

FOIA MARKER

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Collection/Record Group: Clinton Presidential Records

Subgroup/Office of Origin: Staff Secretary

Series/Staff Member: Sean Maloney

Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 14863

FolderID:

Folder Title:

Tuesday, May 18, 1999 [1]

Stack:

S

Row:

40

Section:

5

Shelf:

1

Position:

2

Withdrawal/Redaction Marker

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	John Podesta and Gene Sperling to POTUS re: Nomination of New CEA Chair [partial] (1 page)	05/14/1999	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Sean Maloney (Chron File (May 99))
OA/Box Number: 14863

FOLDER TITLE:

Tuesday, May 18, 1999 [1]

2016-0970-F

rs2986

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

are we being
represented at this?

5/18/99

Asian Pacific American Institute
for Congressional Studies
209 Pennsylvania Avenue, S.E.
Washington, D.C. 20003

5/18/99

Sean -

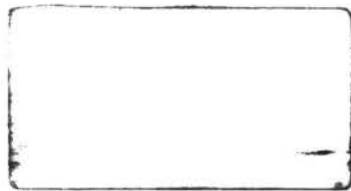
Should we send
to NSC?

Yes ☒
No ☐

NO



C



The Asian Pacific American Institute for Congressional Studies is recognized as a 501(c)(3) nonprofit organization by the Internal Revenue Service. Contributions are tax-deductible to the extent allowable by law (the cost of the dinner is \$50 per person). APAICS policy does not permit acceptance of contributions from foreign governments or foreign corporations. Please make checks payable to "APAICS." There will be a \$25 charge for any returned checks. We do not accept credit cards. For additional information, contact the APAICS office at (202) 547-9100.

IMPORTANT INFORMATION: Reservations will be confirmed ONLY upon receipt of payment. Seating preference will be given on a first-come first-served basis within a donor category. For tables of 10, reservations will be held under the group name. There will be open seating for groups of fewer than 10 persons.

*Asian Pacific American Institute
for Congressional Studies*

*Fifth Annual Gala Dinner
J.W. Marriott Hotel
1331 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C.*

*Thursday, May 20, 1999
Gloria T. Caoile and Matt Fong.
Dinner Co-Chairs*



*Jon
Nod*

Fifth Annual Gala Dinner
Thursday, May 20

Diamond Sponsor: \$25,000
Table for 10 at the Gala Dinner
Full-page advertisement in
program booklet
10 tickets to the VIP Reception
10 tickets to the Conference
Exhibit table at the Conference

Emerald Sponsor: \$15,000
Table for 10 at the Gala Dinner
Full-page advertisement in
program booklet
10 tickets to the VIP Reception
10 tickets to the Conference
Exhibit table at the Conference

Jade Sponsor: \$10,000
Table for 10 at the Gala Dinner
Full-page advertisement in
program booklet
10 tickets to the VIP Reception
10 tickets to the Conference

Conference
Friday and Saturday, May 21-22

Pearl Sponsor: \$5,000
Table for 10 at the Gala
Dinner
Half-page advertisement in
program booklet
5 tickets to the VIP Reception
10 tickets to the Conference

Coral Sponsor: \$1,500
Table for 10 at the Gala
Dinner
Half-page advertisement in
program booklet
10 tickets to the Conference

Cinnabar Sponsor: \$1,000
Table for 10 at the Gala
Dinner
Listing in program booklet

*Camera-ready ads must be
received by April 22 to be
included in program booklet*

RSVP deadline is May 10, 1999

☐ YES. I/we will be attending the dinner. I/we would
like to be listed as a:

- ☐ Diamond Sponsor (\$25,000)
- ☐ Emerald Sponsor (\$15,000)
- ☐ Jade Sponsor (\$10,000)
- ☐ Pearl Sponsor (\$5,000)
- ☐ Coral Sponsor (\$1,500)
- ☐ Cinnabar Sponsor (\$1,000)

☐ Enclosed is a check for ___ tickets to the Fifth
Annual Gala Dinner @\$100 each.

☐ I/we are unable to attend, but would like to support
APAICS's educational activities. Please
accept the enclosed contribution of \$_____.

Name: Mr. Ms. Miss Mrs _____

Title _____ Organization/Company _____

Address _____

City, State, Zip Code _____

Telephone Number _____ Fax _____

Sponsorship Listing in Program _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Date

5/18

To:

Kris Balderston
Lisa Kamboupos

From: The Staff Secretary

The President expressed an interest in helping those folks out if possible -- and appropriate.

I thought Education might be able to contact them.

Thanks,

Phil

cc: Nancy Hernandez

MS
See Mr. Re: There
Be

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-12-99





ARKANSAS STATE
UNIVERSITY
MOUNTAIN HOME

213 East 6th Street
Mountain Home, AR 72653

Phone:

870-425-3949

Fax:

870-424-6868

April 30, 1999

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington D.C. 20036

Dear President ^{Bill}Clinton:

I am excited about the possibility of visiting with you and Hillary during my trip to Washington this weekend. I am very proud of both of you, and I consider it a treat if we can get together.

As you know, we are building a beautiful new university campus in Mountain Home Arkansas. We have already obtained the funds to build the initial campus and endow each of the buildings. The need of our community and university at this time is to build a convention center/auditorium that would be of tremendous benefit to the entire area. We have submitted our plans to the Reynolds Foundation and are currently searching for additional means to fund the project. This will have a significant economic impact on north central Arkansas, and I hope you will encourage those around you to help us find financial support.

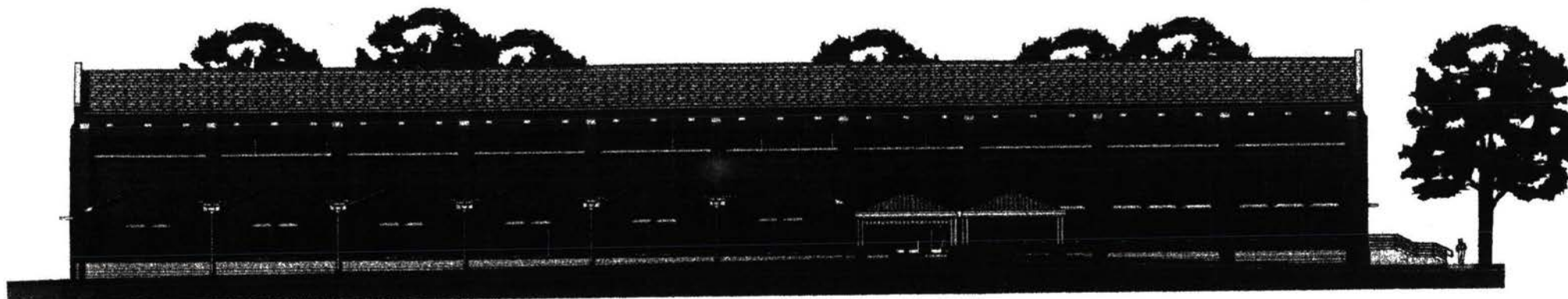
If funds were made available, we could then name this significant facility for Vada Sheid, who should be recognized for her leadership and never ending support of you.

I look forward to seeing you soon.

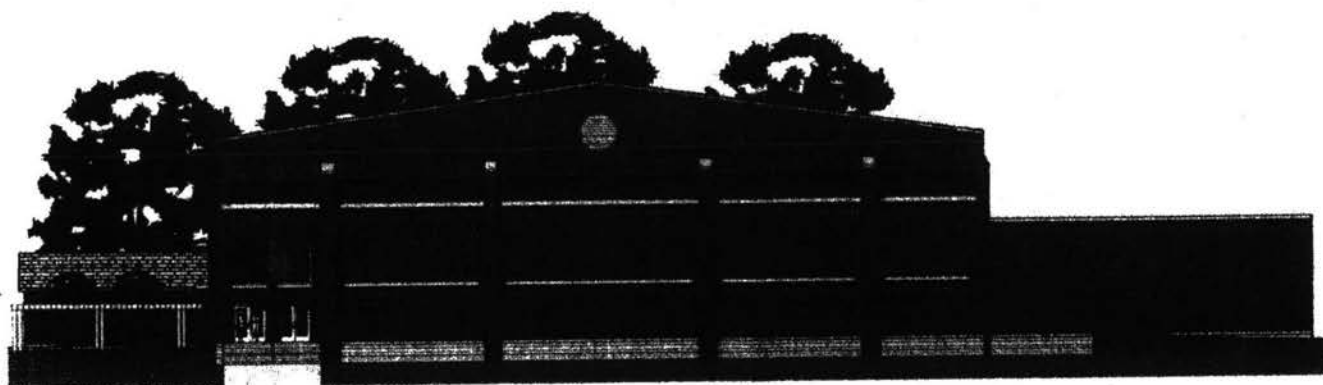
Sincerely,

Ed Coulter
Chancellor

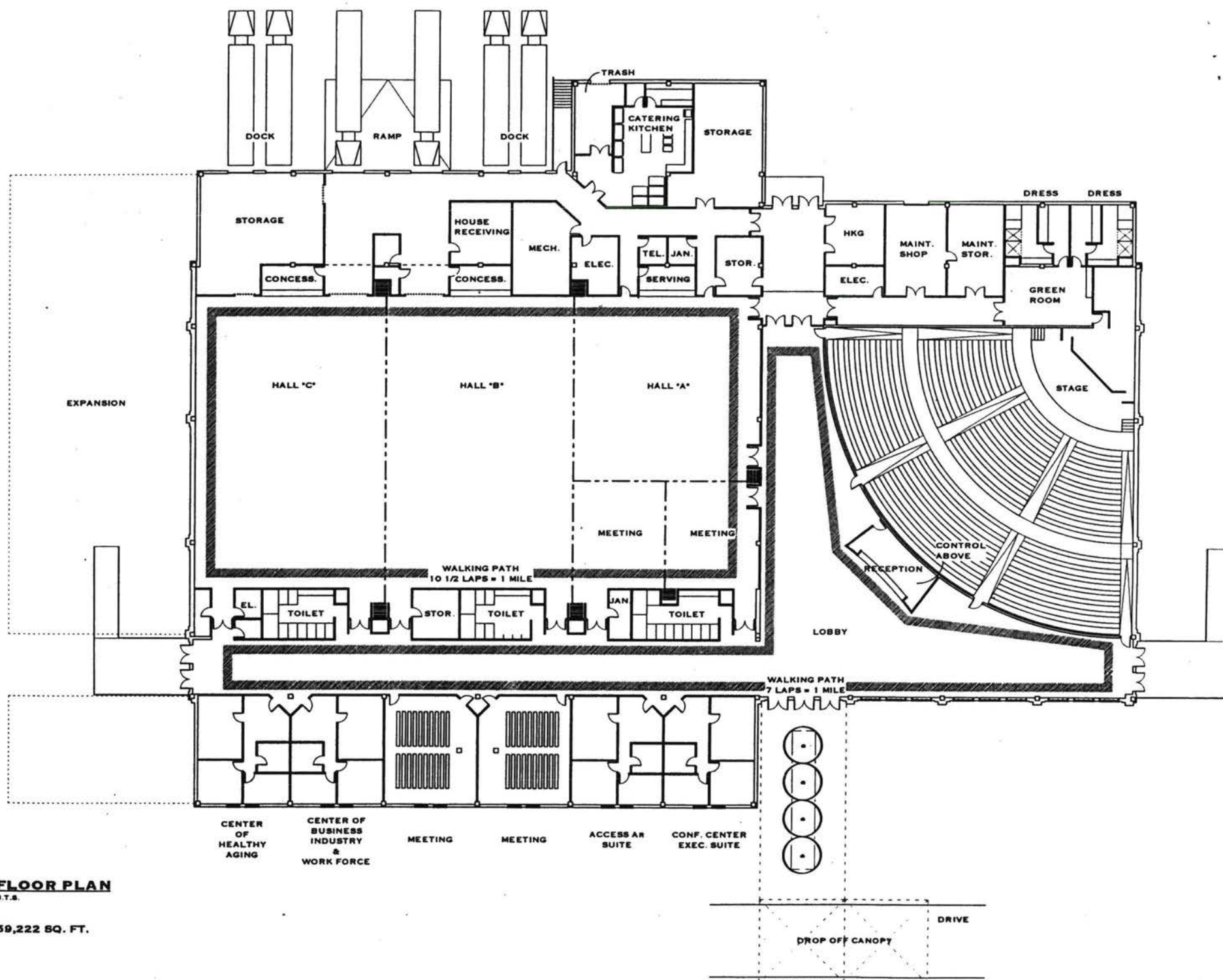
EC/mc



SOUTH ELEVATION
KTA



EAST ELEVATION
KTA



FLOOR PLAN N.T.S.

59,222 SQ. FT.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-18-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 15, 1999

Copied
Waldman
Podesta
Echaveste
Glastri
Shih

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Michael Waldman

FROM: MICHAEL WALDMAN
PAUL GLASTRIS
JUNE SHIH

SUBJECT: GRAMBLING STATE UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT

Here is an early draft of your Grambling State University Commencement address. It sets out the intellectual framework for the work and families agenda we discussed the other night. We will incorporate any comments you have and will continue to work on it.

In addition, the Chief of Staff's office is looking into any appropriate executive actions to be taken to make the federal workplace more family-friendly.

four challenges

work → children

→ time — leave/flex time
— dis care / after school / summer school
— school supports: in school
Mediation
coaching
Prq

→ culture — parent support
Networking — Udell
computer screen

→ contact

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5-18-99

Draft 5/15/99 1:45 a.m.
Glastri/Shih

PRESIDENT WILLIAM J. CLINTON
"NEW TOOLS FOR PARENTS IN THE NEW ECONOMY"
COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS
GRAMBLING STATE UNIVERSITY
GRAMBLING, LOUISIANA
MAY 23, 1999

When I heard that I'd been invited to Grambling State University, there wasn't much discussion about whether or not I would be here today. I was not about to miss a chance to see the "Best Band in the Land," the Grambling State Marching Tigers play without having to buy a ticket to the Super Bowl [*they have played in four*].

It is an honor to join the ~~Class of 1999~~ -- the last Grambling Class of the 20th Century -- on this very important day in your lives. In so many ways, the story of this fine institution embodies the African American experience in our 20th century. In 1901, a small group of farmers -- the children and grandchildren of slaves -- wrote a letter to Booker T. Washington, asking him for a teacher to help set an agricultural and industrial school in these piney woods. [*Quote from letter TK*] At a time when the doors of higher education remained locked to all but white students, Grambling gave young African-Americans the education ~~and the pride they~~ *and power* ~~needed~~ to rise above bigotry and injustice.

Today, Grambling is truly a university for the 21st Century. This beautiful campus has nurtured some of America's best educators and lawyers, preachers and public servants, nurses and businessmen. ~~And it's not just~~ *Of course* the NFL ~~that~~ recruits here -- a legacy of your legendary coach Eddie Robinson and his successor, Superbowl MVP Doug Williams. America's top

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5-18-99

~~school, because~~ ^{is} technology firms, ~~know that Grambling State~~ ^{is} first among all American colleges in conferring Computer and Information Science degrees to African-Americans ~~-- is the place to go for young~~ ^{is} ~~that~~.

You join in a proud tradition and I congratulate each of you on your achievement.

~~And I congratulate and honor your parents, who~~
But I think the graduates here today will forgive me if I speak as well to your parents ~~to~~
~~the parents here and to all parents across America. They~~ should be proud not only of you, but of ^{For many of you,}
themselves. To raise a child from an infancy to college graduation is no small feat. ~~In fact,~~ it is
an epic accomplishment.

^{parent}
Every one of you has a story -- a story of sacrifice, of unconditional love given, of late
night worries and silent hopes. Joyce [Gaines] of Vallejo, California, who took on two extra jobs
so that her daughter Tiaesha could go to college. Even though she was suffering from five
ruptured disks, Ms. Gaines commuted 100 miles each way to work for a company in Sacramento.
It was worth it. Today Tiaesha is graduating with a degree in Sociology and plans to open a
home for abused children *[Tk other heroic stories of Grambling parents... a husband and wife
who worked double shifts; a "sandwich generation" parent caring for both children and
elderly relatives.]* ^{It} Today, the burdens of parents ^{often} are doubled, as ^{responsibility of them} they care not only for growing
children but for aging parents.

^{more to lighten their load & help parents succeed at home & work}
We must do ~~everything we can~~ to make being a parent easier in America. ^{It} This spring, in
commencement addresses to the class of '99, I will be speaking about how a bold new economy

is transforming virtually every facet of our lives. Next month, at the University of Chicago, I will talk about how we must put a human face on the dynamic but sometimes disruptive international marketplace. Today, I want to talk about how we must put children and families first in the new economy here at home.

When parents struggle as mightily as Joyce Gaines has to send their children to college, they are placing their faith in the idea that education will give their children a better life than they had. Never before has that faith been better placed. The class of '99 is entering a knowledge-based economy of unparalleled opportunity and possibility. We all know that this is the strongest peacetime economy in American history. We all know that it is an economy driven by information and fast-paced technological change, in which a college degree is essential for success. But what we are now beginning to glimpse is that the best may be yet to come. A productivity explosion, driven by investments in technology – from the email that links offices around the world to the computers used to track warehouse inventory – is now being fully felt throughout the economy. America has a tremendous capacity for more growth, greater investment, higher salaries, and even faster technological innovation. With your diplomas in hand, you will have the opportunity to participate in this exciting new economy, to help shape it, and to live lives of greater accomplishment than your parents ever dreamed of.

But as your parents can attest, we still have a long way to go before we have adapted to the demands of this new era. The modern economy is more productive, and we are more prosperous. But because the pace of work has picked up, parents feel more stress, and are bringing that stress home to our children at night. The modern economy has enriched our lives

with lower-priced electronic gear and a growing variety of media entertainment. But too often, TV, radio, the Internet bombard children with images and ideas no parent would ever want them to see or learn. The modern economy is creating more jobs at higher wages, allowing parents to provide more for their children. But working parents find themselves with less and less time to give their children the loving attention they need to succeed as adults. Dr. Martin Luther King once wrote: "It is quite easy for me to think of a God of love mainly because I grew up in a family where love was central and lovely relationships were ever present." Every child still needs those ever present relationships.

