am most grateful for your help.

Sincerely,

Alice Waters

Alice Waters

Chez Panisse Restaurant

4/14
April 28, 2000

The Honorable David Pryor
Suite 1260
323 Center Street
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201-2605

Dear David:

Congratulations on being named Director of
Harvard's Institute of Politics!

As you well know, the Institute of Politics has
become one of the world's foremost leaders in the
study of government and politics and in preparing
young people for public service. I'm confident
that it will thrive under your direction.

As you begin this new endeavor, Hillary and I send
our best.

Sincerely,

BILL

BC/CKS/DDA/SH/DC/DWB/bws-emu (Corres. #7189113)
(4.pryor.d)

cc: John Wertman, 97

cc: DWB/SPM, 94

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH
through Sean Maloney

CLEAR THRU SEAN MALONEY

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

DAVID PRYOR

4/14

Do August
Letter

Did you
see this?

Pryor selected to head Harvard politics institute

Dedication to noble side weighs in his selection

BY ANDREW A. GREEN
ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

When he was a fellow at Harvard's Institute of Politics last spring, former U.S. Sen. David Pryor dropped out before his semester was up. Even so, the institute announced Tuesday that it will be happy to take him back — this time as director.

Pryor will spend at least two years at the Cambridge, Mass., campus, overseeing the speakers, symposiums, workshops and fellowships sponsored by the institute. Students and faculty said they were impressed last spring with Pryor's dedication to the noble side of politics and to mean-



David Pryor

ingful interaction with undergraduates.

In fact, the reason Pryor left Harvard last year is precisely why students and faculty there said they want him back. With little warning to anyone, he took off last April for Albania, where he spent several weeks assisting Kosovar refugees displaced by the conflict with Serbia.

"He didn't call a press conference, he didn't get anybody all worked up. He just went," said former Wyoming Sen. Alan K. Simpson, who Pryor will replace as the institute's director. "That to these young people was the ultimate case of public service and public life."

As the announcement was made official in Cambridge on Tuesday, Pryor was in his hometown of Camden, Ark., speaking with students and touring with the

like. Just as important as high-brow policy discussions is showing young people how to blend family and beliefs with the reality of political life, he said.

Undergraduates on the search committee that helped select Pryor said that when he was a fellow, he demonstrated a unique ability to do that blending.

"In all of his stories and in all the times he told us about his issues, he always focused on why he did all of those things rather than on the details of what he was doing," said Hannah Choi, a 21-year-old junior from Montville, N.J., who helped select Pryor. "In everything he did there seemed to be this strong sense of the reasoning behind it."

During his tenure as director, Simpson lived in Eliot House, an undergraduate dormitory across the street from the institute, and though Pryor said he hasn't had time to figure out his living arrangements, he

wants to maintain similar accessibility. Pryor said he didn't close his door a single time when he was a fellow.

When he arrives on campus Aug. 1, the immediate task will be preparing for the fall's general elections. The first presidential debate of the year will be in Boston, and Pryor said he hopes to capitalize on that and the forum Harvard offers to encourage extended discussion of the issues.

But in the long run, he hopes to persuade young people to stay involved in the political system. More of them look at politics as a means to power and personal gain, and fewer of them see it as a means of public service. The result, Pryor said, is that they drop out of the system.

"If I can have even a very, very minor role in helping reverse that trend, I think that's what it's all about," he said.

Harvard

Continued from Page 1A

mayor. Although he'll spend at least the next two academic years in Cambridge, Pryor said, he will maintain his home in Little Rock and stay involved in Arkansas life and politics.

As director, Pryor will have few set duties but will be responsible for the overall direction of the institute, which was founded in 1966 as a tribute to former president and Harvard alumnus John F. Kennedy.

In addition to the fellowship program Pryor participated in last year, the institute brings high-profile speakers to Harvard, holds orientation programs for new congressmen and mayors, and serves generally as a forum for political discussion.

The key to it all, Simpson said, is involving undergraduates and showing them what political life is really

After you have seen,
we will send to
Barkhardt for reply -

4-14-00

10/20/99 WED 14:58 FAX

10/20/1999 02:41 3017130049

EXECUTIVE AFFAIRS

PAGE 02/03



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration
NATIONAL WEATHER SERVICE SOUTHERN REGION
819 Taylor Street, Room 10E09
Fort Worth, TX 76102

July 29, 1999

Judge Ray B. Stanley
Polk County
507 Church Street
Mena, Arkansas 71953

Dear Judge Stanley:

Thank you for your letter to President Clinton regarding National Weather Service (NWS) Doppler radar coverage in western Arkansas. The current network of Doppler weather surveillance radars (WSR-88D) provides improved coverage for Polk County over what existed prior to the NWS modernization. Specifically, coverage is provided by WSR-88Ds located in Shreveport, Louisiana, and Little Rock and Fort Smith in Arkansas. Meteorologists at the Little Rock weather office use data from these three radars, as well as other weather information, to monitor and forecast the motion and intensity of thunderstorms over western Arkansas.

Trained weather spotters are another important aspect of our warning program. The Little Rock weather office, in conjunction with the Arkansas emergency management community, has developed an extensive storm spotter network across the western part of the state.

Since we received your letter, we talked to John Robinson, Warning Coordination Meteorologist at the Little Rock weather office. On April 20, 1999, there were no reports of storms as you mentioned in your letter. However, on April 26, 1999, there were numerous storms around Arkansas. The Russellville storm you referenced in your letter did have a severe thunderstorm warning issued at 1:58 p.m. CDT for northeastern Yell County and all of Pope County. Previously, the Little Rock office issued severe thunderstorm warnings for Polk County at 12:21 p.m. and for Scott and Montgomery Counties at 12:49 p.m. A storm survey determined that the Russellville thunderstorm quickly spun up the tornado, which was on the ground for a short time.

The NWS works with local officials to improve its products and services. Please contact Renee Fair at the Little Rock weather office, 501-834-9102 (Ext. 222), if you have additional questions. Renee and her staff are dedicated professionals committed to providing the highest quality of weather warnings and forecasts possible to Polk County and western Arkansas.



10/20/99 WED 14:59 FAX

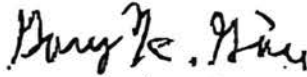
10/20/1999 02:41 3017130049

EXECUTIVE AFFAIRS

PAGE 03/03

We appreciate your interest in the NWS.

Sincerely,



 X. William Proenza
Regional Director

April 28, 2000

The Reverend Richard McSorley, S.J.
Jesuit Community
Georgetown University
Box 571200
Washington, D.C. 20057-1200

Dear Father McSorley:

Thank you for your note and the information regarding the Leyte Liberation Memorial Facility. I'm glad you brought this matter to my attention, and I have shared the materials with my staff.

Hillary and I hope you are well, and we send our best.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

BC/WMW/SH/DC/DWB/pfs-pw (Corres. #7185226)
(4.mcsorley)

cc: ~~John Wertman, 97 EEOB~~
DWB/SPM, 94 EEOB

Xeroxed copy of signed original to NH
thru Sean Maloney

CLEAR THRU SEAN MALONEY

FOR THE PRESIDENT TO SIGN

4-4-00

4/6

To Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒ No ☐

The Reverend
RICHARD J. McSorley
S.J.

Coordinate w/ NSC

SPM



GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY

JESUIT COMMUNITY

William J. Clinton

Dear Bill: the enclosed liberation
memorandum can act as a message of
peace, the saving and deaths from war
can persuade people of "War No More" if
the horrors of war have well known
war would be less popular:

I recommend you establish a comm to study
this project -

Washington, DC 20057-1735

Richard McSorley SJ

25/ Apr / 1900

FACT SHEET:



LEYTE LIBERATION MEMORIAL FACILITY

PURPOSE; To honor the hundreds of American and Filipino soldiers who died during the liberation of Leyte and the whole Philippines in World War II and the thousands of veterans in the United States and in the Philippines.

LOCATION: San Jose, Tacloban City, where the Armed Forces of General Douglas MacArthur landed on Oct. 20, 1944.

FEATURES:

- (1) **AUDITORIUM** – continuous showing of movies on the landing of the MacArthur forces in 1944; the Battle of Leyte Gulf and other World War II films; special World War II celebrations featuring American, Filipino and Japanese personalities.
- (2) **SIGHT and SOUND AREA** – depicting the landing of Gen. MacArthur on Oct. 20, 1944, his “I SHALL RETURN” radio talk to Filipinos, etc..
- (3) **LIBRARY** – books on World War II, biographies of Gen. MacArthur, and other personalities.
- (4) **MUSEUM** – World War II war souvenirs, etc.
- (5) **GUEST ROOMS** – to accommodate guests from the United States and other countries.
- (6) **COMMERCIAL AREA** – restaurants, duty-free shops and other stores selling Philippine goods and memorial souvenirs.
- (7) **CHAPEL**—with all the conveniences for worship.
(Conceptualized by Angelesio C. Tugado c 2000).



By
ANGELESIO C.
TUGADO, Ph.D.

MEMO 'O PRESIDENT'S CLIN'ON AND ESTRADA: BALIKATAN 2000

How about expanding BALIKATAN 2000 to include solutions to urgent problems affecting the Philippines and the United States?

With Phases 1 and 2 of BALIKATAN 2000 completed, perhaps you can add three more phases for implementation before the year 2000 ends.

Phase 3 could focus on Drug Control, to be held in October this year, Phase 4 on the Philippine rebel problem, in November and

Phase 5 on Development programs in December. Admiral Dennis C. Blair, Commander-in-Chief, US Pacific Command, said "Enhancing regional security and promoting peaceful development are the core US Pacific Command missions." (Asia-Pacific Defense Forum, Fall 1999, page 2).

Security and development of the Asia-Pacific region cannot be attained with the tremendous flow of illegal drugs in the Philippines, the continued rebel activities of the New Peoples' Army (NPA), the Moro Islamic

Liberation Front (MILF) and other rebel groups in the Philippines, and the serious poverty problem in the Philippines.

DRUG CONTROL

On Drug Control, for instance, the BALIKATAN 2000 participants could include in their exercises ways to catch drug pushers and traffickers, how to prevent the flow of drugs from other Asian countries into the Philippines and to the US, and to determine the effectiveness of the red painting of houses of alleged drug pushers with anti-drug warnings as implemented by Department of Interior and Local Government Secretary Alfredo Lim.

REBEL ACTIVITIES

Filipinos felt sad to see the NPA and MILF continue with their rebel activities in spite of the presence of 5,000 US and RP troops doing war exercises in the Philippines.

Perhaps the BALIKATAN 2000 exercises would be more realistic if the participants could do the exercises in areas where the rebel activities are going on.

Admiral Blair says the US Pacific Command is "Ready today and preparing for tomorrow. . . .

responding to crisis and fighting to win."

BALIKATAN participants should consider the NPA and MILF rebel activities a "crisis" which they should be ready to respond and fight to win. This will make BALIKATAN 2000 realistic and effective in promoting security in the Philippines and in the Asia-Pacific region.

ANTI-POVERTY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

Implementing the mission of the US Pacific Command to "promote peaceful development," the inclusion of anti-poverty development programs in BALIKATAN 2000 is urgent.

Phase 2 of BALIKATAN 2000 focused on the construction of a school building in the Marcos Village Elementary School in Pampanga.

Of course, school building construction is important. But more important and useful to an impoverished people is the

establishment of livelihood projects that would generate jobs and more income to solve the poverty problem in the Philippines.

For instance, BALIKATAN 2000 could put up factories, on lands donated by the Philippine government or private individuals, to manufacture consumer goods for export to the United States and other countries.

After the end of the BALIKATAN "Factory Exercise", Filipinos will have more income and jobs, assuming the manufacturing activities succeed, and the consumers in the United States and other countries will

enjoy more goods coming from the Philippines.

Perhaps Admiral Blair and the directors of BALIKATAN could invite experts from the Association of Manufacturers in the United States and in the Philippines to advise the BALIKATAN 2000 participants on how to put up the factories during the exercise. M



MAYNILA, FEBRUARY 2000

2/22
April 25, 2000

Mr. David Kaplan
Founder and Director
The Spiritual Center of America
Suite 112
639 Whispering Hills Road
Boone, North Carolina 28607

Dear David:

Thanks so much for your letter and for the copy of *End School Violence Now*. I've shared your videotape with Bruce Reed, Director of my Domestic Policy Council, and will also send it to Jeffrey Bleich, the Executive Director of the National Campaign Against Youth Violence. I'm grateful for your involvement and hope to see you soon.

Hillary and I send our best to you, Linda, and Alivia.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

BC/RMS/SH/DDA/DC/bws-pfs (Corres. #7173531)
(4.kaplan.d)

cc: John Wertman, 97

cc: DWB/SPM, 94

cc: w/inc and video Bruce Reed, 2FL/WW

WHcc: w/inc

Mr. Jeffrey Bleich

Executive Director

National Campaign Against Youth Violence

20th Floor

30 New Montgomery Street

San Francisco, California 94105-9781

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-18-00

3/22



HEAVENLY MOUNTAIN

A Residential Resort Community

David Kaplan, President

March 14, 2000

President Bill Clinton
White House
Washington D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

I hope this letter finds you well and happy. We finally finished the tape on eliminating youth violence, and think you will enjoy it. As you will see on the tape "End School Violence Now" there is a solution that actually works, and, it is working in a variety of schools right now.

Mr. President, Linda and I just had a baby girl on Valentines Day, Alivia Valentine Kaplan. We are hoping we can come with our little girl for a visit, and, to plan out the appropriate next steps.

I really look forward to working with you on this. Now that I have a daughter, this issue is even more important.

Thank you for considering this. I really appreciate your own concern on this matter, and I look forward to helping.

Sincerely Yours,

David Kaplan

copied
Reed
Podesta
Berkhardt
(for reply)

3-20-00

We will send to
Berkhardt after you
have seen -



and

video attached

SKIP Rutherford 4/25

John A. Wertman

04/25/2000 01:36:54 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Janice H. Vranich/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

bcc:

Subject: Re: Does Delia??

Swenson b/c there was a message done in place of the letter. Rutherford, I don't remember, but it was NRNed by Nancy...
Janice H. Vranich

Janice H. Vranich 04/25/2000 01:30:25 PM

Record Type: Record

To: John A. Wertman/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

Subject: Re: Does Delia??

any recollection why Swenson and Rutherford were nrr'd - if you could email me with that, then I can close them out..

a HUGE help with the info below...thanks!

----- Forwarded by Janice H. Vranich/WHO/EOP on 04/25/2000 01:29 PM -----

John A. Wertman

04/25/2000 12:49:26 PM

Record Type: Record

To: Janice H. Vranich/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

bcc:

Subject: Re: Does Delia??

I don't think I've ever seen Ryan. Swenson and Rutherford got NRNed. Moore is with Delia. Hope that helps

Janice H. Vranich

Janice H. Vranich 04/25/2000 12:28:06 PM

31

CJRW
outmarketing

Skip Rutherford

1-14-00

1-19-00 ff Secretu

January 10, 2000

To Burhardt?

Yes ☒No ☐

to respond ASAP.

CJR

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President of the United States
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

We have just learned that the very small budget proposed for the Little Rock Central High School National Historic Site by the National Parks Service has been or is in the process of being eliminated at the Assistant Secretary level at the Department of Interior. The 2001 budget only calls for \$300,000 in operating funds and \$2 million in construction. These funds, recommended by the National Parks Service, are absolutely critical in the operation and development of one of America's most famous and historic high school sites.

Knowing of your sincere personal interest in Central and longtime commitment to the school, to Mrs. Bates and to the Little Rock Nine, I hope you will review this matter. I also left a detailed phone message for Bruce Lindsey last Friday afternoon. I would certainly appreciate your help. Thank you for looking into this for us.

Best Wishes,



Skip Rutherford
Executive Vice President

cc: Bruce Lindsey
Nancy Hernreich
Bob Nash

Thank you for

Little Rock DFB.

Much appreciated.

Cranford Johnson Robinson

Advertising - Public Relations - OutMarketing

303 West Capitol Avenue - Little Rock - Arkansas

501-975-6251 Fax 501-975-4241 www.cjr.com

Eastern Office - Raleigh - North Carolina

4/13
April 24, 2000

Mr. John J. Kelly
3510 Wolters Place, N.E.
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87106

Dear John:

I want to thank you for your outstanding service to our nation as both United States Attorney for the District of New Mexico and the Attorney General's Special Representative to the Southwest Border Region.

I know that the people of New Mexico have benefited from your good work, and I appreciate all you have done. I am grateful for your role in launching new federal law enforcement initiatives that resulted in the first narcotics and violent crime racketeering prosecutions in the state's history and for your work to increase prosecution of crimes against women and children on New Mexico's reservations. You can take pride in knowing that your dedicated efforts have helped to ensure the fair and effective enforcement of our nation's laws and to improve the lives of others.

On behalf of all those who have benefited from your service, I thank you for a job well done. Best wishes for continued success and every happiness.

Sincerely, **BILL CLINTON**

BC/TFS/SH/DC/ddj-emu (Corres. #7108728)
(3.kelly.doc)

cc: J. Wertman, 97 OEOB
cc: Pres. Personnel, 131 OEOB
cc: Exec. Clerk, 5 OEOB
cc: SPM/DWB, 94 OEOB

1/13

JOHN J. KELLY

1-12-00

After you have seen,
we will send original
to Burkhardt for reply -

C.



CC:

M. Moore

THE WHITE HOUSE

1-12-00

Mr. President,

John Kelly asked
that I bring his
letter of resignation
to your attention.
He is running for
Congress in New Mexico's
First Congressional
District.

Bac

This came to me -

Prob. Should be
handled by Dan's
office, no?

Eugene



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
U.S. Department of Justice

**United States Attorney
District of New Mexico**

P.O. Box 607
Albuquerque, New Mexico 87103

505/346-7274
FAX 505/346-7296

January 3, 2000

VIA FACSIMILE AND U.S. MAIL

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The time has come for me to leave the Department of Justice. My last day as United States Attorney will be Tuesday, January 4, 2000. I am also stepping down as the Attorney General's Special Representative to the Southwest Border.

I am honored beyond measure to have served as your United States Attorney in New Mexico since 1993. During that time, the United States Attorney's Office in New Mexico has doubled in size. I am proud of the good that your administration and the Department of Justice have accomplished for the people of New Mexico during this time.

As you know, with fewer than two million people, New Mexico is one of the country's least populated states. At the same time, New Mexico impacts a number of important federal interests, and the policies of the federal government in turn greatly affect the people of this state.

I want you to know that your policy initiatives have had a decidedly positive impact on New Mexico over the last seven years. The commitment of hundreds of millions of dollars of new federal spending to protect the Southwest Border and improve the efficiency of our ports of entry will be a lasting benefit to the State of New Mexico.

Likewise, the COPS program and the Department of Justice and Department of the Interior Indian Country Law Enforcement Initiative have had a meaningful impact on the state. One of my proudest achievements has been the close personal working relationships I have been able to develop with tribal law enforcement during my time in office. The result of our collective efforts has been a tangible improvement in public safety on the state's 22 reservations.

JAN 02 2004 04:55 PM US ATTORNEY KELLER
January 3, 2000
Page 2

Finally, New Mexico is at the center of much of the country's defense and energy-related research and development. I believe that this office, as well as our colleagues in federal law enforcement, at the Department of Defense, and in the Department of Energy, have worked hard to safeguard national security and protect the nation's science and technology infrastructure during the Clinton Administration.

Last week, I told both the Attorney General and Senator Bingaman that my time as the United States Attorney has been the professional "highlight" of a very busy 25-year legal career. In addition, Mr. President, you should know that words cannot adequately describe how rewarding and personally satisfying it has been to hold a Presidential appointment during your Administration. You have done great things for the country, and I am proud to have played a small part.

I wish you the very best during your final year in office. Sudeen and I will look forward to renewing our old friendship when time permits.

Sincerely yours,



JOHN J. KELLY
United States Attorney

JJK/ch

2/14
April 24, 2000

Iman Bassam A. Estwani
Chairman, Board of Directors
Dar Al-Hijrah Islamic Center
Post Office Box 1625
Falls Church, Virginia 22041

Dear Imam Estwani:

It was good to see you at the White House last January. I appreciate your taking the time to outline your suggestions. You have some good ideas, and I've forwarded your letter to Mary Beth Cahill, Director of the White House Office of Public Liaison. You may contact her at (202) 456-2930.

I am pleased that there is growing recognition in our country of the Islamic faith and of the increasingly significant role Muslims are playing in the life of our nation. As you know, my Administration has worked hard to foster religious freedom and to promote awareness and inclusion of all faiths. I appreciate your interest in documenting our initiatives to celebrate the diverse traditions that enrich the life of our nation.

Hillary and I hope you are well, and we extend our best wishes.

