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Monday, May 3, 1999 [1]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: May 3, 1999

NOTE FOR: **Honorable Larry H. Summers**
Deputy Secretary
Department of the Treasury

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

Information ☒

Action ☐

Thank you.

Staff Secretary
(x6-2702)

cc:



THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

5-3-99

99 APR 30 PM 5:14

Copied
Summers
Podesta

April 30, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Lawrence H. Summers 

SUBJECT: Update on Global Markets
The Week Ending April 30, 1999

This week we present a new format that includes more analytic and policy content, leaving the details of market moves to the attached table.

Markets have been dominated by a continued increase in confidence in Europe, emerging markets, and, to a lesser degree, Japan, spurred in part by the ongoing strong performance of the U.S. economy and the strength of the U.S. dollar.

- European markets continue to strengthen in the wake of the ECB's rate cut. However, while inflation has been low in the "core" Euro countries -- 0.4% y/y in Germany and France -- higher price gains in Spain and other countries have made the interest rate cut less welcome.
- Japanese officials continue to take an upbeat view of Japan's economic prospects, despite data releases this week (e.g. March unemployment of 4.8%, up 0.2% from February) that do not seem to support their claims that the economy has bottomed out.

✓ Many emerging markets showed gains. Asian markets were particularly strong, boosted by Moody's upgrade of four large banks in Thailand, increased foreign investment in Indonesia, and progress in bank restructuring in several countries.

✗ Latin America's markets showed little change this week. Bond yields rose slightly across Latin America after \$4B in new bond issuances from Brazil, Chile, Columbia, Argentina, and Mexico in the past 2 weeks. Russia's markets strengthened on news of an agreement with the IMF.

Despite this positive sentiment, there is still ample evidence of risks to global markets. India faces ~~heightened political uncertainty due to upcoming general elections~~. Russia may have difficulty meeting the terms of its IMF program. Other countries, such as Ecuador, Ukraine, and Romania continue to face difficulties with their balance of payments.

Weekly Market Indicators for Week Ending April 30, 1999

	Exchange Rates		Equities		Bond yield	
	level /1	% change /2	level	% change	level /3	bp change
Japan	119.4	-0.10	16,702	-1.3	1.44	-12
Euro	1.058	-0.35				
Germany			5,393	3.8	3.91	8
UK			6,552	1.9	4.60	5
France			4,405	3.4	4.00	4
Italy			36,791	0.8	4.09	-2

	Exchange Rates		Equities		Bond spread	
	per US\$	% change /2	level	% change	spread /4	bp change
Korea	1184	0.5	753	0.2	220	2.2
Indonesia	8175	4.9	495	4.6	752	39
Thailand	37	0.9	459	14.5	214	-1
Hong Kong	7.75	0.0	13,333	3.3	n/a	n/a
Brazil /5	1.67	1.2	11,085	0.5	732	40
Argentina /5	1.00	0.0	514	-0.4	522	33
Mexico /5	9.3	0.1	5,517	0.8	386	5
Russia /6	24.2	1.9	92	10.9	2563	-4
India	3,326	-2.4	43	0.5	n/a	n/a
Turkey	390,350	-1.0	5,354	3.4	9400	200
South Africa /5	6.10	0.0	7,045	3.8	268	10

1. Yen/\$ as of noon Friday. \$/Euro as of 3PM Friday.
2. Percent change vs. US\$
3. Yield on 10-yr bond.
4. Spread versus U.S. Treasuries.
5. Thursday to Thursday.
6. Bond spread is Thursday to Thursday.

5-3-99

Send to Burkhardt? ☒
Yes ☒
No ☐

C

Vince Vallquist
1107 Virginia St.
Seattle, WA 98101

April 30, 1999 (Queen's Day in The Netherlands)

TO: President William Clinton
By fax 202-456-1121

FROM: Ambassador Cynthia P. Schneider *CPB*
Tel. 011-31-70-310-9311, or 011-31-65-322-2642

SUBJECT: Upcoming trip to Belgium and Germany

First of all, congratulations on such a substantive and successful NATO summit. I have just returned from a quick tour of the "Dutch" heartland of Michigan, and found there the same high level of support for NATO's actions in Kosovo. I have found here in The Netherlands. Let us hope that Milosovich is nearing the breaking point.

Having just learned that you are going to Brussels en route to Germany next week, I am writing to see if there is any chance you might stopover in The Hague en route between those two points. We are only minutes away from Brussels by plane (two hours by car). A stopover in The Hague would allow you to visit the Yugoslav War Crimes Tribunal, and to meet with one of our staunchest allies. Hillary was very impressed by Gabrielle MacDonald, an American civil rights attorney and later judge who is President of the Court, when they met during the First Lady's visit here last February. You would also have the chance to speak with the Chief Prosecutor, Louise Arbour. I thought that perhaps with all of the emphasis on the court bringing indictments that reach up to the top of the government of the FRY, it might be valuable for you to hear about the situation directly.

I realize that your itinerary is probably already set in stone, but I thought I would just raise the possibility of a stopover in The Hague. I would also love to show you my wonderful paintings and sculptures through the Art in Embassies program.

On the likely chance that I will not see you, I would like to let you know that I appreciate your leadership on Kosovo. I am proud to represent that the country that stands up for and protects those who are persecuted and whose rights are ignored.

I hope that Tom and I will have a chance to see you before long.

5-3-99

5-3-99

Should we send to NSC for response?

Yes

No

Eugene

for

reply for

5/4

C

1.1.

*Really no this way to do this -
at schedule -
must have crew
right on Thurs
has to go to
has an
attacked
schedule*

refugee - free



FAX MESSAGE

EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA

Lange Voorhout 102
2514 EJ The Hague
The Netherlands

Executive Office

Fax (31) (70) 310-9322 or 351-4688
Telephone (31) (70) 310-9318

DATE: 4/30/99

No. of Pages:

TO: Nancy Hearnreich
for POTUS

FAX NO.:

FROM: Ambassador Cynthia P. Schneider

SUBJECT: Trip next week to
Belgium & Germany

Dear Nancy,
I would be very grateful
if you would give this fax
to the President. I hope
you are well.
All the best,
Cynthia

DRAFT

TRIP OF THE PRESIDENT
TO
BELGIUM AND GERMANY

SCHEDULING DIRECTOR:

STEPHANIE STREETT

HOME: 202-332-5651

OFFICE: 202-456-2823

WHCA PAGER: 4824

EVENT COORDINATOR:

LAURA GRAHAM

HOME: 703-212-7642

OFFICE: 202-456-2349

WHCA PAGER: 4809

TRIP CODES:

RAMSTEIN: 29

INGELHEIM: 46

SPANGDAHLEM: 31

BRUSSELS: TBD

BONN: TBD

DRAFT

TUESDAY, MAY 4

4:50	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs The White House via motorcade en route the Reflecting Pool [drive time: 5 minutes]
4:55	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives the Reflecting Pool
5:05	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs the Reflecting Pool via Marine One en route Andrews Air Force Base [flight time: 10 minutes]
5:15	pm	Arrive Andrews Air Force Base
5:30	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews Air Force Base via Air Force One en route, Brussels, Belgium [flight time: 7 hours] [time change: +6 hours]
BC RON		AIR FORCE ONE

DRAFT

WEDNESDAY, MAY 5

6:30 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Brussels International Airport, Belgium
[11:30 am ET]

Greeters: Chief of Protocol
Ambassador Paul Cejas
Ambassador Alexander Bershbow
Don Kirsch, Chargers des' Affaires to European Union

6:45 am THE PRESIDENT departs Brussels International Airport via motorcade
en route NATO Headquarters
[drive time: 15 minutes]

7:00 am THE PRESIDENT arrives NATO Headquarters
POOL PRESS

Greeter: Secretary General Javier Solana

7:05 am- BRIEFING
7:20 am BRIEFING ROOM
NATO Headquarters
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

7:25 am- MEETING WITH SECRETARY GENERAL JAVIER SOLANA
7:55 am OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY GENERAL
NATO Headquarters
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
POOL SPRAY (AT THE TOP)

PARTICIPANTS
The President
Ambassador Alexander Vershbow
Secretary Madeleine Albright
Secretary William Cohen
John Podesta
Samuel Berger
Brian Atwood
General Hugh Shelton
Antony Blinken (notetaker)

DRAFT

8:05 am-
9:05 am

BRIEFING ON OPERATION ALLIED FORCE
CONSULTATION ROOM #10
NATO Headquarters
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
POOL SPRAY (AT THE TOP)

PARTICIPANTS
The President Ambassador Alexander Vershbow Secretary Madeleine Albright Secretary William Cohen Members of Congress John Podesta Samuel Berger Brian Atwood General Hugh Shelton Robert Bell Eric Schwartz (notetaker)

9:10 am-
9:25 am

GREET U.S. NATO PERSONNEL
GARDEN (T)
NATO Headquarters
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
OFFICIAL PHOTO ONLY

Note: There will be approximately 130 guests in attendance.

PARTICIPANTS
The President Ambassador Alexander Vershbow Secretary Madeleine Albright Secretary William Cohen Members of Congress John Podesta Samuel Berger Steve Ricchetti Brian Atwood General Hugh Shelton Antony Blinken

-- The President works a ropeline and departs.

9:30 am

THE PRESIDENT departs NATO Headquarters via motorcade en route
VIP Lounge, Brussels International Airport
[drive time: 15 minutes]

DRAFT

9:45 am THE PRESIDENT arrives VIP Lounge, Brussels International Airport

Greeters: Ambassador Paul Cejas

9:50 am- MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER JEAN-LUC DEHAENE
10:20 am VIP LOUNGE

Brussels International Airport

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

Event Coordinator: Laura Graham

Interpretation: none

STILLS ONLY

PARTICIPANTS
The President
Ambassador Paul Cejas
Secretary Madeleine Albright
Secretary William Cohen
John Podesta
Samuel Berger
Antony Blinken (notetaker)

10:25 am THE PRESIDENT departs VIP Lounge via motorcade en route Tarmac,
Brussels International Airport
[drive time: 5 minutes]

10:30 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Tarmac, Brussels International Airport

10:45 am THE PRESIDENT departs Brussels International Airport via Air Force
One en route Spangdahlem Air Base, Germany
[flight time: 40 minutes]

11:30 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Spangdahlem Air Base, Germany

Greeters: Brigadier General Scott Van Cleef, 52nd Fighter Wing
Commander
Mrs. Barbara Van Cleef
Command Chief Master Sergeant Dan Keane
Mrs. Sandra Keane
Consul General Hugh Hamilton, Frankfurt
Herr Kurt Beck, Rheinland-Pfaltz Minister-President
Master Sergeant Jonathan Gil, Senior Noncommissioned Officer
of the Quarter
Staff Sergeant Manuel Hauck, Noncommissioned Officer of
the Quarter
AIC Andrea Sediacek, Airman of the Quarter

DRAFT

11:45 am **THE PRESIDENT** departs Spangdahlem Air Base Tarmac via motorcade
en route Building 15
[drive time: 5 minutes]

11:50 am **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Building 15

11:55 am-
12:20 pm **BREAK**
OFFICERS LOUNGE - BUILDING 15
Spangdahlem Air Base

12:25 pm-
12:45 pm **BRIEFING ON BASE MILITARY OPERATIONS**
OFFICERS LOUNGE - BUILDING 15
Spangdahlem Air Base
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
CLOSED PRESS

[6:25-6:45am ET]

Note: There will be 12 guests in attendance.

PARTICIPANTS
The President Ambassador John Kornblum Secretary Madeleine Albright Secretary William Cohen Members of Congress John Podesta Samuel Berger Steve Ricchetti Brian Atwood General Hugh Shelton Robert Bell

Staff Note: A separate tour of F-16, F-117 and A-10 aircraft will be available for staff at this time.

12:50 pm **THE PRESIDENT** proceeds to Flight Line
POOL PRESS

-- The President, accompanied by General Scott Van Cleef and six pilots,
proceeds to Hardened Air Shelter 11.

DRAFT

12:55 pm-
1:25 pm
[6:55-7:25am ET]

**GREET F-16, A-10 AND F-117 AIRCRAFT CREWS AND GROUND
SUPPORT PERSONNEL
OUTSIDE HARDENED AIR SHELTER 11
Spangdahlem Air Base
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
POOL PRESS**

**Note: Delegation will follow immediately behind pilots on a
separate tour.**

PARTICIPANTS
The President Ambassador John Kornblum Secretary Madeleine Albright Secretary William Cohen Members of Congress John Podesta Samuel Berger General Hugh Shelton

— The President, accompanied by General Scott Van Cleef, is greeted by two pilots and three ground support crew members and is briefed at each plane.

1:30 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Hardened Air Shelter 11 via motorcade en route Hangar One
[drive time: 5 minutes]

1:35 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Hangar One

DRAFT

1:40 pm-
2:40 pm
[7:40-8:40am ET]

REMARKS TO BASE PERSONNEL AND FAMILIES HANGAR ONE

Remarks:

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

Event Coordinator: Laura Graham

OPEN PRESS

Note: Business attire

Note: There will be approximately 3000 guests in attendance.

PARTICIPANTS
<u>On Stage:</u> The President Secretary Madeleine Albright Secretary William Cohen Members of Congress John Podesta Samuel Berger Brian Atwood General Hugh Shelton
<u>Front Row:</u> Ambassador John Kornblum Steve Ricchetti Joe Lockhart Robert Bell Tom Malinowski

- Off-stage announcement of Ambassador John Kornblum, Congressional Delegation, John Podesta, Samuel Berger, Administrator Brian Atwood and Senior NCO TBD.
- Off-stage announcement of the President, accompanied Secretary Madeleine Albright, Secretary William Cohen, Chairman Hugh Shelton and Wing Commander TBD.
- Wing Commander makes brief welcoming remarks and introduces Chairman Hugh Shelton.
- Chairman Hugh Shelton makes brief remarks and introduces Secretary Madeleine Albright.
- Secretary Madeleine Albright makes brief remarks and introduces Secretary William Cohen.
- Secretary William Cohen makes brief remarks and introduces the President.
- The President makes remarks, works a ropeline and departs.

DRAFT

2:50 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Hangar One via motorcade en route Building 15
[drive time: 5 minutes]

2:55 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Building 15

3:00 pm- BRIEFING
3:20 pm PILOTS LOUNGE, BUILDING 15
Spangdahlem Air Base
Staff Contact: Joe Lockhart

3:25 pm- INTERVIEW (DURING WALK) WITH TOM BROKAW
3:40 pm OF NBC NEWS
[9:25-9:40am ET] TARMAC/HARDENED AIR SHELTER 11
Spangdahlem Air Base
Staff Contact: Joe Lockhart
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
TAPED FOR BROADCAST

Note: Hybrid attire.
Note: The President will pause for a photograph with volunteers upon conclusion of interview.

3:45 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Hardened Air Shelter 11 via motorcade en route Tarmac
[drive time: 5 minutes]

3:50 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Tarmac

4:05 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Spangdahlem Air Base via Air Force One en route Ramstein Air Base
[flight time: 30 minutes]

4:35 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Ramstein Air Base

4:50 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Ramstein Air Base Tarmac via motorcade en route Warrior Preparation Center
[drive time: 10 minutes]

5:00 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Warrior Preparation Center

Greeters:

DRAFT

5:05 pm-
5:25 pm

BREAK
LOCATION TBD

Note: The President and Delegation will pause for a brief overview of humanitarian.

5:30 pm-
6:15 pm

TOUR HUMANITARIAN OPERATIONS CENTER
WARRIOR PREPARATION CENTER
Ramstein Air Base
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
POOL PRESS

Note: There will be approximately 150 military personnel present.

PARTICIPANTS
The President
Ambassador John Kornblum
Secretary Madeleine Albright
Secretary William Cohen
Members of Congress
John Podesta
Samuel Berger
Steve Ricchetti
Brian Atwood
General Hugh Shelton
Robert Bell
Eric Schwartz

-- The President, accompanied by General Hinton, tours the center and visits with military personnel at their work stations.

6:20 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs Warrior Preparation Center via motorcade en route Hangar Three
[drive time: 5 minutes]

6:25 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives Hangar Three

Greeters:

DRAFT

6:30 pm-
7:45 pm

DINNER WITH TROOPS
HANGAR THREE
Remarks:
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
POOL PRESS (AT CONCLUSION)

Note: There will be approximately 300 guests in attendance.

PARTICIPANTS
The President Ambassador John Kornblum Secretary Madeleine Albright Secretary William Cohen Members of Congress John Podesta Samuel Berger Steve Ricchetti Brian Atwood General Hugh Shelton

7:50 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Location TBD via motorcade en route Tarmac
[drive time: tbd]

7:55 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Tarmac
OPEN TO BASE FAMILIES

8:30 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Ramstein Air Base via Air Force One en route
Rhein/Main Air Base
[flight time: 30 minutes]

9:00 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Rhein/Main Air Base

Greeters:

9:15 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Rhein/Main Air Base via motorcade en route
Kempinski Hotel
[drive time: 15 minutes]

9:30 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Kempinski Hotel

Greeters:

BC RON

KEMPINSKI HOTEL
FRANKFURT, GERMANY

DRAFT

THURSDAY, MAY 6

8:00 am- **MEETING**
8:10 am **PRESIDENTIAL SUITE**
Kempinski Hotel
Staff Contact: John Podesta

8:10 am- **BRIEFING**
8:40 am **PRESIDENTIAL SUITE**
Kempinski Hotel
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger , Joe Lockhart

8:45 am **THE PRESIDENT** departs Kempinski Hotel via motorcade en route Rhein/Main Air Base
[drive time: 15 minutes]

9:00 am **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Rhein/Main Air Base

9:05 am- **MEDIA ROUNDTABLE**
10:05 am **LOCATION TBD**
Rhein/Main Air Base
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger, Joe Lockhart
Interpretation: none
TAPED FOR BROADCAST
Greeters:

10:20 am **THE PRESIDENT** departs Location TBD via motorcade en route Tarmac
[drive time: 5 minutes]

10:25 am **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Tarmac
OPEN TO BASE PERSONNEL AND THEIR FAMILIES

Note: Guests have families in Theater.

10:50 am **THE PRESIDENT** departs Rhein/Main Air Base via Marine One en route Sports Center Landing Zone, Ingelheim, Germany
[flight time: 20 minutes]

Note: Dress in Ingelheim is hybrid attire.

11:10 am **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Sports Center Landing Zone, Ingelheim, Germany

11:20 am **THE PRESIDENT** departs Sports Center Landing Zone via motorcade en route Refugee Center
[drive time: 10 minutes]

DRAFT

11:30 am

THE PRESIDENT arrives Refugee Center

Greeters: Chancellor Gerhardt Schroeder
Mr. Huetter, Director, Refugee Center
Mr. Mollner, Deputy Director, Refugee Center
Ralf Claus, Mayor, Ingelheim
Interior Minister TBD
Kurt Beck, Minister-President

11:35 am-

VISIT REFUGEE FAMILY LIVING QUARTERS

11:55 am

ROOM TBD

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
Interpretation: whisper
PRINT REPORTER ONLY

12:05 am-

DISCUSSION WITH REFUGEE FAMILIES

12:50 am

CAFETERIA HALLWAY

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
Interpretation: Simultaneous
POOL PRESS

PARTICIPANTS
The President
Ambassador John Kornblum
Secretary Madeleine Albright
Secretary William Cohen
Members of Congress
John Podesta
Samuel Berger
Steve Ricchetti
Joe Lockhart
Brian Atwood
General Hugh Shelton
Eric Schwartz (notetaker)

DRAFT

1:00 pm-
1:50 pm

REMARKS TO REFUGEES
LOCATION TBD
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger
Event Coordinator: Laura Graham
Interpretation: Simultaneous
OPEN PRESS

PARTICIPANTS
The President Ambassador John Kornblum Secretary Madeleine Albright Secretary William Cohen Members of Congress John Podesta Samuel Berger Steve Ricchetti Joe Lockhart Brian Atwood General Hugh Shelton Eric Schwartz Ted Widmer

- Curtis Beck, Prime Minister of State, makes brief welcoming remarks and introduces Chancellor Gerhardt Schroeder.
- Chancellor Gerhardt Schroeder makes brief remarks and introduces the President.
- The President makes remarks, works a ropeline and departs.

1:55 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Refugee Center via motorcade en route Sports Center Landing Zone
[drive time: tbd]

2:00 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Sports Center Landing Zone

2:10 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Sports Center Landing Zone via Marine One en route Rhein/Main Air Base
[flight time: 30 minutes]

2:40 pm **THE PRESIDENT** arrives Rhein/Main Air Base
OPEN TO RESERVE PERSONNEL

Greeters:

2:55 pm **THE PRESIDENT** departs Rhein/Main Air Base via Air Force One en route Bonn, Germany
[flight time: 40 minutes]

DRAFT

3:55 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Bonn, Germany

Greeters:

3:50 pm THE PRESIDENT departs via motorcade en route Chancellory

4:05 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Chancellory

Greeters:

4:10 pm BRIEFING

4:25 pm LOCATION TBD

Chancellory

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

Event Coordinator: Laura Graham

4:30 pm MEETING WITH CHANCELLOR GERHARDT SCHROEDER

5:15 pm OFFICE OF THE CHANCELLOR

Chancelloroy

Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

Event Coordinator: Laura Graham

POOL SPRAY (AT THE TOP)

PARTICIPANTS
The President
Ambassador John Kornblum
Secretary Madeleine Albright
Secretary William Cohen
John Podesta
Samuel Berger
General Hugh Shelton
Antony Blinken (notetaker)

5:20 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Chancellory en route Bonn International Airport

[drive time: tbd]

5:35 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Bonn International Airport

5:50 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Bonn International Airport via Air Force One en route Andrews Air Force Base

[flight time: 8 hours, 05 minutes]

[time change: -6 hours]

7:55 pm ET THE PRESIDENT arrives Andrews Air Force Base

DRAFT

8:10	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews Air Force Base via Marine one en route the Reflecting Pool [drive time: 10 minutes]
8:20	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives the Reflecting Pool
8:30	pm	THE PRESIDENT departs the Reflecting Pool via motorcade en route The White House [drive time: 5 minutes]
8:35	pm	THE PRESIDENT arrives The White House
BC RON		THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTON, DC

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-3-99

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

May 2, 1999

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

Dear Bill,

Great lunch group we had the other day. Thanks so much for getting us together. We owe you and are serious about trying to return the favor — even while you are at the White House. I thought the messages you conveyed to us on Kosovo, Littleton, Russia, etc. were very thoughtful, far-looking, and practical at the same time. I'll do what I can to help others get the same message we were fortunate to get in person. I passed the word to Elizabeth that Hillary may be traveling in that direction before long.

On another subject, I have enclosed information on some pending legislation that those of us who are retired military and are now working in government, or who may want to work for the government in the future, would like the Administration support if possible. I at first hesitated to bother you with it because it is really small potatoes in the scheme of things given what is going on these days. In addition, I did not want to bring it up since I would stand to gain monetarily. However, the other day, Rich Robbins called me for advice on leaving his civilian job because his old boss at Navy Personnel really needed him to come back in a civil servant position and do the same thing as before. (He was evidently quite good handling military personnel matters.) To make a long story short, Rich would take such a pay cut because of restrictions on pay outlined in the attached article that he could not afford to apply for the position -- he still has two sons to put through college. Jim Durham, though he did enter government service, is having second thoughts for the same reason. I believe that the old rationale for restricting retiree pay, if there was a good one, no longer applies. We need a few people like Rich, Jim, and others (John Morris also declined to apply for a federal job) in government given all the country as already put into their training. As the article states, only about 6000 retirees are affected. (Many other retired officers, such as those working on the Hill, DOE, etc. get waivers, but none that I know of in DoD). Supposedly, the \$68 million cost would be borne by DoD under current budget limits. The Senate has already overwhelmingly agreed to end the restrictions as being unfair -- however, we are not sure about what the HASC will recommend. If you see fit, and have time to get involved, would appreciate your support.

Sorry for the long story above. Since I am headed off on my Gulf trip today, figured that the subject may be OBE by the time I returned. Best of luck on the many difficult issues you are handling these days -- I am behind you 100% all the way.

Sincerely,



copied
 NSC w/ Desk
 Berger
 Podesta

Handwritten notes:
 NSC w/ Desk
 Berger
 Podesta
 He's a good friend - at
 Pentagon - see all the
 this doesn't seem to be
 BC



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Eliminate Dual Compensation Restrictions for Retirees in Civilian Positions

Discussion: The Dual Compensation Act of 1964 (5 U.S.C. 5532) requires retired regular officers in the federal civil service to forego half of any military retired pay amount in excess of \$10,450 as a condition of employment. The statute also caps the combined military retired pay and Federal civilian salaries of all retired servicemembers employed as federal civilians. The pay cap is equal to Executive Level V pay (\$110,700) on combined military retired pay and Federal civilian salary (or higher Executive Level, as applicable). Officers retired on disability are not subject to dual compensation penalties to the extent of their disability.

As of 30 Sep 98 there were 5,984 retired regular officers subject to the dual compensation offset. 657 uniformed services retirees were subject to both the dual compensation offset and the pay cap; 162 were subject to the pay cap alone. The cost to repeal the dual compensation offset and the pay cap offset would be \$68.3 million. Under Budget Agreement rules, the cost of repeal would be borne by DoD under current budget limits (or by another federal department / agency).

The Congressionally chartered Commission on Servicemembers and Veterans Transition Assistance (Principi Commission) characterized dual compensation restrictions as the "most arduous of disincentives" that deter uniformed services retirees from working for the government.

Military retired pay is compensation earned for completing a service career. It should have no bearing on subsequent employment in any sector of society. The Commission points out that a complete analysis of the financial implications of the retired pay reduction requirement should take into account sunk costs, opportunity costs, and hidden costs to the government for maintaining the penalties. (See Transition Commission Report, <http://web9.whs.osd.mil/Report.pdf> pp. 93- 97). Unfortunately, the Commission recommends

prospective repeal only. This would only exacerbate the inequity by creating dual compensation "haves" and "have nots" in the federal workforce.

The Senate has already endorsed the outright repeal of the Dual Compensation Act by including an amendment to that effect in S. 4 (the Soldiers', Sailors', Airmen's, and Marines' Bill of Rights Act of 1999), passed on February 24, 1999.