Last year, I asked the President's Council of Economic Advisers to study the sweeping changes the new economy has brought to our families. It has been said that if every economist on Earth were laid end to end they still wouldn't reach a conclusion. But on this question a team of the nation's top economists has reached a conclusion, one that confirms our common sense and common experience. They found that because more and more parents are working outside the home, they have less time for their children. The percentage of married women in the workforce has nearly doubled in a generation, from 38 percent in 1969 to 68 percent in 1996. At the same time, the percentage of single parent families has more than doubled. As a consequence, the average parent has tk fewer hours per week to spend at home.

The vast majority of today's parents do everything they can to give their children whole and happy childhoods. Mothers and fathers rise early to cook breakfast and pack lunches. They stay up late to check homework and read bedtime stories. They give up weekends to take children to practices and lessons and church. They do whatever it takes to do right by their children.

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5-18-99

But no matter how hard they try, they worry that it is still not enough. They worry that waking up early and staying up late to make time for their children still might not be enough, when that child still has to go home alone to an empty house after school. They worry that all those days teaching a child to "just say no" might not be enough, when drug dealers and gang members wait on corners to tempt their children on the way home. They worry that all those Sunday morning sermons about a world of love might not be enough, when the TV programs their children watch, the music they listen to, the video games they play show a world of hate and violence and tawdriness. They worry that all those nights working overtime to buy a computer so that their child can visit some of the world's finest museums and libraries on the Internet might not be enough, when that same Internet can also lead them to recipes for pipe bombs and explosives.

We are in the midst of a transformation ~~now~~ as powerful and far-reaching as the one our nation experienced when we moved from farm to factory. Then as now, sweeping technological change brought wrenching social change. Families migrated to cities, husbands went to work in factories, and wives were left alone in cramped apartments, their children roaming the streets or, worse, toiling in dangerous factories. It was even harder for African American women, who have always had to work outside the home. America grew alarmed at conditions in the cities and responded with big, practical solutions--forming labor unions, starting settlement houses, banning child labor, and requiring that all children go to school.

Today, with families under new strain, the only solutions some people can think of are tax cuts and attacks on Hollywood. Hollywood must do better. And tax cuts will help some, if

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-18-99

targeted to families that need them. But the new demands of the modern, 24 hour economy call for a new response, across the board. We cannot and must try to turn back the clock or block economic change. Rather, we must reshape our institutions in ways that give parents more and better ways to fulfill their responsibilities at home and at work. America made the industrial age safe for families. Today, we must make the information age safe for families.

We cannot ask government to raise our children. Yet we cannot simply tell parents -- "you're on your own, here's a tax cut, good luck." We have a duty to help parents -- to give them the tools they need to master the powerful forces of the new economy. We must give parents the choices and the power to pass on their values to their children.

The right kind of America for families would recognize that the most precious commodity for parents today is time -- and that parents need tools to help carve out that time. Parents should not have to fear a boss' wrath because they left work to take a child to the doctor -- or call in sick to attend a parent teacher conference or volunteer in a school. Parents should have more freedom to set their own schedules at work. They should be free to work overtime and choose to be paid in extra dollars or extra time off.

We can make this a reality if we expand the Family and Medical Leave Act, the first bill I signed into law back in 1993. *undo?*

Second, the right kind of America for families would make sure that when parents are work, their children are safe and well cared for. More often than not, both parents work. That

5-18-99

means that, for millions of families, finding quality child care is critical; today, many low-income families spend up to a quarter of their income on child care. We can change that, with the child care subsidies and tax credits in my balanced budget. Like it or not, the hours after the schoolbell rings and before parents come home from work are perilous hours. Most juvenile crime takes place between the hours of 3 and 6. Today, millions of working parents start eyeing the clock every day at three in the afternoon, wondering if their children have made it safely home from school, and wondering how they will fare, at home alone. We can change that. My balanced budget triples investment in quality after school care. We can take classrooms that are now dark and empty in the afternoons and fill them with the sounds of children playing and reciting their multiplication tables.

Third, the right kind of America for families would find new and pathbreaking ways to bring back an old idea: that children can be with parents when they work. I have experienced the benefits of this myself. When I was a boy, living with my widowed mother and her parents in Hope, Arkansas, I spent many delightful hours in my grandfather's tiny grocery store. I'd watch him chat with his customers, black and white, and usually poor. He'd give credit to whoever needed it, and they always paid him back. In that little family business, I absorbed lessons and values that would stay with me all my life.

And as a father, I have had the privilege of living, as it were, "above the store," first in the Governor's Mansion, then in the White House. I can "commute" from my office to the family dinner table in about three minutes when the lights are with me. Millions of other Americans in the new economy have discovered the benefits of working at home by telecommuting--working

from home using a computer and modem. We can make that a reality for millions more by challenging more corporations to allow their employees to reach the office not by road but by the information superhighway.

In the right kind of America for families, parents who could not work at home could bring their school-age children to work. Dozens of innovative corporations around the country have teamed up with school districts to build schools at worksites, and my balanced budget would encourage more of them. Employees who enroll their children at these schools can be summoned by the teacher at a moment's notice to lend support on a discipline problem or soothe their child over a skinned knee. They can get deeply involved in their children's schooling--a key factor in academic success. Workplace schools can bring parents and children closer together.

In the right kind of America for families, parents wouldn't have to worry that their children are watching violent programs on TV or visiting objectionable Web sites. We are making that happen, with new tools for parents. Soon, half of all TV sets sold in America will come with V-chips: devices parents can use to screen out sex, violence, or any program they don't want their children to see. And soon, with just the click of a mouse, 95 percent of all Internet users will be able to make offensive web-sites off-limits to their children.

If we provide these tools--to screen out bad influences, to bring home and work closer, to spend more time at home--we can help working parents succeed at the most important job of all: the job of raising children.

It is the responsibility of government to make these tools available. But is the responsibility of parents to use them. More working parents must take advantage of tools already available, such as family leave. More businesses must take a look at their own workplaces and see how they can make them more family friendly. And all across American society, we must get serious about putting our children first.

In a few years, many of you graduating today will be parents, and some of you already are. To raise your children well, you will have to make many sacrifices. But then, your parents made many sacrifices for you. I want all of you to take a minute to think of how you got to this day. How many of you would have made it if it weren't for your families? If it weren't for the precious hours your mom or dad found between shifts to help you with your homework, or read you a story. If it weren't for mornings your mother rose at the crack of dawn to go to work so that she could be home when you got back from school. If it weren't for the hugs and home-cooked meals that conveyed more powerfully than words, unconditional love, support and faith. Ask your parents today: "Was it worth it?"

Until you watch your own child graduate from school, you may never know just how proud your parents are today. But let me just add that all America is proud today. Congratulations.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-18-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

'99 MAY 14 PM 7:50

May 14, 1999

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FROM: STEPHANIE STREETT *SS*
CHIP PAYSON *CP*

SUBJECT: SCHEDULING DECISIONS

CC: JOHN PODESTA
MARIA ECHAVESTE
STEVE RICCHETTI
DOUG SOSNIK
NANCY HERNREICH

copied
Streett
Payson
Podesta
Echaveste
Ricchetti
Sosnik
Hennreich

ACCEPT:

Date of Event: Description of Event:

5/18/99 Working Visit of King Abdullah of Jordan
White House
Staff Contact: Sandy Berger

This visit includes a meeting and a dinner.

5/18/99 Photo-op with Departing Military Aid, Lt. Commander Graham
Stowe and his Family
White House
Staff Contact: Virginia Apuzzo

5/19/99 Departure Statement
White House
Staff Contact: Bruce Reed, Joe Lockhart

Before you leave for New York, we will use your departure statement to announce the Re-Authorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-18-99

5/24/99

Participate in City Year's 5th Annual Convention
Howard University, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

We will discuss the format of this event with you next week.

5/25/99

Empowerment Zones Conference
Edinburgh, TX
Staff Contact: Gene Sperling

You will be joining the Vice President to attend the second day of the Empowerment Zones Conference in Edinburgh, TX.

6/1/99

Meeting with 1998-99 Class of White House Fellows
White House
Staff Contact: Jackie Blumenthal

This is your annual meeting with this group.

6/1/99

Economic Team Meeting to Discuss Medicare
White House
Staff Contact: Gene Sperling

6/2/99

Present the Commander-in-Chief's Trophy to the US Air Force Academy's Football Team
Colorado Springs, CO
Staff Contact: Virginia Apuzzo

Since you will already be in Colorado Springs at the Air Force Academy delivering their Commencement, you will present the Commander-in-Chief's trophy to the football team sometime that day.

6/7, 6/8, 6/9,
6/22 or 6/23/99

Participate in the Dedication of the Cornerstone of the Dale and Betty Bumpers Vaccine Research Facility
National Institutes of Health, Bethesda, MD
Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

*12/1/99
to 12/1/99
4/10/99*

On a previous memo, you questioned whether you should attend this event or a future building dedication event. After reviewing this proposal with DPC and Cabinet Affairs, it was determined that this will be the only dedication event for the new facility. Should you choose to participate, DPC will attempt to come up with a deliverable.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-18-99

PENDING:Date of Event:Description of Event:

May

Meeting with Representative Jack Murtha (D-PA)
 White House
Staff Contact: Larry Stein

Representative Murtha would like to meet with you soon to discuss the views of Members regarding the current military conflict in Kosovo. Since you are traveling most of next week, Legislative Affairs has suggested you try to call him and are forwarding a call sheet to you this weekend.

6/9/99

Drop-by a Meeting of the National Security Telecommunications Advisory Committee
 Indian Treaty Room
Staff Contact: Samuel Berger

You are currently scheduled to be down until 1:00 pm that day and have a full schedule for the afternoon, therefore we will put this on your schedule as an option.

6/9/99

Do not schedule

Address the Annual Meeting of the US Chamber of Commerce
 US Chamber of Commerce
Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

6/14/99-6/28/99

Event with Members of Congress to Unveil Legislation for the President's New Markets Initiative
 White House
Staff Contact: Gene Sperling

We are looking at this as a possible message event sometime in June.

June 23-26

Do not schedule

Address the 1999 Presidential Scholars
 White House
Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

We are trying to find a date that does not conflict with your June foreign trip.

June TBD

ditto

Receive the Natural Resources Council of America's Award
 Site TBD, Washington, DC
Staff Contact: George Frampton

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-18-99

June TBD

He

Announce an Executive Order Directing Improved Management of Federal Energy Use and to Announce the Largest Energy Savings Performance Contract Ever Awarded
White House
Staff Contact: Todd Stern, George Frampton

June TBD

Issue a "Presidential Call to Action" with the National Bar Association for Increased Involvement in Racial Justice and Diversity Work
Site TBD
Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste, Ben Johnson

SOCIAL INVITATIONS/ PRIVATE MEETINGS:

Date of Event:

Description of Event:

5/18/99

Per your request, we have scheduled a brief drop-by with Walter Kyle for Tuesday, May 18.

May TBD

As you are aware, Congressman Jefferson has asked to meet with you. Since your schedule is very full for the rest of the month—you are in the office only one day until the end of May (May 18, you have King Abdullah in the morning, the afternoon off with guests and dinner with Abdullah)—one suggestion would be for you to either meet with him on your trip to Grambling or on AF1.

*JEFFERSON
wanted
Podesta in
mtg*

AF1 (on return flight) *✓*

Grambling *✓*

Discuss *_____*

*return -
we discuss
tel. pod. 6/2/99*

May TBD

He

Al From has asked for a brief meeting with you. Since your schedule is very full for the rest of the month—you are only in the office one day until the end of May (May 18)—we would like to recommend that you visit with Al From during your vacation since he will be in Florida for the DLC Conference at White Oak if this is okay with you.

6/2/99-6/4/99

Pod

Larry King will be in town with his wife and new son and would like to come in and see you. He originally planned on coming to town on May 15-21, however, he has re-scheduled and will now be coming to Washington on June 2-4. We are looking for a time so that he and his family can drop-by the Oval Office to see you.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-18-99

6/4/99

no

You have been invited to attend Walter Kaye's 80th Birthday Celebration at the Fort McNair Officer's Club in Washington, DC on Friday, June 4. As you may recall, along with the First Lady you taped a video for Mr. Kaye. If you would like, we can put this on your schedule as an option.

Option _____ No Option _____

7/31/99

On Saturday, July 31, you have been invited to attend the Millennium Celebration Reunion of Hot Springs High School Class of 1964 in Hot Springs, AR. There will be a Memorial Service at 10:00 am in the morning, and the formal Reunion will begin at 8:00 pm in the evening of Saturday, July 31. Please note: we have scheduled High School Reunion events at the White House on Saturday, October 16.

Are you interested in attending your High School Reunion in AR on July 31?

Yes _____ No _____ Discuss ☒

REGRET:

Date of Event:

5/20/99

*too bad
can't go
I should go later
to Indian CEOs*

Description of Event:

Brief Meeting with Leading CEOs from the United States and India to Discuss Climate Change
White House
Staff Contact: George Frampton, Todd Stern

You will be traveling to Littleton, CO and will be unable to attend this meeting.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-18-99

5/22/99

Can I do
a brief
drop by
later to bring
you to the
Senate Democratic
Issues Conference?
There will be good
stuff!

Attend the 11th Annual Sons of Italy Foundation Awards Gala
Washington, DC

Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

On Saturday, May 22, you will leave the White House in the morning and travel to Irvington, VA to attend the Senate Democratic Issues Conference. You will arrive back at the White House early that evening, assuming you play golf with them that afternoon. The next day, Sunday, May 23, you will be departing at approximately 5:45 am in order to deliver the commencement address at Grambling State University in Louisiana. Because of your full schedule, and since you attended the Sons of Italy Gala last year, the recommendation for this year was to regret and send a surrogate.

5/23/99-5/24/99

Can you
do? would
be good for you.

Announce the National Small Business Person of the Year
White House

Staff Contact: Thurgood Marshall, Jr.

You will be unable to participate in this event because you will be delivering the Grambling State University Commencement on May 23, you will have the day off on May 24 and will participate in an event with City Year that evening.

6/12/99-6/18/99

To Hiler
see can't
un Do - (Sinner)

Photo-op with Students from the National Conference of YMCA
Youth Governors
White House

Staff Contact: Mary Beth Cahill

Since you are scheduled to deliver the Commencement Address at the University of Chicago on June 12, you have the Ford's Theater Gala on June 13 and you have the day and evening off on June 14 before you depart for foreign travel from June 15-23, we have sent this request to the other Principals for their consideration.

6/18/99

Can you
give him
the chance?

Keynote '99 National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed
Officials

Wyndham Franklin Plaza Hotel, WDC

Staff Contact: Maria Echaveste, Mickey Ibarra

You will be out of the country on foreign travel and will be unable to attend this event. We will forward this to Cabinet Affairs for an appropriate surrogate.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-18-99

6/21/99

Address the American Association of University Women during
their Biennial Convention

White House

Staff Contact: *Minyon Moore*

**You will be out of the country on foreign travel and will be
unable to host this group at the White House. We will forward
this to Cabinet Affairs for an appropriate surrogate.**

6/21/99-6/23/99

Host and Address the Peace Corps' "Next Generation" at a White
House Ceremony

White House

Staff Contact: *Thurgood Marshall, Jr.*

**You will be out of the country on foreign travel and will be
unable to host this event.**

6/22/99-6/24/99

Address the National Summit of Children Exposed to Violence
Washington Court Hotel, WDC

Staff Contact: *Thurgood Marshall, Jr, Bruce Reed*

**You will be out of the country on foreign travel and will be
unable to attend this event. Since this event is sponsored by
the Justice Department and HHS, Janet Reno and Donna
Shalala will be attending.**

*VP and/or Gen
The chance to go*

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-18-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

99 MAY 14 AM 10:34

May 14, 1999

copied
Podesta
Spierling
Nash

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: JOHN PODESTA
GENE SPERLING

SUBJECT: NOMINATION OF NEW CEA CHAIR

CC: BOB NASH

The purpose of this memorandum is to inform your decision on the nomination of the next chair of the Council of Economic Advisers (CEA) -- a cabinet position requiring Senate confirmation.

As you know, Janet Yellen will be stepping down as CEA chair this summer. Your economic team has interviewed two highly qualified and very well respected candidates to replace Janet: Alan Krueger, a Princeton economic professor and former Chief Economist at the Labor Department (1994-1995) and Martin Baily, Senior Partner at McKinsey Global Institute and a former member of the CEA.

Martin Baily:

Currently, Martin Baily is a Senior Partner at McKinsey Global Institute. Prior to his current position, he was a member of the Council of Economic Advisors during your first term, and before that he was a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution and a Professor of Economics at the University of Maryland. Martin is well known for his studies on productivity that he co-authored with Nobel Prize Winner Robert Solow.

Pros:

- Very versatile with strong macroeconomic background and an expert on productivity growth. Replaced Alan Blinder as macroeconomic member of CEA in first term.
- Experience at McKinsey has provided him more exposure to international economic issues and the business community.

Cons:

- While his solid understanding of macroeconomic issues may be helpful overall, it may not prove as helpful on specific policy initiatives.



Not born in the United States -- which would mean two of the three Members at CEA were born in foreign countries.

Alan Krueger:

Krueger is the Bendheim Professor of Economics and Public Affairs at Princeton University. His primary research and teaching interests are in the general areas of labor economics, industrial relations, and social insurance. His current research projects include an examination of disability and the work force; a study of the relationship between school quality and labor market success; a study of the U.S. employment miracle; and an analysis of the impact of technological change on the labor market. He served as Chief Economist at the Labor Department and is currently the editor of the Journal of Economic Perspectives -- a top economics journal.

Pros:

- One of the top young labor economists in the world.
- A top expert on issues at the heart of your economic agenda -- education, training, minimum wage, labor issues.
- Would be very strong on policy development for key issues.