Sincerely, **BILL CLINTON**

BC/WMW/SH/DA/DC/pfs-emu (Corres. #7165842)
(4.estwani)

cc: John Wertman, 97 OEOB
SPM/DWB, 94 OEOB
w/cy of inc Carrie Street, 184 OEOB
w/cy of inc Social Office, 2nd Fl/EW
w/cy of inc to Joe Ratner, GFL/WW

BASSAM A. ESTWANI

3-10-00

3/14



Dar Al Hijrah

3159 Row Street Falls Church, Va 22044

After you have seen,
we will forward
original to Beekhardt

Copied

Cahill

Johnson

Podesta

Beekhardt
(for reply)

Cal



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
3-10-00

MBeth/c Ben Johnson
- You interested in
our then suggestions
- lets forward the reply
to him would be good
to have collected all facts
for Muslims -
[Signature]

Honorable William J. Clinton
President of United States of America
1600 Pennsylvania Ave, N.W.
Washington, DC



March 9, 2000.

Honorable William Jefferson Clinton
President of United States of America
1600 Pennsylvania Ave, N.W.
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. President:

I greet you with the greetings of Almighty Allah, the greetings of peace; peace be unto you, your family and all those around you who are working for peace and justice.

WRITE ME A LETTER!!!!, WRITE ME A LETTER!!!!, A humble, yet an honorable request from our great President. A request which conveys all the meanings of compassionate responsiveness and generous reply to my suggestion which meets with and directly converges with the tremendous efforts of our President in building a greater America and a better world. A world where people can live in harmony, peace and cooperation to hold high the standards of morality and human values, so that future generations can enjoy these bounties and blessings as we enter the new millennium.

An honorable request from an honorable President. It was during your gracious hosting of the Muslim community in the tenth of January during the occasion of EID ALFITR at the end of the holy month of Ramadan. That wonderful meeting has left an indelible and a warm impression in our hearts and in the hearts of our children. These wonderful impressions are sure to be transmitted to the hearts of our children and their children in the future generations of the Muslim community. Thanks again and your wonderful efforts are much appreciated.

Good
Firstly, as far as the suggestion, (which I cherish your welcoming of it), it is to hold a single, unified celebration in the white house under your hospitality and care towards the end of next December 2000. A celebration, which will bring together the children of Islam, Christianity and Judaism instead of the separate meetings for each denomination. It is, also, our great fortune to witness this unique opportunity, which can only happen in about thirty years since the timing of the Islamic calendar, which depends on the lunar calendar, converges with Christmas and Hanukah in the same week. This good fortune presents a unique wonderful historical opportunity to host a celebration of the traditions of the three great religions. Such action would add a wonderful addition to your long list of accomplishments and merits in achieving harmony and peace amongst people of different ethnicities and religions as equal citizens of a one great indivisible nation under God. People who can cooperate to establish and cultivate the spirits and meanings of acceptance, tolerance and cooperation; for indeed it is with peace that all people are truly successful and happy and equally true, people with intolerance, hostility and enmity are indeed at loss. Allah Almighty has said in the book of final revelation, the Holy Quran "O people, We have created you from a male and a female and we have made you peoples and tribes so that you may know one another; Indeed the best of you in front of Allah is the one who is most pious" He also has said "and join in cooperation in matters of goodness and righteousness and cooperate not in matters of evil and transgression" as well as His saying "And enter into peace all of you". There is no doubt that such wonderful meanings are also shared in the New Testaments and Torah, which were revealed from Almighty God to Moses and Jesus (peace be upon both of them). And by taking this opportunity, we emphasize what you strive for in achieving peace among people and harmony within our society.

I would kindly wish to be granted the honor of delivering the opening supplication and prayer for this awaited occasion. It will be a prayer, which would truly represent the embodiment of these wonderful and honorable meanings and principles. I would kindly also request that we would be granted the honor of introducing one of our youth to present a short statement on behalf of the children and youth of our Muslim community with the deepest gratitude, and appreciation for their President and his relentless efforts for peace, harmony, and the good of mankind.

Good
Secondly, I was also honored in being given the opportunity to invite you personally to visit our Islamic center and mosque in Falls Church, Virginia (Dar Al-Hijrah Islamic Center), which is considered one of the most active and largest Islamic centers in the United States. I have been repeatedly honored by



your invitations and warm receptions at the white house, especially at the Breakfast Prayers since September 1995. You and the first lady have graciously hosted the Muslim community on several occasions and we are eternally grateful for your and her gracious hospitality and reception. We wish her and you the best always.

Your honoring us by your visit to our Islamic center would leave indelible favorable impressions in the hearts and souls of our Muslim community both in the United States of America and in the outside world where over one and a half billion people live. We suggest that the visit be on the occasion of Eid Al-Adha (Feast of Sacrifice) at the time of the Pilgrimage (March 16 to 20th). It is an occasion just as significant as the end of Ramadan and represents one of the two most celebrated holidays of the Islamic calendar.

The other suitable occasion may be the Islamic new year which would correspond to the sixth of April and would mark 1421 years since the migration of our prophet Mohamed peace be upon him from Mecca to Madinah, marking the beginning of the Islamic state and Islamic calendar. We would certainly provide you with the necessary information about our center. If neither of these two occasions were befitting to your schedule, we would welcome you at any other times that may be most suitable for your busy schedule. We will waste no effort in coordinating with your staff in the appropriate preparation of your great historical visit to our Islamic Center. A visit which we greatly look forward to and will tremendously value and cherish the moments you spend with us; realizing your extremely busy schedule and your other very significant engagements.

Thirdly, it would be a great honor if I am allowed to meet with you in your office to present to you what I have collected about you and your wonderful efforts in serving the interests of peace and justice in Islamic causes such as in Palestine, Bosnia, Kosovo, Kashmir, Albania and many others over the past few years as well as your openness and warm invitation of the Muslim community to your administration and the white house.

For the first time, Muslims leaders and members of the community were invited to the white house. Your repeated statements and those of the first lady as well as senior members of your administration in support of Islam and Muslims and presenting them in a fair and just light provide for a legacy that is indeed honored and cherished by all Muslims across the landscape of America. Your repeated calls for religious tolerance and fair analysis of events provided for the basis, which prevented any ethnic or religious strife in our country.

I wish to include all that and more of your tremendously wonderful legacy towards Islam and Muslims in a ~~documentary~~ book which would be translated to the Arabic language and to the many languages of the Islamic world, so that everybody would know the significance and importance of your accomplishments and the tremendous efforts witnessed during your administration to reach out to the American Muslims and the Muslims all over the world.

I have witnessed first hand in my visits and media interviews in the Middle East the favorable impression people have of you as I tell them about your warmth and hospitality as well as your continued support of Islamic causes and Muslims in America. I cherish our relationship very much and I feel honored to have had the opportunity to interact with a great President of our great nation. I wish that you kindly consider my humble requests and give us your favorable responses in the very near future. And after greeting you again with the greetings of peace, I remain humbly and

Respectfully yours,

Bassam A. Estwani
Chairman, Board of Directors of Dar Al-Hijrah
Board Member, Fairfax Partnership for Youth
Board Member, Interfaith Conf. Of Washington area.

2/16
April 20, 2000

The Honorable Harris Wofford
Chief Executive Officer
Corporation for National Service
1201 New York Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20525

Dear Harris:

Thank you for your March 13 letter. You have done so much for our nation, and it was fitting that you were able to join us in Selma -- I was honored to be there with you.

Thanks, too, for the materials about Gandhi. I was glad to have them as I prepared for my trip to India.

I hope to see you again soon, and I send my best.

Sincerely,

BILL

BC/JAW/SH/DWB/pfs (Corres. #7166274)
(4.wofford)

cc: John Wertman, 97 EEOB

cc: DWB/SPM, RM 4

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH through Sean Maloney

CLEAR THROUGH SEAN MALONEY

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

Harris Wofford

CORPORATION
FOR NATIONAL
★ SERVICE



3/16

00 MAR 16 PM 5:50

03-18-00

to Burkhardt for reply?

Yes ☒
No ☐

Atty gen

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

03-18-00

- S.C.

March 13, 2000

Dear Mr. President,

Thank you, heart-felt, for the trip to Selma. Being there with you meant a great deal to me. Your words, and the sight of those state troopers lining the way, saluting you and Coretta, John Lewis and the Governor of Alabama – and the marchers 35 years after the troopers awaited with clubs ready – beautifully closes the loop on the Selma story. Someday soon I hope to begin putting my adventures in the 20th century in a memoir, and this will be part of it.

Continuing my new role as your volunteer historian, I enclose a talk I did in 1955 at the Hampton Institute on *Gandhi, the Civil Rights Lawyer*. It's probably the most significant talk I ever gave. A copy was given to Martin Luther King a few weeks before the Montgomery Bus Boycott and started my connection with him. It led to his joke that I was the only lawyer in his camp who would help him go to jail instead of using all the tricks of the trade to keep him out.

You may find this background on Gandhi useful homework in preparation for India where Gandhi still haunts the land and shimmers the path, however far the powers that be there have strayed from that path. A wise philosopher said: Man has thought twice in our century, once with Einstein, once with Gandhi. Einstein feared that the atomic bomb would be his tragic legacy, and hailed Gandhi as the one who pointed another way.

Supplementing the 1955 talk are long excerpts from the sections on Gandhi in the book *India Afire* that Clare and I wrote in 1949, after our half a year in India and Pakistan. You or your writers may find some fragments of use.

Have a good trip to the subcontinent! I'll be battling (or sailing) through two Congressional hearings on our appropriations, and then on to the reauthorization campaign.

Warmly,

Harris

Jai Hind!

The slogan for Life to India!

Harris Wofford



3/22
April 20, 2000

The Honorable Kathleen Kennedy Townsend
Lieutenant Governor of Maryland
Annapolis, Maryland 21401

Dear Kathleen:

Thanks so much for your kind note. I'm deeply grateful for your leadership, and I want to thank you once again for all you are doing in Maryland to promote safer and stronger communities -- especially your efforts to protect people from gun violence.

Your friendship and support mean a lot to me. I hope to see you again soon, and I send my best.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

BILL

BC/RMS/DDA/SH/pfs-ws (Corres. #7160816)
(4.townsend.kk)

cc: IGA, 106 OEOB
John Wertman, 97 EEOB
DWB/SPM, 94 EEOB

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH
through Sean Maloney

CLEAR THRU SEAN MALONEY

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

3/22

3/20/00

Send to Beukhardt?

Yes ☒No ☐

KATHLEEN KENNEDY TOWNSEND

LT. GOVERNOR

March 16, 2000

Dear Mr. President.

My dear friend, Thank you for coming last night & for your strong words of support for our anti-gun initiative. Like always, your words were a 'jolt' in the arm for all those who may be cynical about what we can do →

You are The example of why term limits are not a good idea. But we must remember - John Quincy Adams.

I look forward to many many years of serving with you. You are a very special friend and a great leader. Thank you!

Warmest.
Kathleen

KKT

OFFICE OF THE LT. GOVERNOR
STATE HOUSE
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND 21401

Private

Tim Naughton

4/20

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

4/18

Dan--

Pam Cicetti did a personal reply for the First Lady to this letter. She felt that it would be overkill if the President also replied. I talked to Counsel's Office about the nomination question, and they had never even heard of Mr. Lieberman. Should we NRN?

Ok, but needs to come out
of filter

- JW Make sure Scheduling
response to that
part of request Tx
4/20

JIM NAUGHTON

4/12

Send to Burkhardt for

Reply

- coordinate w/ Counsel for response

re: Stephen Holberman/Judge

Nomination

- scheduling an invitation

- HRC's office on response

cc: scheduling
HRC



4/14

Debi -
We just rec'd. We need
quick AD note (see 4/24
event date). Coord w/
Sched Bob Nash, Counsel
HRC's office I want to
see. *R*

① Needs to
be sent to
Betty Currie for
+ Stephanie
street
ROTUS

② Copy to Pam
for personal
response from
HRC

③ Keep copy
for me
- Patti Solis Doyle

Dan: 4/12
Note date
of incoming
-- alot of
inc. may
be old??
NO DATE ON JUSTIN'S
NOTE

JIM NAUGHTON

4/12

Send to Burkhardt for
Reply

- coordinate w/ Counsel for response

re: Stephen Holsherman/Judge
Nomination

- scheduling an invitation

- HRC's office on response

cc: scheduling
HRC



① Needs to
be sent to
Bettie Currie for
+ Stephanie
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ROTUS

② Copy to Pam
for personal
response from
HRC

③ Keep copy
for me
- Patti Solis Doyle



ARIZONA
BILTMORE
RESORT & SPA

00 APR 12 AM 11:56
February 16, 2000

Dear President and Mrs. Clinton,

Greetings from the desert. Stockard
Channing and I are making a film for
lifetime (it's a cable station) and I'm playing
as much golf as I can on days off.

This is a belated thanks you for the
beautiful Christmas card you sent to Pam
and me. It's on the wall in our pool room.

This is also a note on behalf of the nephew of
a friend of mine, Stephen Lieberman of Reading, Pa.
who is a candidate for Federal Circuit Court
Judge in Pennsylvania. He is apparently on
a short list submitted to you this month
for your consideration.

Finally, this is also a chance
for me to wish you both well early in



this 21st Century and to add my voice to the throng cheering Hillary's run for the Senate in New York. If there is anything I can do, please don't hesitate to call on me.

I imagine your schedules are by normal human standards, ridiculous, but if either of you is in Manhattan on Monday night, April 24th, we'd love to have you join Paul Newman, Gwyneth Paltrow, Stockard Channing and some other friends including Walter and Selma Kaye, Liz Robbins, Richard Holbrook, at the Copacabana to benefit the Blue Light Theatre Company. It's a good show and a lot of laughs. Pam joins me in sending

our

Best wishes, Jim Naughton

24th Street and Missouri, Phoenix, Arizona 85016 602.955.6600 FOR TOLL FREE ROOM RESERVATIONS CALL (800) 650-0086

my cell phone: (914) 325-5990

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 17, 2000

COPY

Mr. William C. Niner
2919 Hampstead Mexico Road
Hampstead, Maryland 21074

Dear Mr. Niner:

On behalf of President Clinton, thank you for your interest in meeting with the President.

Unfortunately, the President will be unable to accept your thoughtful invitation. Please know your request received full consideration and that President Clinton sends his best wishes.

Once again, thank you for contacting the White House.

Sincerely,

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

Stephanie S. Streett
Assistant to the President
Director of Presidential Scheduling

SSS/cas

William C. Niner

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

3/14

Young man wants
to meet Putin!

B

3-13-00
Burkhardt
Send to ~~Scheduling~~?
Yes ☒
No ☐

cc: scheduling conf



BETTY - FOR
HANDLING HOWEVER
YOU WANT. THANKS.

SANDY.

Sandy Rinck
Special Assistant to the Secretary

MAR 14 2000

2919 Hampstead Mexico Road
Hampstead, MD 21074
February 14, 2000

The Honorable William Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

I am a senior Honor Student at the University of Maryland Eastern Shore maintaining a 3.95 GPA and a United States Achievement Academy All-American Scholar. Once I have completed my studies here at the University of Maryland Eastern Shore, I plan to attend law school which I hope will help to propel me into a political career working my way up the political ladder to the United States Presidency.

Additionally, I have learned a lot reading your book Between Hope and History: Meeting America's Challenges for the 21st Century. Your writings and leadership has helped to inspire my future political aspirations. You have been a political role model to me and have given me an example to follow of a true leader. Your leadership has encouraged me to work on starting my future political career which led me to an internship with United States Congressman Roscoe Bartlett. In addition, I continually volunteer on many political campaigns within my locality. These events have given me the opportunity to speak with your wife First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, United States Senator Paul Sarbanes, United States Senator Barbara Mikulski, former Maryland Governor Harry Hughes, and other political leaders. Indeed, I have enjoyed meeting with these leaders, but I have not had the honor to meet with you, who I regard as my greatest role model.

Since your inspiration has helped to enhance my desire of serving the United States, I would like to ask if I could personally meet with you firsthand to discuss my possible role in shaping the future of America and the United States Government. This firsthand experience would be very influential and help me become a better future leader for our country. I feel that meeting you will have the same effect on me as when you met President Kennedy. In addition, I feel that I could learn a lot from speaking with you. I know this is an immense request to fulfill, but you are the only person who can.

Thank you for your time and consideration. I know you are extremely busy running the country, but I would greatly appreciate getting a few minutes to meet with you. God bless you and the United States, President Clinton.

Sincerely,

William C. Niner



THE SECRETARY OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

February 24, 2000

00 MAR 13 PM 4:59

Mr. William C. Niner
2919 Hampstead Mexico Road
Hampstead, Maryland 20174

Dear William:

It was a pleasure meeting you at the recent NAFEO conference and, as you requested, I am forwarding your letter over to President Clinton at the White House.

As you can imagine, the President's schedule is extremely full with a lot of travel in this busy year. Nevertheless, I know he will enjoy learning about your future goal and your path to achieve it, as was I.

Best wishes for a meaningful future, William.

Yours sincerely,


Richard W. Riley

✓ CC / PRESIDENT CLINTON

2919 Hampstead Mexico Rd.
Hampstead, MD 21074
February 14, 2000

The Honorable Richard Riley
United States Department of Education
Washington, D.C.

Dear Secretary Riley:

I am currently a senior Honor student at the University of Maryland Eastern Shore maintaining a 3.95 GPA. I would like to thank you for meeting with me at the National Association for Equal Opportunity (NAFEO) conference in Washington, D.C. It was a true honor to personally meet and speak with a leader of your high caliber. I enjoyed listening to your words of advice concerning my future political aspirations as I hope to enter politics in the future and work my way up the political ladder.

Additionally, I have enclosed to a letter to President Clinton since I would like to meet with President Clinton. As we had discussed at the conference, I am interested in meeting President Clinton because he has been a political role model of mine and I am interested in one day running for his position to help lead the United States. He has been an inspiration to me seeing how he came from a small town and worked his way up the political ladder. I feel that meeting him will have the same effect on me as when he met President Kennedy which helped to encourage his political future. In addition, if you are able to help me, I have included a letter to President Clinton as to why I want to meet with him. I know that this is an immense request to fulfill, but you are the only one who can.

Again it was an honor meeting you and I would also like to thank you for your time and consideration. I would greatly appreciate any assistance that you could provide. God bless you and the United States, Secretary Riley.

Sincerely,



William C. Niner

Enclosures: Letter to President Clinton

April 13, 2000

The Honorable Wendell L. Griffen
Arkansas Court of Appeals
Justice Building
625 Marshall
Little Rock, Arkansas 72201

Dear Wendell:

Debbie Branson sent me your Law Review article on racial equity. You raise some interesting points, and I have shared your article with members of my staff.

America is a work in progress, and we must continue striving to live up to the ideals set forth in our nation's founding documents. I appreciate your candor, your insights, and all you are doing to achieve racial justice and to foster appreciation of our diversity. Please know that I remain deeply committed to doing all I can to educate the American people and engage them in a national dialogue about issues related to race and to advance the cause of racial reconciliation.

As we work to create a better and brighter future for all Americans, I look forward to your continued involvement. Warm regards.

BILL CLINTON

Sincerely,

BC/CKS/DC/pw-ddj-bws (Corres. #7102357)
(3.griffen.wl)

cc: w/copy of inc to Ben Johnson
cc: John Wertman, 97 OEOB
cc: DWB/SPM, 94 OEOB

35.50
Luzerne B.
F.O.B.
THE LAW OFFICES OF
FRANK L. BRANSON, P.C.

FRANK L. BRANSON
DEBBIE DUDLEY BRANSON

GEORGE (TEX) QUESADA
JERRY M. WHITE
ROBERT D. CRAIN
WILLIAM B. CURTIS
THOMAS J. FARMER
CHARLES E. MOODY

18TH FLOOR
HIGHLAND PARK PLACE
4514 COLE AVENUE
DALLAS, TEXAS 75205-4185

214-522-0200
D/FW METRO: 972-263-7452
FAX: 214-521-5485

OF COUNSEL

TED Z. ROBERTSON
J. HADLEY EDGAR, JR.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

1-10-00

December 6, 1999

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

Please find enclosed the Law Review article written by Judge Griffin that I mentioned Friday night. Thanks for the invitation to the White House premiere of "The Hurricane." The movie was powerful and the company wonderful!

With best regards,


Debbie D. Branson

DDBvdh
enclosure

copied
Echeverste
Ben Johnson
Padesta
Burkhardt for
reply

Let
her
see
Debbie D. Branson sends Law Review article that she mentioned by Judge Wendell Griffin, entitled "Race, Law, and Culture: A Call to New Thinking, Leadership and Action." Thanks for invitation to premiere of "The Hurricane." The movie was powerful and the company wonderful!

RACE, LAW, AND CULTURE: A CALL TO NEW THINKING,
LEADERSHIP, AND ACTION

Wendell L. Griffen*

It is encouraging that racial equity is receiving the honest attention that this symposium provides. Historically, talk about race and racial equity has involved conversation that the white majority finds palatable, if not comforting. That means that talk about race and racial equity has usually been based more on denial and myth than on truth. I will depart from that tradition in the interest of intellectual honesty.