Status: It is TROA's objective to secure repeal of the Dual Compensation Act. As in the past, the challenge will be in persuading the House to go along with the Senate's recent action. As of this writing, one bill (H.R. 606) contains a provision for repeal of dual compensation penalties, but only for prospective hires in the federal workforce beginning in the year 2000, a non-starter as far as TROA is concerned. Another concern is jurisdiction. As a Title 5 issue, the Dual Compensation Act falls under the purview of the Civil Service Subcommittee of the House Government Reform Committee. The May 1999 issue of The Retired Officer Magazine will invite officers affected by dual compensation penalties to join TROA's campaign to repeal this unfair law.

E-mail us at legis@troa.org

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5-3-99

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WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006-1101

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MAIN FAX
202-263-3300

MICHAEL KANTOR
202-778-0163

April 30, 1999

BY HAND

The Honorable William J. Clinton
The President of the United States
Washington DC 20500

*Sincerely,
Very interesting
unpublished letter -
Need reply
B*

Dear Mr. President:

I received the attached from a cameraman who has just completed a documentary in Macedonia. His insights are interesting. However, you may be only too painfully aware of his observations and conclusions.

I hope all is well and hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,


Michael Kantor

Enclosure

*Copied
Berger
NSC WWD Desk
Podesta*



Dear Mr. President,

I recently returned from Macedonia, where I produced and shot a television documentary. As the only western journalist not covering the refugee crisis, the airwar, and Albania, I lived in a Macedonian home, gaining the trust of people from all walks of life - Ethnic Macedonians, Serbs, Albanians, and Gypsies. I saw their hearts and heard their minds. My videotape and first-hand experience so chilled my soul and endangered my safety, that I'm compelled to try to share what I know with you .

I've condensed my findings into six areas of concern:

1. Macedonia's problems are more explosive and sinister than even they can grasp - in their current, anxiety-ridden state of mind; The atmosphere in Skopje is eerily reminiscent of what I used to read about Germany in the 30's.
2. Their focus locked onto the refugee crises, Albania, and the NATO air campaign, international media leave a deeper, more complicated, but less visible crisis in Macedonia unreported or trivialized.
3. Without immediate emergency care for a hemorrhaging economy (already fragile at the start of hostilities) and the rapidly-widening ethnic/religious division, it's easy to imagine Macedonians as another wave of refugees - with nowhere to go.
4. Western empathy or pity for their condition is a hard sell. Ethnic Macedonians are defensive, defiant, in almost total denial of the atrocities committed by their Serb "brothers". NATO, Western Europe, and the U.S. are convenient scapegoats and excuses for their own abuse, neglect, and indifference to the plight of ethnic Albanians.

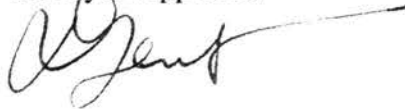
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5. Stuck in a bad neighborhood, they're good people - like us in many wonderful ways. Macedonia is the cradle of Christianity, the birthplace of Mother Teresa. They admire us and want to be like us and have the values, lifestyles, and physical and mental health that we left behind sometime in the 40's or 50's. But in their anguish and despair, they'd rather die than allow us or Europe - who's neglect and indifference they view as a cause of their feeble economy - to see them cry - or beg. But they deserve to be saved - from, in this case, themselves.
6. The financial and human costs of a civil war and/or a war with Albania would be unimaginable and unacceptable. Add a couple of nasty neighbors to the feud?... You know better than I how dark it gets down that road.

I've always been proud and grateful to be an American citizen. But never more so than upon my recent return from Macedonia. I feel, but have been unable to articulate before now, that our democracy is an astonishing example of what's possible when people *stay on the path* of peaceful change and conflict resolution. As the anthem goes: "(We) get knocked down, but (we) get up again" and this persistence and unfailing resolve has produced our greatest gifts. We've got know-how coming out of our ears; Macedonia needs it right away.

I'd love to have the honor of screening my documentary for you when it's finished. It'll be a hoot as well as a serious investigation (how else could I get attention for a documentary about a fly-by to Hell?) Thank you for your precious time.

Your loyal supporter,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Dave Lent', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Dave Lent

*Use
Email from
Museum*

*From Kit Ashby
off Email -
a little hard
to read -*

042821B4.txt

: Ashby US Embassy Montevideo APO AA 34035
The White House 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
-2000 April 28, 1999 Dear Bill, As I men
Sanguinetti will be in Washington on May 1
ive time to see him. Although you may not ha

ve had
much time lately to focus on UN votes, you might have noticed tha
t at the
UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, last Friday a resolution
criticizing the human rights situation in Cuba passed 21 to 20. Y
ou may
not have noticed that Uruguay was the 21st vote. This is a big
deal. Not
only did they change from last year, w
ost the
vote, but also they were the only coun
sponsor.

4-29

To Burkhardt for reply?
Yes — No ☒

Or will NSC handle?
Yes ☒ No —
b.

ent Sanguinetti decided to do th
ry of External Affairs. You ma
ths ago there was a major confe
12 bio-diversity treaty that we
to
or prohibit trade in bio-engine

not let that happen. The three
bio-engineering industries, Canada, Au
against
the EU and the Group of 77. We had three allies; Chile, Argentina
and
Uruguay. Because of their support, we have so far been able to ke
ep the EU
from limiting trade in these products. For Uruguay to take a stan
d against
other Latin countries and with us is a major departure. Last we
ek the
twelve Cuban refugees from Guantanamo arrived. Earlier, at our re
quest

*Copied
Bergen
NSC West Wing
Desk
COS*

042821B4.txt

they arrested a suspected Egyptian terrorist, who is in the process of being extradited to Egypt. This is the first time they have agreed to work closely with our intelligence services on something like this. If I do say so myself, our relationship with Uruguay is beginning to turn around. They are becoming a more consistent ally. The Circulo de Montevideo is a prestigious intellectual group that meets annually. It is composed of Spanish/French speaking members, including Felipe Gonzales, Enrique Iglesias, and Michel Camdessus. The only American participant has been Energy Secretary Richardson. Next month is the first time the group will meet in the United States or in any other non-Latin country. I would like us to acknowledge the group and the significance of its meeting place. I have put this request through the State Department, who has consulted with the NSC. I haven't heard the status yet, but for all of the above reasons I hope you can see us.

B

est
Regards

Kit



April 28, 1999

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N W
Washington, D.C 20500-0006

Susan R. Estrich
Robert Kingsley
Professor of Law and
Political Science

Dear Mr President:

I happened to turn on C-Span last night and was utterly mesmerized by your gun speech. You were fabulous, and only you could do it. What struck me most was how important it is to reach out to the NRA, as opposed to just taking them on. The audience for your speech was, in some respects, all wrong; NRA members don't trust those people, with reason, many of them would like to ban all handguns, and to demonize gun owners. I came to have a different view than theirs in my years on talk radio, when I had lots of regular callers who were decent people and also gun owners, you understand where the suspicion comes from. But your respect for the decency of people who go to gun shows, and hunt, and don't see guns as inherently evil, shined through. I kept thinking how important a part of your legacy this could be, how more people needed to hear and see your message, NRA members and their families, in particular. I think Littleton struck a gaping chord -- both on the gun issue and on the culture of violence -- and that you and the First Lady are about as well positioned to reach out to both worlds, guns and Hollywood, as anyone could be, not to take them on, but to invite them to join in addressing the issues, saving lives ..

It filled me with all kinds of ideas. of you doing a radio address for the NRA members on Saturday, and let the rest of us listen to how you talk to them, appeal to their kids, and wives, and husbands, of you and Hillary doing a White House talk to the nation, reaching out to gun owners and Hollywood, going beyond the usual politics to save lives; of you in a black church (you sounded almost religious yesterday, and those are the children who are disproportionately dying) . .

Anyway, I just wanted to tell you how wonderful you were, and how blown away I was, once again, watching you. We're excited to be coming back Monday to the State Dinner, the Vice President and I are friends again (boy, are they beating up on him), and I really look forward to seeing you

Sincerely,


Susan Estrich

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Speech ?
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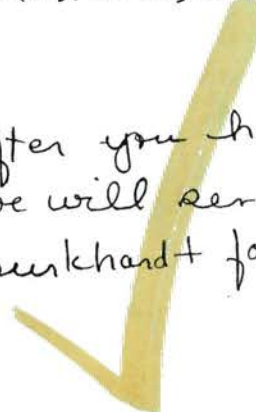
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Podesta



Not a
bad idea

5-3-99

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



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OF SOUTHERN
CALIFORNIA

F A X C O V E R

Date • 4-28-99

Number of pages including cover sheet • 2

To • President Bill Clinton
Attn: Betty Curry

From • Susan Estrich

Phone •

Fax • (202) 456-1210

CC •

Phone • (213) 740-7528

Fax •

R E M A R K S

☐ Urgent

☐ For your review

☐ Reply ASAP

☐ Please comment

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If GOP Can't Block Wage Hike, Tax Breaks May Sweeten It

Business Aid Could Ease Payroll Pain

By JULIET EILPERIN
Washington Post Staff Writer

Resigned to the prospect that they lack the votes to block a minimum wage increase this year, congressional GOP leaders are preparing to load up the measure with tax breaks and other provisions that would cushion the blow for business.

The shift in the political landscape was evident last week when House Majority Leader Richard K. Armey (R-Tex.), who once vowed to fight a minimum wage increase with "every fiber" in his being, told reporters the House leadership is focused on doing "the wrong thing in the least hurtful way possible."

Some business lobbyists have already submitted a wish list of provisions to House leaders, who are working with moderate Republican Jack Quinn (N.Y.) on a measure that could boost the minimum wage from \$5.15 an hour to \$6.15 over three years. On the other side of Capitol Hill, Senate Majority Leader Trent Lott (R-Miss.) is exploring a "workers protection package" that would include a mix of tax credits and labor law changes that would benefit business.

Lott spokesman John Czwartacki said the top contenders include allowing restaurants to include a greater percentage of tip earnings when calculating whether their employees are meeting the minimum wage threshold, as well as reducing overtime pay requirements by allowing workers to request comp time or set more flexible schedules. The tip credit could mean millions of dollars in savings for food delivery services like Pizza Hut Inc., Dominos Pizza and



FILE PHOTO BY RAY LUSTIG—THE WASHINGTON POST

If the votes aren't there to block raising the minimum wage, House Majority Leader Richard K. Armey says that the Republican leadership is focused on doing "the wrong thing in the least hurtful way possible."

Godfather's Pizza.

Czwartacki said Lott was merely following the Boy Scout motto of "be prepared," adding, "I would be surprised if it doesn't come up this year."

Publicly, a broad coalition of businesses including retailers, restaurateurs, and eater owners are still trying to convince lawmakers that a minimum wage increase

would raise their expenses and cost jobs. But with political pressure building behind the issue, they are quietly making the case for a number of provisions they say could reduce the burden for small businesses. GOP leaders also want to head off what they consider a more onerous proposal by House Minority Whip David E. Bonior (D-Mich.) and Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-

Mass.), raising the minimum wage by a dollar over two years.

The strategy is a proven winner: when Congress raised the minimum wage from \$4.25 to \$5.15 in 1996, lawmakers included \$21 billion in tax breaks for business in the bill. A typical tactic employed by business advocates when confronted with an unstoppable legislative train, the gambit has prompted criticism from minimum wage proponents, like Economic Policy Institute economist Jared Bernstein.

"It's '96 all over again," Bernstein said. "There's no economics here, it's pure politics."

But business lobbyists say such breaks are necessary to make a raise in the minimum wage palatable. "We will never support minimum wage legislation, but we will be happy to say these are things that would help us," said Lyle Beckwith, director of government relations for the National Association of Convenience Stores. "If all those things were put on it, it would be like kissing a real, real ugly sister."

Beckwith and his colleagues in Washington's K Street crowd have a variety of suggestions for improving the bill.

The National Association of Wholesalers and Distributors, for instance, argues that salespeople who work inside should be considered exempt from overtime rules and other provisions of the Fair Labor Standards Act, just like door-to-door sellers.

Many lobbyists argue in favor of extending the Work Opportunity Tax Credit, which is set to expire in June. The provision gives employers like Taco Bell and 7-Eleven up to \$2,400 for every low-skilled worker they hire, and extending it by 18 months would cost the Treasury \$229 million.

While that measure would be a boon to fast-food outfits, table-service restaurants

want to increase the business meal tax deduction from 50 percent to 80 percent. That change, which enjoys bipartisan support in Congress and would affect eateries ranging from elegant Washington bistros to hotel and chain restaurants across the country, could cost \$3 billion.

Republicans also want to deliver broad-based tax relief, so they're also considering reducing the federal unemployment tax on employers' payrolls from .08 percent to .06 percent, which would cost \$1.5 billion annually, or phasing in more quickly plans to make health insurance costs 100 percent deductible for small business.

During a 20-minute meeting last week with officials from the National Restaurant Association, the National Association of Convenience Stores and the National Federation of Independent Business, Quinn said he assured them he could "fashion something along the lines" they did in 1996 because those concessions to business helped attract overwhelming support for the bill.

Despite the political horse trading, advocates on both sides are continuing to debate the merits of the minimum wage boost and mobilize grass-roots efforts on their behalf. The lobbying groups are mobilizing tens of thousands of members to call and write the between 30 and 40 centrist Republicans and Democrats who will deliver the deciding votes on the bill.

"We're not tied into cutting any deals yet," emphasized NFIB lobbyist Nelson Litterst. Lee Culpepper, a restaurant lobbyist who heads the Coalition for Job Opportunities, said it's premature to predict what form any minimum wage package would take.

"There's a lot of talk and very little action," Culpepper said. "Everybody says something is going to happen, but nobody knows what. Get out your tarot cards."

The National Transportation Safety Board is trying to piece together what caused Friday's deadly bus accident on Interstate 55 in northern Illinois. N-T-S-B officials are interviewing witnesses and passengers. Witnesses say bus driver Renee Rand travelled at a high rate of speed Friday when the bus veered into the median, striking an oncoming car and then flipping on its side on the interstate near Braidwood.

-0-

Fire officials in New York say there are three or four brush fires raging through the same area of the town of North Bellport. Officials also say fire crews have extinguished blazes that engulfed two homes as a result of an earlier blaze. Details remain sketchy about the blaze, however witnesses say that as fast as firefighters are working to put out the blaze, the winds are carrying sparks to dry shrubs and grass, starting new fires.

-0-

Actor Charlton Heston has called on the Clinton administration to enforce more than 2 thousand existing laws controlling the sale and ownership of firearms. Heston has also called on the administration not to impose new laws on gun owners. Heston, president of the National Rifle Association told ABC's "This Week," that current proposals to raise the legal age for handgun ownership and tighten controls on purchases "smell of tyranny."

-0-

Hustler Magazine Publisher Larry Flynt and his brother Jimmy go on trial May 10th in Cincinnati, Ohio. Both men face trial on obscenity charges 22 years since their first trial. The Flynts are accused of selling obscene videotapes and operating an illegal enterprise. the Hustler Store in downtown Cincinnati. If convicted, the Flynt Brothers each face more than 20 years in prison.

-0-

A hospital in Atlanta, Georgia has released country music singer Johnny Paycheck. Paycheck has returned to his home in Tennessee. Paycheck's manager Marty Martel, says the singer is anxious to start work on his new recording project. Paycheck first went into the hospitalized almost six months ago, after suffering a serious respiratory ailment. He spent much of the time in intensive care.

-0-

By Andrew Stewart (UPI).

-0-

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Podesta

GOP Offers a Social Security Plan Worse Than Clinton's

By DANIEL J. MITCHELL

Although it would create private retirement accounts, the Social Security plan recently unveiled by Ways and Means Chairman Bill Archer (R., Tex.) and Rep. Clay Shaw (R., Fla.) is far worse than anything that President Clinton has proposed. It represents a huge increase in government spending, and it imposes a staggering 100% tax rate on the money in the accounts. Worst of all, it makes it more difficult to implement real reform. This politically misguided exercise detracts attention from serious changes that would boost retirement income by allowing workers to shift payroll taxes into private accounts.

The Archer-Shaw plan is flawed because the sponsors decided to fix the wrong problem. They did not set out to address the fact that workers are getting scandalously low rates of return from Social Security. They did not set out to address the fact that payroll tax rates are at record levels. They did not set out to address the fact that Social Security depresses national savings. Instead, they had one goal: reduce Social Security's giant deficit, regardless of how much new spending would be required and how much tax rates would have to be increased.

The legislation does establish personal retirement accounts, but only in a nominal sense. Workers would not be allowed to shift their payroll taxes to the accounts. Instead, the federal government would make the deposits. The sponsors refer to the new spending as a "refundable tax credit," but the plan more accurately could be described as income redistribution. Income tax revenues—60% of which are paid by the top 10% of wage earners—would be redistributed on a proportional basis, with the government sending every account a check equal to 2% of the taxpayer's wages, up to a maximum of about \$1,500.

Writing checks that go into savings accounts for taxpayers may appear to be a relatively benign form of federal spending. Yet the legislation gets worse. Once a taxpayer reaches retirement age, the government imposes a 100% tax rate on the funds. The government then takes that money from the taxpayer and uses it to pay



Bill Archer

Social Security benefits to him.

In other words, the legislation makes all of us pay twice. We pay, and under Archer-Shaw plan will continue to pay, a 12.4% payroll tax to Social Security. But now the government will take a big chunk of our income taxes, redistribute those funds to savings accounts for the overall population, and then use the interest and principal from these accounts to fund our Social Security benefits.

Stripped of rhetoric, the Archer-Shaw borrows the worst features of the Clinton plan and then adds some warts for good measure. The president proposed to add more IOUs to the Social Security Trust Fund. Republicans correctly noted that this was really a backdoor effort to finance part of Social Security with income tax revenue. Yet that is exactly what happens with Archer-Shaw. The only difference is that Archer-Shaw channels the money through private accounts and then confiscates it to pay benefits.

Likewise, the GOP noted that the president's USA accounts were a form of new spending that redistributed income and did nothing to reform Social Security. Once again, the same holds true for the Archer-Shaw plan. In fact, the Clinton plan is better since it at least requires in-

dividuals to put up some of their own money to get a check from the government. The biggest difference of all, though, is that taxpayers get to keep the money under the Clinton plan. Reps. Archer and Shaw would confiscate the money to bail out Social Security. About the only way of keeping the money in your account is to die before reaching retirement age.

Supporters of the Archer-Shaw plan argue that it is not necessarily true that the government will confiscate 100% of a worker's account. If a worker accumulates an account sufficiently large that it can provide an annuity bigger than his promised Social Security benefit, then he can keep the difference. There are two problems with this. First, even though Social Security provides a very poor return on the taxes workers pay into the system, it still will be difficult for the 2% placed in private accounts to exceed the more than 10% that goes into the retirement portion of Social Security. Indeed, a 21-year-old worker would need a real return of more than 10.7% on equity investments in order to come out ahead. Using the 5.3% rate-of-return assumption in the Archer-Shaw bill, the number of workers with excess funds will be zero.

Republicans in Congress understandably are frustrated that the president refuses to put forth a serious Social Security reform plan. This is not an argument, however, for supporting a bad plan. Rather than do the wrong thing for the sake of doing something, it is better to do nothing and hope that real reform can be achieved in the future.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MONDAY, MAY 3, 1999

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New NATO Official Faces Battles After Kosovo

Italian Admiral Must Calm Tension

By STEPHEN J. GLAIN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BRUSSELS—Until recently, few officials in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization had heard of Guido Venturoni, an Italian admiral who is about to assume the helm of the alliance's influential military committee.

But the 65-year-old admiral, who is nicknamed "Yamamoto," after Japan's legendary imperial navy chief, is about to be thrust into the spotlight as an important political appointee in a highly political, military bureaucracy. Even after NATO settles its war with Serbia over that country's invasion of Kosovo, Adm. Venturoni could find himself in the middle of another fight convulsing the alliance itself.

"Once this is over, the real work begins," says Hungary's ambassador to NATO, Andras Simonyi. "Very little is known about Adm. Venturoni, but I'm sure he's up to the task, otherwise he wouldn't have been appointed."

Adm. Venturoni later this week will fill the seat held by German Gen. Klaus Naumann, who has waged a largely rear-guard action to retool NATO from a defensive alliance into a flexible force better suited to dealing with regional crises like the one in Kosovo. The 19-member NATO has failed to redefine itself since the collapse of the Soviet Union seven years ago, and the consequence of that failure are apparent: NATO, despite pledges that it would mod-

ernize and integrate its member's armed forces, has proved itself unable to mount its attack on Yugoslavia without a disproportionate contribution from the U.S. and Britain. From the cruise missiles pounding targets in Yugoslavia, to the command-and-control systems guiding them, to the



Guido Venturoni

communications networks that monitor and transmit the results, the air campaign has been a distinctly Anglo-U.S. production. That has led to tension in NATO between U.S. and British officials on one side, who complain they are bearing the burden of the Kosovo raids, and other European

members, who warn that London and Washington will use the crisis to force-feed them Anglo-U.S. defense products.

The 60-year-old Gen. Naumann spent much of his term trying to head off such tensions. In an attempt to reduce NATO's dependency on Washington, he crusaded against the yawning technology gap between the U.S., which spends \$36 billion a year on military research and development, and NATO's European members, which spend \$11 billion. He encouraged the Europeans to enhance NATO's capabilities by purchasing badly needed weapons and defense systems from the market—even if it meant buying them from the U.S.—rather than developing them on their own. "In these enduring days of scarce resources, there is no other way which we

can secure these essential means in an acceptable time," he told the European Institute in a speech last month.

The immobility of NATO members has been a headache for defense planners for years. When Turkey requested Patriot missiles to defend it against possible attack from Baghdad during the Gulf War, the Dutch volunteered to help but had to lease transport aircraft from Russia to make delivery. Even now, only the U.S. among NATO members can transport out-sized cargo by air.

Despite Gen. Naumann's efforts, defense spending among NATO members remains proportionately below U.S. spending levels. In part, that's because so much of Europe's financial resources have been drained away by the demands of economic union. But NATO officials also blame lethargy and self-interest.

The Italian delegation at NATO would not make Adm. Venturoni available for an interview, saying it would be inappropriate for him to comment on NATO policy before he formally takes the position. Gen. Naumann was too busy preparing his departure for an interview, according to his office.

Adm. Venturoni is the first representative from a southern European country to be appointed chairman of the military committee. He was certified as a carrier pilot after graduating from U.S. Navy flight-training school in 1959, and has an impressive record of service in NATO and multilateral campaigns. He commanded the Italian fleet during the Gulf War and participated in relief operations in Africa and Albania. Until his appointment as chairman of the military committee, he was Italy's chief of defense general staff.

*Savely
can we do anything
about this? RR*

KLA finances fight with heroin sales

Terror group is linked to crime network

By Jerry Seper
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

The Kosovo Liberation Army, which the Clinton administration has embraced and some members of Congress want to arm as part of the NATO bombing campaign, is a terrorist organization that has financed much of its war effort with profits from the sale of heroin.

Recently obtained intelligence documents show that drug agents in five countries, including the United States, believe the KLA has aligned itself with an extensive organized crime network centered in Albania that smuggles heroin and some cocaine to buyers throughout Western Europe and, to a lesser extent, the United States.

The documents tie members of the Albanian Mafia to a drug smuggling cartel based in Kosovo's provincial capital, Pristina. The cartel is manned by ethnic Albanians who are members of the Kosovo National Front, whose armed wing is the KLA. The documents show it is one of the most powerful heroin smuggling organizations in the world, with much of its profits being diverted to the KLA to buy weapons.

The clandestine movement of drugs over a collection of land and sea routes from Turkey through Bulgaria, Greece and Yugoslavia to Western Europe and elsewhere is so frequent and massive that intelligence officials have dubbed the circuit the "Balkan Route."

Mr. Clinton has committed air power and is considering the use of ground troops to support the Kosovo rebels against Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic. Last week, Sen. Mitch McConnell, Kentucky Republican, and Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman, Connecticut Democrat, called on the United States to arm the KLA so ethnic Albanians in Kosovo could defend themselves against the Serbs.

Mr. McConnell and Mr. Lieberman introduced a bill that would provide \$25 million to equip 10,000 men or 10 battalions with small arms and anti-tank weapons for up to 18 months.

In 1998, the U.S. State Department listed the KLA — formally known as the Ushtria Clirimtare e Kosoves, or UCK — as an international terrorist organization, saying it had bankrolled its operations with proceeds from the international heroin trade and from loans from known terrorists like Osama bin Laden.

"They were terrorists in 1998 and now, because of politics, they're freedom fighters," said one top drug official who asked not to be identified.

The U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration, in a recent report, said the heroin is smuggled along the Balkan Route in cars, trucks and boats initially to Austria, Germany and Italy, where it is routed to eager buyers in France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Spain, Switzerland and Great Britain. Some of the white powder, the DEA report said, finds its way to the United States.

The DEA report, prepared for the National Narcotics Intelligence Consumer's Committee (NNICC), said a majority of the heroin seized in Europe is transported over the Balkan Route. It said drug smuggling organizations composed of Kosovo's ethnic Albanians were considered "second only to Turkish gangs as the pre-dominant heroin smugglers along the Balkan Route." The NNICC is a coalition of federal agencies involved in the war on drugs.

"Kosovo traffickers were noted for their use of violence and for their involvement in international weapons trafficking," the DEA report said.

A separate DEA document, written last month by U.S. drug agents in Austria, said that while the war in the former Yugoslavia had reduced the drug flow to Western Europe along the Balkan Route, new land routes have opened across Romania, Hungary and the Czech Republic. The report said, however, the diversion appeared to be only temporary.

The DEA estimated that between four and six metric tons of heroin leaves each month from Turkey bound for Western Europe, the bulk of it traveling over the Balkan Route.

A second high-ranking U.S. drug official, who also requested anonymity, said government and police corruption in Kosovo, along with widespread poverty throughout the region, had contributed to an increase in heroin trafficking by the KLA and other ethnic Albanians. The official said drug smuggling is "out of control" and little is being done by neighboring states to get a handle on it.

"This is the definition of the wild, wild West," said the official. "The bombing has slowed it down, but has not brought it to a halt. And, eventually, it will pick up where it left off."

The heroin trade along the Balkan Route has been of concern to several countries:

- The Greek representative of Interpol reported in 1998 that Kosovo's ethnic Albanians were "the primary sources of supply for cocaine and heroin in that country."