Cons:

- While considered a top labor economist, he does not have the stature or macroeconomic background that Laura, Joe, and Janet -- the three previous CEA chairs -- had.
- If there is an economic downturn in the next 18 months, some may believe having a labor economist, instead of a macroeconomist, as chair would be a signal of weakness. This fear would be moderated because of Larry Summers' strong macroeconomic background. However, ceding so much control to Treasury on macroeconomic issues may have an institutional impact on CEA.
- Alan may be difficult to confirm in the Senate because of his research on the effect of minimum wage increases on employment.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

While there is some disagreement among your economic advisors about which candidate would be preferable, all feel positively about both choices.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. memo	John Podesta and Gene Sperling to POTUS re: Nomination of New CEA Chair [partial] (1 page)	05/14/1999	b(6)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
Staff Secretary
Sean Maloney (Chron File (May 99))
OA/Box Number: 14863

FOLDER TITLE:

Tuesday, May 18, 1999 [1]

2016-0970-F

rs2986

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-18-99

On balance John Podesta believes this is a close call, but feels the scales tip towards Alan Krueger, particularly because his focus is on issues that you care about: minimum wage, training, education.

While not a macroeconomist, John believes that Krueger's recent experience as editor the Journal of Economic Perspectives shows that Krueger can hold his own on key macroeconomic issues. In that job, he had to edit papers by top economists on a wide range of issues, including macroeconomic ones. John believes that Krueger would be quite able to communicate effectively to the press and pundits on macroeconomic (and other economic) issues. However, John would be fine either way.

Gene Sperling, Larry Summers, Janet Yellen, and Bob Nash support Baily as your choice. While we think highly of Krueger, we feel that Baily's experience, macro-economic expertise, and reputation will make him a stronger representative for the economic team and would allow for a better symmetry with your past three CEA chairs. He has strong ties to the Brookings Institution, the business community, and is well-regarded by Chairman Greenspan. Finally, Baily would likely face an easier confirmation process.

Nominate Alan Krueger as CEA Chair (Recommended by Podesta)

Nominate Martin Baily as CEA Chair (Recommended by Sperling, Summers, Yellen)

Discuss

(b)(6)

VP

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-18-99

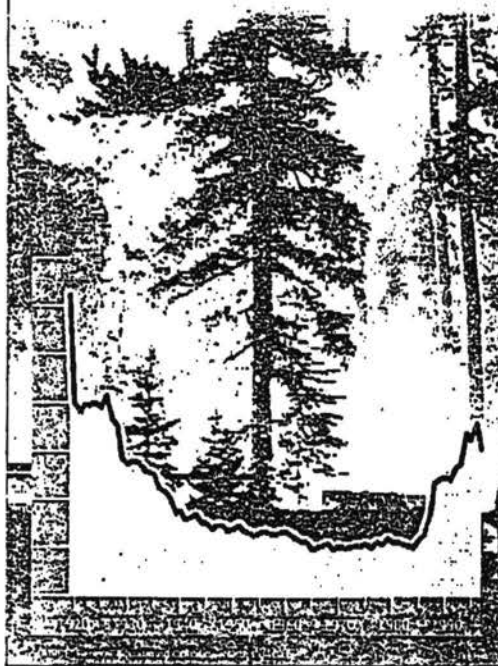
can we see anything
about either of these two things?
Be

copied
VP
Podesta

When Timber Becomes Tinder

Federal officials are concerned that the Forest Service's efforts to put out forest fires has been so successful that the national forests out West have changed significantly over the last century, becoming denser with heavy undergrowth. This has led forestry experts to fear that "39 million acres of national forests in the interior West are at high risk of catastrophic wildfire," the General Accounting Office said in a recent report.

National forest burned annually by wildfire, in millions of acres



Protection for on-the-Job Creatures

Reps. Gerald "Jerry" Weller (R-Ill.), Steve R. Rothman (D-N.J.) and Steve Chabot (R-Ohio) last week proposed stiff penalties on those who harm animals serving alongside federal law enforcement officers.

Drubus, a U.S. Border Patrol dog wearing his own badge, joined lawmakers for the announcement in

front of the Capitol. They said increasing assaults on animals create a need to impose hefty fines and jail time on anyone who hurts or kills one associated with federal law enforcement.

"It only makes sense that Congress make it a crime to assault and murder these brave animals," said Rothman.

—Associated Press

Untangling The Web Of Federal Net Sites

Fee-Based Searches To Aid Researchers

By LESLIE WALKER
Washington Post Staff Writer

Uncle Sam is launching a fee-based Internet search engine today aimed at researchers and wonks who have been growing increasingly frustrated with how hard it is to find documents scattered across more than 20,000 federal Web sites.

The Govsearch service was developed jointly by the Commerce Department's National Technical Information Service (NTIS) and Northern Light Technology, a privately held search engine company in Cambridge, Mass.

Govsearch will allow people to simultaneously search about 3.8 million federal government World Wide Web pages, 3 million government research documents and millions of articles that Northern Light collects from commercial publishers. The service is based on technology that scans and "tags" every word on every Web page.

"The result is that large content collections and the Web now produce a much more relevant match from your search," Sandy Waters, NTIS director of strategic planning, said in a statement.

To use Govsearch, people will pay \$15 for a one-day pass or \$30 for monthly access, plus fees of \$1 to \$4 to access certain documents. Northern Light and the Commerce Department will share the revenue, with the larger portion going to whichever one sells the subscription.

The service will be marketed first to federal agencies and companies in industries that are federally regulated. Corporate rates will be based on the number of users.

The NTIS now runs its own search engine at the FedWorld Web site, but its technology has never been precise since it started in 1992. Enter a query term into its Web search box, and FedWorld searches only the home pages of federal agencies and a limited number of secondary pages linked to them.

Because federal agencies are expanding their Web sites so fast, federal officials wanted a broader, deeper and more precise way to search them. NTIS also wanted to offer a unified way for people to search the Web and the government's research archive that the agency has been collecting for more than half a century.

"We've done some testing with researchers in corporate libraries and government agencies, and they like the one-stop shopping," said Susan Stearns, director of business development for Northern Light.

The federal research archive now is available for a fee from such commercial services as Dialog; portions also are accessible for a fee from www.fedworld.gov. But more allows people to search federal research archives and Web sites simultaneously.

Govsearch has a heavier focus on technical and scientific information than any of the government's free Web search services, such as Thomas (www.thomax.loc.gov) from the Library of Congress.

FedWorld was the second most heavily trafficked federal Web site in March, visited by about 4 percent of all U.S. Internet users at least once. It was right behind the Internal Revenue Service site, which reached about 7 percent of users, according to Web measurement firm Media Matrix Inc. FedWorld averages about 80,000 unique visitors a day, according to the NTIS.

The NTIS is the central source for selling scientific, technical and engineering information produced by or for the U.S. government.

Northern Light, founded in 1996, sells subscriptions to its own Web database of articles and reports from more than 5,000 sources. It also has developed custom Web search engines for Barnesandnoble.com, the New York Times on the Web, Billboard Online and other partners.

The Washington Post

Monday, May 17, 1999



59 MAY 18 AM 11:34

Mr President

I thought you might
like to read and maybe
send a note for a great
job.

I thank
Jane Rice

Jeff Su

ment Agency

5-18-99

Send to Burkhardt?

Yes ☒

No ☐

C

AFTER ARKADELPHIA TORNADO--
FUNTIME LEARNING CENTER BUILDS SAFE ROOM
A First Hand Account

On a typical Saturday morning on March 1, 1997, I decided after lunch to visit my parents who live one house down from me in order to check on my father who had recently had surgery. As I walked to their home, the air was hot and humid and looked like it might storm.

After getting my father to lie down to rest, we heard the sirens sound downtown. We turned on the television, and they announced the approaching tornado. Shelley and Josh, my daughter and future son-in-law, were at my house so I called and told them to come up to my parents so we could all be together.

When they did not come after several minutes, I went outside, and saw them come out of my house. As I left my parents home to meet them, we all stood outside and listened to the sirens and watched the sky. When we heard the tornado, which sounded exactly like the train we hear daily in our neighborhood, we could not decide if it was a real train or a tornado. Once we realized that the sound was an approaching tornado, we only had time to return to my house and run down stairs before the tornado struck. My house shuck, but did not incur significant damage. I opened the downstairs door only to find my whole world gone. I cannot describe the feelings I had when I saw my parent's home, my day care center, and my neighborhood in rubble.

My first concern was my parents. We rushed up the street trying to locate their home. Determining the location of homes proved to be a challenge. After a lot of screaming and crying, my parents answered our calls, and we began to extract them from their destroyed home. My mother was injured, but my father was fine.

Wayne, my husband, was working and after watching the storm pass, he started home. He walked through debris and climbed over fallen trees for one mile before he could reach us. After locating us, Wayne, my father, Shelley, and Josh started doing what they could around the neighborhood. Mother and I went to the hospital and spent the night because of her injuries.

After the initial shock of the tornado wore off, we had to decide how and what to do to begin the rebuilding of our homes, business, and lives. Teachers and parents at the day care wanted to keep the children together, so they worked on finding a place for school to be held. First Baptist Church of Arkadelphia had just completed their new educational building, and they allowed Fun Time Learning Center to use a suite of four rooms for the day care. We were located at First Baptist Church for a total of ten months.

During those ten months, with the help of Emmanuel Baptist Church of Little Rock, Church in a Day, and various volunteers, we were able to reopen the school on its original site on January 12, 1998.

As we considered building our new day care facility, we realized we would not have a quality physical structure for the children unless we had a safe room incorporated into our plans. Therefore, included in our new day care center, parents, children, and visitors will find a beautiful, large safe room designed with reinforced concrete and steel that hosts our children's sleep time daily.

Now, I have the peace of mind that the children I care for and the staff that I employee are safe. I feel confident that we have done everything possible to protect ourselves and others in the event of another tornado.

To assist others toward preparing for the possibility of natural disasters, Wayne and I have participated in all Project Impact Activities. Hopefully, if we help our prepare our friends and neighbors prepare now for potential disasters, we will not see them suffer the emotional and financial crisis that we experienced. I shutter to think of the lives that would have been lost if the tornado had hit during a week day. My family and business stand ready for the unknown possibility of another tornado, however my community is many miles from being disaster resistant. I believe in Project Impact's mission and will help to support that mission any way possible. We hope that our safe room is a model for not only our community but other communities as well.

Wayne and Mae Buck
Fun Time Learning Center
1039 South 13 Street
Arkadelphia, AR 71923

870.246.9631 Day Care Center
870.246.8862 Home

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-18-99

Man
THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 14, 1999

*Copied
Reed
Tanden
Podesta*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Bruce Reed
Neera Tanden

RE: Ratings Systems for Different Media

This memorandum provides you with information on the ratings system for media, ranging from movies to software.

Movies: All films are rated by a division of the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA). In 1968, the MPAA adopted the Voluntary Movie Ratings System, which advises audiences about the age-appropriateness of films and limits minors' access to films with adult themes. The ratings board is currently composed of eleven members, all employed by MPAA. The Voluntary Ratings System currently provides for five ratings categories: G, PG, PG-13, R and NC-17 (see attached list). The rationale for a particular movie rating is provided in movie ads on the Internet and in newspapers, but not in ads on television. For example, on the Internet, a parents' rating guide is available that describes what aspect of the movie -- e.g., strong language, sexuality, or horror violence -- earned the film its rating.

Movie Advertising and Trailers: All movie advertising is approved or disapproved by the Motion Picture Association of America. The same set of standards that govern movies themselves also applies to advertising for movies that appears in magazines, newspapers, billboards, radio, and television. A different, stricter set of standards governs movie trailers. Trailers are approved for either general audience release ("G" / "PG") or for restricted audience release ("R"). "G" / "PG"-rated trailers are for movies that have been rated either "G," "PG," "PG-13," "R," or "NC-17" by the MPAA. Restricted trailers can play in a theatre only if it is playing an "R," or "NC-17"-rated feature. The approval or disapproval of trailers is based on their suitability for viewing by children. "G" / "PG"-rated trailers cannot show any nudity or drugs, and can only show mild depictions of violence. "R"-rated trailers are less restrictive and can display some depictions of nudity and drugs, as well as some violence (though the act of pointing a gun to a character's head is prohibited).

Television: In 1997, ABC, CBS and most cable networks agreed to display age-based ratings on all television programs except news, sports and unedited movies on premium movie channels. The original ratings system indicated only whether a program was age-appropriate; the system was later modified to include information on whether a program contains violence, sexual content, or explicit language (see attached list). In 1998, the Federal Communications

Commission (FCC) approved the current ratings standards for the V-Chip and ruled that manufacturers have until July 1, 1999 to have the V-Chip installed in 13-inch or larger televisions and until January 1, 2000 for remaining televisions. Parents will be able to program the V-Chip to block programming according to the ratings system (see attached ratings).

Premium Cable Television: In June 1994, four premium cable networks -- Cinemax, HBO, The Movie Channel, and Showtime -- initiated a jointly-developed content advisory system that provides descriptive advisories. This voluntary system was established to provide viewers with information about programming containing violence, sex, and offensive language. Executives in the networks' programming departments are responsible for evaluating the programs. This content advisory system includes descriptive codes, such as "MV" for Mild Violence, "RP" for Rape, "GL" for Graphic Language, and "N" for Nudity (see attached ratings).

Sound Recordings: Record companies voluntarily label some newly released sound recordings with a sticker stating "Parental Advisory: Explicit Lyrics." The label does not further describe the content of the recordings; it does not indicate for example whether the lyrics are explicitly violent, sexual, or profane. The recording industry labeling system is wholly voluntary on the part of record companies, with no oversight or enforcement capability by the RIAA. There are no penalties for not placing the advisory sticker on music products that are explicit, and there are no industry guidelines to determine which music products should be labeled.

Interactive Electronics Games: Two major classification systems for interactive electronic entertainment have been created -- the Interactive Digital Software Association (IDSA) for computer software and the Recreational Software Advisory Council (RSAC) for game devices, such as Nintendo and Sega. IDSA established the Entertainment Software Ratings Board (ESRB) as a ratings body for computer software titles. The ESRB classification system has five ratings categories: Early Childhood (EC), Everyone (E), Teen (T), Mature (M), and Adults Only (A). Accompanying these classification labels on title packaging are content descriptors relevant to each category. These descriptors provide consumers with additional content information and in many instances indicate the level of violence or sexual content of the title. Among the descriptors used are the following: Realistic Violence, Realistic Blood, Strong Sexual Content, Use of Tobacco and Alcohol, Mature Sexual Themes.

The Recreational Software Advisory Council Ratings System is the product of a coalition of software companies organized as the Computer Game Ratings Working Group in order to implement a ratings system for game devices. The ratings system developed by the RSAC is based on a five-part classification scale ranging from titles suitable for all audiences to those considered extreme in violent or sexual content and language. The ratings are Level 0, Level 1, Level 2, Level 3, and Level 4. For example, titles considered to have extreme content (Level 4) may contain wanton or gratuitous violence, torture or rape, provocative frontal nudity or explicit sexual activity and graphic language. The RSAC system is based on self-disclosure by the company producing the game.

Online: Unlike other media, a ratings system for the Internet need not be universally applied. In order to protect children from potentially objectionable areas of the Internet, parents can use a

blocking technology to block out all materials that are unrated. Several Internet access providers have already added such parental control technologies to their services. America Online, CompuServe, and Prodigy, for instance, all have systems enabling parents to prevent children from gaining access to any parts of the Internet that the server has not found to be suitable for children. In addition, both Microsoft and Netscape, which together control 97 percent of the web browser market, have implemented a technology in their browsers that allows parents to block material that they deem to be inappropriate. Finally, numerous other technologies are being developed and promoted to enable parents to monitor their children's online activities, set time limits for their children's access online, or let children exchange e-mails only with people on a preapproved list.

Movies Ratings System

G for "General Audiences. All ages admitted."

PG for "Parental Guidance Suggested. Some material may not be suitable for children."

PG-13 for "Parents Strongly Cautioned. Some material may be inappropriate for children under 13."

R for "Restricted. Under 17 requires accompanying parent or adult guardian."

NC-17 for "No children 17 and under admitted."

Movie Advertising and Trailers:

G/PG: for general audiences. May be displayed before any movie.

R: for restricted audiences. May only be displayed by audiences viewing R- or NC-17-rated movies.

Premium Cable Television

MV for Mild Violence

V for Violence

GV for Graphic Violence

RP for Rape

AL for Adult Language

GL for Graphic Language

BN for Brief Nudity

N for Nudity

AC for Adult Content

SC for Strong Sexual Content

TV Ratings System

The following categories apply to programs designed solely for children:

TVY All Children. This program is designed to be appropriate for all children, including children from ages 2 - 6. This program is not expected to frighten younger children.

TVY7 Directed to Older Children. This program is designed for children age 7 and above who have acquired the developmental skills needed to distinguish between make-believe and reality. Themes and elements in this program may include mild fantasy violence or comedic violence, or may frighten children under the age of 7. Programs containing fantasy violence that is somewhat more intense or combative are designated **TV-Y7-FV**.

The following categories apply to programs designed for a broader audience.

TVG General Audience. Most parents would find this program suitable for all ages. It contains little or no violence, no strong language, and little or no sexual dialogue or situations.

TVPG Parental Guidance Suggested. This program contains material that parents may find unsuitable for younger children and the program may contain one or more of the following: moderate violence (V), some sexual situations (S), infrequent coarse language (L), or some suggestive dialogue (D).

TV14 Parents Strongly Cautioned. This program contains some material that many parents would find unsuitable for children under 14 years of age and may contain one or more of the following: intense violence (V), intense sexual situations (S), strong coarse language (L), or intensely suggestive dialogue (D).

TVMA Mature Audience Only. This program is specifically designed to be viewed by adults and therefore may be unsuitable for children under 17. This program contains one or more of the following: graphic violence (V), explicit sexual activity (S), or crude indecent language (L).

Interactive Electronics Games

Entertainment Software Ratings Board

Early Childhood - Titles rated "Early Childhood (EC)" have content suitable for children ages three and older and do not contain any material that parents would find inappropriate.

Everyone - Titles rated "Everyone (E)" have content suitable for persons ages six and older. These titles may contain minimal violence, some comic mischief (for example, slapstick comedy), or some crude language.