Most Americans are in denial about racism and its pervasive influence on the legal system, our society, economy, notions of government, and definition of culture. Denial of racism has defined our history, impairs our ability to deal with current situations, and is likely to determine life in the 21st Century unless we make some drastic changes. Michael Eric Dyson described this denial tendency and its effects on racial equity from the black experience in his introduction to William Owens' bold book about the *Amistad* drama as follows:

It is not overstating the case to suggest that, when it comes to race, we are living in the United States of Amnesia. America cannot solve its race problem because it cannot afford to remember what it has been through, or more accurately, what it has made its Black citizens endure: the horrible, cowardly, vicious legacy of racial domination stroked by religious belief and judicial mandate. The willful forgetfulness of our racial past continues to trap us. It makes Whites repeat harmful cycles of guilt, denial, hostility, and indifference. It makes Blacks cling desperately to victimization, White hatred, self-doubting, and self-loathing. It appears easier for most Whites, and for many Blacks, to reenact a pantomime of social civility through comfortable gestures of racial reconciliation than it is to tell each other the

* Judge, Arkansas Court of Appeals, and Pastor, Emmanuel Baptist Church, Little Rock, Arkansas. I am grateful to Dean Rodney Smith, the faculty of the University of Arkansas at Little Rock School of Law, and the University of Arkansas at Little Rock Law Review for the opportunity to take part in this symposium. I also deeply appreciate the generous support given by Professor Cynthia E. Nance and Professor Robert Laurence of the University of Arkansas School of Law, as well as the research and editorial assistance provided by my law clerks (JoAnn Adcock, a 1998 graduate of the University of Arkansas School of Law, and John Bateman, a 1998 graduate of the Washington and Lee School of Law). Finally, this article is dedicated in memory of my father, Bennie L. Griffen, and in honor of my mother, Josephine Griffen, my wife, Dr. Patricia Griffen, our sons (Martyn and Elliott Griffen), my siblings (Bennie Sue Jennings and Danny C. Griffen), and my niece (Rhyann Jennings), with the fervent hope that they will be agents of the new thinking, new leadership, and new action so desperately needed if racial justice is to occur in the 21st Century.

story of the colossal breach of humane behavior and democratic practice that slavery represented.¹

The great need for our society regarding racial equity in the 21st Century is new thinking, new leadership, and new action about racism and racial justice. Without new thinking, new leadership, and new action about racism and its results, we will merely perpetuate past mistakes and re-institutionalize centuries of ingrained racism. The question is whether we, as a society, have the character to embrace new thinking, accept new leadership, and rise to new action concerning racism, an issue that has been always with us but about which we are virtually phobic.

I. NEW THINKING ABOUT RACISM AND RACIAL JUSTICE

No intellectually honest person should deny that we need new thinking about racism and existing racial injustice to move toward racial equity in the coming century. By racism, I mean the belief system by which persons are subordinated, subjugated, and otherwise accorded inferior status and treatment due to race. Racism has infected American thinking concerning history, economics, law, culture, and religion from the time that the first European explorers arrived in what they termed the "New World," found non-white people living a culture that spanned back several centuries, and dared to claim the land for the European rulers who financed their travels rather than respect the presence and superior rights of the people they found on that land. What began as arrogant ignorance and sheer racism by Columbus regarding where he was and to whom that land belonged set the pattern for future dealings between white and non-white people in this country. White explorers took by force or stole millions of acres from the indigenous Native Americans. Africans were kidnaped by the millions and shipped across the Atlantic to provide a free labor force upon which the economy of the colonies was based.

The Revolutionary War began with a declaration that "all men are created equal;" in fact, the war merely gave white landowners political freedom from Great Britain. They used that political freedom to exploit Native American people (from whom they stole the land) and African people (from whom they stole the labor) to enrich themselves. The Constitutional Convention produced a document in 1787 that accommodated that theft of labor capital called slavery, included three-fifths of the enslaved population in the calculus for defining makeup of the House of Representatives, and thereby placed a constitutional stamp of approval on the racism that slavery

1. Michael Eric Dyson, *Introduction* to WILLIAM A. OWENS, *BLACK MUTINY* (Black Classic Press 1997) (1953).

represented while giving slave-holding states enhanced political representation to boot. The racism virus that Columbus brought to this land had now become institutionalized.

This nation has yet to officially admit—let alone remedy—the glaring reality that treaties with Native Americans were negotiated, broken with either the quiet assent or the open endorsement of the government, and that the thinking behind those actions is largely responsible for inequities facing Native Americans today. Haywood Burns wrote with forceful accuracy about this history in an essay titled *Racism and American Law* that was included in a book titled *Law Against the People: Essays to Demystify Law, Order, and the Courts*. Among other salient observations, Burns wrote:

As early as the seventeenth century, English settlers were setting up reservations for Indians in the environs. As early as the eighteenth century, legislative bodies were offering bounties for Indian scalps. On the question of Indian lands, the U. S. Supreme Court in *Johnson v. M'Intosh*, [8 Wheat 543] (1823) took the position that "discovery gave exclusive title to those who made it"—upholding the land claims of whites who "discovered" certain lands occupied by Indians, and denying the Indians right and power to dispose of the land.

A treaty, once ratified by the Senate, is entered in the U.S. Statutes at Large and becomes part of the law of the land. Some of the greatest instances of official lawlessness chronicled in our nation's past are found in the pattern of treaty making followed by treaty breaking in dealing with Indians. It is the story of one continuous forked tongue. In 1830 Congress passed the Indian Removal Act, which was designed to effect the transfer of the so-called "civilized tribes" from their homeland in the East to lands west of the Mississippi. In exchange for their homeland the Indians were to receive perpetual title to the Western lands. "Perpetuity" lasted only until white Americans decided that the vast territory west of the Mississippi was too valuable to remain in Indian hands and to wrench it from them. It was illegal white encroachments which generated most of the Indian wars of the nineteenth century. Western lands taken away from the Indians and made available to white settlers under federal land grant law formed the basis for many white Americans' growth to economic independence and well-being. Many of today's middle Americans who are the staunchest advocates of law and order and free enterprise are where they are because of a land base that was provided for their forebears through theft of Indian land and the largesse of a big government benefit program.

One of the more striking examples of the perversion of the legal process in dealing with Indian land is the ruse used against the California Indians. The Indians gave up more than half the state of California in exchange for perpetual ownership of 7,500,000 acres. Because of pressure

from white politicians, the Senate never ratified the treaties under which the Indians gave up their land in exchange for the 7,500,000 acres. The Indian Bureau, which had negotiated the treaties in 1851 with 119 California tribes, never told the Indians about the failure to ratify. The treaties stayed in the files of the Senate until 1905 when the 7,500,000 acres the Indians thought were theirs were sold to white settlers and land speculators.²

We have yet to admit the racism that resulted in Chinese exclusion laws in the West and acknowledge the fact that similar treatment was not applied to immigrants from Europe. Somehow our obsession with power and notion of manifest destiny made us oblivious to the blatant racism practiced against the Mexican people of Texas, New Mexico, Colorado, and Arizona during the last century that resulted in the loss of millions of acres of land that had been owned for generations. We forcibly removed American citizens of Japanese ancestry from their homes, communities, work, and businesses during World War II and interned them like prisoners of war solely because of their ancestry. The United States Supreme Court sanctioned that blatant act of institutional racism in *Korematsu v. United States*,³ just as it had sanctioned the institutional racism of slavery in *Dred Scott v. Sanford*,⁴ and racial segregation in *Plessy v. Ferguson*.⁵ Had the same reasoning been applied to American citizens of Italian and German ancestry, Joe DiMaggio and Dwight D. Eisenhower would have been interned. There was never a serious discussion about a threat to national security posed by having a person of German ancestry commanding Allied forces against the Third Reich, let alone being elected president within a decade of that war.

Unless and until we admit that racism produced these and countless other stubborn, stupid, and sick results we will not create a different society in the 21st Century. American law, history, economics, religion, social life, and culture have been so permeated by racism and racist thought for such a long time that nothing short of new thinking about that racism and its effects on our national life bodes real chance for producing racial equity in the new century.

Until American thinking about racism and racial justice is defined from the perspective of the historical victims of racism and racial injustice rather than from the perspective of the historical beneficiaries, we are doomed to

2. Haywood Burns, *Racism and American Law*, in *Law Against the People: Essays to Demystify Law, Order and the Courts* 38, 39-41 (Robert Lefcourt ed., 1971). The Treaty with the Si-Yan-Te, etc. of 1851 involved the California land fraud referred to in the final paragraph of the quotation.

3. 323 U.S. 214 (1944).

4. 60 U.S. (19 How.) 393 (1857).

5. 163 U.S. 537 (1896).

continue the sorry legacy of racism. We must shift our thinking about racism and racial justice from focusing on the benefits and comforts that have been enjoyed and may be reduced by racism's historical white beneficiaries to focusing on the costs, burdens, and consequences that have been suffered and will be endured by racism's historical non-white victims. We should admit that the new thinking is not likely to come from the same mindset that has produced so much of what we deem legitimate about American law and culture.

The prevailing thought in American law and culture regarding racism and racial injustice follows the ages-old presumption of white superiority over non-white people and what one social ethicist termed a belief in "the rightness of whiteness."⁶ Thus, the very mindset that produced the theft of Native American land, enslavement of Africans, discrimination against people of Asian ancestry, and belittling of the Hispanic culture (including the Spanish language) has driven and continues to dominate American thinking about religion, government, law, economics, education, and societal life in general.

II. NEW LEADERSHIP

Any contemplation about racism and racial justice must also admit that new leadership must emerge in the 21st Century. Otherwise, we will continue following the leadership that produced past and current racial injustices.

The new leadership about racism and racial justice must come from people with a world view defined by the experiences of the historical victims rather than a world view defined by the experiences of the historical beneficiaries of racism. Whatever their racial ancestry may be—and white people can and must become new thinkers about racism and racial justice—the new leadership must not approach questions of racism and racial justice with the time-worn views that helped establish, institutionalize, and perpetrate the legal system, social mores, political realities, and cultural patterns we face today. There are several reasons why they must not do so.

First, conventional leadership regarding race relations and racial justice has generally catered to the anxieties and aspirations of white Americans who have been more interested in asserting their presumed superiority and preserving their advantages than in achieving justice. This explains the dissonance between American rhetoric about individual liberty, social justice, and universal equality and America's record of race-based genocide, slavery, and discrimination. Thus, we witness the sad irony of a U.S. Supreme Court whose current justices profess inability to find "qualified" non-white law

6. See ROBERT W. TERRY, *FOR WHITES ONLY* 44-61 (1970, 1975).

clerks when most of the Justices have experienced minimal contact with non-white people in general and non-white lawyers in particular. A more recent instance of that sad irony is seen by the February 22, 1999, decision by U.S. District Judge Royce Lamberth that held Secretary of Interior Bruce Babbitt, Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin, and Assistant Interior Secretary Kevin Gorer in civil contempt for deliberately delaying to produce documents related to funds in trust accounts for Native American lands managed by the federal government for more than a century. One wonders why no Native Americans have led the Department of Interior and whether conventional white attitudes toward Native Americans contributed to the practices that triggered the lawsuit and Judge Lamberth's order.

Yet another example of the need for new leadership is seen by the refusal of white political officials to even utter an official apology for genocide perpetrated against Native Americans, enslavement of Africans, and discrimination practiced against Hispanic and Asian people. It is a profound statement about the insidious effect of racism on personal and national character that people who would not hesitate to apologize for coughing and sneezing around others deem apologizing for government-sanctioned racism and discrimination unnecessary, unbecoming, or otherwise inappropriate.

Second, the intellectual leadership that has defined American views on racism and racial justice is quickly running out of time. Unless conventional thinking about racism and racial justice changes—given its dominance and influence on social, political, legal, and cultural life—we face the frightening prospect that the American ideal of justice and social cohesiveness will dissolve in the face of centuries of pent-up rage from non-white people regarding white racism. Non-white people who will become the numerical majority in the United States during the first half of the 21st Century will not forget the institutional racism that produced California's Proposition 187 that permitted state government to withhold governmental services from illegal immigrants. They will not forget Proposition 207 that outlawed affirmative action measures for the historical victims of institutional racism. They will not forget that white racism has historically been at the root of efforts to prevent bilingual education from being successful. They will not forget that white hostility toward non-white people fueled a national immigration policy deemed hostile to non-white people, their hopes for freedom, equal opportunity, and justice. The images of Rodney King being beaten by police officers and the memories about the officers being found not guilty of criminal charges by an all-white Simi Valley, California jury will not soon be forgotten by young black Americans still seething about the dragging death of James Byrd in Jasper, Texas, the alleged brutalization of a Haitian immigrant by New York police officers last year, and the horrendous shooting of an unarmed

black immigrant in New York by police only weeks ago. Unless and until new thinkers appear to replace the traditional thinkers whose values and actions have perpetuated institutional racism rather than dismantle and eradicate it, the nation will likely face an era of racial conflict in the coming century unlike anything we have ever known as generations of non-whites appear who have little or no faith in the espoused American notions of freedom and justice for all.

Third, the ethnocentric world view responsible for institutional racism in this country will make it increasingly difficult for our nation to function in a global environment much less deferential toward notions of white superiority than in the past. White racism may have succeeded in turning popular sentiment against bilingual education for the time being, but bilingual education will be essential if the United States is to be effective in its dealings with Mexico and the nations of Central and South America where English is not the mother tongue. Racism has always produced flawed economics. That defect will become increasingly obvious as we deal with a much less Anglo-American and European dominated global economy.

The new leadership must move our institutions and processes away from practices and relationships that developed and flourished because of institutional racism. Instead, new leadership must pursue policies, practices, and relationships defined by genuine racial pluralism. White male notions about being either institutionally or inherently entitled to define how problems are understood and approached must be one of the first things challenged and changed. Regarding racism and racial justice, for instance, we will benefit from discarding the perhaps well-intentioned yet unfortunate notion held by the first Supreme Court Justice Harlan in his oft-referenced dissenting opinion in *Plessy v. Ferguson* that our policies and institutional actions should be "color-blind." While making for engaging rhetoric, the idea that a "color-blind" society will be stronger defies historical and biological realities. Anything blind is, by definition, impaired and, therefore, less capable of functioning properly, let alone repairing itself concerning issues driven by sight and color. It is interesting, therefore, that the idea of a "color-blind" society is somehow viewed as a virtue when it comes to racial justice, an issue where color awareness is essential if institutional racism and its injustice is to be corrected.

In 1987 Justice Bruce Wright of the New York Supreme Court wrote *Black Robes, White Justice*.⁷ In the introduction to his book, Justice Wright questioned the commonly-held presumption that white judges are competent

7. See BRUCE WRIGHT, *BLACK ROBES, WHITE JUSTICE* (1994).

to dispense justice, particularly in criminal cases, given their ignorance and alienation from the experience of non-white people.

Those of us called upon to sit in judgment of both laws and lawbreakers are not always qualified for such an onerous task. Most of the judges of America are male, white, middle-class, aloof and conservative. Brought before them is a parade of dark-skinned defendants, all alien to the concept the judges have of the way life ought to be.

In New York City, most judges have completed four years of college and three of law school. Presumably, such scholars are intellectuals of one kind or another. But more often than not, they are acquainted with no more than theories. Seldom do they have any personal familiarity with the reality and cruel adjectives which modify and diminish the lives of the poor. Such judges gaze upon the captives of the police across a vast expanse of social distance

My persistent concern has long been the white judges who, in their large numbers, are called upon daily to preside over the trials of black defendants accused of crime. Are they really qualified for such sociological tasks, only incidentally mixed with law? If so, what are the peculiar circumstances that define their competence? Is it the survival in them of some plantation concept of social divisions in life? What do they study in college or law school that might tend to qualify them to preside over the doom or liberty of strangers to their kinds of neighborhoods, of aliens to their way of life, of foreigners and outsiders to their clubs, their churches, their folkways? What magic abolishes color in their eyes and gives them instant objectivity and a license to analyze human foibles entirely divorced from the historical truth of racism. How, indeed, does one annul one's heritage and that of one's forefathers in this land or the land from which the family came?

Do white judges ever bring to bear a sober reflection on why there are so many black defendants in criminal cases? Do white judges ever wonder about why there are so few black lawyers appearing before them? Do they ever inquire about the history of bar associations that used to exclude Jews and blacks? Do they ever ponder aloud or in silence that there are so few black judges? Whenever I have raised the subject of bar association discrimination against blacks, my white colleagues profess never to have noticed any such thing.

For those in the inner city, as our dark enclaves are so euphemistically called, the judges are the assembly-line feeders of the prison system. Those in the system—whether prisoners, jailors or judges—who dare to speak of rehabilitation are regarded as wild-eyed speculators about the human spirit. They are accused of having more concern for the criminal than for the victims of crime. This abandonment of concepts of rehabilitation leads to society's preoccupation only with custody. This results in

warehousing of offenders. The mean neighborhoods from which they come are neighborhoods transferred to the prisons. Little wonder that one black survivor of the inmate rebellion at Attica could weep an unanswered, perhaps unanswerable question to the world. "How the hell we gonna be rehabilitated," he said, "when we ain't never been *habilitated* in the first place?"⁸

Justice Wright's incisive observations apply across our culture. What reason do we have to expect new and non-racist thinking and action from a leadership pool conditioned to view existing racial injustice and the advantages held by white people because of racism as how society is and how it ought to be? How can a political and economic system and societal culture dominated by people who either cannot or will not see the effects of institutional racism in the society and in their own success change without the emergence of a new leadership ethos and new leaders who intuitively and openly question the presumed "rightness of whiteness" that characterizes leadership in American government, business, law, education, and religion? And when will the American public realize that its tacit, yet intentional, preference for current leadership works to postpone, if not prevent, new leadership from developing and ascending to dominance?

One would have hoped that President Clinton's Race Initiative would have included a serious discussion of this issue. After all, the Initiative was launched out of a professed desire to create honest and intelligent conversations about racism, racial injustice, and the prospects for changing our regrettable tendency to perpetuate the inequities of our history. That the leadership question was not even addressed, either by President Clinton or in the several forums held across the nation, is more than a little disappointing. However, that omission proves that current leaders who perceive themselves and are perceived by others as progressive-minded are unwilling to even contemplate the urgent need for new leadership, let alone nurture it.

Two other areas of leadership that must change involve the so-called white "moderate" or "liberal" and the white religious community. Dr. Martin Luther King's April 16, 1963, *Letter from a Birmingham Jail* was written in a rare response (for King) to an open letter that eight prominent so-called "liberal" white Alabama clergymen had issued which called on King to cease his policy of non-violent civil rights demonstrations in Birmingham. King addressed the problem with these words:

I must make two honest confessions to you, my Christian and Jewish brothers. First, I must confess that over the last few years I have been

8. WRIGHT, *supra* note 7, at 12-13.

greatly disappointed with the white moderate. I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in the stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Council or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says, "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I can't agree with your methods of direct action;" who paternalistically feels that he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by the myth of time and who constantly advised the Negro to wait until a "more convenient season." Shallow understanding from people of good will is more frustrating than absolute misunderstanding from people of ill will. Lukewarm acceptance is much more bewildering than outright rejection.⁹

Let me rush on to mention my other disappointment. I have been so greatly disappointed with the white church and its leadership . . . I had the strange feeling when I was suddenly catapulted into the leadership of the bus protest in Montgomery several years ago that we would have the support of the white church. I felt that the white ministers, priests, and rabbis of the South would be some of our strongest allies. Instead, some have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders; all too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing security of the stained-glass windows.

In spite of my shattered dreams of the past, I came to Birmingham with the hope that the white religious leadership of this community would see the justice of our cause, and with deep moral concern, serve as the channel through which our just grievances would get to the power structure. I had hoped that each of you would understand. But again I have been disappointed. I have heard numerous religious leaders of the South call upon their worshippers to comply with a desegregation decision because it is the *law*, but I have longed to hear white ministers say, "Follow this decree because integration is morally *right* and the Negro is your brother." In the midst of blatant injustices inflicted upon the Negro, I have watched white churches stand on the sideline and merely mouth pious irrelevancies and sanctimonious trivialities. In the midst of a mighty struggle to rid our nation of racial and economic injustice, I have heard so many ministers say, "Those are social issues with which the gospel has no real concern," and I have watched so many churches commit themselves to a completely otherworldly religion which made a strange distinction between body and soul, the sacred and the secular.

9. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Letter from Birmingham City Jail*, in *A TESTAMENT OF HOPE: THE ESSENTIAL WRITINGS OF MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.* 289, 295 (James Melvin Washington ed., 1986).

