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Wednesday, April 14, 1999

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to: Ann Lewis
fax #: 202/456-2215
re: Museum of Jewish Heritage
date: April 12, 1999
pages: 3, including this cover sheet.

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4-14-99

Meyer Berman asks that you join him as his honor of His Eminence John Cardinal O'Connor, A the Waldorf Astoria.

Send to Benkhart to
do letter to
Robert M. Morgenthau at

Please let me know if you are able to attend

Yes ☒

Thank you.

No ☐

Note note

Nancy R. Newton

can she'll u

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thinking of NY → send
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announcing

4/13/99
Ann said sh'd
contact
correspondence

From the desk of...

Nancy R. Newton
Assistant to Meyer Berman
M.A. Berman Co.
433 Plaza Real Suite 355
Boca Raton FL 33432

561/447-4811
Fax: 561/447-4850

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fervor that through this Museum,
every Jew will be ever prouder to be a
JEW and that those of us who call
ourselves CHRISTIANS will become
ever prouder of our
JEWISH HERITAGE."

JOHN CARDINAL O'CONNOR
MUSEUM OF JEWISH HERITAGE
DEDICATION DAY CEREMONY
SEPTEMBER 11, 1997



JOHN CARDINAL O'CONNOR
8TH ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK

His Eminence, John Cardinal O'Connor is a native of Philadelphia where he was ordained to the Roman Catholic priesthood. He has studied at a number of colleges and universities and holds advanced degrees in Ethics, Clinical Psychology and Political Theory.

After teaching and parish work in Philadelphia, he entered service as a chaplain with the United States Navy and Marine Corps, serving for 27 years. Upon leaving military service, he was ordained a bishop for the armed forces of the United States by Pope John Paul II in 1979. In 1983 he became Bishop of Scranton, Pennsylvania, and in 1984, Archbishop of New York. He was created a Cardinal in 1985.

Cardinal O'Connor serves on a number of councils and congregations in Rome, in various capacities in the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, and serves as officer or member of a variety of ecclesiastical and civic organizations.

Cardinal O'Connor is recognized as one of the major advocates for opening up diplomatic relations between the Vatican and Israel. He has visited Israel numerous times and has met with leading Israeli political figures in his role as the president of the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, a Papal agency that oversees affairs of the Near East, including Israel.

The Cardinal is a strong supporter of the Museum and its educational mission. He spoke at the Museum's dedication last year. Paraphrasing Pope John Paul II, the Cardinal said, "We can build a civilization worthy of the human person, a true culture of freedom. Jew and Christian together, we can and must do so. And, in doing so, we shall see that the tears of this century have prepared the ground for a new springtime of the human spirit."

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SUNDAY, APRIL 18, 1999

COCKTAILS: 6:00 PM
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YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

of Metropolitan Little Rock

April 12, 1999

'99 APR 14 AM 9:00

Mr. Phillip M. Caplan
Assistant to the President and Staff Secretary
White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

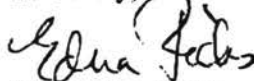
Dear Mr. Caplan:

Future 500 has worked with thousands of youth over the years. Future 500 is a motivational/mentoring program designed to reach high school students in grades 10th-12th. We have been very successful in our efforts to give invaluable information to stimulate and prepare these students for career opportunities. This year's banquet marks the tenth anniversary of our very successful program. Our goal is to change or create positive attitudes about education, career development, career choices, self-esteem, and social/political issues. Many youth who have been involved in Future 500 have gone on to become successful men and women in our community, state, and nation.

As has been the custom in the past we are requesting a letter of support from President Clinton, and a signed photograph to be placed in our souvenir booklet. The President has been a great supporter of the YMCA, both locally and nationally, and we feel this would be a great honor to have a letter of support for our program. I took the liberty of faxing a previous support letter from President Clinton for your review.

Anything that you can do to assist us would be greatly appreciated. Please contact Doyle Moncrief at (501) 376.0458, if you have any questions or need additional information. Thank you in advance.

Sincerely,


Mrs. Edna Ricks,
Coordinator

4-14-99
Came in interoffice
mail —

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐

C

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 22, 1994



Warm greetings to everyone gathered in Little Rock for the 1994 banquet of Future 500.

As your dedicated staff and volunteers well know, children are our nation's most important resource and most profound responsibility. Only when our young people are provided with the best education and care possible can we truly say that we are prepared for the challenges of the twenty-first century. Unfortunately, too many of our children never graduate from high school, and they face tremendous difficulties in reaching their full potential. Our young people require the active participation of parents, teachers, school administrators, and all those who care about education in our nation.

The hard-working members of Future 500 can take great pride in your efforts to provide hope and encouragement for young people throughout Arkansas. By working with teens to encourage education, build self-esteem, and provide career guidance, you are helping to renew young people's faith and confidence in themselves, brightening their futures and the future of our world. On behalf of the many people whose lives you have touched, I thank you for your leadership and your compassion.

Hillary joins me in sending best wishes for a wonderful banquet and for much continued success.

Bill Clinton

Clinton Presidential Records

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Document Title Letter from Joao David M. Soma, President of
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Language: French

Folder Title Wednesday, April 14, 1999

OA/ID: 14862

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-13-99

*Security
Intelligence*

IN PRISTINA

Albanian Kosovar Leader Forced to Collaborate With Serbs, German Report Says

By CRAIG R. WHITNEY

BRUSSELS, April 12 — What happened to Ibrahim Rugova, the leading ethnic Albanian advocate of non-violence in Kosovo, during the Serbian offensive against ethnic Albanian civilians there has preoccupied NATO since the allied bombing campaign against the Serbs began on March 24.

President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia announced a unilateral cease-fire last week and said Mr. Rugova was negotiating a peace settlement with him that would allow refugees to return. Earlier, Serbian state-run television showed the Kosovar Albanian leader smiling and chatting easily with Mr. Milosevic, and NATO said the images were a montage aimed at creating a false propaganda image of Mr. Rugova as a collaborator.

This week's issue of the German newsmagazine Der Spiegel, pub-

lished today, included a diary by Renate Flottau, its correspondent in the Balkans. The reporter wrote that she was in Mr. Rugova's house in Pristina, the provincial capital of Kosovo, when Serbian forces put him under house arrest on March 31.

She stayed with him until last Monday, according to her diary, which reports that, far from being a willing collaborator of Mr. Milosevic's repression, Mr. Rugova was forced by the police to do their bidding.

On Wednesday, March 31, as armed Serbian thugs and uniformed police were systematically driving Albanians from their homes, she wrote that she arrived at Mr. Rugova's house shortly before 11 A.M. and found him alive and defiant.

"As I was about to leave," she wrote, "Rugova's brother-in-law burst into the room with a warning finger on his lips. We crept carefully down the stairs from the second floor and saw police cars and armored

A defiant man forced to smile on television.

vehicles approaching the house and then stopping in front of it. Two dozen men from the Serbian special police jumped out."

The police broke down the doors and pushed the 17 adults and children in the house into a single room on the second floor of the three-story building. Mr. Rugova and the reporter agreed that it would be too dangerous for her to declare that she was a journalist, so she pretended to be a family friend.

"Outside, we can hear the shattering of windows, the smashing of doors," she wrote. "The police are

apparently occupying all the surrounding houses."

Then Radovan Urosevic, from the Serbian Media Center, a propaganda center in Pristina, arrived. "Rugova is told he has to go on camera and say he is in good health and a free man," her account continues. "Anything other than that will not be broadcast over state television and radio. And it will also be dangerous for all of us."

The next day, April 1, Mr. Rugova was driven to Belgrade for a meeting with Mr. Milosevic. "When Rugova comes back at 6:30 P.M., he is visibly upset," Mrs. Flottau writes. "The puzzled world public is shown pictures of a relaxed, smiling Rugova talking with Milosevic."

In fact, Mr. Rugova told her, the meeting was tense and President Milosevic was furious. "Not a hair on your head will be harmed, our people are making sure of that," Mr. Milosevic told Mr. Rugova, who signed a

communiqué prepared for him.

"It was just 'a sentence,' he explains later over a glass of whisky," she writes. "Besides, he says he is convinced that Western leaders will read no significance into his signature."

On Friday, April 2, still a prisoner in his own home, Mr. Rugova had an assistant call the United States Ambassador, Christopher Hill, in Skopje, the capital of Macedonia, and later Mr. Milosevic's office in Belgrade. Mr. Rugova asked for safe passage to Skopje. But he was refused.

On Saturday, April 3, Yugoslavia's Deputy Prime Minister, Nikola Sainovic, arrived at the house at 9 P.M. "Rugova, he says in a mocking tone, is a free man. He can go to Macedonia if he wants. But he should be aware that on the way, angry Serbs could 'stage' all manner of incidents. An unmistakable warning."

On Easter Sunday, April 4, "Rugova waits for a reassuring call from

Belgrade. It comes around noon, but with the news that he is to receive the Russian Ambassador in the evening together with Sainovic."

For security reasons, Ambassador Yuri Kotov postponed the visit until Monday, April 5. After a night of NATO bombing that shook the house, he arrived in the morning.

"Rugova sees an opportunity for me to get away," Mrs. Flottau concluded, and she melted into the crowd of journalists the police allowed into the house to cover the meeting. She returned to her hotel on April 6, Mrs. Flottau wrote, but after being interrogated and searched by the Serbian police, she was warned by friends on the hotel staff to flee, and she arrived by bus in Belgrade last Tuesday evening.

