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Friday, April 23, 1999

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THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

DATE: 4-23-99

NOTE FOR: The Honorable Richard W. Riley

The President has reviewed the attached, and it is forwarded to you  
for your:

Information ☒

Action ☐

4-23-99

Phil,

Ok to dispatch?

yes —

no —

-TRAY

Thank you.

Staff Secretary  
(x6-2702)

cc:

4-23-99

Phil,

Ok to dispatch?

yes —

no —

-TRAY

4-23-99

Carolyn and Will  
STALEY  
7817 Falstaff Rd.  
McLean, VA 22102

(703) 734-0304

## facsimile transmittal

To: The President

Fax:

From: Carolyn and Will Staley

Date: 04/22/99

Re: New student group S.A.V.E formed in Pages: 3  
response to the Littleton, CO tragedy

CC:

☐ Urgent☒ For Review☐ Please Comment☐ Please Reply☐ Please Recycle

Dear Mr. President

Will and I thought you might be interested in the attached proposal for a new student organization in response to the Littleton, CO tragedy. Will is Senior Representative of the Langley High School Student Government Association, and this idea resulted from our family conversations about what we could individually do to help create safer schools and communities. We are very excited about the plan, and have begun moving forward with the SGA and Langley Principal John English.

We'd love to have your reactions to the organization of S.A.V.E. and if you have any suggestions as to how we might involve and invite you and members of your Administration to attend a school event to kick off the organization. It would be a positive/good news event for everyone and we hope lead to a national S.A.V.E. movement in communities across the country.

Thank you for your leadership. We hope you are well, and we remember you daily. Looking forward to your response, gratefully,

Carolyn and Will

CONFIDENTIAL

copied

Reed

Sec Riley

Podesta

Bob Reed  
Fgl - Attorney  
cc: Sean Riley  
Let returned with  
a complete summary  
of the Riley Model  
with time too -  
Bc

## **S.A.V.E.**

### **STUDENTS AGAINST VIOLENCE EVERYWHERE SCHOOLS AGAINST VIOLENCE IN EDUCATION**

In response to the killing of 15 students in Littleton, Colorado on April 20, 1999 in the worst incidence of violence on a school campus in America's history, and to honor the memory of those students, teachers and school system employees who have lost their lives in Littleton and in recent school killings in Pearl, MS (2), West Paducah, KY (3), Jonesboro, AR (5), Springfield, OR (2) since 1997.

The Student Government Association and 1999 Senior Class of Langley High School propose to charter a new national student/faculty/employee organization called S.A.V.E. with the following purposes:

1. to educate all students that violence is never an appropriate response to anger, frustration, or in response to other acts of violence;
2. to train students, teachers and school employees techniques for management of anger, frustration, humiliation, and correct responses to help in such situations;
3. to unite to peacefully, strongly and effectively confront agents and proponents of violence in our community and our society, including gun lobbyists, the movie-music-video game-entertainment industry to say that violent entertainment, games and activities are not appropriate and must stop;
4. to learn to refrain from participating in any activity, however harmless it may seem, that glorifies and legitimizes violence, and to learn to substitute other entertainment in its place;
5. to encourage a student pledge of nonviolence in life everywhere --home, work, school, community;
6. to educate students, faculty and school personnel to recognize symptoms and signals of disturbed emotional behavior, and to affirm the value of and a system for reporting such signals to others; and
7. to work together to build a strong, healthy, peaceful and safe environment for all.

S.A.V.E. activities will include the following:

1. quarterly school assemblies sponsored by S.A.V.E. that provide speakers and panels, continuing education and training, and opportunities for discussion about behavior modification in dealing with violent feelings, tools for recognizing violent tendencies in friends and colleagues, and a fair system for peer counseling and confidential reporting of any signals that might be of concern.
2. Individual S.A.V.E. student/faculty/employee pledges of non-violence as a way of life;

3. S.A.V.E. counselors trained to deal professionally with troubled students amid signs of anger, frustration, and other emotional troubles;
4. Identification of S.A.V.E. counselors and designated faculty and staff to whom reports of potential violence may be confidentially reported and a clear procedure for reporting;
5. Violence prevention activities will be integrated in the regular classroom where appropriate as a learning tool. For instance, government classes might discuss the constitutional issue of the right to bear arms and write letters or communicate with legislators, the National Rifle Association, and others on the subject, and forensics and debate might use nonviolence and society's acceptance of violence as a debate topic;
6. Regular S.A.V.E. club meetings on campus, with officers, fundraising, public awareness raising activities throughout the year;
7. S.A.V.E. high school chapters will assist in planning assembly programs at area middle and elementary schools to promote non-violence;
8. Assistance in helping other schools begin S.A.V.E. chapters
9. Recognition of businesses, government agencies, and religious and civic groups that take the S.A.V.E. pledge and demonstrate leadership and boldness to help promote S.A.V.E. in the community;
10. Appropriate and well-planned S.A.V.E. rallies and demonstrations at area movie theaters and showings of violent movies, or other opportunities to raise public awareness that some entertainment could be used to help educate the community for a safer environment, and reports in the local press of S.A.V.E. activities;
12. A S.A.V.E. website to help promote awareness and more S.A.V.E. organizations to be formed, and a S.A.V.E. start-up packet of model charter, goals and activities.