I have traveled the length and breadth of Alabama, Mississippi and all the other southern states. On sweltering summer days and crisp autumn mornings I have looked at her beautiful churches with their lofty spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlay of their massive religious education buildings. Over and over again I have found myself asking: "What kind of people worship here? Who is their God? . . ." ¹⁰

King's frustration and disappointment can be echoed with even greater force today, almost thirty-six years after his Birmingham experience. One watches in vain for an opinion editorial by a white moderate or religious leader that asserts the moral justice of affirmative action measures. White moderates and religious leaders were conspicuously invisible and suspiciously silent when President Clinton withdrew the nomination of Lani Guinier in 1993 to be Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights in the Department of Justice in the face of deliberate distortions of her record and writings regarding affirmative action. We have seen few instances of concern, let alone moral outrage, expressed by white moderates and white religious leaders against the kind of police misconduct that Rodney King suffered and that is inflicted on non-white people many times more often than it is directed at the more numerous white majority. White religious leaders have been similarly absent from leadership in support of bilingual education, correcting the long and sad mistreatment of Native Americans, and other forms of racial injustice. The so-called evangelical Christian movement that prides itself as being the cornerstone for the Republican Party's core constituency has consistently aligned itself in favor of Propositions 187 and 209 in California and against affirmative action measures around the country. In short, white moderates and religious leaders have more often than not been pre-occupied with maintaining white advantage and privilege than in dealing with racism and racial injustice from the perspective of its historical victims. In view of that reality, it is not surprising that the consciousness and consciences of many white people are insensitive to racial injustice and the pervasiveness of racism in American life.

In contrast to King's disappointment, the Christian theologian Reinhold Niebuhr addressed the need for new thinking and action with refreshing clarity in an essay published in 1968 after the Kerner Commission (National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders) issued its report on the underlying causes for the urban riots of 1967. Niebuhr's essay was titled *The Negro Minority and Its Fate in a Self-Righteous Nation*.¹¹ Contrast his perspective

10. King, *supra* note 9, at 298-99.

11. See Reinhold Niebuhr, *The Negro Minority and Its Fate in a Self-Righteous Nation*, in A REINHOLD NEIBUHR READER: SELECTED ESSAYS, ARTICLES, AND BOOK REVIEWS 118 (Charles C. Brown ed., 1992).

to the reaction that King received from the Birmingham clergy, as shown by the following excerpt from Niebuhr's essay.

The report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders clarifies many aspects of the tragedy of the relationship of the Negro minority to a complacent white culture. The Report neither condones the crime of these disorders nor accepts them as part of a genuine "Negro Revolution." Nor does it make the mistake of regarding these riots as the response of the Negro minority to the creative reforms of the national government for the correction of ancient wrongs. It merely records the historical facts which reveal that the riots were the response of poor Negroes, for whom the reforms came too late. Integrated schools and the right of suffrage might radically alter the place of the Negro minority in our American community, but the young unemployed and unemployable Negro was bound to express his alienation from our democracy by violence.

It is not, of course, the responsibility, or is it within the competence, of this political committee [the Kerner Commission] to inquire about the reasons for the tardiness of this self-righteous nation in meeting so obvious a responsibility toward a minority which labors under two disadvantages: the dreadful burden of its slave past and its obvious divergence in physiognomy from the dominant white majority. It is, therefore, important for all of us who are interested in establishing a common humanity and equal civil rights for the Negro minority to view our national tardiness in historical perspective. Then, we might realize that the sheer helplessness of the black minority is due to a complacent self-satisfaction about our American democracy.

This complacency is neither new nor recent, for it has attended our national history. Thus, when our nation was born our Declaration of Independence not only gave us our ideals but seemed also to guarantee their realization. Then, the Civil War, retrospectively, gave us the assurance that we had guaranteed justice when the slaves were emancipated. Finally, with the industrial expansion after the last world war when so many problems on the social and economic level were solved, the Negro problem remained unsolved.

We must examine the illusions of these periods in turn. In the first period, that of the childhood of our nation, we assumed that we were a "peculiar nation." Abraham Lincoln in his famous Gettysburg address, expressed the ideal of our national purpose in terms of the Declaration of Independence. He said, "... our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal. Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether this nation, or any nation, so conceived and so dedicated can long endure." It may be significant that Lincoln, though opposed to slavery, did

by

not emphasize the contradiction between the ideal of equality and the frightful inequality between the slave owner and the slaves.

Our founding fathers when confronted with the constitutional task of creating a new nation out of the 13 independent colonies, some slaveholding and some not, did not spend too much time in debating the slave issue. They were more concerned with the evils of "monarchy" than those of slavery. They were not Machiavellian, but they were not above beguiling the slave states into the union by giving them a bonus representation in the federal congress equal to three-fifths of the number of their voteless slaves. Thereby, they laid the foundation of the political power of the slave states. In its time that power threatened to impose slavery upon the territories or give them freedom to establish it. It was this which brought on the Southern secession defiance of the union, and not the Northern challenge to the slave institution. We may be grateful for the abolition movement, retrospectively, but it did not have the power to challenge slavery.

Lincoln, neither a racist nor an abolitionist, was quite honest when he wrote to Horace Greeley: "My primary purpose is to save the union." Lincoln may be described as a free soil, democratic nationalist. The Emancipation Proclamation was subordinate to the chief purpose of defeating the rebellion. According to the historian Richard Hofstadter, the Proclamation has "all the eloquence of a bill of lading." The plight of the Negro was not directly involved.

But the chief defect of an idealistic conception of emancipation was that the free slaves were given no livelihood in land ownership nor opportunity to exercise a craft. The same government which passed the Homestead Act and settled white farmers on the frontier with free land gave no land to the poor ex-slaves. They were reduced to the status of debt-ridden sharecroppers on their former plantations. "By the 20th Century," the Report notes, "the Negro was at the bottom of American society."

Nor were Negroes admitted to the craft unions, a deprivation which became an even more grievous source of poverty in the industrial era which we will consider presently. After the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment, which did endow them with a vote, Congress enacted several laws to guarantee the "equal protection of the law." But they were defrauded of this precious democratic political power which the white industrial workers used to such good advantage in curing modern industry of its early injustices. For they were defrauded of the right to vote by various devices, such as the poll tax, economic intimidation, and unconstitutional tests which required them to recite the provisions of the Constitution. In the South, the Negro was practically disenfranchised. In Louisiana, the number of Negroes registered in 1896 was 130,344. In 1900, after the State rewrote the suffrage provisions of its constitution,

only 5,320 Negroes were able to be on the registration books. It was only in the Civil Rights Act of 1965 that provision was made for federal surveillance of voter registration, which eliminated the essential impotence of our Negro minority.

The climax of the contradiction in our national life which secured an affluent economy for the white man and increasing misery for the Negro minority occurred in our own period, in our industrial and technological era. In this era, we secured laborers for our burgeoning industry from all the poor of European origin and became famed as a "Melting Pot" of all nationalities; and . . . the industrial workers used their votes to force a reluctant middle class-culture to grant the workers the right "to organize and bargain collectively." Thus, an equilibrium of power in the industrial sphere increased the income of the workers . . . But . . . modern industry had as one of its products the mechanization of cotton farming, and this robbed the Negro agricultural laborer of the only employment for which his minimal skills were adequate. Facing starvation in the former slave states, he drifted to our large northern cities and was kept alive by a welfare system, which the National Commission now examines and finds inadequate. Among its deficiencies, it must be recorded that all welfare systems give first priority to abandoned or deserted mothers and their children. It becomes necessary, therefore, for the father, if still part of the family, to pretend desertion and absent himself before the visit of the inquiring social worker. He is thus robbed of his dignity before his children; and his pretended desertion increases the number of fatherless families, which makes for a matriarchal structure of the ghetto family, thus contributing to the delinquency of young Negro males. The National Advisory Commission finds in the ghetto crime which erupted in the riots of 1967 a high incidence among young males from 16 to 25 years of age.

The high rate of unemployment among Negroes is due in great part to their lack of skill in a highly technical industry. But a study of modern construction unions and firms, undertaken by *Fortune* magazine, indicates that it may be due, in part, to color prejudice of either unions or firms. This may be inferred by the fact that if Negroes were hired in proportion to their percentage of the population, Negroes would have 37,000 more jobs as carpenters, 45,000 more as construction workers, 97,000 more as mechanics, and 82,000 more as metal craftsmen. All these crafts require apprenticeship but no technical education. One must assume, therefore, that color prejudice among white workers and in firms accounts as much for the high rate of Negro unemployment as does the defective education of Negro youths. This is a case where one cause of Negro poverty has persisted since post-Civil War days but also has become more and more grievous in our own period of industrial unionism.

[O]nly the help of the whole national community can save the nation from the tragedy of a widening gap and contradiction between a free and

affluent white nation and the increasing misery of its Negro minority. A tardy nation finally turned its attention to the task of redemption of that racial injustice. It is certainly significant that the "Negro revolution" of today dates from the Supreme Court decision of 1954 and the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965. This suggests that revolutions are generated, not by pure desperation, but by a combination of hope and frustration. The Negro revolution, significantly, began on the one hand in Martin Luther King's boycott of the Montgomery busses; and, on the other hand, with the official action of the nation's courts and government It has been one of the weaknesses in the revolution that its only economic weapon has been the boycott. . . . It may be highly symbolic that the new Civil Rights Act, which included an open-housing provision, was secured only after the aura of martyrdom was attached to open housing by Dr. King's assassination in Memphis.

The revolution was thus a simultaneous birth of Negro discontent and of a new awareness in the nation of the flaws of injustice in a free society which had always prided itself on its democratic virtues. The Negro riots of 1966 and 1967 were not a part of that revolution; but they were an indication that the nation's new attitude had come too late to save the young unemployed Negroes who had no hope that new laws and court decisions could cure their hopeless frustration.

*We have analyzed the moral situation in our nation which was created because we awakened too late in the modern period to the contrast between the tragic misery of our Negro minority and the pretensions of our national ideology, which had regarded our open society of progressively solving all problems of racial justice through the moral idealism guaranteed at our birth by the Declaration of Independence, and allegedly also through the rebirth of our Civil War and emancipation. We have done this in order to give an adequate view of our contemporary "moral crisis," for it is the business of the church to remind the national community of its responsibilities, and to remind it of its sins of omission and commission*¹²

Niebuhr's essay then posed several suggested areas of needed action, including reform of the welfare system, the need for "witnesses of transcendence over racial lines," referring to integrating congregations (although not for "pietistic irrelevance" but for engaging in "the struggle for justice"), and integrated denominational and inter-denominational meetings. Niebuhr also proposed that the problem of what he termed "an economic impotent Negro minority" would be corrected by

12. Niebuhr, *supra* note 11, at 119-122 (emphasis added).

a system of scholarships for college students whose parents fall below the minimal poverty line and who show promise of intellectual leadership in the arts, in science, and in public life. These scholarships would be a solution to the problem of deprivation of our intellectual and technical resources which is revealed by the fact that parental poverty permits only 8% of our disadvantaged high school graduates to enter college.¹³

Finally, Niebuhr concluded his essay by addressing the suggestions contained in the Kerner Commission's report and the alternative to taking the report seriously.

The report of the Commission is full of suggested programs to alleviate the injustices this complacent nation has enforced upon its Negro minority. The Commission's priorities deserve to be the order of business for the returning Congress and the newly elected government. The alternatives to taking the Commission seriously is continued rioting. The rioting and ambushes of 1968 are even more ominous than those of 1967. The Commission has shown the way to correct the most grievous injustices, if the nation can muster the moral will realistically to meet the crisis.

All these old and new provisions could be negated because of expense. It is the high priority of an affluent society to lift the poor Negro minority from the vicious circle of technical ignorance, even illiteracy, sickness, and crime. It is certainly a higher priority than our military involvement in the civil war of an obscure nation. This futile war [Vietnam] is costing us billions, while the problem of a helpless Negro minority, costing us half as much, has not been met. After almost two centuries of broken promises and pledges our debt to our Negro minority is immense and obvious, and its burden lies heavy upon our consciences.¹⁴

It is a sad commentary on white religious leadership that Niebuhr's voice was not joined by religious leaders in mainstream denominations and congregations across the United States. Rather, white religious leadership has been virtually invisible concerning racism and racial injustice since Niebuhr's essay was published in October 1968. Concerning America's sordid tradition of racism and racial injustice, that leadership has rarely been found aligned with the plight of the historical non-white victims; instead, it has more often than not been either tacitly or openly supportive of the institutional racism that benefitted white people. At present, that leadership appears primarily interested in exercising political clout to advance an agenda that opposes affirmative action remedies, supports draconian criminal justice and welfare

13. Niebuhr, *supra* note 11, at 123.

14. Niebuhr, *supra* note 11, at 123-24.

reform measures, and pursues a flagrantly racist immigration policy. And while the Southern Baptist Convention and some other evangelical Christian groups have professed to apologize for the sin of slavery in recent years, the leadership of those groups at every level has shown little inclination to aggressively work to support affirmative action remedies, oppose so-called anti-crime measures that have disproportionately adverse impacts on non-whites, join with non-white people to combat environmental racism, or do much of anything else beyond pious grandstanding, as if their self-serving testimonials of goodwill will correct centuries of racism and racial injustice. Moreover, the issues currently accorded the most reflective attention in mainstream white religious groups involve such matters as personal spirituality, worship style, and "family values." Thus, America's religious leadership appears to have made little real progress about combating racism and racial injustice from where it was when Dr. King wrote his poignant indictment in the *Letter from a Birmingham Jail* thirty-six years ago. Even more sadly, there is little evidence to suggest a real prospect for change as the 21st Century approaches.

III. NEW LEADERSHIP MUST PRODUCE NEW ACTION

Finally, new thinking and new leadership must produce new action against racism and for racial justice defined from the perspective of the historical victims of racism and its injustice rather than from the perspective of the historical beneficiaries. Although many so-called conservative commentators—some of whom are not white, it must be admitted—speak about racial equity issues as if American society is a meritocracy, history clearly proves them wrong. White people enjoy superior access to education, employment, capital, political influence and power, and virtually everything else because policies and practices have historically been developed and employed to favor them at the expense of non-white people.

After 250 years of slavery, the enslaved Africans of the South were freed to earn wages for their work, but were shut out of the trades and crafts that they had practiced for the economic benefit of white society before emancipation. Thus, white tradespeople, craftsmen, and artisans enjoyed preferential treatment—often governmentally sanctioned preferential treatment—that gave them economic benefits for their families, superior education for their children, and stronger institutions for their lives. The Morrill Land Grant College Act of 1862¹⁵ created public institutions of higher education that, in most instances, denied admission to non-whites regardless of their academic

15. Act of July 2, 1862, ch. 129, 12 Stat. 503.

ability or potential. The Homestead Act of 1862¹⁶ encouraged white settlers to take and settle for little or no money western lands that belonged to Native Americans, while displacing the Native Americans and using black soldiers to ensure that the white settlers were protected. This pattern of governmental *affirmative action* in favor of the historical beneficiaries of institutional racism and racial injustice must be reversed if the 21st Century is to witness racial equity. Doing so will inconvenience the historical beneficiaries of white racism, but will create new opportunities for the non-white historical victims. That inconvenience and creation of new opportunity is essential if the historical victims of white racism and racial injustice are to achieve social equality. It is senseless to expect racial equity to occur otherwise.

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. addressed the need for action with optimism in an essay that was published posthumously and titled *A Testament of Hope*. His words are hauntingly profound:

Why is the issue of equality still so far from solution in America, a nation that professes itself to be democratic, inventive, hospitable to new ideas, rich, productive and awesomely powerful? The problem is so tenacious because, despite its virtues and attributes, America is deeply racist and its democracy is flawed both economically and socially. All too many Americans believe justice will unfold painlessly or that its absence for black people will be tolerated tranquilly.

Justice for black people will not flow into society merely from court decisions nor from fountains of political oratory. Nor will a few token changes quell all the tempestuous yearnings of millions of disadvantaged black people. White America must recognize that justice for black people cannot be achieved without radical changes in the structure for our society. The comfortable, the entrenched, the privileged cannot continue to tremble at the prospect of change in the status quo.

Stephen Vincent Benet had a message for both white and black Americans in the title of a story, *Freedom is a Hard Bought Thing*. When millions of people have been cheated for centuries, restitution is a costly process. Inferior education, poor housing, unemployment, inadequate health care—each is a bitter component of the oppression that has been our heritage. Each will require billions of dollars to correct. *Justice so long deferred has accumulated interest and its cost for this society will be substantial in financial as well as human terms. This fact has not been fully grasped, because most of the gains of the past decade were obtained at bargain prices. The desegregation of public facilities cost nothing; neither did the election and appointment of a few black public officials.*¹⁷

16. Act of May 20, 1862, ch. 75, 12 Stat. 392.

17. Martin Luther King, Jr., *A Testament of Hope*, in *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings of Martin Luther King, Jr.* 313, 314-15 (James Melvin Washington ed., 1986)

King's assessment is even more compelling as the 21st Century beckons. However, it is less certain whether his optimism can be maintained given the refusal by many white Americans to recognize that the radical change needed in our societal structure will not be cheap, comfortable, or convenient for those addicted to the benefits of historical racism and the advantages gained and enjoyed by racial injustice.

In *Black Robes, White Justice*, Justice Wright reflected on the remarkable disconnect that many white Americans have about the need for change as it applies to their own conduct in the following comment about the absence of black lawyers in the law firms of white people who profess to be liberated from racism.

The National Lawyers Guild was founded by lawyers who were dissatisfied with the exclusionary establishment. They regarded the American Bar Association as a symbol of toryism. The guild has fought for racial equality throughout the years. Its most successful members, however, have shown little or no interest in having blacks join their firms. At a meeting of the guild to honor one of their founders, Hope Stevens, the black guest speaker publicly mentioned the problem. He reminded the gathering of liberals and left-of-center lawyers and their guests that their proud liberalism and heroic fealty to the civil rights movement had not gone so far as to welcome black lawyers to their law firms. His remarks were received with the stunned silence and embarrassment of a donor of alms who sees the beneficiary of his generosity curse the giver and his gift. It was as though a profane clamor had trespassed in a temple. The brief and hesitant applause that followed was a mere Pavlovian response of an audience programmed to clap at the end of any speech.

No one stood up to challenge Stevens. The membership had no desire for public self-examination or for those dedicatory pledges that spring with guilt. The audience was plainly embarrassed. It was a tribute to the candor of their inbred dedication to the American way of life that none made any false promises to do better. The largely Jewish audience seemed more content to believe that most of them were minorities and that retarding circumstance had not stopped their own progress and that, therefore, blacks should not whine or whimper but do exactly as they had done. Such an angry reaction ignored the fact that Jews, no matter what else Christian Americans may think of them, have protective coloration, the most blessed of American physical characteristics. It was simply that the audience was humiliated for a moment by the harshness of the truth to which its members had contributed. It was almost as though Stevens had

(emphasis added).

undraped an indecent statute in the presence of prudes who did not realize that they were the sculptors.

Whites, even liberal whites, are weaned on racism. They live and breathe the superiority of options, choices, and opportunities that are available to those who wear the white skin.

When most white students study sociology, it is little more than an academic subject to be passed. The black victims of that social science may be deplored briefly, but they are not to be associated with, understood, or invited to join clubs and fraternities. When they graduate into professional schools and careers, whites carry these exclusions into their professions.¹⁸

The separate observations of Dr. King and Justice Wright are readily verified across our society. During the Little Rock Central crisis of 1957 the Women's Emergency Committee to Save Our Schools, a group of women married to some of the most prominent lawyers, doctors, and business leaders in Little Rock, secretly worked to resist the demagoguery and senseless bigotry that Governor Orval Faubus practiced to prevent nine black children from attending high school with white children in obedience to the second *Brown v. Board of Education*¹⁹ decision. Over the years since 1957, the existence of the Women's Emergency Committee became known, but its membership remained more or less secret until 1998 when the members were publicly introduced and honored in ceremonies that featured an appearance by First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton in Little Rock. One reads the membership list and gains new admiration for the WEC members, especially if one recalls that Little Rock's social echelon has been small, if not intimate. Yet it is ironic that the doctors, lawyers, and other captains of commerce who were married to these women, who knew about and supported their efforts, and who took pride in being associated (if only because of marital status) with their progressive-minded stance, managed over the course of four decades to keep black doctors, lawyers, and entrepreneur-minded people out of their medical practices, law firms, and businesses. That irony brings to mind the remark made more than two hundred years ago by Horace Walpole, the fourth Earl of Orford, that "This world is a comedy to those that think, a tragedy to those that feel."

Sadly, we seem much too eager to celebrate what we deem progress in race relations without facing the disconnect between the professed liberality of many white Americans and their failure to put that liberality into action in the spheres where they exercise the most influence, their own business and

18. WRIGHT, *supra* note 7, at 52-53.

19. 349 U.S. 294 (1955).

professional dealings. Emerging non-white professionals receive a rude awakening to that reality when, after studying with white colleagues for years to attain professional status, they find themselves facing a professional color barrier every bit as real and effective as anything witnessed during the Jim Crow era in this country and the period of apartheid in South Africa. Somehow, the conscience and consciousness of white Americans has not been awakened and raised to the extent that they can do any more than claim that America has come a long way but still has progress to make. Non-whites might find that statement sincere if we could see that its proponents are making change happen in their own spheres of influence. The painful truth is that we find scarce evidence to that effect. The presidents of bar associations, medical societies, and other professional groups who profess dedication to racial diversity and promoting equal opportunity may do so in their public declarations, but those declarations ring hollow when made by people whose law firms, medical practices, and businesses include few non-white professionals, if any. Refusal to do what one can do says more about what one wants to do than does high-sounding rhetoric about how far we have come and the need for progress that even the speaker refuses to make in his own office.