NATO officials consider her account vindication of their concern for Mr. Rugova's safety and well-being. The magazine has been sharply critical of the allied bombing campaign.

The New York Times

TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1999

*Conrad
Rugger
Podesta*

4-14-99

Government Says H.M.O.'s Mislead Medicare Recipients

By ROBERT PEAR

WASHINGTON, April 12 — Health maintenance organizations routinely distribute inaccurate information on benefits and costs to Medicare beneficiaries, and the Government frequently approves such misleading documents, Federal investigators said today.

The General Accounting Office, an investigative arm of Congress, said it had examined documents from 16 H.M.O.'s and found "significant errors and omissions" in materials from all of them.

Such documents, it said, are often the members' "only source of detailed information" about health benefits and coverage, but they are frequently "not accurate, timely or complete."

In a separate report, the General Accounting Office said H.M.O.'s often failed to inform Medicare beneficiaries that they could appeal decisions to deny care or payment for services. As a result, it said, many patients "may be unnecessarily exposed to substantial health care costs." When an H.M.O. refuses to pay for services it is supposed to inform patients that they can challenge the decision.

The Senate Special Committee on Aging will investigate these problems at a hearing on Tuesday. The chairman of the panel, Senator Charles E. Grassley, Republican of Iowa, noted that Congress had tried to create new health insurance options for the elderly. But, he said, "if we want Medicare beneficiaries to have more choices, we have to give them the tools to choose," including fuller, more accurate information about their benefits and their rights.

H.M.O.'s cover 7 million people who are elderly or disabled — 18 percent of the 39 million Medicare beneficiaries. The number of beneficiaries in such managed care plans has nearly doubled in the last three years. Total Medicare spending is expected to reach \$216 billion this year, with H.M.O.'s expected to get \$37 billion, or 17 percent, of that amount.

Officials at the Department of Health and Human Services agreed with the report's conclusion that they should scrutinize H.M.O. marketing materials more closely.

The General Accounting Office found that some Medicare H.M.O.'s provided benefits less generous than what they had agreed to in their contracts with the Government.

Medicare officials review and approve all booklets, brochures and marketing materials sent to Medi-

care beneficiaries by H.M.O.'s. But errors often slip through because Medicare officials do not have detailed standards to evaluate the format, terminology and content of brochures, the accounting office said. Administration officials said they were trying to develop standards.

Even when Federal officials find errors in H.M.O. literature and marketing materials, they do not follow up to make sure the mistakes are corrected, the auditors said.

The report said some H.M.O.'s told women that they needed a referral from a doctor to get a mammogram, even though Federal rules explicitly prohibit such a requirement.

In addition, the accounting office found that some H.M.O.'s misrepresented the prescription drug coverage they were supposed to provide to Medicare beneficiaries.

For example, it said, one big H.M.O. told members that it would cover \$600 a year in prescription drug costs, even though the company's contract with the Government required at least \$1,200 a year in coverage, and Medicare was paying for the more extensive coverage.

Karen M. Ignagni, president of the American Association of Health Plans, which represents H.M.O.'s, vowed to take "a very serious look" at the report. "We have an obligation to provide Medicare beneficiaries with accurate information in an understandable form," she said.

The General Accounting Office said that one H.M.O. continued to advertise and enroll new customers in some Ohio counties throughout 1998, without telling them that it intended to end its Medicare services in those counties on Jan. 1, 1999.

The accounting office did not name the health plan, but details in the report suggested that it was Anthem Inc. of Indianapolis. Lauren Green-Caldwell, a spokeswoman for Anthem, said Federal rules required it to continue selling its Medicare H.M.O. until the end of 1998.

The General Accounting Office said that no one document fully describes the services covered by a Medicare H.M.O. Typically, it said, patients must examine four or five documents to answer basic questions, and the documents sometimes contradict one another.

For years, Medicare beneficiaries have been allowed to quit an H.M.O. on a month's notice. But in 2002, they will lose this privilege and will be able to change their decisions only once each year outside Medicare's annual open enrollment period.

*C. Jennings
can we do
anything about
this?*

*copied
Jennings
Podesta*

The New York Times

TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1999

4-14-99

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but overrated
it can't be -
what are the facts?
my

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Benger
Podesta

It's Hard Put to Find Proof bin Laden Directed Attacks

4-14-99

A1

By TIM WEINER

American commandos are poised to strike the Afghan border, hoping to catch Osama bin Laden, the man behind the Sept. 11 attacks, by blowing up two American embassies in Africa. Eight months ago, senior American officials still do not know how to catch him. They are depending on his actions in Afghanistan to betray a slim reed of hope for one of the most and most complicated international criminal investigations in American history.

During Mr. bin Laden's life, the complications have deepened. Now, officials say, Federal investigators appear to be building a case at his violent words and ideas, cast from an Afghan cave, in terrorist acts thousands of miles away.

His war against Mr. bin Laden, American officials portray him as the world's most dangerous terrorist. Reporters for The New York Times and the PBS program "Frontline," working in cooperation, have tried to be less a commander of men than an inspiration for

himself and supporters, from the ranks of the Saudi opposition to the United States and former American intelligence officials, say he may not be as powerful as some American officials have asserted. But his message has more resonance among Muslims around the world as been understood here.

You can kill Osama bin Laden tomorrow; you can arrest him tomorrow; you can put him on trial in New York or Washington," said Ahmed Saad al-Faqih, an aide to Sheikh Omar Abdel Rahman, the blind Egyptian cleric who inspired the bombing of the World Trade Center in 1993. "If you don't end the problem — no. Tomorrow you will get somebody else."

Interviews with senior American officials and knowledgeable observers in Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and elsewhere suggest that there is widespread support among many people in the Muslim world for a central political argument: American troops should get out of Saudi Arabia. The embassy bombings, they note, took place eight days after the G.I.s were sent onto Saudi soil.

Interviews also raise questions about key assertions that have been made by the Government about bin Laden. Senior intelligence officials concede that their knowledge of him is sketchy. They can't say for sure what was on his mind from 1991 to 1996, most of the years covered in the report — one senior official said.

Larry Johnson, the State Department deputy counterterrorism director from 1988 to 1993, said Administration officials had "tended to make Osama bin Laden sort of a Superman in Muslim garb — he's 10 feet tall, he's everywhere, he knows everything, he's got lots of money and he can't be challenged."

Milton Bearden, a retired senior C.I.A. official who ran the agency's war in Afghanistan and retired in 1995, said the Government had "created a North Star" in Mr. bin Laden.

"He is public enemy No. 1," Mr. Bearden said. "We've got a \$5 million reward out for his head. And now we have, with I'm not sure what evidence, linked him to all of the terrorist acts of this year — of this decade, perhaps."

Political leaders in Sudan and Pakistan who have met Mr. bin Laden describe him as intelligent, soft-spoken, polite. They also say he is deadly serious about his violent brand of radical politics and capable of killing in God's name.

Mr. bin Laden was born into the ruling class of Saudi Arabia. His father was the favorite construction magnate of the Saudi royal family, who gave Mr. bin Laden's family huge contracts to renovate the holy cities of Mecca and Medina and build palaces for Saudi princes.

American officials calculated Mr. bin Laden's fortune by estimating the family fortune at \$5 billion and dividing by 20, the number of male heirs. But business associates of Mr. bin Laden said his family cut him off years ago and are managing his share of his inheritance for him as long as he is disowned. Business associates say that Mr. bin Laden has been living on a generous allowance from his eldest brother and that his assets in Saudi Arabia are now frozen.

In 1980, at 22, Mr. bin Laden left Saudi Arabia and moved to the Afghan frontier. In Peshawar, Pakistan — working alongside, but never directly allied with, the C.I.A. — he used his money and his machines to help the Afghan rebels fight the Soviet Army invaders.

The Afghan war shaped Mr. bin Laden, those who know him say. "He is an ordinary person who is very religious," said President Omar Hassan al-Bashir of Sudan, who met Mr. bin Laden often from 1992 to 1996. "He believes in the rule of Islam and where possible the estab-

lishment of an Islamic state. The time that he spent in Afghanistan led him to believe that this might be achieved through military means."

Legend has it that Mr. bin Laden fought bravely against Soviet troops. But former C.I.A. officers say he was a financier, not a warrior — "a philanthropist supporting a number of health care, widows-and-orphans charity operations in Peshawar for Afghan refugees," as Mr. Anderson put it.

He also helped create a headquarters called Al Qaeda, the Base. It was a way station in Peshawar where Egyptian and Saudi volunteers rested before setting off for battle in Afghanistan. Its name became a kind of flag uniting Mr. bin Laden's followers. American officials call it a global terrorist network.

When the Soviet forces left Afghanistan in 1989, Mr. bin Laden went home to Saudi Arabia. He soon set his sights on the last remaining superpower.

"He himself was very much wary

about America," said Saad al-Faqih, a Saudi exile living in London, who worked as a surgeon for wounded Afghan fighters, "very skeptical about America and the Saudi regime."

He found a new enemy on Aug. 7, 1990, when the United States began sending half a million soldiers to Saudi Arabia, preparing for war against Iraq.