To announce the first national S.A.V.E. chapter and the charter chapter and school, Langley SGA, S.A.V.E. organizers and administration will invite President Clinton, Attorney General Reno, and Education Secretary Riley to attend a S.A.V.E. rally and club announcement in the Spring of 1999. S.A.V.E. will be the Senior Class and SGA gift to Langley High School and will be announced at Commencement on June 21, 1999.

4-23-17

44 APR 22 11:5 AM

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

April 22, 1999

Copied  
Hennrich  
Currie  
Ibarra  
Podesta

RECOMMENDED PHONE CALL

TO:

Dr. Jon DeStefano (NP), School Board President, Jefferson County, CO

303/982-6500 (O- Jefferson County School District)

DATE:

April 22, 1999

RECOMMENDED BY:

Mickey Ibarra, Director of Intergovernmental Affairs

PURPOSE:

To return the call of Jon DeStefano, Jefferson County School Board President.

BACKGROUND:

Dr. DeStefano called you this morning to express his gratitude for your response to this tragedy.

TALKING POINTS:

I am so sorry that your community is experiencing this tragedy.

I am working with the Departments of Justice, Education, Treasury FEMA and Health and Human Services to respond to any requests for assistance. (See attached)

The Department of Education has the flexible funding to assist you with counselors or whatever you need.

I have sent Attorney General Reno to Jefferson County today to review our response to your needs personally and report to me.

Is there anything more we should be doing to help the people of Jefferson County?

Mickey Ibarra (6-7060)

strictly optional.  
do only if you  
want to do -  
Wt/Darryl Henry  
He'll call one of you  
when it's OK to  
call the families  
Pa

April 21, 1999  
As of: 7:20 PM

## **MEMORANDUM FOR DISTRIBUTION**

**FROM:** THURGOOD MARSHALL, JR.  
KRIS M. BALDERSTON

**SUBJECT:** Agency Efforts on behalf of Littleton, Colorado School Shootings

\* Connotes new information

### **INCIDENT UPDATE**

According to Sheriff Steve Davis, there are fifteen (15) confirmed fatalities; two of which include the suspects. Of the fifteen, eleven (11) are male and four (4) are female. One of the victims is reported to be an adult. In addition, thirty (30) explosive devices were found in the school, one suspect's vehicle in the school parking lot, and in the suspects' residence. Investigators will enter the school this morning and early afternoon to conduct a search and to take photos. After the photos and first search is complete, local officials will commence a major investigation involving agents from several jurisdictions. Sheriff Davis also reported that he will update the press every hour on the half hour. His last statement was at 10:30a.m.

### **AGENCY EFFORTS**

#### **The Department of Education**

\* The Department of Education reiterated their commitment toward helping to fund long term costs associated with counseling services for students and school officials.

Secretary Riley called the Jefferson County School Superintendent this morning to offer any assistance to the community. Specifically, the Secretary outlined joint efforts between the Department of Education, Justice, and HHS to provide crisis counselors and any other assistance that is needed. Additionally, Secretary Riley and the Department of Education (DOEd) provided local officials with contact names and numbers for those officials seeking federal assistance. The DOEd has made the following contacts:

- William Molonoy, Chief State School Officer, Colorado: Judith Johnson called Mr. Molonoy and offered assistance; DOEd will follow-up this afternoon.

- Susan Goren, President, National Association of School Psychologists: Susan offered help of NASP in providing assistance to the school system.

- Jenelle Kruger, Safe and Drug Free Schools Program Coordinator, Colorado: State Education Agency: Assistance of SDFS Program was offered.

- Marleen Wong, Director of Mental Health, Los Angeles Public Schools: Marleen has been instrumental in helping various communities that have experienced crisis similar to Colorado. Marleen offered her help in this effort.

- Kathryn Thurman, Director, Office for Victims of Crime, Department of Justice. OVC and SDFS have joint agreement with National Office for Victims of Crime to form crisis response teams and send those teams where they are needed. Kathryn has been working with community victim advocates and feels that the community is very well prepared to deal with this crisis.

Throughout this afternoon, DOEd is in contact with the Superintendent of Jefferson County schools and find out what assistance is needed. DOEd can offer the following:

- Identification of persons who can provide crisis counseling assistance and payment to get those persons to Colorado.
- Identification of persons who have experienced similar tragedies to provide "hands on" help in days immediately following incident. We can pay for travel and per diem of these persons.
- Identification of persons who can help the school district plan a long-term recovery effort which DOEd is currently working on in Springfield, Oregon. DOEd will pay the costs of getting people to Colorado.
- Identification of Security Experts. Often after such a shooting a school district wants to do a thorough review of its school safety plans, policies, etc. DOEd can help identify a person(s) to conduct such a review and will pay costs of getting person to Colorado.