Across this nation, white Americans are making little effort to infuse non-whites into their businesses. They apparently do not realize that their refusal makes them hypocrites in the minds of many non-whites who understand all too well that for white lawyers, doctors, and entrepreneurs to recruit, hire, mentor, retain, and promote non-whites would break the exclusive franchise that white people hand their children in controlling law, government, business, and the rest of American life. Excluding non-whites guarantees continued dominance by whites no matter how incompetent they may be. Thus it is ironic that as more non-white students are applying for and graduating from law, medical, accounting, and engineering schools across the country, the people responsible for setting admission standards to the professional schools and the leaders of professional licensing boards have begun speaking with heightened intensity about the need to raise admission standards to avoid what they claim is an oversupply of people in their professions. The standards deemed adequate to admit a formerly all-white elite are now said to be inadequate, when non-whites meet them in growing numbers.

The clamor to raise standards is merely another ploy to preserve white privilege and avoid taking the affirmative action required to eradicate racism and remedy racial injustice. We do not have too many lawyers graduating from law school, too many doctors graduating from medical school, or too many other professional graduates. Rather, the historical beneficiaries of

white racism and racial injustice are responding to the threat posed to their exclusive franchise by growing numbers of the non-white historical victims.

But there would be no threat if so-called progressive whites would practice what they preach. Non-white professionals and entrepreneurs who are purposely and fairly *included* into professional firms and businesses bring their assets to those enterprises and make them more profitable, as Justice Cruz Reynoso shared in his remarks. It is the purposeful and unfair *exclusion* of non-whites by white Americans who hold the power to take the actions needed for change that compels non-whites to become competitors rather than colleagues. Until white Americans abandon the zero sum game perspective that defines non-white gains as inevitably harmful for whites based on the racist concept of white privilege and the "rightness of whiteness," American culture will remain racist and unjust. To the extent that this imposes on white Americans a greater and heavier burden for effecting and accepting the actions necessary to create racial justice and eradicate racism, one must remember the words of Jesus: "From everyone to whom much has been given, much will be required; and from the one to whom much has been entrusted, even more will be demanded."²⁰

IV. CHARACTER IS THE ISSUE

Frederick Douglass, the black abolitionist of the last century, once said, "There is no Negro problem. The problem is whether the American people have loyalty enough, honor enough, patriotism enough to live up to their own Constitution." History shows that America has not demonstrated those attributes. We show little encouraging evidence of developing them as the new century approaches.

As a member of the last generation of historical victims of racism and racial injustice with firsthand experience and knowledge of racial segregation and the invidious ways that white racism operates, I make that statement with sadness. As much as I applaud the social changes that have occurred in my lifetime and this century, I am not fooled by how little relative change has occurred in so many areas. Forty-two years after the Little Rock Central incident, the leading media outlets of this state remain dominated by a virtually all-white male oligarchy. Forty-two years later, only two of the major law firms in Arkansas have admitted non-whites to their partnerships, and only one firm currently has a non-white partner.²¹ There are few, if any,

20. Luke 12:48 (New Revised Standard Version).

21. My investigation revealed that the first inter-racial law partnership in Arkansas was the firm of Walker and Chachkin, a Little Rock firm organized in 1968 by John Walker and Norman Chachkin with support and encouragement from the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. The

non-white partners now in the major privately-owned medical clinics, accounting, engineering, architectural, and business firms of this state. Black judges were elected to our trial courts only as part of a race discrimination lawsuit settlement; none have been elected to our appellate courts. This is not merely true for Arkansas; it is true throughout the nation. Sadly, too many people act as if it should and must be how our culture operates.

In our haste to celebrate a supposed racial conciliation in September 1997 on the fortieth anniversary of the Little Rock Central crisis, Arkansas and the nation succumbed to one of the oldest lies of American racism, that of confusing time for distance. You will recall from grade school that the formula for calculating distance is $D=RT$ (distance equals rate of speed multiplied by time traveled). Only the insanity of racism can explain our gullibility for the plainly wrong-headed view that traveling haltingly ("all deliberate speed") or even backwards multiplied by mere time equals progress in racial justice.

Dr. King's vision for a society and world where people of diverse languages, cultures, religions, races, and incomes would live and work

firm disbanded in 1978, but not before including Burl C. Rotenberry, Philip Kaplan, John T. Lavey, Perlesta E. Hollingsworth, and Richard Mays in the partnership.

In June 1979, I joined Wright, Lindsey & Jennings of Little Rock as the first black associate hired by a formerly all-white firm; I became a partner in January 1984. Anna Hirai Gibson became an associate at Wright, Lindsey & Jennings in 1984, entered the partnership in 1990, but has since withdrawn from the firm.

In May 1985, Jerry L. Malone joined Friday, Eldredge & Clark of Little Rock as an associate; he was elevated to that firm's partnership in January 1991 (Malone is currently General Counsel to the U.S. Secretary of Transportation). In 1986, Eddie H. Walker, Jr., a black lawyer, joined Will Morris to form an inter-racial law partnership in Fort Smith, Arkansas. That firm now exists as Walker, Shock, Harp & Hill PLLC. In January 1995, Troy A. Price was elevated from associate to partner at Wright, Lindsey & Jennings. Eugene Hunt, a black attorney practicing in Pine Bluff, employed a white associate named Lisa Kelly in September 1985. On April 1, 1990 Hunt made Kelly his law partner, and the firm name was changed to Hunt & Kelly. Kelly handled labor and civil rights matters, including work on *Hunt v. Arkansas*, No. PB-C-89-406 (E.D. Ark. 1992), a federal civil rights lawsuit that she prepared along with Arkie Byrd, a black lawyer from Little Rock, that alleged race discrimination in the Arkansas judicial system and featured Eugene Hunt as the plaintiff and Governor Bill Clinton as lead defendant. That lawsuit and its settlement produced the current number of black elected trial judges in Arkansas. Kelly withdrew from the partnership in December 1994 when she joined the faculty of West Virginia University School of Law. She remains a tenured professor there as of this writing. I have found no evidence regarding inter-racial law firms elsewhere in Arkansas.

The Arkansas experience appears typical for the legal profession throughout the nation insofar as private law practice is concerned. According to an article in the February 1999 issue of the ABA Journal, blacks account for only one percent of 40,000 law firm partners listed in the 1997-98 National Directory of Legal Employers. Overall, non-whites—blacks, Asian/Pacific Islanders, Hispanics and Native Americans—comprise 2.95 percent of partners nationwide. See Wendell LaGrand, *Getting There, Staying There*, A.B.A. J. Feb. 1999, at 54.

together toward commonly held purposes was a dream that Gene Roddenberry brought to our television screens when he introduced "Star Trek." Star Trek challenged us to imagine a workplace where women shared the responsibilities of command and leadership. Star Trek dared us to contemplate a crew of people on a five-year mission to explore the universe. This crew was not all-white or all-male. It was not all-American or all-Russian. It was not even all-human. No, Star Trek brought us to see a Russian named Chekov in charge of a weapon system far more destructive than nuclear missiles at the very time that the United States and the Soviet Union were engaged in a cold war that threatened the whole planet. The spaceship Enterprise was commanded by a white American (James T. Kirk) whose first officer (Spock) was from another world at a time when humans had not even placed a person on our own moon. The medical doctor (McCoy) was from the American South, and his prejudice against the Vulcan named Spock was a recurring fact in the series. The Enterprise had a communications officer named Uhura—an African woman—whose very presence at the decision-making level was a dramatic contrast to the way that black people and women were treated in the United States. The chief engineer was a hearty-drinking and colorful Scotsman named Scott. The helmsman/navigator was a man of Asian ancestry named Sulu at a time when the prevailing image of Asians was as laundry workers and coolies. This was the vision of diversity that Roddenberry and Star Trek offered as an alternative to the divisiveness, racism, sexism, bigotry, and cross-cultural distrust that dominated our society and world.

The mission of the Enterprise and its crew was to go where no one else had gone before in a spirit of cooperation and peace. Yet the mission was constantly beset with challenges. The tension between McCoy and Spock caused by McCoy's bigotry toward the Vulcan was a constant undercurrent that Kirk had to address. Something was always going wrong with the propulsion system (the "dilithium crystals") so that Scott, the engineer, was fashioning creative ways to power the spaceship across the galaxy. The Enterprise constantly faced threats from the Klingons, a warrior society, and from the Romulans, a society that mastered the interplay of intrigue and war.

Star Trek offered the people of my youth a working model of Dr. King's dream. Although most people probably saw the television show as mere entertainment, it was truly a well designed exercise in working diversity. The crew of the Enterprise had a common purpose that transcended their separate histories and identities. Yet that transcendent purpose did not demand that the crew deny their separate histories and identities. We saw that women are capable of exercising leadership, and that being white, male, or even human (witness Spock) was not a prerequisite for nobility, valor, integrity, or compassion. And we saw that diversity is constantly faced with challenges.

Some of those challenges can be met with tactful and honest communication. Yet *Star Trek* showed us that there are some challenges to diversity that must be met by forceful action to back up our moral commitment for goodwill and cooperation.

Our challenge as a society is to become the Enterprise and make life imitate art so that people fulfill their roles in society and within our institutions based on what they can contribute, not based on our traditions of non-white exclusion and white privilege. And our challenge is to exercise the moral will and institutional force needed to overcome the people and policies that hinder or frustrate that goal. If our society is to be more like the Enterprise and less like the divided culture that our racist history and current plight of racial injustice demonstrates, we must develop new thinking, create and follow new leadership, and pursue new actions.

Diversity pronouncements and policies must become institutional practices and personal patterns. *The mission of the Enterprise on Star Trek was not to talk about going places or even to hold meetings on going places. The mission was to go where no one had gone before in the spirit of intergalactic peace and cooperation. The Enterprise had to get somewhere.* Its performance was not based on how much history had passed in the age of space travel, but was based on travel really taking place. Travel is always about *distance* and the experiences that we have while dealing with distant personalities and situations. No matter how much or how little time may pass, if our diversity efforts don't take us beyond where we are, then we do not travel, we merely age in place.

We must insist on something more than history lessons and commemorative events, with all their value, if we hope to take our society to the place Dr. King envisioned and *Star Trek* modeled. Diversity in our leadership and management circles and across our business, professional, and cultural relationships must be our destination. We are not there yet, and we are much too content about traveling slowly and fitfully. It is a sad irony that in the less than half-century since the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, we have developed breakthrough treatments for disease, moved from stereophonic sound to compact disc and fiberoptic forms of communication and entertainment, and have sent spacecraft to explore distant planets in our solar system. However, our private sector remains virtually the way it looked in 1954. We hire, promote, and do business in ways that exclude diversity until and unless we are faced with legal action; then we do as little as we can as slowly as we can to comply with the law.

The challenge before us is to decide that we really want to become the society that Dr. King envisioned and *Star Trek* modeled. Then we must engage our faculties and forces to get there. Everything and all the people

who resist getting there must be confronted and overcome. We must stop talking about time. The issue for us is distance and the speed we are willing to travel to reach the racial justice destination we profess to seek.

The last Star Trek movie featuring the Enterprise crew that we came to know in the late sixties was titled, "The Undiscovered Country." That movie saw the Enterprise crew engaged in a mission to save the Klingon society that it had warred against so long. Some members of the crew openly distrusted the mission; Captain Kirk had lost his only son to the Klingons. The mission was fraught with difficulties arising from the resentments and resistance that always accompany change. But the movie ended with a historic peace accord following a decisive battle against forces that were determined to continue the history of distrust and exclusion. The Enterprise teamed with a sister spaceship commanded by a Captain named Sulu and won that battle. Sulu, the former helmsman, had become a starship captain like Kirk, no doubt in large part because of the great experience he gained as helmsman on the Enterprise under Kirk's command years earlier. He was not Kirk's competitor, he was his partner.

I learned from that movie, from the Star Trek series, and from Dr. King's vision that human understanding and cooperation is the "Undiscovered Country" that we must explore. Our racist history and ongoing predicament of exclusion, injustice, and distrust is the distance we must overcome. We must travel to that Undiscovered Country and conquer that racism, distrust, and exclusion with all our might, as fast as we can, and using every action necessary to do so.

That is why I am calling for new thinking, new leadership, and new action regarding racism and racial justice. I do not know if anyone will heed my call, or whether they will have the courage and conviction to act on it if they do. But I am convinced that we have witnessed enough of the old thinking, old action, and old leadership to know that we cannot afford to carry them into the 21st Century. Furthermore, I fear that if we do take them into the new century, our future as a society looks grim indeed.

2/16
April 13, 2000

Mr. Mark Warner
Managing Director
Columbia Capital Corporation
Suite 300
201 North Union Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314

Dear Mark:

I want to commend you as you mark your third year of collaboration with Historically Black Colleges and Universities. I'm deeply grateful for your efforts.

America's information technology companies are driving this nation's unprecedented economic growth and creating new opportunities for consumers and workers alike. I'm pleased to see that industry is turning to the highly qualified talent present in HBCUs to meet some of the challenges it faces in recruiting high-tech workers. As you may know, my fiscal 2001 budget includes an almost 40 percent increase in HBCU funding, for a total of \$169 million. We've also proposed \$40 million for the Title III program for historically black graduate institutions -- an increase of \$9 million.

My Administration is committed to doing its part to ensure that all Americans benefit from information technology, and I have been highlighting the importance of bridging the digital divide in my recent tours of America's new markets. My fiscal 2001 budget includes a number of new investments in higher education and high-tech training to equip more segments of our society with the tools and skills needed for the digital economy. Your partnership is a model for how the private sector can creatively meet its labor needs while also addressing my Administration's goal of expanding opportunities in the new economy for all of our people. I'm grateful for your commitment to this important cause, and I extend my best wishes.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

BC/SMH/DA/DC/ckb-bws (Corres. #7146753)
(4.warner.m.doc)

cc: DWB/SPM, 94 OEOB
Betty Fountain/Lori Perine, OSTP
Jena Roscoe, OPL
John Wertman, 97 OEOB

A meeting was held with Jonathan Lash, the President of the World Resources Institute (an environmental think tank), to provide him with information in an effort to obtain his support for China PNTR. Overall, they agree that engagement is beneficial. But they seek the following: a joint environmental review, assistance for the Chinese to promote their market-based incentives, increased visibility for the Chinese Interior ministry, and a more transparent process (they felt betrayed after the Korean protocol was appealed). They still have reservations about uncontrolled growth, government-run industries, and depletion of natural resources in Asia. But we are confident they will not oppose the vote -- they even recommended other groups that may be supportive.



DIGITAL DIVIDE

Mark Warner's Virginia High Tech Partnership Links HBCU's with High Technology Companies in Northern Virginia. Warner's Partnership is celebrating its third year of collaboration with historically black colleges and universities. Over 70 internet provider companies in Northern Virginia participate in this year's partnership job fair to connect Virginia HBCU students with high tech employers. OPL and OSTP representatives attended their announcement to show support for efforts to bridge the digital divide in Northern Virginia.

Do a nice letter to him about this

II. CONSTITUENT OUTREACH AND OTHER ISSUES:

AFRICAN AMERICAN OUTREACH

NAACP Seeks In-Depth Investigation into Alleged Killing of African American Soldiers at Camp Van Dorn, Mississippi. On December 20, 1999, NAACP's Mfume wrote a letter to A.G. Reno requesting an in-depth investigation into allegations of killings by white Army MPs, as alleged in, "The Slaughter: An American Atrocity." Mfume indicated that "although the Army had issued a report saying it considered the allegations to be untrue, there were certain irregularities and limitations in the Army's investigation of itself... thus the need for a DOJ investigation." In January, DOJ responded with a letter to Mfume, saying that the Criminal Section of the Civil Rights Division, which handles the prosecution of federal criminal civil rights violations, is looking into the issue. But Mfume continues to seek an in-depth investigation, not a review of the case. The NAACP is being backed by the publisher of "The Slaughter" (Rusty Denman) to continue monitoring of this case. The NAACP National Board Meeting convenes in Washington, DC next week.

What's the deal on this?

DISABILITY OUTREACH

Disability Advocates Applaud Investment in Work Incentives Implementation. They are especially pleased with your budget proposal to remove the arbitrary 4.5-year cap on access to Medicare for people with disabilities who return to work.

April 13, 2000

Zequir Dedinca
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

Dear Zequir:

Thank you very much for your heartfelt letter and the lovely poem. Your warm words of support mean a lot to me, and I appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Personal stories like yours were a powerful source of motivation and an urgent reminder of the importance of our mission in Kosovo. You can take pride in knowing that you had the ability and courage to forge a brighter future for yourself and your family, and I commend you for providing such an inspiring example of determination.

Hillary joins me in sending best wishes.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON^A

BC/WMW/SH/DDA/DC/ws-ws
(kosovo) (Corres. #7116878)

/cc: John Wertman, 97 OEOB
cc: DWB/SPM, 94 OEOB
/cc: Wayna Wondwossen, 97 OEOB

SENT TO:
Sister Jean Marshall, O.P.
Director
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

000420

April 13, 2000

Zegir Gervalla
Bronx, New York

Dear Zegir:

I received the framed copy of *America, You Hear the Voice of Kosovo*, and I wanted to tell you how touched I was by your heartfelt words. You can be assured that I remain firmly committed to restoring peace and stability to Kosovo and to helping all the countries of this region forge a brighter future.

I hope that the days ahead will bring you much happiness, and I send my best wishes.

Sincerely, **BILL CLINTON**

BC/DC/DC/ws-ws (Corres. #7185151)
(4.gervalla.z)

cc: John Wertman, 97 OEOB
cc: DWB/SPM, 94 OEOB
cc: Wayna Wondwossen, 97 OEOB

SENT TO:
Sister Jean Marshall, O.P.
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

000420



April 13, 2000

Fadil Dedinca
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

Dear Fadil:

Thank you very much for your heartfelt letter and the lovely poem. Your warm words of support mean a lot to me, and I appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Personal stories like yours were a powerful source of motivation and an urgent reminder of the importance of our mission in Kosovo. You can take pride in knowing that you had the ability and courage to forge a brighter future for yourself and your family, and I commend you for providing such an inspiring example of determination.

Hillary joins me in sending best wishes.

Sincerely, **BILL CLINTON**

BC/WMW/SH/DDA/DC/ws-ws
(kosovo) (Corres. #7116881)

cc: John Wertman, 97 OEOB
cc: DWB/SPM, 94 OEOB
cc: Wayna Wondwossen, 97 OEOB

SENT TO:
Sister Jean Marshall, O.P.
Director
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

000420

April 13, 2000

Florie Dedinca
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

Dear Florie:

Thank you very much for your heartfelt letter and the lovely poem. Your warm words of support mean a lot to me, and I appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Personal stories like yours were a powerful source of motivation and an urgent reminder of the importance of our mission in Kosovo. You can take pride in knowing that you had the ability and courage to forge a brighter future for yourself and your family, and I commend you for providing such an inspiring example of determination.

Hillary joins me in sending best wishes.

Sincerely, **BILL CLINTON**

BC/WMW/SH/DDA/DC/ws-ws
(kosovo) (Corres. #7116885)

/cc: John Wertman, 97 OEOB
cc: DWB/SPM, 94 OEOB
/cc: Wayna Wondwossen, 97 OEOB

SENT TO:
Sister Jean Marshall, O.P.
Director
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

000420

April 13, 2000

Ismet Bajrami
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

Dear Ismet:

Thank you very much for your heartfelt letter and the lovely poem. Your warm words of support mean a lot to me, and I appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Personal stories like yours were a powerful source of motivation and an urgent reminder of the importance of our mission in Kosovo. You can take pride in knowing that you had the ability and courage to forge a brighter future for yourself and your family, and I commend you for providing such an inspiring example of determination.

Hillary joins me in sending best wishes.

Sincerely, **BILL CLINTON**

BC/WMW/SH/DDA/DC/ws-ws
(kosovo) (Corres. #7116887)

cc: John Wertman, 97 OEOB
cc: DWB/SPM, 94 OEOB
cc: Wayna Wondwossen, 97 OEOB

SENT TO:
Sister Jean Marshall, O.P.
Director
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

000420

April 13, 2000

Izet Kukaj
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

Dear Izet:

Thank you very much for your heartfelt letter and the lovely poem. Your warm words of support mean a lot to me, and I appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Personal stories like yours were a powerful source of motivation and an urgent reminder of the importance of our mission in Kosovo. You can take pride in knowing that you had the ability and courage to forge a brighter future for yourself and your family, and I commend you for providing such an inspiring example of determination.

Hillary joins me in sending best wishes.