"One of the stories put out by bin Laden is that he went to King Fahd and promised that he would raise holy warriors who would protect Saudi Arabia," said Mr. Anderson, who was the chief of the C.I.A.'s Near East operations in the mid-1990's. "His violent opposition to the Saudi royal family began when King Fahd denied or rejected that offer."

Americans Painted As New Crusaders

To Mr. bin Laden the deployment of Americans in the land of Mecca and Medina smacked of the Crusades, the Christian religious wars against Islam that began nine centuries ago. His rage transformed him into a stateless outlaw.

In November 1991, Saudi intelligence officers caught Mr. bin Laden smuggling weapons from Yemen, his father's homeland. They withdrew his passport. Soon afterward he made his way to Sudan, which had decreed its borders open to all Muslims, with or without passports or visas.

Veterans of the Afghan jihad, or holy war, against Moscow followed Mr. bin Laden, under Al Qaeda's banner. But "when Al Qaeda was moved to Sudan, it lost around 70 percent of its members," Mamdouh Mahmud Salim, accused of being an associate of Mr. bin Laden, said during an interrogation by the German police after his arrest in September.

"This group didn't have a purpose except to carry out the jihad," Mr. Salim said, "and since nobody carried out the jihad, it lost a lot of its members."

He Lived As an Investor

There were three kinds of men in Al Qaeda, he said. First, "people who had no success in life, had nothing in their heads and wanted to join just to keep from falling on their noses." Second, "people who loved their religion but had no idea what their religion really meant." And third, "people who have nothing in their heads but to fight and solve all the problems in the world with battles."

Mr. bin Laden lived in Khartoum, the Sudanese capital, "as an investor," said President Bashir. "With his money, he was adventurous, and probably he gained this mentality by his experiences as a fighter."

The indictment against Mr. bin Laden says he provided training camps in Sudan where Afghan war veterans prepared for terrorist missions. But a senior American intelligence official contradicted that, saying, "There was never a bin Laden-financed training camp in Sudan."

The official added: "In 1993, '94, '95, he's managing and building up his legitimate business presence there in Sudan. I won't pretend we've got a good intelligence base on this period, but we think he was laying the groundwork for Al Qaeda."

In 1995 two C.I.A. officers were

The New York Times

TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1999

Affluence

Is Overstated

Present and former American officials and former business associates of bin Laden say he appears to own only a fraction of the \$250 million fortune that the American government says he possesses. Recently, his money's running said Frank Anderson, a former Central Intelligence Agency official who maintains close Middle East contacts.

stalked by teen-age followers of Mr. bin Laden in the streets of Khartoum. "Bin Laden was approached by us and was told that this would not be tolerated," said Ghazi Salaheldin, the Sudanese Information Minister. Sudan expelled the teen-agers.

In the face of such perceived threats — though some were mirages, based on a slew of false C.I.A. reports — the United States withdrew from Sudan in late 1995. The absence of American diplomats and spies in the country diminished Washington's ability to know what Mr. bin Laden was doing at the very moment he stepped up his political war.

In 1995, after the Saudi Government rescinded his citizenship, he began sending scathing attacks on the royal family from Khartoum.

"Bin Laden took a chance and started doing some political activities," President Bashir said, "not terrorist activities, but he started issuing political bulletins and communiqués and faxes" denouncing the Saudi Government as corrupt and repressive.

The United States took notice. "There had been confusion" after the World Trade Center bombing about the nature of radical Islamic threats to the United States, said Mr. Johnson, the former senior counter-terrorism official.

No Evidence To Implicate Him

"There were lots of theories, not very good intelligence, and so the intelligence community actually started generating a picture that Osama bin Laden was, if you will, the new face of terrorism," he said.

On May 31, 1996, four Saudis were beheaded after confessing to bombing a Saudi National Guard post in Riyadh and killing five Americans. All told their interrogators that they had received Mr. bin Laden's communiqués. Only 25 days later, a truck bomb tore through a military post in Dhahran, killing 19 American soldiers.

Mr. bin Laden was blamed by American officials for instigating the attacks. But no known evidence im-

plicates him, and the Saudi Interior Minister, Prince Nayef ibn Abdel Aziz, has absolved him. "Maybe there are people who adopt his ideas," Prince Nayef said. "He does not constitute any security problem to us."

Shortly before the Dhahran attack, Mr. bin Laden and members of his entourage left Sudan in a C-130 military transport plane. The Sudanese had asked him to leave — at the request of the United States. Mr. bin Laden landed at an American-built airport in Kandahar, Afghanistan. Three months later, on Aug. 23, 1996, he declared war on the United States.

"The situation in Saudi Arabia is like a great volcano about to erupt," his declaration stated. "Everyone talks openly about economic recession, high prices, debt" and "the filling up of the prisons."

How Did He Control the Bombers?

Mr. bin Laden's criticisms of Saudi repression and corruption closely corresponded with State Department reports and C.I.A. analyses. But Mr. bin Laden blamed the United States. "The root of the problem is the occupying American enemy," he proclaimed, "and all efforts should focus on killing, fighting and destroying it."

A second, more ominous warning from him came on Feb. 23, 1998: "To kill Americans and their allies, both civil and military, is an individual duty of every Muslim who is able, in any country where this is possible," until American armies, "shattered and broken-winged, depart from all the lands of Islam."

Then came the embassy bombings last August. American authorities say the men who attacked the embassies in Kenya and Tanzania were controlled by Mr. bin Laden. But they still have no clear idea how.

Despite efforts at the highest levels of the United States Government, Mr. bin Laden and his closest associates remain isolated in Afghanistan.

It is difficult to say precisely where the criminal case against Mr. bin Laden stands. Prosecutors have obtained unusually restrictive court orders that bar the defendants and their lawyers from communicating with virtually anyone.

The Case Runs Out of Steam

Publicly, at least, the case has lost momentum. While two men suspected of being bombers were quickly apprehended, many other suspects are still at large. The last arrest was more than six months ago. A spokesman for the United States Attorney in Manhattan declined comment.

Now the hunt for Mr. bin Laden depends on whether the Taliban, his radical hosts in Afghanistan, will betray him. The United States has little leverage with the Taliban, and little fresh intelligence on how to capture Mr. bin Laden. It has no spies in Afghanistan and little new information on precisely how he might have instigated the deadly bombings.

"I do not have a clear picture yet of what happened when," said Prudence Bushnell, the United States Ambassador to Kenya, who was wounded in the bomb blast, which killed 12 of her colleagues. "I may not ever have a clear picture of what happened when. None of us may."

A COLLABORATION

This article resulted from a collaboration between The New York Times and the PBS program "Frontline," which will broadcast a documentary tonight about Osama bin Laden that will run on most PBS stations at 9 o'clock. The "Frontline" program was based on the work of Lowell Bergman, correspondent, Martin Smith, producer, and Orianna Zill and Ivana Damjanov, associate producers.

ON THE WEB

Past coverage of Mr. bin Laden, the 1998 bombings of the American embassies in East Africa and the American response to terrorism is available from The New York Times on the Web:

[www.nytimes.com/
international](http://www.nytimes.com/international)

The New York Times

TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1999

2/2

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4-14-99

Pentagon Near Decision on Shipyard Merger

By TIM SMART
Washington Post Staff Writer

A Pentagon review of General Dynamics Corp.'s \$2 billion unsolicited bid for rival Newport News Shipbuilding may be made public this week, sources said yesterday.

The Department of Defense is still analyzing whether to recommend that Secretary William S. Cohen approve or deny the bid, Defense spokesman Glenn Flood said. The merger offer must be approved by the departments of Defense and Justice, as well Newport News's board and shareholders.

"We haven't reached a decision," Flood said. "Our review and analysis continues."

Flood's comments followed a statement Sen. John W. Warner (R-Va.) made over the weekend that approval of the deal was looking "less likely."

A spokesman for Warner, chairman of the Armed Services Committee and an opponent of the takeover of his home-state shipbuilder, said the senator believes "the case against it is getting stronger every day." He would not elaborate, and another press aide said Warner would not be commenting further.

The stock market appeared to be betting against the merger, as Newport News stock fell \$3.06 1/4 a share, to \$27.68 3/4, yesterday while General Dynamics rose \$2.43 3/4, to \$69. General Dynamics is offering \$38.50 a share for Newport News, along with the assumption of debt.

The proposed acquisition of Newport News by General Dynamics, of Falls Church, would put about 70 percent of the Navy's shipbuilding budget under one corporate roof. The Department of Justice is also studying the deal, though the Defense Department review began first.

Both of Virginia's senators, as well as Rep. Herbert H. Bateman (R-Va.), have publicly op-



General Dynamics' proposed acquisition of Newport News Shipbuilding would mean that about 70 percent of the Navy's shipbuilding budget would go to one corporation.

posed the deal, saying it would concentrate too much power in one company. They may also be worried about losing shipbuilding jobs in Virginia, sources said. The AFL-CIO also has come out in opposition to the merger, fearing its possible effect on jobs in the unionized industry.

Other political opposition has come from Louisiana, where Avondale Industries is based. Newport News's decision in January to purchase Avondale, thereby strengthening its position as a Navy supplier, led General Dynamics to bid for Newport News, industry sources said.

Although General Dynamics and Newport News compete for Navy contracts, in reality naval ship work is split among several yards, with each having a specialty. General Dynamics is the principal maker of submarines, while Newport News has the franchise for nuclear-powered aircraft carriers.