- Intelligence officials in France

said in a recent report the KLA was among several organizations in southern Europe that had built a vast drug-smuggling network. France's Geopolitical Observatory of Drugs said in the report that the KLA was a key player in the rapidly expanding drugs-for-arms business and helped transport \$2 billion worth of drugs annually into Western Europe.

- German drug agents have estimated that \$1.5 billion in drug profits is laundered annually by Kosovo smugglers, through as many as 200 private banks or currency-exchange offices. They noted in a recent report that ethnic Albanians had established one of the most prominent drug smuggling organizations in Europe.

- Jane's Intelligence Review estimated in March that drug sales could have netted the KLA profits in the "high tens of millions of dollars." The highly regarded British-based journal noted at the time that the KLA had rearmed itself for a spring offensive with the aid of drug money, along with donations from Albanians in Western Europe and the United States.

Several leading intelligence officials said the KLA has, in part, financed its purchase of AK-47s, semiautomatic rifles, shotguns, handguns, grenade launchers, ammunition, artillery shells, explosives, detonators and anti-personnel mines through drug profits — cash laundered through banks in Italy, Germany and Switzerland. They also said KLA rebels have paid for weapons using the heroin itself as currency.

The profits, according to the officials, also have been used to purchase anti-aircraft and anti-armor rockets, along with electronic surveillance equipment.

*copied
Bergen
Podesta*

Chinese Official Offers to Resign In Sign of Anger on WTO Reform

By IAN JOHNSON
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

BEIJING—One of China's most powerful ministers has submitted his resignation, government and business officials said, in a sign of domestic opposition to the bold economic reforms the country has offered the U.S. in its bid to join the World Trade Organization.

Wu Jichuan, the 61-year-old head of the Ministry of Information Industries, offered to resign last month at a meeting of China's cabinet called to discuss reforms that Premier Zhu Rongji proposed during his recent trip to Washington. On the trip, Mr. Zhu promised to open China's telecommunications industry to foreign companies as part of deal designed to allow China into the WTO, the international body that sets global trading rules.

"He was really angry that Zhu made those concessions to the Americans without consulting him," said the head of a department in Mr. Wu's ministry. "So he submitted his resignation and asked to be moved to a provincial posting at the earliest possible time."

Mr. Zhu may be unwilling to accept the resignation because Mr. Wu is widely admired as one of China's most efficient ministers. During his six years at the top of China's telecom industry, he has expanded China's phone system faster than foreign experts predicted possible—adding as many as 15 million phone lines a year and building an impressive mobile-phone net-

work. Even if Mr. Wu's resignation is accepted, he isn't expected to leave his post for several more months.

Regardless of Mr. Wu's fate, his offer has become the talk of Beijing's bureaucratic circles, symbolizing the misgivings many senior officials have about Mr. Zhu's proposed concessions. Besides offering foreigners what in some cases could amount to a controlling interest in Chinese telecom companies, Mr. Zhu has also offered foreign bankers and insurers wide access to China—a move that many bureaucrats here fear could undermine China's already shaky financial system.

Further galling many officials was that the concessions were not enough to win U.S. support, with a last-minute deal collapsing during talks in Washington. Talks have continued since then, and negotiators say an agreement could be reached this month.

Although China has steadily reformed its economy during the past 20 years, it has done so gradually, leaving large segments of the economy only partly reformed and uncompetitive. Mr. Wu is one of many Chinese bureaucrats who believe they must guide and protect these so-called core industries—telecommunications, mining, steel and autos—from what they view as excessive competition, especially when foreign companies are involved.

Doubts about the merits of changing this cautious approach have caused China's censors to bar its media from discussing most details of the proposed WTO deal.

Ecuador Reaches Preliminary Accord On Lending Package of \$900 Million

By MICHAEL M. PHILLIPS
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Cash-strapped Ecuador secured preliminary agreement on a \$900 million international-loan package to help it escape a severe economic and financial crisis.

The deal, reached Friday, will include \$500 million from the World Bank, Inter-American Development Bank and Andean Development Corp. to help the government restructure or close troubled banks. The International Monetary Fund agreed to provide its own large 18-month loan, likely to be \$400 million. In addition, the development banks plan to disburse \$500 million this year for projects in Ecuador, bringing the total flow of aid to \$1.4 billion.

The heads of the IMF, IDB and World Bank joined Finance Minister Ana Lucia Armijos in a display of support obviously intended to calm financial markets and generate political support for reform in Ecuador. "We applaud and admire the government's efforts," IMF Managing Director Michel Camdessus said.

The small oil-producing country has been hit by a combination of low oil prices,

international and domestic financial turmoil, and political stalemate. President Jamil Mahuad's austerity campaign has generated intense opposition from the legislature and upheaval in the streets.

A key to winning IMF support was the fact the government convinced lawmakers last month to adopt tax increases and spending cuts expected to slash the budget deficit this year to about 4% of gross domestic product from about 8%. In addition, international auditors will begin work today to assess which of the country's 36 banks should be restructured or closed, a process likely to cost billions of dollars.

Stanley Fischer, the IMF's No. 2 official, is traveling to Quito next week to discuss the need for reforms, and the IMF expects to formalize an agreement by the end of the month. With IMF board's approval expected in June, Ecuador will be able to meet July 5 with the Paris Club of creditor governments to seek restructuring of about \$800 million in debt.

Finance Minister Armijos described Friday's announcement as a "show of the international community's immense support for Ecuador's progress."

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Clinton takes heat on spying by China

Reaction derided as slow and inept

By Joyce Howard Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

A1

Senate Democrats and Republicans agreed yesterday that the Clinton administration's slow response to reports of Chinese espionage left the country open to penetration of computer systems at nuclear weapons labs.

"This has been the most serious case of espionage in U.S. history. And what bothers me is that the espionage was successful and ... the administration was so inept in stopping it," said Senate Majority Whip Don Nickles, Oklahoma Republican.

"If these allegations are proven, then heads ought to roll. This is inexcusable," said Sen. Christopher J. Dodd, Connecticut Democrat.

The senators made their comments on NBC's "Meet the Press" in response to questions about a front-page article in yesterday's New York Times, which told of a secret report prepared by counterintelligence experts throughout the federal government. The 25-page report describes China as an "acute intelligence threat" to the government's nuclear weapons labs.

"It conducts 'a full court press' consisting of massive numbers of collectors of all kinds, in the United States, in China and elsewhere abroad," the classified report says.

The report, which gave specific examples of how China had penetrated computers at the weapons labs, was distributed in November to senior administration officials, including Energy Secretary Bill Richardson, Defense Secretary William S. Cohen, Attorney General Janet Reno and National Security Adviser Samuel R. Berger, the newspaper said.

The document tells how the Energy Department, which has authority over U.S. nuclear research labs, recorded 324 attacks on its unclassified computer systems from outside the United States between October 1997 and June 1998. Security breaches at the labs also involved other countries, such as Russia and India.

In some cases, outsiders gained "complete access and total control to create, view, modify or execute any and all information stored on the system," the report states.

However, government investigators waited until March to search the computer of Wen Lo Lee, a Taiwan-born scientist at the Los Alamos National Laboratories

in New Mexico. Mr. Lee, who was suspected of passing nuclear secrets to China, had been under investigation for three years.

In February, Mr. Lee tried to erase evidence that he had wrongfully transferred more than 1,000 files containing nuclear secrets, the New York Times was told.

And the Department of Energy waited until April to shut down its classified computer systems as part of an overhaul to tighten security over their data, the newspaper said.

Sen. Richard C. Shelby, Alabama Republican and chairman of the Select Committee on Intelligence, said damage from China's spying has been "a lot worse than people ever imagined."

"I think there will be more revelations that come out week after week," he said yesterday on "Fox News Sunday." "I'm afraid they've got a lot more [of U.S. nuclear technology] than we ever dreamed they would have," said Mr. Shelby, who did not rule out the possibility they may "have it all."

Sen. Orrin G. Hatch, Utah Republican, who's also on the intelligence committee and who appeared on Fox, said:

"We've compromised some of our most important top secret in-

formation. ... It's very apparent we haven't taken counterintelligence measures or matters very seriously in this administration. This has gone on now for a long time through a series of administrations, but never has it been as bad as in the last two or three or four years."

Some government officials and officials at the Los Alamos laboratory said last week that Mr. Lee compromised every weapon in the U.S. arsenal. He was removed from his job earlier this year but has not been charged with any crime so far.

Asked about that yesterday, Mr. Shelby said he believes charges will be brought against the suspect. But he doesn't know when that will occur.

But he did not have anything favorable to say about the government's investigation of Mr. Lee.

"It looks to me like this is a botched investigation by the FBI, and there seems to be some culpability in the Justice Department," said Mr. Shelby.

Asked whether he believes the administration's delayed response to warnings of Chinese spying might have been related to contributions the Chinese made to President Clinton's 1996 re-election

campaign, Mr. Shelby said, "It makes us wonder. I hope not. I hope and pray there was never a connection between the two."

But he noted that a request made to the office of Deputy Attorney General Eric Holder for a warrant to monitor the computer and phones of Mr. Lee was denied.

"It was turned down during the historical context of all the investigation by Congress of the fund raising at the White House," Mr. Shelby said on Fox.

Mr. Holder, who appeared on ABC's "This Week," denied any responsibility. "Our office did not refuse ... our office is generally not in the loop. The office that handles those things did turn it down. A request was made of the Deputy Attorney General's Office in an informal way, from what I understand, to one of the lawyers in my office. It's not even clear that I was the deputy attorney general at that time. We're in the process of trying to re-create all that happened there," he said.

"The determination that was made by the people who are professionals in this regard was that there was not probable cause at that point to proceed in the way in which the FBI wanted to," Mr. Holder said.

*Copied
Podesta
Berger*

The Washington Times

MONDAY, MAY 3, 1999

Arkansas Game & Fish Commission

2 Natural Resources Drive Little Rock, Arkansas 72205

Kirk Dupps
Chairman
Eureka Springs

W. R. "Witt" Stephens, Jr.
Vice Chairman
Little Rock

Bill Bridgforth
Pine Bluff

Marion McCollum
Stuttgart



Steve N. Wilson
Director

April 30, 1999

Phil

Jim Hinkle

Mountain View
99 MAY 3 PM 12:24

Dr. Lester Sitzes
Hope

Forrest Wood
Filipin

Professor Dwight Talburt
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville

99 MAY 3 PM 12:23

family note

The Honorable Bill Clinton
President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave.
Washington, DC 20500-2000

Dear Mr. President:

Commission Chairman Kirk Dupps is in his last year of service to our Commission. As you well remember, he was your last appointment to our Commission.

Kirk's seven years have spanned a period of excitement and change for the Commission and the people of Arkansas. Kirk has been a leader from the start. You can be proud of his tenure. He was instrumental in our effort to pass the conservation sales tax in 1996 after a 14-year effort. He is now overseeing the wise expenditure of the new funds.

His final meeting will be on June 25 in Eureka Springs. I realize it would probably be impossible for you to attend but wanted you to know of this event. A letter from you thanking him for his service would be most appreciated.

Cordially,

Steve

Steve N. Wilson
Director

5-3-99

Send to Burkhard

Yes ☒

No ☐



KIRK DUPPS

New G&FC Member To Seek 'Balance'

By Carol Griffie
Special to Arkansas Wildlife Federation

Gov. Bill Clinton and Lt. Gov. Jim Guy Tucker, both Democrats, put politics aside in July and appointed Kirk Dupps of Bentonville to the Third Congressional District seat on the Game and Fish Commission.

He succeeds Perry Mikles of Booneville whose seven-year term expired.

Dupps, 43, is a Republican. Or as he put it, he is a "very, very anti-tax" Republican.

Tucker was impressed with Dupps' work with Ducks Unlimited, telling a reporter that Benton County residents lead all others in Arkansas in contributing to the organization that helps preserve and restore waterfowl habitat in the United States and Canada. Dupps also is a member of Trout Unlimited.

Dupps is president of The Phillips Company, a Wal-Mart subsidiary that operates a chain of grocery stores, including Food 4 Less. This means he is busy, travels heavily, and keeps in touch via mobile phones.

In addition to being active in several Northwest Arkansas business organizations, Dupps is chairman of the annual Phillips Pro-Celebrity Charity Classic, a major golf, tennis, and fishing event that raises funds for medical facilities, including Arkansas Children's Hospital.

He recently became a member of the Game and Fish Commission Foundation, a non-profit entity that raises private funds for the state agency. Dupps said he would resign from the Foundation as a result

of his appointment to the commission.

A recent interview via a mobile phone with Dupps revealed he is aware of some fundamental issues facing the G&FC.

Hunter Access To Property Is a Concern

Dupps averred he is not an expert and views his role as a commissioner as that of a "trustee" in which he seeks a balance between what professional wildlife biologists recommend and what the "average man wants."

While it may be true that some biologists approach their areas of expertise with scientific "tunnel vision," Dupps said it is equally true that

(See DUPPS, Page 4)

Dupps Joins G&FC

(Continued from Page 1)

"the public doesn't care about the technical end" of resource matters. Therefore, the commission's main role "must be to really, really achieve a balance," he said.

Dupps owns a 1,500-acre tract along the White River just below Beaver Dam in Northwest Arkansas. He does some game management, he said, but the land is mostly wild and untouched.

Although he's a landowner, Dupps said the issue that concerns him most is the one of diminishing access for sportsmen.

"So much of our property is being 'privatized' by industry and individuals. This is concentrating people on less and less land, and this puts a strain on the resources and makes it dangerous for people," he said.

For example, he supports a bill in the U.S. Senate (shepherded by Democrat Dale Bumpers) that would allow the Potlatch Corp. to exchange about 41,000 acres of wetlands in eastern Arkansas for some 18,800 acres of woodlands held by the federal government in Idaho.

The Arkansas lands then would be placed under federal protection, and Bumpers has said that hunters' access rights to the property will be protect-

ed. Potlatch could harvest the Idaho lands. The company has limited rights to harvest the Arkansas wetlands but has not.

The Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee approved the swap in early August.

Dupps said this kind of exchange means more land will be open for hunting, fishing and game management.

When some of Arkansas' major timber companies began leasing big chunks of their land to hunting clubs in the mid-1980s, the G&FC leased 300,000 acres from the same firms and from others in South Arkansas in an effort to keep hunting accessible. But the agency has never been able to sell enough permits for hunting on those lands to make the program self-sustaining. This raises the question of whether access is a critical issue.

"I don't have all the answers," Dupps said, going on to say that he doesn't know why the leased-land program is foundering. He noted, however, that available lands must not be too remote from urban areas.

Leasing or purchasing land for public access requires money. Dupps was reminded, and the G&FC is financially strapped.

"We need some significant additional funding," the "very, very, anti-tax Republican"

responded, going on to say that he would support a constitutional amendment to raise the state sales tax with the revenues earmarked for the G&FC and conceivably for another natural resource agency, perhaps state parks.

Would Back Sales Tax For G&FC

Leaders of a legislative committee created by law in 1991 to study the long-range funding needs of the G&FC say it is reaching a consensus that hunting and fishing licenses cannot be increased enough to provide the support the agency needs. Therefore, a constitutional amendment for a fractional sales tax is the only way to obtain enough revenue.

The committee probably will recommend to the 1993 legislature convening in January that one of the three constitutional amendments it can place on the November 1994 general election ballot be one for a fractional G&FC sales tax. The amendment would broaden Amendment 35 and not replace it, thereby keeping the agency constitutionally independent, the lawmakers said.

This idea began to gel as

early as last fall when Attorney General Winston Bryant reiterated that Amendment 35 restricts the G&FC to operating on revenues received from licenses, permits, fines for violating regulations and matching federal monies. G&FC cannot receive general revenues, Bryant wrote, and he doubled the illegality of earmarking even the revenues from a once-proposed state excise tax on hunting and fishing licenses to the agency.

True to his business background, Dupps said the G&FC should prepare a 20-year "pro forma" that spells out what the agency must do and what it would "love to do" if it had the money during that period.

The amount of the sales tax request — 1/8th or 1/10th of 1 percent — should be dictated by the "pro forma," Dupps said, though he suspects the money needed probably would fall somewhere between "must do" and "love to do."

State finance officials have estimated that 1/10th of 1 percent would yield about \$21 million annually and 1/8th of 1 percent would produce about \$29 million, which is more than double the agency's current spending.

If some of the proceeds are shared with another agency, the amendment probably will have

to be for 1/8th of 1 percent, Dupps said. He added he also wants enough proposed that "we don't have to turn around and ask for more in three to five years."

Learned Love Of Outdoors In Kentucky

Dupps was born in Louisville, Ky., and it is there he said he learned to love the outdoors. "I spent a lot of time in the woods and the fields with my dad," he recalled, "and I've come...to where I appreciate how fragile our God-given wildlife resources are."

He said turkey hunting is his favorite but that he also enjoys dove, duck, and deer hunting. He is handy with a bow and he fishes.

After graduating from Transylvania University in Lexington, Ky., in 1970, Dupps worked for the Kroger Co. in various management roles until he joined Phillips in 1986 as vice president for sales and marketing.

Dupps is married to the former Cynthia Bell Secaree of Shelbyville, Ky., and they have two daughters, Lindsey Holland (Holly), 19, and Kirsten Craig (Casey), 15. Dupps is a Presbyterian.

THE WHITE HOUSE
CORRESPONDENCE TRACKING WORKSHEET

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REFER QUESTIONS AND ROUTING UPDATES TO CENTRAL REFERENCE
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BARBARA LEE
9TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA



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Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
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DISTRICT DIRECTOR
ROBERTA CHEFF BROOKS
ASSISTANT DISTRICT DIRECTOR

April 16, 1999

President Clinton
The White House
c/o The Correspondence Office
102 East Wing
Attention: Eli Joseph
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President,

It is with honor and pleasure that I join in supporting Jack McCloskey for the Presidential Medal of Freedom. Mr. McCloskey's worthiness for this award is unquestionable. Mr. McCloskey served in the Navy from 1962 to 1966. In 1967 he was sent to Vietnam as a Corpsman with the Marine division. He was a decorated war veteran who devoted the later part of his life to advocating against war and for veterans rights.

Mr. McCloskey worked diligently in the anti-war movement. He was instrumental in the early 1970's movement to bring to the forefront the then unrecognized post traumatic stress disorder, alcoholism, suicide, joblessness, and other problems facing Vietnam veterans. According to Jerry Nicosia, an author writing a book on the Vietnam veteran movement, "Mr. McCloskey and a few others were responsible for forcing the medical establishment and the Veterans Administration to recognize post-traumatic stress and agentorange-caused diseases as service-related disorders." Mr. McCloskey formed Twice Born Men, a self-help program, that paved the way for larger-scale operations to form and remain viable support agencies for war veterans. Micheal Blecker, Executive Director of Swords acknowledges that "Mr. McCloskey helped get the Veterans Administration out of it's institutional walls and into the street where the problems were.... He was at the forefront of the whole idea of peer counseling, the idea of Vietnam veterans healing themselves."

President Clinton
April 16, 1999
Page 2 of 2

I would refer you to the obituary that others have sent to your office in support of Mr. Jack McCloskey. The obituary more clearly explains Mr. McCloskey's attributes that make him worthy for this award according to those who knew him best.

I strongly support the nomination of Jack McCloskey to receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Barbara Lee".

Barbara Lee
Member of Congress

BL:mds
Enclosure



Jock Gill <jgill @ penfield-gill.com>
04/28/99 09:30:46 PM

'99 APR 29 PM 1:17

Record Type: Record

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

cc:

Subject: Proposed: Trans-Polar Free Trade Zone

4-29-99

Send to Burkhardt

Yes ☒

no ☒

April 28, 1999

VIA EMAIL

Dear Mr. President,

I forward to you this very interesting paper, of which I claim no authorship, without any further comment. I hope you will find time to read it.

Best personal regards,

Jock

Submitt

C.

FOREIGN RELATIONS IN CRISIS: A STRATEGY BEYOND THE BALKANS

April 28, 1999

A. INTRODUCTION:

This paper will address a crisis in United States-Russian Federation relations. It will examine the formation and potential shape of Post-Cold War power blocs and it will provide a 21st century US Economic Strategy. A close reading of this paper through to its conclusion will also display an executable and feasible solution to the problem of Immediate Regime Succession Transition in the current Crisis Environment.

This paper will also justify the following key policy statement: No factor for 21st century US economic strategy should weigh more

heavily on our current policy considerations than the long-range stable integration of the Russian Federation into a cordial and profitable relationship with Western economic entities such as the European Union (EU), and most importantly, the North American Free Trade Association (NAFTA).

This paper will propose a Trans-Polar Free Trade Zone as the economic arm of a wider Diplomatic Initiative and Strategic Alliance that will formally terminate the Cold War. The proposed program will initiate vital trade and industrial development between the Major Strategic Powers around the World's Last Great Undeveloped Land Frontier.

This paper will topically note that Chinese Nuclear Espionage has created a threat of MIRV and Neutron Warhead Missiles targeted at the United States within 5 years. We can no more afford this additional Chinese Threat, than we can afford continually worsened relations with Russia. Improved relations with Russia are prerequisite to immediately Handling and Depotentiating (or Neutralizing) the Chinese Threat.

B. PROGRAM:

A stable Russia with a strong economy and the concomitant social stability engendered by mutually favorable trade relations with the US and EU constitutes a set of economic interdependencies and political strengths which reduce risk of a European Theater War or a Strategic Nuclear Exchange to near zero.

* Simultaneously, an economically-strong mid-Urals Russia and Siberia looking north provides a Trans-Polar Stabilizer Bloc in the Russian Far Northeast and a vital, expansive trading partner for the US West Coast, Alaska, the Canadian Northwest and Yukon.

* Trade, investment, industrial expansion, and Science & Technology expansion, not mere loan structures per se, provide an enduring basis for Russian stability, both political and economic, and Future Alliance.

* The Russians need to earn their keep on their own view, as well as ours, thus engendering the right kind of national pride, dignity and self-esteem, which will validate their status as full-fledged 21st century trade partners, and eventually, Future Alliance Partners.

C. VEHICLE:

A Trans-Polar Free-Trade Zone including the US and Canada provides access to the vast quantities of Raw Materials in Siberia. Furthermore, Joint Investment Efforts could develop these resources and feed cheap raw materials into the US and Canadian economies to sustain growth based on low raw material prices, low energy prices, and the development of critical new Arctic-specific, metallurgical, construction and energy technologies.

* Foreign exchange earnings from this Trade will allow the Russians to import consumer goods for their overall internal consumption as they develop a mutually-dependent Northeastern Infrastructure, which in turn will stabilize long-term relations.

* As the Russians build a global-quality capability in the Industrial and Higher-Tech Sectors, over time they will be able to participate in Trans-Polar Free-Trade and Global Markets with a broader mix of Primary, Secondary, and Tertiary Products.

* Such a Trade Bloc is tantamount to bringing the Russian Trade Zone into close economic contact with NAFTA.

D. ECONOMIC STRATEGIC (ECONSTRAT) EVALUATION:

1. This Arrangement confers greater prestige on Russia than its (dubious future) admission to the EU, where it would be just another Eastern European economy under (temporary) German leadership. The Greater Prestige cited counteracts Russian feelings of Lost Glory, Planned-Economy Nostalgia, Industrial Inferiority and Financial Victimization that could be sublated into an aggressively Re-Assertive military posture and Broad-Spectrum Political Hostility towards the economically and militarily dominant nations of the West. The critical political objective for all parties concerned is to prevent the extremely undesirable scenario of a ruling Brown-Red Political Reaction that globally exports its ideology and modernizes Offensive Strategic Military Systems in a context of repressed political debate. Readers of Reinhart Gehlen's "Das Dienst" ('The Service') will recollect that, in his closing and predictive chapter, Gehlen stated that the rise to power of a tough, young military technocracy would be the West's most dangerous hour in its relations with the Russians. Let us add that a Neo-Communist or Nationalist Rightwing Successorship -- or both in conjunction -- would exceed Gehlen's worst-case scenario.

2. The Arrangement would bring another 150 million relatively- and increasingly-affluent consumers into a US Free Trade Zone. This Emerging Market must not be ignored as most comparable and potentially expansive markets are already targeted by other major trading blocs, including the EU and Japan. Alternative markets present no obvious competitive advantages for US Export Industries. Access to 150 million additional consumers will significantly increase US GNP and GNP growth potential.

3. Denial of the German and Japanese industrial bases after the Second World War to the Soviet Union and China constituted the governing concept behind the Marshall Plan, NATO, SEATO, CENTO, and other regionally-led US alliances, including the great successes of NORAD and ANZUS. The Arrangement brings economic stability to Russia before a critical election produces a Brown-Red Alliance in the Duma or a Brown-Red Ascendancy in the Kremlin, and in addition, reduces the Nationalist-Communist collective influence on affairs -- whether or not an explicit United States-Russian Federation Alliance occurs. In the unfortunate event that a Nationalist-Communist Alliance does occur, or should a Brown-Red Ascendancy eventuate, the Arrangement will move those Nationalist-Communist elements towards the center and allow Yeltsin and other relatively moderate leadership groupings to Cap their Legacy or, in the alternative, to Focus their Opposition with Concrete Precedents that Good Relations with the US and the West bring Economic Prosperity and Political Advantage.

E. MILITARY STRATEGIC (MILSTRAT) EVALUATION:

1. A vital consequence of the central thrust of this paper is that US strategy needs to be updated in accordance with the current Post-Cold War Realities of hostile Chinese Military Intelligence Activities and dangerously Degenerating Relations with the Russian Federation. The 'traditional' view of China as a non-aggressive power should be counter-balanced by careful study of Yuan Dynasty Policy and the fate of the vanished races of pre-Han China (viz., LaCouperie, Langues pre-chinoises de la chine). Tibet is far less a part of China linguistically and culturally than Japan. The PLA leadership is Froude-Academy Trained, Technically-Sophisticated, and Ambitious at the

Expense of United States Interests and Security. The Peace of Europe and of the vast expanses of the Trans-Polar Regions is a direct function of Russian Federation Integration into a set of stable and long-term alliances with North America, even more importantly than with Western Europe.