Sincerely, **BILL CLINTON**

BC/MMW/SH/DDA/DC/ws-ws
(kosovo) (Corres. #7116889)

cc: John Wertman, 97 OEOB
cc: DWB/SPM, 94 OEOB
cc: Wayna Wondwossen, 97 OEOB

SENT TO:
Sister Jean Marshall, O.P.
Director
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

000420

April 13, 2000

Rehana Ruhani
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

Dear Rehana:

Thank you very much for your heartfelt letter and the lovely poem. Your warm words of support mean a lot to me, and I appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Personal stories like yours were a powerful source of motivation and an urgent reminder of the importance of our mission in Kosovo. You can take pride in knowing that you had the ability and courage to forge a brighter future for yourself and your family, and I commend you for providing such an inspiring example of determination.

Hillary joins me in sending best wishes.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

BC/WMW/SH/DDA/DC/ws-ws
(kosovo) (Corres. #7116891)

cc: John Wertman, 97 OEOB
cc: DWB/SPM, 94 OEOB
cc: Wayna Wondwossen, 97 OEOB

SENT TO:
Sister Jean Marshall, O.P.
Director
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

000420

April 13, 2000

Shukrie Bajrami
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

Dear Shukrie:

Thank you very much for your heartfelt letter and the lovely poem. Your warm words of support mean a lot to me, and I appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Personal stories like yours were a powerful source of motivation and an urgent reminder of the importance of our mission in Kosovo. You can take pride in knowing that you had the ability and courage to forge a brighter future for yourself and your family, and I commend you for providing such an inspiring example of determination.

Hillary joins me in sending best wishes.

Sincerely, **BILL CLINTON**

BC/WMW/SH/DDA/DC/ws-ws
(kosovo) (Corres. #7116893)

cc: John Wertman, 97 OEOB
cc: DWB/SPM, 94 OEOB
cc: Wayna Wondwossen, 97 OEOB

SENT TO:
Sister Jean Marshall, O.P.
Director
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

000420

April 13, 2000

Paulin Gjini
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

Dear Paulin:

Thank you very much for your heartfelt letter and the lovely poem. Your warm words of support mean a lot to me, and I appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Personal stories like yours were a powerful source of motivation and an urgent reminder of the importance of our mission in Kosovo. You can take pride in knowing that you had the ability and courage to forge a brighter future for yourself and your family, and I commend you for providing such an inspiring example of determination.

Hillary joins me in sending best wishes.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

BC/WMW/SH/DDA/DC/ws-ws
(kosovo) (Corres. #7116895)

cc: John Wertman, 97 OEOB
cc: DWB/SPM, 94 OEOB
cc: Wayna Wondwossen, 97 OEOB

SENT TO:
Sister Jean Marshall, O.P.
Director
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

000420

April 13, 2000

Ida Aga
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

Dear Ida:

Thank you very much for your heartfelt letter and the lovely poem. Your warm words of support mean a lot to me, and I appreciate your thoughtfulness.

Personal stories like yours were a powerful source of motivation and an urgent reminder of the importance of our mission in Kosovo. You can take pride in knowing that you had the ability and courage to forge a brighter future for yourself and your family, and I commend you for providing such an inspiring example of determination.

Hillary joins me in sending best wishes.

Sincerely, **BILL CLINTON**

BC/WMW/SH/DDA/DC/ws-ws
(kosovo) (Corres. #7116897)

cc: John Wertman, 97 OEOB
cc: DWB/SPM, 94 OEOB
cc: Wayna Wondwossen, 97 OEOB

SENT TO:
Sister Jean Marshall, O.P.
Director
St. Rita's Center for Immigrant
and Refugee Services
2342 Andrews Avenue
Bronx, New York 10468

000420

St. Rita's Center

For Immigrant and Refugee Services

2342 ANDREWS AVENUE* BRONX, NEW YORK 10468* (718) 365-4390* FAX: 718-295-8729
28-19 STEINWAY STREET * ASTORIA, NEW YORK 11103 * (718) 278-3980 * FAX: 718-295-8729

12-14

December 3, 1999

99 DEC 18 PM 1:45

President Bill Clinton
The White House
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. President,

At this moment we are very thrilled that we have the chance to write to you about how our hearts feel and about all the things we saw during the war in Kosova.

A dictator with no soul massacred old women and men, and young boys and girls. They did not think twice about the babies in their carriages. Our hearts were ripped out.

You are the only man who gave the Serbs the one fist that nobody could give. Your action has freed Kosova forever and exposed the Serbs as the animals they are.

That is why we offer you our thanks from the heart and we wish for you everything that is good in life.

May God Bless you and all American people.

With great respect from Kosovar refugees:

1. Zequir Dedinca
2. Fadil Dedinca
3. Florie Dedinca
4. Ismet Bajrami
5. Izet Kukaj
6. Rehana Ruhani
7. Shukrie Bajrami
8. Paulin Gjini
9. Ida Aga
10. Viviana Gjerga

12/13/99
Send to Burkhardt
Yes ☒
No ☐



Carol

Students of English at St. Rita's Center for Refugee and Immigrant Services.

*Saint Rita's Center stands as a beacon of welcome and hope for those in need,
a place where people of many cultures can come to find friendship and empowerment.*

Contributions to St. Rita's are tax deductible.

*framed
poem
included*

December 3, 1999,

Dear President Clinton,

I am Lenepe Berisha form Kosova.
In Prishtina I was a student and I finished
my university studies in aecantring.
Now, I am in America & I an pregnant. My baby
will be an Americen citizen and we will call
him Bill if he is a boy.

Thank you for the help yor gave Kosova & her
people, for thinking & caring about independene & free
in Kosova.

We want to thank you for everything that
you did for Kosova,

Sincerly:

Lenepe Berisha

ST. RITA'S CENTER
FOR IMMIGRANT/REFUGEE SERVICES
2342 ANDREWS AVENUE
BRONX, NEW YORK 10468

December. 3. 1999.

Dear president Clinton.

I am Albana Murati from Kosova, and I want to thank you for the help you gave Kosova & her people, and thinking & caring about independence & freedom in Kosova.

In Kosova I was a student. I have three months in America and I am studying English and computer. I am sad because I lost my family in the war, but I must try to forget a long time ago.

Thank you for everything.

Sincerely

Albana Murati...

ST. RITA'S CENTER
FOR IMMIGRANT/REFUGEE SERVICES
2342 ANDREWS AVENUE
BRONX, NEW YORK 10468

Dear President Clinton ^{September 3, 1991}

I am Albanian. I have come here one year ago together with my wife. I have political asylum in America. I am studying English now.

I have two babyies (they are twins). They are born in U.S.A. Their names are Terence and Jon (One american name and one albanian name).

We want to thank you for everything that you did for Kosova and her people.

We bles you for thinking and caring about independence and freedom in Kosova.

I wold like the people Albanian to be joined as one.

Happy Mary Cristmas and good

Sincerely.

Abedin Dewishi

WALLACE Av. 2150

50 Ap. BRONX N.Y. 10462.

U.S.A.

ST. RITA'S CENTER
FOR IMMIGRANT/REFUGEE SERVICES
2342 ANDREWS AVENUE
BRONX, NEW YORK 10468

December 3, 1999

Dear President Clinton

I am an albanian. I am here with my family. I have three children, 2 daughters and a son. My daughters named Erjona and Arkena. My son named Enis. I am studying english and in writing to you I am taking a big step. I'm sorry if I make any mistakes. I'm glad to be in the USA. We are here by lottery. I was a teacher in my country. My husband was a lawyer. I came here for a better life, for the future of my children. I would like to work in my profession, where my english is better.

I am thankful for the help you gave all albanian people in the world and especially for the albanian people of Kosova.

Happy Mary Christmas

Sincerely

Shpresa Shllaku

 12/3/1999

ST. RITA'S CENTER
FOR IMMIGRANT/REFUGEE SERVICES
2342 ANDREWS AVENUE
SPRING, NEW YORK 10468

Dear Mr. [unclear]

Dear Mr. [unclear]

I am writing to you to say that you

are a very good man and a very good

man to have as a friend.

I am to you, a man of my kind.

I will say, at the time I, and I am so

glad that my wife is, and at the same time.

I am writing to you to say that you

are a very good man and a very good

man to have as a friend. I am to you, a man of my kind.

I am writing to you to say that you are a very good man and a very good

man to have as a friend. I am to you, a man of my kind.

I am writing to you to say that you are a very good man and a very good

man to have as a friend. I am to you, a man of my kind.

I am writing to you to say that you are a very good man and a very good

man to have as a friend. I am to you, a man of my kind.

I am writing to you to say that you are a very good man and a very good

man to have as a friend. I am to you, a man of my kind.

ST. RITA'S CENTER
FOR IMMIGRANT/REFUGEE SERVICES
2342 ANDREWS AVENUE
BRONX, NEW YORK 10468

Sincerely,

Imre [unclear]

December 3, 1999

Dear President Clinton,

I'm Zamira Alić. I'm from Albania and I came to U.S. seven months ago. In my country I was a Holiday and I came here with my family (my husband and my daughter). I think: My family and I are lucky for coming to the U.S. In Albania I was a construction engineer and I work in Projecting Institute of Defence Ministry. Now in U.S. I'm learning english at St. Rita Center and later I hope to work in my profession.

I want to thank you for everything you did for the albanian people. I'm from albania and Kosovar people are albanian too and all of us bless you for coming and helping about freedom in Kosovar. We always hoped and trust in your help. The U.S. for us is big, strong state which put independence and justice for many states in the world. Many albanians are now american citizens, but our blood is albanian and we will never forget what we left. Far from here, there, in older Europe there is my small beautiful country, Albania. There I have my mother, brother, sisters, nieces and nephews and I want a beautiful life for them, and I think, you and your country can help our country to have that.

Maybe my letter have a lot of mistakes as I don't know a lot of words in english.

I want to bless you from my heart.
"Merry Christmas" and "Happy New Year!"
Sincerely
Zamira Alić.

December 3 1999

Dear President Clinton

I'm Mrs. Gelez. I'm from Albania
I came here to the U.S.A. 6 months ago with my family
I'm married. I have 2 boys 11 yrs & 8 yrs.
In my country I was an accountant, here now I'm learning
English at St. Rita Center from my teacher, Marriom.
I with my family am very happy for everything in U.S.A.
Thank you for everything

Merry Christmas

Sincerely

Mrs. Gelez

ST. RITA'S CENTER
FOR IMMIGRANT/REFUGEE SERVICES
2342 ANDREWS AVENUE
BRONX, NEW YORK 10468

December 1971

Dear President Carter

I'm Delores Garcia I'm from El Salvador. I came here
in the U.S.A. 5 year. My country I was
a nurse. I'm married I have 2 children,
a girl and a boy, my son is born here and
my son is a citizen. Thank you for everything.
I'm learning English at St Rita's Center from
my teacher Marion

Thank you, Delores Garcia

ST. RITA'S CENTER
FOR IMMIGRANT/REFUGEE SERVICES
2342 ANDREWS AVENUE
BRONX, NEW YORK 10468

April 13, 2000

Mr. Brian L. Greenspun
President
Las Vegas Sun
800 South Valley View Boulevard
Las Vegas, Nevada 89107-4411

Dear Brian:

Thank you very much for your kind letter. Hillary and I are so pleased you and Myra were able to join us here at the White House for the millennium celebration. I'm glad you followed up on our conversations. My White House Counsel staff has informed me that they have met with advocates for Peter MacDonald and that the Department of Justice is working on this matter as well. As I'm sure you know, I take all clemency requests seriously, and I appreciate having your input.

Also, I have passed along Richard Moore's memorandum regarding a federal/state teaching academy to members of my staff for review. In fact, my Administration announced a similar initiative to this proposal. Our School Leaders Initiative, through partnerships among state departments of education, local school districts, businesses, and non-profit organizations, would establish up to 20 centers throughout the country to provide professional development for superintendents, principals, and other school leaders.

As always, it's great to hear from you. I hope you are well, and I send my best.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

BC/CKS/SH/DA/DC/emu (Corres. #7146789)
(3.greenspun.bl)

cc: DWB/SPM, 94

cc: John Wertman, 97

cc: Maria Echaveste, W. U.

April 13, 2000

The Honorable Mike O'Callaghan
Executive Editor and
Chairman of the Board
Las Vegas Sun
800 South Valley View Boulevard
Las Vegas, Nevada 89107-4411

Dear Mike:

Thank you for your letter about Peter MacDonald, which Brian Greenspun passed along. I appreciate your getting in touch with me about this important issue.

My White House Counsel staff has informed me that they have met with advocates for Mr. MacDonald. I understand that the Department of Justice has also been working on this issue. As I am sure you know, I take all clemency requests seriously, and I value your recommendation. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

BC/TFS/SH/DA/DC/emu (Corres. #7158104)
(3.ocallaghan.m)

cc: DWB/SPM, 94

cc: Meredith Cabe, 128

cc: John Wertmsn 97

cc: Chris Scully, 97

cc: Maria Chaveste, WW

CO Marge Tarmey

19.
January 24, 2000

MEMORANDUM

2/1
1-31-00

To: The President

From: Nancy Hernreich
Mary Morrison

Re: Brian Greenspun

(Mike O'Callaghan, Richard Moore)

Brian called today and would like to talk to before the State of the Union Address. He wants to talk to you about the Teaching Academy in Henderson, NV - which he mentioned in his last letter.

He is in Los Angeles, CA this week and can be reached on his cell phone:
702-303-7777

copied
Reed
Podesta
Burkhardt
(original for
reply)

Reed

Have an opportunity
to answer Greenspun
yet - Pk need advice
Do reply for him

1-31-00

After you have seen,
we will send to
Burkhardt -

and

2/2
We should log and answer

AP to Greenspun

AP to Moore

AP to O'Callaghan

R

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 1.14.00

To: REED

From: The Staff Secretary

ANY COMMENT?

SEAN →

IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO
PROMISE ONE OF THESE TEACHING
ACADEMIES TO ANY PARTICULAR
STATE (LIKE NEVADA). WE HAVE
A PROPOSAL IN THE BUDGET FOR
REGIONAL ACADEMIES FOR PRINCIPALS,
BUT NOTHING LIKE THIS FOR
TEACHERS. -BRUCE

VEGAS SUN

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

01-17-00

BRIAN L. GREENSPUN, President
800 S. VALLEY VIEW BLVD., LAS VEGAS, NV 8910
702-259-4003

Copied
Cutter
Podesta

P.O. Box 4275
LAS VEGAS, NV 89127-0275
FAX: 702-259-4143

January 3, 2000

The President

To Legum C

Do you agree with this

PR

fax (202) 456-6703

Year's Eve – at the
kind of commitment
memories.

sea – together with a
e of my old sayings,
the White House!"
friendship.

It would not be like me if I did not follow up on two conversations so...the first is Mike O'Callaghan. As a reminder, I am enclosing the letter he wrote to you before Christmas. It makes the case for what you agreed should at least be a meeting with his people to discuss his situation. I do not see a downside to meeting and, should you decide a pardon is in order; there are many good and humanitarian reasons to do so.

The second matter is the potential of a federal/state academic institution for teachers and administrators, which can be built in Henderson. The state has agreed to create a college and the direction it takes is still to be determined. The new president of the school, Dr. Richard Moore, and its backers are in favor of such a teaching academy as well as Governor Kenny Guinn who sees this as an opportunity to lead the nation in elevating teaching in this country. I took the liberty of mentioning the idea to Secretary Riley who seemed to like it – amidst the confetti and fireworks, that is.

As you will read in Dr. Moore's memo to you (I gave it to Mary M. last week), the timing could be perfect, given the upcoming State of the Union and your desire to emphasize your commitment to education. Please let me know what we need to do to get this fast tracked as good ideas like this have a way of spilling out and getting lost in the political landscape. That should not happen on this one.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Mr. President

The attached letter asks that you meet with representatives of the Navajo Nation regarding the commutation petition of Peter MacDonald.

Our office wanted to make sure you are aware of two things:

- ① We have met on at least 2 occasions in the last two years (and more before that) with advocates for Mr. MacDonald, including Kelsey Begaye; and
- ② We do not think it is the right time to have such a meeting. We have previously recommended that you deny the petition (as we discussed in a recent meeting with you) and we are investigating whether he can be transferred to a facility closer to the Navajo Reservation.

Meredith Chase

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

01-17-00

01-17-00

BRIAN L. GREENSPUN, President
800 S. VALLEY VIEW BLVD., LAS VEGAS, NV 89107-4411
702-259-4003

P.O. Box 4275
LAS VEGAS, NV 89127-0275
FAX: 702-259-4143

January 3, 2000

The President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Telefax (202) 456-6703

Dear Mr. President,

What a fabulous way for my family and so many others to spend New Year's Eve – at the White House and on the Mall at the Lincoln Memorial. I know that kind of commitment is not easy, so thanks to you and Hillary for the warm and wondrous memories.

We also had a delightful, albeit lazy, day with you, Hillary and Chelsea – together with a roomful of young Stanford fans on Saturday. It fit perfectly with one of my old sayings, "If you are going to waste a day away, you might as well do it at the White House!" Thank you very much for your hospitality and, more importantly, your friendship.

It would not be like me if I did not follow up on two conversations so...the first is Mike O'Callaghan. As a reminder, I am enclosing the letter he wrote to you before Christmas. It makes the case for what you agreed should at least be a meeting with his people to discuss his situation. I do not see a downside to meeting and, should you decide a pardon is in order; there are many good and humanitarian reasons to do so.

The second matter is the potential of a federal/state academic institution for teachers and administrators, which can be built in Henderson. The state has agreed to create a college and the direction it takes is still to be determined. The new president of the school, Dr. Richard Moore, and its backers are in favor of such a teaching academy as well as Governor Kenny Guinn who sees this as an opportunity to lead the nation in elevating teaching in this country. I took the liberty of mentioning the idea to Secretary Riley who seemed to like it – amidst the confetti and fireworks, that is.

As you will read in Dr. Moore's memo to you (I gave it to Mary M. last week), the timing could be perfect, given the upcoming State of the Union and your desire to emphasize your commitment to education. Please let me know what we need to do to get this fast tracked as good ideas like this have a way of spilling out and getting lost in the political landscape. That should not happen on this one.

January 3, 2000

Page 2

President William J. Clinton

I will leave you now to the important work you are doing with every good wish from my family to yours and a special one for your efforts on behalf of the peace effort in the Middle East.

Looking forward to spending Y3K with you, I am

Your friend,



Brian

/Cr

Enc: one

LAS VEGAS SUN

800 South Valley View Blvd.
Las Vegas NV, 89107-4411
(702) 385-3111



MIKE O'CALLAGHAN,
EXECUTIVE EDITOR & CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

P.O. Box 3904
Las Vegas, NV 89127-3904
FAX: (702) 383-7264

December 9, 1999

Nancy Hernreich
Deputy Assistant to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20008

Mr. President:

Despite my several decades of public service this is the first time I have made a request of our nation's chief executive.

Because of the support of several great Americans, including our mutual friend the late Barry Goldwater, you are aware of the plight of former Navajo leader Peter MacDonald. Its time for him to return to his people and be released from a federal prison.

I ask you to take time during the Christmas season to meet with Navajo President Kelsey A. Begaye and some of MacDonald's fellow Navajo Code Talker veterans. Please allow them the opportunity to personally tell you about Peter.

Mr. President, your personal attention to this humanitarian act would be deeply appreciated by good people often overlooked in our fast moving, high-tech and urbanized society.

Thank you,

Mike O'Callaghan
Executive Editor
Chairman of the Board
Las Vegas Sun

MO/sd

COMMUNITY COLLEGE of SOUTHERN NEVADA
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT



MEMORANDUM

TO: William Jefferson Clinton, President, United States of America

FROM: Richard Moore, Founding President Elect, Nevada State College *Richard*

DATE: December 30, 1999

SUBJECT: An Idea for America

United States Teaching Academy (USTA)
a federal/state partnership with the
Nevada State Teaching Academy (NSTA)

Background:

It has been in the national interest for America to professionally educate and train its young people for leadership in the military arts. America's constitution recognized the need to provide for a common defense and the United States Government has since then established a "service academy" for the Army (1802), the Navy (1845), the Coast Guard (1876), our Merchant Marine (1943), and more recently, the Air Force (1954). Selection of young people for admission to these academies has incorporated both the rigor of academic standards and a nomination process from the Congress of the United States.

The graduates of our academies are reflected in the greatness of many of our military leaders -- men like Marshall, Eisenhower, MacArthur, and Nimitz serve as examples of exceptional WWII military leaders—one of whom became President of the United States of America.

National Need:

"We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare of America, ..." need to attract and prepare the best and brightest of our people for service as teaching professionals in America's

schools, be they kindergarten teachers or high school science teachers. America's corp of teaching professionals deserves a cadre of teachers, prepared under a federal/state partnership to set the standards for excellence and sustain the highest quality of teaching. The general welfare of America deserves nothing less and the 21st Century calls upon America for leadership in the preparation of teachers. As Professor David Drew of the Claremont Graduate University wrote - "teaching is our first line of defense against a dangerous enemy - ignorance."

Officially, this federal/state partnership reflects a "federal interest" to "promote the general Welfare of America" combined with the "state responsibility" to prepare the teachers of our youth.