Congressional and industry sources have said the company with the most to worry about from a General Dynamics-Newport News combination would be Litton Industries' Ingalls unit, which builds surface-combat ships. Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) has been a supporter of Ingalls in the past but has remained fairly quiet on the General Dynamics-Newport News issue.

Government and industry sources said the Pentagon's review has been delayed because of the fighting in Kosovo. Last week, Navy Secretary John Danzig said he thought the review would be finished within 10 days. Sources have indicated that the Navy favors the combination and promised savings of between \$1.5 and \$2.5 billion a year from the consolidation, but the union is opposed by senior Pentagon officials concerned about too much concentration in the industry.

John
Hammill
has interviewed
in their 1/19/99

copied
Podesta

The Washington Post
TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1999

PHILIP C. JAMISON . 1848 Greenplace Terrace . Rockville, Maryland 20850
(301) 251-9709 (H) / (703) 695-5678 (W)

April 12, 1999

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

4-14-99

Podesta

retired Navy officer
worked at Pentagon
childhood friend

B

Dear Bill,

Know that the Balkans situation is keeping you very busy. I think it is great the way you have been visiting the troops. In the few interviews that have been allowed of members of the forces involved, they have all been positive and uplifting -- they obviously know why they are there. It could be that thanks to Milosevic's savagery, the worry I had that the young in our country may just focus on the bombing may not become a problem after all (this summer is Woodstock's 30th anniversary by the way). Holding NATO and our country together on this will be a huge task, nonetheless.

I have reluctantly concluded that we need to gradually switch gears and prepare the country for the possibility of significant ground operations in a non-permissive environment. You know I have always hated the idea of being involved on the ground in that part of the world; but intuitively, it appears that all the pieces are coming together in a way that not preparing for that possibility will soon make little sense. There are several reasons I feel that deployment to the region ought to take place sooner rather than later, even if we deploy such forces and they are never used:

(✓) Such a force is needed as perhaps the most compelling reason why Milosevic should give in because of airpower alone; (✓) such a force will need some specialized training to be able to switch from the idea of handing out blankets to the idea that there is a strong chance they may have to engage in serious urban and guerilla warfare; (✓) we need time to build up so that the force is not too U.S. heavy (because we can get there the quickest); (✓) to take advantage of the most optimistic predictions of how long it would take to take back Kosovo (a few weeks to a few months) we need to beat the Winter; (✓) and for our own domestic sanity and self-interest, we should try to beat the 2000 Primary season.

Again my suggestion is not to commit the troops unless absolutely necessary, just preposition them. There are of course many other "pros" than mine and I did not even mention the "cons." It is far from a cut and dried choice that you have -- not to mention you need consensus with 18 other counties and a pretty hefty majority with Congress and the polls. The big thing that changed my mind is the treatment of the Kosovars at the hands of the Serbs. As I mentioned earlier, Elizabeth seems to be involved in gathering near first-hand information on that subject while in Macedonia (whatever she is doing, she said that Ambassador Hill has told her and her Navy colleague at the Embassy that they are doing great work.) In her last e-mail to me she said that "I can't really explain the things I've heard and seen here -- it is not as bad as Nazi Germany, but close."

As always, I wish you all the best as you tackle these great issues of the day. Next time I get back to you we may have some more information to pass to you regarding reunion plans. Take care.

Sincerely,

Phil

copied
Podesta



THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
4-14-99
Stanley K. Sheinbaum

TO VP

Fgm

BC

8 April, 1999

President Bill Clinton
The White House—West Wing
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500
Via Fax

copied
VP
Podesta

Dear Bill,

Think about something:

Both as a service to the country and to Al Gore's Presidential hopes, you really should involve the Vice-President in the Kosovo effort. Except for a phone call to Primakov about a week ago about which we heard nothing afterward, one would not even know that Al Gore, at least vis-à-vis Kosovo, is a part of your administration. So both on that count and on the possibility of maneuvering a breakthrough with Russia you ought to send him to Russia to meet with Yeltsin and/or Ivanov now that the so-called military machine of Milosevic is losing its effectiveness. The Russians might want to jump on the bandwagon and help culminate things.

No doubt that when NATO was reorganized the Russians perceived that as a threat, but even though they have had a traditional and historic relationship with the Serbs their priority now must be coming around to a reconsideration of working with the US and Western Europe. They are not fools.

About four years ago or so I urged you to consider making the Vice-President a Special Envoy to the Middle East to use his stature and swat to help bring that one to culmination. When I saw him two weeks later in Los Angeles he made it loud and clear that he did not want to get into it. Right now by being so quiet about Kosovo and the Serbs he is again making it loud and clear that he does not consider the problem as his.

But it is he who is running for President, and while I do have some general doubts about him—especially re the Middle East—I am more worried about his winability and certainly not a single Republican nor Democratic alternative excites me. However, I want a Democrat to be in the White House when you leave. Further, if we want to get the Congress back, having a clear-cut leader at the top of the ticket would help enormously. The move I am suggesting would enhance that image for Gore.

President Bill Clinton
8 April, 1999
Page 2

So on all three counts, first enhancing his candidacy, second driving a nail into Milosevic, and third bringing the Russians as far back into the fold as possible (not listed in the order of importance), I urge you to trigger him to a more proactive role. Going to Moscow will be important from the perception of the American public and from gaining the attention of the Russians.

This is no time for laid back Calvin-ism. There is mounting comment in the press on the Vice-President's seeming lack of involvement generally. None of the other candidates are putting their oar in either on Kosovo or other issues, but neither are they part of the administration—thank goodness.

As always, with respect,

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

Stanley K. Sheinbaum
SKS/kc

cc: Sandy Berger

PS If you haven't seen it I am enclosing Robert Kaplan's particularly interesting piece on the Balkans in yesterday's *New York Times*.

THE NEW YORK TIMES OP-ED WEDNESDAY, APRIL 7, 1999

In the Balkans, No Wars Are 'Local'

By Robert D. Kaplan

The humanitarian nightmare in Kosovo may be reason enough for NATO's involvement in the former Yugoslavia, but for the United States there are vital strategic stakes involved as well. These stakes justify the use of any NATO measures needed to defeat Serbia, including the use of ground troops, because nothing less than the future contours of Europe are now being decided.

When the East-West division of Europe was erased in 1989 with the collapse of the Berlin Wall, a new division immediately began forming: that between Central Europe and the Balkans. Even before the outbreak of fighting in Yugoslavia in 1991, the Central European states of Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia were pulling dramatically ahead of Balkan countries like Romania and Bulgaria in terms of progress toward stable, democratic rule.

These northerly states of the former Warsaw Pact had several advantages: they were heirs to the traditions of the Hapsburg Empire, and they had sizable middle classes prior to World War II and Communist rule. The Balkan states were burdened by centuries of Byzantine and Turkish absolutism, and even before the Communist takeovers their middle classes had been mere specks amid vast seas of peasantry.

The admission of Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization has formalized this dangerous historical and religious redivision of Europe: between a Roman Catholic and Protestant West and an Orthodox Christian and Muslim East.

However, Slobodan Milosevic's campaign in Kosovo has now given the West a chance to reverse this process. A real NATO victory, one that not only gives the Kosovars protection but also knocks Serbia off its perch as the region's military threat,

Robert D. Kaplan is a correspondent of *The Atlantic Monthly* and the author of "Balkan Ghosts: A Journey Through History."

would go a long way toward stabilizing the continent.

This is because the immediate impact of the current fighting is being felt well beyond the states of the former Yugoslavia, which all told

Defeat Serbia, or the West may lose Bulgaria, Romania and Greece.

constitute only a third of the Balkan peninsula. Three major Balkan countries — Romania, Bulgaria and Greece — though not directly threatened by the flood of refugees rolling Albania and Macedonia, are nevertheless at a pivotal point of political destiny.

In Romania, the largest and most populous Balkan state, there is a tenuous peace between the Orthodox Christian majority and the ethnic Hungarian minority, which is mixed Catholic and Protestant and lives in the northwestern region of Transylvania. This relative calm is a significant achievement given that in the course of this century each group has occupied the other's territory.

Yet social peace is threatened by the lack of modernization in the countryside and Cabinet chaos in Bucharest, where economic reform is in slow motion and investor confidence is eroding. In Romania only the military is well run. Though Romanians are Eastern Orthodox, the horrible memory of dark Stalinist decades makes them desperate for NATO membership, which would keep the military out of politics, stifle ethnic nationalist politicians and energize the elite in the direction of good government.

The same goes for Bulgaria, where the democratically elected Cabinet is valiantly working toward economic reform but is besieged by criminal groups with links to Russian businesses and mafias. These groups operate as a state within a state and control large parts of the economy,

including banks, car insurance and energy companies, tourist businesses and agricultural exporting. They put tremendous pressure on the Government and effectively push the country into Russia's fold.

The Bulgarian elite is fighting back but is legitimately afraid of being stranded at the far end of the Balkans, spurned by NATO and severed from Central Europe by instability in Kosovo and Macedonia. If the West cannot pacify the region, Bulgarian politicians will have to survive through deals with Russophile criminals.

Greece is the most misunderstood Balkan country. The West demands that Greece behave exactly like the other members of the alliance because it is middle class and a member of NATO. But it can't, because it is in the Balkans and must adjust its foreign policy relative to its geographical position. Greeks know that they are fated to live next door to the Serbs long after any NATO troops leave.