2. The Arrangement holds out the prospect of Russia's own economic and political salvation, and thus provides a powerful incentive for the Russians to work constructively with the US to bring the Kosovo crisis to a swift and mutually advantageous termination by exercising their influence upon or withdrawing their support from the Serbian leadership. It may also salvage the dubious future of NATO before the alliance splits in the core major-power NATO countries along Social-Democrat and Reactive-Conservative Fault Lines. It will also help obviate peripheral difficulties with the New NATO members and such traditional rivals as Greece and Turkey. Most importantly, it provides vast potential for US economic and trade growth. Moreover, it provides Strategic Access along the vast northern frontiers of innumerable Eurasian Trouble Spots and offers Dual-Purpose Forward Bases for Trade or Intervention.

3. The Arrangement lays a potential Economic Foundation for a Northern Hemisphere Alliance -- which may ultimately become necessary to contain an increasingly powerful 21st-century China. Our China Strategy has been to befriend and partner China early so as not to fight China later. However, should Japan, Taiwan, or other key Asian Countries come under attack, China has 4 times the base population of the US and can mobilize along internal lines, which provides a highly effective Force Multiplier. The EU has no Strategic Border with

the PRC and views her containment as being a non-NATO Consideration. Should war with the PRC ensue, absent a Russian Federation Alliance, reversion to Wheeler Doctrine 2 1/2 War Footing on the assumption of a hostile Russia, China, and some combination of their allies is certainly not feasible on short notice. The United States-Russian Federation Alliance provides the only formula for the effective containment of China with Conventional Forces.

F. TRANSPORTATION CONSIDERATIONS AND STRATEGIC ADVANTAGES:

1. Transportation and Communication Infrastructures atop Russia's southern frontier with China brought up to Modern Standards provide direct overland transport of goods between the EU, Northeast Asia, and the Access Routes to a projected Trans-Polar Free-Trade Zone.

THE READER SHOULD CAREFULLY CONSULT A TRANS-POLAR PROJECTION OF THE GLOBE AND COMPARE IT WITH AN EAST-WEST MERCATOR PROJECTION IN CONSIDERING THE ADVANTAGES AND IMPLICATIONS OF THIS ECONOMIC STRATEGY. Modern Communications and Computation-

al Science augment these GEOPOLITICAL ADVANTAGES SIGNIFICANTLY.

2. Increasing economic activity in the Russian Far East would require Russia to secure, protect, and modernize transportation and communications links between her Western and Eastern Industrial Centers. It also would require a domestic Law Enforcement Program of Mafia

Crackdown and an effective Anti-Corruption and Anti-Financial Fraud Program in order to assure stability of the State and of the Ruble. If and when Russia is sufficiently stable, the Russian Federation would then be able to peg the Ruble to the US dollar. A crawling peg may be indicated. The Pre-Emptive Function here is to prevent the Ruble's being pegged to the Euro.

3. Modern Transportation and Communications Infrastructures would

allow the Sino-Russian Front to be reinforced quickly from Western Europe and the US in the event of a potential Sino-Russian, Indo-Pakistani, or other World-Peace threatening conventional or potential thermonuclear conflict on the Eurasian mainland. The three trade-linked power blocs -- United States, Western Europe, Russian Federation -- can fly the hump of the Himmalyas, the Pamirs, or the Hindu Kush, or proceed by land route with air control escort over the entire Eurasian land mass with vital North-Based links off the Continent-Sized aircraft carrier of Australia/ New Zealand, who can furthermore be brought into the economic bloc structure up through the Pacific and via the Japanese Home Islands to the Trans-Polar Free-Trade Zone.

G. POLITICAL STRATEGIC (POLSTRAT) EVALUATION:

1. The Arrangement constitutes a Foundation Agreement and obviates mutually destructive arms races and possible future conflicts with an Embittered Russia seeking to reassert its Fading World-Power Presence in an Historically Inappropriate cul-de-sac and in a possible Global Apocalypse Mode.
2. The Arrangement Initiative caps the Cost of Secretary of State Albright's and her supporters' Kosovo Adventure by bringing it to a swift, and under the circumstances, fortuitous Multi-Nation Protectorate conclusion. This is as good a time as any for starting to work with and trust the Russians on the strategic scale. Russian participation in this context also provides near unanimity in the UN Security Council. Chinese dissent in that body will come at an unacceptable cost elsewhere. Furthermore, it lends the respectability and legal aegis of Security Council Resolutions to a situation in the Balkans, or other extremely dangerous Future Trouble Spots which might yet

re-

quire the most extreme and severe measures.

3. The Arrangement can create new wealth to finance Russian Recon-

struction rather than diverting random resources from existing IMF and

Other Accounts which may have a destabilizing and counter-productive

effect on the Russian Body Politic irrespective of the good intentions

of the United States. The underlying concept here is that emergency

financial dependence of one Great Power on another is an inherently

unstable condition and a process to be avoided.

4. The Arrangement allows a Northern Hemisphere Alliance to eco-

nomically develop and militarily mobilize a population base the size

of China's. Such a Northern Hemispheric Alliance population base

would be nearly 100 percent above the poverty level. The population

base of China is 80 percent below the poverty level, and constitutes

economic and military marginal utility. Nevertheless, 200 million

prosperous Chinese armed with ICBMs are a Non-Negligible Threat.

Furthermore, MIRV and Neutron Warhead Technology (which have been

Chinese-Accessed) could, if developed, provide China with Nuclear-

Strike Counter-Valent Equivalency. The current policy of Espionage

Condonement, Trade Diplomacy, and Acquiescence to China's Tibetan

policy is perceived by the civilized world as both cowardly and inef-

fective. It is ultimately contrary to China's interests because, as the

Tibetans say, such behavior has its consequences in this world, and

perhaps, the next. It is also contrary to US strategic interests to wink

at or corroborate such behavior out of fear, or for motives of eco-

nomical gain -- and moreover, of illusory gain in the present Predatory

Trade Context.

5. Submissive Acceptance of China's military espionage thefts

of Neu-

tron Warhead and Telemetry Technologies, inter alia, is not Policy but

Folly. To Permit the Deployment of Stolen Technology and its Target-

ing on the United States is Strategic MADness. Subsidizing these ac-

tivities with a Predatory Trade Imbalance (approaching \$60 billion per

annum) in a country where domestic Science and Technology Salaries

are a fraction of their cost in the West could constitute future Strate-

gic Suicide. To further provide foreign exchange for the purchase of

dual-use Western technologies and to provide backup foreign ex-

change reserves compounds a Fundamental Policy Error to the point of

a Shift in the Balance of Power. On Sharp Analytic Reduction: The cur-

rent China Policy invites Beijing to pose a Strategic Counter-Valent

Threat to the United States Heartland and provides an Umbrella for

the Development of a Blue Water Chinese Navy and of a Strategic Air

Arm, and expands the strategic range of our concerns as Chinese

ability to project naval and air power invalidates our Pacific Theater

Calculations. Full-Scale SLBM-Capable and Cruise-Capable Long-

Range Bomber Threats complete the Worst-Case Scenario Tableau short of Military Defeat or Pyrrhic Victory.

6. The Arrangement, by resuming Moderate Joint Training in the NATO

Partnership for Peace, enables future rapid Russian Integration into a

Northern Hemispheric Alliance (including NATO, US, Canada, South

Korea, and Japan) if the Chinese Military Posture becomes Threatening

or Dangerous and if the Russians can stabilize their Internal Posture

and develop the requisite long-term political commitment and eco-

nomie discipline for such an Alliance.

7. The Arrangement entails Russian support on the UN Security Council

at least to a level of cooperation equal to that of France, and may

move the UNO closer to a position more compatible with vital
Long-Range US Strategic Interests.

8. The Soviet Union certainly did not win the Cold War, nor did they absolutely 'lose' it. Just as Japan and Germany were rebuilt and turned into stalwart economic partners and allies against the Comintern threat, so must the Russia Federation become a friend, an economic partner, and an ally against Inchoate and Emerging Threats of the 21st century.

H. HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS AND LESSONS TO BE LEARNED:

1. The crushing and humiliating debt reparations provisions, inter alia, of the Versailles Treaty after World War I are universally allowed by historians to have contributed to the background conditions that made possible the rise to power of National Socialism in Germany. The rise of Japanese Imperial Aggression during the same period was occasioned, inter alia, by power vacuum considerations in the Pacific. The Reconstruction and Reintegration of Germany and Japan into the International Community after World War II was accomplished in the shadow of an aggressive Comintern. If a truly democratic China is ever to be integrated into a productive Global Economic Order, her Atavistic Statist Tendencies must be overcome and not nurtured by the limitations of a perhaps well-meaning but ill-conceived US China Policy.

2. The Clinton Administration has singularly failed TO DATE to devise a policy to effectively Reconstruct and Reintegrate Russia, a former adversary, into a Beneficial Post-Cold War Arrangement despite the expenditure of tens of billions of dollars in Aid and Questionably Secure Loans.

3. Both Democrats and Republicans are vulnerable to the charge

that

Russia will be lost on their Watch -- which is avoidable in the light of the obvious and available Near-Precedent Reconstruction Programs for the Former Axis Powers.

4. Failure to build strong UNILATERAL ties between the Russian Federation and the United States as well as Western Europe will leave her free-floating and accessible to hostile Anti-Western Alignments, such as the Eurasian Strategy already enunciated by Primakov. However, even impracticable this scheme may appear, its potential for far-reaching destabilization is absolutely real. Worse still, it delays and obstructs initiation of the stated Arrangement.

I. CAUTIONARY TOPICS:

1. It is only a matter of time before the Europeans realize the importance of the Russian Market and move to incorporate Russia into Associated Trade Status with the EU. The EU will actively oppose and interfere with Russia's Integration into the US-Partnered Trade Bloc described above. The Acquisition of Russian Military Technology by the EU in such key industries as Aerospace could threaten US World Leadership in this decisive area of military endeavor. In conjunction with free-market military COTS, this could undermine long-term US leadership in Military Aerospace and Space-Based Communications. The latter development is disastrously inimicable to US Interests and Security. The threat to US Economic growth and Leadership could have immediate repercussions as well as Middle- and Long-Term repercussions.

2. In an attempt to place the current conflict in the Balkans in proper perspective given many of the preceding considerations, we note the following. Squandering American Moral Capital and losing

Goodwill in

a region that is not vital to US National Security, but is vital to Russian Federation views of their National Security, is a Faustian Bargain in which we indulge our sympathy for a vast human tragedy at the possible expense of long-term US Strategic Interests that are Absolutely Vital for our Long-Range Strategic Survival, and possibly, for our Mid-Range Economic Benefit.

3. Bombing of civilian non-combatants, and even military conscripts, as punishment for their leaders' excesses or policies can have serious Perceptual Repercussions among Interested Third Parties. Air Superiority alone does not win America friends and admirers around the world. Nor does it advance our long-term interests in the Balkans, if a severe backlash of World or European Public Opinion develops.

4. The motives may be worthy, but the means may damage our good name, reputation, and military honor as collateral damage mounts.

5. Given Russian Federation Cooperation, a Joint Peace-Keeping Force with NATO can impose its will on the region and could with that same Russian Federation Cooperation effect an immediate transition of the Serbian regime's leadership at exponentially reduced operational cost and effort running the full gamut of forceful measures from Moral Suasion to Leadership Removal to All-Out Invasion.

6. The ultimate structure of a modus vivendi for the Albanian population of Kosovo falls outside the scope of this paper. Whether the correct solution is an armed-force guarantee of fair treatment, partition, or removal to Albania Proper is irrelevant without Russian Federation agreement to the ultimate status of this population. This paper is primarily concerned with the question of United States-Russian Federa-

tion relations and posits that an acceptable solution can be Found or Imposed with an appropriate degree of cooperation between these Two Parties.

7. A matter of special concern is the visit and religious pronounce-ments of the Russian Patriarch Alexei. Certain aspects of his public statements lead to the possible conclusion that we could be dealing with a genuine religious groundswell for a Pan-Eastern Orthodox War of Religion with its Traditional Theological Adversary, the Latin Chris-tian West. The Patriarch's recent utterances have all but pronounced NATO Anathema for the aerial attacks on a non-combatant population of the Orthodox Faithful. Religious undercurrents run through the con-sciences of men. All men are honorable on their own view, but may, in some worldly contexts, over-estimate the purity of their motives. This is another pressing and salient reason to involve the current Rus-sian Leadership, who have ties with the Orthodox Church, in timely negotiations. After upcoming elections, fueled by anti-US and anti-NATO emotions, we may find ourselves dealing with a new leadership and a Hostile Regime with marked antipathies to the principles of all Churches and Religions.

8. The Arrangement Strategy preserves the equilibrium of US Force Deployments, prevents the need to commit additional forces from Principal European or Pacific Theaters, and does not require manpow-er resources from CONUS on a scale only available through a US

Draft. This paper assumes the absolute political undesirability of the commitment of US Conscript Forces at this juncture to a Combat-Intensive Environment.

J. COUNTER-ARGUMENTS AND THEIR REBUTTAL:

1. NATO GOES-IT-ALONE: This approach has been, to date, ineffective.

SERIOUS RISKS

- * Protracted ground war in Serbia
- * NATO political collapse
- * European War with the Russians (possibly nuclear)
- * Unconscionable financial drain on the US Treasury.
- * New Arms Race as the Russians respond to their Perceived Insecurity and Lack of International Respect & Prestige.
- * Reinforcement of Minor Power Nuclear Proliferation as nuclear weapons are perceived as the only protection against Western Coercive Diplomacy.

2. NATO BUYS-ON-THE-CHEAP: Bring the Russians into line with 'less costly' incentives. The current IMF loan programs have proven, to date, largely ineffective.

CHEAP INCENTIVES RISKS

- * Observation of the failure of loan incentive policies occurs beyond the point where alternative options can still be initiated.
- * IMF loan programs provide the Russians with inadequate incentives and inadequate resources despite their unacceptable expense to us.
- * IMF loan programs insult the Russians by undermining their status and dignity.
- * IMF loan programs produce no benefits for the US over the medium and long term and questionable benefits in the short term. If anything, they continue the transformation of Russia's image into a Third-World Gangster Haven, while the Nation remains in

fact a

World-Class Nuclear Superpower.

Broad * IMF loan programs fail to integrate the Russians into a Strategy for World Stability.

the US * IMF loan programs fail to bring cheap raw materials to economy or New Markets of relatively affluent consumers to US Business.

3. NATO-BEDS-DOWN-WITH-CHINA: Assume Russian marginalization and court Chinese Military Association. Desirable United States military associates don't steal our strategic secrets and target them on our cities and population.

CHINA ALLIANCE POLICY RISKS

* In light of the current CIA report on Chinese strategic thefts and their confirmation by the FBI this date, an advocate of this policy would be laughed out of court.

* The China Alliance Policy provides no solution to NATO's difficulty in Kosovo or elsewhere in the Balkans. In fact, China's relationship with her ally Albania has perhaps been inadequately studied both in respect to general narcotics trafficking and other banditti activities as well as the current crisis background.

* The China Alliance Policy ignores the current Russian nuclear threat and downplays the current and future Chinese nuclear threat.

* The China Alliance Policy ignores the continued theft of nuclear and other strategic secrets and the ongoing attempt by the world's Major Rogue State to acquire dual-use Western technology.

* The China Alliance Policy will contribute to further domestic political divisiveness and reduce the vital examination of the issues discussed in this paper to mere partisan acrimony.

* A detailed DIA study (Nicholas Eftimiades, Chinese Intelligence Operations, Naval Institute Press, 1994) of the activities of Chinese Military Intelligence -- quite apart from the question of Illegal Campaign Contributions -- indicates the presence of a sizable, effective, and Ongoing Espionage Effort inside the United States.

Increasing public attention will be focused on Chinese Espionage Activities, undermining both the Rationality and perceived Patriotism of those who advocate a China Alliance Policy.

K. CONCLUSION:

We are at the crossroads of Post-Cold War US Foreign Policy. Our vital military technologies have been compromised. Our relations with the world's only other current Nuclear Superpower have been damaged. We are contemplating an Autumn-Winter Mountain Warfare Campaign against a tough and entrenched enemy who will extract

heavy casualties on the ground. Victory will initiate a period of Protracted Guerrilla Warfare. RUSSIA WILL CONTINUE TO IMplode AND

BECOME INCREASINGLY HOSTILE TOWARDS THE WEST. The new boundaries of NATO and plans for yet further expansion will require major weapons systems expenditures. All of this can be avoided by Russian Federation participation in a JOINT PEACE KEEPING FORCE.

The Definitive Signals of US Seriousness to the Russians are Cabinet Changes at the Departments of State and Energy with an Explicit Shift in our Foreign Policy. It is time to play the Russia Card before a Resurgence of General European Animosity PLAYS IT FOR US AND

PLAYS IT WRONG. Consequences and outcomes of Land Warfare are Politically Uncertain even when Militarily Predictable. The Present Crisis is neither that of an Academic Exercise nor of an Humanitarian Relief Mission but is rather a choice between the paths of Hostility or

Rapprochement by the United States and the Russian Federation, the Worlds Nuclear Superpowers, which will Define the Course of the early 21st Century. The leadership of both nations should be encouraged by the recent conversations between Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin, expressed caution by the United States with respect to the issue of Russian tankers and the Serbian oil embargo, a possible willingness by the Russian Federation to make concessions, and the hopefully growing consensus of both parties towards Reason and Statesmanship. FOR THESE REASONS, WE BELIEVE THAT THIS POLICY, THE ARRANGEMENT INITIATIVE, SHOULD BE STUDIED CLOSELY AND ACTED UPON.

L. REFERENCES:

The two-part military analysis cited below is the definitive study in the Open Literature of the dynamics of the general Post-Cold War crisis in Russian Defense Thinking, based on Russian Federation Seminal Source Documents. It provides indispensable background for any planner or decision-maker concerned with the future of the Russian Defense Establishment and the Future Interactions of the United States and NATO with the Russian Federation.

[1] George Kamoff-Nicolsky, ``Russian National Security: The Official Assessment," The Defense Associations National Network's National Network News, Volume 5 (number 2), Summer 1998. (written May 21, 1998). <http://www.sfu.ca/~dann/kamoff.htm>

[2] George Kamoff-Nicolsky, ``Russian National Security: The Official Assessment, Part 2: The Impact on the Russian Military Establishment" The Defense Associations National Network's National Network News, Volume 5 (number 3), Winter 1998. (Written November 9, 1998). http://www.sfu.ca/~dann/nn5-3_7.htm

Four salient points must be emphasized in the Kamoff-Nicolsky

military analysis.

* IMF restrictions on Conventional Defense Expenditures have caused the Russians to dangerously neglect their Conventional and Moderate Response Capacities and to place nearly their Total Defense Reliance on Strategic Nuclear Weapons.

* The Military Implications of this nuclear defense posture and the heightened risk of nuclear weapons first-use should be Duly Contemplated and Gravely Deliberated in conjunction with recent Extreme Kremlin Rhetoric -- unparalleled even during the Stalin years and the height of the Vietnam and Afghanistan Wars. Yeltsin's utterances may have been a desperate man's plea and a warning that a weak administration with a Nuclear-Strategic

Weighted Defense Response was near the limits of its Control of its Deployed Regional Commands for Doctrinal as well as Political Reasons.

* The increasing bias towards an 'affordable' (sic) Praetorian Strategy for Internal Political Control without an Effective Conventional Capacity for External Regional Conflict represents an especially Dangerous Tendency to Unwarranted Escalation and Nuclear Trip-Wire Response.

* Ironically, the Russian Federation's Conventional Defense Weakness represents a Major Threat to the United States' Strategic Interests, and on the Worst Case Scenario, to the United States' Strategic Survival.

For these reasons, Rapprochement, Strategic Cooperation, Reassurances as to Mutual Strategic Security and some form of Advantageous Alliance with the Russian Federation are vital to all planning formats for United States Foreign and Military Policy in the 21st

century.

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Jock Gill
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Infrared Internet Vision

JANE C. SCHULTZ
HORSESHOE FARM
142 WILTON ROAD WEST
RIDGEFIELD, CONNECTICUT 06877

99 APR 29 PM 1:46

Dear President Clinton,

I have delayed writing to you because my heart is still on a roller coaster ride 10 days after the Pan Am 103, 10th anniversary service. In order to stand by your side, I could not allow myself as Tom's Mom, to be caught up in the emotions of the day. It was only after you and the First Lady departed that I realized I had been privy to an historical piece of the Lockerbie puzzle.

Your remarks were eloquent, concise and right on target leaving the Libyans with no mistake in understanding the position of the United States.

It was an honor to watch and listen as you offered words of support and understanding to the families. Elizabeth Friedowity's Mother sent a note saying, "She was quite taken with his response to her and has gained a great deal from the opportunity."

I was proud to be a part of the Pan Am family and hear the kind words of encouragement that so many offered. This was our

Christmas gift to you. You had to depart with a rejuvenated spirit knowing that you and Mrs. Clinton put a positive focus on a day that the families were dreading. Did you know that as your car arrived, the sun was breaking through the clouds? 270 innocents made that their gift to all of us.

It is still my great hope that you will be able to visit Lockport sometime during the next two years. The residents of this wee border town want to offer their thanks and appreciation for all that you and your administration have done to keep the focus on the last piece of the puzzle — that the truth be known and justice be served.

God Bless, I wish you all the best.

With sincerest regards,

December 31, 1998 Jane

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes ☒
No ☐

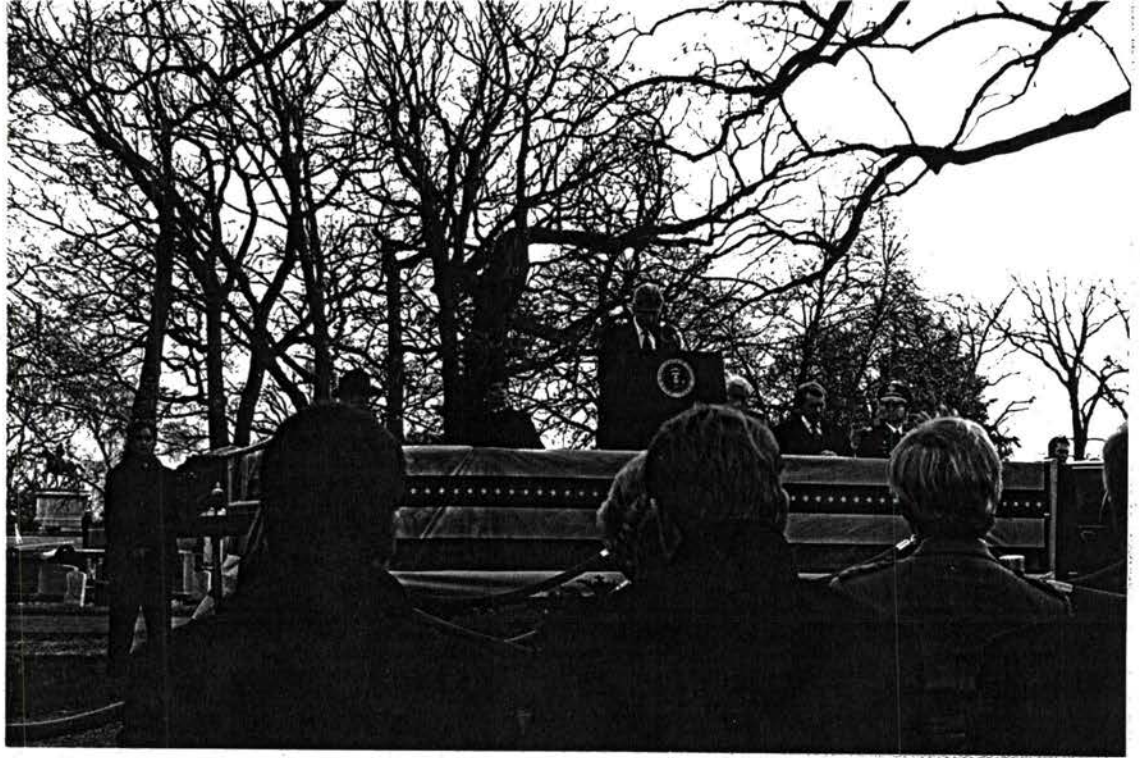
4-29-99

C



President Clinton

*Personal
By Hand*





→ Stephanie
Street

February 24, 1999

Ms. Betty Currie
Office of the President
The White House
Washington, DC 20501

'99 APR 29 AM 1:17

Dear Betty,

I am very happy to inform you that the Board of Directors of the Center for the Study of the Presidency has awarded the 1999 Distinguished Public Service Award to Treasury Secretary Robert E. Rubin. Further, Secretary Rubin has agreed to accept it in person at our Annual Awards Dinner on June 8, 1999 at the Willard Hotel.

Needless to say, we couldn't be more delighted. What a wonderful job he has done for this country, and for the world.

Secretary Rubin joins a very distinguished list of previous recipients, including Vice President Gore, Alan Greenspan, Mack McLarty, Senator Moynihan, General Shalikashvili and Colin Powell.

To make this award to Secretary Rubin a very special and memorable occasion, wouldn't it be a great tribute to his outstanding service to this country, if the President himself were able to present the award? It would be a most deserved honor for the Secretary, but it would also offer the President a unique opportunity to address an appreciative audience of more than 200 leading Presidential scholars from universities around the country.

Is this enough information for you to give us a preliminary reading of the President's interest and potential availability? Knowing how difficult it is to commit the President in advance, we had thought of perhaps making his attendance a total surprise for the Secretary - and, of course, for everyone in the audience.

As always, Betty, I look forward to hearing from you. I also look forward to an opportunity, one of these days, to show you around our new offices.