### **The Department of Treasury**

\* Treasury is sending two (2) chaplains and between 4-5 agents who have specific training and expertise with trauma situations and counseling for law enforcement personnel, specifically ATF and police, and other first responders. These teams have been used during the Waco, Oklahoma City, and TWA crash incidents. These agents will provide peer support based on first hand knowledge and experience in dealing with the stresses that officials will feel immediately and long term. This team's expertise is also available to anyone else needing such counseling

According to the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms (ATF), 13 ATF investigators are on the scene in addition to two (2) canine handlers and two (2) explosive enforcement officers. ATF was asked by the County Sheriff to assist in clearing the scene of explosive devices and was concluded at 1:30am Denver time. Seven (7) destructive devices were found in the trunk of one suspect's vehicle and 12 small devices were found inside the school. ATF's crime scene mapping system has also been requested by the County Sheriff. ATF will also be involved in tracing firearms described as two (2) sawed-off shotguns, one handgun and one carbine. In addition, ATF will help canvass explosive licenses in an effort to determine who purchased explosives related to this incident. ATF will send a peer support team, including two chaplains, to provide services to the victims, witnesses and investigators.

## **The Department of Justice**

Along with the ATF, FBI agents are on the ground providing technical assistance to local law enforcement officials. They are not active in the investigation as it is considered a local effort at this point. Additionally, these agents may provide added security to the local hospitals and funerals if requested and needed.

## **The Federal Emergency Management Agency**

The FEMA State Director is contacting the local officials to assess needs in dealing with the ongoing community relations initiatives. FEMA officials involved in the Jonesboro incident have been put in contact with the county sheriff in Littleton. These FEMA personnel will provide guidance and expertise to those in Littleton. Two (2) FEMA Public Affairs officials will travel to Colorado to work with state and county officials.

## **The Department of Health and Human Services**

\* Services are being used quite heavily with hundreds of parents and students receiving counseling in various centers set up throughout the surrounding area. HHS expressed concern from officials in Colorado about the ripple effect on surrounding school students indirectly impacting students. School students in proximity to Columbine are expressing concerns by students with regard to their own safety in their schools. The short-term efforts seem to be proceeding well, but there is concern about long term funding issues with respect to counseling services. DOEd has expressed their commitment toward assisting in the long term efforts.

\* The Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration (SAMHSA): CMHS (Center for Mental Health Services) has been in contact today with Fred Acosta, the Colorado State Disaster Mental Health Program Coordinator, to offer technical assistance if requested by the State. Currently, the state is requesting that counselors and assistance not be sent as they are concerned with the volume of response of numerous mental health professionals wanting to provide services.

HHS' Center for Mental Health Services has contacted the Colorado State Mental Health Director to offer assistance with crisis counseling if requested. In addition, the Surgeon General stands ready to provide assistance.

### **NOTE:**

**Secretary's Herman, Richardson and Glickman will be speaking to the Conference of Black Mayors tomorrow in Denver, Colorado.**

Apr. 22, 1999 3:43PM

# Seeds of Peace

No. 1049 P. 2/2



370 LEXINGTON AVENUE  
SUITE 1409  
NEW YORK, NY 10017-6503  
TEL: 212-573-8040  
FAX: 212-573-8047  
E-MAIL: SOPNYC@AOL.COM  
WWW.SEEDSOFPACE.ORG

*Spence*

'99 APR 22 PM6:23

## OFFICERS

John Wallach  
President/Founder  
Barbara Gottschalk  
Executive Vice President  
Christine Ramsay Covey  
Vice President  
Lindsay Miller  
Vice President  
Barbara Zasloff  
Vice President  
Timothy Wilson  
Camp Director

April 22, 1999

**President William Jefferson Clinton  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.**

**Dear Mr. President:**

**It is time for reconciliation to begin between Serbian and Kosovar children.**

## BOARD OF DIRECTORS

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Eugene Mercy, Jr.  
Erica Moorhead  
Merle Nelson  
Fred Rubenstein  
Alex Shalaby  
Malcolm Thomson  
Jane Toil  
Janet Wallach

**Seeds of Peace would be pleased to host a special program to help this reconciliation process begin in September at our 150-acre summer camp site in Maine.**

**I have already discussed this idea with Reynold Levy of the International Rescue Committee and would welcome any suggestions of organizations or individuals who might be willing to help.**

**Seeds of Peace would bear the entire cost of the two-to-three week program in conflict resolution.**

**As you know, Mr. President, more than 1,000 Israeli and Arab teenagers have graduated from our program in the last seven years. We have also run a Bosnian and Serbian program and this summer will again host a program for Greek and Cypriot teenagers under a grant from the Fulbright Commission.**

**Hoping that this idea will find support in the administration, I look forward to hear from you or your staff in the near future.**

## STAFF

Meredith Katz  
Assoc. Executive Director  
Adam Shapiro  
Asst. Development Director  
Marieke van Woerkom  
Program Coordinator  
Ned Lazarus  
Regional Coordinator  
Roy Sharone  
Asst. Regional Coordinator  
Sharon Ginsburg  
Administrative Director