Timing:

President Kennedy challenged America with his vision of a Peace Corps. It is time in America's history that you challenge America to help craft and prepare great teachers, through the formation of a national/state partnership -- the United States Teaching Academy (USTA) and Nevada State Teaching Academy (NSTA).

A federal/state teaching academy needs to be founded now, with the idea in mind that this is but the first of several federal/state academies, and that eventually there may be five to ten federal/state teaching academies throughout America. Let the pilot academy be located in Southern Nevada (Henderson) and then have this model be the template for the 21st Century for our nation to found additional academies as the need and experiences dictate.

Action:

As President of the United States, you should in your State of the Union speech request that Congress authorize and fund a national teaching academy (USTA) and that Congress then should nominate the youth of their respective districts for cadet membership.

Values:

The United States Teaching Academy should be an institution founded in the liberal arts with its core principles centered in the mastery of student discovery and student learning. Its graduates should prove first their own competencies per federal/state standards and then demonstrate teaching proficiencies in school districts throughout America.

What characterizes this field of study is a passion for ideas, an understanding that risk-taking is a prerequisite for change, and a recognition that values permeate all of ones actions. The belief structure is centered around a learning

environment which is:

- Rooted in the humanities; celebrating and exploring the contributions, values and ethics of different civilizations; across time, within individual and collective lives. (The Humanities)
- Trusting in the nonpredictability of the entrepreneurial spirit; accepting in each person responsibility for both private and public entrepreneurial leadership. (Entrepreneurial Leadership)
- Celebrating the role and power of immigrant lives, the inherent richness of native peoples, and confluence of the merged yet distinct new generations of ethnic and cultural groups. (Cultural Richness)
- Understanding that learning and the acquiring of knowledge has much to do about "discovery and risk taking" and little to do with rote memorization; believing that directed conversations, forums, convocations, rituals and private reflection are the at root elements which describe a rich learning environment within the institution we call the United States Teaching Academy. (Discovery and Colloquiums)
- Grounded in the understanding that the preparation of professionals is best accomplished when "working in the field," associating and interning directly with the professionals; and, that from these apprenticeships each new professional adds their own unique perspective. (Field Work)

Secondary Mission:

In addition, the nation needs a teaching academy which in the summer months serves as a host for in-service programs designed for teachers currently engaged in the profession. Directed colloquiums reflecting the most recent advances in science and technology need to be interspersed with shared teaching experiences by identified master teachers in America. This secondary goal would then be to sustain the vitalization of teachers in the practice of education.

Implementation:

This idea first needs a vision statement incorporating the lifetime thinking of yourself and Secretary Riley. Both of you have visited the nation's urban and rural communities over these past seven years and know first hand the need for more and better prepared teachers. Your 1999 major new initiatives for the U.S. Department of Education called for both state standards and "talented, dedicated and well-prepared teacher(s)." Here is the model for the nation to follow.

Second, you will need a state partner. I am pleased to report that Governor

Kenny Guinn of the State of Nevada would be honored to work with you to implement a national/state teaching academy. Fortunately, Nevada is considering founding its first state college (to be located in Henderson, Nevada, opening perhaps in Fall, 2001). The value of associating with an institution of higher education, not yet opened nor fully defined, is that there are no biases and entrenched points of view which might need "adjusting" to fit a new national model. Two entities - a federal government and a state government founding together a joint new academy to help transform America.

The obvious teaching laboratory for appropriate teaching internships would be the fastest growing school district in America, the Clark County School District. It is here that "field based," programs would be conducted. Each summer the National Teaching Academy cadets would intern at their home states.

Funding:

Funding for the USTA should come from the federal government and private foundations and for NSTA and its Nevada students, funding should come from the State of Nevada. Following the model of the three primary military academies, the USTA would enroll 1,000 cadets each year and each would receive room, board, and tuition paid for by the federal government. The State of Nevada would also hope to have 1,000 "cadets" each year and state funds would meet tuition costs with private funds to pay for room and board.

Again, following the model of military service for academy graduate, each Teaching Academy graduate would be under contract to work as a teaching professional in their home state for a minimum of four (4) years.

The faculty for the teaching academy should be composed of a core set of permanent scholars and a cadre of rotated academic professionals from the leading colleges and universities in America; and in addition, the element that provides specific focus to this endeavor, master teachers from the local Clark County School District (ensuring field-based experiences). A Board of Visitors should be established to set guidelines and review performance results, wherein both you and the state governor would nominate the members of this joint committee.

Mistakes Avoided:

Recent Carnegie and Ford Foundation studies on schools of education suggest that presidents of State Colleges and Universities ought not to view their education schools as having the sole responsibility for the preparing of new teachers. Where possible, the president should direct faculties of the other disciplines (sciences, humanities, technologies) to share in this work. In the founding of a national/state teaching academy, it is possible that every person

hired, be they in the English department, chemistry department, or computing sciences, have as their prime responsibility to work with the field-based education faculty to insure subject matter competencies and teaching appropriate skills. The challenge. . . that graduates have mastered core subject information, and secondly, that they have gained the experiences necessary to assist young people to discover, not memorize, the body of knowledge we call civilization.

To ensure quality, there would be high admissions standards and periodic performance tests requiring each student to demonstrate his or her mastery of core information and knowledge ("arthemis tests" to national standards). Those who do not satisfactorily pass such examinations, might be offered a program of remediation, but the passing of such remediation course should not take the place of an individual passing an examination for perhaps the second time, a test of core information and knowledge. The Teaching Academy would not be founded on the completion of courses but on the mastery gained of knowledge, the demonstrated ability to find information and the understanding of the power of discovery (versus note taking and memorization).

Starting Point:

Every person living in America has at some point in their life spent time with a great teacher (be it their grandmother, a neighbor or a professional educator). It is this unique connection that empowers the hope for greatness in our teaching profession and inspires our nation's youth to join the profession of teaching. The United States Teaching Academy is the catalyst for insuring that those who first felt the power of great teachers can themselves become a great teacher.

Action:

You announce in your State of the Union Address the formation of the first United States Teaching Academy, to be located in Southern Nevada and to be co-implemented with the to be commissioned Nevada State College.

RM:jt

cc: Kenny Guinn, Governor, State of Nevada
Jill Derby, Chair, Board of Regents, University and Community College System
of Nevada
Brian Greenspun, Publisher/Entrepreneur

NE. COPY
from ORM

3/8
APR 25 2000



PU

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 11, 2000

The Honorable Lanny J. Davis
Patton Boggs LLP
2550 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20037-1350

Dear Lanny:

Thanks so much for your notes. The article
from *The New Republic* was an intriguing piece.

Please call Joe Lockhart regarding the article
you're writing. I've passed along to him a
copy of your note.

Stay in touch, and please give my best to
Carolyn.

Sincerely,

Bar

000412

LANNY J. DAVIS

PATTON BOGGS LLP

ATTORNEYS AT LAW

LANNY J. DAVIS

2550 M Street, NW

Washington, DC 20037-1350

(202) 457-6000

3/8

2/28

[Handwritten signature]

Dear Mr. President -

If you haven't seen this
already - you will enjoy
it greatly. Directly on
point re our conversation at
Betty Doherty's home

Best,

Lanny

(I'm going to circulate it
far + wide!)

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

3-7-00

3-7-00

We will send to
Burkhardt after you
have seen.



Carol

TRB

FROM WASHINGTON

Yawn

ACCORDING TO MANY of our top editorialists, the nation is gripped by something called "Clinton fatigue." After seven long years, voters are fed up with our "truth-twisting" president (the phrase is John McCain's), and they can't wait for him to clear out of Washington. It is this lingering distaste, the pundits argue, that explains the dynamics of the 2000 presidential race. As an antidote to Bill Clinton, voters want character; they want straight talk; they are sick of politics as usual. This accounted for Bill Bradley's surge last fall, and it now accounts for McCain's even more remarkable rise over the past two weeks.

The model has an elegant simplicity. But it rests on a fictional premise. By every meaningful standard, statistical and historical, Clinton fatigue is an utter hoax. It is the latest sign of the growing gap between what the public actually thinks and what the pundits claim the public thinks. In fact, over time, Clinton has become more popular, not less. That so many intelligent writers assume the opposite tells us exactly nothing about Clinton. It tells us a great deal, however, about the dogma-cursed state of American political commentary.

From 1945 to 1992, each American president saw his job-approval ratings drop during his final years in office. The Korean War so undermined Harry Truman's popularity that he decided not to run for reelection in 1952. Vietnam did the same for Lyndon Johnson in 1968. Wretched disapproval (and almost-certain impeachment) led Richard Nixon to resign in 1974. Stagflation, the Iran hostage crisis, and "malaise" sent Jimmy Carter's numbers tumbling before Ronald Reagan clobbered him in 1980. Reagan's popular support went into free fall during the Iran-Contra scandal and never really

recovered. George Bush, prior to his defeat in 1992, saw his approval ratings plunge from their peak just after the Gulf war. Even the likable Dwight Eisenhower saw his ratings slip sharply during his sluggish second term.

Clinton is the great exception. After hovering in the mid-50s during the months after his reelection, his approval ratings have averaged in the low to mid-60s ever since—reaching 69 percent at the height of the impeachment crisis and never dipping below 56 percent. By contrast, Ronald Reagan's numbers plummeted from 63 percent in October 1986 to 40 percent in February 1987 and then were barely nudged above the halfway mark until after the 1988 elections.

Commentators are quick to note that Clinton's approval ratings drop abruptly when the question turns from job performance to character. But poll data only matter insofar as they predict elections, and, when it comes to elections, Clinton's high job-approval numbers are far more

fatigue was killing Al Gore. But last fall, if you'll remember, Gore was frantically distancing himself from the president—telling every interviewer who would listen how much he disapproved of Clinton's behavior and engaging in elaborate rhetorical contortions to avoid mentioning the president's name on the stump. Since December, he has started forthrightly claiming credit for the Clinton administration's accomplishments, and he has soared, winning in both Iowa and New Hampshire. To be sure, part of Gore's success stems from his campaign shake-up and from Bradley's early timidity. And, to be sure, Democratic primary voters are the least Clinton-fatigued people around. But the fact remains that, at the ballot box as in the job-approval ratings, evidence for Clinton fatigue is scarce. Even McCain, whose recent rise pundits credit to his anti-Slick-Willie persona, beat George W. Bush in New Hampshire with a tax plan that his opponents ridiculed (and that he at one point acknowledged) as Clintonian.

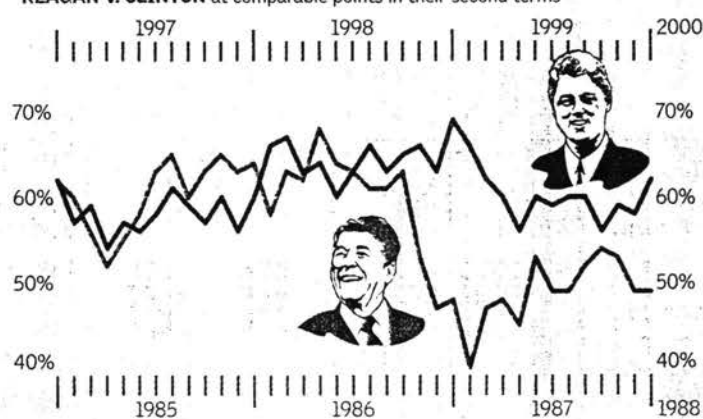
Why, then, does Clinton fatigue get so much press? Because today's commentators are afflicted with two types of denial. On the right, there is negative denial, a stubborn refusal to concede Clinton's success in bringing about the GOP's current disarray. On the left, there is positive denial, characterized by absolutist assertions of outmoded doctrine coupled with distortions of Clinton's record. Negative denial helps explain conservative pundits' sudden enthusiasm for McCain as the "un-Clinton." Positive denial helps explain leftist pundits' enthusiasm for the inert Bradley.

Though distinct, these two types of anti-Clinton denial have much in common. In both instances, political frustration breeds political self-delusion. In both instances, normally shrewd analysts ridicule a president who has proven their nostrums wrong. In both instances, the experts, having persuaded themselves that Clinton fatigue truly exists, attempt to pass the fraud off on a resistant public. And, most remarkably, in both instances, the fraud gets perpetrated not merely by the usual gang of talk-radio demagogues and cable-TV blowhards but by some of the ablest intellectuals and editors in the land. Who these intellectuals are, how they operate, and what the Clinton-fatigue fraud portends for the future will be the subjects of next week's TRB.

SEAN WILENTZ

PUBLIC-APPROVAL RATINGS

REAGAN v. CLINTON at comparable points in their second terms



Sources: Gallup Poll, Wash. Post-ABC, NBC-WSJ, ABC, WSJ, NY Times-CBS, Newsweek. CHART BY NIGEL HOLMES

predictive than his low personal-approval ones. And, like the job-approval numbers, the trend at the polls has generally been up.

Clinton has now been the dominant figure in four national elections. In 1992, he won the presidency, in a three-way race, with 43 percent of the popular vote. In 1994, of course, the Gingrich Republicans routed the president and his party, turning a large Democratic congressional majority into a GOP majority. But two years later Clinton not only rebounded from 1994 but surpassed his showing in 1992, winning 49 percent of the popular vote in another three-way race. In 1998, against media predictions, he did even better, and the Democrats gained five seats in the House. The last time a second-term president's party did so well in an off-year election was 1822.

Now consider 2000. Last fall, the press was filled with suggestions that Clinton

RANKED
#5
by
historians
today!

April 11, 2000

Mr. Ronnie Walraven
United Steelworkers of America
District 12
724 East Sixth Street
Texarkana, Arkansas 71854

Dear Ronnie:

Thanks for your letter regarding trade with China. I know we have some differences on this subject, and I wanted to respond in detail to your request that I explain my thinking on the issue.

As you know, last November, after years of negotiation, we completed a bilateral agreement on accession to the World Trade Organization with China. The agreement dramatically cuts import barriers currently imposed on American products and services and meets the high standards we set in all areas, from creating export opportunities for our businesses, farmers, and working people to strengthening our guarantees of fair trade.

Economically, I believe that this agreement is a good deal for America. China has agreed to significantly open its market of more than 1 billion consumers to American farmers, workers, and businesses, while the U.S. has agreed simply to maintain the market access policies we already apply to China by granting it permanent normal trade relations. China's commitments are enforceable in the WTO and include specially negotiated rules. In the event of a violation, the U.S. will have the right to trade retaliation.

When our negotiators went to Beijing in November, the concerns of American workers stood at the very top of our agenda. That is why we secured a "China-specific" safeguard, allowing us to take measures focused *directly* on China in case an import surge threatens one of our industries. We negotiated strong anti-dumping protections and strong measures to eliminate forced technology transfers, mandated offsets, local content requirements, and other practices that could drain American jobs and technology.

I have requested significant new funding for China trade compliance. We will maximize use of the WTO's review mechanisms, strengthen U.S. monitoring and enforcement capabilities, ensure regular reporting to Congress on China's compliance, and enforce the strong China-specific

import surge protections we negotiated. Also, we must continue our efforts to make the WTO more open, transparent, and participatory and to elevate consideration of labor and environmental concerns.

But we must also recognize the value that the WTO serves today in implementing a rules-based system of international trade -- one that has fostered global growth and prosperity over the past half century. More than any other step we can take right now, bringing China into that rules-based system will advance the right kind of reform in China and encourage its integration with the world. Of course, this trade agreement alone cannot bring all the change we seek in China -- such as greater respect for human rights -- and we will continue to protect our interests with firmness and candor. But I believe we must do so without isolating China from the global forces empowering its people to build a better future. As I have argued to China's leaders many times, China will be less likely to succeed if its people cannot exchange information freely, if it does not build the legal and political foundation necessary to compete for global capital, and if its political system does not gain the legitimacy that comes from democratic choice. This agreement will encourage the Chinese to move in the right direction.

In terms of our policy toward China, this is no real change -- PNTR simply reflects the tariff status we have given China since our normalization of diplomatic relations in 1979 and which Congress has reviewed every year since then and has found to be in our fundamental national interest. If Congress were to refuse to grant China PNTR, our Asian and European competitors would reap the benefits of Chinese accession, but American farmers and businesses might well be left behind.

I hope I've been able to convey why I believe this is such an important issue for America. Hillary and I wish you well and send our best.

Sincerely,



BC/JHO/DDA/SH/DC/DC/DC/pfs-efr-efr-efr-emu (Corres. #7150667)
(4.walraven)

cc: DWB/SPM, 94 OEOB

cc: John Wertman, 97 OEOB

cc: Jeffrey Oakman, 97 OEOB

cc: w/cy of inc Karen Tramontano, GFL/WW

cc: Malcolm Lee, 469 OEOB

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH through Sean Maloney
CLEAR THRU SEAN MALONEY
PRESIDENT TO SIGN

GEORGE BECKER
PRESIDENT

LEO W. GERARD
SECRETARY-TREASURER

RICHARD H. DAVIS
VICE-PRESIDENT
(ADMINISTRATION)

LEON LYNCH
VICE PRESIDENT
(HUMAN AFFAIRS)



TERRY L. BONDS
DISTRICT DIRECTOR

United Steelworkers of America

DISTRICT NO. 12
724 EAST 6TH STREET
TEXARKANA, ARKANSAS 71854

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870-772-0777
FAX 870-772-0877

February 29, 2000

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

Dear President Clinton:

I am writing to ask your reasoning on why we should give China a most favored nation trade status.

China uses prison and child labor and has no restrictions on the EPA. You would not condone this in our country and neither would I.

Our workers cannot compete with China's low wages or their working conditions. We have lost too many good paying jobs already due to NAFTA. We don't want to be a service nation with our workers on minimum wage jobs.

Please explain to me why you think your position on PNTR for China could possibly be good for U.S. workers who will lose their jobs when companies move their factories to China, just as they have done in Mexico due to NAFTA.

I will be staying at the Marriot Hotel (202-328-2000) in Washington D.C. April 12th - 14th, 2000 and if yours or Hillary's schedule permits would like to visit with you.

Thank you for your attention regarding this matter and hope to see you soon.

3-7-00

Sincerely yours,

Ronnie Walraven
United Steelworkers of America

Send to Burkhardt >

Yes ✓

No _____

cc: scheduling

Carol



319
April 7, 2000

The Honorable Jack M. Mills
President
Mills Communications, Inc.
Post Office Box 23259
Columbia, South Carolina 29224

Dear Jack:

I was glad to get your letter, and it was great seeing you and your family at my radio address.

Thanks for telling me about "We Need P.E. Now" and your thoughts on S. 1159. I have asked members of my staff to look into how we can work with this new group. I'm grateful for all you're doing as a member of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports, and I look forward to your continued involvement in helping our children maintain good physical fitness.

Hillary and I send our best to you and Jency.

Sincerely,

BC/CKS/SH/DWB/bws-pfs (Corres. #7155270)
(4.mills.jm)

cc: ~~DWB/SPM, 94~~
cc: John Wertman, 97

Xeroxed copy of personally signed original to NH
through Sean Maloney

~~CLEAR THRU SEAN MALONEY~~
PRESIDENT TO SIGN

communications, inc. Year

President Bill Clinton
The White House
Washington D. C. 20500

Dear President Clinton,

Since our correspondence, recently regarding the Presidents Council on Physical Fitness and Sports, there is a development to share with you.

My friend who I mentioned in my letter, Jim Baugh, President of Wilson Sporting Goods has organized a group including most of the major sporting goods companies, this happend two weeks ago. The group is called "We Need P. E. Now".

Their goal is to promote P. E. in schools nationally, as well as offer their assistance where they can to promote physical activity. They are supporting the Stevens bill. (S1159) now being circulated in D. C.

An alliance with this group by the Presidents Council could benefit both groups. I have spoken with Daniel Montoya in the White House and Sandy Perlmutter at the Presidents Council about this possibility. With or without the S1159 bill I know we can benefit from this on behalf of Americas Youth.

As of now we are scheduled with Nancy's office to attend your radio show this Saturday, March 11, I am bringing my grandson of coarse. We are all excited about seeing you then.

MILLS **communications, inc.**

I will continue my efforts as a Presidents Council member to make some things
happen in the year 2000.

Regards,

Jack
Jack M. Mills

The program can be obtained at www.weneedpe.com.

Thanks
NANCY,

Jack
Mills

4/5

John A. Wertman

04/05/2000 02:16:41 PM

JACK ROSEN

Record Type: Record

To: Janice H. Vranich/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc:

bcc:

Subject: Re: 1999 GREEN DOT LOG

Jack Rosen was NRNed per OMB...