4-29-99

Warm regards,

Sincerely,

Gilbert A. Robinson
National Director

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐

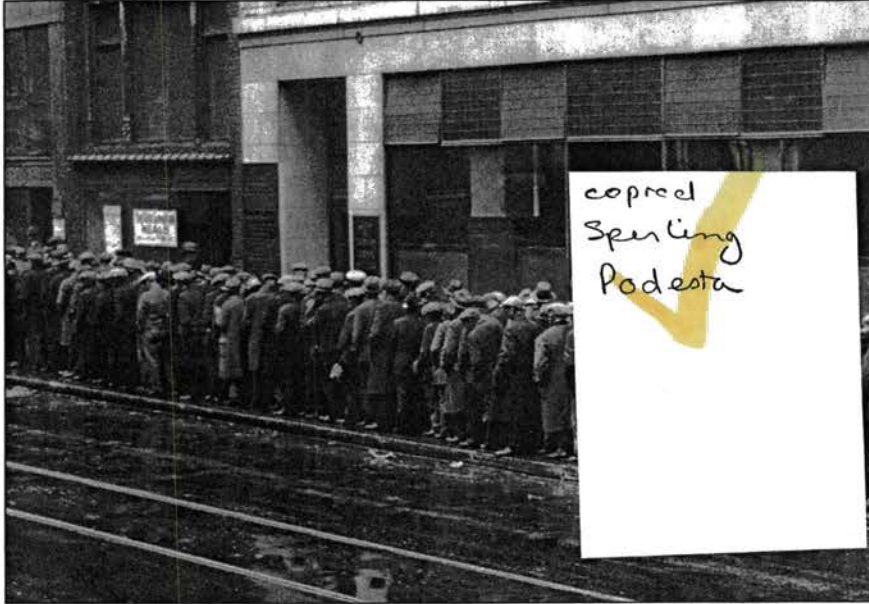
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5-3-99

THE WORLD ECONOMY

Gues?

deflation



Could it happen again?

For the past 25 years the biggest economic enemy in most countries has been inflation. Today, in most of the world, a greater danger may be deflation

MOST people take it for granted that prices will always rise, and understandably so. A 60-year-old American has seen them go up by more than 1,000% in his lifetime. Yet prolonged inflation is a recent phenomenon. Until about 60 years ago prices in general were as likely to fall as to rise. On the eve of the first world war, for example, prices in Britain, overall, were almost exactly the same as they had been at the time of the great fire of London in 1666.

Now the world may be reverting to that earlier normality. The prices of many things have fallen over the past 12 months or so. Not only computers and video players, whose prices have been declining for many years, but a wide range of goods—from cars and clothes to coffee and petrol—are, in many countries, cheaper than they were a year ago. It is conceivable that the world may be in for a new period of global deflation (meaning falling consumer prices) for the first time since the 1930s.

Talk of deflation is certainly at its high-

est level since then. The number of newspaper articles mentioning the D-word is running at more than 20 times the rate of a decade ago (see chart 1). Japan has been flirting with deflation for several years, but the complaint may be catching. Gary Shilling, an American economist, predicts in a new book*, that American consumer prices will fall by an average of 1-2% a year over the next decade. In Britain, the Centre for Economics and Business Research expects to see falling prices by 2002. Several pundits reckon that continental Europe is heading for deflation rather sooner.

Just how dangerous would that be? The answer is, it depends. In the 1930s, falling prices locked economies into a downward spiral, in which shrinking demand, deepening pessimism, financial distress and the apparent inability of governments to put things right led to economic collapse. But defla-

tion can also take a friendlier form—when it is driven by rapid growth in productivity, for instance. Look around the world, and you see both kinds of deflation at work, and in some places a mixture of the two. That makes things horribly complicated for policymakers.

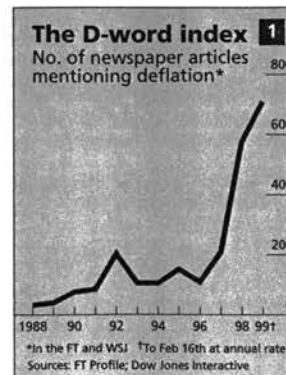
A long way down

Almost wherever you look though, you see falling prices. The cost of raw materials, for a start, is plunging. Oil prices have more than halved since the start of 1997; in the past two years, *The Economist's* index of industrial-commodity prices has fallen by 30%. In real terms commodity prices are at their lowest since this index was first published a century and a half ago.

This long decline partly reflects technological progress that has boosted crop yields and mineral-extraction rates. But the most recent collapse in prices was largely triggered by the slump in East Asia, a big importer of raw materials. Producers in Latin America, Russia and South Africa have responded to lower prices by boosting output to keep up export revenues, but this has pushed prices lower still.

Producer prices have also fallen over the past 12 months in 14 of the 15 rich industrial economies that *The Economist* monitors each week in its indicator pages. Currency devaluations in East Asia released a flood of cheap manufactured goods on to world markets—to which Brazil will now add. Thanks to enormous overinvestment, especially in Asia, the world is awash with excess capacity in computer chips, steel, cars, textiles, ships and chemicals. The car industry, for instance, is already reckoned to have at least 30% unused capacity worldwide—yet new factories in Asia are still coming on stream.

Consumer-price inflation is also dropping, perhaps to an average of only 1% in the rich economies this year—the lowest for almost half a century (see chart 2 on next page). Consumer prices have fallen over the past year in Switzerland, Sweden, China, Hong Kong and Singapore. In the year to January, China's consumer prices fell by 1.2% and producer prices by 8%. The Chinese government has responded by introducing price controls—not to hold down prices, but to keep them up. As for Japan, its measured consumer-price inflation is slightly



* "Deflation", by Gary Shilling, Lakeview Publishing Company.

positive, but this reflects a distortion caused by a jump in food prices. In underlying terms, Japanese consumer prices are falling.

Even in Brazil, once famed for hyperinflation, consumer prices (as measured by Sao Paulo's FIPE index) fell by 1.8% last year. The devaluation of the real may now push up prices; but Brazil's deflation is likely to be exported to the rest of Latin America and beyond. And in the euro area consumer prices have been falling since the summer, although they are still up by 0.8% on a year ago. French and German inflation rates are teetering on the brink of deflation, at 0.3% and 0.5% respectively.

Official consumer-price indices in any case overstate inflation rates because they fail to take full account of improvements over time in the quality of goods (today's cars or televisions have many more features than 20 years ago), and because the weights given to different goods and services tend to be out of date. The overstatement is usually reckoned to be up to one percentage point a year. So any country with measured inflation of less than 1% may, in reality, be experiencing falling prices.

However, all these numbers need to be treated with care. "Deflation", like many economic concepts, is a widely misunderstood and often misused term. Its proper definition is a persistent fall in the general price level of goods and services; it is not to be confused with a decline in prices in one economic sector, or with a fall in the inflation rate (which is known as disinflation). Thus falling commodity prices do not, of themselves, constitute deflation—they are a shift in relative prices that reduces real incomes in producing countries and boosts them in importing countries. Likewise a fall in manufacturing prices is not deflation if it is offset by rising prices for services. In America, for example, the average price of goods has fallen over the past year, but the prices of services have risen by 2.5%, to produce an overall (measured) consumer-price inflation rate of 1.6%.

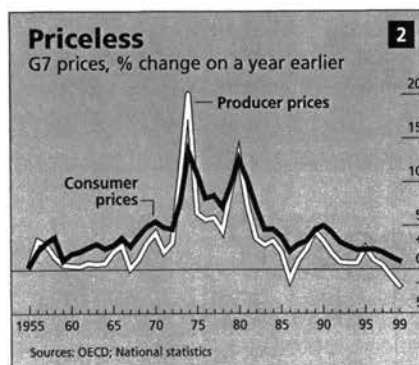
Kill or cure

Deflation is not necessarily bad. Indeed, productivity-driven deflation, in which costs and prices are pushed lower by technological advances or by deregulation, is beneficial, because lower prices lift real incomes and hence spending power. In the last 30 years of the 19th century, for example, consumer prices fell by almost half in America, as the expansion of railways and advances in industrial technology brought cheaper ways to make everything; yet annual real growth over the period averaged more than 4%.

Today, the computer and telecoms revolutions are similarly pushing down costs. By reducing barriers to entry and making price information more widely

available, the Internet is pushing down the prices of goods ranging from cars to books, and of services from insurance to air travel. The arrival of Europe's single currency will also increase price competition in the euro area. A study by ING Barings concludes that this might trim a quarter of a percentage point off the euro area's annual inflation rate over the next five years. Further downward pressure on prices in Europe and Japan has also been caused by deregulation of electricity and telephones. All these sources of deflation are good for economies, not bad.

Deflation is dangerous, on the other hand, when it reflects a sharp slump in demand, excess capacity and a shrinking money supply—as in the early 1930s. In the four years to 1933, American consumer prices fell by 25% and real GDP by 30%. Runaway deflation of this sort can be much more damaging than runaway inflation,



because it creates a vicious spiral that is hard to escape.

Thus, the expectation that prices will be lower tomorrow may encourage consumers to delay purchases, depressing demand and forcing firms to cut prices by even more. Falling prices also inflate the real burden of debt, causing bankruptcies and bank failures. That makes deflation particularly dangerous for economies that have large corporate debt—such as Japan's. Most serious of all, deflation can make monetary policy ineffective: nominal interest rates cannot be negative, so real rates can get stuck too high.

Today's deflation comes in both benign and malign guises. New technology and deregulation are pushing down prices of many goods and services around the globe, which should be good for most economies. But weak demand is also creating harmful deflationary pressures in some countries. A good way to detect this is to look at countries' "output gaps": the difference between actual output and output at full capacity.

Japan's output gap is forecast to widen to a record 7% of GDP this year. The country is on the brink of a vicious deflationary spiral, with falling prices swelling companies' real debts and keeping real interest rates high. The rest of East Asia also has huge

spare capacity. Even if growth resumes this year, Thailand's GDP is unlikely to regain its level of 1996 until 2001. If so, output will in total have fallen by almost one-third relative to productive potential (as measured by the economy's trend growth rate of 7%). Meanwhile, China has 40% excess capacity in manufacturing.

None of this excess capacity is likely to be shut down quickly, because cash-strapped firms have an incentive to keep factories running, even at a loss, to generate income. The global glut is pushing prices relentlessly lower. Deflation cannot make excess capacity disappear; it simply shifts the problem to somebody else. But in the process, global demand will contract as emerging economies are forced to raise interest rates to deter capital outflows.

The European Union has been running a modest, though persistent, output gap of around 2% of GDP for several years, but this is likely to widen in 1999 if, as widely forecast, growth falls below trend. The American economy, in contrast, is running above its productive potential. Indeed, without the recent fall in oil and commodity prices, America's inflation rate would have risen, forcing the Federal Reserve to raise interest rates. America may be enjoying some deflation of the benign variety, as a result of information technology and increased competition; but booming consumer spending and double-digit money-supply growth suggest that it will not, at least in the near future, suffer from malign deflation.

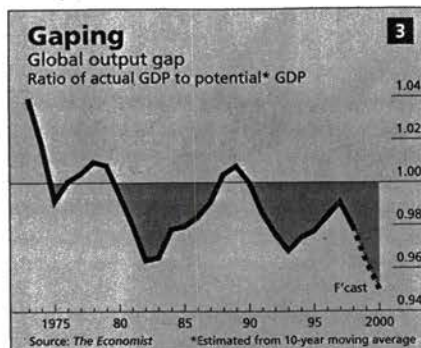
Fear of falling

Only a handful of economies are clearly experiencing true deflation. Even Japan, despite dreadful policy errors, has not experienced declines in prices as bad as those in the 1930s. America and Europe have so far benefited from cheaper import prices. Indeed, most countries are now simply enjoying price stability. This should help, not harm future growth. Yet the risk of outright deflation has clearly increased. A sharp slowdown in America or Europe could easily send overall price levels falling for the first time since the 1930s.

There are several causes for concern:

- **Global excess supply** is unprecedentedly high. **Output gaps** are tricky to measure, but *The Economist's* best guess is that the world output gap is approaching its biggest since the 1930s (see chart 3 on next page). Deflation could occur even without a contraction in global output. All that is needed is a protracted period of growth below trend, which causes the output gap to widen and hence the inflation rate to fall, until it eventually turns negative. Thus, even if Asia's growth picks up this year and next, but (as widely expected) remains below trend, the region's output gap will continue to widen.
- **Nominal GDP growth** in the G7 econo-

THE WORLD ECONOMY



mies looks set to fall this year to around 2.5%—close to its slowest rate since the second world war. (Japan's nominal GDP fell by 3.4% in the year to the third quarter of 1998). This suggests that, on a global level, policy is too tight. Ideally, in a developed economy, a central bank that has the medium-term goal of price stability should aim for nominal GDP growth of 4-5%. This allows room for long-term growth of 2-3% and inflation of 1-2%.

• A third danger is that **lower commodity prices**, while boosting real incomes in most rich economies, are hurting producers in the already troubled emerging economies. This may not be a zero-sum game. Cash-starved emerging economies are likely to cut spending faster than rich countries spend their windfall.

But the biggest risk of all is a **failure to adjust** on the part of policymakers, workers, companies and investors, all of whom are used to coping with high inflation, not deflation. In past periods of benign deflation, as in the late 19th century, everyone was used to the notion of falling prices. But today, few have had any such experience—making the risk of mistakes much greater.

For instance, in response to calls for lower interest rates, the European Central Bank (like the Bank of Japan before it) has retorted that European interest rates are already at record low levels. But real interest rates, which rise as inflation falls, are nowhere near their record lows.

Workers also need to learn the new rules of the game. If unions continue to demand big annual wage increases—Germany's IG Metall is currently seeking a pay rise of 6.5%—despite flat or falling prices, firms may have no alternative but to cut jobs. And falling goods prices could also provoke trade friction. Cheaper imports of manufactured goods from Asia, say, could trigger renewed protectionism in America and Europe, further depressing world growth.

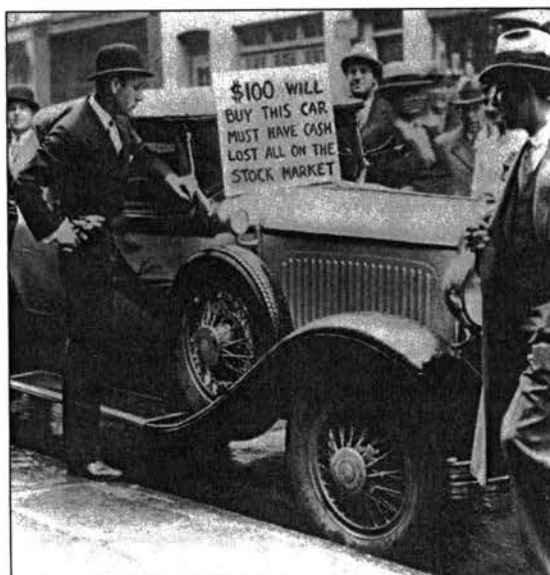
Deflation is especially painful for debtors. Not only does the real burden of debt rise, but falling property prices also reduce the value of

collateral, forcing banks to write down debts. It is worrying, therefore, argues Ian Harwood, an economist at Dresdner Kleinwort Benson, that since deflation was last experienced on a global scale, the level of private debt has risen sharply, thanks to a combination of financial deregulation with years of inflation that made borrowing attractive. Total private-sector debt is now around 130% of GDP in America and 200% in Japan, compared with less than 100% of GDP in America in 1928.

Companies too will find it hard to adjust to falling prices. Wages rarely fall, so deflation tends to squeeze profit margins. This may explain why surveys in Europe and America suggest that businessmen are so much gloomier than consumers: deflation tends to be good news for consumers, but bad news for companies. It is often easy to increase profits by raising prices in inflationary times; when there is deflation, the only way is to cut costs.

Deflation could be a particular problem for property, retailing and financial markets. Inflationary times favour property investment: inflation erodes the real value of a mortgage and delivers capital gains. In a world of falling prices, buying a house becomes less attractive than renting. Deflation also squeezes retailers' profits, because wages (a big chunk of total costs) are less flexible downwards than prices. Retailers will also see volume and profit margins squeezed as consumers delay purchases in the hope that prices will fall.

As for financial markets, consider only the alarming gap between investors' expectations of American profits, which are said to support current share prices on Wall Street, and the more likely actual path of profits as global deflationary pressures squeeze American firms. Total American profits have already fallen slightly over the past year.



Last time round

Indeed this could be the factor that finally bursts America's stockmarket bubble. And when that happens, and America's consumer-spending boom goes into reverse, the economy could quickly be dragged into recession, increasing the risk that the world as a whole might tip into a period of outright deflation or even slump.

Time to reflate

There seems little likelihood that prices will ever fall by anything like as much as in the 1930s. Prices and wages are today much stickier, especially in services (which account for a far bigger chunk of economies), and policymakers reckon, post-Keynes, that they now understand better how to use monetary and fiscal weapons to prevent deflation. Yet Japan shows that the threat of deflation is real even in a modern economy if policymakers blunder.

Inflation, as Milton Friedman once said, "is always and everywhere a monetary phenomenon". So it is with deflation. It can be prevented by appropriate policies. Overly tight monetary policies, and the straitjacket imposed by the gold standard, were largely to blame for the prolonged deflation in the 1930s.

So how to respond to today's deflationary risks? The widening output gap and sluggish nominal GDP growth are both signals that monetary policy in the G7 economies, taken as a whole, is too tight. Not in America, certainly; but both Europe and Japan are operating below normal capacity. Yet oddly, as John Makin, an economist at the American Enterprise Institute, points out, these economies have done less to ease monetary policy since the middle of last year than America, whose economy least needed a boost.

Japan's monetary conditions have, in effect, tightened as a result of higher bond yields and a stronger yen, though policymakers are trying to reverse these. In the euro area, nominal short-term interest rates have been cut, but real rates are barely any lower than they were last June, because inflation has fallen. American real interest rates, in contrast, have fallen by two-thirds of a percentage point.

The world economy is, in short, precariously balanced on the edge of a deflationary precipice. Policymakers still have ample time to use their monetary and fiscal weapons to prevent deflation. The danger for some central bankers is that, having for now seen off the threat of inflation, they rest on their laurels and fail to confront the possibility of deflation. That would be foolish indeed. For history has shown that once deflation takes hold, it can be far more damaging than inflation.

5-3-99



THOMAS R. CARPER
GOVERNOR OF DELAWARE

April 29, 1999

copied
Podesta

*Active reply
Send him a
letter as a memento
RC*

Dear Mr. President,

There are few things in the world that would cause me to miss the opportunity to be present when you signed the "Ed Flex" legislation into law. At 9:30 am this morning, the CEO of the third largest pharmaceutical company in the world, AstraZeneca, phoned me here in D.C. to invite me to join him in Delaware for a major announcement. AstraZeneca will announce its decision to relocate their North American headquarters and research facilities in Delaware. I've got to be there, and I know you understand, given how hard we've worked to bring them to Delaware.

Please know that I deeply appreciate your leadership in proposing Ed Flex expansion, in pushing for it and signing it into law. Many thanks!
Take care. See you soon, Steve. Personal regards, Joe

making its share prices look ever more overvalued. This could yet topple the stockmarket. No wonder American policymakers are urging Japan and Europe to reflate.

Most economists believe that a repeat of the 1930s is unlikely, if only because people ought to have learned from their

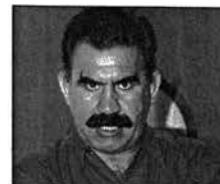
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mistakes. Yet central banks failed depression or the great inflation of the world economy may now be ing successfully scotched that inflation come to grips with the prospect of

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The tragedy of the Kurds

Scandy
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Now that it has captured its Kurdish rebel, Turkey should seize the chance for compromise, not crowing

THE Turks are cockahoop. The man who for nearly 15 years has orchestrated a bloody revolt in the country's Kurdish south-east has been snatched abroad—in Kenya—and whisked back to Turkey to face charges of fomenting murder and mayhem. To listen to Turkey's politicians and to read its press, you would think that, with Abdullah Ocalan behind bars, the civil war, which has cost more than 30,000 lives, is all but over; that the Kurds have been definitively squashed; and that successive Turkish governments' misguided policy of denying the Kurds the right to express, however peacefully, a desire for some kind of self-government has been wondrously vindicated. Not true, any of it. A lasting peace can be forged only if the Kurds, especially but not only in Turkey, are given the fair deal that has so far been denied them (see pages 50-52). In its moment of seeming triumph, the Turkish government would be wise to offer just such a deal. Then Turks and Kurds alike could look forward to a better future.

Mr Ocalan's capture certainly provides an opportunity for the reassessment on both sides that is needed before any settlement becomes imaginable. At first sight, it is true, the events of the past few days give little evidence that a spirit of reason or compromise can be applied to what is certainly a complex issue—one, indeed, that has plunged the Greek government into crisis, after allegations that some of its ministers had colluded in Mr Ocalan's entrapment. But, emotional and confusing as the kidnapping has been, it might just possibly prove to be a turning-point.

The 25m or so Kurds are perhaps the world's biggest stateless nation. They find themselves scattered across four countries—Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria—none of which is noted for polished human rights or fair treatment of minorities. The Kurds are unlikely to feel contented in any of these countries, even if their governments became models of moderation, without a generous measure of autonomy in the regions in which they predominate. That needs to be understood by those who now resist the Kurdish call for self-government. For their part, however, the Kurds need to recognise that there is no political room in the Middle East, at present or in the foreseeable future, for an independent state of Kurdistan.

For Kurdish nationalists, the Ocalan episode may have brought home that uncomfortable reality. It has shown the Kurdistan Workers' Party, better known by its Kurdish initials, PKK, how short it is of friends. Nobody, not even Greece, Turkey's eternal antagonist, wanted to give Mr Ocalan a haven. Turkey's army has been containing the Kurdish rebellion in south-eastern Turkey, where most of the country's 15m or so Kurds live. In the past year or two, the rate of killing has subsided. Emergency rule in several provinces has been lifted. In

a wider context the balance of power has shifted in Turkey's favour, too. The United States still sees Turkey as a vital ally in its campaign to strangle Saddam Hussein's Iraq. And, by cosyng up to Israel, Turkey has been able to squeeze Syria—which is partly why, last autumn, Mr Ocalan, who had long been based in Syria, was forced to seek exile elsewhere.

All this meant that, even before the snatching of their leader, Turkey's Kurds were having to rethink their aims and strategy. Some sign of that came in the more conciliatory tune that Mr Ocalan had begun to sing. It had not, however, beguiled everyone: Mr Ocalan has a brutal, capricious and autocratic record, even within his own movement. His arrest robs the PKK of a charismatic strategist, but at least it may allow the group to refashion itself in a more civilised, democratic and peaceful guise—and to renounce violent secession as a goal.

A place in, and for, Europe?

Why, though, should Turkey, boosted recently in the battlefield, bolstered by allies old and new, and flush with joy at Mr Ocalan's arrest, now change its policy and consider giving the Kurds the right of self-expression? First, because this latest change of fortune may not be decisive. Many of the remaining guerrillas will hunker down in their mountain fastnesses; they will not give up, not yet anyway. They may even turn to terror in Turkish cities farther west, where millions of Kurds have settled. Moreover, though Turkey's Kurds are by no means always friendly with their cousins in northern Iraq, the Iraqi minority now has the core of an autonomous entity there, under the protection of the same Americans who often seem willing to wink at the repression of Kurds in Turkey.

Also, Turkey should realise that it will never achieve its oft-stated goal of becoming a full member of the European Union until it shows a greater respect for the rights of its own citizens and the rule of law. In particular, Turkey will have to change its opposition to peaceful Kurdish desires for self-expression (such as the ability to run schools and make broadcasts in Kurdish) if it is ever to persuade the West that it is a full democracy. And, in the shortest run, the least Turkey can do is to ensure that Mr Ocalan is given a fair trial.

Outsiders can help. The Kurdish problem has now, de facto, been internationalised. Taking matters further, the European Union, with American backing, could offer a forum for Turks and Kurds to seek a compromise involving Kurdish self-rule in south-eastern Turkey, if that is what the Kurds want. For the moment, the Turks will reject such an idea. But the Kurds will not go away. If they are not to have a state, they deserve at least a modicum of self-government and justice.

5-3-99

Sandy

Figs

YNE A25

At Home Abroad

ANTHONY LEWIS

People Of The Law?

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Benger
Podesta

JERUSALEM

One of Israel's notable achievements, in the 50 years since the state was reborn, has been the development of a respected legal system. The Israeli Supreme Court is known for protecting the civil liberties of citizens. Its judges are esteemed around the world.

That achievement is at stake in Israel's upcoming elections. To an extent that is hard for outsiders to appreciate, the very idea of the rule of law is under attack by substantial forces in Israeli society.

Consider Avigdor Lieberman, a powerful figure among the one million Russian immigrants to Israel and the former director general of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu's office. He has a new Russian party to compete in the election against Natan Sharansky's party.

"I have not one iota of faith in the

Israel's system of justice is under attack.

justice system," Mr. Lieberman said when he launched his party, calling for the system to be "overhauled." He has made ferocious attacks on the police — attacks that the police suggest are designed to deter investigation of international crime syndicates and his possible connection with them. He called the head of the international crimes unit, Brig. Gen. Moshe Mizrahi, a "champion of anti-Semitism."

Many Orthodox rabbis and their followers also denounce the Supreme Court. In February, 250,000 Orthodox Israelis held a protest in Jerusalem against the court.

Judaism over the ages has been a religion devoted to law and its interpretation by sages. How, then, can one explain Orthodox antagonism to the Supreme Court?

"Deep down," said Mordechai Kremnitzer, professor of law at Hebrew University, "many, though not all, want a halachik state" — one governed by Jewish law, the halacha. It would be not a democracy but a theocracy, ruled by rabbis.

And there is a straightforward political explanation. Religious parties have had enormous influence in Israel's multiparty political system, able to make and unmake governments. They have used that power to get benefits from the state, such as funds for their schools and housing.

They view the Supreme Court as a threat to that position: the one institution that might curb their privileged treatment. The court lately held, for example, that no statute authorizes the practice of automatically exempting all yeshiva students from military

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The issue of the rule of law has come to a head now over the case of Aryeh Deri. He is the political leader of Shas, a religious party made up largely of Jews from Morocco. Mr. Deri has long been a kingmaker in Israeli politics, bringing Shas into coalitions in return for promises of favorable treatment.

After a trial that extended over nine years, Mr. Deri was convicted recently of taking bribes while in office, and sentenced to four years in prison. His followers responded by claiming he was victimized because he was Orthodox and Moroccan: "Deri is Dreyfus."

The spiritual leader of Shas, Rabbi Ovadia Yosef, said: "The words of the Torah are as a thorn in the eyes of all the secular judges. This accounts for what happened at the trial." Mr. Deri put out a video comparing his treatment to that of Adolf Eichmann and John Demjanjuk.

The reaction of other politicians to Mr. Deri's conviction has been telling. Prime Minister Netanyahu said he would still negotiate with Mr. Deri, after the election, so long as he remained free during an appeal. The leading opposition candidate for prime minister, Ehud Barak, said after some delay that he would not negotiate with Mr. Deri.