Moreover, throughout the long centuries of Turkish occupation, Greeks were supported by their Orthodox coreligionists in Serbia and Russia — a fact of history with effects that run deep. And, having never experienced Soviet occupation or Communism, Greeks have a romantic attachment to Russia that doesn't exist in Romania or even Bulgaria.

The Greek Government is supporting the United States as best it can, given the pressures upon it from both the political left and right. But if the Serbs humiliate NATO, Greeks will act in self-interest: their NATO ties will be reduced to an official trapping, even as they deny this very fact and quietly intensify links with their fellow Orthodox in Moscow and Belgrade. After 47 years of NATO membership, Greece could be lost.

Appeals to conscience will not keep Greece a de facto as well as a de jure member of NATO, nor will they keep Romania and Bulgaria from slipping into the sway of Russia. What is required is nothing less than a complete NATO military victory. Indeed, while the Greeks and the Macedonian Slavs despise each other, as Orthodox Christians they equally despise the Muslim Kosovars. Few in the region can be expected to feel sympathy for

the Islamic refugees, who disrupt the fragile religious and ethnic balance in neighboring countries, already burdened by weak governments and high unemployment.

Thus, if the bombing campaign fails and NATO gives up at the negotiating table, it would seal Europe off according to medieval lines, with the newly expanded NATO a mere variation of the old Holy Roman Empire — the old Christian West, that is — and with the Near East beginning where the old Ottoman Turkish Empire once did, roughly on the border between Croatia and Serbia and somewhere in Transylvania where ethnic Hungarians meet Romanians.

In 1834, entering the autonomous Ottoman principality of Serbia from the Hapsburg Empire, the English travel writer Alexander Kinglake wrote, "I had come, as it were, to the end of this wheel-going Europe, and now my eyes would see the Splendour and Havoc of the East." That same demarcation between East and West will re-emerge unless Mr. Milosevic is crushed with air and ground troops and a NATO protectorate is established in Kosovo and Macedonia. Only Western imperialism — though few will like calling it that — can now unite the European continent and save the Balkans from chaos. □

IS A

Readiness: making sure of the training and equipment now and in the future.

That should be the heart. But it's not.

4-14-99

~~Podesta~~
Podesta
we need to
decide what
to do about this
BZ

✓
copied
Podesta

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

4-14-99

Dan Burton and Dan Miller

A Real Count for the Census

The March 24 op-ed piece by Commerce Secretary William M. Daley made clear the administration's policy on conducting the census: Make excuses, delay the details and ignore the facts. Meanwhile, Republicans in Congress are working to abide by the law and push for an accurate and legal count. Here are some pesky facts the administration would like to ignore:

- In accordance with a fiscal year 1998 appropriations agreement, the Census Bureau was required to prepare for the 2000 decennial census on a dual track while awaiting a Supreme Court ruling on the legality of sampling. In other words, the bureau was to plan for one census using traditional enumeration methods and another employing statistical adjustments.

- On Jan. 25 the Supreme Court did indeed find the use of statistical sampling for reapportionment of the House of Representatives illegal. This ruling upheld two unanimous federal court rulings. The Census Bureau didn't obey the law. To date, with less than 12 months remaining before census day, the bureau has not given Congress a plan or an estimated budget.

- On Jan. 27 the America Counts Today (ACT) Initiative was unveiled. It is a dramatic

set of initiatives designed to increase local involvement and count everyone in the 2000 decennial census. It focuses on common-sense approaches that will ensure an accurate, reliable and honest head count in 2000.

Within these initiatives, there is a commitment to increase community awareness by expanding the advertising and promotion

Taking Exception

budget of the census. For example, H.R. 1010 would authorize an additional \$300 million for fiscal year 2000 that would allow the Census Bureau to carry out promotional, outreach and marketing activities. H.R. 1058 aims to promote greater participation by expanding the Census Bureau's own "Census in the Schools Project" to all teachers in the United States instead of the currently planned 40 percent of schools nationwide.

An ACT initiative aimed at increasing community involvement is H.R. 1009, which would give communities the necessary resources to promote participation in the census. In addition, H.R. 683 would allow welfare recipients on public assistance, retired people

and former members of the uniformed services to work as temporary census employees without losing any benefits. It is essential that people who live and work in a community participate in enumerating that community. This builds trust.

Another measure, H.R. 928, would encourage an increased mail response by providing households a second chance to fill out their census form. The Census Bureau's own research indicates that the second questionnaire can increase mail response rates up to 6 percent. That is roughly 19 million people, or the population of the entire state of New York.

H.R. 929, the "Language Barrier Removal Act" would provide census questionnaires in a myriad of languages to increase response levels. The short form questionnaire would be printed in 33 languages and English Braille, thereby allowing any household, upon request, to receive that requested version of the form. Although we Americans may not all speak the same language, we do receive similar services and representation. Consequently, it is imperative that we count everyone, regardless of native tongue.

H.R. 472, the "Local Census Quality Check Act of 1999," would reinstate the highly

successful Post Census Local Review program used in 1990. This program affords local officials a last quality check of census numbers before they are made final. In 1990 more than 400,000 mistakes were corrected and more than 124,000 people were added to the count as a direct result of Post Census Local Review. This review is supported by the National League of Cities and the National Association of Towns and Townships.

Because the administration has chosen to waste valuable resources on an unproven statistical sampling scheme and not devote its full energy to an actual enumeration mandated by the Supreme Court, the Census Bureau is opposed to three of these common-sense proposals that would add real people to the count. The administration must stop putting politics over public policy. We challenge the White House, the Census Bureau and congressional Democrats to do the right thing and put partisanship aside in an effort to work together to save the 2000 census.

Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.) is chairman of the House Committee on Government Reform. Rep. Dan Miller (R-Fla.) is chairman of the subcommittee on the census.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 22, 1999

MR. PRESIDENT:

In addition to Sid's memo reporting on his trip to Europe, I also received the attached over the weekend. Because the memo has scheduling and message implications, I sent it to Podesta to get his input -- he wanted the memo forwarded to you.

Phil Caplan

4-14-99

4-14-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

'99 MAR 19 AM 10:46

March 19, 1999

copied
Podesta

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL

SBS

SUBJECT: THIRD WAY PLANNING

The Administration has been immediately swept into the daily legislative struggle. But there must be, at the same time, a constant effort to lift the presidency above the grind. Besides direct action by the President, from executive orders to appointments (judicial and others), he should be broadening the context so that the quotidian is unavoidably seen as part of a larger historic movement. The dimension of the transformation he has led must be illustrated by thematic speeches and by events created specifically to define the nature of the change and to project its character into the future. The ultimate ambition must be to force a momentum that extends even beyond the limit of the presidency. Consequently, events this year should be aimed toward a "Bilderberg" of the center-left on democratic governance held early next year--an event that should be institutionalized as an annual conference.

- I. These tentative events need to be put on the schedule so they can be planned:

The G-7. Both we and the Germans want to craft a Third Way policy event for the President after the G-7 with Schroeder. Also, we should think about the Paris part of the trip, using a town hall meeting and a meeting with business leaders to advance the Third Way perspective.

A Third Way conference in Florence, Italy. Prime Minister D'Alema has proposed it; the President expressed positive sentiment. The NSC is in favor. NYU would play a role. This event might be take place in July, September, or October (as part of the Turkey trip).

A Third Way conference in California. The sponsor would be Governor Gray Davis, the event to be held at a California university, preferably UCLA. Davis is cooperating with the DLC already on a number of its events and would undoubtedly be enthusiastic. The NSC is in favor. The Vice President is strongly in favor and wishes to take part in some way. Asian and Latin leaders would be participate, along with Europeans. Business leaders of the new economy, political and social figures of the new multi-cultural California, and the thinkers and intellectuals of California would all be there. I believe

agly
depends
on Korea

Cur source
on file

that the California event should be followed by other domestic based events. Regularly scheduled events could be used to highlight the President's transformative approach and new events created.

- *The First Lady's trip to London in May.* I've spoken with Jonathan Powell and David Miliband. David says that on the Friday of the First Lady's visit, a day she apparently wishes to spend at Chequers, the Policy Unit, consisting of about a dozen members, will hold briefings for several hours with Tony there. It could be arranged for her to spend an hour or two with the Policy Unit. Also, we discussed the idea of the First Lady delivering a 20 minute lecture, say, at LSE, with Tony Giddens introducing her. All the think tanks could participate: Fabian Society, Demos, Institute for Public Policy Research, and the Smith Institute (connected with Gordon Brown). This would take place before the visit to Chequers.
- *International seminars.* As Ambassador Kornblum and Minister Hombach told me, German foundations can be arranged to fund a series of Third Way oriented conferences and seminars. Those would be used to foster the network among policy analysts, ministers, senior advisers, intellectuals, and journalists. That work, I think, would begin to bear fruit in the fall. The Europeans, of course, are engaged in this sort of exercise constantly, through a variety of forums that simply do not include us. It's clear, after surveying the scene, that the Third Way is the way into contact with European politics, essential to our interests and values, in the post-Cold War world.