Janice H. Vranich

Janice H. Vranich

04/05/2000 01:08:42

PM

Record Type: Record

To: Maureen A. Hudson/WHO/EOP@EOP, Jeffrey H. Oakman/WHO/EOP@EOP, Woyneab M. Wondwossen/WHO/EOP@EOP

cc: See the distribution list at the bottom of this message

Subject: 1999 GREEN DOT LOG

I am **trying** to close out the 1999 Green Dot SPM log...can you provide any information on these letters from our log that are still pending -- nothing in files to indicate that anything has been dispatched:

Melba Patillo Beals	No writer assigned	"children as peacemakers"	7/26/99
Charlie Byrd Family	Maureen	death of Charlie Byrd	Dec 99
W. Percy Malone	No writer assigned	more assistance for tornado damage	10/6/99
Bob Miller	Tracy	sports betting, mining, etc.	12/02/99
James Murray	Maureen	get-well/cancer/Park Police	Sep 99
Jack Rosen	Jeffrey	policy re: confiscating property	Oct 99
John Sitalides	Woyneab	views on Turkey/Greece	12/8/99
St. Rita's Center	Woyneab	thanks from Kosovar refugees	12/3/99
Howard A. Vine	No writer assigned	representing claimants against Cuba	10/20/99

I have copies of all incoming on these if needed ...if you NRN'd or forwarded to another office, I never got the word to close out on the log. THANKS your help...

Dear Jack:

Thank you for your letter regarding the status of FCC spectrum licenses currently in bankruptcy court.

My Administration proposed the bankruptcy provision regarding spectrum licenses in order to protect the federal government's—and ultimately the American taxpayer's—interest in all spectrum licenses issued through the auction process. The provision clarifies the relationship between communications law and bankruptcy law so that the FCC can enforce its existing regulations. Currently, the FCC can reclaim and reauction spectrum licenses if a licensee violates the license terms by failing to meet its payment obligations.

The bankruptcy provision does not prohibit a licensee from declaring bankruptcy, nor does it give new regulatory powers to the FCC. The FCC does not seek to reclaim licenses of licensees in bankruptcy if they are current in their license payments. The provision does, however, prevent companies from attempting to use the Bankruptcy Code to reduce their obligation to pay the Federal government for licenses obtained by auction. The integrity of the FCC's auction process could be undermined if companies overbid at auction and then seek to reduce their payment for spectrum licenses through bankruptcy proceedings. Such an outcome would be particularly harmful to small businesses since overbidding by larger, well-financed firms could preclude them from winning at auction.

Spectrum is a public resource, and licenses confer the right to use the resource, not to own it. My Administration believes that it is important to maintain the integrity of the auction process, which was designed to allow competitive companies to deploy new services efficiently while compensating the American public for the full value of the right to use this public resource. The federal government has previously provided specific exemptions from the Bankruptcy Code to protect the Federal government's interest in governmental lending and licensing programs, which we now seek to do for the spectrum licenses.

Thank you for sharing your views on this matter with me. I have considered the issue carefully and, while our views may differ, I hope we can find a common ground in our shared desire to do what is right for America's small businesses. Best wishes.

Sincerely,

BC

10/13

Jack Rosen

910 Sylvan Avenue
Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632
201-567-4600

Dear Mrs. President -

While our discussions led me to believe that you agreed in principle that Government should play by the rules and not unfairly confiscate property, as you can see from Jack Hew's letter, the administration is supporting a policy specifically and pointedly in the opposite direction.

Mrs. President, the bankruptcy provision regarding the FCC Spectrum licenses would totally destroy the small business opportunity that you created by law in 1993. I am certain that you would agree that it is wrong and unfair to retroactively confiscate these licenses.

Sincerely,

Jack Rosen

10-12-99

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐



Jack Rosen

910 Sylvan Avenue
Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632
201-567-4600

*Through
5/10/99*

1999 OCT 17 PM 5:17

October 8, 1999

Via Federal Express

Ms. Nancy Hernreich
Executive Office of the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
1st Floor, West Wing
Washington, D.C. 20500-2000

Dear Nancy:

I hope this letter finds you and your family well. I have enclosed a letter that I would appreciate your assistance in the bringing to the President's attention.

As always, thank you for your assistance and attention to this matter.

Sincerely,


JACK ROSEN

Encl.



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20503

THE DIRECTOR

September 27, 1999

The Honorable C. W. Bill Young
Chairman
Committee on Appropriations
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This letter provides the Administration's views on the Commerce, Justice, and State, the Judiciary, and Related Agencies Appropriations Bill, FY 2000, as passed by the House and Senate. As the conferees develop a final version of the bill, your consideration of the Administration's views would be appreciated.

The Administration appreciates the Congress' efforts to accommodate the President's priorities within the 302(b) allocation. However, the inadequacy of the 302(b) allocation has forced the Congress to make choices that are simply unacceptable.

The President's FY 2000 Budget proposes levels of discretionary spending that meet important national needs while conforming to the Bipartisan Budget Agreement by making savings proposals in mandatory and other programs available to help finance vital spending needs. Congress has approved and the President has signed into law nearly \$29 billion of such offsets in appropriations legislation since 1995. The Administration appreciates the Senate's adoption of one such proposal, language clarifying the relationship of bankruptcy law with regard to spectrum licenses. This provision will also help to ensure the integrity of the spectrum auction process. The Administration urges the Congress to consider additional such proposals as the FY 2000 appropriations process moves forward.

The Administration has very serious concerns, discussed below, with the Congress' inadequate funding of a number of priority programs, as well as with several objectionable language provisions. If the bill presented to the President does not address these issues, the President's senior advisers would recommend that he veto the bill.

Department of Commerce Critical Infrastructure Protection Programs. The Administration urges the conferees to fully fund the Department of Commerce's Critical Infrastructure programs and associated activities. These include the Critical Infrastructure Assurance Office (CIAO) and the National Telecommunications and Information Administration's lead agency function; Information Sharing and Assessment Center, and research activities for the telecommunications sector. The CIAO is crucial to implementing Presidential Decision Directive 63 and coordinating the Nation's critical infrastructure program. In addition, the Administration urges that full funding be provided for Chemical Weapons Convention, National Defense Authorization Act, and Export Control Automated Support System redesign activities in the Bureau of Export Administration.

On September 21, the President submitted a FY2000 budget amendment request to the Congress. The amendment includes \$39 million to help protect critical infrastructure. Of that sum, \$7 million would be provided to the Department of Commerce. While it is recognized that the request has been forwarded to Congress late in the appropriations cycle, we urge the conferees to provide this sum to upgrade our national and economic security. These funds will improve our ability to detect and prevent intrusion into Government computer systems.

Other Concerns

Federal Communications Commission. The Administration urges full funding of the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC's) request. The funding level in the House-passed bill could require an agency-wide furlough or reduction-in-force. The Administration also urges the conferees to adopt the Senate provision to clarify the relationship of bankruptcy law with regard to spectrum licenses, which would provide savings and help ensure the integrity of the spectrum auction process. Finally, we request that the conferees strike language added on both the House and Senate Floor that would force the FCC to discontinue the Uniform System of Accounts (USOA). The Administration pledges to work with Congress to eliminate any burdensome accounting requirements while ensuring that the FCC continues to collect information that helps protect consumers.

Securities and Exchange Commission. The Administration is concerned about the House bill's \$37 million reduction from the requested program level for the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC). The House level would make it difficult for the agency to fulfill its core mission of protecting investors and providing oversight of securities markets. Such a reduction could require the SEC to cut staffing by 200 work-years, curtail expenditures for technology to fight internet fraud, and cut back support for litigation efforts. We urge the conferees to fully fund the request of \$361 million.

We look forward to working with the conferees to address our mutual concerns.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Jacob J. Lew', with a stylized, flowing script.

Jacob J. Lew
Director

Identical Letter Sent to The Honorable C. W. Bill Young,
The Honorable David R. Obey, The Honorable Harold Rogers,
The Honorable Jose E. Serrano, The Honorable Ted Stevens,
The Honorable Robert C. Byrd, The Honorable Judd Gregg,
and The Honorable Ernest F. Hollings

Enclosure

Background on Bankruptcy Rights Stripping Legislation

Congress is considering a provision in the Senate bill making appropriations for Commerce, Justice, and State (CJS) which would strip retroactively the bankruptcy rights of certain small business that hold licenses issued by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC). The House considered, and specifically rejected, including this provision in its version of the CJS bill. The proposal was included this year in the Administration's budget request, presumably at the request of the FCC. Congress rejected this same proposal during the budget debate last year and should be strongly encouraged to do the same this year.

Last year and again this year, the House Commerce Committee leadership (Messrs. Bliley, Dingell, Tauzin, and Markey) objected to the inclusion of the proposal in the omnibus bill because it undercuts well-established telecommunications law and policy. Recently, House Majority Leader Arney and Minority Leader Gephardt wrote a letter with the Commerce Committee leadership to the House Appropriations conferees urging them to defend the House position of rejecting this provision. Both the House and Senate Judiciary Committees have also objected to the proposal because it raised serious constitutional issues and bankruptcy policy concerns that have never been reviewed by the respective Judiciary Committees, the Committees with jurisdiction over bankruptcy matters.

The key policy objections to the proposal are that it would, if enacted:

- **provoke a constitutional challenge to the legislation** because of its retroactive application and its impact on constitutionally protected bankruptcy rights that could tie up the licenses in court for years.
- **eviscerate numerous federal bankruptcy, district and appeals court decisions in New York and Texas** involving FCC licenses and the rights of small businesses who have already paid over \$1 billion in down payments into the Treasury.
- **set a dangerous and dubious legal precedent** in areas where the government is a creditor, by allowing the government to reclaim an asset on the mere filing of a bankruptcy petition.
- **undercut well-established telecommunications policy** by delaying, through litigation, the prompt delivery of new services to the public.
- **tilt the competitive telecommunications landscape** in favor of incumbent service providers at the expense of competitive new entrants.
- **chill domestic infrastructure investment for years** since vendor financing would be subordinated to a perfected security interest in favor of the government.

The FCC is lobbying Congress for passage of this provision to achieve by retroactive legislative fiat what it has failed to achieve in court: namely, new, unprecedented status as a "super creditor," fully immune to the federal bankruptcy laws. The FCC has consistently refused to negotiate a "win-win" settlement with any of the companies in bankruptcy, despite the companies' repeated efforts to compromise, and instead has maintained an irrational course of seeking the return of all licenses from these companies that have exercised their constitutionally protected bankruptcy rights. Federal courts in the Second Circuit (New York) and Fifth Circuit (Texas) have at all stages and in all proceedings up till now repeatedly refused to allow the FCC to engage in this course of action.

Offensive as this proposal was last year, it is even more so this year for a couple of reasons. First, last year the courts had not fully spoken on the issue of whether the FCC is immune to the federal bankruptcy laws. Since the Administration made its budget request earlier this year, four different federal courts have unanimously held that the FCC is not immune to bankruptcy laws. Thus, the legislative provision, which the FCC claimed last year was merely a "clarification" of existing law is, in the wake of the court decisions, revealed to be a total reversal of the law as it stands today. Second, two of the larger companies devastated by this provision are poised to begin a build out to offer competitive wireless services. One in particular has raised over \$700 million in new capital to execute on a business plan that will bring the next generation of digital service for internet access, mobile, and fixed wireless applications.

This particular company has offered to settle the pending litigation with the FCC by immediately paying the agency the full amount of a federal court's determination of the market value of the licenses, which would result in an additional payment to the U.S. Treasury of \$549 million over and above the over \$500 million the company already has paid to the FCC. The settlement offer also includes numerous other features, including \$1 billion of free internet access for inner city schools, public libraries, and Native American tribal lands. The proposal has fallen on deaf ears at the FCC, and instead the FCC has lobbied for this constitutionally suspect provision in Congress, which the Congressional Budget Office has determined is worth only \$500 million to the government.

The Administration and the Congress are only a few weeks away from finalizing an agreement on FY2000 appropriations legislation. The Administration must act quickly to clarify with Congress that the FCC's legislative proposal should not be included in that legislation.

Congress of the United States

Washington, DC 20515

September 28, 1999

The Honorable C.W. Bill Young
Chairman
Committee on Appropriations
H-218 Capitol
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable David R. Oby
Ranking Minority Member
Committee on Appropriations
2314 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Harold Rogers
Chairman
Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State,
and Judiciary
2470 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

The Honorable Jose E. Serrano
Ranking Minority Member
Subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State,
and Judiciary
2342 Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Gentlemen:

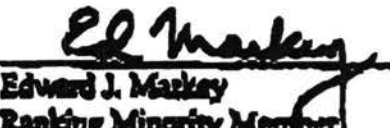
As Conferees begin consideration of the bill making FY 2000 appropriations for the Departments of Commerce, Justice, State, the Judiciary, and related agencies ("CJS"), we want to let you know of our strong opposition to Section 618 of S. 1217.

Section 618 of the Senate bill would have extraordinary ramifications for all telecommunications companies that have been issued radio licenses by the Federal Communications Commission pursuant to Section 309(j) of the Communications Act of 1934. The provision targets these companies specifically by stripping away important rights that are available to all other American companies under the Bankruptcy Code. Worse, it would do so retroactively.

Moreover, the provision represents a radical departure from both current telecommunications and bankruptcy policy, yet it has never been considered by the respective legislative committees.

For these reasons, we strongly urge you to defend the House position in conference by rejecting the Senate provision.

Sincerely,


Tom Bliley
Chairman
John D. Dingell
Ranking Minority Member
W.J. "Billy" Tauzin
Chairman
Subcommittee on Telecommunications,
Trade, and Consumer Protection
Edward J. Markey
Ranking Minority Member
Subcommittee on Telecommunications,
Trade, and Consumer Protection
Richard K. Armey
Majority Leader
U.S. House of Representatives
Richard A. Gephardt
Minority Leader
U.S. House of Representatives

1/21
April 4, 2000

Paul L. Hill, Ph.D.
U.S. Chemical Safety and
Hazard Investigation Board
Fourth Floor
2175 K Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20037

Dear Paul:

Thank you for advising me of your resignation
as Chairman and Chief Executive Officer of the U.S.
Chemical Safety and Hazard Investigation Board.

I'm grateful for your service to the federal
government and to the American people. Your efforts
helped to create a new agency that ensures workers'
safety by investigating serious chemical accidents,
determining and identifying their cause, and making
recommendations to help prevent future incidents.
I know there's still a lot of work to be done, but I
am confident that the CSHIB will be able to address
these challenges. I'm glad you will remain a part
of the team.

Sincerely,

BILL CLINTON

BC/TFS/SMH/DC/ckb-pfs (Corres. #7110330)
(3.hill.pl.doc)

cc: SPM/DWB, 94 OEOB
PPO, 158 OEOB
John Wertman, 97 OEOB



1/21

U. S. Chemical Safety and Hazard Investigation Board
2175 K Street N.W., 4th Floor, Washington, D.C. 20037
Phone 202-261-7600 Fax 202-261-7650

Dr. Paul L. Hill, Jr.
Chairman and CEO

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, D.C.

December 17, 1999

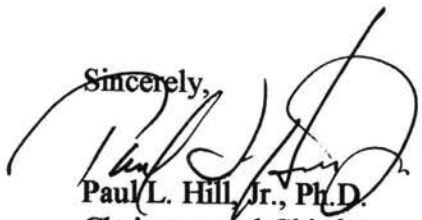
Dear President Clinton,

It is with many mixed emotions that I hereby resign my post as Chairman and CEO of the United States Chemical Safety and Hazard Investigation Board (CSB). After weighing numerous personal commitments and responsibilities to my family, I must now place them first. I am, however, deeply gratified by the opportunity you gave me in my first term. Much of what I came to Washington to accomplish has been realized: the Agency now exists; it is currently carrying out its statutory mandate; it has growing national recognition; major departments, programs and senior staff are in place; and, Congress is providing increasing budgetary support. As I began to consider a second five-year term however, I came to realize that although the rewards of this position are great, the costs to my personal life are even greater. That price has now exceeded my personal drive to continue.

I have also weighed my decision in the best interest of the CSB as an institution. New leadership and fresh ideas may greatly benefit the agency at this juncture. I intend to continue as a Member of the CSB and support the new Chairperson you select to manage the agency. Realistically, the less rigorous demands of Member status lend themselves to my deeper goals of improving chemical safety for American workers and communities. I am far more interested in this focus than the time-consuming and emotional burdens of daily administration. Thus, this is the best decision for all concerned.

Again, thank you, Mr. President, for the opportunities you provided by entrusting the Chairmanship to me for the past five years. To ensure a smooth transition, I will continue my executive responsibilities until January 12, 2000. I look forward to completing the term of my appointment and to serving you and all Americans in my continuing capacity as a Member of the Board.

Sincerely,



Paul L. Hill, Jr., Ph.D.
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer

Do you want to
send to Burkhardt
for a reply first?

Yes _____
No _____

(W)

1-21-00 S.C.

2nd Anniversary Report of CSB Accomplishments

Since opening its doors in January 5, 1998, CSB staff has achieved the following:

Incident Prevention Accomplishments

- Issued three incident investigation reports
- Issued 26 recommendations, a number of which have already been accepted and acted upon or have generated ongoing work designed to result in their implementation
- Enabled local community in Idaho to reduce risk by justifying safety action based on investigation report recommendation
- Developed the Incident Investigation System, a mission critical nerve center to assist in management of investigations
- Developed incident investigation protocol
- Completed a Y2K study, leading to recognition on Internet as clearinghouse for Y2K information

Technical Information Accomplishments

- Established the Chemical Incident Reporting Center that disseminates incident information to the public
- Completed a baseline study of 10 years of federally-reported incidents
- Developed stakeholder outreach program, including conduct of stakeholder meetings and establishment of relationships with over 400 groups

Administrative Accomplishments

- Created and staffed a new independent federal agency from scratch
- Located, moved into and furnished first official offices
- Provided staff training in investigations and federal procurement procedures
- Established memorandum of understanding with OSHA, as required by law, and other similar interagency relationships with other federal organizations
- Developed information technology (IT) strategic plan, as required by law, as first step to implementing mission-oriented IT program
- Developed award-winning website recognized for content and design quality, with over 4000 subscribers

Major Accomplishments By Function

Function	Accomplished in FY 1999	Projected for FY 2000
1 - Incident Prevention	- Initiated Incident Investigations (5) - Issued Incident Investigations Reports(2) - Outline of Investigative Protocol - Recommendations Accepted/Acted Upon (#?) - Investigation Directive (Report Preparation Process) - Intergovernmental Policy on Investigation Coordination	- Initiate Incident Investigations (2) - ISP - Dispose of Incident Investigation Reports (8) - ISP - Finalize Investigative Protocol - ISP - Finalize Near Real Time Chemical Incident Reports Center - ER - Release Incident Report Bulletins (one for each completed investigation report) - ISP - Complete Version 1.0 of Incident Notification and Investigation System - SIMO
2 - Technical Information and Assistance	- Enhanced Website - Significant Website Subscriber List Representing at Least 4,000 Individuals - Established Incident Operations Center	- Maintain Information on Website - ER - Develop Information Technology Architecture Plan - SIMO - Establish Agency Intranet - SIMO - Maintain Incident Operations Center - ISP - Release Agency Video and Brochure - ER
3 - Special Safety Studies and Technical Guidance	Investigative Training for CSB Staff	- Continue Investigative Training for CSB Staff - ISP - Complete Prototype Chemical - Industry (Chlorine) Study and Report - SIMO - Complete Prototype Regulation - Operation (PSM) Study and Report - SIMO - Prepare Internal Agency Analysis of Existing Intra-governmental Chemical Research Program as Initial Step in Developing Agency's Research Agenda - ISP
4 - Recurring Reports and Services	FY 1998 Financial Statements	- Release Consolidated FY 98 - 99 Annual Report - ER - Release FY 1999 Financial Statements - SIMO
5 - Assembling and Analyzing Incident and Technical Information	- Draft Ten Year Baseline Incident Report - Database of Reported Incidents	Finalize 10 Year Baseline Incident Report - SIMO
6 - Executive Direction	- Business Plan - Administrative/Programmatic Directives - Signed MOU with OSHA - Draft MOU with NTSB, EPA, and GSA - Establish Interagency Coordination with BATF, DOE, NASA, DOD, FEMA, ATSDR, NIOSH, USFA, USCG, FAA, and GAO	- Finalize FY 1999 Draft MOU's - GC - Finalize Agreement on Investigation Cooperation with NTSB - GC - Complete Currently-Identified Administrative and Programmatic Directives - ALL OFFICES - Transition Personnel and Payroll Support to BPD - SIMO - Finalize FY2001-2005 Strategic Plan - ALL OFFICES - Finalize FY2001 Performance Plan - ALL OFFICES - Relocate Agency Office - SIMO

		• Draft Interagency Coordination MOUs with Currently-Identified Agencies - GC • Prepare Draft Regulations on Agency Implementation of Key Statutes (i.e., FOIA, Privacy Act, Sunshine Act) - GC • Perform Internal Control Study - SIMO • Develop Strategic Plan for Safety Programs Function (i.e., addressing incident reporting, safety research, and tracking impact of recommendations) - ISP • Develop Strategic Plan for External Relations Function - ER
7 - Board Members	• Y2K Report to Congress • Approval of Investigation Report on Union Carbide & Herrig Brothers • Joint CSB – EPA – Industry Brochure on Chemical Safety Y2K Preparedness for Small & Medium Size Companies	• Approve Investigation Reports and Recommendations - BOARD • Finalize Incident Selection Procedures - BOARD • Conduct Regular Monthly Meetings - BOARD