The taint of possible criminality reaches into the Netanyahu Cabinet. The police have reportedly recommended prosecution of the Foreign Minister, Ariel Sharon, for fraud, bribery and witness tampering. The Minister of Justice, Tzahi Hanegbi, is also being investigated.

All this has brought the rule of law into the election. In the bribery scandals, and Mr. Netanyahu's silence about the Deri conviction, legal observers see the danger of what one called a culture of illegalism in Israel.

"You cannot kill the rule of law with one shot," Professor Kremnitzer said, "the way Prime Minister Rabin was killed. You kill it with a process — by showing the public that there's a different law for a Deri who takes bribes."

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April 28, 1999

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N W
Washington, D.C 20500-0006

Susan R. Estrich
Robert Kingsley
Professor of Law and
Political Science

Dear Mr President:

I happened to turn on C-Span last night and was utterly mesmerized by your gun speech. You were fabulous, and only you could do it. What struck me most was how important it is to reach out to the NRA, as opposed to just taking them on. The audience for your speech was, in some respects, all wrong; NRA members don't trust those people, with reason, many of them would like to ban all handguns, and to demonize gun owners. I came to have a different view than theirs in my years on talk radio, when I had lots of regular callers who were decent people and also gun owners, you understand where the suspicion comes from. But your respect for the decency of people who go to gun shows, and hunt, and don't see guns as inherently evil, shined through. I kept thinking how important a part of your legacy this could be, how more people needed to hear and see your message, NRA members and their families, in particular. I think Littleton struck a gaping chord -- both on the gun issue and on the culture of violence -- and that you and the First Lady are about as well positioned to reach out to both worlds, guns and Hollywood, as anyone could be, not to take them on, but to invite them to join in addressing the issues, saving lives ..

It filled me with all kinds of ideas. of you doing a radio address for the NRA members on Saturday, and let the rest of us listen to how you talk to them, appeal to their kids, and wives, and husbands, of you and Hillary doing a White House talk to the nation, reaching out to gun owners and Hollywood, going beyond the usual politics to save lives; of you in a black church (you sounded almost religious yesterday; and those are the children who are disproportionately dying) . .

Anyway, I just wanted to tell you how wonderful you were, and how blown away I was, once again, watching you. We're excited to be coming back Monday to the State Dinner, the Vice President and I are friends again (boy, are they beating up on him), and I really look forward to seeing you

Sincerely,


Susan Estrich

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sestrich@law.usc.edu
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<http://www.usc.edu/dept/law-lib>

Send

Speech ?

Do not
celebrate
B

Copied
Ucelli
Lockhart
Podesta

Not a
bad idea

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Glyn Dares Date 5/3

To: Lecl Brainerd

From: The Staff Secretary

This is from Bono & VZ fame.
He met with the President last
week and wants to get support
for the Millennium Debt Relief
Concert. He needs a real response
and the President wants to sign
it.

Phin

30 April, 1999

Mr. President, Bill

I wanted to thank you for seeing me at The White House the other day.

That the door of such a grand office is open, is both an inspiration to me and I think an entire community of artists, film makers and musicians who feel they have a President within reach.

However, the ideas represented by Jubilee 2000, combined with the "once in a millennium" opportunity, that New Year's Eve '99 affords, dwarf us all.

It is rare that a people get to see their leader actually change the world, a map maybe, but to redefine the relationship of the first and third world in one swoop would be breathtaking.

This would be the redrawing of a different kind of map whose topography is the chronic inequality which has widened to an obscenity in the last hundred years.

There is no better leading man to take on this intellectual, as well as moral absurdity. We know Tony Blair and Gerhart Schroder are waiting in the wings.

The economic hurdles are high. We understand that, but they can, even according to conservative strategists, be vaulted. The Adam Smith Institute, George Soros, Jan Wolfensten all agree that this would aid a wobbly world market, and at home in the US, the trade deficit.

We believe the political impediments will reduce, the more popular we make the campaign, which is, I guess, where the non economists come in with our plans for a LIVE AID 2000 type event and a single to top the charts at the end of the year.

We were hoping to have PAVAROTTI AND THE BEASTIE BOYS, CELINE DION AND PUFF DADDY, WILLIE NELSON, GARTH BROOKS, THE ROLLING STONES, REM, THE SPICE GIRLS, BRUCE SPRINGSTEEN, LAURYN HILL, U2, DAVID BOWIE, MICHAEL AND JANET JACKSON all under the same roof (these plans are of course subject to events in Kosovo).

Add to this, every aid organisation from UNICEF to CHRISTIAN AID, THE POPE JOHN PAUL (who has offered the Vatican as a venue), Chief Rabbi Yitsach Ginsburgh leader of the orthodox Jewish community in Israel and most evangelical Christians who see 'Sabbath economics' as a devotional duty as broad a based coalition as you could hope for.

Perhaps naively, we believe that Congress could come together on this.

When they feel how wide, as well as deep, this lobby goes, surely this would be good medicine for the American people on the eve of a new millennium. The ideals of the Founding Fathers as the colonising force...

Looking at Kosovo, Northern Ireland, The Middle East reminds us how this has been at times the most barbaric, ethnocentric century.

There has been some extraordinary inventions, achievements; but there would be no greater legacy than the plans you seem to be laying for 'a new economic world order' where the world financial markets were more in tune with the new information age and less lightly to leave everyday business in such jeopardy.

The date demands it, cancelling the debt of 52 hipc countries would launch it better than any speech.

The champagne, the fireworks, the pyrotechnics of New Years Eve 1999 would not be forgotten by Jan 2000.....

BE ELVIS AND LINCOLN... WHY DON'T YOU!

With respect

Bono

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Bono', with a large, stylized 'B' and a long, sweeping underline.

5-3-99

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Reed
Podesta



A Guide to Safe Schools

*Blended
to Riley sent funds
to many Principals again
up a counter, it would be more
willing read & send - should be
Pod*



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

August 22, 1998

Dear Principal and Teachers:

On June 13, after the tragic loss of life and injuries at Thurston High School in Springfield, Oregon, President Clinton directed the Department of Education and the Department of Justice to develop an early warning guide to help "adults reach out to troubled children quickly and effectively." This guide responds to that Presidential request. It is our sincere hope that this guide will provide you with the practical help needed to keep every child in your school out of harm's way.

America's schools are among the safest places to be on a day-to-day basis, due to the strong commitment of educators, parents, and communities to their children. Nevertheless, last year's tragic and sudden acts of violence in our nation's schools remind us that no community can be complacent in its efforts to make its schools even safer. An effective and safe school is the vital center of every community whether it is in a large urban area or a small rural community.

Central to this guide are the key insights that keeping children safe is a community-wide effort and that effective schools create environments where children and young people truly feel connected. This is why our common goal must be to reconnect with every child and particularly with those young people who are isolated and troubled.

This guide should be seen as part of an overall effort to make sure that every school in this nation has a comprehensive violence prevention plan in place. We also caution you to recognize that over labeling and using this guide to stigmatize children in a cursory way that leads to over-reaction is harmful. The guidelines in this report are based on research and the positive experiences of schools around the country where the value and potential of each and every child is cherished and where good practices have produced, and continue to produce, successful students and communities.

We are grateful to the many experts, agencies, and associations in education, law enforcement, juvenile justice, mental health, and other social services that worked closely with us to make sure that this report is available for the start of school this fall. We hope that you and your students and staff, as well as parents and the community, will benefit from this information.

Sincerely,

Richard W. Riley
Secretary
U.S. Department of Education

Janet Reno
Attorney General
U.S. Department of Justice





Early Warning, Timely Response

A Guide to Safe Schools

Although most schools are safe, the violence that occurs in our neighborhoods and communities has found its way inside the schoolhouse door. However, if we understand what leads to violence and the types of support that research has shown are effective in preventing violence, we can make our schools safer.

Research-based practices can help school communities—administrators, teachers, families, students, support staff, and community members—recognize the warning signs early, so children can get the help they need before it is too late. This guide presents a brief summary of the research on violence prevention and intervention and crisis response in schools. It tells school communities:

- **What to look for**—the early warning signs that relate to violence and other troubling behaviors.
- **What to do**—the action steps that school communities can take to prevent violence and other troubling behaviors, to intervene and get help for troubled children, and to respond to school violence when it occurs.

Sections in this guide include:

- **Section 1: Introduction.** All staff, students, parents, and members of the community must be part of creating a safe school environment. Schools must have in place approaches for addressing the needs of all children who have troubling behaviors. This section describes the rationale for the guide and suggests how it can be used by school communities to develop a plan of action.
- **Section 2: Characteristics of a School That Is Safe and Responsive to All Children.** Well functioning schools foster learning, safety, and socially appropriate behaviors. They have a strong academic focus and support students in achieving high standards, foster positive relationships between school staff and students, and promote meaningful parental and community involvement. This section describes characteristics of schools that support prevention, appropriate intervention, and effective crisis response.
- **Section 3: Early Warning Signs.** There are early warning

The full text of this public domain publication is available at the Department's home page at <http://www.ed.gov/offices/OSERS/OSEP/earlywrn.html>.

signs that, when viewed in context, can signal a troubled child. Educators and parents—and in some cases, students—can use several significant principles to ensure that the early warning signs are not misinterpreted. This section presents early warning signs, imminent warning signs, and the principles that ensure these signs will not be misinterpreted. It concludes with a brief description of using the early warning signs to shape intervention practices.

- **Section 4: Getting Help for Troubled Children.** Effective interventions for improving the behavior of troubled children are well documented in the research literature. This section presents research- and expert-based principles that should provide the foundation for all intervention development. It describes what to do when intervening early with students who are at risk for behavioral problems, when responding with intensive interventions for individual children, and when providing a foundation to prevent and reduce violent behavior.
- **Section 5: Developing a Prevention and Response Plan.** Effective schools create a violence prevention and response plan and form a team that can ensure it is implemented. They use approaches and strategies based on research about what

works. This section offers suggestions for developing such plans.

- **Section 6: Responding to Crisis.** Effective and safe schools are well prepared for any potential crisis or violent act. This section describes what to do when intervening during a crisis to ensure safety and when responding in the aftermath of crisis. The principles that underlie effective crisis response are included.
- **Section 7: Conclusion.** This section summarizes the guide.
- **Section 8: Methodology, Contributors, and Research Support.** This guide synthesizes an extensive knowledge base on violence and violence prevention. This section describes the rigorous development and review process that was used. It also provides information about the project's Web site.

A final section lists resources that can be contacted for more information.

The information in this guide is not intended as a comprehensive prevention, intervention, and response plan—school communities could do *everything* recommended and still experience violence. Rather, the intent is to provide school communities with reliable and practical information about what they can do to be prepared and to reduce the likelihood of violence.





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THE WHITE HOUSE

Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

5/3

Jake -

Do you know
where his
stands?

Phil Cplm

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 15, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR PHILLIP M. CAPLAN
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
STAFF SECRETARY

FROM: JOSEPH J. SIMMONS IV 
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT AND
DIRECTOR, WHITE HOUSE MILITARY OFFICE

SUBJECT: Mrs. Burris' Wrongful Death Claim

Attached you will find a fact sheet, provided by the U.S. Army, concerning the training accident that resulted in the death of Major Andrew Burris, the husband of Mrs. Andrew Burris.

The Investigating Officer, appointed by the Adjutant General of the Maryland National Guard found "insufficient evidence to conclude that there was either misconduct or negligence on the part of the driver of the truck." The Adjutant also recommended no adverse action be taken and approved the findings and recommendations.

DoD will provide me continual updates as the investigation progresses. If you have any further questions, please call.

Attachment

FACT SHEET

SUBJECT: Mrs. Karen Burris Writes About Wrongful Death of Her Husband

1. Purpose. To provide the facts on actions and investigations concerning the training accident resulting in the death of Major Andrew Burris, the husband of Mrs. Karen Burris.

2. Facts.

a. Following the incident at Camp Blanding, Florida that resulted in the death of MAJ Andrew Burris in June 1997, the 82nd Airborne Division conducted the primary AR 15-6 investigation. Following the initial investigation, COL Donald J. Kasperik, Commander, Winn Army Community Hospital, Ft. Stewart, GA, with primary medical oversight, directed another AR 15-6 investigation into the medical system issues surrounding the incident. This was a Quality Assurance/Credentialing Inquiry, conducted by the Medical Staff Peer Review Committee of Winn Army Community Hospital. The Florida National Guard assisted the Winn Army Community Hospital, Fort Stewart, Georgia with the conduct of their AR 15-6 investigation.

b. As a result of that investigation, the Florida National Guard completed the following actions: An update of the Annual Training Site Support Plan with designated responsibilities; an updated Medical Standard Operating Procedures Guide by Winn Army Community Hospital; a staff assistance team visit from Winn Army Community Hospital staff personnel; and a Mass Casualty Training Exercise including military/civilian interface and Life Flight on January 24, 1998 to evaluate the medical systems/Standard Operating Procedures. The final Standard Operating Procedures guide will be reviewed and approved by the Commander, Winn Army Community Hospital and quarterly staff assistance team visits have continued to evaluate corrective actions.

c. The Maryland National Guard conducted a collateral AR 15-6 investigation. The Investigating Officer appointed by the Adjutant General of the Maryland National Guard found insufficient evidence to conclude that there was either misconduct or negligence on the part of the driver of the truck. His recommendation was that no adverse action be taken. The Adjutant General of Maryland approved the findings and recommendations.

d. On January 28, 1998, Congressman Lee Hamilton sent Acting Secretary of the Army, Mr. Mike Walker, a letter from Ms. Burris requesting that someone be held accountable for the death of her husband.

e. It is believed that Ms. Burris also discussed her concerns with several senior officials including the FORSCOM Commander, his Legal Advisor, and the Surgeon General.

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f. According to Ms. Burris' correspondence, she met with President Clinton at the Veterans' Day Breakfast on November 11, 1998, and he offered to help her in any way possible.

g. In November of 1998, Ms. Burris sent letters to President Clinton, and the Office of the Secretary of Defense. In December, Ms. Burris sent Senator Warner and Senator Robb letters, again asking that someone be held accountable for the death of her husband.

h. On December 10, 1998, Mr. Todd Weller, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Reserve Affairs, Mobilization, Readiness, and Training, signed an interim response to Ms. Burris.

i. As noted previously in other correspondence, in accordance with current regulations and directives, the National Guard Bureau has neither the authority nor jurisdiction, to investigate or resolve this inquiry to the completion requested by Ms. Burris.

j. All information available is subject to the Freedom of Information Act. In accordance with current regulations and directives, persons requesting information concerning this inquiry/investigation should contact the appropriate Commanders and The Adjutant Generals of the respective states.

k. All information provided is to be used for official use only and should not be released outside the appropriate agencies of the Department of Defense.

MAJ MATTHEW URBANEK, NGB-PL/703-607-2784

APPROVED BY COL BRUCE DAVIS

2

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date 4/11

To: Jake Simmons, WHMO

From: The Staff Secretary

Please advise. President
wanted this looked into, with all
appropriate handling, of course.

Phil Caplan

Attn.

Nancy Herrnreich

from:

Karen Burris

- memo you requested

Thank you!

re: *W. Burris
through staff
(let's discuss)*

Karen Burris
6615 Ivy Hill Drive
McLean, Virginia 22101
(703) 356-8628

'99 JAN 11 AM 11:06

November 16, 1998

Dear Mr. President,

I would like to thank you for taking the time to speak with me personally at the end of the receiving line at the Veteran's Day breakfast. To refresh your memory, I am the wife of Major Andrew Burris, a soldier in the 82nd Airborne, who was senselessly killed in a training accident while evaluating the Maryland National Guard during their annual two week training period.

Mr. President, I truly believe that your offer to help me in any way possible was sincere and your concern was genuine. I implore you to read the attached memo detailing the incredible errors that occurred on the night of my husband's death. I attended the wreath laying service at Arlington National Cemetery after the breakfast. Your speech touched upon the very core of the problems facing our soldiers during peace time training today. My husband's death was due to a complete lack of leadership and organization of the most severe kind and a total breakdown of national guard soldiers being trained properly and adequately.

My husband was a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute and was an infantry officer for fifteen years. He was a consummate soldier and would proudly have given his life for his country but not to the negligence of the Maryland and Florida National Guards. He was highly respected by his subordinates, peers and superiors. His favorite motto was "lead by example" and he did just that. He performed his duties beyond the best of his abilities and he expected the same of his fellow soldiers. He was a paratrooper in the 82nd Airborne Division, spent eight months in Desert Storm and never wavered in his loyalty and love for his country. Please help me in my quest in having individuals held properly accountable for their failure to perform their duties bestowed upon them. I want my daughter to be certain that her father's life was worthy of individuals being held responsible for their actions. I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Karen Burris

Karen Burris

Wrongful Death of Major Andrew Scott Burris

On Friday, June 13th, 1997, Major Burris was struck and subsequently killed by a 2 ½ ton truck in black-out conditions while waiting to evaluate an ambush performed by the Maryland National Guard at Camp Blanding, Florida. Below is a summary of the most severe failures and deficiencies in planning and decision making that occurred the night of his death although there were several other failures.

- the driver and assistant driver (from the Maryland National Guard) were not supposed to be driving in the area in which they were traveling
- they were ordered hours beforehand to stop driving the vehicle to which they replied they did not have to comply that their "mission was over"
- they were driving 30-35 mph in a 5mph zone without any head lights, running lights or ground guides
- were not wearing their issued Night Vision Goggles although the assistant driver had his in his lap
- struck Major Burris and kept driving thinking they had hit a wild animal
- when stopped by another soldier and informed that they had indeed hit Major Burris claimed that their vehicle was not involved in the accident and that they had simply stopped to put light on the accident scene.

Major Burris knew he had been run over by the truck and yelled for help. Absolutely no medical evacuation plan was in place and not one soldier knew the Standard Operating Procedures for an accident of this magnitude.

Medical Malfunctions...due mostly to the Florida National Guard at Camp Blanding

- * an ambulance did not reach the accident site for 45 minutes and arrived inadequately equipped with medical supplies to help Major Burris
- the second ambulance to arrive was also lacking in medical supplies
- medical treatment was sub-standard. Major Burris should have received 3000 cc's of fluids and only received 250 cc's
- a civilian helicopter was ordered and also arrived without proper medical supplies and did not have any communication devices that would allow them to communicate with the ground resulting in Major Burris being flown around between hospitals and not having any medical personnel available to help him. A MEDEVAC helicopter should have been ordered to deal with the magnitude of his injuries stocked with medical supplies.
- Major Burris was grossly misdiagnosed by a Physician's Assistant. He was diagnosed with head trauma while internal bleeding was never diagnosed although he himself had stated that he had been run over and had obvious tire marks on his abdomen.
- Physician's Assistant was not current on Advanced Trauma Life Support (ATLS) and therefore not capable of diagnosing the severity of Major Burris' injuries

IN SUMMARY: I was told in a meeting at the Pentagon by the Army Surgeon General, General Blanck, that had my husband had proper medical treatment that he would have survived his injuries without any change in quality of life. The entire medical evacuation procedure should have taken 18 minutes and it took them 2 hours to get my husband to a hospital where he died on the tarmac. The previous year's evaluation performed by the same battalion in the 82nd Airborne of the Maryland National Guard pin-pointed EVERY deficiency and problem that lead to the death of my husband. The Maryland and Florida National Guard had an entire year to fix these problems and did not. It is in my opinion that due to total negligence and failure in leadership from the very top to the bottom Major Burris is dead and not one person has been held properly accountable.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to call:

Karen Burris (703) 356-8628 (wife of Major Burris).

5-3-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 1, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: PHILLIP CAPLAN *Phil*
DAVID GOODFRIEND

SUBJECT: Recent Information Items

*Good - Now
to get runs
continued!*

We are forwarding the following recent information items:

*Good - 4/5
unpublished
to all*

(A) **Ruff/Childress et al. memo on diversity of judicial candidates** -- Detailed memo on your judicial candidates. You are on track to achieve this Congress your highest ever diversity rate among judicial candidates, even better than when Democrats controlled Congress (34.5% are women; 12.1% are Hispanics; 58.6% are women or minorities). Including presumptive nominees, the proportion of African American nominees this Congress is likely to be higher than for any period since the 103d Congress. At this rate, the current group of nominees will be the most diverse during any Congress in U.S. history. *Please see memo for details.*

(B) **Ruff/Correia memo on affirmative action decision** -- In the first case of its kind, and a victory for the Administration, a Texas district court upheld the "benchmarking" methodology for public affirmative action programs based on race, which you announced last year in response to the Adarand decision and which is designed to target affirmative action benefits to those industries and regions in which the effects of discrimination are still present. In Rothe Development Corp. v. U.S., the court reasoned that the methodology was sufficiently narrowly tailored to address a societal ill identified by Congress based on extensive evidence. More challenges to the methodology are likely but this is an encouraging first decision.

(C) **Authority for Sec. Albright to consult with Congress on Kosovo refugees** -- We executed on your behalf yesterday a memorandum to Secretary Albright authorizing her to consult with Congress on admitting the 20,000 Kosovar refugees to the U.S. during FY 1999; this was in addition to the \$20 million Emergency Refugee and Migration Account (ERMA) draw-down you approved earlier in the week.

Tab A - Cover memo + Tab A memo
Ruff/Childress/Wilson/Angel/Podesta

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 30, 1999

copied
Ruff
Childress
Wilson
Angel
Podesta

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT (via John Podesta)

From: Charles F.C. Ruff, Mark Childress, Sarah Wilson, and Eric Angel

Re: Diversity Of Judicial Candidates

I. INTRODUCTION

At this stage of the judicial nomination process, we thought it would be helpful to summarize the diversity of your federal judicial candidates, in particular the percentages of women and Hispanic nominees. The diversity numbers continue to be excellent. *An analysis of your judicial nominations reveals that, during the last Congress of your Presidency, you are on target to achieve your highest diversity rate ever -- higher even than the diversity record you established during the first two years of your Administration, when Democrats controlled Congress.* Your judicial nominees so far this year already represent a higher percentage of women and Hispanic nominees than for any Congress during your Presidency. Moreover, combining current judicial nominations with the presumptive nominees we are vetting will further enhance the diversity of your judicial candidates. The combination of current and presumptive nominees includes:

- (1) a higher percentage of women (34.5%) than for any other Congress during your Presidency;
- (2) a higher percentage of Hispanics (12.1%) than for any other Congress during your Presidency; and
- (3) a higher percentage of women and all minorities (58.6%) than for any other Congress during your Presidency.

II. STATISTICAL COMPARISON

There follows a chart summarizing the proportion of women and Hispanic judicial nominees to Article III courts during the Clinton Administration. We are currently poised to

nominate an unprecedented proportion of women and Hispanic nominees during the 106th Congress:

DIVERSITY OF CLINTON ADMINISTRATION JUDICIAL NOMINEES

	<i>Women</i>	<i>Hispanic</i>	<i>Total Women and all Minorities</i>
<i>103rd Congress, 1993-94 (Democratic controlled)</i>	31.0%	8.5%	55.6%
<i>104th Congress, 1995-96 (Republican controlled)</i>	29.9%	4.7%	43.0%
<i>105th Congress, 1997-98 (Republican controlled)</i>	28.1%	4.7%	45.3%
<i>106th Congress, 1999-2000 (Republican controlled)</i>			
<i>Current Nominees:</i>	32.4%	10.8%	51.4%
<i>Including Presumptive Nominees:</i>	34.5%	12.1%	58.6%

Although figures relative to African American judicial nominees are not included on the preceding chart, your excellent diversity record is not restricted to women and Hispanics. Approximately eight per cent of your current judicial nominees are African American, but the presumptive nominees (40% of whom are African American) will dramatically increase this figure. ~~Indeed, when presumptive nominees are taken into account, your proportion of African American nominees this Congress is likely to be higher than for any period since the 103rd Congress. For instance, during the Republican-controlled 104th and 105th Congresses, 14.0% of your judicial candidates were African American; by contrast, at the current rate, during this Congress more than twenty per cent of your judicial candidates will be African American.~~

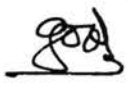
III. CURRENT NOMINEES

This Congress, you have nominated 37 judicial candidates, two of whom -- an African American male and a Caucasian male -- were confirmed by the Senate on April 15, 1999. Nineteen of the nominees, or 51.4%, are women and/or minorities. Twelve of the candidates are women and four are Hispanic, meaning that almost a third (32.4%) are women and more than a tenth (10.8%) are Hispanic. Once we factor in presumptive nominees, these already unprecedented figures improve even further, given the extremely diverse group of candidates we

are vetting.

IV. PRESUMPTIVE NOMINEES

 There are currently thirty vacancies without pending nominees. We have candidates in the pipeline for twenty of those vacancies. These presumptive nominees are in varying stages of the vetting process. Some -- such as Elena Kagan (DC Circuit), Maryanne Trump Barry (Third Circuit, NJ), and Jim Duffy (Ninth Circuit, HI) -- have already been selected by you and are currently being vetted by the ABA and the FBI; others are district court nominees whom we should be ready to nominate soon; still others are in far more preliminary stages of the process. Nevertheless, the diversity figures with respect to these candidates are extraordinary: eight presumptive candidates, or 40%, are women, three, or 15%, are Hispanic, and fifteen, or 75%, are women and/or minorities.

 These figures are even more impressive at the Circuit Court level. Of the seven Circuit Court candidates who have either been approved or are under very serious consideration, two are African American men, one is an African American woman, one is an Hispanic man, and two are Caucasian women, meaning that 85.7% of our Circuit Court presumptive nominees are women and/or minority.

V. CONCLUSION

In sum, you will leave as part of your legacy an extraordinarily diverse group of judicial nominees. Your already impressive record is being improved this term. Indeed, at the rate set by your current and presumptive nominees, the judicial candidates nominated this Congress will be the most diverse group of judicial nominations for any Congress in American history, with the highest proportion ever of both women and Hispanic judicial candidates.

5-3-99

~~Security~~
~~& Country view~~
PSC

copied
Berger
Podesta

Nicholas X. Rizopoulos was director of studies at the Council on Foreign Relations (1989-94), and senior consulting editor of the Encyclopedia of U.S. Foreign Relations (4 vols., Oxford, 1997).



An Independent Kosovo Waiting for Another Navarino?