II. American Intellectuals

✓ The impeachment struggle galvanized hundreds, if not thousands, of intellectuals to sign petitions, issue statements and write op-ed articles. Many of them were prominent (Toni Morrison, Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.), others up and coming. It was an historic movement, a reversal of the alienation of the liberal intellectuals, the first time they rallied to the cause of the US presidency since before Lyndon Johnson and the Vietnam War. They were critical in lifting the debate beyond the Washington-based press corps and pundits, reaching the public with broader and deeper arguments about the Constitution and the fate of democracy. (Toni Morrison and Sean Wilentz are editing a book of the best essays on the impeachment. It will be published this year and be important in setting the boundaries of any future debate.) Flush with their recent activism, many want to continue their political involvement. We ought to have an event or two that keeps them energized until the 2000 campaign, when their forensic skills can again be flourished. One idea would to hold the postponed thinkers dinner, this time allowing the historians and constitutional scholars who stood up for the President to offer their perspectives on the next two years and beyond. Some of them can be worked into the mix at Third Way events, here and abroad. I know from conversations with them that they are eager for engagement.

(I have sent a memo similar to this one to the First Lady.)

80 4/5/97

Phil -
Discuss w/
me how to
handle these
JW

BC:SC
3/19/99

FWD: Mail Analysis
Not A scheduling
Request

5 March 1999

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
Executive Office of the President
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

'99 APR 14 AM 11:12

I write in order to offer you a teaching position at the State University of New York at New Paltz. I am assuming that after you and Senator Clinton take up residency in New York State, you may have the time and the inclination to participate in academic life. I certainly would relish having you here, probably in our Political Science Department, engaging our students in conversation.

SUNY New Paltz is located in the Village of New Paltz, a 300-year old Huguenot settlement near the birth- place of Sojourner Truth, after whom our library is named. The university rests only 75 miles from the heart of Manhattan, roughly a third of our students come from the City, and an equal number are students of color. Many are first generation college students, most are on financial aid, and most students and residents are politically progressive (and proud of it). Minutes from campus is the Mohonk Mountain House, a national historic landmark and the birthplace of the Conference on Inter- national Arbitration. Also minutes away are Hyde Park and Eleanor Roosevelt's home. Robert DeNiro's home is here, as is Aiden Quinn's and right across the river James Earl Jones'. The publisher of the *New York Times* and the Vice President of Dow Jones are neighbors. Artists, writers, and unreconstructed hippies call New Paltz home. And you no doubt know our distinguished alumna, Virginia Apuzzo.

As a state university, we lack the cachet of Columbia or NYU, which I am certain have already contacted you, but I dare say that we possess a soul not found at such prestigious private institutions. By lecturing here, you would be making a strong statement in support of public higher education, in support of equal opportunity, and in support of diversity. Too, by your very presence New Paltz would quickly earn the national reputation it deserves.

Our mutual friend, Ms. Apuzzo, has made special arrangements for a group of New Paltz alumni/ae to tour the White House on 27 April, to coincide with an American Council on Education (ACE) meeting I have in Washington. I would welcome the opportunity to visit with you briefly then and share more information about New Paltz.

Tan -

Give me a call about this.

W/M

We need to draft something along the lines of
"Thanks for your kind offer but hard at work
on business of American people ... not tinkering
about post-WH plans ... but I'll keep your kind
offer on file."

Phil

President Clinton

-2-

5 March 1999

I do hope to hear from you, either by phone or letter.

With all good wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bowen".

Roger W. Bowen
President

RWB:sh

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK
NEW PALTZ
75 SOUTH MANHEIM BOULEVARD
NEW PALTZ, NEW YORK 12561-2443

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

ADDRESS SERVICE REQUESTED

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President of the United States
Executive Office of the President
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington, DC 20500

20500-0003





THE PRESIDENT WILL JEFF
4-14-99

Copied
Steinberg
NSC w/udesk
Podesta

April 14, 1999

President William Jefferson Clinton
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Steinberg
Fyi —
was in the city
today —
BC

Dear Mr. President:

For three weeks now, the world's most powerful military alliance has been unloading a brutal arsenal of bombs and missiles upon a tiny Balkan nation of 10 million people. For three weeks now, 1.5 million Serbian-Americans have been horrified by stories of family members in Serbia and Montenegro stranded in bomb shelters for days at a time, stories of mothers scurrying to find something with which to feed their children when NATO warplanes are not flying overhead, stories of a nation being devastated by their allies of two world wars. Mr. President, it is time for this madness to stop.

The Serbian American Student Association urges you to immediately order a stop to the NATO air campaign over Serbia and Montenegro which has wreaked so much havoc upon the civilian population and led to an increase in the number of refugees fleeing Kosovo. The United States should now commence working with even more conviction in conjunction with our European allies and Russia to forge a comprehensive diplomatic solution that would bring peace to Kosovo, and democracy and stability to all nations on the Balkan peninsula. The first step in working towards peace in the Balkans, Mr. President, is ending this war against Serbia.

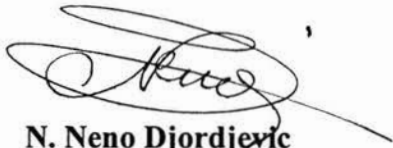
Mr. President, the Serbian-American community remains committed to working with you or any other person of goodwill to find a peaceful solution to the crisis in the Balkans. Our dedication to peace is firm, even in these most difficult of times, as it has been throughout the tragedies the Serbian people have experienced during this decade. We implore you to end this latest tragedy—the airstrikes against the people of Serbia and Montenegro—without any further delay: what you consider to



page 2

be "collateral damages" are for us real people. We owe it to the suffering on all sides of the terrible conflict to immediately stop all hostilities and come to the negotiating table--the only place where a just, lasting solution to the Kosovo conflict can be found.

Yours sincerely,



N. Neno Djordjevic
Director of Political Affairs



Marko P. Krstic
Director of Public Affairs

The Serbian American Student Association
514 19th Street, NW
Suite 216
Washington, DC 20006
202/242-2320

FAX TRANSMISSION

OFFICE OF THE AMBASSADOR

U.S. EMBASSY PARIS

Tel: 33-1-4312-2700

Fax: 33-1-4312-2385

4-14-99

To: John Podesta

Date: April 9, 1999

Fax #: 202-456-1907

Pages: 2, including this cover sheet.

From: Felix G. Rohatyn

Subject: My Note to Madeleine

*Family
Intelligence*

Dear John,

Madeleine suggested I forward to the President a copy of a recent letter that I sent to her.

Thanks in advance.

Best regards,

Felix

*copied
Berger
Podesta*

THE PRESIDENT HAS BEEN

4-14-99

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
PARIS

THE AMBASSADOR

Paris
April 6, 1999

Dear Madeleine:

For the last few days I have been watching, with increasing horror, the happenings in Kosovo. At the risk of appearing presumptuous, and because you and I have lived through similar events a few decades ago, I thought I might share my views with you. I will make this brief.

We are fighting a moral war against a war criminal guilty of genocide. We are fighting not only for the soul of Europe but for the soul of the Western world. There can be no possible compromise on such moral issues; no deals, no signatures or treaties. The only acceptable outcome for this war is Milosovic on trial in The Hague. If his own generals want to hand him over, so much the better. If not, we will have to do it on the ground. If it takes armored divisions driving into Belgrade, so be it.

If we take the lead, on moral grounds, we can level with the American people, and we have the best chance of getting most of the Europeans to follow. The French are not a sure thing, but at this time I do believe they would be there because of the atrocities. In a week it may be different.

If we take this position it should be accompanied with an explicit, big-time commitment to reconstruction and resettlement in Kosovo and elsewhere. It will cost many, many billions but there is no way around it. It could be given as a special fund for the World Bank or possibly the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD). The more we wait, the more difficult Kosovo resettlement will be.

We should call for a Balkan conference, to include the Russians, and elevate this to the regional and Central European level. This would be the political complement to the economic commitment for reconstruction.

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- 2 -

If we are not prepared to lead this fight, we should take the best deal we can get when Milosovic makes his inevitable offer. We should recognize that if he remains in power after it is over, any deal we make will be a loss, but it will not get better with time.

X You have my deepest sympathy having to deal with these choices. The first involves immediate danger; the alternative involves longer term danger. Neither is attractive. But, having lived through the 1930's here, I would not feel right if I did not put pen to paper. A week or ten days ago I might very well have said that if you can get a reasonably decent deal from Milosovic to take it. I know he has made a cease fire proposal. I believe it is too late for that.

Best regards,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Julie", is written over a diagonal line that extends from the "Best regards," text.

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Jim Hoagland

Milosevic Out . . .

Slobodan Milosevic caught NATO's leaders unprepared for his brutal use of Kosovo's civilians as a weapon of war. But the vicious trap he engineered is closing around the Serbian ruler himself. He has made it impossible for NATO to accept any end to the war that does not include the total removal of his control over Kosovo—now and forever.

The refugees have gone from being a war tool for Milosevic to becoming an unanticipated war aim for NATO: The hundreds of thousands of civilians driven at gunpoint into the Kosovar wilderness and into neighboring countries must be returned, in safety, to the territory they have fled.

This is a visible, measurable, human goal. It takes precedence over the more elastic political objectives the Clinton administration expected to pursue if NATO could bomb Milosevic back to the negotiating table in France. The necessity of resettling the refugees removes the flexibility that arguing over the rules of autonomy for Kosovo would have offered the diplomats of the six-nation Contact Group.