Teen - Titles rated "Teen (T)" have content suitable for persons ages 13 and older. Titles in this category may contain violent content, mild or strong language, and/or suggestive themes.

Mature - Titles rated "Mature (M)" have content suitable for persons ages 17 and older. These products may include more intense violence or language than products in the Teen category. In addition, these titles may include mature sexual themes.

Adults Only - Titles rated "Adults Only (AO)" have content suitable only for adults. These products may include graphic depictions of sex and/or violence.

Recreational Software Advisory Council

LEVEL FOUR

Violence Rating Descriptor: Rape, or wanton, gratuitous violence

Nudity Rating Descriptor: Frontal nudity, amounting to provocative display

Sex Rating Descriptor: Explicit sexual acts or sex crimes

Language Rating Descriptor: Crude, vulgar language or extreme hate speech.

LEVEL THREE

Violence Rating Descriptor: Aggressive violence or death to humans

Nudity Rating Descriptor: Frontal nudity

Sex Rating Descriptor: Non-explicit sex acts

Language Rating Descriptor: Strong language or hate speech

LEVEL TWO

Violence Rating Descriptor: Destruction of realistic objects

Nudity Rating Descriptor: Partial nudity

Sex Rating Descriptor: Clothed sexual touching

Language Rating Descriptor: Moderate expletives or profanity

LEVEL ONE

Violence Rating Descriptor: Injury to human being

Nudity Rating Descriptor: Revealing attire

Sex Rating Descriptor: Passionate kissing

Language Rating Descriptor: Mild expletives

LEVEL ZERO

Violence Rating Descriptor: None of the above, or sports related

Nudity Rating Descriptor: None of the above

Sex Rating Descriptor: None of the above, or innocent kissing, romance

Language Rating Descriptor: None of the above

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-18-99

United States Senate
WASHINGTON, DC 20510

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Berger
Palasta

May 14, 1999

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

149-11:35

Dear Mr. President,

We are writing to encourage you to finalize bilateral negotiations over Chinese accession to the WTO. For our part, upon conclusion of a market access agreement that clearly advances our economic interests in China, we are committed to granting China permanent Normal Trading Relations status.

Despite the events of this past week in Belgrade and China, it is critical that we focus on what is important to America's national interest. Incorporating China into the global trade community through WTO membership; encouraging China to follow internationally accepted trade rules; opening Chinese markets to our manufactured goods, agricultural products, and services; and helping to anchor the economic reform process underway in China, all serve our national interest. The recent events in Belgrade and Beijing are reason neither to weaken those commitments made during Premier Zhu Rongji's visit last month nor to delay conclusion of the accession process.

We look forward to working with you to ensure an early conclusion of these negotiations and China's accession to the WTO.

Sincerely,

Alex Baucus

John H. Chafee

Jay Rockefeller

Don Nickles

John Breaux

Chuck Grassley

President William Jefferson Clinton
May 14, 1999
Page Two

James Christen

Jeff Seamus

Tom Varela

John J.

Mike McCune

Long Evans

Ken Hatch

David B.

Carol Kiser

William

Patty Murray

Harvey Rief

Sam Brownback

Ed Lewis

Pat Roberts

Pat Seamus

Daniel T. Hoke

Gary V. Vornovick

President William Jefferson Clinton
May 14, 1999
Page Three

Don White
Richard H. Rogers
Mike Johnston

Jeffrey M. Miller
Curtis
Craig Thomas

Max Baucus
John H. Chafee
Jay Rockefeller
Don Nickles
John Breaux
Chuck Grassley
Dianne Feinstein
Ted Stevens
Tom Daschle
Frank Murkowski
Mitch McConnell
Larry Craig
Orrin Hatch
Conrad Burns
Chuck Hagel
Daniel Inouye
Patty Murray
Harry Reid
Sam Brownback
Bob Kerrey
Pat Roberts
Rod Grams
Daniel K. Akaka
George Voinovich
Ron Wyden
Jeff Bingaman
Richard H. Bryan
Gordon Smith
Slade Gorton
Craig Thomas

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5-18-99

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Seattle, Washington)

For Immediate Release

May 14, 1999

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO DNC LUNCHEONThe Rainier Club
Seattle, Washington

2:35 P.M. PDT

THE PRESIDENT: I couldn't help but thinking when Jack was up here talking and saying all those wonderful things, that Joe Andrew had just said that we would win every election in 2000, from dog catcher to President. And my immediate reaction was, that's not such a great distance. (Laughter.) That's because I spend too much time in Washington -- (laughter) -- now, when I'm in Seattle it feels great.

Let me first of all say how grateful I am that the governor and the mayor are here. Thank you both for coming. Our state party chair; your former mayor and my good friend, Norm Rice and his fine wife. I thank our officers for coming out here to Washington. And Jack, to you and Ron, my long-time friend; and Ted and Bill and the others who are here who have helped so much -- Mr. Marshall and others, I thank you all.

I was thinking when I got on the airplane today -- you know, when a politician tells you a true story your immediate reaction is, it couldn't be true -- (laughter) -- but this is a true story. The first time I ever came to Washington, when I was running for President in 1992, I came rather late. I'd been out there running for quite some time and I was nervous as a cat. And I knew that Senator Tsongas had been here a lot and had built a lot of support. And I really wanted to make a good impression and there was this event planned and we had a very nice crowd.

And I came into the airport in my modest little plane. and, coincidentally, the Seattle police force, under Mayor Rice, who has been trying to pay me back ever since -- (laughter) -- they were practicing how to provide security and rapid transportation to dignitaries. So here I arrived, you know, as President Bush used to say, a governor of a small southern state -- (laughter) -- in an airplane not quite as grand as the Boeing I fly in today. (Laughter.) And I look up -- I swear, there were more than 50 motorcycle police officers there. (Laughter.)

And we go, and you know, I know how McArthur felt with his ticker tape parade in New York City now at the end of the war. And we're going in, you know, and I've got this little two-car motorcade -- (laughter) -- and 50 motorcycles. I mean, I couldn't breathe. I thought, my God, there won't be a person in this town that votes for me. (Laughter.) And, sure enough, I lost the primary in Washington State. (Laughter.) And I've often thought it was because of those -- it was quite a grand thing, you know. I don't have 50 motorcycles today when I go anywhere. (Laughter.)

But the Seattle police were well-trained and they've always

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TO: Mr. [unclear]
cc: Mr. [unclear]
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This is pretty good
I think [unclear]
[unclear]

2

been very polite to me, and I never will forget it, though. Every time I land on the tarmac, I get a little nervous. (Laughter.)

Let me seriously say that the people of Washington State have been very good to Hillary and me and the Vice President, to our administration, in two elections in '92 and '96. We suffered a terrible setback here in the congressional elections in '94, and then made up a great deal of ground in '96 and '98. And I think we will more than make up the rest of the ground in the year 2000, thanks to people like you.

I would like to just -- you know, I just made myself a few notes here on the way in. Sometimes I don't even do that. But I've got some things -- I don't get to come here as much as I'd like, and I would like to say a few things.

When I made the long trip out here the first time in 1992, I did so with some mixed feelings, because I had a job I loved in a place I loved and my family was doing well and things were going great for us. But I was very concerned that our country was drifting and divided, that we had all kinds of problems and that no one seemed to be offering a clear vision about what kind of country we were going to be in the 21st century and how we proposed to get there.

And I had in my own mind a very simple idea of the world I wanted our daughter to grow up to live in. I wanted 21st century America to be a place where there was opportunity for every responsible citizen, where we were joined together across all the lines that divide us into an American community, united by our common humanity, and where my country was still the world's strongest force for peace and freedom and prosperity.

In short, I wanted to find a way to take advantage of the two great things that are happening in the world today: the explosion of technology and the increasing interdependence of people across national lines, both of which are perfectly embodied in this room, in this city and in this state, in a way that would give everybody a chance to participate in it and give us a chance to let go of the problems that besiege us.

And it seemed to me in order to do that we had to move beyond the old political debate in Washington. And so I went around the country saying, I believe if we're committed to opportunity and responsibility and community and to being a 21st century democracy, then we have to find a way to reward entrepreneurship and build a middle class and help the poor work themselves into it. I believe we have to find a way to grow the economy and protect the environment.

I believe we have to find a way to help people succeed at work and at home, because everybody's most important work is still raising good children. I believe that we have to find a way to reform welfare that requires able-bodied people who can work, to work; but doesn't require them to sacrifice their responsibilities as parents because they can't afford child care or health care.

I believe we have to find a way to reduce the crime rate, not simply by better enforcement, but also by better prevention. I believe that we have to find a way not only to increase the quantity, but the quality of education. I believe we can expand trade and lift the environmental and labor standards of the world instead of driving them lower. I believe that we can be a force for peace in the world and still be willing to use force if it is the only way to achieve legitimate, indeed, compelling objectives.

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3

I believed all that. I also believed that we could do it with a government that was markedly smaller, but more active; if we focused on what a 21st century mission would be. And for me, it is overwhelmingly the mission of establishing the conditions and then giving people the tools to solve their own problems, but not alone -- working together.

Now, all the work that those of us in our administration have done in the last six years has been a labor of love to try to take those basic ideas and make them real, working facts of life in America. And I am profoundly grateful for the results. I literally get up and try to live with the spirit of gratitude every day for the good things that many of you have played a large role in bringing to our country: the longest peacetime expansion in our history, over 18 million new jobs, the lowest minority unemployment rate we have ever recorded, welfare rolls about half of what they were before; a 25-year low in the crime rate, the highest homeownership in history, over 90 percent of our children immunized against serious childhood diseases for the first time ever, dramatic progress in the quality of our air and water, more land set aside in perpetuity under this administration than under any administration in the history of the country except those of Theodore and Franklin Roosevelt.

We're almost there with our goal of hooking up all our classrooms to the Internet by the year 2000. We have now over 1,000 and will soon have 3,000 charter schools, which I think are the most exciting new innovation in public education. There was one when I became President. We have 100,000 young people who have now served in AmeriCorps, serving their communities as service volunteers. It took us four years to get to 100,000; it took the Peace Corps 20 years to get to 100,000 volunteers.

I am grateful for the work we've been able to do in the world to help our friends when they're in trouble, to try to reform the global financial system, to be a force for peace from Northern Ireland to the Middle East to Bosnia, and now in Kosovo. And I am grateful that I had the chance to serve in this job at this time to bring these changes and for the role our government had, as well as for the role all of you and others like you all across America had.

But I am here today to tell you that the important thing is the ideas -- the ideas. If we had the right ideas rooted in the right vision, and we had the right attitude about our work, then we can continue that.

You know, I won't be on the ballot in 2000. It's the first time in a long time I haven't been on a ballot. But it is terribly important to me that everyone in America understand that this on the one hand didn't happen by accident, but on the other hand, is not dependent up on any person alone, including the President. What matters is that we have the right ideas based on the right vision, and that we have the right attitude about our work.

There was a wonderful article in "The Christian Science Monitor" in the last couple of days which pointed out that even though I have had what some people might characterize as a fairly tumultuous six and a half years -- (laughter) -- I had enjoyed more stability in my Cabinet and senior staff than most other presidents have. There is a reason for that. The people that work on our team know why they're there. They're not there to occupy offices or sit at certain places behind certain name cards at tables or wonder who is leaking on whom in the paper the next morning. They're there because they passionately believe in what we are doing, and they understand that this is a job. It is not about political positioning, it's about putting the people of

-MORE-

4

this country first and having a vision of where you want to go, having guiding ideas and making them real. That's why I'm here. That's what I want you to understand.

When somebody asks you why you were here today, tell them it's because you like what happened in the last six years; we've got a lot more to do, and the vision and the operating ideas of the Democratic Party should continue to guide the United States of America. That is what I believe.

We've got a lot of things to do. We've got to deal with the aging of America. We've got to deal with Social Security and Medicare and long-term care and people have to be able to save more for their own retirement. We have to continue to tend to the world economy, and I badly want to prevail in my argument that we must use this surplus in a way that both deals with the aging of America and pays down the debt of the country.

My plan, in 17 years, would give us a debt that's the smallest percentage of our economy we've had since before World War I broke out. And that means lower interest rates, less dependence on foreign capital, higher investment, higher growth, more opportunities for people in high-tech havens like this and in small rural towns like those I represented for so many years. It's very important.

We still haven't come to grips with all the challenges of education. We cannot pretend that we can be the country we want to be until we can offer a world-class education, not just in our universities, but in our kindergarten through 12th grades, to all Americans. We still haven't done everything we have to do to help people balance work and family by a long shot. We need to do more with child care, we need to do more with family leave, we need to pass a patients' bill of rights. We have a lot of things we have to do.

We have big environmental challenges. Several of you discussed environmental issues with me today. I'm very proud of the livability of the initiative we have to try to bring environmental issues into the practical lives of people in urban communities; and the lands legacy issue we have, to try to add more lands to the permanent legacy of the United States. And I will continue to try to persuade my friends in the other party in Washington, D.C., that the crisis of climate change is a real issue that demands a real response from the United States, and that we cannot expect others to do their part unless we're ready to do ours.

But most important issues we have, I would argue -- and if we get this right, the rest of it will work out all right, people in this room will solve half the problems that are out there -- the most important thing we have to decide is what kind of country we are going to be. In the last several days, couple of weeks, the headlines have been dominated by two pieces of sobering news -- notwithstanding the Dow going to 11,000 and having 18-1/4 million jobs and all of that. One, of course, was the tragic killings in Littleton, the other is the ongoing conflict in Kosovo.

I would like to just say a couple of words about that, kind of picking up on what Ron said. I talked with Hillary for a long, long time about what happened in Littleton. And we had a family conversation about it, too. And we talked with Al and Tipper Gore about it, because they've worked on a lot of these cultural and family issues for years.

And then I talked with people all around America. I have to tell you, I do not believe that there is a single thing for us to

-MORE-

5

do; I think there are a lot of big things for us all to do. When we had our meeting Monday to say that we're going to have a national campaign against violence against children, Pam Eakes was there, and I want to thank her for the wonderful work she's done with Mothers Against Violence.

I think that you have to understand that we live in a world where there are a lot of people who are alone even when they're in a crowd, where there are a lot of children who never knew they were the most important person to anyone. And when you have large numbers of vulnerable people, then things that other people can't imagine would be problems can be big problems. So if it's easier for a kid in America to get an assault weapon, whereas it's impossible in most other countries, whereas, it's impossible in most other countries, and you have a higher percentage of vulnerable, disconnected kids, more bad things will happen. If it is easier for a child in America to play an interactive video game where you score by how many innocent people you kill, and you have more vulnerable kids, then it's more likely to have a bad impact.

If we have 300 studies now which show that hours and hours and hours a week after years and years and years and years of watching sustained, indiscriminate violence makes young people less sensitive to violence and to its consequences, if there are a larger number of disconnected kids, then it will have a more destructive impact than in other countries.

So all of us -- not pointing the finger at anybody -- we've got something to do to rebuild this web of support to build that village that Hillary always talks about it takes to raise a child. There are things for families to do, things for schools to do, things for communities to do, things for the gun industry to do, things for the entertainment industry to do, things for congress to do.

I hope Congress finally, next week, will get around to passing that bill that closes the loophole on background checks for gun sales at gun shows. They did pass yesterday in the Senate bills to raise the age of handgun ownership to 21 and to close the loophole in the Assault Weapons Ban, which has allowed the sale of large ammunition clips if they're imported since 1994. They voted for that and I applaud them.

But we need to pass all these common-sense measures. We've moved a long way since we had Democrats from Washington State losing elections in 1994 because they voted for the Crime Bill, with the Assault Weapons Ban, and the Brady Bill. We've come a long way. The voters in Florida -- not exactly a raving liberal state -- voted 72 percent to close the gun show loophole, on the ballot. So we're moving in the right direction.

But I don't want to see our attempts to save our children turn into chapter 57 of America's ongoing culture war for someone's political advantage. What I want to see is to see every single segment of our society stand up and say -- not, it's someone else's fault, but, what can I do? And let's work through it.

How we deal with this issue -- you know, we had all those school killings last year. We did a lot of things. We sent out these wonderful handbooks to every school in the country, and they're very, very good. And people were horrified by it, but somehow, when Littleton happened, I think it finally, like, broke a dam in the psyche of America. I think finally people said, my goodness, this really can happen anywhere.

And we cannot -- we owe it to those families, and those

-MORE-

6

children who perished, not to let this opportunity pass from us. And not to let it disintegrate into finger pointing. Everybody needs to just stand up and say, okay, what can I do?

But we have to be honest about how every one of these things -- look, I can make a case that no single thing -- whatever you say the problem is -- I've heard all these arguments. I can stand up and debate you and say, no, that's not the problem; something else is the problem. And I've heard it all. And, you know, I could take either side in the guns versus culture argument.

But the truth is, start with the facts. There are disconnected children in America, some of them in crowds every day. There are a higher percentage of them in our country -- for whatever reason -- getting killed every year than in other countries. In spite of all of our prosperity, and all of our intelligence, and all of our technology, and all of our everything else. It's a fact. It's a human fact.

And all the things that happen to a person in life, and all the opportunities that are present or absent, they all have an impact. And we need to unpack it and quit saying it's not our problem, and just have everybody show up and say, well, what can I do?

If there was a fire down the street today and we heard the fire bell ring, every one of would walk outside, we'd walk up to the firemen and say, what can I do? That's the way we ought to look at this. It ought to be an occasion for bringing this country together.

We were talking at lunch, here. I was down in Texas a few days ago with the daughter of James Bird, the man who was dragged and dismembered to death in Texas, trying to help pass the hate crimes legislation there. And I hope we can pass it in Washington, and the Employment Non-Discrimination Act. Why? Because it will make a big statement about what kind of people we are, and what our level of mutual respect for people who are different from us is.

And you ask me, well, what has that got to do with Kosovo? Let's just move into that.

It is the supreme irony of this new millennium -- I mean, here we are. We've got all these folks here from Microsoft and Boeing, first one place and the other, and everybody's got all these great -- you know, all of you are more technologically literate than me, doubtless.