**With personal best wishes,**

*John Wallach*

**John Wallach  
President and Founder**

4-22-99

*Is Burkhardt for reply?*  
Yes — No —

*Coordinate with NSC?*  
Yes — No —

*B.*

## COEXISTENCE LEADERS

Farhat Agbaria  
Cynthia Cohen  
Achim Nowak  
Linda Carole Pierce

370 Lexington Avenue  
Suite 1409  
New York, NY 10017  
Tel: 212-573-8040  
Fax: 212-573-8047

**Seeds of Peace**

# Fax Urgent

**To: PRESIDENT WILLIAM JEFFERSON CLINTON**

**THE WHITE HOUSE**

**From: JOHN WALLACH**

**PRESIDENT AND FOUNDER**

**Fax: 202-456-6703**

**Pages: 2**

**Phone:**

**Date: APRIL 22, 1999**

**Re:**

**CC:**

☐ **Urgent**    ☐ **For Review**    ☐ **Please Comment**    ☐ **Please Reply**    ☐ **Please Recycle**

**THANK YOU FOR BRINGING THIS TO THE ATTENTION OF THE PRESIDENT.**

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY  
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

99 APR 22 PM 5:43

# Fax

To: Phil Caplan From: Neal Comstock  
Fax: 456-2215 Date: 4/22/99  
Phone: 456-2702 Pages:  
Re: CC:

☐ Urgent ☐ For Review ☐ Please Comment ☐ Please Reply ☐ Pl

## •Comments:

draft CDFI letter  
(PER letter  
FYT)

Den -

Can you handle? I think  
we've done this before.  
Phil

Sender's Fax:

May 5, 1999

Dear Friend:

The purpose of the Presidential Awards for Excellence in Microenterprise Development is to bring greater attention to the important role and successes of microenterprise development in the United States by celebrating stories of ordinary Americans doing extraordinary work. The Presidential Awards, which are administered by the U.S. Department of the Treasury's Community Development Financial Institutions Fund, recognize organizations that have demonstrated excellence and leadership in enhancing economic opportunities for disadvantaged individuals across America.

Since the creation of the Presidential Awards in 1996, 13 outstanding organizations have been honored for their success in helping Americans who lack adequate access to credit to realize their dreams of entrepreneurship. For example, with the help of the Institute for Social and Economic Development (ISED), a 1998 Awardee, Rhonda Auten moved from welfare to realizing her dream of owning her own dance studio. In 1994, Rhonda went through ISED's three-month training program and with ISED's help secured a \$4,000 loan from a bank. Today, Rhonda's dance studio has an enrollment of 260 students and earns an annual profit of \$30,000. Another 1998 Awardee is PPEP Microbusiness and Housing Development Corporation (PMHDC) in Arizona. Marie Jesus Gaxiola was a migrant farmworker who walked into PMHDC's office in 1993 with the desire to make it on her own and the dream of some day becoming a successful entrepreneur. Five years later, she is the successful owner of a home-based cosmetic business.

Presidential Award winners are distinguished by their quality and effectiveness in providing credit and technical assistance to Americans who have a desire to start their own business, but may lack access to traditional credit sources or need to develop the skills required to run a successful business. I was very pleased to have met the past Presidential Award winners, as well as a few of the thousands of Americans they have helped across the bridge to economic independence. I continue to be moved and inspired by their stories.

I encourage you to participate in the 1999 Presidential Awards for Excellence in Microenterprise Development. Thank you for your interest in microenterprise development.

Sincerely,

(President's signature)



DIRECTOR

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY  
COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS FUND  
601 THIRTEENTH STREET, NW, SUITE 200 SOUTH  
WASHINGTON, DC 20005

**ACTION****MEMORANDUM FOR SECRETARY RUBIN**

**FROM:** Ellen Lazar / *Ellen Lazar*  
Director  
CDFI Fund

**DATE:** April 21, 1999

**SUBJECT:** Letter to potential applicants of the 1999 Presidential Awards for Excellence in Microenterprise Development program.

**ACTION FORCING EVENT**

The opening of the 1999 Presidential Awards for Excellence in Microenterprise Development will be announced at the annual conference of the Association for Enterprise Opportunity in Chicago on May 5, 1999. The application packet for the 1999 Presidential Awards is currently being printed and assembled. As in the past, the application packet should include a letter from the President, you and me.

**RECOMMENDATION**

That you sign the attached letter.

\_\_\_\_\_ Agree      \_\_\_\_\_ Disagree      \_\_\_\_\_ Let's Discuss

**ATTACHMENT:** Letter to potential applicants of the 1999 Presidential Awards for Excellence in Microenterprise Development.

**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT**

Dear Friend:

Across the world and here at home, microenterprise development continues to be an effective strategy for assisting disadvantaged entrepreneurs to enter the economic mainstream. Increasing access to capital and providing training to entrepreneurs in order to assist them in building and maintaining successful businesses are critical ingredients for improving the economic status of low-income women, men and families across our nation. This Administration's microenterprise development efforts exemplify President Clinton's commitment to strengthening this country by promoting economic empowerment in economically distressed communities and among individuals often overlooked, even in times of prosperity.