Nicholas X. Rizopoulos

One of the enduring paradoxes of contemporary American history, and of a nation perpetually glorifying its own revolutionary war against Great Britain, is Washington's chronic reluctance to come to terms with the legitimacy of any number of independence movements that have come to life, in Europe and elsewhere, during the past decade—some (though by no means all) driven by the Soviet Union's dramatic disintegration.

To be sure, normal prudential considerations, having to do with the anarchic nature of the international system, suggest that there is almost always something to be said *against* the breakup of long-recognized political entities or the redrawing of national boundaries: all the more so when such breakups threaten a whole region's stability, result in a massive, painful, and invariably unfair displacement of local peoples, or are the by-products of quixotic and unreasonable demands by a militant ethnic (or religious) minority more power-hungry than genuinely motivated by considerations of security or social justice.

Still, such is *not* always the case. Even putting aside situations where states once independent, then occupied (and enslaved) by a foreign power, properly regain their former status (if only with the delayed approbation of an international community finally confronted with a *fait accompli*), there have been other cases—the still unresolved struggle in Chechnya comes immediately to mind—where calls for independence were justified from the beginning, and for any number of compelling reasons: the old Wil-

sonian principle of national self-determination being only one.

Be that as it may, the horror-filled recent history of the former Yugoslavia, an artificial and rickety sovereign edifice even in its earlier incarnation as the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, serves to underline one inescapable truth of international relations: there are times, when, after years of discrimination, an unquestionably oppressed ethnic group, fortuitously constituting an overwhelming demographic majority in a given area, becomes convinced of the utter futility of trying to extract any meaningful concessions from its overlords by peaceful means. At that point, some form of "balkanization" (dreaded word!) may perforce become unavoidable. Nowhere is this more true today than in Kosovo.

Who Is to Blame?

As of the time of this writing, the escalating Kosovo crisis—with daily reports of full-scale guerrilla warfare, massive Serbian counterattacks, general mayhem visited upon unarmed civilians, and bloodcurdling atrocities committed both by Serbian security forces and the (by now perhaps 30,000-strong) Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA)—appears to have reached the stage where "reasonable" compromise solutions that might have worked even as recently as six months ago are no longer feasible. In apportioning blame for a war that need not have happened it is easy enough to point a finger at Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic and his crazed, superpatriotic allies in Belgrade and Pristina; or at the (still largely

pseudonymous) leaders of the KLA who intentionally abandoned the pacifist, Gandhi-like stance previously followed by Ibrahim Rugova's "parallel government" in favor of full-scale military rebellion and terrorist tactics.

That said, the international community—the United Nations, the European Union, NATO, and the United States—is itself largely responsible for much of the current mess, having cried wolf for seven long years about a "Third Balkan War" originating in Kosovo, while doing very little to stop the Kosovar tinderbox from exploding.

Far too late in the day, the international community calls for Milosevic to return Kosovo to its erstwhile autonomous-province status within Serbia; or to grant it constituent-republic status (à la Montenegro) within the rump Yugoslav federation—though without the right of secession. Such *bien pensant* "solutions" are by now doomed to failure. This is so not so much because Belgrade wants to hold on to its monopolistic control and exploitation of Kosovo's massive mineral wealth (lead, zinc, and nickel reserves, valued in the billions of dollars); not even because international guarantees for the preservation and protection of Serbian "holy places" (monasteries, historical monuments, and the like), and of the civil rights of the Serbian minority choosing to remain in Kosovo, might be difficult to come by; but primarily because the very large majority of Albanian Kosovars have by now resoundingly opted for full independence—by violent means, if need be, and irrespective of the unavoidably painful short-term costs.

One of the "less absolute outcomes" (in the words of former U.S. ambassador to Yugoslavia Warren Zimmermann) envisaged at times in certain Serbian nationalist circles would involve the partitioning of Kosovo: the Serbs would get "all the cultural and mineral wealth...the Albanians would get most of the territory.... The Serbs would get land containing some of the medieval monasteries, while the others would be put un-

der international protection."¹ But partition is itself a "compromise" solution unacceptable to most Kosovars, who rightly fear that it would simply lead to the entire territory's division and absorption by Serbia and Albania.

The "Untoward Event"

We are, in fact, facing today a situation in Kosovo eerily reminiscent of the series of events surrounding the Greek War of Independence against the Turks, after 400 years of Ottoman rule, which unfolded in the decade of the 1820s. Then, too, the international community—meaning the conservative, post-Congress of Vienna "Concert of Europe" dominated by Prince Metternich, Viscount Castlereagh, and Tsar Alexander I, obsessed with issues of "legitimacy" and fearful of encouraging "anarchy"—doggedly supported the territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. As a result, the Concert initially condemned the Greek uprising of 1821, and dismissed out of hand all appeals for the establishment of an independent Greek state providentially rid of what a subsequent British prime minister, W. E. Gladstone, would later in the century famously deride as the "bloody tyranny of the Turks." This, despite the highly publicized efforts of many eminent Western Philhellenes—most notably, of course, Lord Byron. Back in the United States, where the Greek cause elicited a good deal of public support on humanitarian grounds, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams counseled his own countrymen against wishy-washy sentimentalities and a misplaced crusader spirit in his celebrated July Fourth Address of 1821, which included the line, "America does not go abroad in search of monsters to destroy...."

Still, against all odds, the Greek uprising continued; and in due course, the European Great Powers, shocked by the awful bloodletting, agreed that the Sultan should be encouraged to desist from wiping out his disloyal Christian subjects—through near-genocidal military measures—and instead

put an end to hostilities by offering *some* Greeks (those living in what today forms only the southernmost part of the Greece tourists know) a modicum of autonomy, though still under Ottoman suzerainty.

But such halfway measures proved unacceptable both to the by now radicalized Greek rebels, who (whatever their violent disagreements among themselves or with their foreign supporters) aimed to throw off the Turkish yoke in toto, and to the Sublime Porte, whose prestige was very much on the line. Thus, the fighting went on, with appalling atrocities committed by both sides: most egregiously by the Sultan's Egyptian troops, under the notoriously ruthless Ibrahim Pasha, who slowly devastated the Morea, the modern-day Peloponnesus.

Belatedly, the Concert (for which now read: Britain, France, and Russia—the Great Powers most involved in Ottoman affairs, while at the same time remaining suspicious of each other's ambitions in the Levant) decided to send a substantial naval force to Greek waters in the hope of intimidating both Greeks and Turks into accepting a "reasonable" compromise. And then, suddenly, on October 20, 1827—in the Duke of Wellington's memorable phrase—the "untoward event" occurred: the Battle of Navarino, near ancient Pylos, in the course of which the combined allied fleet, under Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, stupidly provoked by the Turko-Egyptians, proceeded to obliterate the latter in what incidentally proved to be the last great naval battle of the age of sail.

Not surprisingly, Navarino gave courage to the Greeks and to their supporters abroad. More important, it forced the Concert's hand: the unthinkable, i.e., the partial dismemberment of the Sultan's European possessions, became a marginally acceptable proposition. So long, that is, as it was "supervised" by the Big Three, who now emerged as the guarantors of certain *European* norms of international behavior—to be enforced even in the "barbarous" Balkans;

and so long as neither London nor Paris nor St. Petersburg gained an unfair advantage over each other in the Near East.

Three years after Navarino, following further Ottoman military reverses, this time at the hands of a Russian army threatening Constantinople itself, the (to be sure, initially tiny) modern Greek state was officially born, and duly recognized, by the international community, including the Sultan's government.²

The Past Is Prologue

At present, we find NATO, in partnership with the European Union and the United States, threatening Milosevic and the KLA, but especially Belgrade, with punitive strikes should the warring parties refuse to "come to their senses," cease hostilities, and negotiate a return to the status quo ante 1989. Yet neither Milosevic, whose very credibility (and indeed political survival at home) is at stake, nor the KLA, now receiving ever-larger amounts of military and financial aid from abroad, is apt to yield to Western entreaties. The more likely scenario, instead, is an increase in Serbian scorched-earth policies, duly publicized in the West, forcing NATO's hand (despite Russian objections). An ideal setup, that is, for a modern-day Navarino: isolated NATO air strikes, followed by Belgrade's panicky overreaction, followed by a humiliating Serb retreat in the face of overwhelming NATO firepower, leading, in due course, to the international community's acceptance of Kosovar independence.

True enough, the many Cassandras who, for years now, have been predicting a Third Balkan War—involving (we are told) Bosnia, Serbia-Montenegro, Bulgaria, Albania, Macedonia, Greece, and even Turkey, in various lethal combinations—should the Serbs and Kosovars "push matters too far," continue to insist that, whatever the merits of Kosovar discontent, an independent Kosovo is to be avoided at all costs: the "dismemberment" of Serbia would, it is argued,

unleash forces that would "destabilize" the entire Balkan peninsula. Translation: we would witness the emergence of a "Greater Albania"—presumably composed of Albania proper, Kosovo, and such parts of Macedonia as are currently populated by equally truculent ethnic Albanians, angry with the Skopje regime—ipso facto threatening in some unspecified way all of its non-Muslim neighbors and ready to set off one of those "civilizational wars" predicted by Prof. Samuel Huntington.

Yet there are few, if any, realistic grounds for such nightmares. (Even the chances of uncontrollable Albanian refugee flows occurring—currently a matter of concern in both Montenegro and Greece—would no doubt diminish with Kosovar independence.) Leaving aside the improbability of a Greater Albania actually coming to life any time soon, there are, for starters, perfectly good ways for the international community to guarantee Macedonia's present borders (not least by substantially strengthening the U.N./U.S. peacekeeping contingent already there): the quid pro quo being to oblige the Skopje government to deal more intelligently and responsibly with the demands of its own substantial Albanian minority.

So the question then becomes: who exactly *are* these putative hordes of concerned citizens—leaving aside the small pockets of perennially hysterical Serb, Bulgarian, and Greek religious zealots, or out-and-out racists—who, we are meant to believe, shake

in their boots at the mere thought of a Tirana-Pristina marriage of convenience perhaps occurring down the road?

Let us be realistic: Kosovo's road to independence should be encouraged and assisted, rather than obstructed, by Western policymakers.³ This road, moreover, would be made smoother if Washington and Brussels, harking back to the steps taken by Greece's three Protecting Powers in 1830, were to prescribe, and guarantee the observance of, certain minimal norms of acceptable international behavior—based on what is nowadays referred to in Europe as the common rule of law—by all of the parties directly affected by the inevitable emergence of an independent Kosovo. ●

August 10, 1998

Notes

1. Warren Zimmermann, "The Demons of Kosovo," *The National Interest*, no. 52, (spring 1998), p. 11.

2. The new Greek State "embracing the Peloponnesus, southern Roumeli and a number of islands near to the mainland...contain[ed] fewer than a third of the Greek inhabitants of the Ottoman Empire at the time of the outbreak of the war [of independence]." Richard Clogg, *A Concise History of Greece* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 45.

3. Morton Abramowitz (until recently the president of the Carnegie Endowment, with whose views on the Bosnian war I often agreed), as recently as June 15, 1998, argued (in *Newsweek*) that Kosovo should "remain a part of Serbia."

THE WHITE HOUSE 5-3-99
WASHINGTON

ROUTING SLIP

Doug (Hend - Fyl - 

TO: ~~President Clinton~~

FROM: SIDNEY BLUMENTHAL
ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

SUBJECT: FOR YOUR INFORMATION

Copied
Sosnik
Reed
Podesta

THE NEW YORK OBSERVER

OPINIONS

Leftists on Parade! (And They're in Power)

by Joe Conason

As NATO's 50th-anniversary conference concluded, the paradoxical result of the Western triumph over communism was on public display in the ballroom of the National Press Club. Four European prime ministers and the President of the United States spoke about freedom and social justice from a perspective rarely occupied by leftist politicians during the final decades of the Cold War: They are in power.

And the irony, of course, is that their ascension has been due in large part to the vacuum created by the disappearance of the Soviet Union. Into that yawning black hole went not only the decrepit left-wing totalitarians, but also the right-wing ideologues whose movements now lack any unifying purpose. Reaganism or Thatcherism might have persisted without Ronald Reagan or Margaret Thatcher, but not without communism.

It was appropriate, then, that the NATO summit would provide a forum for a group of center-left leaders who are among the true beneficiaries of the trans-Atlantic alliance's historic victory. Under the auspices of the Democratic Leadership Council, the Prime Ministers of Britain, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands joined Bill Clinton on the summit's final day to discuss the wide-ranging intellectual effort to renovate progressive policy and politics that has become known as "the Third Way."

Aside from the current emphasis on globalization and information technology, the notion of a "Third Way" between stagnant statism and cruel capitalism is not really new. Even the name has been heard before, way back in the early years of the Cold War.

So in its present vague incarnation the Third Way might be dismissed as just another exercise in spin, a slogan designed to enhance the electoral prospects of Britain's Tony Blair or Germany's Gerhard Schröder. But it is also true that the collapse of communism and the confusion of conservatism have provided the



JOE CONASON

'The Third Way is the result of a crisis of ideologies, not the victory of ideologies.'—Italian Prime Minister Massimo D'Alema

center-left with a chance for renewed relevance.

Massimo D'Alema, a former activist in the Italian Communist Party who now heads its successor, the Party of the Democratic Left, described the present moment succinctly. "The Third Way is the result of a crisis of ideologies," the Italian Prime Minister said, "not the victory of ideologies." He summarized the 20th century as a period of harsh conflict between "open, democratic societies that are very dynamic and competitive" but suffer from social injustice, and "other societies that achieved solidarity but at the cost of a heavy bureaucracy." Speaking presumably from painful memory, he added that "the ideal of social solidarity has been accompanied too often by the fact of authoritarianism ... We must find peaceful coexistence between solidarity and freedom."

That is easy to talk about and hard to do—as Mr. Clinton's own fitful and mostly failed attempts to reform health care and other basic features of American capitalism have demonstrated. In this country, the Third Way emerged as "triangulation," an electoral tactic which resulted in the sell-out of the welfare reform bill.

Somewhat provocatively, the droll Mr. D'Alema also mentioned a word that has long been politically taboo in Washington. He noted that four of the five leaders on the dais "belong to a movement, the Socialist International ... I'm aware that this word is somewhat sensitive here"—a remark that elicited knowing laughter from the audience—"and I can see that we have avoided pronouncing this word here."

Replied Mr. Clinton with a broad smile, "I'm not sure I would have you here, Massimo, if I were running for re-election." A similar sentiment suddenly may have gripped Al From, the Democratic Leadership Council's president, whose corporate-funded organization has spent the last decade trying to purge "socialist" elements from the ranks of the Democratic Party, although he, too, kept smiling graciously.

"We should prevail over this fear of words," said Mr. D'Alema when the nervous chuckles subsided, and he had a point. If the Third Way accomplishes anything, it will create a dialogue between Europeans and Americans about fostering enterprise and equality—with many proposals coming from officials of traditionally socialist parties that now dominate the continent. While "socialist" remains a term of abuse in the American lexicon, it may not be quite as effective a weapon for the right as it once was. Americans who look across the pond at the likes of Mr. D'Alema, Mr. Blair and Mr. Schröder are unlikely to perceive these modern, casual politicians as ominous commissars.

Meanwhile, some conservatives seem to be aware, however dimly, that their ideology may be fated for the same dustbin of history where Marxism-Leninism ended up. Against ferocious opposition from the far right, the Republicans' leading Presidential contender appears to be groping opportunistically toward his own weak imitation of the Third Way. Or isn't that what George W. Bush is trying to do with his chatter about "compassionate conservatism"?

99 MAY 1 PM 12:44

5-3-99

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 1, 1999

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Berger
Podesta

Mr. President:

PM Obuchi declined with thanks the invitation to come to tonight's Correspondents' dinner as your guest.

Our invitation went to him last night, probably not delivered to him personally until after a dinner in Chicago for about 1,000 guests at which he was the guest of honor. Obuchi responded with sincere appreciation, recognizing the initiative as a gesture on your part to create a special occasion between the two of you. Obuchi's staff asked at one point whether any "jokes" would be directed at the PM; Ken Lieberthal indicated that it was unlikely the press would misuse Obuchi's presence.

Shortly before midnight the Japanese called to convey thanks for the kindness but to say they would stick with their program in Chicago (largely a down day in the afternoon today for Obuchi; he arrives in Washington Sunday).

Sandy

JOHN A. CATSIMATIDIS

F A X

Date: Wednesday, April 21, 1999

Time: 3:04:01 PM

3 Pages

To: DOUG SOSNIK
WHITE HOUSE

From: John Catsimatidis
Red Apple Group

Fax: (202) 4562530
Voice: 2024561295

Fax: 212 247-4509
Voice: 212 247-4509
5-3-99

Comments:

DOUG

NICK GAGE ASKED ME TO FORWARD TO THE PRESIDENT, ~~approx 10-99~~
NICK HAS OFTEN ADVISED THE PRESIDENT IN THE PAST. ~~approx 10-99~~

REGARDS

JOHN

Sandy
I still think this
is a good idea, esp. when
coupled w/ a commitment
to rebuild the Balkans
we should actively
ask Cherno to put to
Mike —

BK

copied
Bergen
Podesta

NICHOLAS GAGE

April 19, 1999

President William J. Clinton
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Clinton:

As you know, I strongly supported you in both of your election campaigns and have publicly stated my admiration for the way you handled previous issues in the Southern Balkans. I'm writing to you now because I'm greatly concerned that our current policy in the region will have grave consequences for the whole area, damage American interests throughout Eastern and Southern Europe and threaten the impressive place in history that you have earned so far as President.

As you may remember, I have some experience with the Balkans. I was born on the Greek border with Albania, came to the U.S. as a refugee of the Greek civil war (and understand as well as anyone the pain of the Kosovo refugees), and went back as a correspondent for The New York Times to cover the region from 1977 to 1981. Back in 1993 I wrote an Op-Ed piece for The Washington Post entitled "Kosovo Powder Keg", which warned prophetically that American policy in the region "may actually encourage conflict in Kosovo rather than prevent it."

✓ You may recall too that in 1994 I was the first to warn about the fanatic nationalism of the then-president of Albania, Sali Berisha. Eventually you cut off U.S. support for him (to your great credit) and he fell from power. If that had not happened, Berisha, one of the founders and principal organizers of the KLA, would have had Albania attacking Yugoslavia and probably FYROM as well, and the wider Balkan war we all fear would be underway already.

Some of the planners of current U.S. policy on the Balkans who were strong supporters of Berisha have now gotten you, the United States and all of NATO into a war that will do terrible damage to American interests if it is not ended soon. Waves of anger against American policy in the Balkans are sweeping through Russia already and they could carry extreme nationalists to power in the next elections. There has never been such anti-Americanism in the Southern Balkans as there is now, as the daily demonstrations in Athens, Skopje and Sofia clearly show.

I recognize that, despite such risks, the credibility of our country and all of NATO is now at stake and we must prevail. But how we prevail is something else. I think that you, as a student of history, will appreciate that what you are offering the Serbs is akin to what Thucydides says the Athenians offered the Melians in the Peloponnesian War--total surrender or destruction. You are offering the options of complete capitulation or endless bombing (which is a far cry from the choice of slavery or death offered by the Athenians) but the point is that people may choose what is most destructive for them if pushed to extremes. That is why the Melians chose death to the last man and why you may have to bomb all of

Pat. 212 247-4305 To: DODD JOURNAL at: WHITE HOUSE.

Serbia into rubble to get its people to accept the terms you are now offering if they have no alternative they can accept.

But there is a way out of this conflict, Mr. President, in which the U.S. and NATO can prevail but also bring the war to a quick end.

Let Milosevic know that if he will accept your three basic conditions--a pullout of Serb troops from Kosovo, the return of refugees to their homes, and an international force to protect them--you will agree to hold a new conference on how to implement the terms, providing him the chance to soften some of the harshest elements arbitrarily imposed at Rambouillet.

To create regional pressure on the Serbs to accept the proposal, declare that the conference will include, in addition to the participants at Rambouillet, other countries in the Southern Balkans threatened by the conflict--Albania, Bulgaria, FYROM and Greece.

To make certain that the conference will succeed and to avoid the acrimony that built up at Rambouillet, appoint George Mitchell, who knows how to negotiate with implacable foes in an even-handed way, to head the talks.

This concept offers something for everyone. The U.S. and NATO prevail by having their terms accepted. The Serbs get a new chance to re-negotiate the more onerous aspects of the conditions at a conference that includes Balkan neighbors who understand the risks to the region, not just Americans and Western Europeans. Most of all, the people of Kosovo will get a chance to return to their homes under military protection and to administer their own province.

The other Balkan countries in the conference can pressure the Serbs not to be intransigent and at the same time make them feel less isolated than they were at Rambouillet. For their part, the Kosovars will get the added support of Albania and a real chance for their suffering to come to an end at last.

Without such an approach, all the other prospects are bleak: send in ground troops and take heavy casualties, continue pounding Serbia and killing civilians while watching Kosovo become a ghost province, or back down.

Backing down is out of the question, but are the other two options much better? They certainly aren't if there's a possibility of achieving a solution without sacrificing the three basic objectives.

There will be some who will condemn any effort to resolve the crisis short of complete capitulation on the part of the Serbs, but the many thousands of lives that are at stake as well as the danger of a prolonged war that could spread throughout the region make it essential to consider seriously any honorable chance for peace.

Sincerely,



April 29, 1999

Mr. Roger Clinton
via fax 310.316.3238
five pages

Dear Mr. Clinton:

Re: Adelaide Abankwah (A#74 881 778)

Gerard ^{Guez} suggest that I bring to your attention the plight of Adelaide Abankwah, an asylum-seeker from Ghana who Marie Claire featured in May and December 1998. Adelaide has been jailed in Wackenhut Detention Facility in Queens, New York for over two years. She fled her native Ghana to escape genital mutilation. If she is returned to her country she faces even more danger.

Since we've featured Adelaide's plight last year her situation remains bleak and her health continues to deteriorate. Despite the fact that a Ghanaian minister has offered to house and support Adelaide, she continues to be detained until her Federal Court hearing on May 3.

We are continuing our campaign to free Adelaide. This case has received considerable media attention and support from well respected, influential people.

Following is a list of developments since we first featured Adelaide's story. Your personal intervention is just what is needed to finally free Adelaide. We ask for your support and assistance.

May and December 1998 - Marie Claire introduced Adelaide Abankwah in a feature article (May 1998) and an update of her situation (December 1998).

November 1998 - NY 1 News reported on Adelaide's story.

March 6, 1999 - Gloria Steinem, Fauzia Kassinga, and Equality Now visited with Adelaide at Wackenhut Detention Facility in Queens, NY

GLEND A BAILEY
Editor-in-Chief

Att: Pres. & First Lady

Handwritten:
ZAC / Comm's office
Pls look into this
- R

Handwritten:
copied
Benger
NSC w/ Desk
Counsel of
Podesta

marie claire

page 2

1790 BROADWAY
3RD FLOOR
NEW YORK, NY 10019
TEL 212-647-5099
FAX 212-647-5052

March 29, 1999 - UPN 9 News at 10 pm reported on Adelaide which included interviews with Gloria Steinem, Equality Now, and The Women's Commission for Refugee Women and Children.

March 30, 1999 - The Village Voice ran a cover story which included Adelaide's plight.

April 18, 1999 - The New York Post ran a story on Adelaide.

April 18, 1999 - UPN 9 News covered the Schumer/Maloney visit with Adelaide.

April 18, 1999 - Senator Chuck Schumer and Congresswoman Carolyn Maloney visited Adelaide at Wackenhut Detention Facility in Queens, NY

April 25, 1999 - A press conference on Adelaide was held by Congresswoman Carolyn Maloney at 26 Federal Plaza, New York, NY (please see enclosed tape).

April 25, 1999 - New York Times ran a story on Adelaide - appearing front page of the metro section.

Attached, please see the NY Times article for your review. Thank you again for your time and consideration. I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,



GLEND A BAILEY
Editor-in-Chief

The Metro Section

The New York Times

SUNDAY, APRIL 25, 1999

No Asylum for a Woman Threatened With Genital Cutting

By GINGER THOMPSON

For more than two years, Adelaide Abankwah's waking hours have felt like living nightmares. Slumber, she said, is her only refuge.

"I dream that I am stepping out of a dark, dirty room into a light, beautiful room, where everyone is eating a lot of food," she said, closing her brown eyes as if trying to keep the vision from getting away. "When I sleep, that is when I feel free."

Ms. Abankwah, a 29-year-old native of Ghana, has been held in a detention center in Queens since March 1997, shortly after she arrived at Kennedy International Airport with a false passport, racked with fear. Sobbing and speaking in broken English, she told United States officials that she had fled her homeland because the elders of her village were going to cut her genitals. She had lost her virginity to a man who was not an approved mate for her, which violated her tribe's customs.

After dozens of hearings, an immigration judge and the Board of Immigration Appeals denied Ms. Abankwah's petitions. The officials feared that while Ms. Abankwah's fear of returning home was genuine, she had not proved that she would be subjected to genital cutting if she returned.

Ms. Abankwah's plight scoured a distress signal familiar to advocates for refugees across the country. Three years ago, after



An image from a Web site devoted to Adelaide Abankwah's battle for asylum.

advocates waged a highly publicized campaign, the practice of female genital cutting was outlawed in the United States. That same year, the Immigration and Naturalization Service recognized the practice — performed on millions of women in about 20 African nations — as a form of persecution that those seeking asylum could claim. The decision became part of guidelines on sex-based oppression that were issued to immi-

gration judges.

But advocates for refugees and some members of Congress say Ms. Abankwah's case shows that the guidelines are inadequate because they are not binding. Immigration judges are not required to rule that persecution based on an applicant's sex constitutes a valid claim for asylum, and they rarely do so without public pressure, the advocates said. Furthermore, the advocates said, the judges often ask for unreasonable forms of evidence to support women's reports of genital cutting.

And they worry about the effect that detention will have on women like Ms. Abankwah. While she is free to return to Ghana, Ms. Abankwah remains in detention because she is pregnant. The law generally detains people whose cases are similar to Ms. Abankwah's because they are deemed likely to flee to avoid deportation.

"The long-term detention of asylum seekers raises questions about the humanitarian aspects of the law," said Karen Musalo, an expert on refugees at the University of California at San Francisco's Hastings College of the Law. "Is it wise to imprison individuals whose only crime is to flee persecution?"

Ms. Abankwah is to make her final plea on May 3 before the United States Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit in Manhattan. If her appeal is rejected, she will proba-

bly be deported.