But isn't it ironic that you can simulate virtually every problem in the world with a software package -- you can do things, and communicate with people, in ways that already are unimaginable -- and within five years, there'll be things that we're not even thinking about now -- and these will be accompanied by breathtaking advances in the biological sciences, as the mysteries of the human genome are unlocked -- and then the interaction of computer technology and the genome project will be completely explosive in ways that I can't even imagine.

Isn't it ironic that in this world we're going to live in, where we'd like to think, gosh, you know, we'll finally run the average life expectancy up to 120 years, and we'll all be flying around on safe, fast planes, and we'll be able to get into cars that won't have traffic jams because we'll be able to program them all, and they will all run right. And what a fabulous world it will be. And we're now building an economy that actually requires less energy, not more -- if we do it right -- so we're

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7

not going to have to burn the planet up after all.

We have all these grand dreams for our children's future, and it is threatened by the oldest problem of human society, which is that we have a hard time getting along with people who are different from us -- because we're afraid of them, and once we get our crowd together, it's easy for somebody to stir us up and turn our fear into hatred. And once we start hating somebody, then it's easy for somebody else to come along and turn our hatred into violence.

And there's a little of that in the reported accounts of Littleton. There was certainly that in the death of James Bird, or in the death of Matthew Shepard. And it is the thing that most bedevils the world in global politics today.

What is consuming the world today? Fights over technology? Not on your life.

What happened in Rwanda? Why is the Northern Ireland conflict unresolved? What are they fighting about in the politics of the Middle East today? What are the Balkans about?

Who gets the right to sell Apple computers? Whether somebody represents Microsoft in Belgrade? That's not what they're fighting about, is it?

They're fighting about religion, and ethnicity, and imagined history, and old slights -- real and imagined. That's what the whole thing's about.

And I ask you to think about that. Look at Seattle. Next time -- just walk down the street, here. That's what you want American to look like, isn't it? Look around this room here. That's what you want America to look like, and that's what you'd like the world of your children to be like.

Now, I don't ask all these ethnic groups, many of whom are still very poor and early on experiencing their democracies -- anywhere -- to like each other. Don't even ask them not to fight. But I do not think it is too much to ask, as we have first in Bosnia and now in Kosovo, that there be no ethnic cleansing and slaughter. Or to recognize that if that becomes an acceptable basis of behavior in the world, especially in Europe right at the doorstep of our closest allies and trading partners, that it bodes very ill for the future. We made a terrible mistake with the bombing of the Chinese Embassy, and I regret it more than I can say. I talked to the President of China today and told him that. But you can see that on CNN.

What you do not see on television is the tales told by the refugees of the little village where 15 men had a rope wrapped around them and were burned alive because they happened to be Albanian Muslims. Of all the young girls that were systematically raped because they happened to be Kosovar Albanian Muslims and because the people who were oppressing them knew that even though that is horrible in any culture, it is especially awful in theirs.

So I say to you: The reason I talk about all this stuff all the time and the reason we have joined with our NATO allies and we're doing what we're doing in Kosovo is, I don't want to let the promise of the 21st century be overcome by the oldest poison in human society's history. And America is about to get it right.

The framers of the Constitution knew when they said all of us were created equal, endowed by our Creator with certain

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8

inalienable rights, including life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, they were smart people. They were not dummies. They knew we were nowhere near living that.

You go to the Jefferson Memorial and you see one of Thomas Jefferson's great quotes: "When I think of slavery, I tremble to consider that God is just," they knew that. Well, we're about to get it right. And that's why we have to fight to give all our children a safe future. That's what we have to fight against the last vestiges of discrimination, and that's why we are right to stand with our NATO allies against ethnic cleansing and manslaughter in Kosovo. It is the world we want our children to live in.

I want to close with this story. A couple of days ago, I had 19 Indian tribal leaders in the White House representing the Dakotas and Montana, the Northern High Plains tribes. They are the poorest tribes in America. And you can imagine that their geographical position doesn't make them very well positioned to get a lot of new and modern investment. You want to put a data center there, they'd be glad to have it.

So anyway -- and I got a lot of my Cabinet there and they asked if we could sit in a circle in the Roosevelt Room, as was their custom. And so we did. And the tribal leaders, each in their turn, got up and talked and they talked about housing and education and economics and all of that. And then at the end of the meeting, their spokesperson, a very tall man whose name was Tex, believe it or not, the chief of his particular tribe, he pulls out this scroll and it is a proclamation where the tribal leaders are signing an endorsement of the United States' position in Kosovo. And he said to me, we know something about ethnic cleansing. And America has come a very long way. And we think we should stand with you.

And then another young tribal leader asked if he could speak. And he stood up; he had a beautiful Indian silver necklace on. And with great dignity he said, Mr. President, I had two uncles. One of them was on the beach at Normandy; the other was the first Native American fighter pilot in the United States military. My great-great grandfather was slaughtered by the 7th Cavalry at Wounded Knee. I now am the father of a young son. We have come a long way from my great-great grandfather to my uncles to my son. I love my son more than anything. But because of the distance we have come, I would gladly have him serve to save the people of Kosovo from having their culture and their lives destroyed.

And there was not -- you couldn't breathe in this room because we knew that this dignified man representing people with all kinds of problems was the living embodiment of everything that this country ought to be. And his people were here first. All the rest of us are latecomers.

So I say to you: The best politics for our party is to do what is right for our children and our country for the new century. Thank you and God bless you. (Applause.)

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Los Angeles Times

SUNDAY, MAY 9, 1999
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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN
5-18-99

PERSPECTIVE ON THE BALKANS

It's Time to Consider Alternatives

■ A ground invasion of Kosovo could fail, a tragedy for the Kosovars and the entire world.

By BRAD SHERMAN

Last weekend, I toured the Kosovar refugee camps, visited our men and women at Aviano Air Force base in Italy, met with Albanian Prime Minister Pandeli Majko and, in Brussels, with U.S. Army Gen. Wesley K. Clark, NATO's commander.

My visits left me more convinced than ever that although it's possible our current military strategy in the Balkans will work, we must explore other approaches.

Although the efforts of the Rev. Jesse Jackson and the recent Group of 8 proposal offer promising possibilities for a resolution, the two sides still have a way to go before agreement can be reached. The problem lies not so much in any lack of effectiveness in the air war but rather in an inflexible diplomatic position and a reluctance to explore other methods of pressuring Yugoslav President Slobodan Milosevic.

Until the first casualties of a ground war occur, it will be popular for American leaders to demand that Milosevic accept the NATO bargaining position, "take it or leave it." Many will say we cannot tolerate living in a world where countries are ruled by mass murderers.

However, we do tolerate living in a world in which countries are ruled by mass murderers. The current government in Sudan has killed nearly 2 million of its citizens. The government in Beijing includes many who took part in China's gulag and slave labor system, Tiananmen Square and the oppression of Tibet—acts that killed millions. We will not be able to depose all world leaders with blood on their hands, but neither do we have to turn our backs on the Kosovar refugees and their need to live in peace, security and autonomy.

The key in Kosovo is putting more pressure on Milosevic while letting the Russians know that they might be successful in negotiating a peace that Milosevic could accept.

One way to increase pressure on Milosevic is to train an army of Kosovo Albanians to use sophisticated heavy ground weapons. Milosevic would then realize that he would soon face not only a powerful NATO air force but also a well-trained, heavily armed army willing to take casualties to liberate Kosovo.

Until the G-8 agreement, NATO had been wedded to the Three Principles: complete withdrawal of Yugoslav forces from Kosovo, a NATO-led force occupying all of Kosovo and the return of all Kosovar refugees to their lands. This would lead to an independent Kosovo run by its justifiably angry Albanian majority. Thus the NATO position, through Serbian eyes, is that Yugoslavia must lose 100% of Kosovo—hardly a compromise.

Perhaps the greatest difference in the stated positions of NATO and those of Serbia relate to the makeup of the peacekeeping force. The G-8 plan modifies the NATO position by leaving the makeup of the international security force deliberately vague. Serbia, through Russian mediation, had suggested non-NATO peacekeepers under a United Nations flag, then added the possibility that NATO countries that had not bombed Yugoslavia would be included.

We should consider agreeing to two distinct peacekeeping forces for two different geographical segments of Kosovo. Region A would be patrolled by Russian or other forces favorably disposed to Serbia. It would consist of two or three areas geographically connected to Serbia or Montenegro and include the historic battlefield of Kosovo Polje, the Gracanica monastery and Pec (original site of the Serbian Orthodox Church).

Region B would be patrolled by a NATO-led peacekeeping force consisting of roughly 80% of Kosovo. All Serbian military and police forces would be required to immediately evacuate Region B.

The refugees with whom I met were in amazingly good spirits. There were smiles on the faces of almost everyone I talked to. One family even offered me refreshments.

But this attitude will change if we do not return these families to their country before winter. Many of the families I visited were living with six, seven or even 10 people in a canvas tent only 12 feet by 12 feet. A reasonable, quickly negotiated peace will meet their needs far better than a "total" victory won after months or years of war.

Like the G-8 proposal, any peace agreement should be brokered with the involvement of Russia. This would give the Serbs the assurances they need to make peace and provide an important measure of pride and prestige to the Russians.

I fear that too-rigid adherence to every detail of NATO's original bargaining position will lead to the introduction of NATO ground troops. If that happens, there is a risk that the casualties inflicted on the American contingent will be too heavy for the U.S. public to bear; the same can be said of the German public, the British, the French and the Italians. If one NATO ally withdraws, there will be increasing demands by the other NATO countries to show equal concern for their own soldiers.

Thus a ground invasion of Kosovo could fail. This would be a tragedy for the Kosovars, for NATO and for the Americans killed or wounded in a losing cause. Moreover, it would also be disastrous for the willingness of the American people to remain engaged in international affairs and to provide even limited assistance to the victims of atrocities in Sudan, Congo, Indonesia, Myanmar and elsewhere.

What would make such a failure even more tragic would be if historians eventually determined that we could have secured a chance for the Kosovars to live in peace, security and autonomy had we only adopted a realistic diplomatic strategy.

Rep. Brad Sherman (D-Woodland Hills) is a member of the House Committee on International Relations.

CONGRESSMAN BRAD SHERMAN

24TH DISTRICT, CALIFORNIA



SERVING THE SAN FERNANDO AND CONEJO VALLEYS,
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COMMITTEE ON BANKING
AND FINANCIAL SERVICES

COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Non-Partition: Two Peacekeeping Forces, Two Peacekeeping Areas, One Autonomous Kosovo

We should not rule out an agreement under which a NATO-led peacekeeping force controls most of Kosovo, and another peacekeeping force, more acceptable to the Serbs, occupies a smaller area containing the main sites of importance to the Serbian nation, all without prejudice as to the final status of Kosovo. Indeed we can and should reaffirm, as part of any agreement, ultimate Serbian sovereignty over all Kosovo, a position with which we firmly agree.

The largest difference in the stated positions of NATO and the stated positions of Serbia relate to the make-up of the peacekeeping force. Last week Serbia, through Russian mediation, suggested non-NATO peacekeepers under a UN mandate. NATO originally insisted on an all-NATO peacekeeping force, and now insists on a "NATO-led" force.

We should consider agreeing to two separate and distinct peacekeeping forces for two different geographical segments of Kosovo. "Region A" would be patrolled exclusively by Russian or other forces more favorably disposed to Serbia. Region A would consist of two or three areas, each geographically connected to Serbia or Montenegro. These areas would include the battlefield of Kosovo Polje, the Gračanica monastery, Pec (the original site of the Serbian Orthodox Church), and certain other monastery lands. Depending on negotiations, Region A might also include most of the lignite mines located in northern Kosovo.

"Region B" would be patrolled by a NATO-led peacekeeping force. It would consist of roughly 80% of Kosovo. All Serbian military and police forces would be required to immediately evacuate from Region B. Kosovar refugees would feel quite comfortable returning to Region B. (As a practical unacknowledged matter, refugees would probably not choose to return to Region A, but this need not be precluded by an agreement. Indeed the Serbian conditions of April 22 explicitly allow for the complete return of all refugees to their original home towns.) U.S. and European aid and trade concessions would be focused on Region B. This would more than make up for any farm lands or mines allocated to Region A.

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FAX (805) 449-2375

I would expect both sides to claim victory. Milosevic, faced with an alliance of 19 powerful nations including the world's only superpower, will claim victory because only friendly forces will occupy historically and religiously significant sites. He will have little difficulty arguing to his people that it is these sites which are the major reason why Serbia demanded to retain Kosovo. As long as the three or four most significant sites are in Region A, Milosevic will have little difficulty arguing that *all* the important sites are in Region A, and those left in Region B are unimportant. Furthermore, as a legal matter, all of Kosovo would remain part of Serbia -- though Region B would have an extremely high level of autonomy.

NATO would rightly claim a major victory. **All Albanian Kosovar refugees would be returned to the territory of Kosovo. All will be protected by a NATO-led peacekeeping force.** Due to trade and aid from the NATO allies, the Kosovars will be more prosperous than they were before the conflict began.

NATO will also claim victory on the issues of international law and legal status so important to its diplomats. Kosovo would remain legally a single entity entitled to a high level of autonomy, and part of Serbia -- the exact legal formula demanded by NATO. Of course this NATO victory would not include the immediate overthrow of Milosevic, just as Desert Storm did not remove Saddam Hussein.

It would probably be best if NATO required that all KLA weapons be turned over to NATO forces. (We should not be surprised if some KLA forces and weapons remain in Albania.) NATO forces should be deployed to prevent the fighters from crossing from Kosovo (Region B) into the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia.

Any peace agreement should be brokered with the involvement of Russia. This will give the Serbs the assurances they need to make peace, and provide an important measure of pride and prestige to the Russians, with whom our relationship remains perhaps the most important in the world.

- Noty for

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May 14th, 1999

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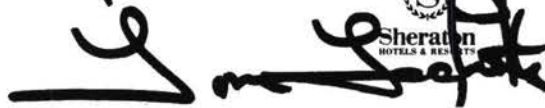
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NSC

Dear,
I wanted
the gift to you
it will entice
our belle Italia.

It has been
an honor to serve you
and our hotel as ambassador.

For your continued health, success,
and happiness. I sincerely
wish you continued health, success,
and happiness. Sincerely,


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HOTELS & RESORTS

PRESTIGE
HOTELS



OFFICE OF
INSPECTOR GENERAL

DEPARTMENT OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

May 17, 1999

'99 MAY 18 AM 11:14

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

Dear Mr. President:

On Thursday, April 29, 1999, the Senate confirmed your nomination of me for the position of Inspector General, Department of the Treasury for Tax Administration. Because of this action, I am formally resigning my previous position as the Inspector General of the Department of the Treasury.

Sincerely yours,

David C. Williams

David C. Williams
Inspector General

5/18/99

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No ☐

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No ☐

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GWS Fyler Avoiding a Crash

THE PT

*An economist finds reasons for optimism
despite the recent global crises.*

THE RETURN OF DEPRESSION ECONOMICS

By Paul Krugman.
176 pp. New York:
W. W. Norton & Company. \$23.95.

By Floyd Norris

IN late 1994, just when Mexico seemed on the verge of entering the economic big leagues, its currency suddenly collapsed and the country entered a deep recession that would have been much worse had not Washington put together a \$50 billion rescue plan. The blame was laid at the feet of Mexican authorities. They had allowed Mexico to borrow too much and let the peso become overvalued. Then they mishandled monetary policy and devalued the currency in a way that proved they were inept.

Having persuaded themselves that the so-called "tequila crisis" was all about Mexico and not about the rest of us, investors could go back to business as usual in the rest of the world. And they could be stunned — shocked, really — when some very similar problems devastated Asian countries in 1997 and 1998.

Paul Krugman, an economist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, recalls in his excellent new book, "The Return of Depression Economics," that Guillermo Calvo, a prominent economist then at the World Bank, kept telling people after the Mexican crisis that while Mexico had made mistakes, the important question was, "Why was so large a punishment imposed for so small a crime?"

The answer is neither simple nor certain. Part of it surely lies in the way the world's financial system has evolved in recent decades, with big flows of capital moving into countries that are popular with investors and then moving back out again very rapidly. As Krugman notes, countries with controls on capital movements have tended to do better in the crisis environment than those without. That is a long way from conventional economic wisdom, and is one reason that reading Krugman as he glances over the economic history of the

past several decades is both enjoyable and thought-provoking.

The title may be a bit misleading. Krugman does not think the world is about to descend into a 1930's-style depression. In fact, he argues that such a fate can be avoided if we instead remember the economic theories born of the Depression, most notably the work of Lord Keynes. Depression economics, Krugman says, "is the study of situations where there is a free lunch, if we can only figure out how to get our hands on it, because there are unemployed resources that could be put to work." He thinks that in some places, most notably Japan, it is time for government to actively seek inflation. I think he is too severe on Japanese policy makers, who finally are pulling out all the stops to get their economy moving, but Japan would be in better shape now if Krugman's advice had been heeded earlier.

Krugman argues that now, as in the 1930's, there is too much emphasis on economic orthodoxy and on somehow restoring the confidence of investors. To be sure, confidence is of immense importance at certain times, and a major reason that country after country suffered currency collapses was that investors took flight. But countries facing crises now are not going to be any more successful than Herbert Hoover was at winning confidence by slashing public works spending while their economies stagnate.

What appalls Krugman now is not the problems the world faces but the reluctance to learn from them. "Those who worried about balanced budgets back when uncontrollable deficits were the problem suddenly insist that raising taxes and cutting spending will actually prevent a recession, because it will improve confidence," he says. "Those who wanted stable prices back when inflation was the risk now claim that 'managed inflation' will somehow backfire."

The reality to Krugman is that there are few, if any, economic policies that are always right for all countries. What you should do depends on where you are and on an ability to think clearly about how you got there. There are times when capital controls can work, and when they would be disastrous. There are times when fixed exchange rates can work wonders, and times when they can blow up. That is not the easy answer, but it is the right one. □

Floyd Norris writes editorials for The Times. He is a former markets editor and columnist for the paper.