Under the leadership of the Community Development Financial Institutions Fund of the U.S. Department of the Treasury, the Presidential Awards for Excellence in Microenterprise Development are fostering the growth of the microenterprise development field and increasing the visibility of microenterprise development as an economic revitalization and poverty alleviation strategy. Previous Presidential Awardees were chosen because they represent highly successful and effective domestic microenterprise models. These Awards seek to set the bar of excellence for the microenterprise industry high and to provide examples of best practices.

Microenterprise development offers an exciting opportunity for investing in our nation's economic and human potential. For our nation to truly reach its economic potential, all Americans need to have access to and participate in our nation's economic mainstream.

Sincerely,

Robert E. Rubin

4-23-99



THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE  
1000 DEFENSE PENTAGON  
WASHINGTON, DC 20301-1000



## Memorandum

DATE: April 21, 1999  
TO: President Clinton  
FROM: Bill Cohen  
RE: Improvements to NATO's press operation

To The Lockhart / cc: sandy

copied  
Lockhart  
Berger  
Podesta

NATO's daily press briefing, an hour of live TV carried around the world, is a missed opportunity to make the Allied case with credibility, clarity and force. I think that the briefings can be improved with several relatively simple changes. In fact, following the initiative launched by you and Tony Blair, some of these improvements already are under way.

### The messages are strong

Every day the NATO briefing delivers three key messages:

- Winning the battle--The allies are making progress toward their military goals
- Outrageous atrocities—Milosevic is guilty of unspeakable brutalities
- Humanitarian response—NATO is easing refugee suffering.

### But the delivery is weak

✓ ( The strength of these messages is often watered down by their delivery, particularly on the military side. Gen. Clark's briefings have been superb and convincing, but the portion of the daily briefings on military activity often lack focus. They fail to convey a sense of why our targets are important, and they often don't convey a sense of progress. As a result, the press is questioning the effectiveness of the campaign.

( The delivery is much stronger on the atrocity and humanitarian side. Jamie Shea, the NATO spokesman, has been persistent and imaginative in focusing on these issues. The press is ready to hear and report these messages, and we have gotten good coverage on both. In fact, it is the continuing coverage of Milosevic's brutal depopulation policy and the refugee crisis it has provoked that have illustrated the values at stake in the this conflict and solidified NATO and public support.



## **Improving the delivery**

### Military

The military part of the briefings is getting better, but there is a long way to go. The briefings are tentative and reactive. They should be more forceful in explaining military accomplishments.

First, the briefers have to be better prepared to explain why particular targets are chosen, how they advance the military plan and the impact of the strikes. These explanations will be particularly necessary as we broaden the list of strategic targets, such as the party headquarters in Belgrade. An imaginative use of charts and graphics would help. The graphics at the daily Pentagon briefings are frequently better than NATO's. Many of our graphics are available on our internet site, DEFENSELINK, so they are readily available to the allies.

Second, military briefings should be more specific. Often they are too general. One improvement would be to bring in expert guest briefers at least once a week to focus on specific military accomplishments. For instance, it would be appropriate to bring in a military logistics expert to talk about the progress NATO has made on smashing the oil infrastructure and how the impact will be felt on military operations. Without promising instant solutions, a clear, accurate assessment of how degradation of the fuel system is slowing hurting the military would build credibility. To be effective, the briefing would require judicious use of some intelligence information.

Third, NATO has to do a better job of refuting Serb propaganda with answers that are swift, clear and accurate.

### Atrocity and Humanitarian Themes

The press has been aggressive in reporting atrocities, based on what they see and hear in the field and what we put out in briefings in NATO and allied countries. As a group, we need to focus more on tangible efforts to build cases for indictments and international legal accountability.

We could focus more attention on the humanitarian accomplishments by bringing people in from the field to describe what they are seeing, hearing and doing. For example, it would be worth bringing in LTG Michael Jackson, the Brit who is heading the humanitarian effort in

Macedonia, to brief on the humanitarian operations. Briefers in all NATO countries are focusing on the humanitarian response, but NATO could add to this message.

Some of these improvements are underway because of the staffing and organizational changes triggered by you and Tony Blair. For instance, PJ Crowley's arrival in Brussels will give NATO a quick response capability that it currently lacks.

Our spokesmen now hold conference calls twice a day and regularly share information. For instance, my press office faxes a daily update of atrocity reports to NATO, which often uses these facts in its press briefings.

When this over the world must remember two things about Operation Allied Force:

- Nineteen NATO nations acted to defend western values and make Europe more stable and secure
- After diplomacy failed, they launched military action that was swift, decisive and effective.

Every briefing, whether in Brussels, Washington or London, must emphasize these themes.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'R. J. L.' with a stylized flourish at the end.

4-23-99

VP  
FyH PM

copied  
VP  
Podesta

# End The Anachronistic Embargo Against Cuba

My toughest teenage job—harder than construction or factory work, not to mention that blissful time cleaning swimming pools—was a summer working on a farm. Two memories linger: the exhausting agony of baling hay, and the bizarre spectacle of seeing a chicken beheaded and then running around the henhouse.

That chicken comes to mind when thinking about the U.S. policy toward Cuba.