The gates of the Fudge Factory are swinging shut as the separate ground and air wars being waged in Kosovo escalate toward a point of no diplomatic return.

Milosevic is mining the frontiers and herding the Kosovars he has dispossessed but not exiled into position as human shields against bombing. The NATO air campaign concentrates on bridges, ammunition depots, factories and other buildings but not on the Serb troops carrying out the ground war.

Public indignation over the Serbs' callously strewn refugees into Macedonia, Albania, Montenegro and beyond enforces unity on the 19 North American and European members of NATO as the alliance expands its air armada and as discussion of using ground troops grows.

Milosevic's tactical skill in confounding NATO by uprooting 800,000 civilians comes back to haunt him. Ethnic cleansing on this grand scale ties the West's hands. It pushes NATO toward the difficult and dangerous—but perhaps unavoidable—war aim of unconditional surrender as the only appropriate outcome to Milosevic's crimes.

It is now politically impossible for the Clinton administration to negotiate with Milosevic after his bloody betrayal of earlier agreements with Washington. The U.S. miscalculations and the shortcomings of the ramshackle "threat-based diplomacy" dear to Secretary of State Madeleine Albright are too obvious to allow President Clinton to go down that road again.

That is why the White House is leaving room for an initiative from U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan or from Russia, if either (or both) can get Milosevic to stop the killing, pull out his troops so the refugees can return and let Kosovo become a de facto international protectorate, its status to be decided later.

That idealized outcome, however, seems beyond Milosevic's reach. Having carried out

the Serb nationalist dream of emptying the hallowed territory of Kosovo of nearly half its ethnic Albanian population, how can he agree to the conditions that would let those Kosovars return? His inclination will be to ride out whatever NATO throws at him from the air and count on the alliance not having the will to send ground troops after him or his commanders.

The outlook is that the Kosovo campaigns will still be unfolding when the NATO summit begins here on April 23, making the planned 50th anniversary celebration a council of war. That meeting must now be turned



over to the making of decisions rather than the giving of speeches.

Milosevic must be put on notice now that once the NATO summit begins, all opportunities end for an outcome short of the unconditional surrender or the withdrawal of his forces in Kosovo. He cannot be allowed to string out the air war, looking for chances to chip at allied unity and resolve.

The alliance must resist the Serb ruler's likely effort to push the battle of Kosovo into a fog of no-war, no-peace. Using the summit as a deadline should clarify the intentions, and limit the opportunities for mischief, of would-be intermediaries. It will handcuff any NATO leaders tempted to settle for leaving Milosevic in charge of all or some of Kosovo as a way out.

The time for imprecision on war aims is rapidly passing. It may be useful (if morally distasteful) right now to be vague on whether Milosevic will be pursued as a war criminal and on whether any form of partition is still possible, as Albright and aides are.

To refuse to adopt and communicate clear war aims beyond the NATO summit, however, would be to play into Milosevic's hands once again.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 14, 1999

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THE NEW YORK TIMES, SATURDAY, APRIL 10, 1999

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Horray! At least someone standing
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American officials said the list was reduced to match the reduced penalty level set by the

because of European banana import restrictions that the organization found violated trade rules.

Britain Blocks B Sky B Effort To Take Over a Soccer Team

LONDON, April 9 (Bloomberg News) — British Sky Broadcasting's \$1 billion takeover of the English soccer team Manchester United was blocked by the Government today, the third major setback this year to Rupert Murdoch's plans for expansion in television and sports broadcasting in Europe.

The Department of Trade and Industry said it was concerned the purchase of Manchester United, the richest team in the Premier League, "would increase the market power which B Sky B already has" in acquiring soccer broadcast rights for pay TV.

Mr. Murdoch, whose News Corporation owns 40 percent of Britain's largest pay-TV company, failed earlier to get access to Europe in proposed pacts with France's Canal Plus and Telecom Italia's Stream. In the United States he owns the Fox

Broadcasting network and the Los Angeles Dodgers.

"In Continental Europe he's getting all these doors slammed in his face — the U.K. was the exception," said Carlo Campomagnani, an analyst at Lehman Brothers International, who rates B Sky B shares "underperform."

The ruling was declared a victory by some Manchester United fans. Andy Walsh, chairman of the Manchester United Independent Supporters' Association, had said when the bid was announced that Mr. Murdoch would "rape and pillage" the club.

The Department of Trade and Industry also ordered a review of the nation's mergers laws to insure that takeovers of soccer teams could automatically be examined by anti-trust authorities in the future. It called for an extended antitrust review of the proposed purchase of the Newcastle United soccer team by the New York-based NTL Inc., Britain's third-largest cable company by sales. NTL had no comment.

Manchester United shares dropped 32.5 pence, or 15 percent, to £1.86, or \$2.98, and Newcastle United, down 9.5 pence, or 11 percent, to 75.5 pence, or \$1.21.

B Sky B shares, which have fallen 5 percent from the start of March as press reports have indicated the takeover might be blocked, dropped 1 pence, to £5.41, or \$8.66.

"This is a bad ruling for British football clubs who will have to compete in Europe against clubs who are backed by successful media companies," B Sky B's chief executive, Mark Booth, said in a statement.

Last month Mr. Murdoch broke off talks about a possible linkup with Canal Plus, Europe's biggest pay-television company, after Canal Plus said it would only consent to an alliance in which it maintained control.

Those talks followed the collapse of Mr. Murdoch's effort to invest in Stream pay-TV service, which competes with Canal Plus's TelePiu in Italy.

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Foreign Affairs
THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Russian Roulette

Talk about strange bedfellows . . . The game of footsie that Israel's Prime Minister, Benjamin Netanyahu, and his Foreign Minister, Ariel Sharon, have been playing lately with Yevgeny Primakov, Russia's Prime Minister, surely takes the cake.

There is nothing wrong with Israel's trying to foster better ties with Moscow in hopes of eliciting Russian cooperation in the Middle East. In fact, if done in a sophisticated, strategic fashion, it could really make sense. But to launch such an initiative, primarily in order to gain Russian votes in Israel's upcoming election — after years of hammering on the White House, Congress and U.S. Jewish groups to impose sanctions on Russia — and then to do it without any prior coordination with Israel's closest ally, America, is reckless.

Mr. Netanyahu's recent visit to Moscow — and Mr. Sharon's decision to tone down any criticism of the Serbs and to be restrained in his support for NATO's operation in Kosovo — appear driven by poll numbers: Russian Jews now make up 15 percent of the Israeli electorate. Mr. Netanyahu understands from his polling that he is in trouble with his traditional supporters among both Sephardic Jews and nationalist settlers. The Sharon-Netanyahu strategy is to compensate for that weakness by winning over the vast majority of Israel's new Russian immigrants.

But these are not your grandmother's Russian Jews — those who left Russia as "refuseniks" in the 1970's, with bitter memories of Cossacks and commissars. This recent huge influx of Russian Jews to Israel left the former Soviet Union freely, after the collapse of Communism, and they still have some warm feelings about Mother Russia, and many business dealings. So the Netanyahu-Sharon strategy has been to cultivate the Russian vote by cultivating the Russian Government. During Mr. Netanyahu's recent trip to Moscow, word was "leaked" to Israeli reporters that Mr. Primakov had said that if he were an Israeli he would vote for Bibi.

Says the Haaretz diplomatic writer David Makovsky: "When you think of everything that Primakov represents for Israelis — we're talking about a guy who boasts that he has good chemistry with Saddam Hussein — it boggles the mind that someone would want his endorsement."

Mr. Primakov leaked his endorsement of Mr. Netanyahu the same day he departed for Washington to win

U.S. backing for a new I.M.F. loan. Shortly after, Mr. Netanyahu personally asked the I.M.F. to give the Russians the \$4.8 billion loan they were seeking. This after months of Israel asking the U.S. to suspend emergency aid to Moscow until Russia stopped selling nuclear materials to Iran.

"It doesn't get much more cynical than this — just coincidentally a month before Israeli elections, Bibi suddenly starts chasing after the Russians," says one senior U.S. official.

Jewish lobbying organizations on Capitol Hill refuse to comment on Israel's Russia adventures. But at a

Chasing votes in Moscow.

time when these lobbyists have been trying to persuade Congress to squeeze Moscow to curtail Russian business deals with Israel's enemies, the Jewish lobbying groups are clearly upset and feeling that Israel's out-of-the-blue overture to Moscow is compromising their effectiveness.

"A high proportion of Israel's international strength derives from its close relationship with Washington," said Itamar Rabinovich, the former Israeli Ambassador to the U.S. and the author of a smart new book on Israeli-Arab relations called "Waging Peace." "But if that Israeli influence in Washington is abused, and relations are undermined, Israel will find itself with empty pockets in dealing with other parts of the world."

No wonder that Israel's top military analyst, Ze'ev Schiff, wrote that "Sharon's Russia strategy, in which the U.S. decidedly plays second fiddle, infuriates [Defense Minister Moshe] Arens. . . . The initiative, maintains Arens, hobbles Israel's struggle against the immediate Iranian threat to our survival, a threat that Russia is promoting. Principally, however, argues Arens, the issue could undermine Israeli-American relations."