WASHINGTON



By Tyler Mallory, AP

Powell's work: Former Joint Chiefs chairman Colin Powell reads to children July 7, 1998, in Washington. Powell is the chairman of America's Promise.

Powell on Kosovo

Q: What do you think of how it's going in Kosovo?

A: We have a very inconclusive situation at the moment. One would think that eventually they (the Serbs) would have to blink under such punishment. But the decision is in Mr. Milosevic's hands. That's the nature of an air campaign. The initiative is in the hands of your opponent because you are not going in to take the initiative away by putting ground troops in.

And I understand the politics that went into that decision, with 19 countries having to be brought along. But as a result, we are essentially waiting for Mr. Milosevic to decide when air power has worked. ... His goal was to cleanse Kosovo, and he's done it. Remember what winning means right now in NATO terms. It means we get to negotiate with him. It's not running him out of town. Winning is you sit at the table with Hitler. We negotiate the terms under which these people return to their homes. Winter is not that far away, and you're talking about 700,000 to 800,000 people and hundreds of villages destroyed and thousands of homes no longer there and livestock not there and farms that haven't been plowed and tended. So phase two of this is going to be an extremely demanding and daunting humanitarian and military task, and I hope a lot of people are thinking about that.

Q: Have you been informally advising the president or (Defense) Secretary Cohen?

A: No. I had my turn at bat.

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tion and the skills they need to take
advantage of it? So what did I do it
for? What did Dr. King do it for?" And
it's not just a message for minority au-
diences, it's a message for all young-
sters: "We have expectations for you.
Shape up. Stand up. Pick your head
up, and look me straight in the eye.
You know what's right, and you know

what's wrong."

Q: Are you in this for the long
haul?

A: It's been two years ... and I don't
have the slightest regrets because I
think what we're doing is important.
And I think it's been successful and
will continue to be successful.

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fallout over the imbecilic NATO bombing, it's hard to see how China-U.S. relations won't continue to decline much less how Beijing can be admitted to the WTO soon. Wise, focused and determined U.S. foreign policy would have arranged for that admission some time ago. But over 6½ years, Clinton's international diplomacy has never much looked beyond the current challenge or crisis. And, as far as China-U.S. relations are concerned, it may never get past this one.

Who Will Unite Israel's Tribes?

By Yossi Klein Halevi

Special to the Los Angeles Times

JERUSALEM The Jewish people have decided to commit suicide. That at least is one reasonable conclusion to be drawn from Israel's current election campaign. Though a Palestinian state is about to emerge on Israel's doorstep, resolving for better or worse the decades-long debate over the Jewish state's borders, the Israeli electorate is scarcely paying attention to the peace process. Instead, Israelis are focused on hatred. Not hatred between Arabs and Jews but between Jews and Jews. Hatred between secular and ultra-Orthodox. Hatred between new immigrants from Russia and veteran immigrants from Middle Eastern countries. Hatred between right-wing supporters and left-wing detractors of Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. All the major fault lines in Israeli society have converged in this campaign, and the result is the political equivalent of a nervous breakdown. In their nightly television campaign ads, politicians don't debate the issues so much as incite against their rivals. Tommy Lapid, leader of the ultra-secular party Shinui, denounces the ultra-Orthodox for having too many children and living off secular taxpayers.

Ultra-Orthodox spokesmen call Lapid, who happens to be a Holocaust survivor, a Nazi. The Russian immigrants' party, Yisrael B'Aliya, attacks Shas, the party of the ultra-Orthodox Sephardim, or Jews of Middle Eastern origin, which uses its control of the powerful Interior Ministry to deny Israeli citizenship to Russians whose Jewishness is suspect. Shas retaliates by labeling Russians, the most educated and talented immigrants in Israel's history, as prostitutes and mafioso. At a Labor Party rally presided over by Ehud Barak, an actress publicly mocks Likud voters as "marketplace rabble," a racist euphemism for Sephardim, and Barak doesn't rebuke her; the next day, Netanyahu rushes off to an outdoor market in Tel Aviv to declare that "the left hates the Sephardim" and that he is "proud to be one of the rabble." Despite the formidable competition, the incitement award in this election belongs to Shas. With its leader, Aryeh Deri, recently convicted on bribery charges, the party has declared war on Israel's judicial system and on secular Ashkenazim, or Jews of European origin. In one Shas TV ad, a Sephardi man proclaims that "all the Ashkenazim hate us." A Shas videotape, distributed in tens of thousands of copies, claims that Deri was tried because he is a Moroccan Jew, victim of a war of "white secular Ashkenazim against black traditional Sephardim." The old conventional wisdom warned that Israel would face civil war once it made peace with the Arabs and was no longer forced into national unity by an outside threat. But Israelis have apparently decided not to wait for peace before dismantling their common identity. The ingathering of the exiles, the process of transforming the radically disparate ethnic and cultural and ideological groups of Jews into one Israeli people, has degenerated into mean tribalism. Perhaps our collective breakdown is a delayed reaction to the 1995 assassination of Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. Perhaps it is the result of living too long with untenable paradox, of simultaneously inhabiting east and west, messianic Jerusalem and hedonistic Tel Aviv, fortress Israel and prosperous high-tech Israel. Perhaps we have concluded that this tiny country, which turns

every debate into a matter of life and death, can no longer contain our conflicting visions. Can any of the candidates for prime minister become healers of Israel? Certainly not Netanyahu, who has tried to turn hatred into political gain. Nor Centrist Party head Yitzhak Mordechai, who has said all the right things about tolerance and unity but has failed to offer an increasingly skeptical electorate a coherent centrist platform. Labor candidate Barak is trying to project himself as a unifier. He has transformed the Labor Party into the "One Israel" faction and brought in moderate religious figures as well as the former Likud Sephardi leader David Levy. But "One Israel" remains overwhelmingly left wing and secular, just like the old Labor Party that alienated half the country. Nor has Barak articulated a new vision of religious-secular relations or seriously addressed the Russian-Sephardi divide. Whoever wins the election must make securing peace among the Jews as much a priority as achieving peace between Arabs and Jews. In the absence of inspiring leadership, perhaps the hope lies with those many Israelis disgusted by the mutual incitement tearing their society apart, and who know that too much sacrifice has gone into creating and sustaining the Jewish state for it to be whittled away from within.

Kremlin Crunch

Los Angeles Times

The following editorial appeared in Thursday's Los Angeles Times: Mired in a stagnant economy and edging toward a major constitutional confrontation, Russia has now been thrust into political turmoil by a president whose mental and physical incapacities are on full public view. President Boris N. Yeltsin, among Russia's least popular politicians, has fired his prime minister, Yevgeny M. Primakov, who ranks among the more popular officials. This was the third time in little more than a year that Yeltsin has dismissed his chief minister. While Primakov in his eight months in office failed to produce a coherent plan for healing Russia's ailing economy the ostensible reason for which he was sacked he was able to restore a measure of stability after the upheaval produced by last August's currency collapse. Word of his firing shook Russia's financial community and put on deeper hold billions of dollars in vitally needed loans from the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Yeltsin acted as the state Duma, the lower house of parliament, was about to start impeachment hearings based on allegations that, among other things, Yeltsin waged an illegal war in Chechnya from 1994 to 1996. Before Primakov was fired he warned that the impeachment movement threatened political stability. The Duma, dominated by Communists and ultranationalists, is unlikely to be deterred by that concern. But impeachment could be a prolonged process. To remove Yeltsin from office requires a two-thirds vote in parliament as well as the approval of two-thirds of the judges on two reviewing courts. Yeltsin is not without leverage against his foes. He has named Sergei V. Stepashin, head of the internal security establishment, to succeed Primakov. If the Duma refuses three times to approve a nominee, a president must call new elections within three months. Yeltsin would govern by decree in the interim, a prospect his enemies would hardly welcome. But Russians can't be happy either with the prospect of an incapacitated president ruling erratically until the next scheduled presidential election, more than a year away. That is something that others as well must be concerned about. Weakened though it may be, as badly led as it is, Russia remains a player on the world stage, as its involvement in the Kosovo conflict shows. But a Russia led by an enfeebled, muddled, unpredictable president who is in constant conflict with a reactionary and anti-Western parliament is certain to give American policymakers some sleepless nights.

hope will be a nomination by acclamation of Texas Gov. George W. Bush. For the Democrats in 1984 there was an intriguing precedent. Between 1800 and 1828, Thomas Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party made their decision behind closed doors. Only elected members of Congress from the party participated. In those days, before the brisk winds of Jacksonian democracy ventilated the institutions of American government, it was considered legitimate for the elite to call the shots. But the congressional Democrats of the mid-1980s were not so presumptuous to think that they could dictate their choice to the electorate. They merely requested the hopefuls to come to the party caucus, make a presentation and take a few questions. Fearing to be labeled "King Caucus," the term derisively applied by Andrew Jackson to a process dominated by party notables, the modern Democrats shied away from anything with the appearance of an official endorsement. Members of Congress of both parties have a considerable stake in a nominee who can appeal to a broad spectrum of voters in a general election. Not wanting to be pulled down by a foundering presidential candidate, they devoutly hope that the voters will choose a mainstream candidate who would have broad appeal. They also are apprehensive that strongly motivated voters from the more extreme wings of their parties who wield disproportionate influence in primary elections might choose one of their own. For Democrats, the nightmare campaign was McGovern's in 1972. For the Republicans, it was Barry Goldwater in 1964. Like the Democrats in 1984 who had no fewer than seven presidential hopefuls, the GOP in 2000 boast 10. The very breadth of choice raises the fear of a fragmented electorate in which an ideologue, say Pat Buchanan, ends up with the largest number of convention delegates and runs the party into an iceberg. Even elected officials who might seem to rejoice at the prospect of a deep-dyed doctrinaire nominee would prefer the pleasures of incumbency than console themselves with going down to defeat with a pure but hapless standard-bearer. Accordingly, some of the most conspicuous rightists in the House such as Majority Leader Dick Armey and Majority Whip Tom DeLay have been rallying under the big tent of fellow Texan Bush. What distinguishes the House Republicans' push for consensus in 1999 and the 1984 congressional Democrats' quest is that the Democrats did not presume to dictate to the primary electorate. Congressional Republicans and their allies seem intent on creating a kind of regency with Bush as their heir-apparent.

This is a risky undertaking. In a party characterized by hostility to Washington and wariness of anything resembling centralization of power, the mass embrace by party notables of Bush and his hazy, oracular stands on issues may strike many grass-roots Republicans as a scheme by party elites to cut them out of the action. Republican leaders need to resist the temptation for a premature coronation. They need only look at the struggles of Al Gore to see the dangers of attempting to enthrone too hastily. Sometimes the strategy works, but at others voters delight in proving the big guys wrong.

China's Zhu May Become Another Casualty of NATO Bombing

By Tom Plate
Los Angeles Times

The world is still shaking from the bombing of China's embassy in Yugoslavia. The tremors are particularly strong in Asia. In China, Premier Zhu Rongji, economic czar and respected No. 2, was under fire from anti-West, free-trade naysayers even before the NATO blunder. And if the anti-Western political fallout from that attack continues to be felt inside China for some time to come, Zhu could lose his room to maneuver, if not his job. The ultimate losers could include not only Zhu, who has staked so much of his

reputation on opening to the West, but also the U.S. president. Bill Clinton's policy of engagement with China could find fewer takers there than ever, leaving a legacy of failure in U.S. relations with the world's most-populated nation. Clinton unsettled Zhu when the White House, trying to appease Congress, released details of the premier's many concessions in the recent, unsuccessful effort to finish a deal on China's admission to the World Trade Organization. When the premier returned home without America's support for China's entry bid, Zhu faced a wave of anger over what critics there colorfully termed "the giveaway of the century." Willy Wo-Lap Lam, the veteran China watcher for Hong Kong's leading newspaper, the South China Morning Post, said a lot of the powers-that-be were in open revolt over Zhu's "rush," which translates as "entry to the world." Some leftist purists were reported whispering that Zhu was a traitor. The premier is really just a committed reformer who accepts that China's bread is buttered on the entrepreneurial side of Marxism. To this end, he aggressively champions modernization, as well as less ideological, more businesslike relations with America. Zhu is China's best hope to improve its economic lot and the West's best hope for a better bilateral future. But many in China distrust the West more or less across the board, and read China's long history of exploitation by foreigners as a lesson in the dangers of openness to outsiders. The embassy bombing served to push that latent sentiment to the surface, as evidenced by the many street demonstrations, permitted if not encouraged by the government. There is also widespread disbelief that the bombing was an accident. Zhu could well survive the current turmoil; no one gets to the No. 2 spot in a society of that magnitude and complexity without extraordinary resourcefulness. But for his "rush" to proceed with modernization, he will need more support from two quarters. For starters, his boss, President Jiang Zemin, must more openly stand by his man. Jiang, a wily politician himself, must box in the hard-liners resentful of U.S. power in Asia and bureaucrats trying desperately to protect their jobs from the Zhu downsizing machine. So far he has failed to shield Zhu from charges that the concessions to Clinton would devastate everyone in China from farmers to telecommunications entrepreneurs. Clinton should also start acting like the true leader of the Western world and less like a politician flummoxed and intimidated by every Republican maneuver from Capitol Hill. For a long time to come, the premier's supporters and admirers will bitterly recall that when Zhu showed up at the White House bearing one WTO concession after another, all he got for his trouble was a Clintonian promise to revisit the issue later (perhaps after Congress cools down over the China spy and campaign-contributions scandals, it was suggested). So Zhu returned empty-handed, having lost face in public the worst possible nightmare for an Asian politician. Under these circumstances, Clinton's apologies for the bombing may seem sufficient to Western eyes, but certainly not to Asian ones. To be sure, those who have followed the Monicagate scandal know full well that our president is not much good at delivering unambiguous, convincing apologies. But Clinton's pedestrian so-sorry to the Chinese people Monday was irresponsible from a leader of the West who has placed such importance on improving relations with the East's largest nation. In Beijing, Zhu, undoubtedly glued to CNN like the rest of us, might well have thought: With friends like Bill, who needs enemies? He wouldn't be the first to say that, would he? It would be a disaster if the one man the West needs most became the unintended political casualty of the NATO bombing campaign. That could happen. Between the imminent release of the congressional report on China's U.S. spying over the years, the developing politics of next year's presidential race fueled by the still-surfacing China campaign-contribution revelations and further

Usual Enemies Trade Roles in Medicare-Funds Battle

By LAURIE MCGINLEY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—Ready for a role reversal on Medicare?

Key congressional Republicans, often the most vocal proponents of restraining Medicare spending, are considering pumping billions of dollars into the program over the next several years. Clinton-administration officials, who like to cast themselves as Medicare's defenders, are resisting, saying it is far from clear that any extra money is needed.

The crosscurrents set the stage for what is likely to be the only significant Medicare battle of the year. Other high-voltage issues, such as long-term overhaul of the health program for 39 million elderly and disabled Americans, and its lack of a prescription-drug benefit, will be debated in coming months, but aren't likely to be acted on until after next year's elections.

In the spending debate, "What you've got, at first glance, is a flip-flop from what you'd normally expect," says Robert Laszewski, a health-care analyst. Actually, he says, the positions reflect the natural alliances of the GOP-controlled Congress and the Democratic administration.

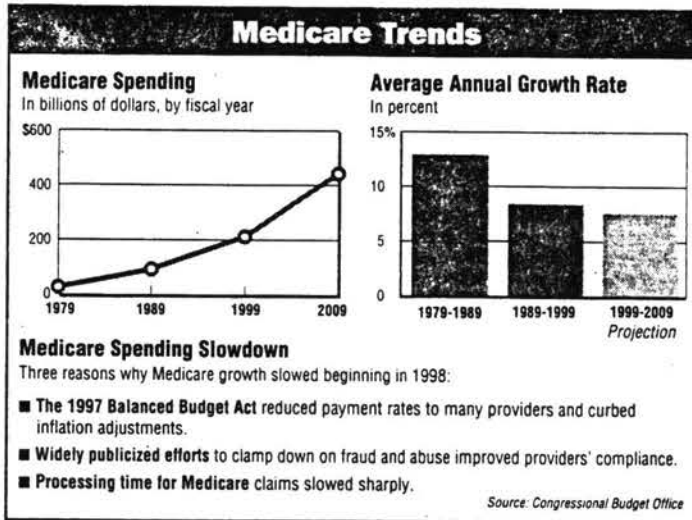
With their close ties to business, some Republicans are responding to vehement protests from health-care providers, especially for-profit nursing-home chains, hospitals and health-maintenance organizations. These providers argue that the 1997 Balanced Budget Act has cut Medicare far more deeply than expected, threatening patient care and the financial viability of many companies.

California GOP Rep. William Thomas, the influential chairman of the House Ways and Means health subcommittee, has told lobbyists he would like to increase Medicare spending by \$10 billion or so over the next several years. An aide to Ohio GOP Rep. John Kasich, chairman of the House Budget Committee, says his boss believes that home health-care spending may need to be bolstered. In another area, a senior GOP budget staffer suggests Congress would welcome a move by the administration to postpone a new payment system being used for nursing homes.

Administration officials, who have never been especially sympathetic to providers, are skeptical of such proposals—and of what they see as the industry's sky-is-falling arguments. They say they don't see any evidence that patients, as opposed to corporate bottom lines, are currently at risk.

"Although we have heard many serious concerns raised, we have yet to receive the type of data necessary to justify opening up the balanced-budget agreement," says Christopher Jennings, a White House health-policy adviser. Underscoring the biggest barrier to changing the law, Health and Human Services Secretary Donna Shalala, pointedly reminded Congress that any changes "would require offsetting cuts elsewhere or new revenues."

Their view has some support in Congress. Budget hawks on both sides of the aisle are resistant to turning on the Medicare spigot. And many conservative Republicans would like to use any extra



budget-surplus money for a tax cut.

Nevertheless, the administration might find itself undercut by congressional Democrats, several of whom would like to help struggling providers as the 2000 elections loom. Urban lawmakers are championing the cause of academic medical centers; rural ones want improved funding for home health care and rural hospitals and HMOs. In addition, there is bipartisan concern over a \$1,500-a-year cap on rehabilitation therapy that has prompted complaints from elderly patients to Congress.