The centerpiece of the policy is an embargo designed to strangle Fidel Castro



## Politics & People

By Albert R. Hunt

economically. But the rationale—to prevent Castro from spreading the Communist threat around the hemisphere—was beheaded with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Now, forty years after Castro took power, U.S. Cuban policy, like that chicken, is running around headless.

There is a near unanimity among experts that the anti-Castro policy is antiquated and counterproductive. Last year, the Defense Intelligence Agency concluded that Cuba no longer poses any national-security threat. The Council on Foreign Relations, the citadel of the foreign-policy establishment, has called for a sweeping overhaul.

Leading Republican foreign policy experts, like former Secretaries of State Henry Kissinger and Lawrence Eagleburger have called for a new approach to Cuba. In an effort led by Senate Armed Services Committee Chairman John Warner (R., Va.), they were joined in calling for a bipartisan commission to review this policy by several dozen senators, including such conservative Republicans as Mississippi's Thad Cochran, Rick Santorum of

Pennsylvania and Chuck Hagel of Nebraska.

"We have an outdated policy," complains Sen. Hagel, who favors lifting the embargo. "It is a joke to think we're isolating Cuba. We're isolating ourselves."

But the Clinton administration not only resists any overhaul of its Cuba policy but rejected even appointing a commission for purely political reasons. "They worried it would be called the Gore Commission," notes Sen. Christopher Dodd (D. Conn.), a forceful advocate for lifting the embargo and increasing economic and political ties with Cuba. "The third rail of U.S. foreign policy still is Cuba."

Accordingly there are more restrictions on dealing with Cuba than there are on Iraq or North Korea. Fidel Castro is a bad guy but he certainly isn't as much of a threat to America as Saddam Hussein or the unbalanced Kim Jong Il.

But with the end of the Cold War, Cuban policy is now dictated by domestic considerations. Cuban-Americans are a major force in vote-rich Florida and a few other states such as New Jersey.

More significantly, anti-Castro Cuban Americans have become major campaign contributors, giving big bucks on both the congressional and presidential levels. The vice president was warned that a more moderate approach to Cuba would cost financial support.

Thus it's little surprise that Donna Kaplowitz, a Cuba scholar, in a recent book entitled "Anatomy of a Failed Embargo: U.S. Sanctions Against Cuba" concludes: "The embargo has evolved most during presidential election campaigns when can-

didates commit themselves to actions to attract votes."

Witness the 1992 Cuban Democracy Act and the 1996 Helms-Burton legislation, both aimed at further cracking down on any companies doing business with Cuba, including foreign ones. The main effect has been to isolate the U.S. on these issues.

Even modest steps are lambasted. When the Baltimore Orioles played an exhibition game in Havana last month, a spokesman for the chairman of the Senate



Fidel Castro

## A Disproportionate Policy

|         | TRAVEL     | TRADE                  | GIFTS                    |
|---------|------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Iran    | Permitted  | Restricted             | \$100/month              |
| N Korea | Permitted  | Restricted             | \$400/month              |
| Libya   | Restricted | Some 3rd country sales | No specific restrictions |
| Iraq    | Restricted | Oil, food and medicine | No specific restrictions |
| Cuba    | Restricted | Restricted             | \$200/month              |

\*Per household  
Source: Treasury Department

Foreign Relations Committee, Jesse Helms, protested this was "no different than if the Orioles went to South Africa and played a game a week after Nelson Mandela was jailed." (Never mind that Mr. Helms, the longtime segregationist, would have cheered.)

Actually there are indications that Cuban-American politics are changing; that second- or third-generation Cuban-Americans don't share their parents' anti-Castro passion; and that more than a few would like to travel or invest in Cuba. Even the politically potent Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) has lost some of its clout with the death last year of longtime leader Jorge Mas Canosa.

Arguing for lifting the embargo is not to suggest this is a matter of paramount importance; compared to East Asia, the Middle East or the Balkans, Cuba is a back-

burner issue. And nobody argues that Castro is anything but a despotic dictator whose country is in miserable shape and whose citizens are ruthlessly repressed; the latest outrage was the imprisonment of four citizens for advocating democracy.

But the purpose of increasing commercial and political relations is not to reward Castro. It would be to open more markets and political dialogue there. Pope John Paul II, no slacker when it comes to fighting communism, has labeled the embargo a travesty.

The effects recently were best summarized by Sen. Dodd: "Our policy is one that denies food to hungry Cuban children, that severely limits the availability of medicines and medical supplies to the Cuban people; that denies U.S. citizens the right to travel where they choose; that denies American children access to certain innovative and highly effective Cuban vaccines; and that prevents Cuban-American diplomats and military leaders from establishing meaningful channels of communication in order to prevent serious misunderstandings."

Mr. Eagleburger was an advocate of the embargo and other punitive measure against Castro "as long as they were a Soviet surrogate and raising hell in Central America." But, he notes, the 72-year-old Castro is not going to be there forever and, "if we want to have any influence in a post-Castro Cuba, we have to reposition ourselves. We can't do it 90 miles away with the door locked."