When she goes into court this time, however, Ms. Abankwah will not be alone. Her ordeal has attracted mounting support from feminists, advocates for refugees and members of Congress who have posted her picture on the Internet and circulated petitions and letters of support. She is being represented by a lawyer from a prestigious law firm and has been visited by New York celebrities and politicians, including Gloria Steinem, United States Senator Charles E. Schumer and Representative Carolyn B. Maloney of Manhattan.

"I think this is just a matter of too much bureaucracy," said Mr. Schumer, a Brooklyn Democrat. "The I.N.S. won't used to reason with this. It's not the traditional kind of persecution, but it's just as bad. And they need to get with it."

Mr. Schumer and Ms. Maloney, also a Democrat, are scheduled to hold a news conference today at Federal Plaza in Manhattan to release a letter they have written to Attorney General Janet Reno supporting Ms. Abankwah's request for asylum, and asking that she be freed for humanitarian reasons while she awaits a final judgment.

I.N.S. officials said they would not comment on Ms. Abankwah because they did not discuss pending cases. And although more

Continued on Page 41

This Factory's Bats



P. 2/3

REGION

No Asylum for a Woman Threatened With Genital Cutting

Continued From Page 35

Over 1500 people applied for asylum in the fiscal year that ended in September, they could not say how many of those applicants were being detained or how many were charged with persecution based on sex. Advocates also had no firm statistics; however, they said Mrs. Abankwah's case was not unique.

Since Mrs. Abankwah entered Wackenhut, the Queens detention center, her petite, athletic figure has turned bony and fragile. She weighs less than 100 pounds, down about 20 pounds from her previous weight, she said. And medical records indicate that she has developed ovarian cysts and ulcers.

Jonathan W. Rancitway, a lawyer with the firm of Orrick, Sundtman & Sunde in New York City who is representing Mrs. Abankwah, said two petitions to have her placed in the custody of a Protestant minister in the Bronx who has befriended her had been denied.

During an interview at Wackenhut arranged by Mr. Rancitway, Mrs. Abankwah looked tired and weak. "If you talk to the I.N.S.," she begged a reporter, "please tell them I am not a criminal. I just want to believe."

Before the immigration center, she described her flight to America. She was born into the Mursi tribe of about 500 people who live in an isolated region in central Ghana. Mrs. Abankwah said her mother was designated the tribe's "queen mother," leaving most religious rituals and setting rules for the other women.

In the fall of 1996, Mrs. Abankwah said her mother died and the tribal elders decided that she would succeed her mother. Mrs. Abankwah protested, refusing to accept an arranged marriage and to perform rituals intended to determine whether she was a virgin.

"I had a boyfriend," she said. "I did not want the elders to marry for me. I wanted to marry for myself."

Mrs. Abankwah said she revealed the relationship to her grandmother, who warned her that the elders would cut or kill her if they discovered the truth. "If the elders find out

individual punishment, rather than as a matter of general practice imposed on a particular social group."

The courts also found that while State Department reports indicate that 15 percent to 30 percent of women in Ghana are subjected to genital cutting, the ritual has not been practiced in widely in recent years because the Ghanaian Government criminalized it in 1996 and has prosecuted at least one person under the

new law.

The idea that the police would prosecute Mrs. Abankwah may seem plausible to a board of administrative judges in America, her lawyer said. But in Ghana, he said, it is little more than fantasy. "The place where she lives is not the suburbs," Mr. Rancitway said. "It's rural, isolated Africa. The elders govern the tribe. The police and the Government don't have any control."

Mr. Rancitway and other advocates said Mrs. Abankwah's case demonstrated how difficult it was for women seeking to meet the evidence requirements of immigration courts.

In places like Ghana, Mr. Rancitway said, people do not have basic identification papers, like birth certificates or driver's licenses. Mrs. Abankwah's identification is a tattoo on her forearm that reads "Mummen-Brwa." The first word, she

said, translates loosely as "older sister." The second is the name of her village. "If I am dead somewhere," she said, showing the tattoo, "they can look at this and they will know where I came from."

While she waits for her court date, Mrs. Abankwah, who has short, curly hair, passes the time watching television, reading books and playing Monopoly with other detainees.

Although she is almost 30, her manner of speaking and her shy smile make her seem childlike. But smiles were rare during the hour-long

interview. Most of the time, Mrs. Abankwah frowned about her asylum case and her deteriorating health.

She has been in Wackenhut longer than any other detainees in the center, so long that guards told it to her by her first name and then by her immigration number.

It is clear, however, that time is not easing Mrs. Abankwah's condition. The walls of the concrete brick warehouse are starting to feel like a tomb to her. "I feel like am dead here," she said. "There is no fresh air. I cannot eat. I feel like this is where I will die."

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✓CONT'D

ceded her mother, Ms. Abankwah protested, refusing to accept an arranged marriage and to perform rituals intended to determine whether she was a virgin.

"I had a boyfriend," she said. "I did not want the elders to marry for me. I wanted to marry for myself."

Ms. Abankwah said she revealed the relationship to her grandmother, who warned her that the elders would cut or kill her if they discovered the truth. "If the elders find out I am not a virgin, they will never forgive me and they will cut my

No rules for assessing claims of sex-based persecution.

efforts," she said, recalling the fears that made her flee. "And they would look for the boy, and they would not forgive him. So I had to run away."

Asked if she had ever seen the elders kill someone, she said: "You don't see it. You just see a person one day. And the next day you do not see that person."

She fled to the Ghanaian capital, Accra, she said, where she worked for people who took pity on her and eventually helped her get a false passport and a plane ticket to New York because (local elders had gone to Accra to find her. She had no relatives here, but her friends gave her the phone number of a Ghanaian minister in the Bronx. The minister, her friends told her, would take her in and help her start a new life.

But Ms. Abankwah did not make it past immigration officials at the airport. "I was thinking that they thought I took something," she said. "Then one of them said, 'This passport is not for you.' And they put a chain on my leg."

Michael Githwa, director of public affairs for the Eastern region of the I.N.S., said asylum is granted to people who can show a "well-founded fear of persecution because of their race, religion, nationality, political beliefs or membership in a social group." And, he said, applicants bear the burden of proof.

Decisions by immigration judges and the brief filed by I.N.S. lawyers with the Court of Appeals for the Second Circuit indicate that officials believed that Ms. Abankwah had a genuine fear of returning home, a fear one judge described as "intense."

But the courts did not believe Ms. Abankwah's claims of persecution. On July 30, the Board of Immigration Appeals ruled: "We find the applicant's claim that she will be killed because she fled from her village to avoid becoming the queer mother is unconvincing. The applicant has offered no evidence that the punishment for not becoming queen mother is death."

And an earlier ruling by an immigration court in Jamaica, Queens, drew a distinction between Ms. Abankwah's petition for asylum and that of Faulya Kassindja, who fled Togolese in 1984 because of similar fears. She was detained for more than a year while her case was being reviewed. Publicity about her ordeal led to protests that prompted the I.N.S. to recognize female genital cutting as a form of persecution.

The October 1997 decision said female genital cutting had been "imposed uniformly on a particular class of people" in Ms. Kassindja's village but had apparently been abolished in Ms. Abankwah's, "and would be imposed as a matter of

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†Based on number of Chevrolet sport utility product offerings vs. other manufacturers.

5-3-99

'99 APR 28 PM8:23

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

copied
Reed
Podesta

April 28, 1999

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed

SUBJECT: Long-Term Strategy on Littleton Aftermath

Doug, Karen, Loretta, and I have met with several White House offices, including the Vice President's and the First Lady's, to develop options for what the Administration can do to advance the national debate in the wake of the Littleton tragedy. These options are designed to 1) let the healing continue in Colorado and elsewhere; 2) help launch a serious national conversation on violence, the media, responsibility, and community; and 3) build pressure on Congress to seriously consider our gun and safe schools legislation.

1. **Presidential Visit to Littleton:** As you know, we are trying to determine by week's end when you can travel to Littleton, either to deliver the Columbine commencement on May 22 or to meet with families and the community in some other fashion.

2. **White House Summit on Violence and the Media:** There is growing interest in a White House summit to launch the "national conversation" on the culture of violence that you and the First Lady spoke of last week. The Vice President's office has suggested a series of actions over the next five months, culminating with a National Town Hall on School Safety and Parental Involvement in September. Senators Lieberman and McCain (along with Reps. Markey and Burton) wrote today asking you to convene "an emergency summit meeting at the White House with the leaders of the entertainment industry."

It might make sense to do both. The Vice President's proposal would help reassure parents and students when school resumes in the fall, and would give us time over the summer to develop a truly interactive day of dialogue which, unlike a typical White House summit, would attempt to involve communities and middle and high schools across the country via the Internet and cable. But we should also consider convening a smaller, more immediate meeting in mid-May, because we risk losing some of the urgency of this debate if we wait until the fall. One option would be to summon entertainment, media, and Internet leaders to the White House for a three-hour meeting, without the usual break-outs and run-up that accompany a typical summit. (That also would enable you to challenge the entertainment industry before your trip to Los Angeles on May 15.)

The Vice President has lined up some good announcements to make next week -- including an agreement with major internet service providers to provide a single, standardized, one-click menu that would enable parents to filter or block access to inappropriate material, and review a list of Web sites their children had recently visited.

✓ **3. Katie Couric Interview:** If you're ready to commit to a summit, you could announce it in a Today show interview with Katie Couric that would air Friday. This is also a good chance to repeat your message about the culture of violence and the urgent need for legislation on guns.

✓ **4. Counterscheduling on Guns:** Your impassioned speech yesterday about the gun culture led all three networks. Already, ~~spokesmen for the gun industry have signaled that they're prepared to accept your proposals on gun shows and trigger locks.~~ We should look for every opportunity to maintain the pressure on this issue. The Secret Service probably would not allow you to visit a gun show, but perhaps we could visit a community where a gun show is going on. Or you might take your case to a reasonable sportsmen's group -- ideally in an unexpected place like Boise or Las Vegas on your upcoming western swing.

✓ **5. Safe Schools Legislation:** Sometime in the next ten days, you should announce your safe schools bill, which will include increased funding for counselors, mandatory counseling for young people who bring guns to school, expanded character education, alternative placements for disruptive youth, and so on. This legislation can be ready anytime: for example, you could do a safe schools event with Lee Brown on your trip to Houston May 7th.

✓ **6. White House Conference on Mental Health:** This conference on June 7th will attract even more attention in the wake of Littleton. We will make sure that it places a strong emphasis on youth and violence. At the First Lady's suggestion, we are exploring the possibility of requiring insurers to provide greater parity in mental health coverage for young people.

✓ **7. Address to Parents:** At some point, you should find a venue to speak directly to parents about their responsibilities, as well as about the challenges they face in finding more time to be with their families and getting more involved in their children's lives. We have a couple of announcements we have been saving: a Council of Economic Advisers report on the time crunch for working families, and the formal announcement of our parental discrimination bill.

✓ **8. High School Commencement Outside Colorado:** Some people have suggested that in addition to the Columbine commencement, you do a commencement to reassure students and parents at another typical, all-American high school (such as Squirrel Hill in Pittsburgh).

✓ **9. Town Hall with Young People:** As you saw at T.C. Williams High School, young people are eager to talk about this issue, and we need to keep listening. The Vice President is doing a town hall on MSNBC tonight; Nightline did one last week; CNN has another tomorrow. We will encourage Cabinet members and other principals to keep doing these. You should let us know if you would like to do one yourself.

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Charles Marangoudakis
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New Campaign To Increase The Prospects For A Cyprus Settlement

[April, 1999]

*In light of NATO's response to
Serbia's use of the threat of deadly force to
keep ethnically cleansed Kosovars from returning to their homes,*

*NATO can no longer tolerate
(especially from a member of NATO)
Turkey's use of the threat of deadly force to
keep the 200,000 ethnically cleansed Cypriots from returning to their homes.*

Document

Page(s)

1. A letter to President Clinton signed by 115 of the most prominent and active Greek-American leaders across the U.S.;
2. An ad in the Washington Post targeted to NATO ministers;
3. A letter and videotape showing ethnically cleansed Greek-Cypriots being killed by Turkish officials in 1996 to over 100 of the top national T.V. and radio news programs and top newspapers and magazines;
4. A letter to over 40 of the top senior U.S. administration officials explaining the usefulness for a Cyprus settlement of this parallel between Kosovo and Cyprus;
5. A "call to arms" letter to over 200 top Greek-American leaders across the country and Hellenes around the world.

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copied
Berger
Podesta

10 - 11

April 22, 1999

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The precedent created by NATO's determined response to the recent ethnic cleansing in Kosovo can greatly help your desire to end the forcible division of the Republic of Cyprus. It can provide the essential element to a Cyprus settlement which has been missing until now -- a Turkish desire to change the unacceptable status quo on Cyprus.

Now that this new NATO standard has been established for responding to the maintenance of ethnic cleansing policies, it will be far more difficult for NATO to tolerate any longer Turkey's ~~continuous use of deadly force (most recently in 1996)~~ and the very active threat of deadly force ~~(every day) to prevent 200,000 ethnically cleansed Cypriots~~ from returning to their homes. NATO's credibility and moral authority for its mission in Kosovo and NATO's image will be seriously undercut if Turkey's military occupation of Cyprus is not put to an immediate end and the Cypriots who were ethnically cleansed by Turkey are not allowed to return to their homes in safety.

Those who assisted your efforts in Northern Ireland and the Middle East indicate that a desire for a settlement by both sides was a necessary element for progress to have been achieved. As you also know from the conclusions of your Emissary for Cyprus, Richard Holbrooke, and from the conclusions and public statements of other U.S. officials, the Turkish side has not had a desire to change the status quo in Cyprus and work toward a settlement. They have instead blocked your efforts with unacceptable preconditions. On the other hand, the government of Cyprus has shown both political will and a positive attitude toward all your efforts. Its recent courageous and conciliatory decision to cancel the order of surface-to-air defensive missiles, in the interest of reducing tensions and contributing to the efforts that you have indicated you intend to undertake for achieving a Cyprus settlement, is a remarkable example of the positive behavior of the government of Cyprus.

The NATO Summit in Washington, D.C. from the 23rd to the 25th of April will be an excellent opportunity for Turkey to begin receiving a strong message from you and also from our NATO partners that our shared values leave no room to tolerate Turkey's ethnic cleansing policies in Cyprus. If such a united effort is made, Turkey can come away from this meeting with a reason, a very good reason, for ending the status quo on Cyprus. Their political and military leaders can begin to see that as their ethnic cleansing policies on Cyprus begin to erode the credibility and moral authority of NATO, so also will Turkey's stature within NATO begin to erode.

The time has come for Turkey to engage in a responsible policy toward Cyprus. The time has come for Turkey to replace its daily maintenance of ethnic cleansing in Cyprus with a just and lasting settlement in the interests of peace and security.

Sincerely,

[Please see attached list of individuals. Affiliations used for identification purposes only.]

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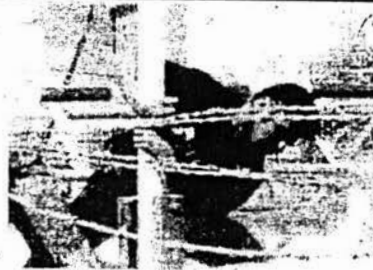
George Zaharoolis
Chairperson, United Hellenic League of Greater Lowell
Lowell, MA

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, APRIL 23, 1999

118 FRIDAY, APRIL 23, 1999

Time To End Ethnic Cleansing in Cyprus by a NATO Member



Dear NATO Ministers:

Your very strong moral insistence against the use of deadly force to carry out or maintain ethnic cleansing in Kosovo has set a precedent and a new NATO standard by which all nations are judged. We, therefore, look forward to your putting an end to Turkey's ongoing and systematic policy of preventing 200,000 ethnically cleansed Greek-Cypriots from returning to their homes by a member of NATO, Turkey, through the use or threat of deadly force.

NATO's credibility and moral authority is seriously injured by Turkey's maintenance of ethnic cleansing in Cyprus since its 1974 invasion and occupation of 37% of the island. They expelled and uprooted the Greek-Cypriots from their ancestral homes and lands, and committed atrocities such as mass killings, rapes, and disappearances. If forceful and principled action had been taken in Cyprus in 1974 or during the 25 intervening years, subsequent practices or ethnic cleansing might have been prevented.

This is a defining moment which will be linked forever to you, your country, and to NATO. Your response to the active enforcement of ethnic cleansing in Cyprus by NATO member Turkey, will determine, to a large degree, the credibility of all involved.

Sincerely,

The World Council of Hellenes Abroad (SAE)
SAE North and South America
The International Coordinating Committee —
Justice for Cyprus (PSEKA)
The Cyprus Federation of America
The Pancyprrian Association of America
The National Coordinated Effort of Hellenes
(202) 393-0171



8

THE NATIONAL COORDINATED EFFORT OF HELLENES

601 13th Street, N.W., Suite #1150 South
Washington, D.C. 20005
(202) 393-7790, [fax] (202) 628-0225
E-mail: Manatos@interserv.com

Andrew A. Athens
National Chairman
United Hellenic American Congress (UHAC)
President
World Council of Hellenes Abroad (SAE)

April 20, 1999

Philip Christopher
President
International Coordinating Committee –
Justice for Cyprus (PSEKA)
President
Pancyprian Association of America

[ONE TO EACH]

TO: Over 100 of the top national *T.V. and radio news* programs and
top *newspapers and magazines*

Dear _____:

Andrew E. Manatos
President
National Coordinated Effort of Hellenes
Executive Board Member
UHAC and PSEKA

Panicos Papanicolaou
Past Supreme President
Cyprus Federation of America

Nikos Mouyiaris
Executive Vice President
Pancyprian Association of America

Charles Marangoudakis
President
UHAC New York
Executive Board Member
PSEKA

A part of NATO is using deadly force (a videotape of which is attached), and the very active threat of deadly force, to keep 200,000 people they ethnically cleansed in Cyprus from returning to their homes. Presidential Envoy Richard Holbrooke's extensive efforts last year to enable the return of these ethnically cleansed Cypriots, through a fair Cyprus settlement, ended, he indicated, because of the lack of cooperation by the Turkish side.

The moral authority and credibility of NATO's high profile, high risk anti-ethnic cleansing policy is seriously undercut when a part of NATO is actively practicing the activity for which they are bombing – the use and the very active threat of deadly force to keep people they ethnically cleansed from returning to their homes. The NATO summit this week is the first opportunity for other NATO nations to urge Turkey to quickly change its policy on Cyprus.

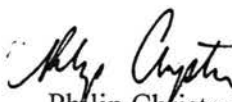
Enclosed is a videotape of two news stories showing Turkish officials and police, in cooperation with the Turkish government-sponsored "gray wolves" organization, killing two Greek-Cypriots participating in a demonstration effort for the return of Greek-Cypriots to their homes.

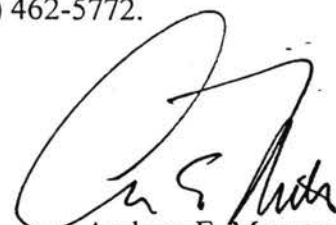
Human rights activist and former Reagan Administration official Kathryn Porter (the wife of Congressman John Porter who is living in suburban Virginia), has participated in some of the Cyprus efforts to enable the ethnically cleansed Greek-Cypriots to return to their homes. During her participation in the "Woman's Walk Home" in Cyprus her rib was cracked by a Turkish soldier stopping her and the ethnically cleansed women.

Also enclosed is a document which gives more detail about Turkey's invasion and occupation of Cyprus and the maintenance today of that ethnic cleansing. If you have any questions, please call Andy Manatos, president of The National Coordinated Effort of Hellenes, at (202) 393-7790 or the Embassy of Cyprus at (202) 462-5772.

Sincerely,


Andrew A. Athens


Philip Christopher


Andrew E. Manatos

THE NATIONAL COORDINATED EFFORT OF HELLENES

601 13th Street, N.W., Suite #1150 South
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(202) 393-7790, [fax] (202) 628-0225
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Andrew A. Athens
National Chairman
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President
World Council of Hellenes Abroad (SAE)

April 20, 1999

Philip Christopher
President
International Coordinating Committee --
Justice for Cyprus (PSEKA)
President
Pan-Cyprian Association of America

[ONE TO EACH]

TO: Over 40 of the top senior U.S. *administration officials*
with regard to U.S. foreign policy

Dear _____:

Andrew E. Manatos
President
National Coordinated Effort of Hellenes
Executive Board Member
UHAC and PSEKA

The precedent created by NATO's activities against ethnic cleansing in Serbia can dramatically increase the prospects for a Cyprus settlement. If handled properly, it can provide Turkey with a reason to want to change the status quo, something they have not before wanted. In light of NATO efforts in Kosovo it now becomes far less tenable for a part of NATO, Turkey, to be using deadly force and the threat of deadly force to keep the 200,000 ethnically cleansed Cypriots from returning to their homes.

Nikos Mouyiaris
Executive Vice President
Pan-Cyprian Association of America

The missing element to a Cyprus settlement has been Turkey having a reason to want a change in the status quo and to find a Cyprus settlement. Those responsible for moving the Northern Ireland and the Middle East stalemates consider a desire for settlement on both sides to be a prerequisite for settlement. The new NATO standard against ethnic cleansing and its maintenance will better enable President Bill Clinton to provide Turkey with a reason to have such a desire for a settlement. Richard Holbrooke's findings have been recently confirmed by public statements by Turkey's Prime Minister - the Greek-Cypriots have been the only ones who have wanted to change the status quo and to find a solution to the division of Cyprus. As you know, the government of Cyprus has taken even the extraordinary actions of canceling the order of surface-to-air defensive missiles, in the interest of achieving a settlement on Cyprus.

Charles Marangoudakis
President
UHAC New York
Executive Board Member
PSEKA

The NATO Summit in Washington, D.C. from the 23rd to the 25th of April will be an excellent opportunity for Turkey to begin receiving a new communication from you and also from our NATO partners. Turkey can come away from this meeting with a reason, a very good reason, for ending the status quo on Cyprus. Their political and military leaders can begin to see that as their ethnic cleansing policies on Cyprus begin to erode the credibility and moral authority of NATO, so also will Turkey's stature within NATO begin to erode.

The time has come for Turkey to settle Cyprus.

Sincerely,


Andrew A. Athens


Philip Christopher


Andrew E. Manatos

THE NATIONAL COORDINATED EFFORT OF HELLENES

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Andrew A. Athens
National Chairman
United Hellenic American Congress (UHAC)
President
World Council of Hellenes Abroad (SAE)

April 15, 1999

Philip Christopher
President
International Coordinating Committee --
Justice for Cyprus (PSEKA)
President
Pancyprian Association of America

[ONE TO EACH]

TO: Over 200 top *Greek-American leaders* across the country
and Hellenes around the world

Dear _____:

Andrew E. Manatos
President
National Coordinated Effort of Hellenes
Executive Board Member
UHAC and PSEKA

This letter contains a three-point plan which we believe can dramatically increase the prospects for a Cyprus settlement. Its success depends on our helping those who are encouraging a Cyprus settlement to understand the following.

Panicos Papanicolaou
Past Supreme President
Cyprus Federation of America

First, Turkey's ongoing use of deadly force or threat of use of force to keep the 200,000 ethnically cleansed Cypriots from returning to their homes will find no tolerance in America and the rest of the world following the dramatic actions of the last few weeks. In light of the precedent set by the recent forceful actions of the West against the ethnic cleansing, apparent atrocities, and deployment of oppressive troops in Kosovo, the Cyprus ethnic cleansing, atrocities and military occupation will be seen quite differently.

Nikos Mouyiaris
Executive Vice President
Pancyprian Association of America

We must assure that this new precedent alters the seeming tolerance of Turkey's documented atrocities in Cyprus -- the mass killings, rapes, forcible expulsions and disappearances of Greek-Cypriots solely on the grounds of their ethnic origin. Today's strong reaction against ethnic cleansing and its maintenance will deter future ethnic cleansings. If the West had taken forceful and successful action against the Turkish activities in Cyprus in 1974 or in any of the subsequent years, those Turkish actions would likely not have stood as an example for the world, nor copied by Serbia or Croatia in the former Yugoslavia.

Charles Marangoudakis
President
UHAC New York
Executive Board Member
PSEKA

Second, President Bill Clinton, the United Nations, the European Union, NATO and the rest of the world community must give Turkey reason to believe that, following this Kosovo precedent, its future will be hampered by the maintenance of ethnic cleansing on Cyprus. To succeed in their goal of moving the Cyprus problem toward settlement according to the dictates of international law and U.N. resolutions, President Clinton and the others must first focus on moving the government of Turkey to support those in Turkey who want to change the status quo on Cyprus.

Those most responsible for moving the formerly stalemated situations in Northern Ireland and the Middle East have emphasized that the element most essential to their success is a desire for a solution of the problem by both sides. Recent public statements by the Turkish Prime Minister and official American comments about Turkish roadblocks to settlement make clear that only the Greek-Cypriots have the desire to solve the Cyprus problem. American, NATO and world pressure on Turkey, based on the new Kosovo precedent for ethnic cleansing, could provide Turkey with the desire to settle Cyprus.

-- 2 --

Third, the NATO Summit in Washington, D.C. from the 23rd to the 25th of April will be an excellent opportunity for Turkey to begin receiving this new communication from America and its NATO partners. The United States, other countries and international organizations must communicate to Turkey that following the Kosovo precedent, it will be impossible for the U.S. or other NATO nations to conduct "business as usual" with Turkey. The new reality regarding the maintenance of ethnic cleansing would allow a return to normalcy only when Turkey begins real movement toward the correction of the problem -- (1) stopping the use of deadly force and threats of deadly force to keep the ethnically cleansed in Cyprus from returning to their homes; and (2) ending the division of Cyprus. Otherwise the credibility and moral authority of the actions of NATO collectively, and of each the NATO counties individually, will be jeopardized.

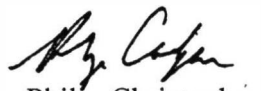
We are communicating this message to NATO ministers through an ad in the Washington Post, letters, personal communications and other means. Please do whatever you can in this regard.

These issues will certainly become, to some degree, a new dynamic in the Cyprus settlement question. How predominant they become will depend on how well we encourage a focus on them in our nations and our nations' international organizations.

Sincerely,



Andrew A. Athens



Philip Christopher



Andrew E. Manatos