There is little question that a striking change is occurring in Medicare. For the first six months of the current fiscal year, program spending fell \$2.6 billion from a year before, its first decline ever. Lobbyists cite the impact of the balanced-budget law, which was supposed to curb Medicare by \$106 billion over five years, but may be hitting far harder.

Administration officials and budget analysts dispute that, however. They say the Medicare decrease is due in large part to a temporary slowdown in payments to providers. In addition, they say, some providers, such as hospitals, are billing Medicare more conservatively as a result of the government's aggressive fraud-and-abuse initiatives.

Within Congress, some lawmakers are interested in increasing spending in some areas but not others. For example, Republican Sen. Charles Grassley of Iowa, chairman of the Special Committee on Aging, wants to spend more money on rehab therapy, but he has questions about financially strapped nursing-home chains.

"How is it that some providers are in such distress, while others seem not to be?" he asked in a recent floor statement. Did the big, troubled nursing-home chains grow too quickly, taking on more debt than they could manage? Unless these questions are answered, he warned, "we could wind up subsidizing the mistakes of well-compensated executives."

In a similar vein, Democratic Rep.

Fortney Stark of California has asked the General Accounting Office, the congressional watchdog agency, to investigate whether hospitals have been hurt by Medicare reductions, or by miserly payments by private managed-care companies.

Meanwhile, California's Rep. Thomas, a chief architect of the 1997 balanced-budget law, says he hasn't settled on the size of a possible Medicare-spending increase. He says his first priority is to get the Medicare agency, the Health Care Financing Administration, to change its implementation of the balanced-budget act to loosen the purse strings somewhat. He claims the agency has been far too restrictive—an assertion disputed by administration officials, who

say the agency had little discretion in carrying out the law.

Mr. Thomas is also determined to make sure that Democrats don't use against Republicans any Medicare problems resulting from the balanced-budget law. In a "Medicare Emergency Alert" sent to GOP colleagues in early spring, he said he planned "to develop talking points and position papers to help Republicans defend their record of saving Medicare, and to enable us to place the blame for any negative changes to quality care solidly on the administration."

Whatever happens this year will depend in large part on new figures, to be released by the Congressional Budget Office in late June or early July, showing the size of the federal budget surplus. Among the important questions: How will the Kosovo war affect the surplus? Will Medicare spending still be falling?

Lobbying groups, meanwhile, continue to pound on Congress for relief. The American Hospital Association, which represents 5,000 hospitals across the country, is sending faxes of stories about financially ailing hospitals to Congress and the media. "The Balanced Budget Act. Real Pain for Real People," reads the headline.

The American Health Care Association, which represents skilled nursing facilities, is mapping out an extensive lobbying effort, including a possible \$1.5 million advertising campaign, in an effort to persuade both Congress and the administration to make changes.

A preliminary blueprint calls for setting up a "war room" to coordinate the campaign, initiating a "grass-roots" letter-writing drive and hiring of coordinators in important congressional districts "with strong personal relationships with their members."

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The New York Times

FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1999

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Secret-Stealing, Then and Now

By Edward Teller

STANFORD, Calif.
Leaks of information on the highly important topic of nuclear weapons have been discussed widely. While I am not familiar with all the details, I can make a comparison with an important event half a century ago.

At that time the most important information was leaked to the Soviet Union by, among others, Klaus Fuchs. This speeded up Soviet research maybe by three years, maybe by 20 years, but the importance of the event is not in question. I shall make two comparisons: one is to the events, the second is to our responses to the events.

Our wartime work at Los Alamos started novel technical developments like very high compression of materials. Our successes, including details on how they were accomplished, constituted important information for the Soviets. Their scientists worked under conditions in which failure was heavily punished. Therefore, they could not be adventurous except when they had information of probable success.

This situation is in sharp contrast to the present position of the Chinese scientists. They have had 50 years to consider the possibilities that we kept secret. It seems to be probable that the Chinese must have made discover-

ies that made the added knowledge from intelligence less important. I conclude, at this time, that Klaus Fuchs was more important than the Chinese spy at Los Alamos is apt to be today.

The reaction of President Harry Truman to the leaking of information

To stay secure,
stay ahead.

is well known. He imposed no additional measures for security. Instead, we have clear knowledge that the disclosures by Fuchs caused Truman to call for accelerated work on all aspects of nuclear weapons. The result is clear. The United States kept ahead of the Soviet effort. This helped to exclude any advantages the Soviets could have obtained from threats or actions based on force that otherwise might have become extremely important. Actually, work on weapons during the cold war did not put a particularly heavy burden on the American economy. At any rate, the cold war had the distinction of not costing any lives. For this a lot of credit goes to the reasonable actions of President Truman.

At the present time there is as yet only one field in which Washington realizes that more research and development are needed. This is the field of missile defense. In my opinion, added research is needed in missile defense and in other fields connected

with military developments. In the absence of such an effort we shall lose the advantage we now possess.

At present, the proposed remedy is more security, including exclusion from participation of people from abroad. Let us remember that past military successes have been accomplished by remarkable people from abroad — for instance, Enrico Fermi. I claim that our continuing security is acquired by new knowledge rather than by conserving old knowledge.

That the situation gives some reason to worry is perfectly clear, but in my opinion, the main reason for worry is the circumstance that modern technology has made the world smaller and more interactive. Before World War II, Britain had reason to worry because the English Channel was not sufficient protection. Today, we have to worry because the Atlantic Ocean is no longer any more of a protection than the channel used to be.

The right prescription for safety is not reaction to dangers that are arising, but rather action leading to more knowledge and, one hopes, toward positive interaction between nations. □

Edward Teller is a senior fellow at the Hoover Institution and director emeritus of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory.

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

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*Savoy/This
This is a brilliant
piece - B.*

Foreign Affairs

THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

The Accidental Peacenik

For the first time in Israel's history, its upcoming election is about who will control the Interior Ministry, not the Foreign Ministry. It's about what kind of Israel, not what size of Israel.

Although he didn't set out to do this, no one is more responsible for this shift than Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. By reluctantly embracing the Oslo peace accords and grudgingly advancing them through the Hebron and Wye agreements, he broke down the historic wall between Labor and Likud voters when it came to the peace process. It is no longer just Labor that is ready to deal with Yasir Arafat, and Likud that shuns him as a terrorist. It is no longer Labor that is ready to accept some kind of Palestinian state while Likud rejects it.

Thanks to Mr. Netanyahu, there is now a loosely unified core of 75 percent of Israelis ready to proceed with the Oslo accords toward a Palestinian state of some size or other. With that sort of consensus in the middle, who cares who controls the Foreign Ministry?

Unfortunately, though, Mr. Netanyahu did not knock down the wall between Labor and Likud on the peace issue by synthesizing the two sides. He actually knocked that wall down by backing into it, while all the time telling his hard-core religious-nationalist supporters that he was not abandoning their cause. It may have been that the only way to bring the majority of Likud voters into Oslo, without triggering a civil war, was by Mr. Netanyahu winking, nodding, lying, blaming everything on Labor, the Ashkenazi elites and "the leftists," and constantly bashing Mr. Arafat, whether he was living up to his commitments or not. Plenty of Likudniks wanted to be lied to as

they accepted the inevitability of Oslo — and he accommodated them by embracing Oslo while constantly denouncing those who delivered it.

And therein lies the greatest irony about Bibi Netanyahu: He brought a whole new segment of Israel into the peace process — but he stayed out of it himself. That is, he never wanted to take ownership of it, and he still doesn't. Bibi struck important deals that legitimized Mr. Arafat as a peace partner, but he still runs against him in this election. In 1996, Bibi won because a majority of Israelis were overwhelmed by Oslo, the Rabin assassination and the blowing up of Israeli buses. But thanks, in part, to his own real success at winning better Palestinian security compliance, a majority of Israelis now accept Oslo. In other words, thanks to Bibi's having routinized the peace process, many Israelis want to get on with it, finish it and look to the future.

But instead of leading that parade, Mr. Netanyahu is shying away from his own accomplishment and running instead on the past. He repeatedly runs TV ads showing the Israeli buses that were blown up in Jerusalem. Because he refuses to embrace his own peace process, he is incapable of painting any positive vision of the future. His campaign advertising is virtually devoid of any hope, and when you can't give hope, when you cannot educate, when you cannot articulate people's aspirations, when you cannot unify, you cannot lead.

I just received two E-mails from friends in Israel that sounded identical themes, although neither knows the other. One was from a religiously observant friend who lives in the village of Zichron Yaacov, Victor Friedman (no relation). Victor wrote: "Even people who hate the left, and can't imagine voting for Ehud Barak, are tired of the kind of political and social atmosphere created since Bibi came to power. The lying, trickery, corruption, divisiveness, incitement — people don't like it."

The other was from a Jerusalem-based writer, Laura Blumenfeld, who wrote that Israel today is suffering from "Multiple Israel Disorder — Bibi thought he could hold onto power by dividing everyone up into squabbling tribes. He was wrong. The shot that killed Rabin was like the starting gun on the race between factions. But after three years of bumping and biting each other's necks, people are tired."

By breaking down the divide between Labor and Likud on peace, Bibi created the opportunity for national unity in Israel as never before. But by doing it in such a divisive fashion, he has also created a longing for national unity as never before — a longing that he seems unwilling and unable to satisfy. On Monday we will find out if Bibi can survive Bibism. □

The New York Times

FRIDAY, MAY 14, 1999

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Transcript

TO Board
C. R. K. K. K.
Fair Housing

DATE	May 12, 1999
TIME	5:30-10:00 AM
STATION	WFAN-AM Radio
LOCATION	Syndicated
PROGRAM	Imus in the Morning

Don Imus, host:

You know, I was talking to my brother last night about--we were talking about the Littleton, Colorado, situation and how everybody's getting blamed for this, you know, Katzenberg, Eisner, the gun manufacturers, everybody. And my brother made the observation--I don't know whether it's true or not; interested in kind of your thoughts about it--that there--that we appeared to have a more focused generation of people when we had a draft. And that we ought to have, if not a draft, we ought to have all young people in this country required to contribute two years of some sort of community service or national service. Is that anything that makes any sense to you?

Bill Bradley (Former United States Senator): Well, I think you have something now called Americorps that's available for young people. I think that compulsory service is probably not advisable. I think you could probably make it more attractive for people to do it, encourage them to do it. I think that in high schools you could have a requirement of some service in the community so that you'd find people like the kids in the Trenchcoat Mafia having an opportunity to have some involvement in their community with another human being and helping that human being. And I think that that is a kind of an experience that is tremendously worthwhile. When you get into compulsory, you get into cost and you get into whether that's what you want to do for everybody, every kid.

I think that it was a tremendous tragedy. I mean, the sadness that must be felt in that community, that I felt, that you felt is very real. I think that the memory of this will be with those kids forever. I think there are a couple of things to take out of this, though. That is, you know, something's wrong when we have parents that don't know kids are making bombs in the house. And I think something's wrong in a gun crazy society when high school kids can assemble an arsenal. And I think something's wrong when, you know, younger kids can practice murder on

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video games. And I think that the key point here is that all of these things are contributing factors, but nobody really knows the answer.

One thing to remember is that, you know, there are fifteen or so kids killed every week with a gun in America, and that should be--give us some pause. And the other thing to remember is that most of the kids in America are in families that provide loving beginnings and loving nurturing for them and they're not in the circumstances of the Trenchcoat Mafia. I mean, you know, you see a high school circumstance and we see kids going around as Trenchcoat Mafias, we've begun to concern that--begin to think that eccentricity is normal and, in some cases, in teenage years, it is.

But, you know, sensitive recognition of kids, giving them some meaning in their life that's deeper than the material, something they can connect to, some service alternative they can have so that they can find something in their life that gives them a sense of self-esteem and commitment is really what we need. And there's no simple answer here. I think what Fred said, in part, would help if we put it into a service context.

Imus: One of the things I did notice was how articulate--I don't know what it means--but how remarkably articulate many of these kids were who were--who were involved in the Littleton, Colorado--or went to Columbine High School, more so, in many cases, than their parents. And so, you know, it is a pretty good generation of folks and...

Bradley: Well, I think that, you know, when you--I think it's a great generation of kids. You know, volunteerism has never been higher on college campuses in America today. I'm with them all the time now and there's a tremendous spirit. I mean, political participation has never been lower, but that's another problem. We'll try to cure that. But volunteerism has never been higher. And I think this Littleton, Colorado, event shocked everybody so much because we recognize that high school as the high school that many of our children go to. And we figure if it happened there, maybe it could happen where I have my child going to school. And that, I think, gave everybody pause and made everybody think more deeply about this tragedy.

#

BLUEPRINT

IDEAS FOR A NEW CENTURY

Blueprint: Ideas for a New Century, Spring 1999

The Community Consensus

Full Poll Results

Penn, Schoen & Berland
Blueprint Citizenship Poll
Conducted 2/12-14

1. Are you 18 years or older?

1) yes	100
2) no	0
9) don't know DO NOT READ	

2. Are you registered to vote?

1) yes	86
2) no	14
9) don't know DO NOT READ	1

3. Do you think that things in the country are generally headed in the right direction or are they off on the wrong track?

1) right direction	51
2) wrong track	36
9) don't know DO NOT READ	13

4. In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way democracy is working in this country?

1) satisfied	58
2) dissatisfied	35
9) don't know DO NOT READ	6

5. Do you think Americans today have an attitude of cynicism and apathy or of citizenship and participation?

1) Cynicism and apathy	62
2) Citizenship and participation	27
9) Don't Know (DO NOT ASK)	11

6. Do you think you have responsibilities to the country as an American citizen?

1) Yes	96
2) No	4
9) don't know DO NOT READ (GO TO NEXT QUESTION)	1

7. Volunteering some time to community services

*Based
on
Mr. Brady's
interview*

*copied
Reed
Podesta*

Do you feel the following is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| 1) very important obligation | 55 |
| 2) somewhat important obligation | 40 |
| 3) not an obligation | 3 |
| 9) don't know (DO NOT READ) | 1 |

8. Voting in elections

Do you feel the following is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| 1) very important obligation | 87 |
| 2) somewhat important obligation | 10 |
| 3) not an obligation | 3 |
| 9) don't know (DO NOT READ) | 0 |

9. Serving on a jury if called

Do you feel the following is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| 1) very important obligation | 73 |
| 2) somewhat important obligation | 23 |
| 3) not an obligation | 3 |
| 9) don't know (DO NOT READ) | 2 |

10. Reporting a crime that you may have witnessed

Do you feel the following is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| 1) very important obligation | 90 |
| 2) somewhat important obligation | 7 |
| 3) not an obligation | 2 |
| 9) don't know (DO NOT READ) | 1 |

11. Being able to speak and understand English

Do you feel the following is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| 1) very important obligation | 85 |
| 2) somewhat important obligation | 12 |
| 3) not an obligation | 3 |
| 9) don't know (DO NOT READ) | 1 |

12. Keeping fully informed about news and public issues

Do you feel the following is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| 1) very important obligation | 73 |
| 2) somewhat important obligation | 24 |
| 3) not an obligation | 2 |

9) don't know (DO NOT READ)

1

13. Participating in neighborhood organizations (fraternal/school/church based etc.)

Do you feel the following is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country.

1) very important obligation	56
2) somewhat important obligation	38
3) not an obligation	5
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	1

14. Attending parent-teacher conferences

Do you feel the following is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country.

1) very important obligation	89
2) somewhat important obligation	9
3) not an obligation	2
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	1

15. Participating in "Town Hall" community decision making meetings

Do you feel the following is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country.

1) very important obligation	59
2) somewhat important obligation	31
3) not an obligation	7
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	3

16. Volunteering for the military

Do you feel the following is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country.

1) very important obligation	48
2) somewhat important obligation	35
3) not an obligation	16
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	2

17. Serving in the military if drafted

Do you feel the following is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country.

1) very important obligation	76
2) somewhat important obligation	13
3) not an obligation	10
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	1

18. Protesting unjust public policies

Do you feel the following is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| 1) very important obligation | 61 |
| 2) somewhat important obligation | 22 |
| 3) not an obligation | 12 |
| 9) don't know (DO NOT READ) | 4 |

19. Contributing to help the less fortunate

Do you feel the following is a very important obligation, a somewhat important obligation, or not an obligation that a citizen owes to the country.

- | | |
|----------------------------------|----|
| 1) very important obligation | 71 |
| 2) somewhat important obligation | 22 |
| 3) not an obligation | 6 |
| 9) don't know (DO NOT READ) | 1 |

20. Do you think you live up to your responsibilities as an American citizen, or not?

- | | |
|---------------------------|----|
| 1) Yes | 89 |
| 2) No | 10 |
| 9) don't know DO NOT READ | 1 |

21. Do you think most Americans live up to their responsibilities as citizens, or not?

- | | |
|---------------------------|----|
| 1) Yes | 40 |
| 2) No | 54 |
| 9) don't know DO NOT READ | 7 |

22. Some people say that along with the benefits all Americans receive- such as public education, police protection, a democratic government, and a social safety net, it is the responsibility of citizens to also give back to society through participation in the community. Do you agree or disagree?

- | | |
|---------------------------|----|
| 1) Agree | 91 |
| 2) Disagree | 7 |
| 9) don't know DO NOT READ | 2 |

23. Do you believe all Americans who need them are entitled to government benefits, or do you think these Americans need to live up to certain obligations and give something back to their country in order to receive them?

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1) Entitled to government benefits | 28 |
| 2) Need to live up to certain obligations | 67 |
| 9) don't know DO NOT READ | 5 |

24. What about specific benefits such as student loans or housing assistance: Do you think Americans who need them are entitled to these, or do Americans need to live up to certain obligations and give something back to their country in order to receive them?

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1) Entitled to government benefits | 37 |
| 2) Need to live up to certain obligations | 58 |
| 9) don't know DO NOT READ | 5 |

Now I would like to ask you some questions about Civic life. When I refer to civic life, I am talking about the institutions that exist outside of the government and the business world, such as voluntary or civic associations, neighborhood watch groups, churches, and charity groups, and how they affect the relationship of citizens to their government, their communities, and each other.