Lifting the embargo could prove a far more effective weapon against Castro than assassination attempts, ill-fated invasions or the propaganda efforts of the Cuban-Americans. He no longer would have the U.S.-bogeyman to blame for all his ills. Ventures Mr. Eagleburger: "The worst thing that could happen to Castro would be for the U.S. to open the gates of trade and travel."

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

THURSDAY, APRIL 22, 1999

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4-23-99

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Editorial Observer/TINA ROSENBERG

# Keeping Ethnic Tension From Turning Violent

If the world is permitted any nostalgia for Communism, let it note that alongside the many horrors was the virtue of a relative measure of ethnic peace. It is often so with empires — and when they fall, the ethnic, religious and nationalist conflicts they smothered with their harsh repression can erupt. The fall of Communism, and the end of American and Soviet sponsorship of political wars in the third world, have made these ethnic conflicts into the face of war today, exemplified by the former Yugoslavia.

But not every nation with a tense mix of ethnicities has slipped into violence. Romania and Hungary, two nations that border Yugoslavia, are trying to manage conflicts surrounding the Hungarian minority in Romania peacefully. The same is true with the Hungarian minority living in Slovakia. Many former Soviet nations are arriving at democratic ways to deal with the large Russian populations in their midst. Latvia, for example, has now agreed to remove most barriers to citizenship for the one-third of its residents who are ethnic Russians. And while several ethnic enclaves of the former Soviet Union, like Chechnya and the ethnic Armenian region of Nagorno-Karabakh, have fought separatist wars, many other enclaves have not.

History was one thing that made

There was nothing inevitable about Yugoslavia's wars.

Yugoslavia different. In the Balkans, the ebb and flow of empires over the centuries — Ottoman, Austro-Hungarian and others — left a long cycle of killings and revenge. The identity of each ethnic group, particularly the Serbs, was largely shaped by memories of victimization, military defeat and humiliation, leaving people susceptible to hate propaganda. This is not just ancient history, as World War II saw mass killings of Serbs at the hands of Croats and, to a far lesser extent, Muslims.

Yet the Yugoslavia that emerged from the war was a multi-ethnic state, with high rates of intermarriage. The country's strongman, Tito, who was half-Croat and half-Slovene, permitted no public discussion of ethnic tensions. Communist ideology promoted universalism. Class, not ethnicity, mattered. "Brotherhood and Unity" was Tito's slogan. He balanced the demands of various ethnic groups, and used Yugoslavs' consciousness of their victimhood to unite them as a small country standing up to Stalin. He also

used repression, clamping down on various outbreaks of Serbian, Croatian and Albanian nationalism and purging or jailing the leading proponents.

The positive side of Tito's control was that people felt secure that they would not become ethnic victims. But after his death in 1980, the rules changed. Yugoslavia was governed by a rotating presidency, and there was constant uncertainty about whether the next ruler would have a particular ethnic tilt. The new leaders also permitted Serbs, always the largest and most powerful group, to express their grievances in public.

The single most important factor in Yugoslavia's violence, however, was the emergence of Slobodan Milosevic, a leader willing to destroy his country to keep himself in power. Ethnic conflicts do not explode on their own. They are exploited by ruthless leaders who want power, land or treasure.

The rise of Mr. Milosevic threatened non-Serb minorities such as Croats and Bosnian Muslims, who then seceded from Yugoslavia. But since the new nations had Serbian minorities, Serbs grew nervous, allowing Mr. Milosevic to use propaganda to exploit their fears and turn them into killers.

Mr. Milosevic had the tools to do this, because Yugoslavia never

shook off its Communist system. The same powerful and well-controlled structures Tito used to repress nationalism — the party, Interior Ministry, army and media — were intact and available for Mr. Milosevic to employ in the service of hate.

Other ethnically mixed nations of the former Communist world have been more fortunate. Few other ethnic groups in the region can match the Serbs for their sense of humiliation and victimization — sentiments that unscrupulous leaders can turn into hate. The Hungarians in Slovakia and Romania, for instance, worry about agricultural policy and establishing a university in their language. They do not worry about mass killing.

Political factors also matter. While Mr. Milosevic promised Serbs a better life through ethnic cleansing, the leaders of Hungary, Romania and Slovakia held out the promise of joining Europe. These leaders were essentially told that they had no chance of NATO or European Union membership until they solved their ethnic problems. Similar statements helped persuade governments of the Baltic States to treat their Russian minorities more justly. It is not only the heavy hand of imperial rule that can impose ethnic cooperation. In most circumstances, the desire for democracy and economic growth can do the same.

4-23-99

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interview [initials]

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# Blame is placed on parents, media

By Richard Benedetto  
USA TODAY

The latest in a string of bloody school shootings has laid bare a gnawing anguish that all is not right in the country, despite a booming economy and technological achievements.

A USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll taken Wednesday, the day after the Colorado high school shootings, shows 79% believe the incident indicates "there is something seriously wrong in the country today." Only 17% called it "an isolated incident."

The poll also shows that the easy availability of guns, lax or inattentive parents, and violent media come in for the lion's share of the blame.