Once again, the same old story with Bibi. His Defense Minister is pulling one way, his Foreign Minister another, and he shuttles between the two depending on which position will advance his political interests today. The only strategy is political and the only sacred principles are what will get him re-elected. □

Samuel
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but it would give
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The New York Times

TUESDAY, APRIL 13, 1999

Translating -

Gene -

I generally agree with this -

It is important to work through w/VP

He doesn't want EZ

Conference swallowed up by total focus on new markets

Big emphasis on this should be funding new EZs because ~~existing ones~~ are working

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 12, 1999

Gene

'99 APR 12 PM 3:45

PRESIDENT

NG

I generally agree with this - It is important to work through w/VP He doesn't want EZ Conf swallowed up by total focus on new markets -

Big emphasis on this should be funding new EZs because existing ones are working - BC

RE: PRESIDENTIAL TRIP TO AMERICA'S NEW MARKETS

Your planned trip to underserved areas in America offers an opportunity to leave a lasting impact on investment in urban, rural and Native American distressed communities. Clearly this trip could be done in the next five weeks in a way that would highlight your accomplishments such as CDFIs, Empowerment Zones, CRA, and specifically your new initiative -- New Markets Investments Initiative. Such a trip would cement an understanding of your longstanding commitment (and that of the Vice President) to revitalizing the needs of these communities. However, I believe the trip could have an even more significant impact if it culminates in a high profile effort begun in May to mobilize the private sector to provide capital for underserved areas. Under this plan, you could do two events in May that highlight the current efforts underway, announce your trip as part of your mobilization, and issue a direct challenge to the business community to invest in America's new markets.

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To meet this goal of national mobilization you could host a CEO/Community leaders roundtable at the White House to highlight what you have already done and it could serve as the appropriate venue for you to issue a challenge to the country to participate with you when you take your trip in July and seek new commitments to America's untapped markets. In issuing this challenge, with eight full weeks of lead time before your trip, we would have the chance to launch an aggressive, administration-wide effort to get companies, banks, non-profit organizations engaged in this important mission of bringing U.S. investors to America's own emerging markets and seek to try and create a bandwagon effect in which more and more people are answering this call. Then the Vice President -- or the two of you together -- could use the Empowerment Zone Conference in May to further emphasize the trip and the need for additional commitments in Empowerment Zones and other Administration initiatives. There is one important caveat: to make this a real national mobilization we may need to make some effort to show your challenge as a non-political, bipartisan call on America's private sector to do good. This would require including key Republicans, like Jack Kemp, in our plan to assure people that this is a challenge that is not motivated by partisan politics.

The trip would therefore include the following components:

1. **National Mobilization of Private Investment in New Markets.** The trip could reflect a major effort to mobilize business investors around the country to invest in underserved communities. The Youth Summit was exciting because it was perceived as mobilizing new commitments. Leading up to the trip, you could call upon key investment community leaders to join you in pioneering in underserved communities and create some competition among efforts to be the ones highlighted on the trip. The story of the trip, then, will be the private investors who have been mobilized by your call to find profitable business investment opportunities in America's untapped markets.
2. **Major New National and Local Investment Commitments Building on Existing Success and Capacity to Implement.** To demonstrate the mobilization, each visit could follow a formula played out with different programmatic elements in a different setting: (A) find an area of poverty and joblessness where something is working, e.g., a CDFI, an empowerment zone, or an active community development partnership; (B) unveil new commitments that were mobilized by your initiative; and (C) show that we leave behind an infrastructure that will ensure follow through and implementation of the commitment. In addition, where possible: (D) simultaneously highlight other communities across the country where similar programs are being unveiled (perhaps by sending Cabinet Secretaries to participate in parallel events that day). I believe that we would get the best impact from your trip if we are able to announce new things instead of announcing good things already happening.

For example: You could have a CDFI investment day during which you visit a poor community where a successful CDFI has made tangible investments that have made a real difference. You could unveil new million dollar commitments of area or national companies and investors who were mobilized by your Administration to invest in a new fund set up by the CDFI. We could work with major financial institutions (like Citigroup, Chase, and NationsBank) to make major nationwide announcements of comparable investments that same day. And you could send members of your Cabinet to five other communities to highlight similar new funds are being established by CDFIs with new private investment commitments.

3. **Announce the Trip With Business Leaders.** I propose that you host in May a roundtable with a small group of major CEOs who are willing to commit to some type of new investment. At the roundtable, you could announce that you seek to mobilize investment to be highlighted on a trip to be taken three months later. We could provide models for the type of investment we seek, stimulating a competition among other companies to be part of the effort.

4. **Vice President Gore Leads Outreach Effort at Empowerment Conference.** In late May, the Vice President will chair the fifth annual Empowerment Conference in Texas. It will provide another opportunity to bring together major business interests to showcase those who have agreed to make commitments to this effort and to call upon others to join the New Markets mobilization. The Vice President -- or the two of you if you attend -- could use this to build momentum for the trip and to call for additional private sector commitment in the Empowerment Zones.
5. **Senior Administration Officials Reach Out to Their Constituencies.** Secretaries Rubin, Alvarez, Daley, and Cuomo could host lunches with CEOs in the financial, investment, corporate, and real estate sectors. The Office of Public Liaison (Cheri Carter and Jay Dunn) could be tasked with carrying out the outreach effort and coordinating with the public liaison functions at each agency. Senior White House, Cabinet, and Subcabinet officials must be available to help them mobilize the private sector by phoning targeted companies and hosting briefings.
6. **Task Force to Design the Most Promising Programmatic Models.** I will lead a special task force made up of Secretaries Rubin, Cuomo, and Daley, and Administrator Alvarez to develop the programmatic elements. At the staff level, I have just hired Lisa Green, an energetic woman who previously worked at Fannie Mae, LISC, and Enterprise Foundation, to work full-time on this effort. She will lead the staff level working groups, with which I will meet periodically, assisted by my senior advisor, Sarah Rosen, who coordinated the development of the New Markets proposals in your budget this year.
7. **Encourage Likely Communities to Develop Proposals and Create Competition for Event Sites.** With the best models in hand, we can identify communities that are most likely to be able to produce new commitments and then send small interdisciplinary teams into the community to see what they can pull together.
8. **Mobilize a Special Internal Effort to Plan the New Markets Trip.** I will work with Maria Echaveste to coordinate the effort to reconcile the programmatic content for the trip with the political, legislative, and logistical considerations.
9. **Ensure Adequate Resources to Carry Out the Plan.** In addition to the NEC staff and the support of OPL, Legislative Affairs, Scheduling, Communications, etc., we could ask each of the relevant Cabinet Secretaries to designate both a Senate-confirmed appointee responsible for marshaling their agency's contribution to the mobilization and two staff who will be available as needed to help with outreach and planning.

Programmatic Models

As we undertake the outreach plan, we will be encouraging investors to consider various approaches to working in untapped markets. In consultation with HUD, Treasury, SBA, and Commerce, we have developed the following preliminary programmatic models:

1. **New Market Investment Companies.** A central component of your New Market initiative is the creation of various types of investment funds which would focus on equity investment in businesses in underserved areas. America's Private Investment Companies (APICs) and the New Market Venture Capital Firms (NMVCs) are both modifications of an existing SBA program known as Small Business Investment Companies (SBICs). While APICs and NMVCs require legislation, the SBA is near completing regulatory changes that will provide special incentives for SBICs that target investment in underserved areas. (APICs will be larger funds that can make larger investments; NMVC are aimed at smaller firms that need technical assistance as well as equity.) SBA is aggressively marketing the concept of targeted SBICs through conferences around the country. There are a number of targeted SBICs on the drawing board aimed at inner cities and Appalachia. We hope to find that some of these proposed funds can demonstrate that have qualified management. There also are a handful of existing community development venture capital firms that are struggling under existing program rules. The investors spurred to make investments by your challenge will find that these vehicles are available. Obviously, if you unveil investments in these types of funds, it will be a great opportunity to argue about the far greater possibilities if our APICs, NMVC, and tax credit legislative proposals are enacted by Congress.
2. **CDFIs.** CDFIs are some of the most knowledgeable and effective institutions in underserved areas dedicated to community development. They provide existing institutions with capacity and proven track records and can serve as the vehicle for the new investment that this effort will solicit. Because there are so many around the country, this event could be the cornerstone of a national CDFI investment day.
3. **Empowerment Zones.** 20 new Empowerment Zones were recently selected, but Congress has not provided the necessary funds. Each EZ application contains private sector commitments; the most successful zones thus far have been those with significant private sector investment. Your visit could present an opportunity to increase the level of commitments to these new zones while making a case for public funding.

4. **Retail or Franchise Stores in Inner Cities.** Recently, a number of companies have invested in inner cities and produced high rates of return, including Pathmark supermarkets, RiteAid pharmacies, and Magic Johnson theaters. These firms are taking advantage of the extraordinary concentrated buying power in these communities. The example of these firms may help induce other large retail or franchise companies to make new commitments to inner cities, allowing us to highlight the economic potential of these communities, perhaps by releasing a new government study to validate advocates assertions about this potential.
5. **BusinessLINC Partnerships.** Under the Vice President's leadership, Treasury Secretary Rubin and Administrator Alvarez launched an initiative to encourage larger businesses to link with and advise smaller firms, particularly in distressed communities. Many companies find that such efforts to mentor smaller firms can lead to loyal and productive supplier relationships. The effort is now focused on bringing together local BusinessLINC partnerships. News of your potential visit could promote communities to compete to pull together the most innovative and extensive local efforts to foster small firms in their communities.