25. Some people say that America's Civic life has weakened in recent years, while others say that it remains as strong. Which is closer to your view?

1) our nation's Civic life has weakened	57
2) our nation's Civic life has remained strong	36
9) don't know DO NOT READ	7

26. government has gotten too big

Please tell me if you think this is a major factor, minor factor, or not a factor at all in the decline of Civic life in America.

1) major factor	54
2) minor factor	27
3) not a factor at all	15
4) don't know DO NOT READ	4

27. our families are weaker than they used to be

Please tell me if you think this is a major factor, minor factor, or not a factor at all in the decline of Civic life in America.

1) major factor	78
2) minor factor	12
3) not a factor at all	9
4) don't know DO NOT READ	1

28. our political leaders are corrupt

Please tell me if you think this is a major factor, minor factor, or not a factor at all in the decline of Civic life in America.

1) major factor	57
2) minor factor	31
3) not a factor at all	9
4) don't know DO NOT READ	3

29. crime has made people scared to participate

Please tell me if you think this is a major factor, minor factor, or not a factor at all in the decline of Civic life in America.

1) major factor	53
2) minor factor	32
3) not a factor at all	13
4) don't know DO NOT READ	2

30. people don't have time anymore

Please tell me if you think this is a major factor, minor factor, or not a factor at all in the decline of Civic life in America.

- | | |
|---------------------------|----|
| 1) major factor | 62 |
| 2) minor factor | 29 |
| 3) not a factor at all | 8 |
| 4) don't know DO NOT READ | 1 |

31. our children are not educated about participation

Please tell me if you think this is a major factor, minor factor, or not a factor at all in the decline of Civic life in America.

- | | |
|---------------------------|----|
| 1) major factor | 63 |
| 2) minor factor | 26 |
| 3) not a factor at all | 8 |
| 4) don't know DO NOT READ | 3 |

32. there is a general lack of trust between people

Please tell me if you think this is a major factor, minor factor, or not a factor at all in the decline of Civic life in America.

- | | |
|---------------------------|----|
| 1) major factor | 67 |
| 2) minor factor | 27 |
| 3) not a factor at all | 5 |
| 4) don't know DO NOT READ | 1 |

33. Do you think people are focused too much on their rights instead of their responsibilities as citizens, or do you think there is a proper balance?

- | | |
|-------------------------------------|----|
| 1) focused too much on their rights | 71 |
| 2) proper balance | 26 |
| 9) don't know DO NOT READ | 3 |

34. Which is closer to your view: I have the knowledge and skills that I need for effective participation in the community, government, and politics, or I do not have the knowledge and skills that I need for effective participation in the community, government, and politics.

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1) I have the knowledge and skills that I need | 73 |
| 2) I do not have the knowledge and skills that I need | 25 |
| 9) Don't Know (DO NOT ASK) | 2 |

35. Some people say that a strong Civic life has a strong impact in producing better schools, faster economic development, lower crime, and more effective government. Others would argue that a strong Civic life has little or no impact on schools, crime, and effective government. Which is closer to your view?

- | | |
|---------------------------|----|
| 1) strong impact | 84 |
| 2) little or no impact | 13 |
| 9) don't know DO NOT READ | 4 |

36. Some people say that with a comprehensive government safety net, strong civic life and institutions become less important. Based on this, do you think that it is better to have a bigger government and less civic life, or is it better to have smaller government and a stronger civic life?

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1) bigger government and less civic life | 11 |
|--|----|

2) smaller government and stronger civic life	82
9) don't know	7

37. Do you think, as we cut back on government programs, that the need for civic life becomes more important, less important, or does the need for civic life remain unchanged?

1) more important	74
2) less important	4
3) unchanged	17
9) don't know DO NOT READ	5

38. Do you think that our society today focuses more on the individual or more on community?

1) individual	59
2) community	34
3) both DO NOT READ	2
9) don't know DO NOT READ	6

39. Do you think there should be more emphasis on community, even if it puts more demands on individuals, or not?

1) yes	79
2) not	15
9) don't know	6

40. Some people say getting more people involved in communal organizations, such as Religious, Fraternal, or Educational organizations is good for society as a whole; other people say such organizations only help the individuals who participate in them. Which is closer to your view?

1) good for society	74
2) only help the individuals who participate in them	22
9) don't know DO NOT READ	3

41. Some people say individual Americans have an obligation to solve their problems by taking responsibility for themselves and for others; Other people say Americans have no obligation to be involved in their community. Which is closer to your view?

1) Have an obligation	90
2) Have no obligation	8
9) don't know DO NOT READ	2

42. Which is closest to your view on the best way to solve America's problems:

The government must come up with solutions, Individuals within their communities must take responsibility for themselves and those around them, or the free market will solve societal problems

1) The governments must come up with solutions	21
2) Individuals within their communities must take responsibility for themselves	68
3) the free market will solve societal problems	3
9) don't know DO NOT READ	7

43. Which statement comes closer to your view: "The government is responsible for the well-being of all its citizens and it has an obligation to help people when they are in trouble" or "People

are responsible for their own well-being and they have an obligation to take care of themselves when they are in trouble?"

- | | |
|--|----|
| 1) The government is responsible for the well-being of all its citizens and it has an obligation to help people when they are in trouble | 37 |
| 2) People are responsible for their own well-being and they have an obligation to take care of themselves when they are in trouble | 53 |
| 9) don't know DO NOT READ | 10 |

44. Some people believe religious, charitable and community organizations do a better job of addressing societal problems than government, others believe that government does a better job. Which is closer to your view?

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1) religious and charitable organizations | 72 |
| 2) government does a better job | 19 |
| 9) don't know DO NOT READ | 9 |

45. Do you think America's social problems can be best addressed by government, religious and charitable organizations, or by closer collaboration between the two?

- | | |
|---|----|
| 1) government | 8 |
| 2) religious and charitable organizations | 16 |
| 3) closer collaboration between the two | 72 |
| 9) don't know DO NOT READ | 4 |

46. Do you believe corporations have a responsibility to help improve the community, or is their only responsibility to make sure the company is economically successful?

- | | |
|-------------------------------|----|
| 1) Have a responsibility | 84 |
| 2) Obligated to make a profit | 13 |
| 9) don't know DO NOT READ | 4 |

47. Some people say that new technologies have made Americans more isolated and drawn them farther apart, while others say that they have opened up new lines of communication and brought people closer together. Which is closer to your view?

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| 1) more isolated | 43 |
| 2) brought people closer together | 49 |
| 9) don't know DO NOT READ | 8 |

48. Some people say that in the future new technologies will make Americans more isolated and draw them farther apart, while others say that they will open up new lines of communication and bring people closer together. Which is closer to your view?

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----|
| 1) more isolated | 40 |
| 2) will bring people closer together | 53 |
| 9) don't know DO NOT READ | 7 |

49. Computers

Do you feel that this technology has made society more individualistic, or brought people closer together?

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| 1) More Individualistic | 44 |
| 2) Brought people closer together | 45 |

9) Don't Know (DO NOT ASK)

11

50. Cable TV

Do you feel that this technology has made society more individualistic, or brought people closer together?

1) More Individualistic

65

2) Brought people closer together

22

9) Don't Know (DO NOT ASK)

13

51. Email

Do you feel that this technology has made society more individualistic, or brought people closer together?

1) More Individualistic

29

2) Brought people closer together

58

9) Don't Know (DO NOT ASK)

14

52. Internet/WWW

Do you feel that this technology has made society more individualistic, or brought people closer together?

1) More Individualistic

37

2) Brought people closer together

47

9) Don't Know (DO NOT ASK)

16

53. Cellular Phones

Do you feel that this technology has made society more individualistic, or brought people closer together?

1) More Individualistic

36

2) Brought people closer together

51

9) Don't Know (DO NOT ASK)

13

54. Do you think new technologies can be used to encourage participation in society, or not?

1) Yes

80

2) No

15

9) Don't Know (DO NOT ASK)

4

55. Get information about politics and government.

Do you use the Internet for this purpose?

1) Yes

37

2) No

61

9) Don't Know (DO NOT ASK)

2

56. Get information about community events.

Do you use the Internet for this purpose?

1) Yes

35

2) No

62

9) Don't Know (DO NOT ASK)

2

57. Communicate your views to elected officials.

Do you use the Internet for this purpose?

1) Yes

25

2) No

73

9) Don't Know (DO NOT ASK)

2

58. Participate in chat groups/bulletin boards to discuss political and community issues.

Do you use the Internet for this purpose?

1) Yes

16

2) No

82

9) Don't Know (DO NOT ASK)

1

59. A universal system of national citizen service where young adults would be called on to serve their country either through military or community service.

Would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this as a way of improving Civic Life?

1) strongly support

38

2) somewhat support

36

3) somewhat oppose

10

4) strongly oppose

13

9) don't know DO NOT READ

3

60. Placing college students who receive government funded work study jobs out doing community service rather than in on-campus jobs.

Would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this as a way of improving Civic Life?

1) strongly support

47

2) somewhat support

37

3) somewhat oppose

6

4) strongly oppose

7

9) don't know DO NOT READ

3

61. Requiring Democracy education in Service and Civics as a graduation requirement for all high school students.

Would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this as a way of improving Civic Life?

1) strongly support

68

2) somewhat support

22

3) somewhat oppose

4

4) strongly oppose

5

9) don't know DO NOT READ

2

62. Decreasing government reliance on social service programs and enabling church and faith based organizations to play a larger role in addressing social problems.

Would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this as a way of improving Civic Life?

1) strongly support	39
2) somewhat support	39
3) somewhat oppose	8
4) strongly oppose	12
9) don't know DO NOT READ	2

63. Steering government dollars towards community and religious organizations that are dealing with social problems.

Would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this as a way of improving Civic Life?

1) strongly support	37
2) somewhat support	37
3) somewhat oppose	12
4) strongly oppose	11
9) don't know DO NOT READ	2

64. Creating local Service Credit programs, under which for each hour of service performed, you could get an hour of service from someone else when you needed it in your life.

Would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose this as a way of improving Civic Life?

1) strongly support	42
2) somewhat support	34
3) somewhat oppose	13
4) strongly oppose	8
9) don't know DO NOT READ	3

65. How would you feel about a program that required all young women to give one year of service to the nation--either in the military forces or in non-military work such as in hospitals or with elderly people--Would you strongly favor it, probably favor it, probably oppose it, or strongly oppose it?

1) strongly favor	22
2) probably favor	24
3) probably oppose	25
4) strongly oppose	26
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	4

66. How would you feel about such a program for all young men--Would you strongly favor it, probably favor it, probably oppose it, or strongly oppose it?

1) strongly favor	31
2) probably favor	25
3) probably oppose	21
4) strongly oppose	19
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	4

67. Which of the following best describes your voting habits: Vote in every election, Vote frequently, Vote sometimes, rarely vote, never vote

1) vote in every election	52
2) vote frequently	26

3) vote sometimes	11
4) rarely vote	3
5) never vote	8
9) don't know DO NOT READ	0

68. Youth Groups

1) yes	69
2) no	31
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	0

69. School Service Groups

1) yes	64
2) no	35
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	1

70. Service Groups

1) yes	52
2) no	45
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	3

71. Veteran's Groups

1) yes	32
2) no	67
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	1

72. Labor Union

1) yes	19
2) no	81
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	1

73. Political Clubs

1) yes	25
2) no	74
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	0

74. Sports Groups

1) yes	47
2) no	52
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	1

75. Church-affiliated Groups

1) yes	74
2) no	26
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	1

76. Professional/Academic Societies

1) yes	44
2) no	54

9) don't know (DO NOT READ)

2

77. How often do you volunteer your time to participate in a community service project? Daily, Several times a week, Several times a Month, Several times a year, Once a year, or Never?

- 1) Daily SKIP TO Q.79
- 2) Several times a week SKIP TO Q.79
- 3) Several times a month SKIP TO Q.79
- 4) Several times a year GO TO Q.78
- 5) Once a year GO TO Q.78
- 6) Never GO TO Q.78
- 9) don't know DO NOT READ

4

13

20

31

16

From Harris
Woffard

78. Why don't you volunteer more often? (READ LIST)

- 1) Don't have enough time
- 2) Don't think it makes an impact
- 3) Don't know who to contact/where to go
- 4) Don't believe in it
- 9) don't know DO NOT READ

10

Do you want?

B

79. Are you familiar with Americorps, a National Service program where young people perform ~~service~~ in the community in exchange for help in paying for college?

- 1) familiar
- 2) not familiar
- 9) don't know DO NOT READ

48

48

4

80. Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose Americorps?

- 1) strongly support
- 2) somewhat support
- 3) somewhat oppose
- 4) strongly oppose
- 9) don't know DO NOT READ

47

28

3

6

16

81. Would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose expanding Americorps so that every young person that wants to serve can participate?

- 1) strongly support
- 2) somewhat support
- 3) somewhat oppose
- 4) strongly oppose
- 9) don't know DO NOT READ

55

27

3

3

11

The remaining questions are for statistical purposes only.

82. Do you consider yourself a strong Democrat, a weak Democrat, a weak Republican, a strong Republican or an Independent?

- 1) strong Democrat
- 2) weak Democrat
- 3) weak Republican
- 4) strong Republican
- 5) Independent
- 9) don't know DO NOT READ

23

10

8

17

37

4

83. If the election for Congress were held tomorrow, do you think that you would vote for a Democrat or a Republican to

represent you in Congress?

1) Democrat	42
2) Republican	33
9) Other/don't know DO NOT READ	24

84. Will you please tell me your age?

18-29	21
30-44	31
45-59	24
60+	22

85. What is the last grade that you completed?

1) grade school	1
2) some high school	6
3) high school graduate	28
4) some college	29
5) college graduate	25
6) graduate school	7
7) technical school	3
9) don't know/refused (DO NOT READ)	1

86. What is your current marital status - are you married, single, widowed, or divorced?

1) married	56
2) single	27
3) widowed	7
4) divorced	8
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	1

87. How many children do you have living at home?

1) zero	58
2) one	17
3) two-four	22
4) five or more	1
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	1

88. Do you have any children in college or school right now?

1) yes	28
2) no	70
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	2

89. What is your occupation?

1) Unemployed	4
2) Management/professional	29
3) Clerical, sales, other white collar	11
4) Agriculture	1
5) Blue collar	9
6) Student	7
7) Homemaker	8
8) Retired	16
9) Other	14
99) Don't know	1

90. Is the head of the household employed by the Federal, state, or local government?

1) Yes	21
2) No	76
9) Don't know	4

91. Do you have a paid job, half-time or more, outside your home or would you say that your work is mainly at home?

1) Employed	62
2) At home	29
9) Don't know	9

92. Do you or does any member of your household belong to a labor union?

1) Yes, self	13
2) Yes, household	11
3) No	74
9) Don't know	2

93. For statistical purposes only, we need to know your total family income for 1998. Will you please tell me which of the following categories best represents you total family income? (READ CHOICES)

1) less than \$15,000	15
2) \$15,000-\$30,000	18
3) \$30,000-\$50,000	23
4) \$50,000-\$75,000	17
5) \$75,000-\$100,000	7
6) \$100,000+	5
9) don't know/refused (DO NOT READ)	15

94. Do you generally consider yourself liberal, moderate, or conservative?

1) Liberal	19
2) Moderate	37
3) Conservative	40
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	4

95. Are you Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

1) Protestant	42
2) Catholic	26
3) Jewish	3
4) Other	25
9) Refused	4

96. IF PROTESTANT: Are you a Southern Baptist?

1) Yes	26
2) No	73
9) Don't know	1

97. Do you consider yourself to be a Fundamentalist, Evangelical or Born Again Christian?

1) Yes	59
2) No	35
9) Don't know/refused	5

98. What is your race?

1) White	79
2) Black/African-American/Caribbean-American	11
3) Hispanic/Latino	6
4) Asian	1
5) Arabic	0
6) Other	2
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	2

99. IF NOT HISPANIC: Do you consider yourself to of Hispanic descent?

1) yes	5
2) no	93
9) don't know (DO NOT READ)	2

100. Do you own a computer?

1) Yes	60
2) No	39
9) Don't know	1

101. Do you use the Internet?

1) Yes	52
2) No	46
9) Don't know	1

102. Do you use a computer at work?

1) Yes	51
2) No	47
3) Don't know	2

103. IF YES: How often do you use a computer at work?

1) Frequently	83
2) Occasionally	14
3) Rarely	2
9) Don't know	1

104. IF YES: Is the computer you use a part of a network, or not?

1) Yes	71
2) No	28
9) Don't know	1

105. Do you decide for yourself how to do your job, or are you told by others?

1) Decide for myself	66
2) Told by others	21
9) Don't know	13

106. Do you work by yourself or as part of a team to figure out the best way to do your job?

1) By self	35
------------	----

2) As part of a team 53
9) Don't know 12

107. Do you prefer to work by yourself or as part of a team?

1) By self 35
2) As part of team 52
9) Don't know 13

108. Do you live in a city, suburb just outside a city, or a less developed or rural area not near a city?

1) city 45
2) suburb 32
3) more rural, less developed 23

109. CODE SEX

1) MALE 48
2) FEMALE 52

Spring 1999 Table of Contents

Introduction

The Challenge:

Where We Stand by William A. Galston

Sidebar: Civic Deregulation by Alan Wolfe

Sidebar: What's Fair? by Daniel Yankelovich

Sidebar: An Exceptional Nation by Seymour Martin Lipset

The Solution:

Nationalize National Service by Steven Waldman

Sidebar: Work-Study: Service for Communities, Not Colleges by Thomas Ehrlich

Education for Democracy by Charles N. Quigley

Re-Funding Social Services by David Kuo

The Rule of Reciprocity by Will Marshall

Public Opinion:

Poll: The Community Consensus by Mark J. Penn

What Works:

The Jane Addams School for Democracy by Harry C. Boyte and Jennifer O'Donoghue

Time Dollars at Work by Edgar S. Cahn

Caring for Our Civic Souls by Olgen Williams

Home	Archive	About Blueprint	Subscribe	Feedback
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