And despite legal and constitutional obstacles, the poll shows that most see teen counseling, tougher regulation of media content, tighter gun laws, metal detectors in schools and holding parents responsible for the crimes of their children would be the most effective ways to combat the problem.

While the poll shows great emphasis on parents — 51% felt parents were to blame — the public also believes, by 53% to 43%, that governmental and societal actions can prevent the repeat of such incidents.

The sensitivity of this issue was not lost on lawmakers and politicians.

"The senselessness of this event should not allow us to accept schoolyard violence as an inevitable outgrowth of a violent society," House Minority Leader Dick Gephardt, D-Mo, said.

Gary Bauer kicked off his long-shot Republican presidential campaign Wednesday echoing the sentiment expressed in the poll.

"You and I know there is something wrong in America," he said in his announcement speech, directly referring to the Littleton shootings.

The poll shows a growing sense of public worry for their own children's safety in school:

► More than half (55%) of parents with children in school fear for their safety, up from 37% a year ago. Only 24% feared for their children in 1977.

► Overall, 70% of those surveyed say a school shooting is very or somewhat likely to happen in their own community.

But while most agree that something is wrong, there is less consensus on the root causes of the problem. Only one of 10 believe schools were greatly to blame, while half pick factors such as parents, guns and violent media.

"The media and entertainment industry must stop the endless violence paraded before children night after night after night on television and in movies and video games and music,"



## Poll: School violence fears rise sharply

What are the chances of a similar school shooting in your community?

|                   |     |
|-------------------|-----|
| Very likely       | 30% |
| Somewhat likely   | 38% |
| Somewhat unlikely | 14% |
| Very unlikely     | 15% |

Do you fear for your child's safety in school?

|     | '98 poll | Now |
|-----|----------|-----|
| Yes | 37%      | 55% |
| No  | 62%      | 45% |

Which of the following have a 'great deal' of blame for the shootings in Colorado?

|                                     |     |
|-------------------------------------|-----|
| *Availability of guns               | 60% |
| *Parents                            | 51% |
| *TV, movies, music                  | 49% |
| Social pressures on youth           | 43% |
| Internet                            | 34% |
| Media coverage of similar incidents | 34% |
| Schools                             | 11% |

Which of the following tactics would be 'very effective' in helping to stop school violence?

|                                                                              |     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| Stricter gun control for teens                                               | 62% |
| More counseling for teens                                                    | 60% |
| *Metal detectors in schools                                                  | 53% |
| Restrictions on TV, movie violence                                           | 52% |
| Internet restrictions                                                        | 50% |
| Penalties against parents of children who use parents' guns to commit crimes | 47% |
| School dress codes                                                           | 36% |
| Body searches of students                                                    | 34% |
| Stiffer penalties for parents whose children commit crimes                   | 34% |

1 - Asked of respondents with school-age children  
Source: USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll of 659 adults  
Wednesday. Margin of error: +/-4 percentage points. No opinion and don't-know responses are excluded.

said Robert Chase, president of the National Education Association.

The poll shows 49% believe violent media are a contributing factor, and 52% say "stricter regulation" of the content of movies and TV would help stem the problem.

Also cited in the poll: Activity on the Internet, social pressures on teens, and media coverage of similar incidents.

Many would hold parents legally responsible for the crimes of their children. But there is less support for random body searches of students.

The USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll of 659 adults was conducted Wednesday. The survey has a margin of error of plus or minus 4 percentage points.

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URGENT

WASHINGTON April 23, 1999

President Bill Clinton  
 The White House  
 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.,  
 Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing to call an im  
 has received two requests  
 President of the governm  
 previous Communist Par  
 during the NATO summi  
 country for both to be on  
 submitted a separate requ

*Nancy,*  
*Bill A. just faxed this*  
*to me & asked me to*  
*hand-deliver.*  
*-Eugenie*

This letter is to request th  
 few days may not seem i  
 the Democrats by favoring the Socialists/Communists. While this is not a reasonable position to  
 take, we both know that perception is reality in politics and that this is the kind of issue that  
 makes mountains out of mole hills.

By way of background GLIGOROV was elected in 1995 on the Socialist/Communist ticket. His  
 term expires in November. GEORGEIVSKI was elected last October through 2002. The  
 Democrats hope to elect their candidate for President of the country in October. The  
 the country is a ceremonial office. It is critical to note that GLIC  
 Communist ticket with the strong and open support of the Serbia  
 Intelligence sources report that the recent attack on the American  
 organized jointly by the Serbian and Macedonian Communist Pa  
 granting an official visit to a Communist is viewed in Macedonis  
 democratic government in power.

4-22-99

Send to WSC?

Yes ☒  
 No ☐

I strongly urge your favorable consideration of the request of the  
 appointment with you in the near future.

Sincerely,

*William Alexander*  
 WILLIAM ALEXANDER

WA/dd

Admitted to practice law before the Supreme Court of the United States; United States Courts of Appeal; United States Court of Federal Claims; the Courts and Commissions of the District of Columbia; the Courts and Commissions of the State of Arkansas; and, the Courts and Commissions of the State of Tennessee.  
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